

THE
SELECTED
PAPERS OF

*Jane
Addams*

VOLUME 2

*Venturing
into Usefulness,
1881–88*



EDITED BY MARY LYNN MCCREE BRYAN,
BARBARA BAIR, AND MAREE DE ANGURY

The Selected Papers of Jane Addams

VOLUME 2

VENTURING INTO USEFULNESS,

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EDITED BY

MARY LYNN MCCREE BRYAN,

BARBARA BAIR, AND

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*with the assistance of Elizabeth Stevens,
Stewart Burns, and Ellen Skerrett*

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URBANA AND CHICAGO

FRONTISPIECE: Jane Addams, ca. 1887, Baltimore. (Bachrach and Bro., Baltimore; SCPC, JAC.) Sending this photograph to her sister Alice Addams Haldeman, Jane Addams reported that she had it “taken on the spur of the moment. . . . It is always a mistake to wear a hat, especially one whose beauty consists mainly in its color” (15 Feb. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:448).

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[B]

You doubt whether any good is accomplished in placing yourself
as a mere spectator to the rest of the world.

—Jane Addams to George Bowman Haldeman, 4 January 1883[1884].

The most interesting thing we have done in London was a visit to
the Toynbee Hall in the East End.

—Jane Addams to Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman, 14 June 1888.

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of Chicago Libraries, generously shared his knowledge of papal politics and religious ritual. Patrick J. Skerrett, who writes and edits the *Harvard Heart Letter*, provided us with articles about the foundling hospital Jane Addams visited in Florence and nineteenth-century treatments for nervous and medical diseases. Also helpful was Leila Melson, archivist of the American Neurological Association. Dr. J. B. Lyons, Department of the History of Medicine, Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and Lisa Cruise, duty librarian, National Library of Ireland, gathered information for us about the doctors Jane Addams and Anna Addams consulted in Ireland. Kate Bradley, librarian for the Barnett Library and Archive Collection, Barnett Research Centre, Toynbee Hall, London, England, provided photographs of Toynbee Hall and Samuel and Henrietta Barnett and access to pertinent documents relating to Jane Addams's visit to the settlement in 1888. Stefanie Wyssenbach, trainee at the department of Nederlandish Paintings, Old Masters Picture Gallery, helped us determine which Jan Vermeer paintings were on display in the State Museum of Berlin when Jane Addams visited. Anthony Hunt, Department of English, University of Puerto Rico-Mayaguez, retired, conducted research for us on the Vizcarrondos of Puerto Rico and Madrid, Spain. We are grateful to Assistant Keeper Colette O'Flaherty, National Library of Ireland; Assistant Keeper Sara Smyth, National Photographic Archive, Dublin, Ireland; and Brona Olwill for their assistance in obtaining the rare photograph of an Irish sod-keeper's hut from the Lawrence Collection. Christopher Lichtenfeld of Chicago guided us to Dieter Keifert, a member of an Ulm, Germany, photo club, who provided us with special photographs of appropriate settings in Ulm Cathedral.

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Elizabeth C. Stevens conducted extensive research, offered expert advice on document selection, and drafted the initial editorial and annotation apparatus and introductory essay for the section of the volume dealing with Jane Addams's first trip to Europe. She also served as a reader for the section on Addams's second trip to Europe. Stewart Burns also contributed research and textual revisions in a reading of this section of the volume. Ellen Skerrett conducted extensive photographic and image searches related to Addams's travels and served as the project's primary research associate in Chicago. Her contributions appear in details throughout the volume.

We had technical advice from computer expert Fred Cuddy, Fayetteville, North Carolina. Paul Lane of Photo Source in Evanston, Illinois, and Janet Cherry of Fayetteville, North Carolina, produced photographic copy prints for images used in this volume, through electronic scans, from illustrations in journals and books, and from old and faded originals to which they gave new

life. David Bryan in Fayetteville was also generous with his expertise in improving and printing photographs.

Once again we benefited from the counsel of our experienced advisory committee composed of woman's historian and Addams expert Anne Firor Scott, William K. Boyd Professor Emeritus, Department of History, Duke University; David Chesnutt, Professor of History Emeritus and editor/co-editor of the *Henry Laurens Papers*, Department of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia; and Allen F. Davis, Professor of History, retired, Temple University, Philadelphia, historian of the settlement house movement and biographer of Jane Addams. We are also grateful to other scholars, some known and some unknown to us, who have considered and reviewed our work through applications for grants from public and private foundations and who have supported our efforts. We have enjoyed a pleasant and useful scholarly interaction with authors conducting research about Jane Addams or some aspect of the many movements and organizations with which she was associated. We recall in particular the most recent Addams biographers, Katherine Joslin, Barbara Kraft, Barbara Garland Polikoff, Victoria Brown, and Lucy Knight.

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Introduction

Venturing into Usefulness, the second volume of *The Selected Papers of Jane Addams*, presents primary documentation with editorial comment about Jane Addams's experience from June 1881, when she was twenty-one and newly graduated from Rockford Female Seminary in Rockford, Illinois, to early 1889, the eve of her founding of the Hull-House settlement in Chicago with Ellen Gates Starr. These years, which she would later describe in her memoirs as a long "snare of preparation," were pivotal in her development into the social reformer and advocate of women's rights, socioeconomic justice, and world peace she would become. When she returned home to Cedarville from Rockford in the summer of 1881, her intellect bolstered through studies in ancient languages and British and European writings and her idealism fostered by religious training and the experience of living in a high-minded campus community of intelligent girls, rural Illinois was still her major frame of reference. By the age of twenty-nine, when she made Chicago her home and the base of her future reform activities, Addams was no longer a naive. She was an educated woman and a seasoned traveler, well exposed to elite culture and circles of philanthropy. She had first-hand experience as well with compromises, responsibilities, disappointments, and private tragedy. She sorted out from these a new way of framing her life in social relation to others, a framework that was personal as well as political and intellectual.

Scholars from a variety of disciplines, including American studies, social work, and history, especially those associated with the fields of women's, family, social, and cultural history; the history of education, religion, and social movements; and the study of travel literature and Victorian America will find the documents in this second volume of *The Selected Papers of Jane Addams* useful. Local historians and scholars of Illinois history will also find the work of interest. The story of the development of northern Illinois continues from the first volume of *The Selected Papers of Jane Addams*, *Preparing to Lead, 1860–81*,

into this volume. Among general readers or readers who will consult selected documents on particular issues, including high school and college students, teachers, and patrons of public and university libraries, this volume will be most interesting to those who like to learn from the correspondence and writings of historical figures and those who find biography fascinating.

Most of the major themes that we identified in the first volume of the edition also appear in this volume. Among them are the dilemmas of family relations and gender roles, the history of education, the dynamics of female friendship, religious belief and ethical development, expanding public and professional roles for women, and the evolution of charity-philanthropy, social welfare, and reform ideas.

Documents in this volume deal with intricate interactions among the members of the blended Addams, Weber, and Haldeman families and with the expectations of various family members about roles each should take in the family. Readers will learn of responses to a series of family events and challenges, including the death of John Huy Addams and "Little Mary" Linn, the mental illness of John Weber Addams and George Bowman Haldeman, the chronic illness of Mary Catherine Addams Linn and Anna Addams's brother Noah Hostetter, as well as the medical treatments of Anna Haldeman and Jane Addams. As Jane Addams reacts to family needs during the births of the Linn children (and the death of one of them) and the birth of the Haldeman daughter, the role of maiden aunt in families during the nineteenth century becomes more evident. Through these documents and annotation, readers can learn about the processes and stresses experienced by a single woman who was developing a personal life outside the confines of the traditional family structure. While remaining respectful of stepmother Anna Addams and her requirements, Jane Addams began to successfully disengage herself from the demands and expectations of Anna and her sons and secure an independent life. Researchers will also be able to explore the beginning of what later became Jane Addams's leadership role among her Addams kin by considering her actions in dealing with the mental health needs of her brother John Weber Addams and in guiding his wife Laura Shoemaker Addams in carrying out business affairs during his illness.

The Jane Addams papers are a rich resource for scholars of women's history. Documents in this volume offer evidence about the demands on women in traditional middle-class family settings and the efforts the first generation of college women made to change them. Some of Jane Addams's classmates returned home to meet and accept the challenges of conventional family relationships; others tried, with mixed success, to deflect family demands in order to continue their educations and create their own differently patterned relationships and/or careers. We also provide an opportunity for researchers to explore key or primary relationships between and among women, like the close intimacy and intellectual understanding that existed between Ellen Gates Starr and Jane Addams or the friendship among Ellen Gates Starr, Sarah F. Anderson, and



Filial duty and family were key issues for Jane Addams, who is seen here with her nephew James Weber Linn, ca. 1887–88. (Normal Photographic Studio, Geneseo, Illinois; JAPP, DeLoach)

Jane Addams. Readers will be able to investigate women as leaders in creating, supporting, and directing philanthropic enterprise, especially in Baltimore, Maryland; issues of health and illness relating to women; and the concerns of women within the traditionally masculine fields of science and medicine. Through information in documents associated with Jane Addams's two trips to Europe, researchers will have an opportunity to consider the condition and roles of women in various European countries.

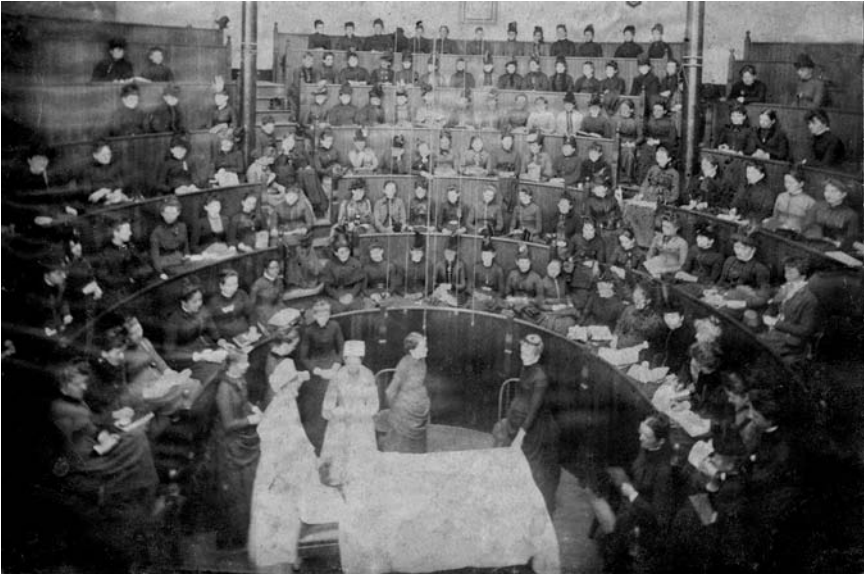
Documents in this volume also reflect the strong influence that religion continued to have in the life and activities of Jane Addams. That it was a pervasive daily influence on the ethical behavior and sense of social responsibility of Addams and her friends is certain. In her autobiography, Addams recorded a kind of moral epiphany she experienced in 1881 under the spiritual guidance of a pastor who was a close friend of the family and who came to visit and counsel her in her grief after the death of her father. Through her correspondence with Ellen Gates Starr, readers may follow the development of Jane Addams's consideration of God and Christianity. Traditionally organized Protestant religion continued to be a major influence, as Jane Addams regularly attended church, even while traveling in Europe. She sought out noted religious speakers, often paying particular attention to those leaders associated with a social reform agenda in the United States and with the Broad Church movement in England. Almost as if she were in search of personal assurance, during her European ventures—especially her second trip to Europe—she paid special attention to early Christian religious history. She had a personal interest in the Old Catholic movement in Europe, and she concentrated on viewing religious



The Basilica San Paolo, first consecrated as a holy site in 324 and transformed through time, was built at the tomb of St. Paul the Apostle. It is one of the great architectural sites of Rome related to early Christian church history. The basilica underwent a massive reconstruction and refurbishing project in the nineteenth century. This image, published ca. 1900, is similar to the kinds of engravings and photographs of historic buildings Jane Addams collected while in Italy. (From *Ricardo Di Roma*, JAPP)

art in painting and sculpture, investigating catacombs in Italy, and considering church architecture throughout Europe. Addams also began to explore other less-than-mainstream religious movements such as theosophy. She was aware that the Toynbee Hall idea and the mission conference she attended in London were closely associated with the social goals of religion. Among additional elements in the religious theme are the central role that traditional organized religion continued to play in the life of Addams and her friends as they sought to affect civic life; the influence of religion and Christian socialist thought on social reform in England; the primary position of religion in the development of social reform movements in the United States; and the influence of theology and the place of American Protestantism in the last half of nineteenth-century America.

During the eight years between her formal graduation from Rockford Female Seminary in 1881 and the beginning of 1889, education was at the heart of the activities and daily life of Jane Addams. Through her experiences, readers will be able to explore issues concerning the status of medical education for women in the United States, including the development of the leading schools, teachers and their backgrounds, curriculum, and practice opportunities available for students and graduates. These documents provide considerable information on the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania during the 1881–82 school year.



Surgical amphitheater classroom at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in the late nineteenth century. Jane Addams and Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman attended medical school at the college, completing the 1881–82 term. (DU, CMASC)

Documents also reveal the importance of self-education for women. Correspondence indicates the books and periodicals that Jane Addams and her friends read and discussed; the private teachers they engaged for tutoring; the plays, musical events, and lectures, including Chautauqua gatherings, they attended; the museums and libraries they visited; and the study circles they formed. Jane's persistent interest in and devotion to Rockford Seminary as both a financial supporter and trustee may be seen as evidence of the significance her education there was to her and the value she placed on education for women. She wished to remain involved with her former teachers, whom she saw as friends, and with the institution that had molded her lifelong thirst for knowledge to use for the benefit of humanity.

Addams's grand tour of Europe between 1883 and 1885 and a follow-up to that experience in 1887–88 were major elements in the continuing education of Jane Addams. Researchers will be able to explore the Grand Tour experience for women, including where the travelers went, the means by which they traveled, the places they chose to stay, and the personal relations they maintained among their small close-knit traveling party. Documents indicate their reactions to what they chose to see and experience of the culture of western Europe, from castles, cathedrals, ruins, and cities to works of art, homes of literary greats,

the greats themselves, and opera, concerts, and theater. They also demonstrate their dedication to language studies, their interest in the living and working conditions of people in Europe (particularly rural dwellers) and women and children, their reaction to European wealth and royalty, which books and periodicals the travelers read to educate themselves before and during their trip, and what items they bought to take home. In addition, the documents offer a catalog of European tourist venues during the 1880s.

The 1887–88 trip in particular is revealing of the close friendship of Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, including their shared interests in religious art and architecture and their pleasure in experiencing Europe together. We also provide evidence of the unexpected but significant experiences that led Jane Addams directly toward the idea for founding Hull-House. These experiences certainly included her visit with the Gulicks, missionaries in San Sebastian, Spain; the social gathering where she met Canon Fremantle in Canterbury, England; the World Missions Conference in London; and the “mission side of London” as she referred to it in a letter to her sister Alice. The latter included but was not limited to her inspection of the People’s Palace and especially her visit to Toynbee Hall.

Baltimore was a thriving city during the mid-1880s when Jane Addams lived there. The documents we present reflect the diverse community that Jane Addams experienced with its significant new and developing cultural and educational institutions. In addition to evidence about the students, faculty, and curriculum associated with the early days of Johns Hopkins University, researchers will be able to consider the development of charitable enterprise in Baltimore, especially with regard to African Americans. We also present evidence about programs that were being created in Baltimore to help the women and children of the working poor and needy, the role and network of female leaders in the community in developing them, and the influence of specific Baltimore families and church programs in a host of philanthropic efforts.

The social settlement idea took form during the last half of the nineteenth century in England, and through documents and accompanying annotation we present about Jane Addams’s two European ventures, we initiate a theme—the development of the social settlement movement and its effect on social reform, particularly in the United States—that we will carry throughout the remaining volumes of the edition. Among issues that researchers will be able to explore in this volume are the beginnings of the social settlement movement in England, in particular the conditions in England among the working poor that demanded redress and helped precipitate the settlement movement. We also indicate who the leaders in this effort were, what their ideas and philosophies were, and where and how the effort began. In addition, our documents and the annotation of them are revealing of the creators and pioneers, the programs, the physical setting, the growth, and the goals of London’s Toynbee Hall, the first successful social settlement and the one that became the model for the

international movement that followed, particularly in the United States. We have offered special evidence about the development of Toynbee Hall during the summer of 1888 when Jane Addams, Sarah F. Anderson, and Helen Harrington visited it together. Here was the model for “the scheme” that Jane would create as Hull-House in Chicago with her own American flare. It in turn became the ideal for other social settlements, especially in the United States, and the leader in the movement for social reform in America during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth. As Jane Addams left Europe in July 1888, she was on the brink of a new life path, one that offered a fresh and innovative means of civic engagement, particularly for women, and immense opportunities for vital social reform to improve the lives of untold numbers of people in the United States. And Jane Addams created for herself a public life as the recognized leader and spokesperson for the movement she helped to spark in America.

Biographical Scope and Context

The eight years of Addams’s life covered by the documents in this volume were vital to her development into the dedicated reformer, advocate, and defender of democratic ideals the world would come to know. It was a crucial and demanding period through which she was roused from philosophic reflection to action and discovered for herself a pragmatic path to usefulness that satisfied her idealism.

Jane Addams and her classmates left Rockford convinced that by applying their college-like seminary educations, in combination with what they believed to be their special female perspectives, they could bring positive benefits to the civic life of their communities. While many became teachers or missionaries or married and started families, others sought more unique opportunities through which to devote their special mix of attributes to social issues. For 21-year-old Jane Addams, the prospect of directing her education and wits toward some professional endeavor was exciting. She longed for further education, a chance to see a wider world, and a useful role in society. But as soon as she was back in her hometown of Cedarville, she was overpowered by family claims. Jane missed what had been for her a supportive surrogate family of teachers and friends at Rockford Female Seminary. There she had honed her intellect, developed her leadership skills, and enjoyed a secure environment in which she had tested her abilities. When she returned home, she was once again at the beck and call of Anna Addams, her demanding stepmother, and absorbed by family expectations and requirements. Jane Addams also experienced two family tragedies that made the summer after graduation even more shockingly unforgettable: the assassination of President James A. Garfield by Charles Guiteau, brother of Jane’s dear Freeport, Illinois, friend, Flora Z. Guiteau, and the unexpected death of her last living parent and beloved father, John H. Addams.



When Charles Guiteau shot President James A. Garfield in a Washington, D.C., railroad depot in July 1881, the news rocked the nation and extended coverage appeared in the popular press. Guiteau was the son of a close business associate of Jane Addams's father and the sibling of her friend Flora Guiteau. The wounded president lingered for several weeks, succumbing to blood poisoning from his injuries in September 1881. (Sketch by A. Berghaus and C. Upham, as printed in *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* [16 July 1881]: 332–33; LC, Prints and Photographs, LC-USZ62–7622)

Although she may still have dreamed of going off on her own to Smith College to supplement her studies with courses at the highly regarded women's college followed by the study of medicine, she plunged instead into the latter aspiration. As the materials in the first section of this volume will reveal, she did so as part of a family entourage. Shortly after her father's funeral in August 1881, she was whisked away to Philadelphia in the company of her stepmother, Anna Addams; her sister Alice; and Alice's husband, Anna's son Harry Halderman, who was a practicing physician. Anna had long dreamed that Harry would enhance his medical training at a recognized medical center. While he attended the University of Pennsylvania Medical School as an advanced third-year student, Jane and Alice matriculated as first-year students at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania. Before the end of the winter term in 1882, when Harry received his M.D., Jane, still reeling from her father's death, was exhausted not only with medical study but also by responding to the social and health-related demands of her stepmother, who had a medical condition that required surgery while they were in Philadelphia. She was also in physical distress, suffering from

spasms that heralded the worsening of an old back malady. Jane sought medical advice for her own weariness and pain, and after completing the term without zeal, left medical school to return to Cedarville.

Once again in the fall of 1882, Jane seemed to lean toward attending Smith College, but the condition of her health and stamina were in question. She earned instead one of the first bona fide bachelor of arts degrees granted by her alma mater, Rockford Female Seminary (which was beginning its transition toward becoming Rockford College). At the urging of Alice and Harry Haldeman, she submitted to a treatment performed by Harry to correct a curvature of her spine that had been induced by a childhood illness and was thought to be partly responsible for her physical and emotional distress. After several bed-ridden months in the Haldeman home in Mitchellville, Iowa, she returned to Cedarville in the early spring of 1883 to continue her recuperation.

A tour of Europe became part of the effort to bring her back to health. The Grand Tour was a common goal for Victorian girls of Addams's class. Middle-class educated young women engaged in orchestrated travel in Europe, Baedeker guides in hand, as a kind of finishing school. Like characters in the novels of Henry James (whose *Portrait of a Lady* was published in the year Addams served as valedictorian at Rockford), they got a taste of European society, expanded their horizons, and developed a certain edge of sophistication. As Americans abroad they were able to see great works of art and architecture and visit sites of key historical events and the historic homes of important personages, which they had previously known only through their study of books or from the teachings of their college and seminary professors. For almost two years, from August 1883 to May 1885, Jane and Anna Addams, sometimes with friends and family, traveled primarily in Ireland, Scotland, England, and Italy, with longer stays in Germany and France. These travels are documented in part 2 of this volume. While drinking in the culture of Western Europe, especially its art, music, and languages, Jane still had time to investigate and ruminate over the condition of families living and working in Europe. She was especially concerned with the opportunities available to women and children for education and a livelihood. As she grew in poise, matured as an educated woman, and became adept at European travel, she saw at first hand the results of great poverty and great wealth. And with her recent inheritance from her father, Jane was a rather well-to-do young woman who was challenged to manage her own affairs and define her life.

Back in the United States, an older and more confident Jane Addams, now in her mid-twenties, reconnected with her parents' relatives in Pennsylvania, spent time with her siblings and their families, continued to educate herself, and quickly revived Rockford Female Seminary friendships. During the winters of 1885–86 and 1886–87—a time covered by part 3 of this volume—she lived in Baltimore, where she and Anna lent support to George Haldeman, Jane's younger stepbrother and a Johns Hopkins University graduate student. She spent her

summers traveling in the American West, where she was among the first tourists to the region, or living in Cedarville. She solidified her relationship with Rockford Seminary teachers and classmates, especially her close friend Ellen Gates Starr, and she assisted her sisters in their homes.

Jane's Baltimore experience was a pivotal component in her development as a social reformer and philanthropist. In Baltimore, Anna Addams with Jane as her companion settled in the elegant neighborhood of Washington Place, not far from the new Johns Hopkins University. They became acquainted with some of Baltimore's highly educated, civically responsible, and socially elite members of the community. While Jane continued her education through the study of literature, French language, music, and art, with a smattering of attention to science provided by access to Johns Hopkins faculty and students, she both served her stepmother as a dutiful daughter and began to build her own friendships and pursue her own interests. She learned of the social and philanthropic enterprises that women of wealth and position in Baltimore were creating and supporting to improve the quality of life for the needy and working poor. These women and their organizations were powerful role models for the young, energetic, and moderately wealthy Jane Addams, who had begun to search for a useful life. It was in Baltimore that Jane Addams participated actively in organized social work for the first time. She did so both as a volunteer and as a financial supporter. She also began to distance herself from the expectations of Anna Addams and George Haldeman, a process that continued for the remainder of 1887 and 1888.

In the fourth and final section of this volume, Jane Addams returns to Europe for a second time, primarily to see Spain, a part of the continent that she had missed on her earlier trip. She was joined by her closest confidante, Ellen Gates Starr, and by Sarah F. Anderson, one of her former teachers at Rockford Female Seminary who had become a good friend. In Italy, shortly after Jane learned of the death of her sister Mary Addams Linn's child Mary, she became ill with sciatica. The required bed rest gave Jane plenty of time to confront what she believed was her inability to define a useful life. Continuing to travel as her health improved, Jane Addams was in Spain, according to her recollection, when she determined to follow a course of action that would give her a sense of usefulness and purpose. It was more than a month later in London, on a visit to Toynbee Hall, that Jane Addams discovered in this social settlement experiment created in East London in 1884, the program that she would re-create and tailor in Chicago to achieve her goal.

While Jane Addams had been developing into the responsible, organized, determined, and able leader she would become, reformers and observers in England were in the process of addressing the great disparity in living conditions between the wealthy and the poor, in part a by-product of industrial and urban development. The stark socioeconomic contrasts between the privileges of well-to-do industrial leaders and investors and the squalor the majority of laboring

people faced in the heart of major cities was a phenomenon on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. After the American Civil War, the pace of the developing industrial might of the United States accelerated rapidly, particularly in the Northeast, the Midwest, and the West. The combination of capital investment and advances in technological knowledge and invention brought a surge of railroad construction and land development, which in turn brought improved access to mineral wealth and other resources.

Manufacturing facilities were established predominantly in urban transportation hubs where raw materials could be delivered and finished products could be distributed to markets. In cities and mining towns in both Britain and America, capital was joined with large industrial labor forces. The required pools of skilled and unskilled labor in the United States were fed primarily by an influx of European immigrants that peaked in the years Jane Addams lived in Philadelphia and Baltimore and that, as the years progressed, would be composed increasingly of non-English-speaking Southern and Eastern European immigrants. Their arrival shifted the proportion of foreign-born people living and working in both cities and rural areas. In 1882, when Jane Addams was in medical school, more than 800,000 people, mainly from Germany, England, Ireland, and Italy, entered the United States. Of the nearly 14 million immigrants who came to the country between 1860 and 1900, two-thirds settled in cities to find work.

Chicago, the city with which Jane Addams would be identified through most of her adult life, was particularly shaped by these forces. Between 1880 and 1890, when more than five million immigrants came to the United States, Chicago's population doubled, from 503,185 to 1,099,850. In 1860, half of the city's residents were foreign-born. By 1890, nearly 80 percent of its population was either foreign-born or the children of immigrants, most of whom were engaged in unskilled low-wage jobs. The workers and their families existed in congested immigrant neighborhoods. They lived in small, crowded, unsanitary, and poorly heated and ventilated spaces in tenements that faced streets that were quagmires of mud in the winter and dust bowls in the summer. Alleys were filled with refuse that city services almost never disposed of. Often the whole family had to work to survive. Sweatshops were prevalent, child labor was the norm, and jobs, even low-paying ones, were difficult to find. Prostitution was widespread and saloons were gathering places for the working poor. Opportunities for education, adequate health care, and recreation were almost nonexistent.

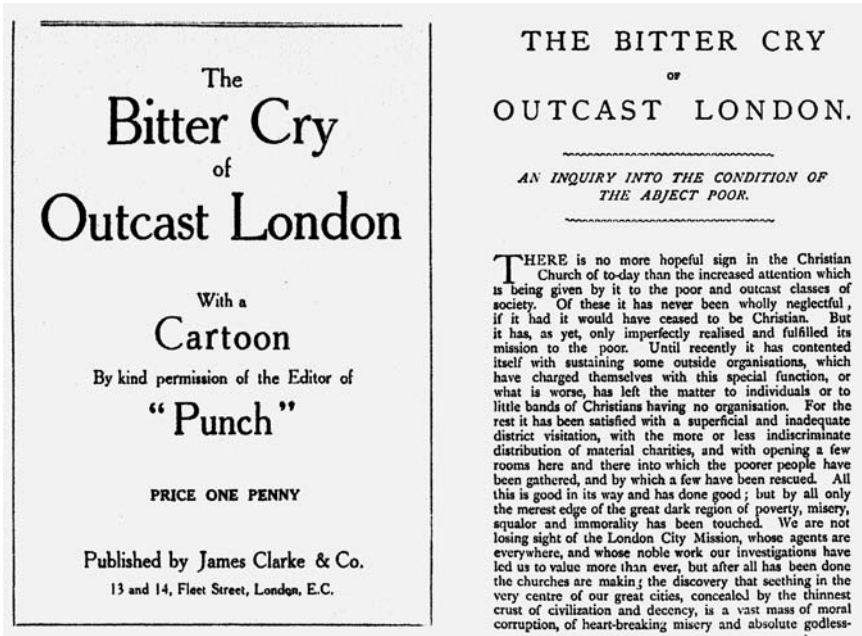
As in England, where unrest among workers was growing, the 1880s was a time of labor strikes, growing unionism, and threats of violence in the United States. To protest working conditions and wage cuts, unorganized workers of the Union Pacific Railroad struck in 1884, and the next year workers of the Missouri Pacific Railroad walked off the job. From both events, the Knights of Labor union movement added considerably to its membership. In Chicago, the Haymarket Riot frightened representatives of both capital and labor. The gathering on 4 May 1886, during which a bomb was thrown and some policemen

killed, had been called to protest the killing of two workers the day before in a strike at the McCormick reaper plant organized to demand a shorter workday and higher wages. Business leaders were able to have public meetings and processions banned. Many workers responded by unionizing. In 1886, membership in the Knights of Labor increased from 100,000 to 700,000. In the meantime the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, began to attract members. Jane Addams, interestingly, does not mention any of these events in her surviving correspondence for the 1880s. It is certain, however, that she read the newspapers, both in the United States and while traveling in Europe, and these developments filled the news. While she was immersed in her own personal problems and comfortable upper-middle-class and small-town life, her attitudes during the 1880s evolved against this larger sociopolitical backdrop of growing urban distress and inequality.

During Jane Addams's first visit to England in 1883, the degradation suffered by the working poor was brought forcibly to the attention of the entire country through a number of publications. The most famous exposé was a pamphlet authored by a Congregational churchman. The *Bitter Cry of Outcast London* echoed and re-echoed throughout England in newspapers, most prominently in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. In England, with the growing numbers and force of labor, intellectuals associated with universities and Broad Church leaders, some of whom were advocates of Christian Socialist ideas, were beginning to explore and seek solutions for problems experienced by the working poor.

The Toynbee Hall settlement in East London was the ultimate manifestation of these efforts. Among its primary goals were to educate the working poor for citizenship and a better civic life and to promote communication between the classes. The means to achieve these goals was not the handout of charity but reform sought by informed leaders from all classes that would lead to increased opportunities for improved education and communication among and between classes of English society and to a better living environment, especially for the working poor. The social settlement was created to be the catalyst for these reforms and to help devise the process through which they could be achieved.

When Jane Addams was introduced to the aims and activities of Toynbee Hall during her visit in London in June 1888, she saw a model that could work to address similar problems associated with the fast-paced development of industrialization and urbanization in the United States. Just as important, the Toynbee Hall model also offered a way for college women to reform society. Here was an innovative institutional structure that would permit Jane Addams to apply her education and her wealth usefully. It also suggested an opportunity for living independently among like-minded women in an environment similar to the one she had become comfortable with at Rockford Female Seminary. A confident and energized Jane Addams spent the last months of 1888 convincing



The publication of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* in pamphlet form and as an exposé in the *Pall Mall Gazette* caused a sensation during the time Jane Addams made her first trip to England. She read newspapers and periodical literature regularly and noticed for herself the disparities between rich and poor. (Facsimile, title page and first page of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, The Bodleian Library, Oxford University, England)

her family that her social settlement "scheme" would work and informing them that she would move to Chicago to initiate it there. While her sisters seemed quietly supportive, their mates and Anna Addams decided that her plans for the future were unacceptable, and stepbrother George found her expected permanent move from the Addams-Haldeman home in Cedarville disturbing.

During these eight years of maturation and experience, Jane Addams recovered from despair and developed an optimistic anticipation of a useful life. Many of the people, places, and the ideas that influenced her and the actions that she had taken by her twenty-eighth birthday prepared her for what she was about to inaugurate. As she approached the founding of Hull-House, from which she would build world fame, she was intelligent, educated, and mature; an able speaker and writer; cultured and poised; an experienced city dweller and a traveler; and aware of the world beyond her own community. She was also politically knowledgeable; adept at interpersonal relationships; and expe-



Toynbee Hall, London, England, ca. 1888. The area marked with (1) is associated with the lecture theatre, (2) is the dining room, (3) is the entrance to the library, and (4) is the library itself. On the second floor are resident apartments. Behind the Toynbee Hall structure and to the far left in the photograph is Balliol House, the student residence completed shortly before Jane Addams visited the settlement. Addams's experience there was a crucial step toward her creation of Hull-House with Ellen Gates Starr in Chicago in 1889. (Barnett Research Centre, Toynbee Hall [Special Collections—Photographs], London, England)

rienced in personal loss, poor health, and family tragedy, and she had personal wealth and the knowledge to manage it. Jane Addams was ready to continue her education through experience at the social settlement she set out to create in Chicago. She was ready to begin her adventure into usefulness.

Selection

From the documentation available for this period of Jane Addams's life, we have selected documents that reveal the thoughts and actions of Addams from 1881 to 1889 as she was extracting herself from the confines of her family's expectations and preparing to create her own means of public service and private life in Chicago. We have evaluated an assortment of document types, including diaries, correspondence, speeches, articles, personal notes and notebooks, certificates, account and address books, photographs, and other illustrative matter.

At the core of this volume is correspondence between Jane Addams and her family and friends. There are also two letters written by Ellen Gates Starr to

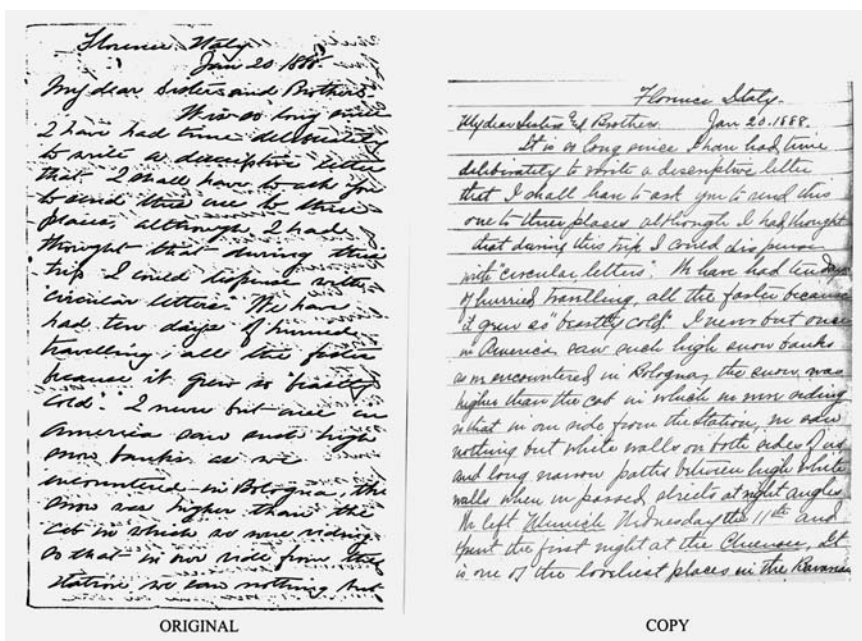
Jane Addams's sister Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman about Jane. There are few extant letters written by Jane Addams for the period between her graduation from Rockford Female Seminary in June 1881 and her recovery from spinal surgery in the spring of 1883. We have told the story of that period using letters written to her by friends and family. We also chose to present some of the personal and private notes Jane Addams scribbled in a notebook she was using almost like a diary and from which some partial and some complete pages had been excised, probably by Jane Addams herself.

For the period beginning with the summer of 1883 that includes her first and second trips to Europe and the two years between them, there is an assortment of Addams letters from which to select. These include lengthy descriptive letters indicating what she saw and where she went in Europe, which she labeled "circular letters," that were written for all of her family to read. Many of these letters from her first trip exist only as copies in a journal that Jane's sister Alice Haldeman was keeping for her. Alice apparently copied the letters and then sent the originals on the rounds of her siblings and to an uncertain future. Many of the letters Jane wrote to Alice during her second trip to Europe are extant in their original form and also appear in Alice's journal. When both the original letter and the journal copy are available, we chose to present the original document.

There is also an array of letters written by Jane to individual family members and friends. Almost no letters from her siblings, stepsiblings, or stepmother written during this period are extant. An exception are the letters Jane received from her sister Mary Catherine Addams Linn and other members of the Linn family in 1888 about the death of Jane's two-year-old niece "Little Mary" Addams Linn. Most of the extant letters written to Jane Addams from friends during this period were written by her best friend Ellen Gates Starr. We have relied heavily on the Addams-Starr correspondence because that friendship was so central to her life outside the family.

For the period encompassing the last half of 1888, after Jane Addams returned to the United States from Europe toward the end of July 1888, there is no extant Addams correspondence, neither letters written by her or letters written to her. Perhaps Jane herself destroyed the correspondence from family and friends during this period, considering it too personal to risk sharing with history. For information on this period we have had to rely on hints about her activities from the documents—both correspondence and diaries—of other family members.

We have also incorporated the texts of selected articles and speech manuscripts that indicate Jane Addams's developing style as a creative writer and her state of mind or philosophical perspective. We have included an article entitled "Three Days on the Mediterranean Subjectively Related," published in the January 1886 issue of *Rockford Seminary Magazine*. We have also included the letter Jane wrote in the spring of 1884, shortly after the Mediterranean adventure took place. Readers may want to compare the two treatments. The article is



Compare the first page of Jane Addams's original letter to her "Sisters and Brothers" on the left with the first page of the same letter copied by Alice Addams Haldeman into the journal she was keeping for Jane Addams during 1887–88, on the right. Alice seems to have been a faithful and accurate recorder for Jane. (Jane Addams to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly and UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; JAPM, 2:654)

an early example of a writing technique Jane favored for the remainder of her life: bending the details of an event she experienced to suit a lesson or moral she wished to present. There is also one document that reveals Jane Addams's financial resources a year before she began her effort to found Hull-House.

Photographs are a significant part of the documentary evidence about the life of Addams. We have included a series of photographs of Jane Addams taken during this period. We also include photographs of assorted friends and traveling companions, sites Addams saw, and venues familiar to her. Some documents are also presented in non-transcribed form as facsimile illustrations.

Like the first volume of this edition, this second volume is the work of a team of editors and research assistants working from various parts of the United States. We selected documents, transcribed, and verified them through at least two readings. We conducted extensive primary research to provide the historical context for the documents we selected and to identify the people, places, organizations, events, and ideas mentioned in them. We present this volume with pleasure.

Editorial Method

In addition to a table of contents and list of illustrations, each volume of the selected edition of the Jane Addams papers contains a list of documents presented in the volume and a list of abbreviations used by the authors of the documents and by the editors. There is an introduction for each volume. It is preceded by acknowledgments and followed by the introduction to the volume and the body of the text, which is composed of selected transcribed documents with editorial annotation in the form of section introductions, headnotes, source notes, and end notes to the documents. In addition to a bibliography and index, back matter may include an appendix containing biographical profiles of individuals who were especially important in the life of Addams.

Throughout this work, all documents are presented in chronological order. Correspondence appears in sequence according to the date on which it was written or the date on which we believe it may have been written. Speeches usually appear in the arrangement by the date on which each was given rather than the date they were published. Published periodical articles appear at their date of publication, while unpublished essays, announcements, and assorted documents are presented by the date that appears on them or a date the editors are able to determine for them. When the editors have more than one version of a document to choose from, they will usually opt for the extant final rendition of the item and place it at the appropriate date sequence. Documents written on more than one day are placed in order according to the first date. When the editors include two documents of the same date, they will place them in sequence according to the content of the documents and in consideration of the relationship of each to other documents near them in the sequence.

Documents are arranged in sections. Each section has an introduction that provides a context for the documents and annotation associated with them. Each document is identified by a title or header, which is the name of the person to whom a piece of correspondence is addressed or from whom it was received or the title of a writing or a type of document. In some cases a headnote providing

information we believe will be of benefit to readers before they read the document appears immediately under the header and before the document. Letters are presented in standardized letter form, with the salutation flush left and the place and dateline flush right. The complementary close is run into the last line of the text of the letter, and signatures, which appear on a separate line, are followed by any postscript, enclosures, or attachments to the letter. Diary entries are presented with the date of the entry flush left at the beginning of the text for that date. Essays, writings, speeches, announcements, and other documents are presented in straight text format.

Transcriptions of all documents offered in the edition are literal, with some exceptions. We do not employ the editorial device [*sic*] to indicate errors made by the authors of the documents they present. The childhood letters of Jane Addams are replete with misshaped letters and misspelled words. When a misshaped letter is the symbol for another letter, we have preserved it without alteration and without footnote explanation. For example, Jane Addams often mixed the letters “m” and “n,” writing “Nis” when she apparently meant “Mis.” We believe that the reader will know what Jane Addams meant, so we let “Nis” stand. Sometimes letters of the alphabet were simply formed incorrectly, but they represent no other letters or numbers. In those instances, we do not present the misdrawn letters, but silently correct the letters. Jane Addams often reversed the letters “s,” “j,” and “p” and the number “9.” We present them accurately formed within the words and sentences in which they appear. When the misspelling of a word creates a new word that, considering its use in the context of the document text, we believe the author did not mean, we present the word as it was written by the author and suggest in an annotation the word we believe the author probably meant to use. For example, if Jane Addams wrote “who” when we believe that given the structure of the sentence she meant to write “how,” we have presented the word “who” as Jane Addams wrote it in her text and offer our alteration in brackets or explained in a footnote. When we judge that a word is so misspelled that a reader might not be able to determine what the author meant, and if we believe we know, we correct it. If the word can be corrected by adding letters, we do so, inserting appropriate letters in brackets. If the word can only be corrected by deleting portions of it, we make our correction in a footnote. Correcting authors’ spellings has been done sparingly, so readers will find many misspellings, especially in the letters and writings of Jane Addams in her childhood and youth.

Jane Addams and many of her correspondents were not careful about punctuation, capitalization, and grammar in their handwritten documents. Sometimes Jane Addams ended her sentences with a period; however, sometimes her period resembled a comma. Other times she used a dash, and sometimes there was simply no sentence-ending mark. When there is a no mark or a mark other than a period, and the next word begins with a capital letter and definitely denotes a new sentence, we have assumed a sentence end. We have treated the

comma-like periods and dashes as periods and silently replaced them with periods in the text. When there is no punctuation at the end of a sentence, we have usually inserted a period in brackets. A reader who is interested in the sentence-ending grammar of Jane Addams may consult the microfilm edition of *The Jane Addams Papers*, which offers facsimile copies of the text for most of the documents presented in this edition.

Other punctuation throughout the document texts is presented as the authors wrote it, with two exceptions. When an author used quotation marks and omitted one set of the pair—as Jane Addams often did—we have added the missing set in brackets if we could determine where they should be placed. If we could not decide where they were meant to be placed, we used annotation to indicate that a pair is missing from the original text. In a very few instances, we have added a comma in brackets to help the reader differentiate appropriate elements in the text. This usually occurs in a string of names of people that the author and correspondent knew, but today's reader of the document may not know the names of the individuals. For example, the author could have written "Sarah Alice Mary Catharine" with no punctuation. These could either be the names of two sisters of Jane Addams or four individuals with these first names or any combination. If we knew how the names should be presented, we added commas in brackets in appropriate places.

When writing informally and to close friends and family, Jane Addams used two methods of paragraphing. In most instances, she followed standard procedures by indenting the beginning of each new paragraph. In some instances, however, perhaps to save paper, she changed subjects in the middle of a line, leaving a great deal of space between the end of one sentence and the start of another. We have taken these as paragraph breaks and silently standardize them as such. Any doubts the reader has may be put to rest by consulting the photocopy of the document in the microfilm edition of *The Jane Addams Papers*.

Superscripts and subscripts appear on rather than above or below a line. Interlineations are enclosed in angle brackets and are presented on the line and in the place where the author meant to insert them. Text written by the author on the side of the main body of the text, and sometimes perpendicular to it, has been treated as an interlineation and has been inserted in the text if it is clear from the author's marks where it goes. If, however, it is not possible to determine where the author meant to put it, we have placed it in a footnote. In both cases, we indicate in footnote annotation where the marginal text appeared on the original document. Text written across or perpendicular to previously written text in a document appears as ordinary text in our transcription.

The abbreviations and symbols used by Jane Addams and other authors are maintained unless we judge them to be unknown to modern readers or impossible to duplicate using modern print technology. Words underlined by the author with a single or a double line are reproduced as underlined; however, words and phrases underlined three or more times are underlined once and

accompanied by a descriptive footnote. Words written by the author of a document in the Cyrillic alphabet are reproduced using letters from that alphabet and translated in a footnote. Canceled words, phrases, or paragraphs that are relevant and readable are indicated by a line drawn through the type. If necessary, they are annotated with a footnote. Single crossed-out letters or numbers, partial words, and mistakenly duplicated words are silently omitted unless they are particularly relevant to the content of the document. Letters, words, or phrases that we cannot decipher because of poor handwriting, crossed-out text, mutilated pages, or the like are indicated by the word “illegible” italicized and surrounded by italicized square brackets.

We have identified enclosures or attachments and summarized their contents in annotation. In the few cases when we present the text of enclosures or attachments, the documents will be preceded by the word “Enclosure” for something sent with the letter or document or “Attachment” for something added after the document or letter was received. We handle annotations for enclosures and attachments as if they were part of the document to which they are appended.

Infrequently, and primarily to avoid repeating information already provided in previous documents or annotations, we may present only a portion of a document. When we do, we use ellipsis and indicate in a summary statement in footnote annotation the nature of the information we have omitted.

We have used square brackets to indicate to the reader that we have added information to document texts. We do this sparingly and only to clarify information. When document text is mutilated or missing and we have been able to determine with certitude what the missing elements would have been, we have inserted them in square brackets where they belong. Most often we added information in the date and place lines. When a document has a partial date or no date and we have been able to determine what the date should be, we have added the information in square brackets where the date line should be. When the author of a document provided a date or place that is incorrect and we are aware of it, we have retained the author’s information and placed the correct information in square brackets beside it. In some instances, authors wrote documents on more than one day, yet the date line they placed on the document carries only one date. Similarly, documents may be written in more than one place. When we were aware of omissions from either the date or place line, we added the additional information in square brackets. If there is uncertainty about an element that we supply, it appears in square brackets followed by a question mark within the brackets.

Some documents contain drawings. When we did not reproduce the drawings with the document in which they appear, we provided statements describing each drawing. The statements appear in bold italic print and within a pair of virgules or slant lines at the location of each drawing in the original document.

As a general rule, we do not reproduce letterheads on stationery; however, when Jane Addams wrote a letter from Hull-House and the “Hull-House” letter-

head is the only place information, we used "Hull-House, [Chicago, Ill.]" as the place line. If we felt that the information contained in a letterhead was pertinent to the document, we placed it in a footnote annotation. Since the majority of the documents in the selected edition appear in the microfilm edition of *The Jane Addams Papers*, readers who wish to see letterhead information may do so by reviewing each document in its original form.

We have annotated documents in the volume to offer identifications of persons, places, and events and to help clarify the narrative story of the life, times, and achievements of Jane Addams. Narrative section introductions and headnotes set documents in historical context, supply information to bridge gaps between available documents, and relate sets of documents in a given time period to one another. In addition, some documents have been treated with editorial comment in headnotes. Endnotes for the headnotes and the annotations for the documents appear with sequential numbering at the end of each document. Each document is identified by a source note that appears at the end of the document. It is composed of the physical description of the document given in abbreviated form (see Abbreviations and Symbols) and names the collection and repository in which the original document will be found as well as the reel and frame number location of the document in the microfilm edition of *The Jane Addams Papers*. Other special aspects of the document are presented in this location.

In creating the annotation, we have relied predominantly on research in primary sources. Our research has taken us to other correspondence and documents in the papers and published writings of Jane Addams. In addition, we have focused our research efforts on the manuscript collections of family and friends in a variety of repositories and in private hands; published letters and diaries; county histories, travel guides, local newspaper sources, and popular literature for the period; county records (including marriage and death records, deeds, and court records); plats and maps; state archival records (including records for the Illinois General Assembly and for the insurance department and the corporation division of the Office of the Secretary of State); city directories, advertisements, dictionaries, college catalogs, and assorted publications issued during the period; miscellaneous materials from college and university archives and manuscript repositories; historical society and public library collections; church archives; private collections; cemetery records; and census returns. We have consulted standard biographical sources and compendia for a variety of subjects, including art, literature, and music, and consulted secondary sources on special subjects. With the exception of James Weber Linn's *Jane Addams, A Biography* and Winifred Wise's *Jane Addams of Hull-House*, biographies written with the approval and participation of Jane Addams during her lifetime, we have not relied on the work of other biographers of Jane Addams.

Since we expect that a wide audience will consult the volumes of the selected edition, we have prepared annotation to take into account the likely knowledge and context level of readers from high school through postgraduate scholars,

including the general reading public. We use annotation primarily to assist readers at all levels to understand the content of the document.

As a general rule, we use annotation to identify persons, organizations, historical events, and relationships mentioned in the texts of the documents to the degree that it clarifies the importance of the document for the reader. When we have supplied information in the text of a document in square brackets, we sometimes have used annotation to explain our rationale. Annotation is also used to explain the archaic use of words and special jargon, to correct spelling errors, or to translate phrases of text in a language other than English appearing in the document. It is used to explain relationships between documents that are not immediately obvious to the reader and to provide the reader with leads to other documents and materials that might offer more information about the annotated item. Annotation also directs the reader to other documents, usually additional correspondence, personal documents, writing, or materials located in the microfilm edition of *The Jane Addams Papers* or to other manuscript collections and repositories. We have used annotation as a cross-reference to direct the reader to other documents or to appropriate annotation in the selected edition. We have also indicated in annotation the existence of documents that are mentioned in the texts of documents in the selected edition. We also provided bibliographic references for quotations, for article or book titles, and for speeches, meetings, or gatherings. Annotation has also been used to note significant variations in different texts of the same document, explain aspects of the text not reproduced in the publication, and describe special physical characteristics of documents, including form, spelling, grammar, punctuation, and symbols. The footnotes for each document and headnote, if there is one, are presented using sequential numbering at the end of the document text after the document source citation line.

Generally, identification for people, places, organizations, events, or ideas appear at their first mention in either our annotations or the document texts. Biographical profiles for individuals we judged to be of sufficient importance to the life of Jane Addams to be treated with special emphasis may appear in a special Biographical Profiles Appendix at the end of all document text and annotation in some volumes.

In section introductions, biographical profiles, and editorial headnotes, and in endnotes of documents we provide bibliographic citations only for the source of direct quotations. We may further identify sources of information on a topic. When we quote from original correspondence, we provide the collection and repository in which the original letter is located, and, if the material is in the microfilm edition of the *Jane Addams Papers*, a citation to the location of the document in the microfilm. We use the short form of all titles cited. Full bibliographic information for these titles and other sources we have consulted in the process of creating the manuscript appears in a bibliography.

Abbreviations and Symbols

Document Descriptions

A	Autograph
AD	Autograph Documents
ADS	Autograph Document Signed
AL	Autograph Letter
ALI	Autograph Letter Initialed
ALS	Autograph Letter Signed
AMs	Autograph Manuscript
AMsI	Autograph Manuscript Initialed
AMsS	Autograph Manuscript Signed
D	Document
DupMs	Duplicated Manuscript
H	Holograph
HD	Holograph Document
HDS	Holograph Document Signed
HL	Holograph Letter
HLS	Holograph Letter Signed
HLSr	Holograph Letter Signed, Representation
Ms	Manuscript
Mss	Manuscripts
MsS	Manuscript Signed
PD	Printed Document
PDS	Printed Document Signed
TCALS	Typed Copy of Autograph Letter Signed
TD	Typed Document
TMs	Typed Manuscript
TMsS	Typed Manuscript Signed

Manuscript Collections and Repositories

CAHS	Cedarville Area Historical Society, Cedarville, Illinois
CHM	Chicago History Museum (formerly Chicago Historical Society [CHS]), Chicago, Illinois
DU, ASC	Drexel University, Archives and Special Collections on Women in Medicine and Homeopathy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
DU, ASC, RB	The Papers of Rachel Bodley, Drexel University, Archives and Special Collections on Women in Medicine and Homeopathy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
DU, ASC, CM	Materials Related to Clara Marshall, Drexel University, Archives and Special Collections on Women in Medicine and Homeopathy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
DU, ASC, AP	The Papers of Ann Preston, Drexel University, Archives and Special Collections on Women in Medicine and Homeopathy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
ISA	Illinois State Archives, Springfield
IU, Lilly, SAAH	Mrs. Sarah Alice Haldeman Mss, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington
JAPP	Jane Addams Papers Project, Fayetteville, North Carolina
JAPP, AHHA	Anna Hostetter Haldeman Addams Files, Jane Addams Papers Project, Fayetteville, North Carolina
JAPP, DeLoach	Alice DeLoach Collection, Jane Addams Papers Project, Fayetteville, North Carolina
JAPP, Ellwood	Ellwood Collection, Jane Addams Papers Project, Fayetteville, North Carolina
JAPP, Hulbert	Mary Addams Hulbert Collection, Jane Addams Papers Project, Fayetteville, North Carolina
JAPP, Schneider	Kaye Schneider Collection, Jane Addams Papers Project, Fayetteville, North Carolina
JHU	Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
JHU, FHA	Ferdinand Hamburger University Archives, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
JHU, MEL, Spec. Coll.	Special Collections, Milton Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland
LFC	Archives, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
LC-MSS	Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
LC-MSS, LRG	The Papers of Lucretia Rudolph Garfield, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
MHS	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland

NWU	Archives, Dearing Library, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois
RC	Rockford College Archives, Colman Library, Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois
RPL	Local History Collection, Rockford Public Library, Rockford, Illinois
SC, Starr	Ellen Gates Starr Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts
SCHS	Stephenson County Historical Society, Freeport, Illinois
SCPC	Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania
SCPC, JAC	The Jane Addams Collection, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania
UIC, JAMC	Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Richard J. Daley Library, University of Illinois at Chicago
UIC, JAMC, Barnett	Dame Henrietta O. Barnett Collection, 1897–1935, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Richard J. Daley Library, University of Illinois at Chicago
UIC, JAMC, Detzer	Mrs. Karl Detzer (Dorothy Detzer) Collection, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Richard J. Daley Library, University of Illinois at Chicago
UIC, JAMC, HJ	Haldeman-Julius Family Papers, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Richard J. Daley Library, University of Illinois at Chicago
UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.	Haldeman-Julius Family Papers, Supplement, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Richard J. Daley Library, University of Illinois at Chicago
UIC, JAMC, H-H Assn.	Hull-House Association Records, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Richard J. Daley Library, University of Illinois at Chicago
UIC, JAMC, Microfilm	[Journals of Jane Addams's European Travels], 1883–85, 1887–88, Microfilm, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Richard J. Daley Library, University of Illinois at Chicago
UIC, JAMC, Smith	Louise Smith Papers, Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Richard J. Daley Library, University of Illinois at Chicago

Individuals

AH	Anna Hostetter
AHHA	Anna Hostetter Haldeman Addams or Anna Haldeman Addams
EGS	Ellen Gates Starr
GBH	George Bowman Haldeman or George Haldeman

HWH	Henry Winfield Haldeman or Harry Haldeman
JA	Jane Addams or Laura Jane Addams
JHA	John Huy Addams or John H. Addams
JML	John Manning Linn or John M. Linn
JWA	John Weber Addams or Weber Addams
LSA	Laura Shoemaker Addams or Laura Addams
MCAL	Mary Catherine Addams Linn or Mary Linn
SA	Sarah F. Anderson or Sarah Anderson
SAA	Sarah Alice Addams
SAAH	Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman or Alice Haldeman
SH	Sarah Hostetter
SWA	Sarah Weber Addams or Sarah Addams (mother of Jane Addams)

Frequently Cited Published Sources

PJA	<i>Selected Papers of Jane Addams</i>
JAPM	<i>The Jane Addams Papers</i> . Edited by Mary Lynn Bryan et al. Microfilm, 82 reels. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1985–86.
NAW	<i>Notable American Women, 1607–1950</i> . Vols. 1–3 edited by Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971. Vol. 4 edited by Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980.
NCAB	<i>The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography</i> . New York: James T. White, 1897.
OED	<i>The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary</i> . [New York]: Oxford University Press, 1971.
RSM	<i>Rockford Seminary Magazine</i>

Organizations, Institutions, or Events

BSNH	Boston Society of Natural History
COS	Charity Organization Society
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston
NAWSA	National American Woman Suffrage Association
OSB	Order of Saint Benedict
RFS	Rockford Female Seminary, Rockford, Illinois
WCTU	Woman's Christian Temperance Union
WEA	Woman's Education Association
WMCP	Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Symbols

a/c	account
@	at
	Chi-Rho
	cul-de-sac drawing
°	degree
	kiss
¶	paragraph
%	percent

Part 1

FITTED FOR A LIFE
OF USEFULNESS,
1881–83



Jane Addams, ca. 1881–82. (Photo by Medlar,
Rockford, Ill. University of Illinois at Chicago,
The University Library, JAMC, Neg. 2270)

Introduction



In the fall of 1881, Jane Addams, twenty-one years old and a recent graduate of Rockford Female Seminary, joined her sister Alice and Alice's husband, Harry Haldeman, in the pursuit of medical education in prestigious institutions in Philadelphia. Jane Addams was following up on an ambition developed while at the seminary. The idea of medical school and becoming a physician built on interests in science and social betterment she had held since childhood. The interest in science she had shared with her stepbrother George Haldeman and fostered in her coursework at Rockford. The concern with hands-on social improvement came to her in part from the example of her mother, who ministered to neighbors in need, and from the civic and church life of her father, as well as the dictums her female mentors at Rockford taught about the importance of living a life of contribution and service.¹ Jane enrolled along with Alice for the winter term of the annual session of 1881–82 at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania. At the time, it was the outstanding facility for the education of women in medicine in the country. Harry Haldeman—who was both stepbrother and brother-in-law to Jane—was, meanwhile, already practicing as a physician in Mitchellville, Iowa. He came to Philadelphia for specialty training at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine. At home in Iowa, Alice Addams Haldeman aided him in his private practice with her nursing and her business and accounting skills. She hoped to take advantage of the time in Philadelphia to bolster her existing practical knowledge of patient care with clinical training in order to contribute additional medical expertise to the family practice.

The period following graduation from Rockford proved to be a difficult one for Jane Addams for several different reasons. As she set out to forge her adult life beyond her seminary experience, she suffered physically and emotionally from several personal shocks that came unforeseen during the summer of 1881. The first was the assassination of President Garfield. This act of violence against

the nation's leader shook the citizens of the country. But it had a special impact on those living around Freeport and Cedarville, Illinois, where the assassin, like Jane Addams, had grown up. Jane had an intimate connection to his family. The second shock more directly shaped Jane Addams's life. Her father, John Huy Addams, fifty-nine years old, tall, capable, and in seemingly good health—and having so recently made a proud appearance at her Rockford graduation—was taken ill and died. His sudden death in August meant, among other things, that Jane and Alice and Harry did not go East alone. Jane's widowed stepmother, Anna Haldeman Addams, went as well, staying close to Harry, her favorite son, and taking rooms in an elite private boardinghouse with her stepdaughter Jane. Whatever dreams of independence Jane harbored, and despite plans and ambitions she had shared with Rockford friends, she found herself taking up a different sort of duty within a suddenly reconfigured family dynamic. As the youngest girl of the combined Haldeman-Addams family and the lone unmarried daughter, she was fated to have the widowed Anna as her chaperone and was expected to serve as the older woman's social companion. Still, the transition to the eastern seaboard seemed full of promise and possibility. Life in urbane Philadelphia suited the well-heeled Anna Haldeman Addams. And study at the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia put Jane and Alice in the mainstream of the movement among feminist educators and reformers to increase the number of opportunities for women entering the professions. Anna's friend Laura Malburn² summed up the stakes of the situation very well when she wrote to Anna from back home in Illinois. "What splendid opportunities your children have in Philadelphia this winter, with the University privileges surrounded by cultivated and refined society," she stated admiringly. She sent her love to the three young people and added a kind of benediction for them: "[M]ay they be fitted for lives of usefulness," she wrote, "here and for years hereafter."³

The summer of 1881 began well enough for Jane Addams. It began, in fact, on a kind of pinnacle. She left Rockford Female Seminary in June triumphantly, a mature young woman at the top of her class. She was a favorite among her peers and her teachers. She was expected to continue setting standards of excellence and achievement in whatever she chose to do next. Despite the vague ill health that she experienced at the end of her senior year, Jane Addams approached graduation events in June 1881 with characteristic diligence and a diplomatic but forthright spirit, keynoting the end-of-the-year ceremonies with her senior essay and valedictory address, both signal statements on the rights of women.⁴ Then, her seminary career over, she wrapped up her last edition as editor-in-chief of the *Rockford Seminary Magazine* and packed her belongings for what she thought would be a brief summer stint at home in Cedarville before pursuing further studies.

Almost immediately upon leaving school she became ill and despondent. Her back tortured her with spasms. She missed the invigorating world of the seminary with its daily social interactions and intellectual discussions with fe-

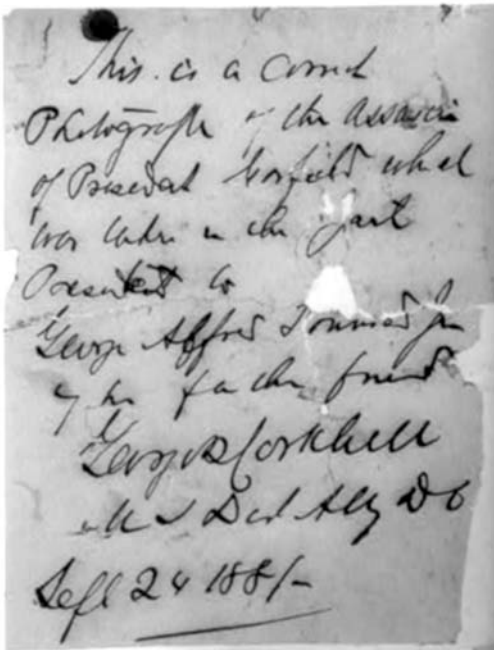
male mentors and friends. She had undergone great personal growth while she was away in Rockford, but she found that everyday life in her small hometown of Cedarville remained much the same. She was re-enveloped in the close (and not especially functional) circle of her complex family. At the same time, she was isolated from an outside world where there were people more receptive than the Addamses to progressive trends regarding what a woman could be and do. Her intellectual perspectives had been broadened by the literature and history she studied at Rockford, including the works of Carlyle, Arnold, and Ruskin that lauded heroic idealism and the inspiring examples of great men, and she had been heartened by the role models she found among the educated single women on the faculty she had become close to. Once home, she exhibited little inclination to follow in the domestic footsteps of her sisters. There is no evidence that Jane Addams ever contemplated matrimony as a goal for herself. Her father's pragmatic public service and civic-mindedness were closer to the passions of his daughter's heart than traditional domesticity or childbearing.

The feeling of misdirection and malaise that Jane Addams experienced upon leaving school was not unique to her, nor were her ambitions. Many of the Rockford friends with whom she stayed in touch felt a similar let-down after graduation. Most shared Jane's hopes for achievement beyond the domestic sphere or, lacking family means, worked for salaries or wages. Both Helen Harrington and Ellen Gates Starr supported themselves through teaching. Both also pursued further education, Harrington at the University of Michigan, and Starr through salons and private tutoring. Teacher Sarah Anderson missed Jane Addams's presence at the seminary, and she shared with Jane her longings for postgraduate training at a major college or university. Meanwhile, Jane Addams's well-to-do classmate Mary Ellwood did in the fall of 1881 what Jane had long hoped to do herself—she enrolled at Smith College.⁵ Ellwood expected when she settled in at Smith that Addams would soon be joining her. Classmate Mattie Thomas went home to Lansing, Iowa, much as Jane had returned to Cedarville. She too found the sequestered life among family a poor substitute for the female friendships and educated women's culture she had experienced at Rockford Female Seminary. She confessed to Addams in the summer of 1881, "I really am lonesome for girl's society."⁶ By September, Thomas was back at Rockford studying and working as a teacher in the Preparatory Department. Helen Harrington, meanwhile, wrote to Jane complaining of the acute "sense of the loss of the companionship that had grown to be such a strength and comfort." She confided her feeling that the "wheels of destiny seem to stand still as far as I am concerned[.] I never in my life before felt so utterly adrift," and she balked at the idea that she should "become an average school-ma'am." She observed woefully to Addams, "I never expect to get into sympathy with any others as at Rockford where we lived and worked together."⁷

While Jane Addams and her friends adjusted to the loss of their female camaraderie, news spread across the country that the president of the United

States had been attacked as he was preparing to leave Washington, D.C., on holiday. On 2 July 1881, President James Garfield was shot by a lone assailant as he was about to board a train at a railway station in the nation's capital. The fact that Garfield was critically wounded was in itself upsetting for the Addams family, who, as good Republicans, had supported his run for the presidency.⁸ But there was more to the news. The man who attacked Garfield was Charles Julius Guiteau,⁹ the son of John Huy Addams's Freeport banking associate Luther Guiteau¹⁰ and the stepbrother of Jane Addams's close friend Flora Guiteau.¹¹

Charles Guiteau had a checkered history of political passions that involved utopianism, idealism, and a good deal of fantasy and delusion. He had traveled to Washington, D.C., seized by the idea that he would have a role in the new presidential administration. Thwarted in his efforts to be considered for an ap-



Flora Z. Guiteau, ca. 1869, Jane Addams's friend from Freeport, Illinois. (G. W. Barnes, Rockford, Illinois; JAPP, Schneider)



Charles Guiteau, 24 September 1881, jailed for the assassination of President James A. Garfield. (Photographer Charles Milton Bell; LC, Prints and Photographs, LC-USZ61-1359)

pointment, his purpose shifted to murdering the president. He stalked Garfield and shot him twice. The president lingered for weeks under medical supervision, finally dying on 19 September 1881.¹² In the moments following the shooting, witnesses rushed to the bleeding Garfield's aid, while Guiteau fled the train station, dropping the murder weapon behind him as he ran. It was recovered, and he was almost immediately apprehended. A letter was found in his pocket establishing in writing that he had every intention of assassinating the president and that he considered the premeditated act a matter of "sad necessity" committed in order to "unite the Republican party, and save the Republic."¹³ His trial focused not on guilt but on the penalty issue of insanity.¹⁴

The attack on the president caused the stock market to drop and ministers across the country to make political corruption the topic of their Sunday sermons. For Jane Addams, meanwhile, the event hit home on a personal level. She was often a guest in the Guiteau home, and Flora Guiteau frequently came to Cedarville to visit the Addamses. Jane and Flora's fathers had worked closely together for many years. Their two families shared many things in common in their social life, including a connection to Rockford Female Seminary. Like Jane Addams's older sisters, Charles Guiteau's older sister, Frances,¹⁵ went to school in Rockford. Jane felt great sympathy for Flora, and she was concerned about the stigma that was brought upon the Guiteau family by association.¹⁶

A month after the assassination attempt against Garfield, Jane Addams had things to cope with of her own. She and her stepbrother George (who was in the midst of undergraduate studies at Beloit College in Wisconsin) joined Anna Haldeman Addams and John Huy Addams on a family vacation. They left Cedarville on 4 August 1881 for an excursion that was part business and part pleasure. Jane hoped to bolster her health with sun and fresh air. The foursome traveled together to Michigan and Wisconsin, where John Huy Addams looked over some property as a potential investment. George Haldeman came home before the others. When he returned to Illinois on 13 August 1881, he reported that his stepfather had not been feeling well since exerting himself while touring copper mines at Marquette, Michigan, near the shore of Lake Superior. Having suffered what was called a bilious attack, the ailing John Huy Addams dismissed the discomfort he was feeling and decided to continue on the trip as planned. He had often experienced stomach upsets in the past and a problem with lameness in his hand.¹⁷ No doubt he felt the newest malady was of a similar nature. But soon after arriving in Green Bay, Wisconsin, he fell acutely ill. Despite medical care, his condition worsened, and on Wednesday evening, 17 August 1881, he died of complications of what was probably a ruptured appendix. Hence commenced what Jane Addams would later call "the black days which followed the death of my father."¹⁸

Jane was by her father's side as he died. She and her stepmother brought his body home to Cedarville for burial. The news of John Huy Addams's death, arriving by a telegram to Jane's brother, John Weber Addams, was received with

dismay and disbelief and soon spread beyond the privacy of the family. Newspapers reported on the loss of the well-known state politician and leading local entrepreneur. The *Freeport* (Ill.) *Daily Bulletin* paid tribute the day after his passing, noting that “[t]he gentleman’s high standing in the community, his sterling worth, influential position and long residence in this county, created a deep feeling of regret and profound sorrow when the news was made public.” His death was reportedly “the principal topic of conversation in business circles to-day.”¹⁹

Almost immediately, moral authorities and parental substitutes in Jane Addams’s life contacted her to share their insights. Rev. T. H. Haseltine was one of the first to write. He was an acquaintance of the family, and Jane had previously turned to him for help with spiritual questions during her junior year at the seminary. He wrote to her about her responsibility to act in ways that would have made her father proud.²⁰ Rev. James A. Blaisdell, a scholar of Christian ethics at Beloit College and brother of her mentor in ancient languages at Rockford, Sarah Blaisdell, came quietly to see her in Cedarville. He inquired whether she was gaining comfort from the book he had given her while she was a student—a copy of the New Testament in Greek. They walked to the peak of a hill that gave a view of the landscape beyond her family’s property and she gained there a “wide conception of the universe, which for the moment swallowed up my personal grief or at least assuaged it with a realization that it was but a drop in that ‘torrent of sorrow and anguish and terror which flows under all the footsteps of man.’ This realization of sorrow as the common lot, of death as the universal experience, was the first comfort which my bruised spirit had received.” After this epiphany on the hilltop, she and Rev. Blaisdell debated the difference between a doctrine of resignation and one of consolation, and he laid out for the first time in Jane Addams’s recollection Plato’s “sonorous argument for the permanence of the excellent.”²¹ The professor left her with a small copy of *The Crito* in Greek. Her brother-in-law, minister John Manning Linn, meanwhile, encouraged her to go forward with her plans for study.²² In a letter to Anna Haldeman Addams, Rockford principal Anna P. Sill wrote about the sacredness of sorrow. She reminded Jane Addams’s stepmother of the “good live three lives, a finished complete life on earth; a life of influence here giving over and down the structure of time; and that heavenly life—‘they shall rest from their labors.’” She counseled that while John Huy Addams’s life seemed to his family to have been cut short, what he had wrought would be made manifest in perpetuity: “[T]heir works do follow them” she told the sorrowing Anna.²³ Schoolmates and teachers from the seminary sent letters of condolence. Caroline Potter wrote to her former student about the closeness of father and daughter, noting that she was aware that “your father’s life transfused itself through yours.”²⁴ Jane Addams, so swiftly thrust into mourning, soon carried the expectations of others that she would wear the mantle of John Huy Addams’s values and wishes through her own adult life, with all the contradictions that entailed.

She began what would prove to be among the worst years of her life. Over the next two years, she struggled with painful physical illness, self-doubt, and

depression. She was called upon to make life choices that had as much to do with the needs of others as with her own talents or desires. Caught between her drive for self-actualization and her responsibilities to her family, she also struggled with old and new ideas of women's proper paths of service. Dreams of serving a larger purpose became increasingly relegated to her inner life, while outwardly she conformed obediently to more restricted expectations. As family members required her help and companionship, previous plans were compromised. Addams matured with the added responsibility, but internally her self-confidence eroded.

In some ways, John Huy Addams's death afforded Jane Addams new forms of liberation. He no longer existed as a powerful arbiter of her actions. His death also meant that she gained unexpected early and direct access, through inheritance, to considerable wealth and property.²⁵ Like her siblings, Jane Addams received one-sixth of her father's substantial estate, including acreage of farmland that she leased out. This financial independence enabled her to continue her education, exercise her own charitable impulses, and, eventually, shape her own future in Chicago. Perhaps the most significant change that occurred with John Huy Addams's death, however, was the alteration in Jane's relationship with her stepmother. Jane was cast with little buffer into the web of Anna's wishes and influence. It was a relationship that caused her increasing consternation.

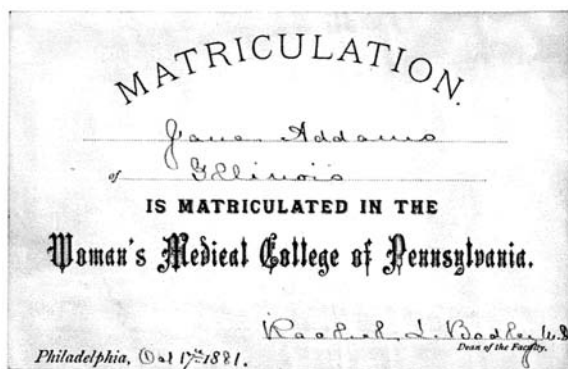
Exactly how and when Jane Addams shifted in the summer of 1881 from her initial intention of attending Smith College to going to medical school in Philadelphia is not known. Her nephew James Weber Linn wrote years later in his authorized biography of her that Addams changed her plans from college to medical school even before John Huy Addams died in August. "Before her father's death," he writes, "Jane had made her plan to register at the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia in October of 1881, and his death made her all the more determined to go. She not only wanted, or thought she wanted, to study medicine, but she also wanted to get away from Cedarville."²⁶ She had not bargained that she would leave Cedarville in the company of Anna.

As Jane Addams wrote years later in looking back at this period of her life, she grappled—as many privileged young educated women of her era did—with family pressures, most pointedly with the "relation between parents and their grown-up daughters" over the question of the daughters' social and professional interests in the public sector versus more conventional, and private, domestic callings. Intergenerational strife over middle-class women's appropriate roles led to psychological conundrums, or as Addams put it, afforded "explicit illustration of the perplexity and mal-adjustment brought about by the various attempts of young women to secure a more active share in the community life." The conflict was between self-actualization and filial duty, between service to society and service to the family. "We constantly see parents very much disconcerted and perplexed in regard to their daughters when these daughters undertake work lying quite outside of traditional and family interests," she observed. "Any attempt that

the individual woman formerly made to subordinate or renounce the family claim was inevitably construed to mean that she was setting up her own will against that of her family's for selfish ends. It was concluded that she could have no motive larger than a desire to serve her family, and her attempt to break away must therefore be wilful and self-indulgent. . . . When, however, she responded to her impulse to fulfil the social or democratic claim, she violated every tradition."²⁷

The violation of tradition and the stand for equal rights involved in Jane Addams's desire to attend medical school in 1881 should not be underestimated. Along with other East Coast schools—notably Elizabeth Blackwell's Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children in New York City²⁸ and Dr. Marie Zakrzewska's New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston²⁹—Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania³⁰ was at the forefront of the nineteenth-century movement to establish institutions devoted to the education of women physicians and the right of women to practice medicine.³¹ As a writer for *Harper's Magazine* put it in 1880, "For thirty years" since the founding of the Philadelphia school in 1850, "in both Europe and the United States, measures for giving women a thorough training in medicine have been pushed very vigorously. At times the contest between those favoring and those opposing their practice of the healing art has been waged with the bitterness of the anti-slavery struggle. The general result, however, has been a victory for the women."³² The Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania was founded by a group of Philadelphians that included Dr. Bartholomew Fussell. Fussell, a member of the Society of Friends, respected his older sister's intellect. In backing the formation of the college, he rhetorically asked "Why should not women have the same opportunities in life as men?"³³

When Jane Addams and Alice Addams Haldeman arrived for their first term as medical students, the school's new building on North College Avenue at Twenty-First Street was just six years old, having opened for classroom use in the 1875–76 academic year.³⁴ While Jane and Alice began coursework together at



Jane Addams's matriculation card for the 1881–82 term at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. (SCPC, JAC)

the women's medical school, Harry Haldeman pursued research in gynecology at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine.³⁵ Because of their previous education, Alice, Jane, and Harry were all admitted to medical school without taking the otherwise mandatory preliminary examinations. Harry Haldeman worked closely with gynecologist Dr. William Goodell³⁶ and his associates. Goodell, recognized as one of outstanding gynecologists of his generation, was the chair of the Department of Diseases of Women and Children for the medical school and physician-in-charge of a Philadelphia lying-in hospital. Haldeman wrote a thesis based on his clinical research and earned his second M.D. degree in mid-March 1882. Alice Addams Haldeman did not intend to complete a full course to earn a medical degree but to study for the year in a way that would equip her to intelligently aid her husband's medical practice.³⁷ Jane Addams sought a profession of her own. When the sisters matriculated in Philadelphia, they took advantage of opportunities for clinical training and hospital experience that had been won for women students only in the past decade.³⁸

Jane Addams's Rockford Female Seminary experience had provided her with strong examples of female leadership. Medical school gave her additional opportunities to observe highly capable female role models and be mentored by women in positions of authority. Dr. Ann Preston,³⁹ who headed the school for decades, was as renowned for her fund-raising and administrative abilities as for her medical skills. Addams developed a warm relationship with Preston's successor, Dr. Rachel L. Bodley,⁴⁰ who was dean of the college and professor of chemistry and toxicology during Addams's time there. Both Jane Addams and Alice Addams Haldeman studied with Dr. Bodley in 1881–82. Jane held a true affection for her and visited her in Philadelphia periodically from 1883 until the older woman's death in 1888.⁴¹ Like Rockford Female Seminary's director Anna P. Sill, Rachel Bodley embraced Christian concepts of usefulness while championing single-sex education. She worked to improve curriculums for women and create equal intellectual and professional opportunities.

In the era when Alice Addams Haldeman and Jane Addams studied at the Woman's Medical School of Pennsylvania, Bodley and the other administrators made adjustments that were similar to those that had recently transformed the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine.⁴² While professors at the women's school continued to teach and earn their livings based on the old-fashioned direct-fee basis rather than on salaries from the school, the course of instruction was lengthened and an optional spring session was added as an extension to the regular five-month winter session. Graded courses were introduced and, like their male counterparts at the University of Pennsylvania, the women medical students had to successfully pass examinations in the dissection of a human cadaver as part of their first-year requirements. Faculty and students maintained an intense six-day-a-week schedule (with half-days on Saturdays) that included classroom and laboratory time and training in the treatment of patients through bedside clinics.⁴³



Rachel L. Bodley, M.D., professor of chemistry and toxicology and dean of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. (DU, CMASC)

Alice and Jane enrolled by purchasing matriculation tickets and the necessary entrance cards for lecture courses and labs. Jane Addams's classes were consistent with the expectations of a first-year student taking either the college's minimal three-year or expanded four-year course (the latter entailed less concentrated coursework and extended clinical experience). Sessions began every morning with rounds in bedside instruction at the Woman's Hospital, followed by lectures at 9 A.M. Clinics in gynecology, medicine, and surgery were held at the hospital at noon on various days, followed by more lectures in the afternoons. Weekly tests were given on material presented in lectures throughout the winter session, and all students were "examined at the end of the first winter in Chemistry, Anatomy and Physiology," a process "intended as a test of progress and of fitness for continuance in medical study."⁴⁴ There are no extant school records of the comprehensive examinations that Addams took in her required subjects at the end of her winter session study, but she passed them, as she put it, "creditably enough" but apparently without any great enthusiasm.⁴⁵

In leading the school, Bodley drove home the message to her students that they could successfully balance medicine and family duties and that they could thrive in good health despite the social prejudices directed at female doctors.⁴⁶ Jane Addams, however, faltered on both these fronts. What happened to Addams emotionally, physically, and academically in the months she spent as a medical student in Philadelphia is not entirely clear. By way of self-explanation, she wrote to Alice in later years, saying, "You know my experience in Philadelphia of trying to fulfill too many objects at once." She spoke of trying to study but doing so

with an “uneasy consciousness, that I had not done what I came purposely to do, because I tried to do some thing else, failed in that.”⁴⁷ Jane Addams, though able to perform competently, seems to have discovered a lack of aptitude or ardor in the work and, more important, failed to feel a true sense of fulfillment from it. It is possible that she was discovering that her concerns lay more in the social side of medicine rather than its more physical or scientific applications. George Haldeman, who was still a junior at Beloit College while the other family members sojourned in Philadelphia, observed to his mother that “from Jane’s last letter I inferred that dissecting was not the most interesting part of their studies.”⁴⁸ Apart from whatever lack of whole-heartedness she experienced in regard to the academic aspects of medical training, Jane Addams’s studies were cut short by her own physical and emotional illness and the physical condition of her stepmother.

In December 1881, George Haldeman implied in a letter to his mother that Jane’s correspondence indicated that all was not going well in Philadelphia. He added, “I hope you will all come back [home] in the spring.”⁴⁹ For Addams, meanwhile, unhappiness and the resurgence of the back pain and spinal difficulties she had long coped with since the debilitating aftermath of a childhood illness converged to create a state of emotional and physical crisis. On a spiritual level, she seems to have struggled with the moral question of what she saw as her selfishness (or the legitimacy of her own untraditional goals) versus her concern for others (both her family members and those in society in need of aid). She experienced feelings of misdirection in her studies. She suffered from exhaustion, and letters to her in Philadelphia refer rather cryptically to her being under the care of a physician who had ordered bed rest. In contrast to Laura Malburn’s cheerful letter about the prospects and opportunities Philadelphia afforded, Sarah Blaisdell, one of Addams’s mentors from the Rockford Female Seminary faculty, wrote at Christmastime about Jane’s loss of physical vigor. Blaisdell characterized Addams as being taxed past her strength by study and—in a reference that may have been directed at Anna Haldeman Addams—“doing for others and at their suggestions.”⁵⁰

Addams, meanwhile, recorded thoughts in her notebook about advice from a Dr. Patton (probably the theologian Rev. Francis L. Patton)⁵¹ regarding the importance of the unity of mind and spirit. Her own mind and spirit⁵² were definitely not in harmonious alignment. By December or January, she was being treated through neurologist S. Weir Mitchell’s⁵³ Orthopaedic Hospital and Infirmary for Nervous Diseases in Philadelphia. Dr. Mitchell was then a consulting physician for the female physicians staffing the Woman’s Hospital of Philadelphia, where Woman’s Medical College students received their hands-on training. He was also something of a public celebrity in Philadelphia, especially among the urban upper-income set, and was acknowledged as one of the nation’s leading proponents of popular theories about female hysteria and women’s nervous disorders.⁵⁴ Mitchell was the kind of urbane man Anna Haldeman



Jane Addams consulted prominent Philadelphia physician S. Weir Mitchell, a specialist who was noted for his treatment of nervous disorders in women and famous for “rest cure” regimen. (*Wikipedia*, [Wikipedia.org](https://en.wikipedia.org))

Addams particularly admired. He was a novelist as well as a medical researcher and clinician. He was also interested—as had been his father, Dr. John Kearsley Mitchell⁵⁵—in both phrenology and mesmerism, long areas of intrigue for Anna Haldeman Addams.

Stemming from his experience treating soldiers with nerve wounds and spinal injuries in the Civil War, S. Weir Mitchell was also an expert on spinal maladies, including the kind of scoliosis and back pain that plagued Jane Addams. In his clinical trials, Mitchell claimed that back problems and nervous disorders often coincided in the well-to-do female patients who made up a good deal of his clientele. Mitchell had been expounding upon therapeutic approaches to cases similar to Addams’s since the mid-1870s, and his neurological clinic at the hospital was a center for teaching and research on nervous disorders throughout the 1870s and 1880s. He published his *Lectures on Diseases of the Nervous System, Especially in Women* in Philadelphia in the year Jane Addams first came to medical school. She thus encountered him when his influence over his profession and popular regard for his medical theories and regimes were entering their heyday.

Later in her life, Jane Addams offered succinct explanations for her treatment by Mitchell and her truncated medical education. She did not engage in any elaborations. “[D]uring my first year in medical school, . . . I was stricken with a nervous affliction which compelled me to abandon my studies,” she explained succinctly in an interview.⁵⁶ In her memoirs, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, she recalled that the “development of the spinal difficulty which had

shadowed me from childhood forced me into Dr. Weir Mitchell's hospital." Her nephew repeated this information when he wrote his authorized biography.⁵⁷ Addams almost certainly suffered from Pott's disease, or tuberculosis of the spine, a condition which originated in a bout of tuberculosis she experienced as a child, during which the tubercular bacilli spread through the blood supply into the vertebrae of the spine. The bacilli could lay dormant for years and then produce periodic outbreaks of pain, swelling, or abscesses. The condition could also cause the vertebrae to deform or degenerate, resulting in some extreme cases in paralysis or, as in Addams's case, curvature of the spine. In the winter of 1881–82, severe back pain combined with nervous exhaustion, and melancholia brought Jane Addams to S. Weir Mitchell's clinic.

Whether Jane Addams was actually hospitalized, had private appointments at the clinic, or was seen privately at Mitchell's home is open to conjecture, for few of Mitchell's patient records for the time are extant. Mitchell saw upscale patients on a fee-for-service basis at his home at 1524 Walnut Street. His hospital at Seventeenth and Summer streets treated both outpatients and inpatients and had quarters for private patients who were under the care of members of the hospital staff. The clinic staff was host to a steady stream of medical students, resident physicians, and visiting physicians, who were there to observe Mitchell's techniques and conduct their own clinical studies. Mitchell's son, John Kearsley Mitchell,⁵⁸ was among the residents who worked at the clinic.⁵⁹

Jane Addams followed at least some of the dictums of Mitchell's rest cure. The process was later vilified from a feminist standpoint in the fiction of Charlotte Perkins Gilman,⁶⁰ who underwent treatment for postpartum depression by Mitchell a few years after Addams was treated. The therapy Mitchell proposed was a common late-nineteenth-century prescription for middle-class women who seemed to suffer strain under intellectual or public pursuits or in response to life crises. Some of Mitchell's documented cases involved rest treatment for spinal disease as well as for a range of nervous conditions, collectively termed "hysteria." Mitchell defined hysteria in a key 1875 lecture as the "nosological limbo of all unnamed female maladies," making of it an umbrella term that connected the functions—or malfunctions—of the feminine mind and body or, more particularly, of the mental and reproductive processes. The term, Mitchell admitted, served to describe a "host of morbid states which are crowded within its hazy boundaries." Hysteria, Mitchell taught, could manifest itself in paleness, fatigue, weight loss, and melancholy (or in its opposite—nervous energy, or what he deemed in women to be a "wild extravagance of noisy talk"). It could be induced by the "claims of society, family, charity and mental culture" but most especially by "over-work of the brain." Mitchell's rest cure typically involved six to eight weeks of prescribed care. The regimen combined bed rest, quiet seclusion, and restrictions on reading and exercise. Gentle means were taken to counteract the harmful effects of convalescence on the muscles and the circulatory and digestive systems. Mitchell recommended a careful and specific diet and

administered it according to principles that were not unlike fattening a calf. The diet included wine, hot milk, and beef extract, items rich in iron, protein, and fats. This regimen was designed to prevent fainting, encourage weight gain, and stimulate appetite, healthy blood flow, digestion, and elimination. The intake of these food items was timed within a schedule of baths, massage therapy, gentle Swedish gymnastics, and, sometimes, electrical stimulation. Mitchell considered these latter treatments forms of “passive exercise” that he felt could produce “the effect of exercise without its ills.” The stated aim of the rest cure, despite its infantilizing features, was the restoration of vitality. It was designed to convert the “sickly, feeble, wasted creature” who was no longer able to contribute or perform expected duties into “a handsome, wholesome, helpful, woman.”⁶¹

The methods of physician-directed order and control that were central to the rest cure were thought to have a moral as well as psychosomatic outcome, with the (usually male) physician exerting his “force of character” upon the wayward (usually female) invalid. Physicians such as Mitchell could use the diagnosis of nervous disorder as an instrument of social control. There was often a correlation between the diagnosis and the curbing of an attempted departure on the part of a woman from proscribed and conventional roles of wife and mother or an attempt to shed a child-woman status within a family in order to forge a more independent identity—both profiles that fit Jane Addams.

The rest cure was also, as Jane Addams herself recognized, associated with dissuading women from overtaxing themselves in intellectual inquiry. While she experienced the prescribed restraint as a welcome break from career-oriented scientific study, it was seen in medical theory as a matter of righting a supposed imbalance created by the intellectual woman who made undue “unnatural” use of her brain at the seeming expense of “natural” use of her womb. The rest cure process could prove as irritating to active women as the symptoms it was designed to cure. Addams had already seen evidence of this in Ellen Gates Starr’s frustration during Starr’s short experience with the cure at the beginning of the summer in 1881. Starr wrote to Jane Addams just as Addams was beginning to drift into her own state of depression that “I am having quite a siege. The Dr. says it is nervous prostration caused partly by over work; I suppose I shall be obliged to admit that it is a smash up . . . I grow very impatient as I am not allowed to read, & I am getting to want to.” Addams would later confess that though she had completed her coursework for the term successfully enough, she “was very glad to have a physician’s sanction for giving up clinics and dissecting rooms and to follow his prescription of spending the next two years in Europe.”⁶²

She spent the next years not only in Europe but also in the Midwest, at home in Cedarville and visiting and spending time as an invalid at the home of Alice and Harry Haldeman in Mitchellville, where she underwent further treatment for her back. Plans for Jane and Anna to leave Philadelphia were made well before the close of the winter term at the medical college, for in January 1882, George Haldeman was clearly informed that his mother would be headed

home by March. He wrote on 29 January 1882, “[O]nly four weeks more before you return is it not?”⁶³ (It would be six.) Addams, meanwhile, was ruminating privately about the content of her character and the nature of her relations to others. She worried about the moral aspects of human connection and the spiritual association between taking responsibility for the welfare of others and maintaining personal intimacy with God. She contemplated in particular the fate of Cain, who, “[b]y refusing to be his ‘brother’s Keeper,’” violated “his sympathy & communion with God.”⁶⁴ She observed: “Life consists of drawing in & giving out—as the sap of a tree.” God transfused the afflicted spirit, and the “counter current” within gave out to other human beings, thus providing a full “way of living spiritually.”⁶⁵ She later observed that she frequently felt exhausted and “that doubtless there was much nervous depression at the foundation of the spiritual struggles” with which she tussled.⁶⁶

In remarks written in her notebook and dated in the margin twice (“Jan 15 ’82 January 15 1882”), she emphasized to herself that her struggle was to design her life in a spirit of helpfulness, generosity, and genuine “interest in other people.” Without this synergistic relationship to God and others, she wrote, an individual was no better than an animal. She reminded herself of the proverb “‘What a man thinketh in his heart that he is,’” and questioned the leanings of her own heart. “I am not even so good as my thoughts,” she reported in self-reflection upon the biblical proverb. “I . . . fail to work out the best of myself, some way for lack of aid outside myself,” she wrote. In the full passage in the notebook, she recorded feelings of frustration, failure, withdrawal, acute self-consciousness, and recalcitrance, which could be positively interpreted as the development and exertion of greater individuation and self-will, mixed with a good dose of self-judgment regarding the moral aspects of her emotions and behavior: “My sense of utter failure that morning. Did not stay for dinner simply because I did not want to, no reason at all. Strive not simply to be (as I once thought was the sufficient is not enough,) but be for others, & helpfulness from a generous manner & interest in other people. I am not even so good as my thoughts, fail to work out the best of myself, some way for lack of aid outside myself. Do not go quietly on day by day but too much on what I will do. Am growing more sullen and less sympathetic every day. I have come to the time when I could not read, & then found how much I had depended on that . . . January 15, 1882.”⁶⁷ In saying she “could not read,” it is not clear whether because of her growing depression Jane Addams no longer could concentrate on or enjoy reading (or perhaps summon the will to do so) or if she was actually in the process of obeying the dictums of the rest cure, which in its strictest terms dictated no reading or writing on the part of the patient. If she meant the latter, she was still expressing herself in writing, carrying on correspondence and scribbling self-examining thoughts in the empty areas of her old notebook. A part of her took on the more restricted and relaxed role of rest with grateful relief—especially in contrast to continuing the rigors of medical school. “I was able to read with

a luxurious consciousness of leisure,” she recalled, happy to turn in her reading from the hard sciences to the humanities, “having found, like many another, that general culture is a much easier undertaking than professional study.” She ultimately came to the conclusion that “there were other genuine reasons for living among the poor than that of practicing medicine upon them,” and her “brief foray into the profession was never resumed.”⁶⁸

Jane Addams was forthright about the fact that what was truly ailing her was only partly physical. It was as much about the dilemmas she was facing in carving out a path of usefulness and the differences between a passive and an active life. The uneasy state of mind, exhaustion, and inner conflict that plagued her in Philadelphia lasted, in various forms, until after the founding of Hull-House. She later observed that it was not “all due to my health, for as my wise little notebook sententiously remarked, ‘In his own way each man must struggle, lest the moral law become a far-off abstraction utterly separated from his active life.’” Rereading her notebooks later while preparing *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, Jane Addams engaged in some further self-assessment: “It would, of course, be impossible to remember that some of these struggles ever took place at all, were it not for these selfsame notebooks, in which, however, I no longer wrote in moments of high resolve, but judging from the internal evidence afforded by the books themselves, only in moments of deep depression when overwhelmed by a sense of failure.”⁶⁹

While Jane Addams attempted to rest her back and mind in the winter of 1881–82, Anna Haldeman Addams also experienced ill health or had treatment for a chronic condition while she had ready access to specialists in Philadelphia. In January and early February 1882, Anna was treated for an undisclosed malady that involved abdominal surgery and was very likely either gynecological or gastrointestinal in nature. It was possibly an effort to correct a condition resulting from Anna’s experiences in childbirth. She was treated by her son Harry’s advisor, Dr. William Goodell, and cared for after the treatment at a facility located at 1930 Spring Garden Street.⁷⁰ She later received correspondence from the private duty nurse who attended her there.⁷¹ George Haldeman wrote to his mother on 14 February 1882 that “[i]t is cheering to hear of your safely passing through the ordeal and I hope to hear of your complete restoration to health.”⁷² Although she continued to suffer from a chronic ailment that caused her to be nauseated, Anna’s basic recovery in 1882 seemed swift. She later referred to a vacation trip to Atlantic City taken in February 1882. Soon after graduation ceremonies were held at the Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania and the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine in mid-March 1882, she and Jane Addams started home for Illinois.

In the midst of all the changes in her life, Jane Addams maintained the continuity of her relationships with the network of friends she had established at Rockford. While no lasting friendships seem to have been created with other students in Philadelphia, the correspondence of Jane Addams throughout the

1880s is filled with the names and activities of those who mattered most to her from her seminary days. The ties with Rockford were also more than those of friendship. Through Sarah Anderson, Addams kept abreast of issues inside the Rockford Female Seminary faculty and administration, setting the stage for her own renewed participation in seminary affairs. The “Personals” section of the April 1882 *Rockford Seminary Magazine* tactfully made no mention of medical school when it reported simply that “Jane Addams has returned from Philadelphia, to her home at Cedarville.”⁷³ The renewed proximity to Rockford did Addams good. She reported her happiness at again having access to the good society of Rockford women. Sarah Anderson joined Addams in Cedarville for spring vacation, and Mattie Thomas made it a point to see her in April. Jane ventured out herself in May, traveling to the seminary for a few days to see friends and pave the way for the upcoming June commencement.⁷⁴ She gave a small portion of her inheritance to her alma mater to be used for the purchase of scientific books for the library. It was one of the first of the many philanthropic gifts she would make in her lifetime.⁷⁵ In June 1882, she fulfilled her agreement with Anna P. Sill from the year before and received one of the first bachelor’s degrees presented by the school at the annual graduation ceremonies in June 1882. As she wryly put it to Rockford friends a year later, the commencement of 1882 was “when we heard the old letters A.B. for the first time gravely spoken in our chapel.”⁷⁶

Her reinvolved in activities and social circles in Rockford coincided with another emotional factor in Jane Addams’s life: her relationship with stepbrother George Haldeman. Family lore has it that as much as Anna Haldeman Addams opposed Alice Addams’s marriage to her eldest son, Harry, she favored a union between young George and his childhood playmate Jane. The convenience of such a union from her perspective was plain: it would provide a financially secure future for her son and it would tidy up the loose ends of the family by uniting in marriage its two youngest, unmarried, and seemingly very emotionally vulnerable members. It would also keep them, not coincidentally, within her parental purview and, presumably, available to her as companions. On Jane Addams’s part, awareness that she did not feel the expected sort of affection for her stepbrother despite family hopes seems to have added to her general sense of malaise and her mounting list of personal failures. In April 1882, she confided to her notebook about avoiding George and going to visit her sister Mary Catherine Linn instead of him. She also ruminated on her own desires versus what other people expected of her: “Did not write Geo at Beloit. Clannishness, Again and again. Had a good time at Mary’s by myself—did not broaden it enough—must learn to reverence other people’s feelings. Not wholly right or wrong (Herbert Spencer), but because they are theirs, deserve respect.”⁷⁷ So Geo’s aff[ection].⁷⁸ For generosity need help outside of self, <Feel today> Failure in every sense—Educational, & affections <in this much of> my life—People expect certain things of me. I have every chance to obtain them & yet fall far short, April 27,

1882. Have gained almost nothing since Jan. The blunder of Beloit came from no other reason save that I did not enough want to see him—want of affection. Talk too much of myself & motives—am in danger of self pity. A <fine> reserve. Kept [busy?] good reading. Rockford trip—showed more feeling.”⁷⁹ The remainder of the page below this entry was cut off cleanly, as if with scissors. Addams was well aware in April 1882 that while she did not feel other than sisterly affection for George, she did feel true connection and affection for her women friends and the female society of Rockford. She also felt happy on her own, visiting the Linns apart from George and her stepmother.

After going to Rockford Female Seminary to receive her bachelor’s degree, Jane Addams returned to the East Coast for a seaside resort vacation—one that involved Flora Guiteau as the date of her brother’s execution in Washington, D.C., drew closer. Jane Addams went partly because getting away would do her good. Ideas about Smith College also died hard, and they were revived again as another school year approached. Addams briefly visited the Smith campus at Northampton before going out to Nantucket Island in the Atlantic off the coast of Massachusetts. Flora Guiteau went with her. One of her favorite cousins, Clara L. Young, came from Philadelphia and joined them on the island. Jane did what she could to shield Flora from the harsh realities surrounding the hanging of Charles Guiteau on 30 June 1882. She tried “by reading aloud to her to keep her friend’s thoughts from the horror of the murder and the execution.”⁸⁰ The two took advantage of the healthful effects of quiet beauty and sea air. They did a lot of reading, and Addams engaged in a good deal of introspection. According to notes she wrote in her notebook, Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) was among the novels she read during the sojourn on Nantucket. She evidently identified with some of the quandaries Hawthorne’s heroine Hester Prynne faced. There were the themes of Hester’s lack of affection for her estranged husband Roger Chillingworth and the contrasts between Hester’s quiet, outwardly compliant, and useful activities within the social confines of the town versus the rebelliousness she felt within her own true and independent heart, associated symbolically with the outlying wilderness. “The <sad> little brook flowing the forest, powerful description.—” Jane wrote wistfully of the novel in her notebook.⁸¹ She then jotted down quotations of particular import to her current state of mind. “Let men tremble to win the hand of a woman unless they win along with it the utmost passion of her heart,” she wrote, quoting from a passage in which Hester ruminates about her failed marriage.⁸² “It is remarkable,” she continued, noting words as true about herself as about Hawthorne’s heroine, “that persons who speculate the most boldly often conform with the most perfect quietude to the external regulations of society.”⁸³ Such inner free thinking, weighed down by the outer pressures of tradition, bred depression. “A tendency to speculation although it may keep a woman quiet, as it does a man, yet makes her sad,” quoted the quiet, sad, and speculating Jane, dating her notes “July ’82.”⁸⁴ Soon after, she reported “a selfishness eating out my very life—I & what people think of me instead of the thing itself.”⁸⁵

Near notes about catacombs in Rome and filial piety in Greece, about “Women of Drama & women in real life” and “General traits in Greek literature,” Jane Addams turned self-reflective about social interactions that had occurred early in the vacation and other reading she did about the status of women in society: “Benefit of this trip will be self poise and manner,” she wrote. “First Sunday afternoon at Nantucket. Just finished Henry James became very disconcerted at dinner the two Boston ladies—Must cultivate a directness & purpose in speaking to people. Perfectly useless and unpardonable the way I act. Lack of concentration and thought. Preoccupation the very thing that Emerson condemns.”⁸⁶ At the top of the next page she began to posit at a different time about an idea she had from a literary work that the “individual destroyed, but the species ever a success, thus justice & woman must lose her personality but not identify, must do one thing up to limit.” She continued, with reference to Oedipus and Savonarola, to write of “Feminine justice” having the quality of mercy and added that she “must come at last to tolerance only with wide vision. . . . Thoughts should not be too much directed from mutual relations & responsibilities.”⁸⁷ In an entry marked “Nantucket. Sunday morning July 15, 1882,” she wrote about setting a goal: “Strive to be the highest gentlest & kindest spirit. . . . Clara to do nothing from a spirit of officiousness.”⁸⁸ She attended church on the island, for another entry contained fragmented thoughts that came to her from what she had heard, including the issues of having backbone or strength and the duplicity involved in leading differing external and internal lives. “Unitarian minister at Nantucket,” she wrote. “Since Faith has accomplished such great things—the discovery of . . . all the large things of life—why shall it not accomplish the still greater in the hereafter. Strength to begin a life of self sacrifice without strength enough to carry on, makes one lead a life of duplicity & falsehood—Longfellow—Hyperion.”⁸⁹

She pondered in another, undated, notebook entry the responsibilities of her social status and the different forms of usefulness or labor. Thinking of the work done by one of the Addams family’s culinary servants, she wrote: “Responsibility of labor alike on all. Saw Celia [Dolldorf]⁹⁰ in kitchen. I have no right to be idle but the very fact of her doing that for me increases my responsibility to do labor of a higher sort. Wealth gives leisure from the lower to the high kinds of labor. Organizing—getting the right man into the right niche—Genius to command. Keep your knowledge and organization for direct use, as you live day by day among people and meet them. Self preoccupation but another form (or symptom) of selfishness. Think of the people & things around you—you won’t feel that your eye is glassy—” Jane ended this passage with what seems to have been a statement of purpose—namely accomplishing ““A brave, able self respecting womanhood.””⁹¹

Despite her striving and self-examination during her summer back East, Jane Addams continued to experience the same forms of unhappiness as before when she returned to Cedarville. She wrote in her notebook: “The summer of 82 after I came back from Nantucket. When Ma was sick & Harry come home—

the wrong attitude I felt myself in—simply to do. The old position of wishing to do & <to> get credit for it a sort of a false martyr like spirit—<(not so much the thing itself done as to do it myself)> see it in Miranda⁹² <officiousness—>, sometimes hate it. In contrast with Clara's sweetness[.]⁹³ People with wealth & a start of right ideas <from their father> have no right not to make the very highest use of life. In gaining the elegant & higher intellectual things of life. Going to Smith College to start fresh. Make myself be courteous & elegant. Be sure to be truthful. Accurate and careful in statement—(Clara's charm). Definite in my study. Don't leave a thing until I have grasped it. Sure of it—— ———"⁹⁴

Ill health once again thwarted Addams's plan to go to "Smith College to start fresh" in 1882. As the fall of 1882 approached, she was debilitated once more with back pain. The nurse who cared for Anna Haldeman Addams in her illness in Philadelphia in 1881 wrote and expressed sympathy upon hearing that Jane was again suffering. She lent further credence to the supposition that Addams was treated directly by Mitchell in the scope of her comment. "How sad Miss Jennie has spinal trouble. Am too sorry," she wrote Anna, adding her own critique of the effectiveness of the treatment Addams received in Philadelphia: "High time Dr. Mitchell retired from business."⁹⁵

With the encouragement of Alice, Jane Addams decided to undergo surgical treatment for her back at the Haldemans' home in Mitchellville, Iowa. Harry Haldeman had some prior successful experience in applying the procedure he wanted to use on Jane Addams.⁹⁶ Accordingly, in the late fall of 1882, Jane took up residence with the Haldemans and underwent surgery. She spent the period from mid-November 1882 into February of 1883 in bed, carefully recuperating. Reading proved, once again, to provide an important escape and entertainment for her. Her nephew, little James Weber Linn, was six years old at the time and also living in the Haldeman household. He recalled in one of his later newspaper columns that "one of the very earliest VIVID memories" he had of his aunt was from this period, when she was twenty-two years old. He remembered her as "a lovely, though wasted and delicate young girl, known to me only as 'Auntie Jane,' convalescing from a terrible illness in a little town in Iowa, but never too weak or tired to read aloud to me the stories from Homer or the 'Elsie Books' on which my literary tastes were nurtured."⁹⁷ In his biography, Linn wrote that she told "fairy stories and 'Stories from Homer' to this biographer, whose earliest recollection of Jane Addams is of listening entranced while she presented never-varying repetitions of the tale of the Princess and the Frog. 'What thou has promised thou must perform!'—the King's words to his daughter have echoed in his ears ever since, but with no moral implication."⁹⁸ Anna Haldeman Addams, who was spending the winter season in Florida, wrote to praise Jane for her forbearance. "Weir Mitchell—with his fondest expectations—could wish no better patient for the rest cure than you have been,—" she wrote, "You certainly have tested the merits there may be in keeping quiet—'tho the soreness of the back kept you from resting when it was first treated."⁹⁹ As Jane grew stronger,

Harry Haldeman rigged a brace for her to wear as her period of bed rest was completed. As James Weber Linn put it, "Doctor Haldeman devised a sort of strait-jacket for the support of her spine. It was constructed of steel ribs with whalebone between them, was so high in front that it pressed constantly on her lungs, and so uncomfortable that fifty years later she declared she could still remember the feeling of it."¹⁰⁰ She soon had a more professional one designed to fit her by a doctor she liked in Chicago,¹⁰¹ which she wore under her clothing. Her pain subsided after the operation, and after she went to Europe later in the year, she abandoned the brace, never to return to it.

When Jane Addams was able to be up, she returned to Cedarville. There she took on responsibilities around the Addams home and with the various businesses and properties John Huy Addams had left in the hands of his children and second wife. In April 1883, when her brother, John Weber Addams, suffered another mental breakdown and was hospitalized, Jane became advisor and helpmate to his wife, Laura, who had to make decisions about farm and mill properties and the family's livelihood. Weber had first been committed to a hospital for the insane by his father in 1872, when he was twenty years old. Weber's illness and rehospitalization a decade later in 1883—when he was thirty-one, married, a father, and busy with renovations and new construction at his mill—was both a relapse and a serious indication of the paranoid schizophrenia that would continue to plague him until he died.¹⁰² During the period from 1881 to 1883, death, surgery, invalidism, hospitalizations, and chronic ill health had become prominent themes in Addams family life.

Outside involvement in Rockford Female Seminary offered Jane Addams some respite from these family duties and medical burdens. On 10 May 1883, she joined Fanny Jones Talcott and other women in attending a special meeting as honorary members of the Rockford Female Seminary Board of Trustees. It was a first step toward permanently including women as trustees of the school. The invited ladies were permitted to be present on this first occasion in May but not to speak. They were nominated by the Rockford Female Seminary Alumnae Association, and the nominations were confirmed by the Rockford Female Seminary Executive Committee, in accordance with a procedure authorized by the Board of Trustees.¹⁰³ At the regular June 1883 meeting of the board, their honorary status was made official. It would take a few more years before women, Jane Addams among them, were made full official members of a mixed-sex board. In July 1883, the *Rockford Seminary Magazine* reported, sparing no amusement, what Addams had to say about the landmark meeting. The theme of her talk, as the magazine headline put it, was the "uncomfortableness of transition." Addams dubbed her comments "The Uncomfortableness of Evolution," and in it she used scientific metaphors to describe the betwixt-and-between status in which the honorary female trustees were placed. They were no longer fully excluded, but neither were they fully functional members of the board. They had gained access, but they were marginalized into the role of witnesses rather than fully

voiced co-participants or advisors. She compared the new women honorary trustees, who sat through the meeting in “a quiet row along the wall,” to tadpoles “pushed and snubbed by all the big frogs in the pool” and to a crayfish who has “exuviated the old shell and lies helpless and exhausted, unfitted to the new.”¹⁰⁴

As the second anniversary of her father’s death approached, Jane Addams acted on part of the plan she had made for herself upon finishing Rockford in 1881. In the summer of 1883, she felt better in mind and body than she had in the past two years, and when she wrote to Ellen Gates Starr in August, she said her horizons were brightening.¹⁰⁵ With Weber back home from the hospital and family properties and business dealings set somewhat to rights, she agreed to take a year’s trip to Europe. She would in fact be gone for almost two.

Jane Addams’s passport application was dated 4 August 1883—two years to the day from the time in the summer of 1881 that she, a much more naive young lady, left Cedarville with her father, stepmother, and stepbrother for what would prove to be John Huy Addams’s last vacation. The passport described her as twenty-three years old, five foot three-and-a-half inches tall, with a broad forehead, gray eyes, straight nose, thin-lipped mouth, dimpled chin, light brown hair, and “rather sallow” complexion.¹⁰⁶

The young woman who set out for Europe was not the same self-assured girl who had spoken firmly on the theme of Cassandra in the graduation essay delivered from her college platform or who liked to quote the bold fifth stanza of Matthew Arnold’s “Self-Dependence” to her schoolmates, with its emphasis on being “unaffrighted” or “undistracted.” Rather, she had become someone who could well identify with the sentiment of the first stanza of Arnold’s poem: “Weary of myself, and sick of asking / What I am, and what I ought to be, / At this vessel’s prow I stand, which bears me / Forwards, forwards, o’er the starlit sea.”¹⁰⁷ Jane Addams’s experience of Europe, where social settings and itineraries were once again subject to Anna Haldeman Addams’s control, would prove to be one more stage in the adjustments that Addams had to make in filial relations after her father’s death and in her own sense of purpose. As she would remember later, for young women as they “emerged from self-willed childhood into a recognition of family obligations,” there seemed to be a dichotomous relationship between family and “selfish aims, of considering the individual and not the family convenience, and we remember with shame the self-pity which inevitably followed.” Her challenge as her twenties progressed would be “to find an orderly development” that recognized both family and independent claims and then “to make a second adjustment between the family and the social claim, in which neither shall lose and both be ennobled.” This art of adjustment meant combining the moral demands of the personal and the public realms, directing the maternal out into the world, and resolving the dualism between self (or illegitimate selfishness) and family obligations by making service to society unselfish and legitimate in nature. Using the language of illness and recovery, she called the process of adjustment or synthesis she underwent in the years

between graduation from Rockford and the founding of Hull-House “a healing compromise.” What she discovered was that “to be put to bed and fed on milk is not what she [the college-educated woman] requires. What she needs is simple, health-giving activity, which, involving the use of all her faculties, shall be a response to all the claims which she so keenly feels.”¹⁰⁸ It was by realizations such as this that Jane Addams eventually set herself on a self-determined path, liberating herself from the “general crookedness”¹⁰⁹ with which, by her own account, she struggled from 1881 until her founding of Hull-House with Ellen Gates Starr in 1889. In the process of setting up the social settlement, Starr observed that Addams was well aware that the settlement work was “more for the <benefit of the> people who do it, than for the other class,” having come to that conclusion “out of her own experience & ill health”¹¹⁰

Notes

1. For overviews of the lives of Jane Addams's family members, including her father, JHA; mother, SWA; sisters MCAL, Martha Addams, and SAAH; brother JWA; stepmother, AHHA; and stepbrothers HWH and GBH, see biographical profiles in *PJA*, 1:466–79; 487–90; 537–44, 486–87, and 516–31; 479–83; 442–66; and 507–16 and 494–507, respectively.

2. Laura A. Malburn (1811–91) and AHHA had been friends since before AHHA's marriage to JHA. Malburn was originally from Onondaga Co., N.Y. Her husband, William R. Malburn (1815–83), was born in Albany, N.Y., and became a prominent wine and liquor merchant in Freeport, Ill. The Malburns came to Illinois with their three children in 1857. In 1881, when Laura Malburn wrote with optimism to the twice-widowed AHHA about the possibilities of recovering from the loss of loved ones, she wrote from experience; she had herself faced a series of bereavements. Two of her three sons had passed away by 1881: William P. (b. 1841) died in 1864, and John K. (b. 1840) in 1874. The third, Francis B. (b. 1837), would die in 1882, as would Malburn's mother, Laura Kinney (1788–1882), who lived with the Malburns in their Scott St. residence and for whom Malburn was named. Malburn was widowed when her husband died in 1883. She and AHHA remained lifelong friends, visiting in each other's homes and corresponding. After Malburn died, AHHA told her sons that she very much missed the intimacy she had enjoyed in their friendship, stating that Malburn had understood her so well. For a biographical profile of AHHA, see *PJA*, 1:442–66.

3. Laura A. Malburn to AHHA, 12 Dec. 1881, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.

4. On RFS and JA's experiences there as a student, see part 2, in *PJA*, 1:157–437. For the texts of her graduation essay and valedictory, see *PJA*, 1:427–37.

5. A three-part plan for her postseminary years had been in JA's imagination for some time. None of it included living in Cedarville. JA's friend Mary B. Downs had written to her at the end of her junior year to ask: “Do you still expect to study medicine, after a course of study at Smiths College & that ‘tramp’ through Europe?” (23 May 1880, *PJA*, 1:365). JA confided in EGS about the desire to study medicine—not in Philadelphia, but in Europe, in the heart of scientific intellectualism—early in 1881, in the winter of her senior year. “I have been <reading> John Stuart Blackie. . . . [M]y former vague dream to study medicine for a year in Edinburgh is growing into a settled passion. I have an idea that to live in Edinburgh with all the splendid men that are there now, would be next thing to old Athens itself” (13 Feb. 1881, *PJA*, 1:389).

6. See Martha Thomas to JA, 7 Aug. 1881, below. For a biographical profile of SA, see *PJA*, 1:490–93.

7. See Helen Harrington to JA, 17 Aug. 1881, below. On the life of Helen Harrington (Alderson) (1860–1943), see *PJA*, 1:393, n. 7.

8. In her year as editor-in-chief of the RFS magazine, *RSM*, JA had enthusiastically inserted into its pages bits of news about Garfield's election and the new administration. On page 254 of her Nov. 1880 editorial, she humorously observed: "From motives dissimilar to those of the Seniors of last year, who decided to vote for the handsomest man; the staff is solid Republican. Not that we mean to insinuate that Garfield is not the handsomest man, not by any means; we just wish to say that we are not actuated by the same motives. Without having inquired particularly into the political views of all the students, we do not hesitate to say that the sentiment of the school is decidedly Republican" (*JAPM*, 46:227). She recorded the actual opinion of Rockford girls (90 to 10 in favor of Garfield) in the next edition of the magazine, when she reported that Garfield had won by an overwhelming majority in the mock presidential election held at the seminary. Garfield enjoyed solid support from the Rockford and Freeport regions as a whole. In a larger context, the presidential campaign of 1880 was a difficult one. Garfield was a dark-horse candidate, and the Republican Party was severely split by partisan politics and charges of corruption. Garfield had been in office for only four months and was still feeling the sting of party criticism because of his cabinet appointments when he set off for a brief family vacation at the beginning of July 1881. He was shot as he walked to his train while he was deep in conversation with his secretary of state and former archrival within the Republican Party, James G. Blaine (1830–93).

9. Charles Julius Guiteau (1841–82) was the son of Jane Howe Guiteau and Luther Guiteau of Freeport, Ill. He was known in his youth as Julius, but his preference in adulthood was to be called Charles. He was born in Freeport on 8 Sept. 1841. His mother became very ill after his birth from what was diagnosed as brain fever. She recovered and gave birth to two more children, neither of whom lived past the age of two. She died herself in 1848. Charles, who was eight years old at the time, was the youngest of her three surviving children. He was by all accounts a difficult and uncontrollable child with a short attention span and hyperactive habits. He grew into a strange, itinerant, and egotistical adult. He was an avid reader and letter-writer, spending much of his life in libraries and reading rooms and writing copious correspondence.

After one unsuccessful year as a student at the Univ. of Michigan in 1860, Guiteau spent six years as a rather unwelcome resident of John Humphrey Noyes's (1811–86) utopian community in Oneida, N.Y. His erratic mood swings and odd behavior did not endear him to his fellow residents, and he later tried to sue Noyes for back wages for the work he had performed while part of the community. Noyes responded that Guiteau had signed an agreement accepting room, board, and education in lieu of wages, the same as every other member of the group, and besides, he was "moody, self-conceited, unmanageable, and a great part of the time was not reckoned in the ranks of reliable labor" (quoted in Rosenberg, *Trial of the Assassin Guiteau*, 24).

After leaving the Oneida community, Guiteau lived for a time in New York and Chicago. He was hired as a clerk in a law office, and in 1868 he passed the Illinois bar. He met a librarian, Annie Bunn, at the YMCA reading room he loved to frequent. The two were married on 3 July 1869. Annie Bunn Guiteau told friends she had married "a lawyer and a Christian," but she soon found that Guiteau was neither able to make much of a living as a lawyer—he mainly worked as a bill collector while running up large unpaid debts himself with almost everyone with whom he traded or who would agree to loan him money—nor was his personal conduct much in accordance with Christian teachings. He was a frequent visitor to houses of prostitution, and he had acquired a venereal disease. His mood swings also manifested themselves in domestic violence. He would alternately abuse and terrorize his wife—beating her and pulling her out of bed at night to throw her into tenement hallways or locking her into the closet of their boarding-house room while verbally berating her for

her lack of deference toward him—and then apologize to her contritely for his conduct. He beat her during the advanced stages of pregnancy, causing her to miscarry, then was kind to her in what she described as her “profound grief at the loss of our only child, who died at birth, and whose death he knew was caused wholly by his brutal treatment of its mother” (Dunmire, “Married Life of Guiteau,” 508). The couple lived in Chicago until 1871, then in New York. Annie Bunn Guiteau left her husband in the summer of 1873 after nursing him through an acute phase of syphilis; she filed for divorce the following fall. The divorce was final in Apr. 1874.

Meanwhile, Charles Guiteau began to move from city to city as a self-styled theologian and lecturer. He would sell tickets in a town, give a short and incomprehensible presentation to a bewildered audience, and then abruptly depart from the gathering. He wrote *The Truth: A Companion to the Bible* in 1876 and published it through a private printer in Boston. By 1880, his aspirations had turned to politics. He supported Garfield in the Republican campaign and had been a “hanger-on at Republican national and state committee rooms in New York City” (Brown and Williams, *Diary of James A. Garfield*, 609, n. 183). As soon as Garfield took office, Guiteau moved to Washington, D.C., and began personally barraging Garfield and Secretary of State James G. Blaine with demands that he be named to a consular position. In May 1881, by his own confession, he got the idea to kill the president. He purchased the gun he used to do the deed on 8 June 1881 and began looking for an opportunity to use it, stalking Garfield and Blaine from Lafayette Park across from the White House and following their movements in Washington. After the shooting, *Harper’s Weekly* described him as a small man of “looney appearance” whose “reputation was bad wherever he went” and who “has for some years been a person of disordered mind and restless habits” (8 July 1881, 478).

10. Luther Guiteau was, like his friend and business associate JHA, an active Republican and civic booster. Among their shared interests was the status of public education. While JHA promoted the Cedarville school over the years, Luther Guiteau served as Stephenson Co. school commissioner from 1845 to 1847. The two men also had significant personal matters in common. Guiteau had witnessed the legal papers that made JHA the guardian of JA and her siblings in the matter of the estate of SWA in 1867 (see *JAPM*, 27:631–37), and as the cashier of the Second National Bank in Freeport, he managed accounts for JWA, SAA, and JA in the 1870s. Both Luther Guiteau and JHA had lost first wives and remarried, raising children with a stepparent, and both had sons troubled by severe mental illness. The two men died one year apart, Guiteau in Aug. 1880 and JHA in Aug. 1881. Although Guiteau had an excellent public reputation, there is evidence that his home life was not a smooth one. While JHA had a falling out with HWH, Luther Guiteau’s problems centered on tensions with his son Charles as well as with his own authoritarian tendencies. Luther Guiteau was deeply religious and extremely interested in the ideology identified with utopian communes, especially that of the Oneida community. He was harsh in his treatment of his difficult son, using corporal punishment to try to tame Charles Julius Guiteau when he was a boy. Luther Guiteau refused to expend funds to send his son to college when Charles Julius wanted a higher education, and he was deeply embarrassed by his son’s actions as an adult. He confessed in a letter in 1874 that he considered his son “a fit subject for a lunatic asylum” (quoted in Rosenberg, *Trial of the Assassin Guiteau*, 31). Luther Guiteau was spared the knowledge that his son became an assassin. He died, as Charles Julius Guiteau himself put it, “at Freeport, Ill., having lived there for about forty years. . . . He was a very good man, a very pious man and an intelligent man” (Guiteau, “Autobiography of Guiteau,” 408; see also *PJA*, 1:99–100, n. 3).

11. Flora Z. Guiteau (1854–1936) was the daughter of Luther Guiteau and his second wife, Maria Blood Guiteau (d. 1894), whom he married in 1853. A keenly intelligent, charming, and kind person, Flora Guiteau was able to overcome the public stigma placed upon her family. She became one of Freeport’s most beloved citizens, and she was a friend to JA for life. She was born in Freeport, Ill., on 3 July 1854. She attended Freeport’s public schools, Cazenovia

Seminary (near Syracuse, N.Y.), the Univ. of Chicago, and the Univ. of Wisconsin. She also traveled in Europe with JA in 1888. JA made the trip possible for Guiteau financially (see JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1888, n. 23, below). Flora became a teacher at Freeport High School, where she taught two subjects close to JA's heart—botany and Latin. She was very well read and opened her home to the meetings of many civic organizations. She never married, and she lived with her brother, Luther W. Guiteau, in Freeport. The local paper reported that the “pageant of life that passed before her was never dull to her” ([Obituary of Flora Guiteau], 2 May 1936). An excellent lecturer and funny entertainer, she was a member of the Freeport Shakespeare Society and other literary groups, including a book review and study class that she conducted in the community for many years. She was a musician and was active in the Freeport First Presbyterian Church. A charter member of the Freeport Woman's Club, she served as the organization's president. She also helped organize the local chapter of the League of Women Voters. Guiteau retired from full-time teaching in 1909 and became a journalist. She wrote freelance articles for the *Freeport* (Ill.) *Journal* and joined the staff of the *Freeport* (Ill.) *Journal-Standard*, covering special assignments, including writing reports of community meetings and musical performances, and writing book reviews, which she did until her final illness.

Flora Guiteau was a frequent visitor to Hull-House and to the Addams home in Cedarville. Writing in 1935, James Weber Linn described her at the time of the Garfield shooting as “Jane's best friend in Freeport” (*Jane Addams*, 67). She helped plan JA's burial service at the Cedarville cemetery in May 1935. Her last public appearance, made one month before her own death, was as the principal speaker at chapel exercises at Rockford College. Her talk, on her recollections of her lifelong friendship with JA, was broadcast over the radio. On 1 May 1936, Guiteau died after a two-week bout with influenza. She was eighty-two. The strong support she enjoyed from her community was clearly expressed at her passing. Members of the Freeport Woman's Club attended her funeral on 4 May 1936 en masse. The pastor who conducted her funeral rites at the Freeport First Presbyterian Church praised her and JA's common dedication to international peace. He then read in tribute to Guiteau the same extract from *Milton: A Poem* (1808–10), by William Blake (1757–1827) that Guiteau had chosen to be read at JA's burial (“And was Jerusalem builded here / Among these dark Satanic mills? / Bring me my bow of burning gold! / Bring me my spear: O clouds, unfold / Bring me my chariot of fire! / I will not cease from mental fight, / Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand, / Till we have built Jerusalem / In England's green and pleasant land”) (“Fine Tribute Is Paid to Memory of Miss Guiteau.”). A Freeport obituary described Flora Guiteau as active, energetic, witty, honest, intelligent, articulate, and affectionate, a woman who “had many friends and those who knew her best found in their association with her an inspiration which they will never expect to find in any other individual of their acquaintance. . . . In a very real sense, Miss Guiteau belonged to all of Freeport, and all Freeport is sad at her loss” (“Flora Guiteau.” [Obituary], 2 May 1936).

12. Garfield's condition immediately after the shooting was extremely serious. Attending physicians had difficulty locating the bullet that had entered through his back and were working in an era before aseptic technique was rigorously applied. Garfield became critically ill not so much from the injury but from the infection caused when physicians probed his internal organs under unsanitary conditions. After lingering and then seeming to improve, he died from a ruptured aneurysm in the splenic artery that had apparently been caused either by the bullet or by physicians' probes (Rosenberg, *Trial of the Assassin Guiteau*, 10). Dr. D. Hayes Agnew (1818–92) of Philadelphia, who was among those who treated the dying Garfield, was a demonstrator of anatomy and professor of surgery at the Univ. of Pennsylvania School of Medicine when HWH studied there. As a professor in Philadelphia, Agnew became known as a champion of asepsis and modernized surgical technique. *Harper's Weekly* featured a cover illustration of Agnew in connection with the president's “extraordinary contest of vitality with death” (10 Sept. 1881, 609–10).

13. Charles J. Guiteau to the White House, 2 July 1881, reprinted in full in Hayes, *Complete History of the Trial of Guiteau*, 17. This letter to the White House was one of many Guiteau composed. On 2 July 1881, he also wrote to Gen. William T. Sherman, confessing “I have just shot the President” (Hayes, *Complete History of the Trial of Guiteau*, 18). When a police officer outside the station encountered him rushing out into the street immediately after the shooting, Guiteau breathlessly declared to the officer that he needed to send a letter to Gen. Sherman, and the letter was found on his person. Soon after Garfield’s death, Guiteau wrote to Garfield’s successor, Chester A. Arthur, taking credit for making Arthur president and suggesting whom Arthur should appoint as cabinet officials.

14. Guiteau was formally indicted for the murder of the president on 8 Oct. 1881. His trial, which began 14 Nov. 1881 and ended in Jan. 1882, focused on the issues of his mental stability; the medical, moral, and legal definitions of mental illness; and the question of the criminal liability of the insane. It generated a huge amount of publicity and discussion. Although Guiteau pled “not guilty” on the grounds that the assassination “was God’s act and not mine,” it took the jury just an hour to deliberate and convict him (Hayes, *Complete History of the Trial of Guiteau*, 27). The defense appeal was rejected, and he was condemned to death by hanging.

15. Charles J. Guiteau had two elder siblings who were also the children of Luther and Anna Howe Guiteau. His brother, John Wilson (b. 1833), was a Davenport, Iowa, lawyer before moving to New York City, where he worked in the insurance business. His sister, Frances Guiteau (Scoville) (b. 1835) helped raise her little brother after their mother’s death in 1848. She attended RFS and married a Chicago lawyer, George Scoville. The Scovilles were very generous toward Charles Guiteau. At different times they took him under their roof, loaned him money that was never repaid, and found him work in law offices. The day Guiteau shot the president, George Scoville happened to be in Washington, D.C., on business. He ended up representing Guiteau (as co-counsel with Guiteau himself) in court, even though he had very little criminal trial experience. It was his decision to enter a plea of insanity. He told the press that he felt that if Guiteau was insane, he deserved the public’s pity, and if he was not insane, he deserved to be hung. Guiteau’s ex-wife reserved her pity for Scoville, describing him as “a good, honest man” with good intentions who had been subjected to Guiteau’s abuses for years. “He, however, is controlled and influenced entirely by his wife,” she observed. “He has to obey her instructions implicitly,” and he did so in defending Guiteau in Washington (Dunmire, “Married Life of Guiteau,” 500). Frances Guiteau Scoville seems to have maintained her sympathy for her brother, even though at one point when he was a guest in her home he came at her while making wild motions with an ax. She called a physician to tend to her brother after the incident, and upon brief examination the doctor declared Guiteau to be insane. Guiteau’s penchant for attack did not end with his incarceration. On the same day that the *Freeport* (Ill.) *Daily Bulletin* carried news of JHA’s death (18 Aug. 1881), it also reported that Guiteau had attempted to stab a prison guard with a knife in his jail cell.

16. JA may have been horrified by Guiteau’s fate and filled with sympathy for the assassin’s sister, but GBH had no mercy for Garfield’s killer. His viewpoint seemed to be shared among his classmates at Beloit College. In early 1882, he wrote to his mother that “[t]he tidings of Guiteau’s conviction seem to occasion universal joy but our satisfaction will not be complete until he is swung into eternity” (29 Jan. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

17. AHHA wrote to her brother, physician John L. Hostetter, in 1871 to request suggestions for help with JHA’s stomach upsets and the loss of sensation in his hand, and John responded in a letter to her of 13 Feb. 1871 (UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

18. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 52. JA later dedicated this first volume of her memoirs to the memory of her father.

19. “The Last Call. Hon. John H. Addams of Cedarville Died at Green Bay, Wis., after a Brief Illness.” See also *Chicago Evening Journal*, 27 Aug. 1881; and Linn, *Jane Addams*, 65–66.

20. See T. H. Haseltine to JA, 29 Aug. 1881, below. See also T. H. Haseltine to JA, 13 June 1880, *PJA*, 1:368–70.

21. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 52–53. JA later used the phrase as a title and concept in her book of profiles paying tribute to individuals she had known and admired, *The Excellent Becomes the Permanent* (1932). For a biographical note on Rev. James Arnold Blaisdell, see *PJA*, 1:186, n. 46.

22. See JML to JA, 26 Aug. [18]81, below.

23. Anna P. Sill to AHHA, 6 Oct. 1881, SCPC, JAC.

24. Caroline Potter to JA, 20 Aug. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:707–10.

25. Despite his business acumen and carefully accumulated wealth, JHA died without a formal will. His friend and family lawyer Edward P. Barton was appointed administrator of his estate, which included numerous properties, businesses, and shares of businesses, estimated to be worth “between three and four hundred thousand dollars,” a very large sum in 1881 and the equivalent of \$6–8 million in 2006 dollars ([“We Have Heard Competent Judges Estimate”]). One-third of the estate went to AHHA, and the remaining two-thirds was divided equally among JHA’s four surviving children. See legal documents, *JAPM*, 27:543–45, 595–96; see also Linn, *Jane Addams*, 66; *PJA*, 1:477–78; and MCAL to JA, 4 Oct. 1881, below.

26. Linn, *Jane Addams*, 68.

27. Addams, “Filial Relations,” chap. 3 in *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 73, 73–75; see also 71–101. See also Addams, “Claim on the College Woman,” *Rockford Collegian* and *JAPM*, 45:711–16; “College Woman and the Family Claim,” *Commons* 3 (Sept. 1898): 3–7 and *JAPM*, 46:863–68; and “Filial Relations,” reprinted in Berdan, Schultz, and Joyce, *Modern Essays*; and “The College Woman and the Family Claim (1898),” reprinted in Lagemann, *Jane Addams on Education*, 64–73; *JAPM*, 47:1100–10.

28. Elizabeth Blackwell (1821–1910) was the first woman to receive a medical degree from a “regular,” or allopathic, medical school in the United States. Blackwell was born in Bristol, England. In 1831, she emigrated to the United States with her parents, who supported the education of women and the abolition of slavery. Persisting in applications to medical schools after being repeatedly rejected because of her sex, she graduated from Geneva Medical College in upstate New York in 1849. She completed residencies in Paris and London before establishing a private practice in the slums of New York City’s Lower East Side. This practice evolved, in 1857, into the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, which had many of the attributes of a settlement house. Its staff visited the sick in the surrounding neighborhood, worked against vice and prostitution, and taught the urban poor preventative health and hygiene. The school’s trustees closed the college and the infirmary in 1899, citing the victory of women in achieving coeducation. See also JA to Emma L. Briggs, 30 Dec. 1881, n. 6, below.

29. Marie Zakrzewska (1829–1902) was a protégée of Elizabeth Blackwell and a pioneer in the establishment of medical institutions for women. Born into a Polish-Prussian family in Berlin, Germany, Zakrzewska was educated in Berlin as a midwife in the 1840s. She emigrated to the United States in 1853, securing work with Blackwell in New York. With Blackwell’s help and encouragement, she attended medical school at Western Reserve College in Cleveland, graduating in 1856. After assisting Blackwell in New York, she moved to Boston, where she organized a clinical department for the New England Female Medical College (a midwifery school founded in 1848 by eclectic physician Samuel Gregory). Frustrated by the limited options for women who wanted to receive a clinical medical education, Zakrzewska founded the New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston in 1862. It served as a training ground for women doctors and provided care to female patients for more than a century.

30. The WMCP was the “first college in the world regularly organized for the medical education of women” (Franklin and Goodman, *Medical Philadelphia*, 20). It was incorporated on 11 Mar. 1850 as the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania. The name was changed to

WMCP in 1867 and then changed again, to simply the Medical College of Pennsylvania, when the school became coeducational in the 1960s.

31. For much of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the WMCP, the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, and the New England Hospital for Women and Children were the primary institutions that offered "regular" (allopathic, or nonsectarian) training for female physicians. The existence of these schools run by and for women was essential to the foothold women gained in the medical profession, and they were precursors to women's success in coeducational schools. A dozen other women's medical schools were founded in the United States and Canada in the two decades surrounding JA's medical school experience (from 1870 into the 1890s), including ones in Baltimore, Chicago, and Toronto. While many nineteenth-century homeopathic or eclectic institutions admitted women as well as men to medical training, coeducational opportunities for women in regular schools were still relatively scarce when JA sought to enter the medical profession at the beginning of the 1880s. In this respect, state schools in the Midwest were among the best options available. The Univ. of Michigan began admitting women in 1870, and by 1881, more than 20 percent of the entering medical students at Ann Arbor were women. The period from 1880 to 1900 was simultaneously a strong period for women's separatist medical education, modernization in medical schools in general, and gradual transition in women's education from separatism to coeducation. It was also a heyday for medicine as a profession, a period when an increasing percentage of the U.S. population—men and women—enrolled in and graduated from medical schools. The trend toward coeducation was encouraged by the opening of the Johns Hopkins Univ. Medical School, which admitted both men and women, in 1893.

32. Thwing, "Recent Movements in Woman's Education," 107.

33. Quoted in Marshall, *Woman's Medical College*, 10.

34. The school opened in Oct. 1850 in a house on Arch St.; the new building on North College Ave. and 20th/21st streets, where JA studied, was dedicated in 1875 and remained in use until 1929. The Woman's Hospital of Philadelphia, associated with the school, was located nearby at 22nd St. and North College Ave.

35. HWH, SAAH, and JA were all attending "firsts" in coming to Philadelphia. The Univ. of Pennsylvania School of Medicine was the first medical school in the country when it was established in 1765 (for men only). The answer to the question of why JA chose the WMCP involves the plans of HWH and SAAH. It is not known if HWH decided to pursue specialty training in Philadelphia and SAAH and JA followed or whether it was the other way around.

36. William Goodell (1829–94) maintained a private practice for middle-class patients, and he instructed medical students in gynecology at the facility for women that was part of the Univ. of Pennsylvania Hospital, which, like other hospitals in the city, cared for poor patients of so-called good reputation. Born to missionaries in Malta, Goodell was educated at Williams College (A.B. 1851) and trained in medicine in Philadelphia at Jefferson Medical College (M.D. 1854) and the Univ. of Pennsylvania School of Medicine (M.D. 1871). He was a founder and vice-president of the Philadelphia College of Physicians. He served as clinical professor of the diseases of women and children for the Univ. of Pennsylvania School of Medicine from 1874 to 1894, and he became the physician in charge of the Preston Retreat located at 500–518 North 20th St. in 1865 (see n. 70). Goodell was a founder and president of the Philadelphia Obstetrical Society and served as president of the American Obstetrical Society and the American Gynecological Society, of which he was a founder in 1876. He published over 100 studies based on research and case histories and was best known for his *Lessons in Gynecology* (1879). He reached prominence in the field of gynecology in the "last decades of the century (the post-Listerian period)," which "were intensely productive, [with] operative gynaecology reaching its zenith" (Ricci, *One Hundred Years of Gynaecology*, 47). See also Laura A. Malburn to JA, 11 Feb. 1882, nn. 2–3, below.

37. SAAH always had a strong hand in the business of her family. While AHHA worried over HWH's health and his ability to keep up a strenuous rural practice, SAAH took up much of the slack in maintaining the billing, pharmacy, and other aspects of her husband's practice. Later, when AHHA offered to help finance a move for her son away from medicine and the Haldemans moved to Girard, Kans., and took up banking, it was SAAH who showed a superior business sense and became the mainstay of the enterprise (see *PJA*, 1:530).

SAAH, like JA, completed all the requirements of the 1881–82 term at the WMCP. She enrolled in lectures and instruction in practical anatomy, gynecology, anatomy, chemistry, and toxicology. She completed her dissection of the lower extremity of a human cadaver in Dec. 1881 and attended all the lectures through the winter session ending 1 Mar. 1882. She received an invitation to the 30th Annual Commencement of the school on 16 Mar. 1882, and Rachel Bodley wrote a letter from the dean's office dated 20 Mar. 1882 verifying that SAAH had matriculated at the school in Oct., paid her fees, "attended the lectures faithfully throughout the winter" until the close of classes on 1 Mar. 1882, participated in quiz classes in physiology and chemistry, and successfully completed the dissection requirement (see WMCP enrollment cards, S. A. Haldeman, 1881; and Rachel L. Bodley to Whom It May Concern, 20 Mar. 1882, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

38. Many advances were secured in the 1870s and '80s. Students at the WMCP won admission in 1875 to clinics at Pennsylvania Hospital, where they were taught by male doctors who had formerly balked at the idea of female medical students. In 1879–80, women were admitted to clinical lectures at Philadelphia Hospital, known as Blockley. In 1881–82, the weekly schedule in winter and spring included bedside instruction each morning at the Woman's Hospital and obstetric, medical, and surgical clinics on Wednesdays at Blockley. Students could also obtain instruction in Blockley's wards and at the daily clinics at Wills' Hospital for Diseases of the Eye, the Eye and Ear Department of the Philadelphia Dispensary, the Philadelphia Lying-In Charity, and the Orthopaedic Hospital and Infirmary for Nervous Diseases. By 1883, women were allowed to participate in competitive examinations for internships at Blockley as well.

These improvements were hard won. In the first twenty years of the school's history, the female students and faculty were subjected to overt sexual discrimination in professional circles and, upon occasion, harassment in academic settings. No medical journal would print advertisements for the school, male doctors refused to share lecture platforms with WMCP professors, and, as dean Dr. Clara Marshall put it, "[N]o hospital could admit our students for clinical advantages without danger of their being insulted by both [other] professors and students." The issue of clinical instruction reached a nadir in 1869, when a crisis occurred over the issue of "mixed" clinics. That year, WMCP students attending clinical lectures at Pennsylvania Hospital were openly vilified by male students, who had gathered to demonstrate against them. Many leading male physicians scoffed at the idea of women participating in the same clinical settings or sitting in the same audiences of operating amphitheaters with men. Members of the faculties of the Univ. of Pennsylvania Medical School and Jefferson Medical College and of the staffs of the major Philadelphia hospitals expressed outrage over the idea that females should be allowed to witness the treatment of male patients, especially in surgery, much less actually perform operations or examinations upon male bodies. In Nov. 1869, they organized to write and sign a treatise, *Remonstrance against Clinical Instruction Being Given to Classes Composed of Both Sexes*. The opponents of women physicians claimed that having females observe surgical treatment of the diseases of men was "shocking to the sense of decency" and would "entail the risk of unmanning the surgeon, of distracting his mind, and endangering the life of his patient." Furthermore, it was argued, male students would lose all respect for such women, who would be abandoning the "womanly qualities . . . which has its origin in domestic and social association." The leaders of the WMCP responded to this remonstrance by consenting to sexually segregate the care of individuals when necessary,

agreeing “that all special diseases of men should be treated by men in the presence of men only,” and, importantly, agreeing that the same delicacy would be shown to women patients, who deserved, in the privacy of “female” conditions, treatment by other women. They further attested that women in medicine represented the very best of the feminine qualities of their sex and not, as opponents claimed, a departure from them. “It is but just and in accordance with the instincts of the truest womanhood,” they stated, “for women to appear as physicians and students” (Marshall, *Woman’s Medical College*, 12, 22–25). Clara Marshall (1848–1931) was a graduate in the WMCP’s class of 1875. She became a professor of materia medica and general therapeutics and was a member of the medical staff of the Woman’s Hospital of Philadelphia during JA’s and SAAH’s tenure at the college. Marshall presided over the school as dean from 1888 to 1917 and in 1897 published her history of the institution in the nineteenth century.

39. Ann Preston (1813–72), a Quaker abolitionist and supporter of the temperance and woman’s rights movements, apprenticed under a male Quaker physician in the 1840s. She was a member of the first class of students to graduate from the WMCP in 1851. In many ways she was the counterpart to Anna P. Sill at RFS. She was hired as chair of physiology and hygiene at her alma mater and became known for her series of lectures on the physiology and laws of life and health for “ladies.” As dean of the college from 1866 to 1872, she upheld the principle of separate female education even as she led the effort to win equal access for women medical students to clinics, academic lectures, and internships that had previously been exclusively administered, taught, and attended by men. When, after the first decade of operation of the school, it “became evident that the doors of the renowned clinics of Philadelphia were persistently closed to women students” and “a serious doubt as to the possibility of properly educating women for the manifold duties of medical practice arose,” it was Preston who pounded the city streets, visiting, as she wrote in her diary, “every one who I thought would give me either money or influence.” She succeeded in getting “funds pledged, influential women interested,” and a charter established to create a “hospital for the treatment of the diseases of women and children, for the practical training of nurses, and for furnishing facilities for clinical instruction to women engaged in the study of medicine” (Bodley, *College Story*, 17–18). The result was the Woman’s Hospital of Philadelphia, where, two decades later, both JA and SAAH observed bedside care at first hand. Preston’s formation of a Board of Lady Managers who managed the finances of the new Woman’s Hospital and the appointment of women physicians to the staff was similar in many ways to the process JA would participate in at RFS in the 1880s as the women leaders of the RFS Alumnae Assn. worked to win female participation in the RFS Board of Trustees and thus in the official management of the seminary and its staff.

40. Rachel L. Bodley (1831–88) was one of the first female members of the originally all-male faculty of the WMCP. She joined the school under the leadership of Ann Preston. Bodley was born in Cincinnati, Ohio. Her parents, both educators, were of Scots-Irish and English heritage and were deeply religious Quakers. Educated in chemistry and physics at Wesleyan Female College and the Polytechnic College of Philadelphia in the early 1860s, Bodley taught natural sciences at the Cincinnati Female Seminary, where, like Mary E. Holmes at RFS, she developed an extensive herbarium of native and foreign plants for the school. She was appointed professor and chair of chemistry and toxicology at the WMCP in 1865. She was promoted to dean of the faculty in 1874 (after Preston’s death and the brief tenure of Emeline Horton Cleveland as dean) and held that position until the end of her life. It is significant that Bodley, like JA’s science teacher at RFS, Mary E. Holmes, was among women pathbreakers in the field of science (on Holmes, see *PJA*, 1:209–12, n. 4). Bodley was trained as a laboratory scientist, not as a physician. She did not attend medical school, and her M.D. was an honorary degree given her by the WMCP in 1879. She was a member of the New York Academy of Sciences, the American Clinical Society of New York City, the American Chemical Society, and the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences and was a lecturer at Philadelphia’s Franklin

Institute. Her scientific research included the study of the use of quinine and morphine and the synthetic production of painkillers in the laboratory. Bodley was motivated in her career, in part, by her commitment to ideas of Christian social transformation and the moral reform aspects of women's practice of medicine. She maintained a worldwide correspondence with medical missionaries and took a special interest in women's missionary activism in India. Her distinguished students included doctors Frances Emily White (1832–1903) (see SA to JA, 26 Oct. 1881, n. 13, below) and Mary Putnam Jacobi (1842–1906), a women's rights advocate who in 1872 organized the Assn. for the Advancement of Medical Education for Women.

41. JA visited Bodley on 11 Aug. 1883, when she stopped in the Philadelphia area before leaving for Europe later in the month, and Bodley and the medical school were clearly in her thoughts during her time abroad. On 11 July 1885, Bodley wrote JA to thank her for gifts she had purchased for her and the medical school while she was in Europe. Calling JA “my dear friend,” Bodley assured JA that “I prize your love, and trust that it may long be mine! I reciprocate all you so generously lavish upon me” (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:78, 80; see also JA to EGS, 12 Aug. 1883, below). When JA was in Philadelphia again in 1886, she saw Bodley and wrote to SAAH, “We had an ideal time and all my old affection and admiration for Dean Bodley has returned with three fold vigor” (31 Mar. [1886], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:246). JA made a point of visiting Bodley again on her trip to the Philadelphia area to see family in Dec. 1887. Writing to SAAH on 10 Dec. 1887, JA reported, “I went to see Dean Bodley. I had a delightful call as I always do. I love her sincerely & her affection for me I prize very highly” (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:596).

42. The Univ. of Pennsylvania constructed a new Medical Hall and hospital in the 1870s, part of the relocation of the university and its medical school from its former location in the center of the city to the 36th and Spruce streets area west of the Schuylkill River, in West Philadelphia. When HWH enrolled as a third-year student specializing in gynecology, the School of Medicine was undergoing a series of changes under the leadership of William Pepper, Jr. (1843–98). Pepper was a former lecturer in pathology who headed the university campaign to construct a new general university hospital (which opened in 1874). He also demanded changes in the curriculum that made what HWH experienced at the school part of a progressive trend in medical education, moving away from apprenticeship systems into more regularized, stringent, and professional academic training. In 1877, dissection of a human cadaver became mandatory. The terms of study were lengthened and formalized. Courses were graded, and students needed to successfully pass examinations in requirements before advancing in their studies. Professors, who had previously taught on a direct-fee basis, were placed on salaries that were funded by student registration fees that went to the university. In 1881–82, HWH was charged \$150 for his academic year's training. Pepper became head of Univ. Hospital in 1877 and provost of the university in 1881. He was the authority that shaped the medical school as HWH experienced it; Pepper led bedside instruction and special clinics that HWH attended one day each week, and it was Pepper who handed HWH his diploma in graduation ceremonies in Mar. 1882.

43. As JA studied in Philadelphia, heated debates were going on about women's medical education and careers. Educators argued over the merits for women of separate versus coeducational schools and over the quality of facilities and curriculum within women's schools in comparison to more generously endowed schools for men. Also at issue were female students' rights to clinical instruction and hospital residencies and to practicing women physicians' lack of laboratory research opportunities. Restrictions also existed in hiring women for surgical and teaching positions, and it was difficult for women to pursue any medical specialties that did not focus on the treatment of women and children. Women doctors were also barred from membership in professional organizations, including the American Medical Assn. Still, conditions had vastly improved over those that had predominated earlier in the century.

44. *Thirty-Second Annual Announcement of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania*, 5–6.

45. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 65. While JA seems to have rated her own performance as merely satisfactory or adequate, Winifred Wise wrote in her authorized biography that JA “was able to pass examinations with success” (*Jane Addams of Hull-House*, 93), and James Weber Linn reported that she “passed with high credit her examinations in the subjects then required in the first year” (*Jane Addams*, 68–69; see also Certificate of Dissections, Dec. 1881; entrance cards for 1881–82, including Lectures on Chemistry and Toxicology, Lectures on Physiology and Hygiene, Introduction to Practical Anatomy, and Lectures on Anatomy, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:467–73).

46. As dean of the school, Bodley delivered a landmark valedictory address at the WMCP commencement on 17 Mar. 1881. The talk was based on the results of a questionnaire mailed out to the 276 living graduates of the college. It was published in Philadelphia in Apr. 1881 as the pamphlet *The College Story*. JA and SAAH may well have read the pamphlet as an introduction when they entered the school.

The survey asked each woman eight questions “designed to cover the whole ground of a life work,” including “its professional character, its pecuniary rewards, social status, teaching work, membership in medical societies, and last but by no means least, the influence of the study and practice of medicine upon woman’s holiest relations, as wife and mother” (4). That last was something Bodley wanted to emphasize to her young graduates and students. Contrary to prevailing Victorian belief that professional lives and marriage were an incompatible, undesirable, or even impossible combination for educated women, Bodley’s survey showed that many of her graduates married, and married successfully. A majority of married respondents reported happiness in their domestic arrangement and noted their ability to negotiate—if not always completely successfully—the multiple demands of career, marriage, housekeeping, childbearing, and childrearing. As Bodley put it, “I remark that the song of domestic life as I have listened with ear attent, has been sung in no minor key” (9). Bodley was clearly encouraging her students not to abandon expectations of marriage and motherhood. She was also tacitly responding to theorists who opposed medical education for women and the practice of medicine by women on the grounds that the mental and physical taxation involved depleted the woman doctor’s or medical student’s attractiveness and fertility. Lost between the lines of Bodley’s research as she championed heterosexual and filial bonds was the relative happiness of women physicians who remained single or who lived professional and private lives in conjunction with other women. She did make the point that even the women doctors who had not married were usually actively enmeshed in family life, financially and emotionally supporting parents, siblings, nieces and nephews. She also answered critics who cited the weakness of the female body as a deterrent to women’s practice of medicine when she emphasized the success of WMCP graduates in rough-and-tumble rural medical practices as well as in more effete urban settings.

47. See JA to SAAH, 23 Oct. 1885, below.

48. GBH to AHHA, 21 Dec. 1881, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

49. GBH to AHHA, 21 Dec. 1881, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

50. Sarah Blaisdell to JA, 24 Dec. 1881, below. SA wrote in mid-Jan., “Dear Jane, I do hope you will try hard to carry out your physicians instructions” (see SA to JA, 11 Jan. 1882, below).

51. The identity of this Dr. Patton has not been definitely determined. He may have been a preacher JA heard in Nantucket or in Philadelphia. It is highly probable, however, that JA is referring to Francis L. Patton (1843–1932), who was a prominent religious leader in Chicago before assuming the presidency of Princeton Univ. (1888–1902). Born in Warwick, Bermuda, Francis L. Patton attended Knox College and Toronto Univ. He studied theology at Princeton Univ. and was ordained in 1865. He served churches in New York City and Brooklyn before becoming a professor of didactic and polemical theology at McCormick Seminary (1872–81) and (beginning in 1874), pastor of Jefferson Park Church in Chicago. As editor of *Interior*, he spearheaded charges against Rev. David Swing. In 1881, he was hired as professor of the relations of philosophy and science to the Christian religion at Princeton and became the

new chair of Princeton Theological Seminary. After he retired as president of the university, he became president of the seminary (1902–13). He was sought after as a speaker and was known for his conservative perspectives but popular modes of expression (Webber, *History of Preaching*, 3:476–78).

52. See JA, [1880 Notebook] [notes, 1882], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:352–77. (Just as JA wrote new notes in empty pages of her old 1875 diary pages while at RFS, she used vacant spaces in her 1880 notebook to write thoughts at various times in 1882.)

53. Neurologist Silas Weir Mitchell (1829–1914) was born in Philadelphia into a long line of medical practitioners. His father, John Kearsley Mitchell (see n. 55), was a physician and lecturer at Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia. S. Weir Mitchell graduated from Jefferson in 1850, studied in Paris, and then worked in his father's practice. He served as a surgeon and physician in military hospitals during the Civil War, including Turner's Lane Hospital in Philadelphia, where he specialized in nervous diseases and wounds of the nerves. Mitchell gained international recognition as a neurologist and medical researcher and theorized on a wide variety of topics, including the origins and treatment of headaches, eyestrain, insomnia, sciatica (lower back and leg pain), scoliosis (curvature of the spine), and the uses of diet and convalescence. He served as a practitioner, professor, and administrator at the Philadelphia Polyclinic and College for Graduates in Medicine and in the Philadelphia Orthopaedic Hospital and Infirmary for Nervous Diseases and as a member of the medical staff of the Woman's Hospital and other Philadelphia hospitals. A founder of the Pathological Society of Philadelphia, he also served terms as president of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia Neurological Society. Mitchell's classic work, read well into the twentieth century, was *Injuries of Nerves and Their Consequences* (1872). He produced over 100 scientific publications—including (of direct relevance to JA's condition) a 1875 study on spinal arthropathies published in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences* and a study of rest and massage in the treatment of spinal disease published in the same year as part of a series of clinical lectures edited by E. C. Sequin, M.D. He also published several short stories, novels, and poems, basing some of his fictional characters on his studies of neurotic patients (see also nn. 54, 58–59).

54. S. Weir Mitchell's theories on the rest cure—just one aspect of his varied medical interests but the one for which he has remained most popularly known—were expressed in his *Wear and Tear*, or *Hints for the Overworked* (1871), “On Rest in the Treatment of Nervous Disease” (1875), and *Fat and Blood: An Essay on the Treatment of Certain Forms of Neurasthenia and Hysteria* (1884).

55. John Kearsley Mitchell (1793–1858) was a specialist in chemistry and physiology but did not publish widely on these subjects. He did publish on spinal disease and neuropathy. His writings also include essays on animal magnetism, phrenology, and mesmerism, and he conducted research on “phrenomesmerism,” or aspects of sensation, extrasensory perception, and cerebral function based on phrenological brain maps.

56. JA quoted in A. L. Bowen, “World Is Better That This Woman Lives,” 27, quoted here as in Farrell, *Beloved Lady*, 40, n. 41.

57. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 65. In his 1935 biography of his aunt, James Weber Linn wrote that “[s]he spent some time in Weir Mitchell's hospital in Philadelphia, and when she was able to travel came back to Cedarville, only to break down again” (*Jane Addams*, 69). Winifred Wise implied that although JA “could not recover from the nervous shock of her father's sudden death,” the reason for her forced bed rest in Philadelphia was not psychological but somatic—due to the “tortured” pains that were “alive in her back” (*Jane Addams of Hull-House*, 93).

58. S. Weir Mitchell married twice. He wed his first wife, Mary Middleton Elwyn, in 1858. She died of diphtheria in 1862, leaving Mitchell with two young sons, the eldest of whom was John Kearsley Mitchell (1859–1917), named after Mitchell's father. (S. Weir Mitchell's second

wife, whom he married when his sons were teenagers, was Mary Cadwalader Mitchell [d. 1914]). The younger John Kearsley Mitchell became a physician as his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had before him. He graduated from the Univ. of Pennsylvania in 1883 and was an assistant to his father at the Orthopaedic Hospital and Infirmary for Nervous Diseases. He worked in general practice for a decade before becoming, like his father, a noted neurologist.

59. On Mitchell's clinic, see Walter, *S. Weir Mitchell*, 94–95. In the 1870s, according to Walter, “[a] senior attending physician, usually Mitchell, was in direct charge of the clinic and saw all of the patients” (94). He was assisted by resident physicians, who performed patient histories and presented a working diagnosis based on initial examinations of the patients. Over time, the clinic was increasingly run by visiting physicians. Their studies were published, in the 1870s and 1880s, under the auspices of “the Orthopaedic Hospital, the Infirmary for Nervous Diseases, or from the clinic of S. Weir Mitchell, M.D.” (94).

60. Feminist theorist Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860–1935) experienced severe postpartum depression and was treated by S. Weir Mitchell after the birth of her daughter Katherine in 1885. Her experience occurred during her first, and unsuccessful, marriage, to Charles Stetson (she was later happily married to George Houghton Gilman). She later condemned the rest cure regimen and Mitchell's ideas regarding the proper centrality of domesticity in women's lives. She combined her critiques of paternalism in both marriage and medicine in her short story masterpiece, “The Yellow Wallpaper.” First published in *New England Magazine* in 1892, the story features a woman who goes mad under the rest cure ministrations of her physician husband. Gilman's real-life cure for herself was to leave her marriage and child and to embark on a public career of lecturing, writing, and social reform. Her major analytical work, *Women and Economics* (1898), dealt with issues of women's economic dependency within marriage and posited socialized alternatives to privatized households and child-rearing. Her *Forerunner* magazine served as a forum of feminist thought from 1909 to 1916. Gilman continued to suffer from problems with depression throughout her very productive career. In 1935, suffering from the debilitating effects of advanced breast cancer and while still able to act in the spirit of independence that had governed her since the late 1880s, she ended her own life.

61. Mitchell, “On Rest in the Treatment of Nervous Disease,” 94; Mitchell, *Fat and Blood*, 69. See also Mitchell, “Evolution of the Rest Treatment”; and Walter, *S. Weir Mitchell*, 127–40.

62. EGS made her comments in EGS to JA, [ca. late June 1881], below; and JA in Addams, *Twenty Years*, 65. JA and EGS both suffered from ill health in the summer of 1881 and were encouraged to rest. JA recommended that EGS take malt and blood extracts to build her strength (see JA to EGS, 3 Sept. 1881, below), and there are repeated references in correspondence to problems with JA's back (see SA to JA, 21 Aug., and 11 Sept. 1881; and Charles Caverno to JA, 22 Aug. 1881, all below).

63. GBH to AHHA, 29 Jan. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

64. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, 28 Nov. 1881?], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:373. According to biblical tradition, Cain, the son of Adam and Eve, was stigmatized and sent into exile (“away from the presence of the Lord . . . east of Eden”) by God in punishment for killing his brother Abel. When God confronted Cain about the whereabouts of the murdered Abel (“Where is Abel your brother?”), Cain denied both his crime and his fraternal connection, replying “I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?” (Gen. 4:16, 9).

65. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, 28 Nov. 1881?], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:373.

66. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 66. See also headnote, SAAH to JA, 10 Sept. 1882, below.

67. The biblical reference JA made is to Prov. 23:7. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, 15 Jan. 1882], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:364.

68. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 65, 66.

69. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 66.

70. Dr. Goodell's hospital, Preston Retreat, was located at 500–518 North 20th St., very near the Spring Garden St. facility at 531–539 North 20th St. (alternative address 1930 Spring Garden St.), where AHHA recovered from her treatment.

71. A. P. Hellings to AHHA, 14 Nov. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.

72. UIC, JAMC, HJ. See also Laura A. Malburn to JA, 11 Feb. 1882, below. GBH's 12 Mar. 1882 letter reported that he was "glad to hear that you can be once more in your own quarters, and that you are recovering so rapidly" (UIC, JAMC, HJ).

73. *RSM* (Apr. 1882), 123.

74. See "Personals," *RSM* (May 1882), 159; and *RSM* (June 1882), 189.

75. Almost immediately after she received her degree, JA began offering financial support to her alma mater as a donor and as a fund-raiser. See Speech to the Annual Meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn., [20 June] 1883, n. 6, below; see also Helen Harrington to JA, 26 July 1885, below.

76. *RSM* (July 1883), 215; see also Speech to the Annual Meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn., [20 June] 1883, below.

77. A reference to the ethical views of Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), English philosopher who helped popularize the application of the principles of evolution to the social sciences. Spencer was the author of *Principles of Psychology* (1855), *First Principles* (1862), *Principles of Biology* (1864–67), *Principles of Sociology* (1876–96), and *Principles of Ethics* (1879–93), as well as works on sociology, education, and the use of classification in the sciences. Much of his writing on ethics and morality dealt with the tensions between altruism and egocentrism, or living for others versus fulfilling the self. One of his ethical principles was that individuals should follow their own path as long as that path did not harm or infringe upon that of others. JA underlined the word "Clannishness" three times.

78. A reference to GBH.

79. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, 27 Apr. 1882], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:367. At issue in JA's malaise over familial expectations, especially that she would marry GBH, may have been her own seeming lack of romantic attraction to men in general. As her later life would prove, JA's major emotional interests were women.

80. Linn, *Jane Addams*, 67.

81. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, July 1882], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:366. In her notes, JA referred generally and directly to Hawthorne's novel. Hawthorne introduced a "sad little brook" which "kept up a babble, kind, quiet, soothing, but melancholy, like the voice of a young child that was spending its infancy without playfulness, and knew not how to be merry among sad acquaintances and events of sombre hue" in chap. 16, "A Forest Walk," and used it as a metaphor through the remainder of the novel (*Scarlet Letter*, 332). The little brook, with its convoluted turns, black depths, and eddies, sometimes smoothing out into reflective pools of revelation, can be read in many ways. It can be seen as the figurative representation of Hester's (or her daughter Pearl's) soul or consciousness, wandering in a moral wilderness symbolized by the forest. Hawthorne also used it to represent the dividing line between the physical and the metaphysical, the pagan and sacred, this world and others. Hawthorne also made it a symbol of the wearying aspects of melancholy thoughts: "'O brook! O foolish and tiresome little brook!' cried Pearl, after listening awhile to its talk. 'Why art thou so sad? Pluck up a spirit, and do not be all the time sighing and murmuring!'" (*Scarlet Letter*, 332).

82. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, July 1882], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:366. JA copied this quote from a passage in Hawthorne's chap. 15, "Hester and Pearl" that refers to Hester's loveless marriage to the older scholar, Roger Chillingworth. Hester, neglected and abandoned by Chillingworth, subsequently met and succumbed to secret adultery with her true soul mate, Arthur Dimmesdale. At one point, Hester pondered which was worse, Chillingworth's encouragement of a naive young girl to marry a man she did not love or her own betrayal of that marriage in the arms of one for whom she felt the utmost passion. "She deemed it her

crime most to be repented of, that she had ever endured, and reciprocated, the lukewarm grasp of his hand, and had suffered the smile of her lips and eyes to mingle and melt into his own. And it seemed a fouler offence committed by Roger Chillingworth, than any which had since been done him, that, in the time when her heart knew no better, he had persuaded her to fancy herself happy by his side. . . . Let men tremble to win the hand of woman, unless they win along with it the utmost passion of her heart!" (*Scarlet Letter*, 314). It is interesting that JA chose this passage for her notebook in a time when she was probably being encouraged into a marriage with stepbrother GBH, for whom she could conjure up only sisterly affection. It was also natural that she was pondering the more general themes of knowing real love and the dangers of making a mistake in marriage and being cut off from society by the secrets harbored in the heart.

83. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, July 1882], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:366. JA took this quotation from Hawthorne's chap. 13, "Another View of Hester." JA, who was on an island off the Atlantic coast, reflected on Hawthorne's observations about the effect of setting the stigmatized Hester apart from general society even while she operated within it. The lonely Hester's "life had turned, in a great measure, from passion and feeling, to thought" (*Scarlet Letter*, 292). While outwardly she worked among others in the village, inwardly, in her isolation, "[t]he world's law was no law for her mind" with its well-developed intellect. Like others outside Puritan society, she conceived of the world in "newly emancipated" ways. "Hester Prynne," Hawthorne writes, "imbibed this spirit [of overthrow]. She assumed a freedom of speculation, then common enough on the other side of the Atlantic, but which our forefathers, had they known it, would have held to be a deadlier crime than that stigmatized by the scarlet letter. In her lonesome cottage, by the sea-shore, thoughts visited her, such as dared to enter no other dwelling in New England. . . . It is remarkable, that persons who speculate the most boldly often conform with the most perfect quietude to the external regulations of society. The thought suffices them, without investing itself in the flesh and blood of action. So it seemed to be with Hester," whom Hawthorne surmised might otherwise have been a visionary like "Ann Hutchinson," or a "prophetess" giving voice to radical reforms (*Scarlet Letter*, 293-94).

84. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, July 1882], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:366. In this quoted passage, also from chap. 13, "Another View of Hester," Hawthorne moved from speculation about Hester in particular to what she represented "with reference to the whole race of womanhood. Was existence worth accepting, even to the happiest among them? As concerned her own individual existence, she had long ago decided in the negative, and dismissed the point as settled. A tendency to speculation, though it may keep woman quiet, as it does man, yet makes her sad. She discerns, it may be, such a hopeless task before her. As a first step, the whole system of society is to be torn down, and built up anew. Then, the very nature of the opposite sex, or its long hereditary habit, which has become like nature, is to be essentially modified, before woman can be allowed to assume what seems a fair and suitable position. Finally, all other difficulties being obviated, woman cannot take advantage of these preliminary reforms, until she herself shall have undergone a still mightier change; in which, perhaps, the ethereal essence, wherein she has her truest life, will be found to have evaporated" (*Scarlet Letter*, 295). JA, at this juncture in her life, was facing just such a "hopeless task before her" and was struggling with its inner and outer manifestations.

85. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, 1882?], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:367. It is noteworthy that while grappling with these issues of her own place in society, JA wrote notes about both Hester Prynne and Cain, who Hawthorne himself linked in his pages. In chap. 5, "Hester at Her Needle," Hawthorne described Hester as having "a part to perform in the world. With her native energy of character, and rare capacity, it could not entirely cast her off, although it had set a mark upon her, more intolerable to a woman's heart than that which branded the brow of Cain. In all her intercourse with society, however, there was nothing that made

her feel as if she belonged to it. . . . She stood apart from mortal interests, yet close beside them, like a ghost that revisits the familiar fireside, and can no longer make itself seen or felt" (*Scarlet Letter*, 147–48).

86. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, July 1882?], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:369.

87. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, July 1882?], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:369.

88. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, 15 July 1882], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:369. Here JA refers to cousin Clara L. Young.

89. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, July 1882?], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:371. The Greek god Hyperion (a sun god who was sometimes called Helios in Homer) was one of the Titans, products of the marriage of heaven (Uranus) and earth (Gaia). With his sister Theia, Hyperion was the parent of Selene (Moon), Eos (Dawn), and Helios (Sun). One version of the story of Hyperion has a "brother's keeper" theme. When his sibling Titans sought his help to defend their realm, Hyperion was not to be found. The Titans were overcome, and Hyperion was subsequently isolated and dethroned by Apollo. Hyperion inspired various Romantic writers, including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. JA referred here to Longfellow's novel, *Hyperion: A Romance* (1839). The highly autobiographical story was based on Longfellow's trip to Europe of 1835–36, during which his young wife died following a miscarriage and he also learned of the death of his best friend. Longfellow was thrown into lonely despair, only to meet in his travels another young woman whom he recognized as his soul mate. That woman, Frances Appleton (d. 1861), eventually became his second wife, and they shared a passionate marriage. Longfellow described the writing of *Hyperion* as a therapeutic attempt to overcome his depression, restore himself to good mental health, and move on in life. In the novel, Longfellow's alter ego, Paul Flemming, moves from a past shrouded in imagery of darkness into a liberated, hopeful, sunny future. Through him, Longfellow counsels the reader to stop clinging to the past, to have courage in seizing the present, and to try to embrace the unknown future without fear. The ultimate message of the novel—to honestly face one's attitude and behavior and believe in the possibility of almost miraculous personal transformation for the good—was certainly one that JA pondered during this difficult transitory period in her own life, with its own background of loss and grief.

90. Celia Dolldorf was a domestic servant in the Addams household before JA and AHHA went to Philadelphia, and she may have been rehired after their return in spring 1882. She and JA were friendly, and Dolldorf kept in touch with JA in Philadelphia. See Celia Dolldorf to JA, [9?] Jan. 18[82?]; and Esther and Tilghman Resh to AHHA, 19 Dec. 1881, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.; see also GBH to JA, 1 June 1882, below.

91. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, 1882?], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:368. JA identified these notes as written in "Nantucket after supper with two B[oston] ladies."

92. A reference to JA's cousin Miranda E. Addams.

93. A reference to JA's cousin Clara L. Young.

94. JA, [1880 Notebook], [notes, ca. Aug. 1882?], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:357.

95. A. P. Hellings to AHHA, 14 Nov. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.

96. See SAAH to JA, 10 Sept. 1882, below.

97. James Weber Linn, "Linn's Line," [*Chicago Daily Times*,] [1931].

98. Linn, *Jane Addams*, 69.

99. AHHA to JA, [ca. Feb.–Mar. 1883], below.

100. Linn, *Jane Addams*, 69–70.

101. See JA to SAAH, 18 July 1883, below.

102. For a biographical profile of JWA, see *PJA*, 1:479–83; and JA to SAAH, 25 Apr. 1883, below.

103. See Minutes of the Special Meeting of the RFS Board of Trustees, 10 May 1883, below.

104. *RSM* (July 1883), 216; see also Speech to the Annual Meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn., [20 June] 1883, below.

- 105. See JA to EGS, 12 Aug. 1883, below.
- 106. JA passport [Aug. 1883], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:491–92. See also illustration, p. 192.
- 107. Matthew Arnold, “Self-Dependence,” in *Empedocles on Etna, and Other Poems* (1852). This poem was one of JA’s favorites, and she often quoted it while a student at RFS. See *PJA*, 1:390, n. 8.
- 108. Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 75–76, 87.
- 109. See JA to EGS, 7 Jan. 1883, below.
- 110. EGS to Mary Blaisdell, 23 Feb. 1889, H copy in hand of SAAH, SC, Starr; and *PJA*, 3. See also JA, “Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements,” in *Philanthropy and Social Progress* (1893), 1–26; *JAPM*, 46:553–66.

From Ellen Gates Starr

[Durand, Ill.]

[ca. late June 1881]

Dear Jane,

I have not congratulated you on the Valedictory, or answered your note, or replied to your first invitation, or done anything that I ought to have done, because I have been ill, & I think when you behold this you will readily believe that I am still, I write in bed.¹ I thought I could do a little better than this, so insisted on writing myself, though my father² offered to write for me. I have been sick in bed for more than a week, & before that for about a week more while I was having fever I got up & dressed at 3 or 4 P.M.. As I probably shall not be able to dress & really sit up till the end of the week, you see for me, who am never sick, I am having quite a siege. The Dr. says it is nervous prostration caused partly by over work; I suppose I shall be obliged to admit that it is a smash up, & thank my good health that it's no worse. I grow very impatient as I am not allowed to read, & I am getting to want to. My brother³ is out from Chicago for a few days, which makes a pleasant change. I shall be delighted to visit you as you well know. I presume I shall be well by the time you return from your trip (how I wish I were going!) & if you are unselfish enough to let me share Miss Anderson's⁴ visit or part of it with you I should be very happy, for I don't see any other chance <of seeing her>, I seem to miss her all around. If you would write her a note & tell her I am ill perhaps her heart would be moved to write to me. She is generally very good about writing for so busy⁵ a person but I haven't heard from her for a long time.

My regards to all. When you are ready for me it will rejoice my heart to see you [.]

AL (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:648–49).

1. EGS was employed as a teacher in Chicago at Miss Rice's School for Young Ladies and Children (popularly known as Miss Rice's School for Girls) (see *PJA*, 1:281–82, n. 6) and wrote to JA from her parents' home in Durand, Ill. She and JA had maintained a close friendship since the year they shared at RFS in 1877–78. EGS planned to come to the 1881 RFS commencement to hear JA deliver her valedictory address, but she was unable to attend because of illness. JA's note to EGS is not known to be extant.

2. EGS's father was Caleb Allen Starr (1822–1915), a former farmer who operated a drugstore in Durand (see *PJA*, 1:238–39, n. 7; 1:544–45).

3. A reference to the eldest of EGS's two brothers, William Wesley Starr. He was an artist in Chicago and, like EGS, was close to their aunt, Eliza Allen Starr, an art history expert whose home was the site of a well-known artistic salon (see *PJA*, 1:238, n. 5; 1:239–40, n. 9).

4. RFS instructor SA, JA's friend.

5. Text from "busy a person" to "to see you[.]" is written on page 1 perpendicular to the main body of the letter.

From Sarah F. Anderson

Geneseo, Ill.

July 14 /81.

My dear Jane,

Your letter came in good time as help from you has come ever since we have been together.¹ Your belief in me and your real liking for me has helped me more than you can well realize. I do not think I am an indolent person at least so far as my physical nature is concerned but I do need a spur or some one, who—well you to make any thing of myself. No I do not exactly mean that, for I dont think and I know you do not, that my life would have been wasted did I spend it all at the Sem'y., but I dont think that the best thing to do, for I think just at this stage of the woman question, one does the most good who does good work in one of the professions or higher departments of teaching and yet maintains her true womanly way of helpfulness.

I said your letter came in good time: well I did not bring my books back with me, for I thought of the sewing and a restless baby, but I had been thinking of going to Dr. Brown and looking at his books and asking for at least two recitations a week, now this may not be accomplished, but if it is old lady it will be your letter's work in part. This has been one of your ways of good in the school. Mary Ellwood, Addie²—so many and so if you give up many of your plans that you think so essential now to future work you need not lose that gift and best way of work.

I sent Ellen & Katie a paper with the valedictory in it. Have you seen Ellen & have you heard from Katie. I am very sorry they could not be there.³ When you graduate at Smith's, Jane I shall be there, you may be sure, though I believe they do not have Anniversays do they. What a pity. Notwithstanding all the talk of last year, I believe more strongly than ever in just such Commencement exercises. Dont you think the seeing and hearing of the 'Glorious-Seventeen'⁴ did a great deal for the audience gathered there. Surely an impression would be made on all parents such as no speaker other than boy or girl could make.

I felt like writing you every day I was at R—,⁵ left there the first day of July, and left Belvidere July 4.⁶ Met Mary, Minnie & the dear boy Andrew at Hinsdale⁷ & we came home together on Wednesday the boy is not very well, & is very uneasy needing constant attention, but he is a bright bit of immortality, and does good to the bontiful.

What are you reading. When I get settled for another year shall we not go on (!) with our way of reading together. It will be a link, though not the only one by any means.

You know that I want you to go to Smith's but not next year Jane: neither do I want you to spend much of the winter in Cedarville, but what of Susie Hos——'s plan.⁸ I believe your trip⁹ a year ago gave you reserve force for last spring, and as pleasant a trip next winter would be a most excellent start for Smith's <the> next year.

I presume you have either been at the Sem'y for mag. work or are there.¹⁰ I looked over part of the proff,¹¹ such quantities of mistakes.

I go back the last three weeks of the vacation. I hope to have Miss Blaisdell's room @ Chapel Hall, though as Katie S.¹² wants it also I do not feel at all sure of having it, but after I am settled in my room and before school opens I want you to come and see me. I hope Miss B.¹³ will be there while you are sending off the Magazine.

I am anxious to hear from James,¹⁴ he told me of his invitation to go to Cedarville as soon as well enough and said he should not hesitate about going for he knew that Mr. Addams meant what he said and then told of a similar invitation when he had thanked them and said he knew it would be impossible, for said he, they did not want me, nor expect me to accept the invitation. Jane if we can live lives of truth we can wait for the other things. You will be glad to know that they give me \$100.00 more next year,¹⁵ and so while this extra money keeps me at the Sem'y, and if they had not given it me I might possibly have studied next year yet it is just that much nearer the final effort after all.¹⁶ Good bye dear Childie. Write soon. Shall I write Ellen at Durand, suppose it will reach her from there at any rate. Yours,

Sarah F. Anderson

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:670–75).

1. JA's letter is not known to be extant.

2. JA's roommate at RFS, 1879–80, Addie M. Smith (Strong) (see *PJA*, 1:220–21, n. 20).

3. Like EGS, some of JA's closest friends who had left RFS short of completion were unable to attend her graduation: Eva Campbell Goodrich was ill, and Katie Hitchcock was also unable to come.

4. A reference to the seventeen members of the RFS class of 1881.

5. RFS.

6. Belvidere, Ill., is a town in Boone Co., fifteen miles east of Rockford.

7. SA met her sister and her sister's two children in Hinsdale, Ill., then a village in Cook and Du Page counties, seventeen miles west of Chicago.

8. JA's stepcousin, Susan Hostetter (McKay).

9. SA presumably meant to write "I believe your trip."

10. It was customary for the *RSM* editor to stay in Rockford for the first part of the summer to bring out the last edition of the magazine, which covered the end of the just-finished school year.

11. SA probably meant to write *proof*.

12. Instructor Katie L. Smith, teacher in the RFS Preparatory Dept.

13. JA's former teacher and RSM faculty sponsor Sarah F. Blaisdell, who had officially retired from RFS at the end of the 1880–81 school year. JA paid tribute to her in her valedictory address, which was printed in the final issue of RSM that she directed as editor (see RSM [July 1881], 219–22; JAPM, 46:383–86; and PJA, 1:432–37). For a biographical note on Blaisdell, see PJA, 1:185–85, n. 45.

14. RFS handyman James Alcock (sometimes spelled “Alcott”) was pleased to receive JHA's invitation to visit Cedarville presented when the Addams family came to Rockford for JA's graduation. For biographical information on the Alcock family, see PJA, 1:297–98, n. 2.

15. Text from “year, and so while” through the signature is written on page 1 perpendicular to the main body of the letter.

16. SA was struggling with decisions over whether she wanted to stay in teaching, stay at RFS (where she felt underpaid and underappreciated and was somewhat in conflict with the archaic ways of RFS founder and principal Anna P. Sill), or go to graduate school. She would continue to struggle with these questions during the next year. On Sill and her philosophy regarding RFS, see PJA, 1:178–79, nn. 6, 10; 1:437, n. 4.

From Martha Thomas

Throughout the summer of 1881 Jane Addams received letters from various Rockford Female Seminary friends. Like Jane Addams, they felt maladjusted, missed the daily routines and intimacies of life at boarding school, and were sorting out what to do next in their lives. Several of them chose a career in teaching, either as a lifelong form of income or as a prelude to marriage. Addams's friend Helen Harrington felt particularly displaced. Her family had relocated from Wisconsin to a new home and unfamiliar landscape in Caldwell, Kansas. She wrote despondently to Jane that “since coming to this western prairie I have been so homesick for the beautiful old home in Wisconsin; it seems as though these level, treeless prairies were endless and they are so different from the hills and woods and fine trees that had become so familiar I did not know what it would be without them.”¹

Jane Addams, meanwhile, pondered her role back home in Cedarville and the physical condition of her own body. She did not feel well, and family members apparently questioned her ability to proceed directly on to further study at college. There is evidence that by mid-summer, friends Ellen Gates Starr and Emma Briggs² both knew that Addams's hopes for attending Smith College in the fall had been dashed. There was no talk of medical school as an alternative. Apparently glad that Jane would be staying in closer proximity, Ellen Starr wrote to her, “I am sorry for your disappointment about Smith's, but . . . I hope I shall get some good out of it.”³ The word circulated among friends. Helen Harrington wrote to Addams after hearing the news from Emma Briggs, telling Jane she had heard that she was “not going to Smith this year on account of your health.”⁴ Addams's health did not seem to improve. As the summer progressed, Sarah Anderson wrote sympathetically to Addams about the pain Addams was experiencing in her back. Motivated by the need to boost Jane's frail constitution and to foster family togetherness, the Addams

family made plans to make a group vacation out of one of John Huy Addams's business trips. Mattie Thomas⁵ wrote to Jane, who had recently left Cedarville with her stepbrother, father, and stepmother to enjoy the Lake Superior region. Thomas filled Addams in on family happenings and expressed hopes that Addams would be able to visit her in Iowa during her trip.⁶

Lansing, Iowa.

Aug. 7. 1881.

My Dear Jane;

Yesterday I felt wretched, was about half sick and wanted to write to you then just as I promised I would but couldn't get around to it. I expect you have been comfortable out on the lake these last days when we have been suffering with the heat. Your letter was such a comfort to me. Bennie came running up with it one warm afternoon[.] I am glad you are going to have such a lovely trip, but when I told Pa about it he seemed to think you could come this way on your way home just as well as not—except that you might have to come alone as the rest of the party would probably prefer some other way, but if you get any where near the river you could take a boat—or if you go to St Paul you are then only 6 hours ride on the cars from here. Just think how near that is—but I won't "persist or demand" any longer, only suggest and assure you how much pleasure it would give me & in fact all of us to have you come.

Ma had a Coffee party last Thursday and that just about used me up—it makes me so out of patience with myself to find out I can't endure any more than that. It was a very warm day, and I didn't do much in the morning but when afternoon came found there were endless last things to do. I made buttonhole bouquets and then a pyramid of flowers for the table—then I helped Grandma pack the ice-cream freezer and we put the girl at that. Then a box of peaches came and we had those to peel and cut up. Ma had put most of the dishes on the table & arranged them—but we had to finish. Then I got dressed and Adah and I waited on the table. Then when they were through the table had to be cleared and set again for Pa & the rest of us—for at Coffee parties you know there are no gentlemen so the host never attends them. Then I put baby to sleep while the nurse girl ate her supper. Then I came down stairs & helped do up the work and tried to have Grandma go upstairs for she had worked hard all day but she wouldn't until everything was done. I was so tired when I finally went up stairs to sit down that I couldn't say a word—only "Yes" & "No"—"I think so"—"I don't know." I couldn't see that anyone was benefitted a bit by my being so tired out—except that Ma hadn't had a bit of care or worry, & she wasn't tired at all. Of course I was glad to save her that much—for if she over-works I am afraid it will bring on her old attacks. But as Grandma said if she couldn't have company without so much fuss and wearing everybody out she never would have any. I haven't felt well since that day and yesterday felt just as I did in the Spring at R——.⁷ You will understand Jane that I am not complaining—for I just enjoy

working for anything of that kind & am glad I can relieve Ma of some care. I only wish my powers of endurance were greater. I shall kill myself if I ever have a home of my own for I shall want to do everything myself. I had a letter from Phila this week, she wrote me such a good letter.⁸ Its the letters from the dear old girls that are the most satisfactory after all. Yesterday afternoon I was sitting up in my room trying to paint some foliage leaves when my Mother called to me that I had some letters. I went down for them—but you ought to have seen my face when I gazed at the envelopes & found one from the irrepressible M. D.⁹ and the other from my brother. Of course I was glad to hear from my brother—we write every week regularly but I had hoped the M. D. wouldn't write in a long time. I am afraid I am sailing under false colors and I don't know how to hoist any others. I assented to his request to exchange photos—because I couldn't very well refuse. I didn't send mine until I got home and then sent a card. He said in his letter that at first he thought it was dreadful but since then his opinion had somewhat changed. He had put it in a little frame with a glass over it & he thought that was an improvement. I will quote the opening sentence of his letter—“Your long and anxiously looked for letter came at last after I had almost lost hope of ever hearing from you again” and he closed by saying he should like to hear from me often. I wish I could describe to you my feelings just then. I felt sick anyhow & that letter made me worse—disgusted. I can't bear to think of his having my picture—much less having it framed—his, remains in the letter in which he sent it. Phila wrote me that Annie Sidwell¹⁰ was going to clerk in a store in Aurora soon—& remarked that it didn't seem to her that was Annie's calling. I hate to think of going back so soon—somehow it is a little disappointment to me not to have a little change in my life—perhaps there will be more than I anticipate. I wonder what you are doing this afternoon it must be about visiting hour how I wish I could see you. I really am lonesome for girl's society. I have staid at home so close since I came home that I haven't seen much of the girls—they don't satisfy me either only for the time being. My Sunday has been spoilt—at least this afternoon. I made a good beginning—got up early & learned my S.S. lesson—and began this letter before breakfast—attended church & S.S. After dinner was just seating myself on the front veranda when a lady came in—she is a beautiful player & Ma had asked her to come in & play for Mrs Judd the lady that is visiting here. She hadn't been able to come before so came today something unusual for us to have any one come in on Sunday. The result was I didn't have much of an afternoon. Now I wish I could see you and make up for it by a good old talk—when we do have that privilege again we will know better how to value it won't we? I want a full account of your trip as soon as you can find time to write me—don't forget to study carefully the different formations in the Lake Superior region, get them fixed while there—it will be of great value in after life (per order of M. E. H.).¹¹

As you gave me no address perhaps you didn't expect to hear from me until your return but I will take the liberty of sending this¹² care of Bank—asking them to forward.¹³ With love Your devoted friend

Mattie Thomas

The¹⁴ ferns are from a jar in my window.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:685–94).

1. 23 July 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:681.
2. For a biographical note on Emma Leone Briggs (Dodds), see Emma L. Briggs to JA, 30 Dec. 1881, n. 1, below.
3. [Ca. July] [1881], SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:669.
4. 23 July 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:681–82. Both Harrington and Briggs went on to further study in the 1881–82 academic year. See Helen Harrington to JA, 17 Aug. 1881; and Emma L. Briggs to JA, 30 Dec. 1881, both below.
5. For a biographical note on Martha “Mattie” Thomas (Greene), see *PJA*, 1:186, n. 52.
6. JA departed from Cedarville on the family trip with JHA, AHHA, and GBH in the first week of Aug. 1881. The foursome traveled to northern Wisconsin and Michigan.
7. RFS.
8. JA and Thomas’s RFS classmate Phila D. Pope (Campbell) graduated with them in 1881. She worked as a teacher before she married James S. Campbell, a grain and coal merchant, in 1885. The Campbells lived in Rockford, Ill., and Monte Vista, Colo. Phila Pope Campbell was involved in missionary education and Sunday School work with the Presbyterian church and was also active in the Chautauqua Club movement. She and her husband had at least one son.
9. Almost certainly a reference to Dr. Joel Henry Greene, who had a medical practice in Dubuque, Iowa. He and Mattie Thomas married in 1885 after Thomas taught school at RFS (in 1881–82) and pursued postgraduate training.
10. Annie Sidwell (1861–1907) graduated from RFS along with JA, Thomas, and Pope in the class of 1881. Raised as a Quaker, she was from Vermont, Ill. She clerked at her brother’s dry goods store in Aurora, Ill., in 1881–82, then began a career as a teacher, specializing in teaching the blind. She taught in Vinton, Iowa, in 1884–85, then moved to Nebraska, where she taught at the Nebraska City Institute for the Blind and the Nebraska Normal School in Lincoln. She was active in the Episcopal church and in woman’s club work. She died of congestive heart failure in a sanitarium in Lincoln. Her obituary described her as “a woman of rare intelligence and force of character” who “had a cheery outlook on life that enabled her to endure her long illness with great patience” (*Lincoln [Nebr.] Daily Star*, 13 Feb. 1907). She maintained her warm friendship with JA until the end of her life. Sidwell’s will stipulated that her home property in Normal be sold for the best price that could be obtained and the money transferred to JA, to be used, at JA’s discretion, “for the payment of scholarships at Rockford College.” JA dutifully deeded the \$1,650 proceeds (about \$27,000 in 2006 dollars) from the sale of Sidwell’s property to Rockford College in Apr. 1908 (see Annie W. Sidwell will and legal papers, 18 Apr. 1908, RC; *JAPM*, 27:946–48).
11. RFS science teacher Mary E. Holmes. For biographical notes on Holmes, see *PJA*, 1:182, n. 35; 1:209–12, n. 4.
12. Text beginning with “this care” through “Martha Thomas” is written on the right and top margins of the last page of the letter.
13. The Second National Bank of Freeport, where JHA worked and received mail.
14. Text beginning with “the ferns” is written across the top of the first page of the letter and perpendicular to the main text.

From Helen Harrington

Caldwell. Kan.

Aug 17. '81.

Dear Jane,

Your letter¹ finally found its way to me and with it a new sense of the loss of the companionship that had grown to be such a strength and comfort. Those few words from you made me cry again as all the homesickness and loneliness of this strange place had failed to do. And someday the days as they pass do not make me miss you less.²

The wheels of destiny seem to stand still as far as I am concerned[.] I never in my life before felt so utterly adrift. I had planned to spend a quiet restful year at home with my father but this place has proved so unsatisfactory that we shall not build here so our home will be all broken up for a time at least. It is very probable that I shall go to school this fall and I am debating between Smiths and Ann Arbor.³

Since I found you were not going this fall I had hoped that another year we might go and work together at Smiths but I suppose Fate would not be so kind to me as that. I expect the extent of my abilities will be to finally become an average school-ma'am.⁴

I hope these days are each one bringing you new health and strength. I like to think of you spending a quiet restful time in your home with all its beautiful surroundings. There is nothing like living in Kansas to make one "appreciate the beauties of nature". I am glad that Mattie⁵ is going back and Mary to Smiths⁶ and Nora is having the gayest kind of a time at home just as she would anywhere for I think her happiness is from an inward source and I used to draw so large a supply from her that I hardly know what to do with out her sunshiny presence.⁷

I have been waiting anxiously for the volume with our essays in it[.]⁸ But Annie Sidwell wont answer Mary's postal. I guess she didn't appreciate the joke about Lilian Ethel Bacon.⁹

I never expect to get into sympathy with any others as at Rockford where we lived and worked together. Please write to me again and when I reach my destination I will inform you whither the fates have led me and what I am doing for I am always—dear friend—Yours most sincerely

Helen Harrington.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:695–98).

1. JA's letter is not known to be extant.
2. Unaware of events unfolding in her home state of Wisconsin, Helen Harrington penned this letter to JA on the day of JHA's death.
3. Helen Harrington attended the Univ. of Michigan in 1881–82.
4. Helen Harrington did become a schoolteacher. In the 1880s she taught at district schools in Wisconsin and at RFS. She retired from teaching when she married W. M. Alderson, a Nebraska farmer, in 1890.

5. Mattie Thomas was returning to RFS to teach.

6. Mary Ellwood (Lewis) was planning to attend Smith College. For biographical notes on Ellwood, see *PJA*, 1:283, n. 10; and Mary Ellwood to JA, 16 Sept. 1881 and introduction to part 2, both below.

7. Eleanor "Nora" Frothingham (former roommate of Mattie Thomas), who taught school in Wisconsin and Iowa before marrying Rev. Barnabas C. Haworth, a Presbyterian missionary. For biographical notes on Frothingham, see *PJA*, 1:212–13, n. 9; and JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1887, below.

8. A reference to the volume containing the graduation essays of the seventeen members of the RFS class of 1881, printed in book form by the News Stream Press in De Kalb, Ill., compliments of Mary Ellwood. Ellwood distributed copies to her classmates in the fall of 1881. JA's essay on Cassandra was included among the essays in the collection (see UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 27:423–61).

9. Lillian Ethel Bacon of Wisconsin was a member of the RFS class of 1884. She became a teacher after graduation, and in 1903 she married A. T. Van Scoy in Fond du Lac, Wis. A member of the Congregational church, she became principal of the Boys' Academy of Milwaukee, Wis., in 1886 and served in that capacity for many years.

From Isaac E. Carey

John Huy Addams died in Green Bay, Wisconsin, on the evening of 17 August 1881, at about 6:15 P.M. Jane Addams and Anna Haldeman Addams were at his side. As the pastor presiding at his funeral put it, "notwithstanding all the care and faithful nursing a loving wife and daughter could bestow and the supposed intelligent and skillful treatment of a good physician, he gradually declined until Wednesday evening at six o'clock, he passed away from earth."¹ Jane and Anna made arrangements for the body to be transported, and John Huy Addams's funeral took place



Jane Addams's favorite photograph of her father, John H. Addams. (Allen and Williams, Photographers, Freeport, Illinois; JAPP, DeLoach)

at Cedarville on Saturday, 20 August 1881. The death had been so unexpected, and the funeral by necessity held so swiftly after the return of the body to Illinois, that many people close to the Addams family did not hear of the ceremony until after the burial had taken place—or they heard so close to the event that they could not arrive in time, needing to travel from a distance.² The funeral was held outdoors in the yard of the family home above the mill pond, and “a very large assembly, made up of citizens from all parts of the county” were in attendance.³

John Huy Addams’s old friend, Rev. Isaac Carey, who had presided over his marriage to Anna Haldeman Addams in 1868, was among the many people who wrote the family to laud Jane Addams’s father as a man of outstanding character and accomplishment. Jane Addams also heard from her close girlfriends, some of whom offered to come to Cedarville to be with her.⁴ Carey undoubtedly would have spoken about his feelings for John Huy Addams at the ceremony if he had been able to reach Cedarville in time for the funeral. Instead, Jane Addams had Carey’s letter printed in The (Freeport, Ill.) Budget⁵ as a testimonial to her father.

Huntsburg Ohio

Aug 21st 1881

My dear friend,

Your Telegram⁶ announcing the death of your father did not, for some reason, reach me till the afternoon of the 20th, when I judged it to be impossible for me to reach Freeport in season for the funeral. Had it come to hand on the morning of the 19th, as it should have done, I should have immediately started for Freeport. Having attended the funeral of your mother and your sister, also that of Mr Halderman,⁷ I should have esteemed it a sad privilege to be with you also in this new overwhelming sorrow, and to express publicly my appreciation of the great excellence and worth of Mr Addams. Let me be counted among the mourners in view of his apparently premature death. For many years he was among my truest and most cherished friends, and he was one of the comparatively few men for whom, during the long period of our acquaintance I felt an unqualified respect for his honesty, integrity, and noble Christian manhood. I judged him to be incapable of anything mean and unworthy. He was a just man, and hated all injustice. He was the friend of universal humanity. He had a finely developed moral nature, a conscience clear and prompt in its decisions, and a will acting in harmony with it. He was sure to be right on all moral questions. He was given to the right with his whole soul. He had the courage of his convictions. He succeeded in life, and he succeeded by honesty and uprightness. His character was, I believe unsullied, and his record as a man, a citizen, a statesman, without a stain. There are too few such men as John H. Addams, and it seems that this sinful world can hardly spare any of them. Your loss is indeed a heavy one, and not only your loss but that also of the community—that of the county with whose interests he was so long identified, which so greatly honored <him> and was in turn so greatly honored by him. Greatly will he be missed in Stephenson County, but most of all in the family whose members regarded him

with such reverence and affection. I can realize in some degree how dark and desolate now must be the pleasant home which his visible presence no longer brightens, and cheers. May the Lord who ordained this sudden bereavement help you and the other members of your family to bear it with patience and resignation. Please tender to Mrs Addams, and the others, the assurance of my deep sympathy with her, and with those in their affliction.

Hoping that you may be able to give me some account of the circumstances connected with your father's death, I am Your sympathizing friend

Isaac E. Carey

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:712–15).

1. *The (Freeport, Ill.) Budget*, 27 Aug. 1881. Announcement of JHA's death appeared in the *Freeport (Ill.) Daily Bulletin*, 18 Aug. 1881. All published accounts register a first reaction of shock due to JHA's relative youth and good health and the strangeness that he should have left town on a vacation never to return. The reporter for the *Freeport (Ill.) Daily Bulletin* noted JHA's social and political prominence but reserved his greatest praise for JHA's private life: "The best eulogy the writer of these lines can pronounce is that John H. Addams was one of nature's noble men, an affectionate husband and a kind and indulgent parent." The 27 Aug. 1881 edition of *The (Freeport, Ill.) Budget* reprinted a number of tributes and reports on Addams's death, including the 19 Aug. 1881 announcement by Andrew Shuman, editor of the *Chicago Evening Journal*. Shuman stated that "of the public men of Illinois who had an influential part in shaping State legislation and State politics during the past twenty years or more, none contributed more of practical sense or of honest regard for the real interest of the people than the Hon. John H. Addams of Stephenson County, the tidings of whose sudden death startled his friends yesterday." Shuman praised Addams as plain, modest, and honest, quiet in his dignity and shy of public attention. Resolutions passed by the Board of Directors of the Second National Bank of Freeport emphasized that it was only his quiet humility that kept JHA from election to higher office than that which he had obtained. They stressed his "unassuming modesty" and "transparent truthfulness," and his "ever watchful regard for the feelings of others"—all "qualities which won our love and bound us to him as with hooks of steel." They characterized the death of JA's father as a deplorable loss of an outstanding man, "cut down in the vigor of his years" (Freeport, Ill., bankers, [Resolution on Death of John H. Addams]). A copy of the resolution by Freeport businessmen was printed in the local newspaper and given to the Addams family (see SCPC, JAC; and biographical profile of JHA in *PJA*, 1:477–79).

2. Rev. T. H. Haseltine was among those who did not make it to the funeral (on Haseltine, see *PJA*, 1:237–38, n. 2). MCAL wrote to AHHA on 28 Aug. 1881 to say that she had arrived safely home at Winnebago, Ill., after being in Cedarville for the funeral service and that she "[s]aw Mr. Hazeltine at the train Sat. morning: said he intended going out to Cedarville Friday aft. and come in Sat. morn. but the rain prevented him. Said he was home at the time of the funeral, but did not hear of it in time or would have been there" (UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

3. *The (Freeport, Ill.) Budget*, 27 Aug. 1881. The pallbearers at the funeral were "old settlers and personal friends of Mr. Addams—Seferus Sayder, Captain J. P. Reel, Robert Bell, Jackson Richart, James Benson, and Captain J. J. Piersol." Rev. A. S. Gardiner of Lena (father of JA's RFS friend Julia Gardiner) offered the opening prayer, and Rev. John C. Irvine, pastor of the Cedarville Presbyterian Church, where the Addams family worshiped, delivered the sermon. (Irvine was pastor in Cedarville from 1879 until 1882, when he left to pursue missionary work in Nebraska.) Rev. Irvine spoke of walking down the streets of Cedarville after he had heard the news on Thursday morning and hearing everyone in every household

discussing it, as if the “force of a thunderbolt and the rapidity of lightening had entered every home.” On street corners “old men, young men, professional men and businessmen” all gathered together to express their dismay. Irvine singled out JHA’s thoughtfulness as his most admirable characteristic—his thoughtfulness for the state and community and for the poor and the young and his support of the church and of his family. Irvine recalled JHA quoting the scripture on “Paul’s estimation of Jesus Christ: ‘Thou has loved righteousness and hated inequity’” and applied that estimation to JHA (“Hon. John H. Adams Funeral at Cedarville Last Saturday”). JHA had taught Sunday School for over twenty-five years. Rev. Irvine emphasized that the loss was not just to the Addams family but to the whole community. He told JHA’s family members, “[Y]ou who have lost a husband, you who have lost a father, feel most keenly the sorrow, but remember you are not alone in bereavement. We are all sad. Many outside of your family looked to him as a father, as a brother, as a friend” (*PJA*, 1:478–79). A second eulogy was delivered at the funeral by Rev. Lewis H. Mitchell of Portage, Wis., a former Cedarville Presbyterian minister who had known JHA well. JHA’s body lay for viewing inside the house, and after the funeral ceremony, the mourners passed through the home in tribute to him and then formed a procession on foot to the Cedarville Cemetery, for which he had given the land. JHA was interred at the family burial plot in the cemetery next to first wife, SWA.

4. JA’s old friends Ida May Carey and Vallie Beck were among those who wrote to JA to express sorrow and sympathy. “Words are offensive at such a time,” Ida May Carey wrote from Waterloo, Iowa, “but I want to assure you, dear friend, of my sincerest sympathy in this your sore trial. I think I loved your noble father. If I could only help you in some way!” (19 Aug. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:701). Vallie Beck tried to offer comfort through faith. “[T]he only consolation anyone can have,” she wrote JA, “a christian has. You are far too reasonable to be unmindful of this, so I know that you have already sought and received aid in this deep affliction. Heaven is real,” she reassured JA. She also brought up the prospect of heavenly reunion and addressed JHA’s nonevangelical spiritual habits: “Jennie dear,” she wrote, “be assured that you will join your dear father there, for he was a good and a just man, whose actions were those of a believer although he may not have professed belief, except in actions” (20 Aug. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:702–3). Both Caroline Potter and Mattie Thomas learned about JHA’s death by reading about it in the Chicago newspapers. Potter reminded JA that pain would heal with time and that JHA would live on through his daughter, while Thomas wrote to support her friend from afar: “I have been mourning with you.” She offered to come visit JA (which she did, in Sept.), and, like Beck, assured JA of her father’s righteousness and the comfort she could draw from this (21 Aug. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:719). Mentor Sarah Blaisdell wrote to JA, as did Addams relatives and family friends such as JA’s aunt Harriet Young and stepcousin Susan Hostetter (see Sarah F. Blaisdell to JA, 22 Aug. 1881; Harriet Young to JA and AHHA, 21 Aug. 1881; and Susan Hostetter and Linnaeus Hostetter to JA, 25 Aug. 1881, all in SCPC, JAC; and in *JAPM*, 1:722–24, 725–26, and 738–40). Mary Ellwood also wrote JA, but she was full of anticipation about going to Smith and seemed not to know either of JA’s change in plans about college or her recent loss (28 Aug. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:747–48). More letters of concern came from RFS friends in Sept. (see Phila Pope to JA, Sept. 1881; Laura Ely to JA, 2 Sept. 1881; Julia Gardiner to JA, 4 Sept. 1881; Corinne Williams to JA, 14 Sept. 1881; and Nora Frothingham’s mother, Mrs. James Frothingham, to JA, 16 Sept. 1881, all in SCPC, JAC; and in *JAPM*, 1:758–59, 760–61, 764–65, 775–76, and 785–86). Julia Gardiner wanted to come from Lena, Ill., to stay with JA. Phila Pope wrote from Rockford and Laura Ely from Chicago, while Nora Frothingham’s mother wrote from Manchester, Iowa. Corinne Williams was among those RFS classmates who turned to schoolteaching in the year after graduation. She wrote to JA from Shannon, Ill., where she taught in the 1881–82 school year.

5. See Smith D. Atkins, of *The (Freeport, Ill.) Budget*, to JA, 25 Aug. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:737. Atkins thanked JA for Carey's letter and assured her that the entire community was in mourning. Carey's letter was reprinted in *The (Freeport, Ill.) Budget* on 27 Aug. 1881.

6. No copy of the telegram is known to be extant.

7. JA's mother SWA (d. 14 Jan. 1863), her sister Martha Addams (d. 23 Feb. 1867), and AHHA's first husband, William Haldeman (d. 11 Mar. 1866).

From Sarah F. Anderson

Geneseo. Ill.

Aug 21 /81.

My dear Jane,

Has anything happened! Are you all well! I heard this afternoon in a very round about, indirect way that all was not well, wont you write me a line.¹

I am glad dear that you had as another trip on the Lake.² Sorry you were sick, but hope it really did you good. How is that miserable back. I wrote Ellen & have heard from her since, poor child I am sorry she is so worn out, it takes so long to build up.³

My dear Childie I wish I could see you. Write at once. I pray the dear Father to help you always. Yours ever,

Sarah F. Anderson

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:711).

1. SA was clearly among those who did not hear of JA's father's death until after his funeral had taken place.

2. A reference to the Addams family traveling by boat on Lake Superior during their trip.

3. EGS had been encouraged to rest in bed since her illness in June.

From Ellen Gates Starr

Durand, [Ill.]

Aug. 21 1881.

My dear friend;

I have hardly thought of any one but you and dear Mrs. Addams since I knew about your sorrow. From the two lovely visits I enjoyed in what I thought one of the happiest families I ever saw, I can judge partly what that sorrow is. And long before I ever went to your home, I knew how large a part of your heart your father filled, though you never talked much about him. My dear girl, how I wish I was good enough to help you. Others will do that, I hope. I only want you to know how much I am with you in heart, and how deeply I feel your grief. Express my deep sympathy to your mother & to Mrs. Haldeman,¹ if she is with you.

Don't feel that you must answer my note until you feel like doing so; and then you know quite well how much I shall wish you to do so.

In thinking of you in trouble, I find how fond I am of you. With warmest love, Your friend

Ellen Starr.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:716–18).

1. JA's stepmother, AHHA, and sister SAAH.

From Charles Caverno

Jane Addams received several letters from her father's friends or business associates after John Huy Addams's death. Strangers and friends alike wanted to honor John Huy Addams and express their concern to her in her sorrow. Ministers, in particular, wanted to help fill the void of paternal moral authority created in John Huy Addams's absence. Rev. Charles Caverno¹ was among the ministers who wrote to Jane Addams offering fatherly advice. A member of the Rockford Female Seminary Examining Committee, Caverno had tested Jane Addams at the end of the 1880–81 school year and made the acquaintance of John Huy Addams at her commencement ceremony. He was a pastor in the dairy farm community of Lombard, Illinois. He was among those who cautioned Jane Addams against going away to college because of her weakened condition. In doing so, he confirmed popular associations between advanced study for women and the presumably increased danger of physical or nervous breakdown.

Lombard Du Page Co. Ill.

Aug. 22nd 1881.

Miss Jane Addams

I reproach myself now for not doing what I felt I ought to do immediately after I came from Rockford at your Comct[.]

I was there told that you were intending to go to Smith College this fall. I have wanted all along to enter a protest against your doing that on account of your health. I have not much fear but that you will attend to your mental and moral culture too but I do fear you will not think enough of the priceless value of sound health and that you will crowd yourself beyond physical endurance. Whatever your abilities or your acquisitions they will be useless to you or to others without firm vigorous health.

Why do I write this to day? Because if my daughter were Father-less I should wish any one to give any advice tending in ~~their~~ his opinion to her happiness or welfare. That is all. I yesterday saw a notice of your Fathers death in the paper. I passed as you know a brief word with him and your mother on Comct eve. I cannot claim to be an acquaintance of his, or of any of your

family. But please understand that the brief transit of your Father and Mother² and yourself across my field of vision does not allow me to be indifferent in the hour of your sorrow.

Please do not answer this—that would be a feathers weight to burdens already too heavy. I write to do my duty not to impose one on you.

In duty and sympathy[.] Truly,

C. Caverno

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:727–30).

1. Clergyman Charles Caverno (1832–1916) was a graduate of Dartmouth College (A.B. 1854, M.A. 1857). After practicing law in Milwaukee, Wis., he became a student at the Chicago Theological Seminary and an ordained Congregational minister (1866). He served pastorates in Waukesha (1864–65) and Lake Mills (1866–71) in Wis., and in Amboy (1871–74) and Lombard (1874–88) in Ill. before going to a church in Boulder, Colo., where he served until 1898. He married Abbie H. Smith in 1859 and Anna C. Matson in 1888. He was author of *Divorce* (1889) and wrote *Reminiscences of the Eulogy of Rufus Choate on Daniel Webster* (1914) from retirement in Lombard.

From John Manning Linn

Harvard [Ill.]

August 26th 81.

Dear Sister Jane,

The minute or two in which you talked with me scarcely gave you time even to tell me your own thoughts. But you apparently told me all you desired to tell. The poignancy of your grief arises from many causes, principally from the fact that your heart & life were wrapped up in your Pa. This is greatly to your credit and in your sorrow ought to be many elements of joy for not every daughter has such a father to love & revere. You knew too all he had suffered and you tried to comfort him. In this you were successful. No one could ever have been more so.

Your life aims were high enough & your plans broad enough so that he could take an interest in them and it was his great delight to prepare you for your mission. You could not have done more for him than you have done[.] So that in this respect there is nothing to regret but it is a fountain of Joy and an incentive to work. You need not think that because he is gone, your incentive has perished[.] Your life work is before you[.] His ideal & yours is to reached.¹ He did not desire you to live for him but for the world, for humanity, for yourself & for Christ. All these remain and besides you will soon meet him and his grand experiences in a better world and a higher life will help to lift you up there <even> as his great powers helped you along here. Christ prepared you a place in this world by giving you such a father. He will prepare you a place in His own Kingdom by giving that father back to you and your place in Heaven

will be that much better because your life is associated & shall be associated with such a father.

Besides you are not to forget that your Pa has gone home to those that were as dear to him as you could ever hope to be.

You seem to be studying the motive that has actuated your life. There are three or four motives that lie very closely together. One is the desire of excellence. That is highest. Then comes the desire of Approbation. That is probably the one in which your mind rested generally. Then comes the desire of praise. And lower still lies the desire of preeminence or to excel others. This latter desire we call ambition. The first two of these motives—excellence & approbation—with some danger of falling too much into the second, were these that governed your life. Now rise to the first and dwell in the second more with reference to Christ whose approval is worth more than that of all the world.

You will find by and by if you have not found already that Christ is your helper. His words are more to you now than all that the world can speak. Besides as you look at His example & see how He suffered you can realize now what a sympathy He had for humanity. Your sufferings will help you to appreciate His. He gave up everything for you & His heart bled & broke over our woes. Now when your own heart is bleeding where can you go but to Him whose life was a pang, whose death convulsed nature & who ever lives to make intercession for us. What a refuge He is for every bleeding heart.

“Jesus, lover of my soul
Let me to thy bosom fly”

I have no advice to give you for I feel how inadequate anything I could say is to meet your [loss?]. But I believe in you thoroughly and I believe that God will lift you out of your sorrow although how it will be done I cannot see now. I assure you of my deepest sympathy. I wish I could help you more but there is very little that I can do. Help Mary.² She needs your sympathy. Her burden is almost too heavy for her to bear. I am afraid sometimes that the cord will snap. O how I wish she was <were> at home here. I can scarcely rest day or night till she comes.

My love to Ma & Alice & Harry, & George[.] Yours affectionately

J. M. Linn.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:741–46).

1. JML may have meant to write “His ideal & yours is to be reached.”
2. JML’s wife and JA’s sister MCAL.

From T. H. Haseltine

LaSalle Ill.

Aug 29 1881

My dear Jane:

I would much rather step in & talk with you this morning than to try to say anything by letter, this is the first moment of liesure since hearing of your sorrow. When first hearing it it seemed to me I must go to you all & help bear it but could not be at the funeral as I did not know it in time. Previous engagement—poor health for the past month—& pressing work at home interfered. I hope to see you as soon as I can.

I can only imagine how crushing this blow is to you but this life is only the beginning, the seeding, the maturity is beyond, and your father has entered it only a little before the rest of us. Death's dark door is the only entrance to the rest & peace of the beautiful beyond. "We a little longer wait" as calmly & submissively & trustingly as may be my friend wont you wait. This trust will please Him who prepares our "mansions"& him who has gone before to his. Not far from us are the loved ones passed on[.] Their perishable tenements are deposited for decay. They are not there but about us in the unperishing tenements. When our time comes to lay side the darkly glass we shall see face to face & understand all we can only question now. This is a life of learning trust lessons. Sight-lessons are in the next room. Learn these Jane as well as you may[.] The next shall reveal the how & why of these.

As soon as I can I shall try to see you. How long I shall be kept in Chicago I know not. Possibly long possibly only a short time. Your friend

T. H. Haseltine

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:749–52).

To Ellen Gates Starr

Cedarville Ill

Sept 6 <3> 1881

My dear friend

Your first letter reached me on Lake Superior¹ when I was as sea-sick as Mark Twain was crossing the Atlantic,² or I should have written to you at once and on the spot.

I am so sorry you are tired out and wish with all my heart that I could do some-thing for you. Two duties I solemnly charge you with—drink a bottle of malt every day and use for your chief food desicated blood, the first called Hoffs Extract and the second manufacturied in Detroit, I know they will help build you up for I have wilted, tried them & revived.

I wish you could come before you return to Chicago if only for a day or two, I wonder if you and Miss Anderson could come up from Rockford together or if that is impossible why can't you come. My Sister Alice & the Dr of the family³ are home and we would all see what we could do for you. I will not write of myself or how purposeless and without ambition I am, only prepare yourself so you won't be too disappointed <in me> when you come. The greatest sorrow that can ever come to me has past and I hope it is only a question of time until I get my moral purposes straightened. Expecting to see you very soon[.] I am
Yours Sincerely

Jane Addams

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:762–63).

1. The only known extant letter EGS wrote to JA between July and 17 Aug. is one undated fragment probably written in July offering sympathy about the fact that JA would not be going to Smith College ([July 1881], SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:669)

2. A reference to chap. 3 of Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad* (1869), in which Twain wrote of rough seas during his Atlantic voyage to the Mediterranean in 1867. Seasickness would plague JA for the rest of her life.

3. SAAH and HWH.

From Ellen Gates Starr

Durand, [Ill.]

Sept. 10, 1881.

My dear girl,

I received your letter after my return, or I should have stopped a little while on my way back. Mother forgot to hand it to me until Friday, so there was not time then even for a day. I am glad you want to see me, & I can't tell you how much I want to see you. So I think you will make me a visit in Chicago sometime during the year. Two years is a long time for people not to see each other, especially young people. I think the Christmas holidays would be a lovely time for you to come, & if you will I won't go home. I had a perfectly charming visit with Miss Anderson. It seemed good to be able to talk to her without forty people coming to the door. She did me ever so much good. I feel very much better. In fact about as well as ever; only I found while in Rockford that I am not quite so strong as before. I shall get that back soon, I hope. I return to Chicago the 12th. My new address is 534 Sophia St.¹ I shall hope to hear often from you. I have no fears for you my friend. I feel sure I shall never be disappointed in you. You are too much like your father, I think, for your "moral purposes" to be permanently shaken by any thing; even the greatest sorrow. With much regret that I cannot see you at present, I am Your sincere friend

Ellen G Starr.

I saw your class picture & liked it so much that I asked Miss Anderson to let me take it a little while. She thought you would send me one. Of course I mean the characteristic one, not the one with lace.² Please give my love to your mother & sister.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:766–68).

1. EGS was teaching drawing at Miss Rice's School for Girls on North LaSalle St. in Chicago (see *PJA*, 1:281–82, n. 6). At some point she shared a home with her friend and fellow teacher Mary J. Holmes, but little is known of her residence on Sophia St. The street underwent several changes in name over time. Two weeks after EGS wrote this letter, on 29 Sept. 1881, Sophia St. was renamed Garfield Ave., in tribute to the fallen president. In 1909, when the system of numbering buildings in Chicago was revised, 534 became 346 Garfield Ave. On 7 Oct. 1936, Garfield Ave. became Dickens Ave.

2. It is not clear exactly which class picture EGS is referring to. JA saved a collection of RFS class pictures along with other photographic portraits of women friends from the 1881 era (including Ida May Carey) (see *PJA*, 1:196; and SCPC, JAC, photographs). The portraits of RFS women were standard studio photograph cards 2 1/2 inches by 4 inches, like those traded among schoolgirls, and most were taken in Rockford or East Rockford studios. While a few of the photographs from JA's collection have the names of their subjects written on them, most are unlabeled. The collection includes, among those labeled or recognizable to the editors, photographs of Helen Harrington, Phila Pope, Mattie Thomas, Nora Frothingham, Kate Carnefix, Maria Nutting, Lillian Bacon, Annie Sidwell, and Ella Browning. It also includes a quite unflattering portrait of JA taken by the G. W. Barnes studio in Rockford. In this portrait JA appears older, and less slim, than in other photographs of her in her seminary years. She also has her hair done in an atypical style. She is looking off to the viewer's right, with parted frizzed hair and long ringlets extending over one shoulder, and is wearing a dress with a beribboned bodice with a hint of lace at its high neckline. EGS could also be referring to the photograph of JA featured on p. 1. (See also the photograph at *PJA*, 1:157.)

From Sarah F. Anderson

Rockford, Ill.,

Sept 11 1881.

My dear Jane,

A beautiful morning—I think had I been with you I should have proposed a walk, perhaps the next best thing is to open the window sit near the sunshine and write you. I think this is one of the mornings when as Geo. Elliott says the very noises give sign or token of peace. I am conscious of not very beautifully expressing her sentiment, but I was reading a few lines of Middle march this morning and came to that.¹ I would like to talk of the connection & the after thoughts, but it would be too long. Talking of Geo E——, Ellen came last Monday and staid with me until Thursday noon, but we did not talk Geo. Elliott very much. I was not 'fresh' and there were so many other things. She was full of Salvini and McCullough (dont know as the spelling is correct) and their acting of Shakespere.² I am afraid she will not find herself as strong this winter as she

hopes and plans for, and yet she has to a certain extent learned how to rest, and is not as nervously sick as I feared she would be. She feels as well as ever, only cannot do as much as before without tiring.

This is a breathing time, before the rush and confusion. I presume it will be no easier for me than last year. Miss Sill did not return until yesterday noon. She was yet so filled with the sickness of Mr. Chapman³ & her travel, that it was not until after late bedtime that I could successfully introduce school matters, and I felt like a wretch for doing it then the dear woman was so tired, but we worked at the giving of rooms until midnight. It places me in a peculiar position, wishing naturally to be just when doing the work, and yet feeling afraid I may give myself what I think the good girls, and so perhaps inclined or impelled to do the opposite thing—however all things are pretty much upset when the girls come, they have some choice of halls and rooms. We have four girls here already, two from Carthage, Mo. but they are not acquainted with Mrs. Rogers,⁴ they will have been here two weeks by Tuesday.

I am not very well settled yet in my new quarters, the bed question is the cause of delay. I am thinking of buying a folding bed, something that will resemble a writing desk when closed. This will give me more room, so that I can have my sofa in the room, and also give me a sitting room instead of bedroom.

I look into your room occasionally with some remark to you, "Well Jane dear I am piffing⁵ away" or "just stepped in to feel your presence Jane." I know this will go when some one takes the room and so perhaps I go the oftener.⁶

It is possible that if Mattie⁷ cannot take a third floor room that she will have yours and I would almost rather a stranger should have it—but rooms dont much matter, and it is you that I need and want to keep hold of rather than any room—but as I have often remarked that "absence of body &c" theory is an untruth and so we must make an effort and have the purpose often to meet.

How are you dear, and what of the vertebraes—miserable pest! but do you be good to it, and try and make friends—and perhaps after sleeping a great deal and lying down more, its conscience make awaken, and it ever after be a support to you.

I have put our Castalian Library⁸ in order and hunted up some of the lost books. I just thought I would tell you for when doing it, I said, Who will know or care now Jane is gone, and you know it is hard to always work with no one to say, it was good of you dear to do it—but since I have had so much approval it will be well for me to work awhile without it and find out the nature of my motives.

My brave little woman I wish I could help you, but this I do believe that you are helped and being helped by the Lord God and I know that the day will come when you will feel the comfort of it, but it is true I am sure that you are strong to go on and wait for this to come. I have waited a long time before writing, but

I have felt so near you that I did not realize about the not writing. I thought of you so much, did not think but that in some way it was known to you. Yours,

Sarah F Anderson

My love to your mother & Alice.⁹

I will write you about James when there comes another quiet day.¹⁰

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:769–74).

1. George Eliot's novel *Middlemarch* (1871–72) centers on the quiet nobility of character of Dorothea Brooke, a young woman who in the bloom of her youth marries an elderly learned bachelor out of admiration for his scholarly life. She hopes to develop her own intellect in the process of serving as a helpmate to him in his studies. Her husband proves incapable of true respect or love for his bride and quite capable of a controlling jealousy. After Dorothea is widowed, she eventually chooses to forfeit her inheritance for love of her former husband's young cousin, the penniless but dashing Will Ladislaw. She thus moves from having position in society without love to having love without position. She is, however, a heroine who, as Helen Harrington writes to JA about Shakespeare's Cordelia, also illustrates JA's position about "the power of being great and good without doing striking things" (15 Apr. 1882, below).

SA may be referring to a pivotal scene in *Middlemarch* when Dorothea, after a night of mental turmoil, finds peace with the "light piercing into the room" with the morning sunrise. She looks out at the everyday activities beginning to take place outside her window and feels "part of that involuntary, palpitating life, and could neither look out on it from her luxurious shelter as a mere spectator, nor hide her eyes in selfish complaining." This small morning epiphany frees Dorothea from her doubts and enables her to determine to take an active role in her own destiny (Eliot, *Middlemarch*, 644–45).

2. Shakespearean actors John McCullough (see *PJA*, 1:302, n. 7) and Tommaso Salvini (1829–1916), whom EGS saw perform in Chicago. Tommaso Salvini was widely considered the greatest Italian actor of the nineteenth century. He had an international reputation and was critically acclaimed for his physicality and the musicality of his voice. Henry James and George Bernard Shaw both described him as the best tragic actor they had ever seen. Salvini appeared in the United States from 1873 to 1889 in *King Lear*, *Coriolanus*, and other tragedies but was most famous for his *Othello*, which he performed in New York and Chicago.

3. Probably a reference to Almon Chapman, the husband of Sill's niece, Amelia Hollister Chapman (1844–1925). Sill often helped take care of the Chapman family in times of illness or need. Amelia M. "Minnie" Hollister Chapman was the only daughter of Sill's sister, Helen Hollister. When Helen died, Sill became the guardian of Amelia, who came to live at RFS. She graduated from the school in 1866 and taught instrumental music (from 1866 to 1871), piano (in the 1872–73 school year), and painting from (1876 to 1878) there and served as the librarian from 1871 to 1878, when she married Almon Chapman, a horticulturist. As Amelia married and began her own family, Sill continued to function loyally as "a second mother" to her and often stayed with the Chapmans outside of Chicago (Townsend, *Best Helpers*, 48). The Chapmans lost two sons to illness in infancy, and Amelia Hollister Chapman was frequently unwell. From 1878 to 1904, the couple lived in various residences in Ridgeland and Oak Park, Ill., both near Chicago; in Greeley, Colo.; and in Fair Oaks, Calif. Amelia Hollister Chapman visited RFS in 1883 and 1889. Sill's much-beloved young nephew Robert Chapman died of pneumonia in the first part of 1889, having contracted it while Sill was gravely ill of the disease. Sadness over his death and over the demise of her brother and his family from the same disease contributed to Sill's final decline, which culminated in her death in her rooms at the seminary on 18 June 1889.

4. Former RFS housekeeper Betsy Rogers retired to Carthage, Mo.
5. SA may have meant to write *piffing*, indicating gossiping or chattering in an ineffectual way.
6. JA had roomed next door to SA in her senior year at RFS.
7. Mattie Thomas was on her way back to RFS for the 1881–82 school year to teach as an assistant in the Preparatory Dept. and in the music program.
8. The RFS Castalian Society, one of the two literary societies that made up the school's Pierian Union, had established a library reading room while JA was involved in the group.
9. This first postscript is written on the top of the first page and perpendicular to the text.
10. RFS handyman James Alcock died of liver disease at the age of forty-seven in 1881. This second postscript about him is written on the top of the third page of SA's letter, perpendicular to the text. On Alcock, see *PJA*, 1:297–98, n. 2.

From Mary P. Ellwood

Smith College [Northampton, Mass.]

Sept 16th. 1881.

My dear Jane.

Well here I am but I wish I was well out of it.—¹ I arrived here yesterday morning & am writing to you this A.M. haint I a good girl? We that is Puss[,] Will² & I left home Wed morning and arrived here yesterday morning we went to the hotel washed and then as the College is almost on Main St we walked up here—!?! I was invited to make out a blank giving my fathers name[,] occupation[,] my name etc and even my mothers maiden name & the place I was born in³ then I was asked for my certificates & as I do not carry my diploma around under my arm I had the pleasure of marching down to the Depot after it—. when I gave the Prof my checks you ought to have seen him laugh at them[,] I was mad—then they gave me a Certificate of Admission and behold I was member of Smith College[.] There were only two vacant rooms on the College Grounds and as one of them was as good as taken I took the other. It is a small single room but will do for the present and the first vacancy I am to have a better one so you see I am all alone. Puss & Will left yesterday at 2.20 P.M. so I was rather lonesome but at tea I was introduced to a number of the girls and after tea we went into the Parlors danced etc until we went to our rooms[.] This morning I attended Chapel—I noticed a slight differance in the looks of this Chapel and the Chapel at R.⁴

Later—

I have just come from a lecture on “Idea of a College” by Prof. Seelye[.]⁵ When I saw that in the Catalogue I kind of laughed but Jane it was splendid and he is splendid also—he is a man that is a man—he spoke to us quite at length on the relation of Pupil & teacher etc. I board in the Dewey House that is the smallest containing only 24 girls the largest house contains 60. I believe Jane I would give anything if you were only here—I think this is exactly what you

would enjoy—the girls seem quite easy to get acquainted with at least those in Dewey House are & of course they are all I have met as yet.

There is no rules here except that we are to bed at 10P.M. we go & come just when we pleased—Pres Seelye advised us not to go out for evening unattended. Imagine Anna P Sill doing that.

Jane what are you going to do this winter—come here—what is there to hinder you—come & try it next term and then if you can not stand it you can go home now please think of this and see if you can not come possibly. If you want to come then why dont you. If you were once here I know you would like it. It is just the place for such girls as you—now dont laugh at this but think about it[.]

I wish you were here this moment we <would> go and take a long walk together.⁶

Miss Anderson did not come to see me as I expected before I left home and I did not hear from her so do not know why she did not come[.] I wanted to see her very much before I left home. I thought once I would go over to Rockford but was so very busy I could not.

Now remember I am here all alone with not a friend with in a thousand miles and that I like letters so write to me soon[.] Yours

Mary.

Address M. P. E.
Northampton
Box 53 Smith Col. Mass

They have a post office right here in the College[.] Jane have you received your copy of the essays yet. They were not finished when I left home, & left them for Ma to send to the girls[.] Please let me know when you receive it and if it is all right not if you do not like it—say so[.]

I dont suppose you can read any more than half of this but I have not got any ink yet.

Now write to me as soon as you receive this for I am most fearfully home-sick.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:777–84).

1. Mary Ellwood approached study at Smith College with trepidation. She had hoped that both JA and Helen Harrington would join her in Northampton in 1881–82, but each of them ended up studying at other schools. Instead, Ellwood found herself going to Smith on her own. Even though JA was not attending Smith, Ellwood turned to her for reassurance and continued to encourage her in case JA should change her mind. Before departing from her hometown of De Kalb, Ill., Mary wrote to JA that she wished they could get together to talk “about Smith—that is about all I think of now days. I feel rather ‘shakey’ when I think of going among the class of people I know I will meet there and if I was not ashamed of it I would be inclined to back out even at this late day but I suppose I might as well ‘grin & bear it’—probably from what you know of me you think there is no danger of my ‘cheek’ giving out but the fact is I have not got as much cheek as I sometimes appear to have.” She asked

JA to "write to me so that I will have a letter at Northampton when I get there because I will need it then. I feel homesick already" (28 Aug. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:747, 748). Ellwood completed one year of study at Smith.

2. Mary Ellwood's sister, Harriet ("Hattie" or "Puss") May Ellwood (Mayo), and brother, William ("Will") Ellwood (1859–1933). William, the eldest son in the Ellwood family, became the manager of the Ellwood stock farms. He imported and bred French draft horses and oversaw the operation of huge farms in De Kalb Co., Ill., and Texas. For biographical notes on Harriet Ellwood, see *PJA*, 1:220, n. 19; 1:283, n. 10; and JA to SAAH, [22 Aug. 1883], n. 4, below.

3. Mary Ellwood's mother, the former Harriet Miller (1837–1910), married Isaac Leonard Ellwood (1833–1910) in De Kalb in 1859. Ellwood was a wealthy manufacturer of barbed wire. The Ellwood family lived on a prestigious estate, complete with a mansion, called the Ellwood House (constructed in 1879); a deer park; a conservatory of rare plants; and a museum that displayed artifacts Mary's mother had collected in her travels.

4. RFS.

5. Laurenus Clark Seelye (1837–1924) was president of Smith College from its inception in 1873 (two years before the first students entered in 1875) to 1910. Seelye was trained as a Presbyterian minister and worked as a professor of English at Amherst College before going to Smith. He took a very direct interest in Smith students and their studies. "Idea of a College" was a series of one-hour lectures he gave to entering students during the first seven weeks of each new academic year. The series was advertised in the Smith College catalogue from 1883 to 1893 as an orientation to the college and its courses of study.

6. Ellwood did not give up on trying to convince JA to join her in Northampton. She wrote to JA again in the following week, saying "Jane I do wish you were here. I believe I think every day how you would enjoy it here—it is just the place for you to be and I don't believe you would find it near as hard work as you imagine—I wish you could try it any way." She confessed again to feeling "fearfully homesick" and said she longed for the old friendships at RFS and hoped for a reunion of their classmates the following summer in Chicago. Her new situation led to some reflection on the past and to an increased respect for those she knew at RFS. "Jane wouldn't you like to step into the Senior Parlors tonight and find it just as it was those Sunday nights last June," she wrote, "the same girls there and all—I tell you I think more of those girls to-night than I did then" (25 Sept. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:795–96, 797).

From Martha Thomas

Seminary [Rockford, Ill.]

Sep. 21 [and 22]. 1881 3rd hr. evening

My Dear Jane;

It don't seem as though I had seen you at all our visit was so very brief and I have wondered since why I didn't inquire if you were coming back this way & if so when—I have had so much leisure lately I could have gone to the train any day.¹ I have been counting all the time on seeing you over Sunday but this morning I spoke to Miss Sill² & she said certainly I could go if—she didn't give me a Bible division she would try & let me know tomorrow morning so I could let you know. If I do have the Bible I can never be away Friday night or Monday morning—but then I can't expect to have things conform to my convenience very much—I am afraid I looked so downcast the day you were here that you

went away thinking that I wasn't a bit contented but was blue all the time. You know I was writing to you when you came & just that made me homesick for you & the other fifteen,³ but this is a dear old place after all, a good, restful place and I feel as though there was a chink here that I can fill—& that makes me happier than to be at home where I have outgrown everything and everybody—I feel it more as I come back this time than I ever did before.

Eva Campbell (Goodrich⁴ I suppose I must say) came down today for a music lesson—is coming every week. I had such a nice visit with her—she went to dinner with me and then I went to the train with her—I was so glad to see her—as much so as if she had come from a long long distance because I had given up all hope of ever seeing her again. She looks just exactly as she used to—I can't understand why I was so glad to see her—I always liked her ever so much but still was not very intimate with her.

In talking over the old girls she said speaking of Nora⁵—"I always thought you liked Jane better than you did Nora"—I didn't deny the assertion at all you may be sure. Kittie Waugh⁶ wants me to ask you if you don't want to go on with Higher Mathematics that is if you come down for the other studies. I am afraid we can not do very much in Greek as we can only recite twice a week on account of the Seniors in the class. The girls say Miss Burrell⁷ is splendid in Homer—they have to look up every little thing mythology &c. If we can't study together, that is if you don't come down at all, I believe I had better go in the class. I have had the cutest letter from Bennie will send it in this—as I think it is written so plainly that it will not trouble you to read it—I want to see you so much it seems as though I couldn't wait on any uncertainties; but I will not finish my letter until I see Miss Sill in the morning. Goodnight my dear. I must soon go round the building as that is one of my privileges this week—there is the bell.

Thursday morning—[Sep. 22, 1881]

I have just interviewed Miss Sill—and she says she will not divide the Jun. Prep.⁸ at present—will see first how large the class is so I can be gone over Sunday this week anyhow. I will come Saturday on the 2 o'clock train if nothing prevents—if for any reason you would rather I would not come this week don't fail to let me know. Ever Your loving friend

Mattie T.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:787–89).

1. By Sept. 1881, most of JA's old schoolmates had formed plans either to continue their education or begin making a living. Mary Ellwood was at Smith College, and Mattie Thomas was teaching as an assistant in the Preparatory Dept. and in the Conservatory of Music at RFS. She was eager for JA to return to the seminary to continue her studies in mathematics and ancient languages. Helen Harrington, meanwhile, had begun classes at the Univ. of Michigan, and Nora Frothingham was fostering her career as a private music teacher and church musician and a teacher of German.

2. Thomas and JA had distinguished themselves from their peers while they were students at RFS by maintaining a respectful silence on the topic of the conservative Anna P. Sill. Other classmates had been vocally rebellious. Mary Ellwood wrote to JA that it seemed peculiar that Thomas would be back teaching at the school—"does<ent> it seem queer to think of her at Rockford"—and reminded JA that "you know we never could get her & you to talk about Miss Sill. Sometimes when I think how we used to talk about her I am ashamed of myself and then again I am glad of it. Jane what would she think of that class letter if she should get a hold of it—I called her an 'old cow' in it—but if she should see it I dont suppose she would know who I meant" (25 Sept. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:798–99).

3. A reference to the members of the RFS class of 1881.

4. For biographical information on Eva Campbell Goodrich, see *PJA*, 1:186, n. 50.

5. Nora Frothingham.

6. For biographical information on Catharine (sometimes Catherine, "Kitty," or "Kittie") Gouger Waugh (McCulloch), see Commencement Report in the *RSM*, [21 June] 1882, n. 11, below.

7. Ellen L. Burrell replaced Sarah Blaisdell as the teacher of ancient languages at RFS in 1881–82. The RFS Exec. Com. Minutes of 11 Oct. 1881 report "the engagement of Miss Burrell at \$600 per ann. Miss Mattie Thomas at \$250." At their Nov. 1881 meeting, the RFS Exec. Com. footnoted the above entry on salaries to state that "[o]ne half Miss Thomas's salary to be in board & Tuition" (RC). Burrell, who had a bachelor's degree, returned to teach at RFS at the same \$600 salary rate in the academic year of 1882–83. She was not married.

8. Junior Preparatory Dept., RFS.

From Eleanor Frothingham

Manchester, Io.

Sept. 22 [and 27]. '81

My dear Jane;

I am sorry not to have been home when your letter came.¹ I had intended to have written to you the first of the month but was sick in bed for a long while—in fact till I started for Lansing last week. My dear girl, I know I can say nothing to comfort you in this hard trial but, believe me, I sympathize with you from the bottom of my heart. I long to say something, to do something that may bring you comfort but distance separates us so all I can do is to use this poor substitute and send you a few words written with love.

I am sorry to hear how poor your health has been this summer and am glad you have given up going to Smith's. Poor Mary is sadly disappointed. I am fairly rejoiced that at last you have some one with you to manage you and doctor you up—I know how you must beg off and say you are not or rather have not overworked—the worst wish I have for you is that they will not believe you or let you alone. As for myself I am slowly beginning to earn my own fortune. I have four music scholars but shall soon have more. Yesterday I put an advertisement in our papers. I am called on to play accompaniments every where and for every thing—every Sunday I play five voluntaries² and then teach my infant class. In some respects it is nice to be the only young lady in the church—in others it is very hard—especially when I have to make ice cream for socials and wait on

table. To day I begin my French again. Mother has a class in connection with the Academy. Prof. Butler wanted me to take it but I was not competent. I am hoping to be called on to teach Latin there. I am going to begin German soon with our High School Professor. Then every week five of us have a Literary Club to read and discuss the romantic in History—are you laughing at that idea? Besides I hear my Brother recite in Latin, Philosophy &c every day. Do you say “Jack of all trades and master of none”?

Tuesday—Sept. 27.

This is the way all my letters have to be written—I am interrupted so many times. Prof. Butler sent for me, just as I was writing the other part of my letter, to teach the advanced German class. There are only three in it and they are reading “Hermann and Dorothea”.³ I hope I shall succeed in teaching although it does seem rather like assuming too much. We all feel very much saddened by the death of our Garfield.⁴ I was in Dubuque when the news came and I never saw the air of a city so changed before. I could not help applying these lines to this Garfield.

“All was ended now, the hope, and the
fear, and the sorrow,
All the aching of heart, the restless,
unsatisfied longing,
All the dull, deep pain, and constant
anguish of patience!
And, as she pressed once more the
lifeless head to her bosom,
Meekly she bowed her own, and
murmured, “Father, I thank thee!”⁵

I am so glad that we never translated these lines into German for I must own they are a favorite of mine.

Week before last I attended the wedding of my best Lansing friend—in fact I supported her in my graduating gown with George [Thomas?] as groomsman. It makes one feel lonely having all the friends of youth married and moving away.

My dear, I shall only be too glad to write to you and hear from you often if you can excuse my letters being so much about myself. I fear I have lost the knack of what Miss Potters calls “writing about nothing” except about myself.⁶ As ever yours,

Nora

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:790–94).

1. JA's letter is not known to be extant.
2. Music played (usually on an organ) before, during, or after any office of the church.

3. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's epic poem *Hermann und Dorothea* (1797) used Homeric language to celebrate the forms of classical heroic dignity that could be found in everyday life. Writing in the context of the French Revolution, Goethe contrasted village life and the healing powers of love against a wider outside world of conflict and turmoil and exalted the moral aspects of feminine influence through his characterization of Hermann's wise and compassionate mother and the object of his affection, the "bravehearted girl," virtuous and courageous Dorothea.

4. President James A. Garfield died in Washington, D.C., on 19 Sept. 1881.

5. A quote from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem "Evangeline; A Tale of Arcadia," in Stedman, *An American Anthology, 1787-1900*, 119.

6. RFS English teacher Caroline A. Potter (Brazee). For biographical information, see *PJA*, 1:184, n. 44.

From Helen Harrington

Ann Arbor. [Mich.]

Oct. 1st. 1881.

My Dear Friend,

You have been very much in my heart and thoughts of late and I have wanted to write to you but knew no word was needed to assure you of my deepest sympathy and feared that anything I might say would wound and not comfort. In the days when we worked together you helped me so much to be patient and cheerful under a lot that was, in some ways, very hard to bear and I was so powerless to help you in any way except through the sympathy of a kindred grief. I wish I could see you. My plans were all made to go to Smiths but father thought Ann Arbor would be a better place for me because it would not be so far from where he expects to locate and he thought the contact with people and independent way of living would be a benefit to me and I try to think so too. But I find this utter self-dependence very hard at first. I am so lonely and miss the care and friends I have been so accustomed to.¹ Yet my surroundings are pleasant and comfortable and I am sure I shall enjoy my work after I fairly get into it. I am going to take Latin and German Rhetoric a study of the English Masterpieces and Political Science. Miss Hill, now Mrs. Kingsley, recommended this place to me very highly.² I still cling to my old ideas of Journalism not expecting to be great or famous only to do an earnest work holding the greatest amount of good I am capable of doing to myself and others. I think I am getting to be something of a fatalist, taking whatever comes to me ~~and try~~ as a necessity and trying to make the best of it. We have said a final farewell to Kansas and now since the experience there was so short I do not regret it as it gave me an insight into an entirely new kind of people and living and for one thing I am exceedingly grateful to that hot and windy climate—it made me well and strong again.

I would not be surprised if we finally made our home in Calafornia.³ I will be glad when it is settled somewhere for it will be a comfort to know the rest are there even if I cannot be. The bare thought of those last weeks at Rockford

makes me feel desolate and I am so glad to have been there and the inspiration of our old ideals and ambitions will go with me always. For the past few weeks I have felt such an intense desire to see you that I hope will some time be gratified. Let me know your address and as soon as I get fairly to studying I will tell you further of my work and plans and know that always and everywhere I am your true and loving friend.

Helen Harrington.

My⁴ faith in you and knowledge of your friendship for me will do much to keep me from any lasting discouragement.

If we settle in Calafornia I mean to take you home with me and let the change of climate make you real well and strong[.]

Give my love to your mother and your sister Alice—I never think of her without a sense of warmth and comfort[.] good-night—liebe Freundin[.]⁵

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:804–8).

1. In a Jan. 1882 letter, Helen Harrington told JA that she had not found the same kind of confidential closeness with friends at Ann Arbor that she had enjoyed with girls at RFS and that she was still mourning the loss of her good women friends. She was also fighting with depression, despite her best efforts to overcome it. “I get restless and unhappy in spite of all my determination and philosophizing to the contrary,” she wrote. The things she looked forward to most in Ann Arbor, she reported, were “the Sunday sermons that I am able to hear every week” at the Unitarian church. She found that the minister, who had been trained in Boston, emphasized “all the wonderful truth and Beauty of the Christian religion with none of those awful doctrines” and that she went forth from his sermons with light-hearted optimism (8 Jan. 1882, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

2. Former RFS modern languages teacher Ella M. Hill Kingsley, a graduate of the Univ. of Michigan. She taught briefly at RFS after earning her college degree and before her marriage.

3. The Harrington family did move to southern California, where they operated a small ranch at Santa Paula, near Santa Barbara and Ventura. Helen Harrington briefly made her home there after she finished her year of study at Ann Arbor. She wrote to JA in early 1882 and reported “I go to Calafornia in the fall” (8 Jan. 1882, IU, Lilly, SAAH). In the fall and winter of 1882, she wrote to JA from Santa Paula (see 28 Oct., and [31 Dec.] 1882, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1019–25, 1032–35). Helen did not spend long in the West. She missed the midwestern landscape, and she soon successfully applied for a district teaching job in Wisconsin. In the mid-1880s, she taught in a country school near where she grew up.

4. Text from “My faith in you” to “liebe Freundin” is written on the top of the first page of the letter and perpendicular to the text.

5. German, “*liebe Freundin*,” translates as “dear friend.”

From Mary Catherine Addams Linn

John Huy Addams died leaving no known last will and testament. As a result, Addams family members (including widow Anna Haldeman Addams and the surviving children of John Huy Addams and Sarah Weber Addams—namely John

Weber Addams, Mary Catherine Addams Linn, Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman, and Laura Jane Addams) found themselves as joint heirs without any specific instructions for how they were to proceed. In the week after John Huy Addams's death, prior to a formal inventory, his holdings were described as encompassing "farming land and City Village and Mill property . . . estimated to be worth at least One Hundred thousand Dollars, and which Personal Property, consisting chiefly of Bank stock moneys loaned, Government and Railroad bonds, & Railroad stock . . . estimated to be worth at least One Hundred and fifty thousand Dollars."¹ These estimates proved to fall short of John Huy Addams's actual net worth of approximately \$400,000. Addams had owned real estate in Iowa and Canada as well as in various townships in Stephenson County, Illinois (including Dakota, Harlem, and Lancaster).

John Huy Addams's friend and long-time family attorney Edward P. Barton² was appointed administrator of the estate by the Stephenson County courts, with the approval and support of the Addamses. In the last week of August and during the month of September 1881, Barton prepared detailed inventories of Addams's personal property, investments, and business ventures.³

By the end of September, Addams lands were deeded to the various members of the family. According to the written agreements filed at the Stephenson County courthouse, Anna Haldeman Addams received the "late residence and homestead of John Huy Addams deceased," including land above the mill pond. Anna's portion included the home and the family orchard.⁴ John Weber Addams, the lone son, acquired the family mill business, which he was already helping to run, including a woolen factory on property in Buckeye Township and the "flouring" mill on Cedar Creek, with its mill pond and water power system.⁵ Jane Addams and her sisters were deeded various tracts of farm and timber land.

Jane Addams's portion of the inheritance included two tracts of farmland amounting to about 247 acres of land in Lancaster Township, 80 acres in Dakota Township, and 60 acres of timberland in Buckeye Township. The farmlands yielded rental income from tenants, and Jane Addams later purchased additional land that supplemented her holdings. The Lancaster property, known as the Wheeland Farm, was assessed, according to Alice Addams Haldeman's account book, at about \$14,820, while the Dakota property was worth \$3,360 and the timberland \$4,680, for a combined worth of just under \$33,000.⁶

Harvard [Ill.]

Oct 4th 1881.

My dear Jennie,

Your kind letter received was very glad to hear from you,⁷ although my anxiety was relieved by a postal from Ma and also one from John Taylor.⁸

Was also glad to get Alice's letter although it had rather an abrupt ending. Suppose she and Harry went home on Monday. Hope we will have a chance to see you all before you start East. I do not feel as if I could have you all go off without coming to see us, if only for a short time. If you cant do any better you

can come this way to Chicago. You can come by way of Beloit see George and then come on here: you might stay here over Sunday and start from here the beginning of the week. I will come up rather than not see you all, but if you come this way all can see you.

Received the deeds from Mr. Barton last week, signed them and returned them.

Esther⁹ was not well last week but is about as usual again.

John¹⁰ also had some trouble with his stomach but is most well again.

Mr. Linn and the boys send love.

Esther can tell how the kittie goes very nicely.

Would write Alice if I knew where to reach her.

Shall hope to hear from you this week.

With much love your sister

Mary C. A. Linn.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:809–11).

1. "Petition of John Weber Addams in the Matter of the Estate of John Huy Addams."

2. Edward P. Barton (1829–93) was considered one of the best attorneys in northern Illinois. For many years he helped the Addams family with their financial planning. Like JHA, he was actively involved in Freeport civic life and a leader in Republican Party functions in Illinois. Raised in the state of New York, he studied law at Hamilton College, Clinton, N.Y., where he worked with Theodore W. Dwight (1822–92). Barton was admitted to the bar in 1852 and practiced law in New York City. He moved to Illinois in 1855 and joined the Freeport firm of Turner, Burchard, and Barton in the spring of 1856. Over the years, as partners retired or joined the practice, his Freeport law firm went through various configurations. It became Burchard and Barton in 1858; it was rearranged as Burchard, Barton, and Barnum in 1858; and it was Barton and Barnum (with offices on Galena Ave., across from the courthouse) from 1871 into the mid-1880s, when Barton became a county judge for Stephenson Co. An 1880 local history described Barton and Barnum as "the leading law firm in this city" (*History of Stephenson County, Illinois*, 616).

Barton was a popular colleague, described by his contemporaries as "[u]nassuming, urbane and social in his manners, kind and sympathetic in disposition, quick in apprehension and entertaining in conversation" (*In the Foot-prints of the Pioneers*, 346). He was also a devoted family man who turned down offers to become a circuit judge in order to avoid a schedule that would involve frequent absences from his home life. The Bartons were known for their generous hospitality, and their home on Upper Stephenson St. was a genial social center for young people in Freeport. Barton married Mary Ann Walker (b. 1836?), who was also from New York State, in Oct. 1864. The couple had two daughters, Alice M. (1868?), who married early Hull-House resident Edward L. Burchard (1867–1944) in 1893 and lived in Chicago, and Anna E. (b. 1870), who was unmarried at the time of her father's death. Both Barton girls were educated in Freeport and attended Smith College. Like JHA, Edward P. Barton maintained an excellent home library. He was also a director of the Freeport Public Library and worked with JHA as a director of the Second National Bank of Freeport. He and his wife were patrons of the arts and leaders in the Freeport First Presbyterian Church. Barton was involved in various state and county Republican Party conventions. He served as county judge from 1886 until his death. He died suddenly of heart failure a few days after Christmas 1893. Survived by his wife and daughters, he was lauded by the Freeport community.

3. Barton inventoried JHA's farms and businesses and prepared detailed lists of his chattel

property, including household furnishings, farm implements and tools, livestock, and such things as the grain, flour sacks, and other mill supplies on hand at the time of JHA's death. He listed life insurance and noted JHA's cash on hand (\$3,259.72); prepared lists of names of individuals to whom JHA had loaned money or rented property (which required several large pages); and described JHA's stocks and bonds, including stock in the Second National Bank of Freeport, the International Bank of Chicago, and the Northern Pacific Railroad. See "Inventory of Real and Personal Estate of John Huy Addams, Deceased," Stephenson County Recorder of Deeds, Stephenson County Courthouse, Freeport, Ill.; *JAPM*, 27:640–53.

4. Deed to AHHA from the estate of JHA, 29 Sept. 1881, Stephenson Co. Recorder of Deeds, Stephenson Co. Courthouse, Freeport, Ill.; *JAPM*, 27:674–77.

5. Deed to JWA from the estate of JHA, 29 Sept. 1881, Stephenson Co. Recorder of Deeds, Stephenson Co. Courthouse, Freeport, Ill.; *JAPM*, 27:667–73.

6. Deed to JA from the estate of JHA, 29 Sept. 1881, Stephenson Co. Recorder of Deeds, Stephenson Co. Courthouse, Freeport, Ill.; *JAPM*, 27:678–81; see also itemization of properties and their worth in SAAH, [Account Book 1881–83], *JAPM*, 27:685. JA purchased additional lands in Lancaster Twp. and handled various mortgages in connection with farm properties in 1883–85. See legal papers, Stephenson Co. Courthouse, Freeport, Ill.; *JAPM*, 27:543–52.

7. JA's letter is not known to be extant.

8. John Brown Taylor (1838–97), cashier of the Second National Bank of Freeport, often handled specific financial transactions for the family after JHA's death. JA dealt with him regarding transfers of funds and other family financial issues through the 1880s (see, for example, JA to SAAH, 15 Dec. 1886, UIC, JAMC; and JA to HWH, 17 Jan. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:387–91, 419–20, in which there are references to Taylor managing various financial affairs according to JA's instructions).

John Brown Taylor's parents were from Pennsylvania. He was born in Ohio and moved to Illinois with his family in 1855. He was a student at Cedarville Academy in 1861, when in July he responded to JHA's call for volunteers to the Union Army and enlisted as a private in Company A of the 11th Illinois Volunteer Regiment. He was severely wounded in the siege of Vicksburg and after treatment in military hospitals was released from duty at the end of Nov. 1863. He returned to school in Cedarville and in 1864 moved to Freeport, where he took a job as clerk and teller at the Second National Bank. He also served as a town alderman and as post commander of the local Grand Army of the Republic. He was married in 1865 to Carrie Bamberger (1841–1925) of Cedarville. The couple had a son and two daughters, one of whom, Bertha Bamberger Taylor, studied at the Art Institute of Chicago. The Taylors, like the Bartons, attended the Freeport First Presbyterian Church. John Brown Taylor succeeded Luther Guiteau as cashier of the Second National Bank upon Guiteau's death in 1880 and served in that capacity until his own death, possibly from complications of his old war wound, in Feb. 1897.

9. Daughter of MCAL and JML.

10. Son of MCAL and JML.

From Sarah F. Anderson

By the beginning of October 1881, Jane Addams had plans to travel to Philadelphia with her stepmother to attend the Woman's Medical School of Pennsylvania with her sister Alice. Friends contacted her about seeing her before she left for the East Coast.¹ Jane and Alice formally matriculated at the medical school on 17 October 1881. They enrolled in lectures on anatomy, physiology and hygiene, and chemis-

*try and toxicology*². Meanwhile, across town, Harry Haldeman began his more advanced medical studies at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine as a third-year student specializing in gynecology.³

Seminary, Rockford, Ill.

Oct 26, 1881.

My dear Jane,

Your letters do me good, as the sunshine, as the spring, as great fields of green.

I must give an account of myself, for I have been touring as well as you, my lady!

Miss Sill and I went to St Louis to attend the meetings of the Am. Board for Foreign Missions. We went to Chicago the 15th inst. did not reach Rockford <on homeward ride> until 24th. On reaching Chicago the 15th, I went directly to Palmer House where Annie Penfield Mower⁴ was stopping and at which place I had asked Ellen Starr to meet me, had lovely time with Annie. She is one of the big hearted kind—she and Ellen are alike in this, that when you meet them you can begin at once, it not being necessary to bore for half a day through thick crust of formality or shyness or whatever it is with which, so many, really good people cover themselves, or are covered, when you meet after an absence



Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, where Jane Addams and Alice Addams Haldeman attended classes. (DU, CMASC)

Thirty-Second Annual Winter
1881-82. List of

Name.	State	County.	Post Office.
77. Rebecca M. Mace	Pa	Phila	No 221 North 4th St
78. Minnie E. Hargrave	Mass.		Loughbridge.
79. Clara M. Bath	Maine	Washington Co.	Eastbrook.
80. Foster & Swings	Ohio	Columbiana Co.	W. Lewisburg
81. Annie H. Crawford	Pa	Cyrenus Co.	Williamsport.
82. Janet A. Jones	Penn	McKean Co.	Name
83. M. Elizabeth D. Kane	Penn	McKean Co.	Name
84. H. S. Bachmaning Thor	Wisconsin		Lawrence.
85. Andrew E. Smith	Pa.	Richfield	Parkburg.
86. Josephine P. Allen	Tenn	Allegheny	Littleburg.
87. Elizabeth M. Deach	Pa.	Lawrence Co.	Phila.
88. Geo. D. Blackhouse	Pa.	Butler	Washington.
89. Grace Hazlett	Ohio	Stark	Canter.
90. Margaret W. Appel	Ill	DuSoy	Georgetown
91. Emma C. Rogers	Ill	Grundy	Kirkwood
92. Alice Haldeman	Pa	Pa.	Mitchellville.
93. Jane Addams	Ill	Stephenson	Cedarville
94. Mary Christianson	Pa	Phila	Mowat
95. Anna M. Doherty	Penn	Phila	1179 N. 23rd St
96. Emily J. Luginan	Pa.	Phila.	225 Pine St.
97. Alice Higgins	Cal	Los Angeles	Arboretum
98. Mary V. Bromell	Pa.	Richfield	Richfield
99. Margaret W. Appel	Ill	Grundy	Georgetown
100. Alice Hazlett	Ohio	Stark	Canter
101. Alice Hazlett	Pa	Phila	2022 N 22nd St.

Matriculation register for the 1881-82 term at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, with the signatures of Jane Addams and Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman. (DU, CMASC)

of years or months. The girls liked one another well though it was not long we could be together. I went with Ellen to her aunts.⁵ What a place & what a dear little body she is—I am so glad to have been there. She was simply charming. The brothers⁶ were not there to interfere or interrupt. She had it all to herself and talked much in regarding Catholic institutions and beliefs and her own pet theories. I shall not fail to find that place when in Chicago. From Miss Starr's I returned to Palmer House & visited the Exposition⁷ with Mr & Mrs Mower, then took train for Hinsdale, where Mother was visiting, and had a good Sunday. While in St Louis I had letter from Hattie Wells which I will send you as it gives good account of the contest at Bloomington.⁸ Will you please return it.

Mattie⁹ & I study German together and are one class by ourselves. We are translating the Story of Sir Richard Whittington & his Cat into German.¹⁰ Splendid practice, puts all the grammar that I (dont) know into constant use. I really believe Miss Dickey¹¹ is a better teacher than Miss Hill.

Mattie is just as good as ever when I came back from St Louis my room was in beautiful order, a vase of bright leaves was on the window sill and another

of pansies on the mantle. She gets along so nicely in school. What a glorious woman she would be if she were only as strong, independent in the mental as in the moral nature. There never was another you dear, and I look in vain for the sympathetic face, when I am aglow with something seen, heard, or thought,—and yet I know that in many respects I am not worthy to sit at dear Mattie's feet.

I have not said a word of St Louis. The meetings were good, and I did feel lifted up, the world was made large, and the many earnest, unselfish and devoted men and women could not fail to raise us somewhat out of our selfish interests—I hardly mean that. I do believe that I as truly doing my work here as anyone of those missionaries in their field of labor—but it is not well to narrow one's interest and endeavor to just one's own work, whether teacher or missionary and hearing of the work being done in school and church over the whole earth, had its effect on all.

I have not said a word of Philadelphia, of my unceasing interest in your work there—I am glad you are there. Are any textbooks used or suggested?¹² How do you like the lecture system, do you find it difficult to comprehend or rather to retain? Do you take notes—and read them?¹³

Mrs. Alcott¹⁴ has bought house & lot in town. She is left independently well off—I almost never see Annie and I am sorry that it is so. I wanted to feel in some way near to her, for her fathers sake. I have not missed James since I first came, as I did on my return Monday evening.

The Seniors are at Harvard today attending the funeral services of Mary Baker's father, poor child.¹⁵ Be good to yourself dear, and patient about the return of strength. Blessings be upon you. Do you never think of me as 'Sarah'.¹⁶ If natural and pleasant for you to do so I would like it. My love to your mother & Alice. Yours ever.

Sarah F Anderson.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:825–30).

1. JA's old friend Ida May Carey came to see her for a brief two-day visit. She also visited Harry Williams and Roger Leavitt in Beloit ("We went quite deeply into metaphysics," she reported of their conversations). She wrote to JA: "Do you know—you are the kind of person I ought to be with?—You are strong on the very points where I am weak.—I sincerely hope seven years will not pass before we meet again" (5 Oct. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:813, 815). SA also wrote about trying to see JA on a weekend before she departed for the East (see 6 Oct. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:818–20). Like the others, MCAL was hopeful about seeing JA, and she suggested they try to meet in Cedarville, Beloit, or Chicago. RFS friend Kitty Waugh wrote to JA in the same period (see MCAL to JA, 6 Oct. [1881]; and Catharine Waugh to JA, 6 Oct. 1881, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:821–23 and 824).

2. The WMCP matriculation ledger for the annual winter session that began on Thursday, 6 Oct. 1881, lists courses that JA and SAAH enrolled in.

3. HWH attended lectures on pathology and morbid anatomy, therapeutics, the theory and practice of medicine, surgery, obstetrics, and diseases of women and children. He also received bedside and practical instruction in surgery, ophthalmology, otology, dermatology, electro-therapeutics, general medical and surgical clinics, and special clinics (including

nervous diseases; diseases of the skin, eye, and ear; and diseases of women and children). He worked within his specialty with Dr. William Goodell, reviewing cases with Goodell as part of bedside instruction each week and attending the general medical, surgical, and gynecological clinics that Goodell helped teach on Wednesdays and Saturdays. HWH's research while in Philadelphia focused on the treatment of ovarian cysts, which was the topic of his thesis, "Evacuation of Exposed Ovarian Cysts," listed in *Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers, and Students of the University of Pennsylvania* (1882–83), 112.

4. Anna ("Annie") Frances Penfield Mower (1853–1936), the sister of RFS graduate Laura Penfield Robinson, was a member of a prestigious Rockford family. Her parents were Mary Hodges Penfield (1820–1908) and David Sturges Penfield (1812–73). Pioneers and civic boosters of Rockford, they had settled in the town in 1812. Mr. Penfield was one of the founders of the Third National Bank of Rockford. The Penfields were patrons of the Rockford First Congregational Church. Annie Penfield attended RFS before transferring to Vassar College. She graduated from Vassar in 1876. Her Oct. 1881 marriage to Calvin Robinson Mower (1840–1927), a wealthy real estate broker, was one of the biggest social events of the year. The Mowers had three sons. Anna Penfield Mower was a leader in the social and cultural life of Rockford. She was an officer in the Monday Literary Club, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the King's Daughters Sewing Circle, the Mendelssohn Club, and the Rockford Woman's Club.

5. Eliza Allen Starr's home in Chicago (see introduction to part 4, n. 18).

6. EGS's brothers, William and Albert.

7. Beginning in 1873 and continuing until 1892, an Inter-State Industrial Exposition was held each fall in the Exposition Building constructed for this purpose on the Chicago lake-front. Exhibits displayed information in manufacturing and business, fine arts, and natural history.

8. A reference to the state oratorical contest in Bloomington, Ill., in which contestants from six Illinois colleges competed to represent Illinois at the Interstate Oratorical Assn. finals the following spring. Hattie Wells had accompanied JA to Jacksonville the previous spring to cover oratorical events for RSM (see *PJA*, 1:400–412). In 1882, Wells succeeded JA as the editor-in-chief of the RFS school magazine. As editor, she reported on the success of Carrie Hewitt (RFS '84), who had triumphed in a June 1882 RFS contest to choose a representative to the next Illinois Independent Colleges Oratorical Assn. contest. Hewitt would go on to "deliver her oration before the I.I.C.O.A., which is to be held in Chicago, October 6th, 1882," Wells reported in the "Personals" column printed after Hewitt's victory (*RSM* [June 1882], 188, 190).

9. Martha Thomas.

10. Richard Whittington (d. 1423) was lord mayor of London and a benefactor of the city. The story of Richard Whittington and his cat was a popular legend that originated around 1600. According to the tale, Whittington worked as a lowly scullion and owned nothing but a cat. The king of Barbary, which was under siege by a plague of rats and mice, purchased the cat for a huge sum, thus securing Whittington's fortune. Whittington then turned his wealth to public good, including the funding of a city library.

11. Mary E. Dickey succeeded Ella M. Hill (Kingsley) as RFS German teacher in 1881–82 (after Hill married). She continued teaching German and French at the school until 1886. In 1887, JA met her in Paris, where she was living and attending university. See JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, below.

12. JA's Hull-House library contained textbooks from her time in medical school, including Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Biology* (2 vols., 1881) and Fowne's *Manual of Chemistry*, revised by Henry Watts and edited by Robert Bridges (1878). She also referred to studying Gray's *Anatomy* in her memoirs, which was one of the titles on a list of books recommended

to students by medical school faculty in the *Thirty-Second Annual Announcement of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania*.

13. JA attended lectures taught by William Henry Parrish, M.D., professor of anatomy, and Frances Emily White, M.D., professor of physiology and hygiene. She received clinical instruction in practical anatomy and dissection from Emilie B. Du Bois, M.D., demonstrator of anatomy and instructor in materia medica. As has been noted, Rachel L. Bodley, dean of the faculty of the medical school, taught the lectures JA attended in chemistry and toxicology (on Bodley, see introduction to part 1, above). The WMCP, like most other medical schools of the era, operated on a fee-for-service basis in which individual professors were paid directly by students enrolling in their courses, who received cards acknowledging their enrollment as receipts.

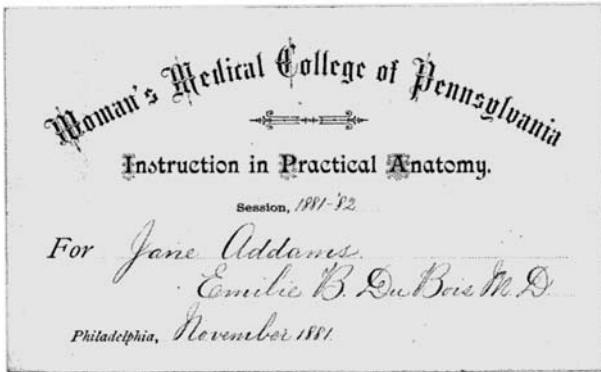
William Henry Parrish (1845–post-1903) lived on Spruce St. in Philadelphia. He was born in Holly Springs, Miss., and educated at Jefferson Medical College (M.D. 1870). He was a professor of obstetrics at Dartmouth Medical College before he became a professor at the WMCP. He was an obstetrician at Philadelphia Hospital and gynecologist and medical director at St. Agnes Hospital as well as a visiting physician or consultant to other Philadelphia hospitals. A member of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, the American Medical Assn., and the Southern Surgical and Gynecological Assn., he served as one of the presidents of the Philadelphia Obstetrical Society. He retired in 1903.

Frances Emily White (1832–1903) was a 1872 graduate of the WMCP. She worked at her alma mater as an instructor after graduation and in 1876 was promoted to professor of physiology (a position she held until her resignation in 1903). She published regularly in *Popular Science Monthly* in the 1870s and 1880s, writing on such topics as ethics, the relations of the sexes, hygiene as a basis of morality, and the nature of blood and protoplasm. In 1877, the college sent her, along with male professors, to the Assn. of American Medical Colleges, and she was admitted to the association, even though its by-laws provided only for male membership. Although the rules regarding women practitioners were officially changed in Oct. 1881, women who sought to join still struggled, and those nominated for admission in 1882 were defeated. White continued to pioneer in breaking into formerly male bastions of medicine. She was one of the first women to lecture at the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, and in 1890 she became the first woman delegate to the International Medical Congress in Berlin, representing the WMCP and the Philadelphia Co. Medical Society. White died in Jamaica Plain, Mass., on 29 Dec. 1903.

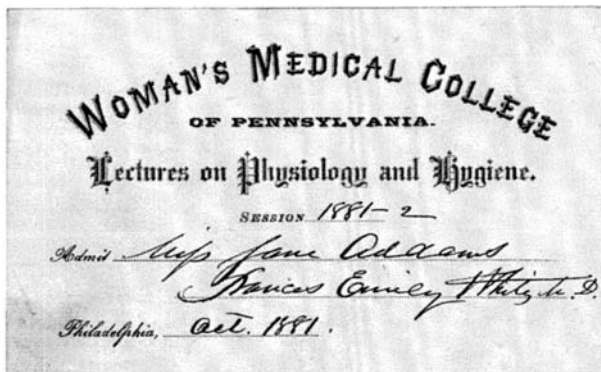
14. SA is referring to the recently widowed Julia Darling Alcock (sometimes spelled “Alcott”) and her twelve-year-old daughter, Anna D. Alcock. The Alcocks were provided for financially by the RFS Board of Trustees after the death of its employee James Alcock.

15. Mary Agnes Baker was a member of the RFS class of 1882. She was from Harvard, Ill. (where MCAL and JML were living while JML was pastor there), and she later resided in Rockford. In the early 1900s she lived in Denver, Colo., where she worked with children at the Plymouth Congregational Church. See also *PJA*, 1:221, n. 22; and Commencement Report in the *RSM*, [21 June] 1882, n. 7, below.

16. Perhaps JA, who was known to err on the side of formality, was continuing to address her former teacher as “Miss Anderson” despite the closeness of their friendship.



Two of Jane Addams's
Woman's Medical College of
Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,
admission cards for medical
school classes. (SCPC, JAC)



From Sarah F. Anderson

Seminary, Rockford, Ill.

Nov. 16, 1881.

My dear Jane:

A business meeting of the Alumnae Association was called for last Saturday in Cong'l Hall by the Pres. Miss Emma Spafford,¹ and the following resolution passed. Resolved 'That the Alumnae Association proceed to raise funds to procure a telescope, microscopes and other needed appliances for the advancement of Students of the Seminary.'

But I must go back a little you will remember that last year at the regular business meeting Miss Talcott² Miss Lathrop³ & Miss Perry⁴ were appointed committee to cooperate with trustees in raising funds to erect another a building for scientific purposes. Well the trustees are doing nothing in regard to it and so the ladies thought best to get to work for something to put into the buildings they now have, since no effort was to be made to secure funds for the building. A telescope can be secured for \$325.00 and it is thought another \$100.00 would

put the observatory into shape to receive it. Of course the telescope comes mounted. \$200.00 will buy about what microscopes will be necessary. Three of a larger kind and seven of smaller size.

Of course if more is raised it can and some ought to go to the Library, and I think either 87 ought to made into Laboratory or the upper rooms of the cottage.

The same committee was appointed to conduct affairs under this resolution as had charge under the old with this change that Miss Clark's⁵ name was added.

I think it is expected that the larger share of the money will be raised here in town and yet as it is done by the Association and in its name it was thought each member ought to be notified and asked to aid the effort either by interesting others and soliciting contributions from them or by giving something themselves. I am to act as Sec'y in my class will you do the same in your class, and report to me at by Dec 15th.

I did not want to ask you to do this if it should be hard work for you, for Mattie⁶ could do it, but I am sure you would present it in a way to all the girls that would not seem just like a dunning letter from the Sem'y. Of course it will not be necessary in your case, but the other Sec'y are to speak of the College Course of study.

The ladies seem quite enthusiastic but I think Miss Sill feels anxious, for she thinks an effort to raise funds can only be made once in so many years, and that unless a considerable amount is raised now it had better have been deferred until it could be taken hold of in perhaps a better way, as by hired agent, but I think this a good thing, it interest people and their interest is as necessary as their money.⁷

I will tell Mattie all about it and she can write you, and you need not write her, that will save you one letter. If you dont feel like doing this, say so, and Mattie will write to the girls.

This has been all business—I will write again soon.

Love to the others, Yours

Sarah F Anderson

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:832–35).

1. Emma G. Spafford, RFS class of 1866, who had been a student in the Normal Dept., became a teacher in Rockford, Ill. In 1883 she married lumberman George E. Mason and became stepmother to his five children. As a member of the Congregational church in Rockford, Spafford was active with Sunday School and missions programs, and as a member of the WCTU, she was absorbed with philanthropic work for children. Under her leadership, the RFS Alumnae Assn. pushed for the improvement of facilities and curriculum at RFS, including better laboratory opportunities for the study of science, and for the presence of women on the RFS Board of Trustees.

2. Fanny Jones Talcott. For biographical information, see *PJA*, 1:182, n. 39; 1:419–20, n. 2. RFS granted Fanny (sometimes spelled “Fannie”) Jones Talcott and Marie Thompson Perry

honorary master's degrees in June 1882, in the same ceremony in which JA earned her bachelor's degree. Both women, with Adeline Potter Lathrop, were active in reforming the RFS Board of Trustees. They became, with JA, honorary female members of the all-male board in May 1883 and official trustees in a gender-integrated board in 1884–85. They continued their involvement with the board for many years, as did JA. See *PJA*, 1:435–36, n. 1; and Minutes of Special Meeting of the RFS Board of Trustees, 10 May 1883, below.

3. Sarah Adeline Potter Lathrop (b. 1836) was one year old when she came with her father, general store operator Eleazer Hubbell Potter, and mother, Adeline Eells Potter (d. 1838), to Rockford, Ill., from Medina, N.Y. She was largely raised by her father's second wife, Mary Morrell Potter, who was from New York City. Adeline Potter attended RFS and was a member of the first graduating class in 1854. In 1857, she married William Lathrop, attorney and Republican representative to the Illinois General Assembly. The couple had six children, five of whom lived to maturity. One of those, Julia Clifford Lathrop (1858–1935), a social reformer, became a close friend and colleague of Jane Addams. Adeline Lathrop was a civic leader in Rockford. She helped form the Rockford Monday Club, a woman's book and discussion group. She was especially active in the mission work of the Second Congregational Church of Rockford. Through the years, her connection with RFS remained strong. She served as the first president of the RFS Alumnae Assn. in 1883 and 1884.

4. Marie Thompson Perry (1842–1921) was a graduate of the RFS class of 1863. Born in Canada, she immigrated to the United States with her parents as a child, settling with her family in the town of Roscoe, Ill., and, after her graduation from RFS, in La Crosse, Wis. She taught mathematics at RFS in 1874 (temporarily filling an unexpected vacancy on the faculty at the request of Anna P. Sill), and in 1876 she lectured at the school on European travel. In Mar. 1876, she married Seely Perry (1822–1900), a prominent dealer in lumber and coal. The Perrys made their home at 633 North Main St. in Rockford. Marie Thompson Perry (usually called “Mrs. Seely Perry” in RFS literature) served on the RFS Visiting Com. for many years and was president of the RFS Alumnae Assn. in 1878. After her husband passed away, she lived for a few years in Chicago before returning to Rockford. She devoted herself to philanthropic and charitable work, Rockford civic life, and support of Rockford College. She was a trustee of the Rockford Public Library and an officer of the RFS Alumnae Assn., the Federation of Clubs of Rockford, the Rockford Monday Club, the Ladies' Union Aid Society, and the Illinois State Federation of Women's Clubs. She was also active in the Congregational church in Rockford. Marie Thompson Perry presented a powerful memorial address in honor of Anna P. Sill in 1889, praising Sill's “rare and marvelous” shaping of so many young girls into thoughtful, productive, idealistic women. “We come to-day as daughters to pay a loving tribute to one who in our early, formative years, moved the very springs of our character and action,” she told her audience, “[one] whose potent influence gave direction to our lines of thought; whose words and precepts like seeds, sinking deep into our hearts, have sprung up and borne that which the world recognizes as the noblest fruitage of our lives” (*Memorials of Anna P. Sill*, 58). Perry showed her commitment to Sill's vision for women's education by serving on the RFS Board of Trustees until her death in 1921 (see also *PJA*, 1:435–36, n. 1; and Minutes of Special Meeting of the RFS Board of Trustees, 10 May 1883, below).

5. Eva E. Townsend Clark (ca. 1848?–1900) was, like Mary E. Holmes, a member of the RFS class of 1868 and a longtime resident of Rockford. She married Dr. D. Selwyn Clark, who was physician to Anna Peck Sill and other RFS faculty and a member of the RFS Board of Trustees. Like her friends Emma Spafford and Marie Thompson Perry, Clark was active in the Congregational church in Rockford and, like them, she served as a president of the RFS Alumnae Assn., as well as in other offices of the organization. Clark also spoke at the memorial service for Anna P. Sill, praising the community that Sill created and the sense of communion that prevailed among those who had attended the school under her guidance. Clark outlived her husband and two children. In her later years she made her home

in Chicago, and she died at a sanitarium at Geneva Lake, Wis. (see also Eva Clark to JA, 23 May 1883, below).

6. Martha Thomas.

7. The women's fund-raising drive was successful. At the RFS Alumnae Assn. banquet given in June 1882, Hattie Wells, speaking on behalf of the class of 1882, thanked the association and the RFS Exec. Com. for the purchase of the scientific equipment. She, like JA, "had studied the sciences of zoology, botany and astronomy, before the Seminary—or, as we prefer to say, the College—luxuriated in microscopes or telescopes." Securing the equipment was a step forward for women and scientific education. She noted that "this year with its introduction of telescope, microscopes, and many other advantages, marks a red letter epoch in our College life" (*RSM* [July 1882], 208). In addition to contacting her classmates for contributions to upgrade RFS's scientific apparatus, JA personally gave funds to increase the science holdings in the RFS library. On JA's financial support of the school, see also *PJA*, 1:436–37, n. 3; and introduction to part 4 and Helen Harrington to JA, 26 July 1885, both below.

From Sarah F. Anderson

Seminary, Rockford, Ill.

Dec 19, 1881.

My dear Jane—

I shall not have the time to write you before the holidays all that I want to say about next year, for I am going home, will probably start Thursday noon—and there are so many things to do before I can go—but I want to say to you that I am thinking seriously of studying another year. I know that if I ever study medicine I ought not to put it off until later, but I am not fully convinced that it is best for me to do so. What is your opinion, my dear. You must take into consideration my age, a most serious drawback, and the fact that I have not the best of educations.¹ Would you advise the attempt at being a physician? I am going to decide the question between this and March, and if it be decided in the negative it is possible that I may yet try to study part of another year and fit myself for deportment in Nat. Science, but I am not going to study nat. science undecided whether it be in preparation for teaching or practising medicine.

You are meeting many who are preparing for the work, are their qualifications high—are they characterized by high purposes; true earnestness? What would you think the average age of the those in first year of the course.

Should you all stay there another year, and I conclude to study medicine I dont believe that I could carry out my plan of going to Ann Arbor.²

Whenever I allow myself to think of next year with you, my head fills with plan upon plan so that I can hardly maintain my natural composure of manner.

dear Jane, I must go to the office and set myself to making bills for the girls to present to their parents on reaching home.

I write this note to let you know of what I am deliberating, and to ask your candid opinion—and to tell you of my whereabouts during the holidays[.] You must not make any more such dreadful blunders[.] I wonder they do not give

beginners in the dissecting work less repulsive specimens³ —do be careful of yourself my little woman—I could not allow you to be sick far away as you are there.⁴

Love to your mother & Alice. Yours,

Sarah F Anderson.

Addie Smith⁵ is visiting Kittie Tanner,⁶ who is to be married during the Holidays. It seems so good to see Addie, think she has not lost any of the best of herself.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:840–43).

1. SA did not specialize in the sciences during her years of study at RFS. At thirty-two, she was well within the common age range for students at the WMCP; the average age of graduates up to 1880 was typically thirty to thirty-three. Many of the female students came to medical school at an older age than male counterparts, having first worked for years to earn money to pay for their education. Almost a third of the students had, like SA, been teachers before they enrolled in medical school. At twenty-one years old, in contrast, JA was both younger and less experienced than many of her Philadelphia classmates. SAAH, married and twenty-eight, was more within the norm. In other respects, JA and SAAH were typical of the women who entered the medical school during this period: they were upper middle class, white, and from reform families; they had a physician in their family (HWH); and they had a childhood or young-adult experience of serious illness or death of a significant family member (in JA and SAAH's case, SWA and the teenage Martha Addams). All these were factors that female medical students of their time tended to share.

2. The Univ. of Michigan at Ann Arbor was the first state university to open medical training to women (in 1869–70). By the 1890s, state schools were major sources of medical and scientific education for women.

3. It is not known what blunder JA may have made in dissection, but she passed her examination in the dissection of a human cadaver in Dec. 1881. She received a Certificate of Dissections for “Lower extremity” authorized by Emilie B. Du Bois, M.D. (see SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:472). The dissection work was a rite of passage for entering medical students, a test of their anatomical knowledge and their mettle. See illustrations, page 92. JA inferred to GBH that dissection was not the most favorite aspect of her studies (see GBH to AHHA, 21 Dec. 1881, UIC, JAMC, HJ). Emma Briggs later had a similar reaction to the dissection aspect of medical training in Philadelphia (see Emma Briggs to JA, 30 Dec. 1881, n. 11, below).

4. Although she completed her coursework in Dec. 1881, JA was probably already under medical care.

5. Addie M. Smith.

6. Katherine (“Kitty”) Tanner married Franklin P. Fisk, a Chicago teacher, on 27 Dec. 1881 at her parents’ home in Rockford. The wedding was formally announced in the “Personals” column of the Jan. 1882 *RSM*. For biographical information, see *PJA*, 1:216–17, n. 4.

From Sarah F. Blaisdell

Sometime in the latter part of the winter term at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Jane Addams consulted neurologist S. Weir Mitchell and may have been treated through Mitchell's Orthopaedic Hospital and Infirmary for Nervous

Diseases.¹ Mitchell's preferred treatments for the two types of ill health that plagued Addams in 1881–82—neurasthenia and back pain—were closely related. Both treatments were based on his theories about rest, which acknowledged the association between activity and pain, and inactivity and relief from pain. Mitchell's regimen for the treatment of back pain and curvature of the spine involved active physical manipulation of the patient. Mild cases were treated with bed rest, poultices, or cupping, a practice where suction is used as a pain therapy and to improve blood flow. Severe cases were subjected to splinting and immobilization, icing, and passive massage with tonics and oil, combined sometimes with cauterization of the back. For cases such as Jane Addams's where the patient's condition did not improve under such means, "the only recourse was nerve stretching," which was done by means of suspension, using various mechanical devices employing weights and pulleys.² Much of Mitchell's design for correcting spinal malformation—including curvature induced by Pott's disease, which was likely the cause of Addams's suffering—came from treatments his father, John Kearsley Mitchell, had devised earlier in the century.³

Boston, [Mass.] 72 Temple Street.

Dec. 24, 1881.

Dear Jane,

Your very friendly letter was duly received and I thank you for all it contained of expression of confidence and affection.⁴ Every day no doubt, increases your consciousness of loss but especially these days when families gather and give unusual expression of affectionate interest. I realize your loss and also the wealth you have in what was put into your own character by the influence of your father's high Christian principles and what you have ~~and~~ <in> the ever fresh recollection of what he was and what his counsel would be if present to be consulted in the times when you feel the need of his counsel. In times of trial one feels hidden, at least a girl or young woman does, behind a father as by a wall of defence but when he is gone she stands out in her own person to meet the responsibilities of life. So I felt, but life opened gradually and an unseen hand has guided me thus far, safely as far as I have been willing to yield to such guidance. Your path I am sure will open before you—wisdom and strength will be furnished according to your need. I am glad you are under such friendly Superintendence as you mention, and especially that you have taken upon yourself a sense of responsibility in the matter of health. Now this last sentence I am afraid doesn't sound very well. I don't mean at all that you have been reckless but that you have not realized that the limit of your strength might be near and have taxed it heretofore very severely both in study and in doing for others and at their suggestions.⁵ I do trust you may regain what you have lost of physical vigor and also add much to the original stock. I am glad you are well enough to do something in the way of your life plan. Do you really believe that Smith will come in somewhere in your course? I felt disappointed that you could not go this year—am glad that Mary⁶ went. It will do her good.

My interest is getting quite settled in the direction of the needs of the far west. It seems to me that one desirous of making an impression that will show and will last cannot do better than to take up work where the population is new and ready to be moulded intellectually and morally. I would almost be glad to be young again for the opportunity. What say you? My sister⁷ is much interested in the work of sending teachers to the New States and is always glad to hear of an earnest woman to send. I know you do not expect to teach school but you may have acquaintances whom you may interest in that direction, and besides good physicians, and good women and earnest would make their lives amount to much there I am sure. I am teaching in the Chinese Sunday School and am much interested. Every Chinaman educated and Christianized here is much for that people far over the waters. I am also attending a lecture on the Lab. Sch. lesson each Sat. afternoon which interests me much. Next week The Book of Mark is to be commenced and to be opened for the entire year—I think I will take the Greek along with it. Will you not read with me? I have been reading irregularly The Odyssey—hope by & by to do it regularly. The winter is passing not quite as I expected. I have not found myself able to go about much in the crowds that throng the streets, but expect to do better. The bad headaches have left me and instead I have been a little lame. I have the promise of an introduction to the privilege of a large library & reading <room> quite near which I hope to enjoy soon. Several of the class have written me and some⁸ of the teachers. Miss Kendall called a few days ago.⁹ Miss Pettit is with her in town. I met Miss Joy¹⁰ on the street sometime ago. If Jane will write me again soon I will try & be more punctual in answering. I think of you often & ever with aff. interest. Please remember me with love to your Mother & Alice[.] May the holidays be glad & thankful days with you all. I am waiting a letter from Miss Anderson & Mattie. They are busy¹¹ of course as we used to be & shall be any where. Yr Ever loving friend,

Sarah F. Blaisdell.

Christmas Greetings from a loving friend.¹²

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:844–46).

1. For more on JA, Mitchell, and the rest cure, see introduction to part 1, above.

2. Walter, *S. Weir Mitchell*, 159. JA underwent a variation of this type of treatment in Mitchellville, Iowa, in the winter of 1882–83, when HWH used bed rest, probably coupled with small incisions and injections to induce scar tissue in an effort to reshape JA's back.

3. John Kearsley Mitchell is credited with being the "first to describe the spinal arthropathies" in his writings (1831), and fifty years later his son said that observation of his father's techniques was the basis of his own therapeutic methods (Kelly and Burrage, *Dictionary of American Medical Biography*, 853). S. Weir Mitchell's association of neurosis with spinal symptoms was not unique to him, nor was his approach a new one in Philadelphia. Isaac Parrish (1811–52), a contemporary of the elder Mitchell, had published on "Spinal Irritation as Connected with Nervous Diseases" based on research he had conducted with patients in Philadelphia almshouses in the early 1830s.

4. JA's letter is not known to be extant.

5. News that JA was not doing well physically and was not especially happy in medical school had spread. Helen Harrington wrote to JA after the holidays to say that she, too, had been in touch with Sarah Blaisdell ("I imagine that she feels a little at a loss as to what to do since she has left R[ockford]," Harrington wrote, referring to Blaisdell's recent retirement). Like Blaisdell, Harrington was concerned that JA not overdo and was glad she wasn't alone at school. She told JA, "I am glad that you are with your sister so that she can care for your health and not let you follow your old habit of working altogether too hard" (8 Jan. 1882, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

6. Mary Ellwood.

7. Sarah Blaisdell was probably visiting her sister Mary Ann Blaisdell Tyler (1819–1905), who lived with her family in Boston.

8. The text beginning with "some of the teachers" and ending with "Anderson and Mattie. They are" is written perpendicular to the main body of the letter on page 1.

9. This may have been S. Kendall, an RFS teacher of preparatory Latin and gymnastics during the 1880–81 year.

10. Miss Ada C. Joy, originally from Maine, was business manager, assistant principal, and teacher of senior classes at Mt. Carroll Seminary in Mt. Carroll, Ill.

11. The text beginning with "busy of course" through the signature is written perpendicular to the main body of the letter on page 4.

12. Blaisdell wrote "Christmas Greetings from a loving friend" across the top of pages 2 and 3 of this letter (JAPM, 1:845).

From Emma L. Briggs

Jane Addams apparently wrote a generous letter to Emma Briggs,¹ sharing with her friend some experiences and opinions of medical school. The letter, unfortunately, is no longer extant. Just before Christmas in 1881, as Addams was passing her dissection examination and experiencing ill health in Philadelphia, Briggs was in Iowa debating whether to prepare to go to medical school and if so, where. It appears that Jane Addams gave Briggs a good report of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania and that she sent Briggs some literature about the operation of the school and its program of study. Emma Briggs did indeed decide to enroll in the school in Philadelphia to pursue the study of medicine.

Kellogg, Ia,

Dec. 30th 1881.

Miss Addams:—

Preparation for the holidays and a week's absence have prevented my answering sooner the kindest and most useful letter that I ever received. I disliked very much to trouble you at all and had no thought of your entering so into details and thank you sincerely for your kindness.

I have always thought that I should not attend a woman's medical, because from what I could learn, I judged the instructors & course of study were inferior, and I desire the best or none.² But from what you have written & from the catalogue I judge it to be the best place for me to begin in, of any of which I have yet heard, especially since there is opportunity for subsequently enter-

ing a hospital³ & that is what I have always most hoped that I might <do> after completing my first course, but had not the slightest notion of the manner in which it was to be accomplished.

I spent a week in Nov. at the State Agricultural School⁴ and was much surprised to find the instructors & facilities for pursuing scientific studies, of so high a standard and so complete. Prof. Bessey⁵ is considered one of the first botanists & has been offered a position at Harvard & came quite up to the ideal I had entertained of a genius.

Their chemical laboratory has been pronounced the equal of that at Rush or Bellevue—N.Y.⁶—and the thought of the closet at Rockford came in rather ludicrously. Their advantages in other branches of science are quite as good. I have thought that perhaps the best thing I could do now, would be to go there & take such branches as will serve to advance me in medical knowledge—such as Anatomy, Materia Medica, Histology & Chemistry—as I have the partial promise of the position of the President's secretary & as teacher of water color painting⁷ & these two would more than pay my expenses besides being very agreeable work. The only draw back that appears is that after I got through there I should be no nearer Phil. than now, and I cannot decide whether it is better to make money my chief object of pursuit for a few years until I have enough to carry me through—or go on studying. I've no one to ask or advise me except Miss Harrington and she thinks it would be a pleasant place for me so says to go. But it is not the pleasantest place I want but the one that will serve the end best and as I've had so little experience I do not feel like relying wholly upon my own judgement, so I am going to impose upon your kindness again. I fear you do not know what trouble you brought upon yourself by being kind to me.

The school year at Ames opens in March & closes in Nov., so that I must decide very soon upon my course. I thank you very much for your kind offer about books, but I thought I would wait until I knew where I was to be & govern my purchase of books by that. But would not the express charges be almost as much as the per cent off?

Oh I should so like to take a college course too, at Smith's or some equally good and always thought that perhaps it would all happen so that I might but I've had to give that all up, but I am glad that you may and wish more girls <who have the opportunity> could be roused to see the importance of improving it.

It seems so strange that people can entertain such different ideas upon the subjects of education & culture. My father thinks a college education is rather to be avoided than desired—that it unfits one for all practical life or pursuits. But in that as other things people cannot see alike, I suppose.

Miss Harrington remembered me very kindly Christmas by sending Sunderlands "A Rational Faith"⁸—which seems a most sensible book so far as I have read. I feel very sorry for her at times—her life seems so lonely and sad—yet she has very much to enjoy too. I never knew much about people before I went to R——⁹ I had lived so by myself and always supposed there were people in

the world who were quite happy and had nothing to make them otherwise. But though I suppose I know comparatively nothing of people, yet, I have about concluded that each has about the same amount to suffer. I've always been in a state of bewilderment over the condition of people & things in the world and cannot¹⁰ see but that I always shall.

Do not allow me to trouble you too much.

Remember me to your sister, please with many thanks for her kind wishes. I always think of her with much pleasure.

Hoping that your physical strength may continue to improve, and that '82 may bring to you less annoyance and more happiness than '81—I remain.¹¹

Emma L. Briggs.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:847–52).

1. Emma Leone Briggs (Dodds) (1859–1951), of Kellogg, Iowa, had been taught privately by a governess before she entered RFS in 1878. She became friends with JA at RFS, and she graduated with JA as a member of the class of 1881 (see *PJA*, 1:244, n. 1; 1:353, n. 5; and 1:427, n. 4). She and JA shared a mutual interest in science. The two had been in touch by letter since leaving Rockford. Emma Briggs briefly lived and taught at the Iowa Agricultural College in Ames in the second half of the academic session of 1881–82. The school's motto, quoted on the cover of the 1882 *Iowa Agricultural College Catalogue*, was very fitting for Briggs: "Science with Practice." Briggs was listed as one of eleven special students at the school in the catalog, which described special studies as open only to accelerated students who had demonstrated a proficiency in certain areas of study and had maintained a high grade point average in that specialized field. Special students were allowed to forego taking usually required courses in their junior and senior years in order to concentrate on their area of specialization. Briggs no doubt used the special student status to focus on laboratory sciences that would prepare her for medical school.

In the fall of 1882, with JA's encouragement, Emma Briggs became a medical student at the WMCP. Her medical training was funded by a scholarship and reluctantly augmented by her father, who initially opposed his daughter's ambition to become a physician. She was sensitive to the fact that she ended up studying at the medical school in a more thorough way than JA had. As a student and in hospital training, Briggs wrote to JA about her experiences and of mutual acquaintances and teachers at the WMCP. Briggs attended the medical college in 1882–83 and 1883–84. She completed a hospital internship (as she said she hoped to do in this letter, above), but she stopped short of earning her medical degree. In 1884, she married W. V. A. Dodds of Beatrice, Nebr. Contrary to all of Dean Rachel Bodley's earnest urging for her students to combine marriage and medicine, abandoning neither in order to pursue the other, Briggs gave up her professional goals for a domestic life.

Emma Briggs Dodds and her husband had five daughters and a son. She was fervently religious, a characteristic that separated her from the more quietly faithful and somewhat agnostic JA but united her in spirit with Bodley and with RFS's principal, Anna P. Sill. As Sill had once done with her students at RFS, Emma Briggs Dodds encouraged her daughters to take up missionary work. One lived in China and another prepared to be a medical missionary in India. Briggs's ardent expression of her religious beliefs eventually alienated some of her family members and, according to one daughter, contributed to the breakup of her marriage. Emma Briggs died in Colorado Springs, Colo., at the age of ninety-two. She maintained a lifelong acquaintance with JA and with other friends from the RFS class of 1881.

2. Emma Briggs is referring to the choice between coeducational and separate-sex regular

(nonsectarian or allopathic) medical training. At issue, in part, was funding, specifically the relative wealth (and thus advantages in faculty and clinical and laboratory facilities) of traditionally male major medical schools and hospitals versus institutions for women. At issue also—in addition to prevailing attitudes that women's place was in the home, or, at best, in the field of nursing rather than in medicine—was squeamishness over women attending male patients and male and female medical students mixing together in the same classrooms and clinics. Still, by the 1880s, education at women's regular medical schools like the WMCP was comparable to that being offered elsewhere to men. Critics of the female institutions charged that their separatist principles, isolation from mainstream scientific inquiry, and limited facilities resulted in inferior education. Such opinions were common among those who argued against admission of women to professional medical societies. Proponents of the female colleges cited opportunities for women faculty and clinicians, the importance of female role models for female students, the desire for specialization in the treatment of women and children, and the professional benefits of female support networks as reasons to defend and perpetuate women's schools. They argued that women's schools offered separate but equal—or even superior—training for women students. Women who won admission to regular coeducational schools, meanwhile, faced daily forms of discrimination.

The trend toward coeducation was increasing in the 1880s, as JA, Emma Briggs, and SA contemplated entering the medical profession. The greatest breakthrough in this respect came in 1893, when the Johns Hopkins Medical School opened admission to women, attracting, among others, students trained in science at Smith, Vassar, and Bryn Mawr. Female enrollment in coeducational schools rose in the early 1890s, and the total number of women practicing medicine—some two thousand in 1880—had more than tripled by 1900. Still, in 1893 only 37 out of 105 regular medical schools admitted women, and the bias against female physicians persisted into the twentieth century.

3. Approximately one-third of WMCP graduates found employment in hospitals, asylums, or other institutions. Hospital experience was also part of student training. After years of struggle with the Philadelphia medical establishment, students at the WMCP in the 1880s were able to attend clinical lectures at Pennsylvania Hospital and Blockley Hospital (see also introduction to part 1, n. 38, above). The 1881–82 catalog that JA sent to Emma Briggs listed the schedule of lectures, clinics, and examinations for the winter session, including bedside instruction at Woman's Hospital each morning, Monday through Saturday; obstetrics and surgical clinics at Woman's Hospital on Mondays and Thursdays; and medical and surgical clinics at Blockley Hospital on Wednesdays. A similar schedule, with slightly different days, was in force when Briggs became a medical student in 1882. Hospital internships proved even harder for women to obtain than clinical instruction. Emma Briggs served her internship in summer stints at Children's Hospital in Atlantic City, N.J., about sixty miles outside Philadelphia.

4. The Iowa Agricultural College and Farm (now Iowa State Univ.) at Ames, Iowa, originated when the State Agricultural Society at Fairfield, Iowa, petitioned the Iowa General Assembly to fund agricultural research in the state. The assembly authorized the college and its model farm in 1858. In 1864, Morrill Act federal land-grant monies were designated to develop the school. The college was dedicated in Mar. 1869. It was the first land-grant institution to be coeducational from its inception. The curricula of the school centered on programs in agricultural sciences and mechanical arts; in 1871, it added a general Ladies' Course. Mary Beaumont Welch (1841–1923), professor of domestic economy and wife of college president Adonijah Strong Welch, established one of the first domestic science programs in the country at Ames, and female students at the school lobbied in the 1870s for a women's militia to be developed to provide options for military training for women. The school's programs in laboratory sciences were given a boost in 1880 with the erection of North Hall, which housed the Botany Dept., a large lecture hall, and a modern laboratory.

5. Charles Edwin Bessey (1845–1915) was a professor of botany who briefly served as acting president of the Iowa Agricultural College and Farm in 1882. He studied at Michigan Agricultural College (B.S. 1869, M.S. 1872) and in special summer internships with renowned scientist Asa Gray (1810–88) at Harvard Univ. (in 1872, 1873, and 1875) before earning his Ph.D. from Iowa Univ. in 1879. Like Gray, he simultaneously embraced the Christian religion and the theory of evolution. He came to the Iowa Agricultural College and Farm as a professor of botany and horticulture in 1870. He established the school's extensive herbarium and became chair of the Botany Dept. He moved on, in 1884, to the Univ. of Nebraska, where he served as professor of botany and dean of agriculture until his death. He was known for putting the study of botany on a modern, more scientific, basis, including laboratory instruction. He was president of the Botanical Society of America (1895–96) and of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science (1910–12), among other professional societies.

6. Rush Medical College in Chicago and Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York. Rush Medical College had admitted Emily Blackwell (1826–1910), the younger sister of Elizabeth Blackwell, in 1852, only to revoke her admission after a year because of the uproar over her gender. Rush later trained many women. Blackwell finished her training at Western Reserve Medical College in Cleveland. The Woman's Hospital Medical College in Chicago was established in 1870 in response to sexual discrimination against women at both Rush Medical College and Chicago Medical College.

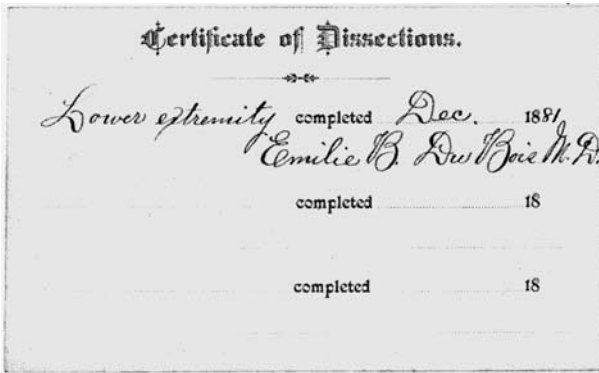
7. Adonijah Strong Welch (1821–89) was president of Iowa Agricultural College from its inception in 1869 until 1884. After 1884, he stepped down as president but remained a member of the school's faculty. He had previously been president of Michigan Normal School and a senator from the state of Florida. It is likely that Emma Briggs worked not for Welch but for his stand-in, Charles Bessey, while he was the acting president of the school. There are no extant records confirming Briggs's employment in the president's office or her teaching of painting at the school. There was no Art Dept. at Iowa Agricultural College in the 1880s, and it is likely that Briggs taught in an extension-type capacity or possibly through the school's program in domestic economy, which was directed at the education of young women.

8. Probably a reference to a tract by Jabez Thomas Sunderland (1842–1936), a prolific writer whose books, published over a span of several decades, included studies of the origin and character of the Bible and liberal Christian ministry. He also wrote on evolution, temperance, Unitarianism, and the status of India. One of his better known early works was *What Is the Bible?* (1878).

9. RFS.

10. The text beginning with “cannot see but” and ending with “trouble you too much” is written upside down on the top of the last page of the letter. The text beginning with “Remember me to your sister” and ending with “with much pleasure” is written upside down on the top of page 4 of the letter. The text beginning with “Hoping that your physical strength” and ending with the signature is written upside down on the top of page 5.

11. Emma Briggs wrote to JA again in Feb. 1883 to describe her experience at the WMCP. She had maintained close contact with Helen Harrington and had news of JA through her. She reported that the medical students were using a new clinic hall, an improvement over the smaller space used when JA and SAAH were students at the school, and that “Dr. Bodley is as easily confused—Dr. White as philosophical—Dr. [J. Gibbons] Hunt as enthusiastic & having as little respect for authority as ever. . . . If only everyone could be as honest & earnest as he.” She told of illness and mishaps among the students and wrote “I have not attended clinics at other Hospitals this winter—as I disliked to go alone & could find no one to go with regularly—I went down to the Penn Hospital once and found it rather formidable. One of the young ladies thinks I may be able to join the second year class in bedside clinics that goes out to Blockley during the spring term & I hope I may.” She also confessed to JA that she was easily unnerved during clinic demonstrations—so much so that she was forced to



Jane Addams completed her dissection study successfully. (SCPC, JAC)



A dissection class at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in the late nineteenth century. (DU, CMASC)

leave early on occasion and retire to her boarding place—and she told JA that she had become ill when “first going into the dissecting room.” As JA well knew, the cadavers available for medical school use were often secured from graveyards and in very poor condition. “I guess it is a common experience and has to be overcome,” Emma Briggs philosophized about her initial reaction to this aspect of medical education, but, she observed, “I become more enthusiastic as time goes on and hope to succeed” (18 Feb. 1883, IU, Lilly, SAAH; see also SA to JA, 19 Dec. 1881, n. 3, above). Briggs clearly wrote similar things to Helen Harrington, for on 31 Dec. 1882 Harrington reported to JA that “Emma Briggs is very pleasantly situated

in Philadelphia but clinics make her sick and cadavers are objects of horror to her and I am more and more convinced that she can never follow the study of medicine very far, but she looks at every thing nowadays in so happy and cheerful a light that I am sure she will come out all right anyway" (SCPC, JAC; JAPM, 1:1034).

From Ellen Gates Starr

While Jane Addams and other friends from Rockford Female Seminary dealt with various stages of alienation from their seminary experience and pursued further university study, Ellen Gates Starr attended church services in Chicago and taught and lived at Miss Rice's School for Girls,¹ where she found fulfilling work and close associations. She enjoyed friendships with teachers at Miss Rice's and other nearby schools, including Miss Kirkland's,² where she soon would begin teaching. These friends shared her interests in religious and intellectual inquiry, literature, and the theater. Here she fills Jane Addams in on some of the things she has been reading and doing, and she mentions Mary Runyan,³ who for a time displaced Mary J. Holmes⁴ as Starr's special woman acquaintance. Miss Runyan joined Starr and her brothers, William and Albert Starr, in an informal reading group that Starr refers to here as the "The Club."⁵ In the spring of 1882, Starr and her circle of friends in Chicago met and discussed their way through several of Shakespeare's tragedies, including Macbeth and Anthony and Cleopatra. Starr continued to mention Miss Runyan and what they had been reading together through the rest of the academic year.⁶

Chicago, [Ill.]

Jan. 1, 1882.

My dear Jane,

Christmas day which I intended to dedicate partially to you slipped away without my finding time to write. So I shall begin the New Year with you. I believe I once described the Midnight Christmas service to you.⁷ So it is unnecessary to do it now. I always feel as though I heard the angels singing when I go to that service. The first thing you hear is a burst of sound from the choir room, & then the door opens, & these white robed boys come in & pass down the aisle singing. The music is beautiful. I always believe every word of the credo then, whether I do other times or not. At the words "Who for us men & for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man" the congregation kneel. The music there is very low & tender. I could not keep on my feet, I think, if I should try. Then at "He suffered under Pontius Pilate" &c it is a sort of sob, & swells out triumphantly at the words "On the third day He rose again"⁸ &c. I can't give you any idea of the solemnity of it. I don't think it would be half so touching in a large church, but this is a very small one, not very rich, & everything is so simple. There was

a little picture of the Nativity decorated with flowers, & with lights burning under it, like a shrine. I shouldn't be satisfied to go there all the time, for I don't believe the doctrine taught, & the preaching isn't very deep or very strong, but on special religious days I prefer it to anything else. I have never settled down here. I go about from one church to another just according to my inclination. I don't think its very good for me. Presume it would be much better if I had a settled place of worship, but seem to find no one place that answers my needs. Miss Anderson⁹ & I have been making desperate efforts to see each other, but haven't yet achieved it, though she came in to the reunion. She was so busy, & stayed but a few hours, so she didn't get here. I want a good long talk with her, & I as to you, Jane, I haven't seen you for so long, that I am losing track of you. It seems to me I must get at you some way. I wish you would write me one of your real old fashioned letters, & talk about yourself & just let me look at you once more. Your picture stands on my bureau & occasionally I address it with "Well, Jane, what do you think of me now?" & your expression is not one of approbation. "The Club" which consists of my two brothers, myself & Miss Runyan, are to read Hamlet next, & then Miss Rice is coming up some evening to talk with us about it.¹⁰ It will be perfectly lovely. Wish you could be here. Today I began to read Job to Miss Runyan. I have entirely forgotten what Froude¹¹ says, & don't know how many of my ideas I got from him. Intend to read it over. I wish you could see Miss Runyan. She is so beautiful. The first handsome friend I ever had. I am very proud of her, as well as fond of her. Have been brow beating her terribly tonight about her lack of confidence in herself. She is so humble that brow beating puts her at once into the valley. We had such a good time reading Macbeth. Thought of so many new things. Brother Will is splendid to read Shakespeare with. He sees into things so, & has such a concise logical way of expressing his views. Miss Beckwith¹² & I have just finished Antony & Cleopatra. I enjoyed that very much toward the end, but it took some time to get wrought up to it. It is so entirely different from anything I ever read. She rather dragged me along at first, & I let her do the work. Mrs. Jameson¹³ in Cleopatra is almost as good as she is in Lady Macbeth, which is all that can be said. I am going to begin Greek. In fact I have begun by myself to learn the declensions, & shall probably take my first lesson next week. Dr. Mitchell,¹⁴ a Harvard graduate, who prepares boys for college, invited me to accept a Greek lesson every Saturday morning. I had only seen him two or three times, & then we were so afraid of each other that we hardly spoke, & he works all the rest of the week, so you may suppose I was a little surprised, & a good deal complimented by his proposition; & as I told him in my note "though it seemed almost too much to accept, it was quite too much to decline," so I accepted. I don't care so much for the Greek, though I have always wanted to take it under a thorough teacher, as for the back bone it will be to study with that kind of a man. Did you ever read anything wilder or 'drunkener' than Taine on Shakespeare?¹⁵ The 'Coriolanus'¹⁶ was such a shock

to me that I had to kick my feet to relieve myself. Forgive this scrawl, & return good for evil.¹⁷ Faithfully yours,

Ellen G. Starr.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:857–66).

1. See *PJA*, 1:281–82, n. 6; 1:379–80, n. 8.

2. Miss Rice's School for Young Ladies and Children, a boarding and day school, was established by Rebecca S. Rice in 1876. See EGS to JA, 22 Oct. 1882, nn. 7, 8, below.

3. Little is known about the personal life of Mary Runyan. Like EGS, in this period she was young and working as a schoolteacher. Runyan trained in new approaches to early childhood education, and at the end of the 1881–82 school year, she left Chicago for St. Louis, where, in 1883, she became a kindergarten teacher (see also EGS to JA, 12 Jan. [1883], below). Mary Runyan taught in St. Louis until at least 1896. During the 1883–96 time period, she lived at four or more different residences listed in St. Louis city directories. She had at least one sister, Ida Runyan. The kindergarten movement with which Runyan was involved originated in the theories of Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852) of Germany and was propagated by his followers on the European continent and in England before being introduced in the United States in the 1850s. In 1873, Susan E. Blow (1843–1916) of St. Louis, a graduate of the Froebel Training School in New York, returned to her hometown and with the support of the St. Louis superintendent of public schools founded kindergartens within the free public school system. By the 1879–80 school year, there were thirty such classes operating in St. Louis with nearly 8,000 students. At the time Runyan began teaching in St. Louis, the city had become, along with Boston and New York, one of the major centers from which the kindergarten system—both private and public—was introduced in other communities across the United States. By the mid-1890s, Missouri topped the states in the nation for the greatest number of kindergarten schools in operation, at seventy-one. Kindergarten classes and what would in modern times be called daycare and after-school care for older children were among the primary programs established in the first years of operation at Hull-House.

4. For biographical information on Mary J. Holmes, who was a teacher and assistant principal at Miss Rice's School for Girls (later known as Miss Rice's Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies and Children) on North LaSalle St., see *PJA*, 1:182, n. 35; 1:209–12, n. 4. EGS, a fellow teacher, roomed in Holmes's residence with other single working women. According to the 1880 federal census for Illinois, the household of 41-year-old Mary J. Holmes (who was listed as "keep[ing] kindergarten") included EGS, then twenty-one years old; Elizabeth How, a 26-year-old teacher born in Massachusetts; Sarah Thornton, a 28-year-old dressmaker; and Nellie Anderson, a 27-year-old dressmaker. Thornton and Anderson were American-born daughters of Irish immigrants.

5. This name for their gathering was a takeoff on "The Club" (later called "The Literary Club"), an exclusive intellectual society founded by Samuel Johnson in London in 1764. The Club met rather famously at the Turk's Head in Gerrard St. and included a circle of well-known male British writers and theorists (see also JA to EGS, 7 Jan. 1883, n. 7, below).

6. See EGS to JA, 9 Apr., 14 May, 22 Oct. 1882, and 12 Jan., and 3 July 1883, all below.

7. See EGS to JA, 25 Dec. 1879, *PJA*, 1:315–16.

8. A reference to a portion of the Nicene Creed, regularly recited as part of the religious ritual in Episcopal church services.

9. SA visited EGS in Chicago a few months later, at Easter (see EGS to JA, 9 Apr. 1882, below).

10. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was on the agenda for discussion when SA came to Chicago, and SA joined EGS, Mary Runyan, William Starr, Rebecca Rice, and others in discussing the play at Mary J. Holmes's home (see EGS to JA, 9 Apr. 1882, below).

11. A reference to the writings of Richard Hurrell Froude (see *PJA*, 1:344–45, n. 7).

12. Annie Louise Beckwith (Cutter) (b. 1855) taught school at Miss Rice's School for Girls from 1881 to 1886. She was the daughter of Corydon Beckwith (1823–90), a well-to-do attorney, and Mary S. Beckwith. In her late twenties in 1882, Beckwith was single and lived at home with her parents and two brothers. Her mother was active in elite women's social circles in Chicago. Her father was born in Vermont and educated in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. He practiced law in Vermont and Maryland before moving to Chicago in 1853. He served a brief term on the Illinois Supreme Court (from Jan. to June 1864) as an appointee of the Kentucky-born Illinois governor, Republican Richard Yates, Sr. (1818–73). After completing his wartime term as governor (1861–65), Yates was U.S. Senator from Illinois (from 1865 to 1871) and after leaving office, a director of the Union Pacific Railroad. Similarly, at the time of his death in Aug. 1890, Corydon Beckwith was working as the general solicitor for the Chicago and Alton Railroad Co. He was lauded in obituaries as one of the leading lawyers of Chicago.

In 1879, the Beckwith family lived in a home just a short distance up North LaSalle St. from Miss Rice's School for Young Ladies and Children. In 1882–83, they appear in the *Lakeside Directory* as residents on Superior St. Both Annie Beckwith and her mother were members of the elite Fortnightly Club in Chicago. Annie Beckwith joined in 1878–79. Mary Beckwith gave two papers at the Fortnightly Club in the early 1880s: "Are the Women of America Indifferent to Politics?" in 1882 and "Leo X and the Italian Renaissance" in 1884. EGS vacationed with the Beckwith family in Wisconsin in the summer of 1882. By late 1884, the family had moved to Hinsdale, a posh suburb of Chicago, where Annie Beckwith married Edward Payson Cutter on May 19, 1886. Cutter worked as an auditor, and later secretary, of the Ohio and Mississippi Railway Co. The couple lived in Cincinnati, Ohio.

13. Mrs. Jameson [Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson] (1794–1860) was a prolific critic of and writer on English and European art, literature, and women's history. The topics she chose for her books included many subjects close to EGS's heart, including lives of celebrated female sovereigns in history, female characters in Shakespeare's plays, and a history of the Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant. Jameson published several works on religious themes in art (including memoirs of early Italian painters, studies of monastic legends represented in painting, and legends of the Madonna), and her *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848) went through several editions. She authored guides to major works of art in private and public galleries in or near London, and she also wrote travel literature. Jameson's *Memoirs and Essays Illustrative of Art, Literature, and Social Morals* was published in 1846. Her *History of Our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art* (1864) was published posthumously. Perhaps her best-known work was *Shakespeare's Heroines: Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical, and Historical* (1832), which went through many editions and remained popular throughout the nineteenth century.

14. Probably a reference to Baptist minister, educator, and Greek and Hebrew scholar Edward Cushing Mitchell (1829–1900). Although a New Englander, Edward Cushing Mitchell was not "a Harvard graduate" (as EGS indicates in this 1 Jan. 1882 letter). He graduated from Waterville (Colby) College in Maine (B.A. 1849) and the Newton Theological Institute (D.D. 1853) in Massachusetts. Born in East Bridgewater, Mass., Mitchell began his career as a Baptist pastor at the South Abington (Mass.) Church (1850–56). He worked briefly in Brockport, N.Y., before being called to Rockford, Ill., where he began his pastorate of the Second Baptist Church on 14 Sept. 1858, which had been organized that Aug. with thirty-four members. A month after Mitchell's arrival, the congregation changed its name to the State Street Baptist Church in preparation for occupying a new building. Mitchell hired RFS music teacher Daniel Hood (see *PJA*, 1:183, n. 42; 1:344, n. 5), who had also recently moved to Rockford, as the church's music director in early 1859, and he helped oversee his congregation's building of a small church building at State and North Fifth streets, which was dedicated in Feb. 1860.

Mitchell headed the Rockford church until 1863. A larger State Street Baptist Church was erected at the corner of State and Third streets, at what was called the Kishwaukee Triangle, in 1868.

Rev. Mitchell taught as a professor of biblical interpretation at Shurtleff College, Upper Alton, Ill., from 1863 to 1870, and was professor of Hebrew and Old Testament literature at the Baptist Union Theological Seminary (which became the Divinity School of the Univ. of Chicago), in Chicago from 1870 to 1877. His alma mater, Colby College, granted him an honorary Ph.D. in 1870. Dr. Mitchell worked as a professor of Hebrew at Regent's Park College in London, England, in 1877, and from 1878 through 1881 he was president of the Baptist Theological Seminary in Paris. He returned to Chicago, worked on his own publications, and, in 1883–84 edited *Present Age*. In 1884–85, he served as president of Roger Williams Univ., Nashville, Tenn., and delivered the Lowell lectures in Boston. He also taught Hebrew summer schools in Morgan Park, Ill., Worcester, Mass., and Brooklyn, N.Y., in 1884 and 1885. From 1887 until his death on 27 Feb. 1900, he was president of Leland Univ. in New Orleans. Mitchell and his first wife, Marie Morton Mitchell, were the parents of three children. His second wife was Marcia Savage Mitchell. Dr. Mitchell was the author or editor of several texts on Greek and Hebrew scriptural interpretation, language, and grammar.

This mention of Mitchell marks the beginning of EGS's period of studying under Mitchell's tutelage. Mitchell mentored her for about a year and a half and encouraged her to take the entrance examinations for Harvard's program for women (see also EGS to JA, 9 Apr., and 22 Oct. 1882 and 3 July 1883, all below).

15. EGS is referring here to the work of Hippolyte Taine (1828–93), a French historian, literary critic, and essayist who wrote commentary on Shakespeare in the Romantic tradition. His *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* (1863, 3 vols.) included discussion of Shakespeare's plays.

16. *Coriolanus* has often been described as among the more enigmatic of Shakespeare's plays and has been interpreted in various ways. While nineteenth-century productions, including the well-known stagings by American actor Edwin Forrest (1806–72), emphasized the sensational pageantry of the story of the Roman warrior, twentieth-century interpretations have focused more on the flaws or dysfunction of Coriolanus's personality, including his relationship to his mother, Volumnia. Hippolyte Taine often dealt in his writings with the topic of the dual impact of nature and nurture upon character.

17. JA responded to this letter from EGS over three months later. When she did write, it was a brief note to let her friend know she was returning to Illinois and to try to arrange a brief rendezvous in Chicago as JA was en route to Cedarville (see JA to EGS, 19 Mar. 1882, below).

From Sarah F. Anderson

Rockford, Ill.,

Jan'y 11, 1882.

My dear Jane,

It seems a long time since I have written you, since I have been trying to write you. You have the faculty which I wish I had and yet which I believe you would be better off without, that of doing good work when tired and sick, now I give up lie down, do only the things that must be done. This condition of things has postponed this letter, and then this is an unusually busy time of year. But I have felt like talking to you, but not writing—Dear Jane, I do hope you will

try hard to carry out your physicians instructions, dont hear and give no heed. I know one cannot lie abed nor sit with folded hands all day, but ride & drive, cultivate light literature. I presume however my poor girl if you did every thing every body suggested you would surely kill yourself. The same things do not rest ~~the same~~ different people.

I shall be so glad to see you dear in March if you come back, I haven't learned to live without you, and I dont want to learn.

The Christmas card was lovely, the dear little boy¹—will you give Alice my love and tell her that I did not for a long time get it through my head that the card was from herself & you but thought it from you & your mother, as I wrote her—but it does not matter does it?

About medicine, dear, I have not quite decided, but have thought over the subject with seriousness, and rather think I will stay here for several years to come. Your letter² was good. I am sure I understand it. This is an awful sheet to send and if not [certain?] of your thorough acquaintance with me, would not send it, but I cant write today. Yours as ever,

S. F. Anderson

Mary Ellwood was here for half of a day. Still thoroughly herself—from my complainings you might imagine me sick. There is nothing the matter with me, but I feel so tired, & that is all, & I don't sleep well, it will only take a little rest & Bromide to make me good as new.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:867–68).

1. Possibly a reference to the image of a child on the Christmas card.

2. From “was good,” the text is written on the top margin of the first page and perpendicular to the main text of the letter.

From Sarah F. Anderson

Seminary, Rockford, Ill.

Feb'y 7 [and 9]. 1882.

My dear Jane,

Only a few words this mornin—I wish you were here to take a walk with me. It is warm and the air is fresh, if it were not for the almanac I should call it April.

In a letter from Ellen Starr last evening she says unless I come into Chicago on or before the 17th inst she is coming out here—I quote “Life is too short to waste in this way.” You would have recognized Ellen in that if I had not said from whom the letter came. I will talk the matter over with Miss Sill today & then write Ellen. I think I will go to Chicago, for you know how unsatisfactory a day or two here is, an interruption every few moments and I remember what were Ellen's sentiments after making the effort to come here Commencement of '80.

I will write you of our visit where ever it may be.¹

Now one word as regards myself & the human race in general. I hope I am able to stand again, am feeling much better, but it was almost worth getting down in the depths to have had so good a letter from you, but it was cowardly to write you when I might <have> & did know you ought not to be carrying more than a doz. strong mens burdens—a week ago Sunday Mr. Linn & little John were here for tea and Mr. Linn conducted our devotional exercises[.]² That was about the worst day I had and you would have about given me up. I was ashamed of myself, but after washing my face in a vigorous manner I mastered self possession to go over to Miss Smith's³ room to see them. John was delighted with us all, would willingly have staid. I would like to have seen little Weber.⁴ I always think of him saying "please Sir, cant you make your voice a little smoother." I sit next Miss Holmes in Chapel and I think I know something of his suffering.⁵

I hope the members of your immediate Circle are improving in every way.⁶

Feb'y 9. '82

My dear this effort(!) has not been sent on its way. I sat down with the intention of writing a cheerful effusion, no I didnt, but I am feeling better & I thought I would like as well to make you feel it, as to tell it you. We had had an awfully stormy time a fearful amount of thunder & roaring wind, and by dint of three weeks teachers meeting one stroke of lightening. It is not known outside the faculty, although Mrs Black has been written to, but Minnie B. has been suspended for ten weeks.⁷ Comparing the trouble now⁸ and the time of Mary Downs,⁹ the faculty meetings were much more wearing now, probably <somewhat> but not altogether because of my increased responsibility but the feeling in school is nothing compared to that time. It is and never ceases to be most astonishing to me that people can deceive themselves so readily. It is a great relief to have things somewhat settled. The prospect will¹⁰ be still brighter when the certificates have been sent home.

I hope in a week to be out of the wilderness—good bye, be good to yourself wont you. Yours,

Sarah F Anderson

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:870–73).

1. The next extant letter from SA to JA is dated 29 Mar. 1882 and appears below. In her letter of 19 Mar. 1882, also below, JA refers to a visit described by SA in a letter that is apparently no longer extant.

2. JML and his and MCAL's oldest son, John Addams Linn.

3. Longtime RFS Preparatory Dept. teacher Lucy M. Smith, an old friend of the Addams family who had known JA's sisters since the 1860s (see *PJA*, 1:89–90, n. 5).

4. JML and MCAL's second son, James Weber Linn, who was born in 1876 .

5. Evidently RFS science teacher Mary E. Holmes's singing or speaking voice left something

to be desired. Some hints that refer to a stridency in Holmes's character appear in letters to JA in 1882 (see also Helen Harrington to JA, 9 Mar. 1882, below).

6. JA, SAAH, HWH, and AHHA were still in Philadelphia. It was about this time that AHHA underwent surgery. See Laura Malburn to JA, 11 Feb. 1882, below.

7. Student Minnie Black absorbed a good deal of SA's attention and care during her troubled time in Rockford. SA was well acquainted with Minnie Black's mother, and she was a visitor to the Blacks' home (see *PJA*, 1:262–63, n. 13). In June, SA wrote to JA and told her that she was leaving Rockford on short notice the next morning without telling anyone there “about it. It was only decided upon within an hour. I go with Minnie Black, and she goes because she must” (see [4 June?] [1882], below).

8. While SA does not mention it, GBH wrote to his mother about Irish poet, wit, and author Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), who was lecturing in the area, and Anna P. Sill's response: “It is said that seats were secured for about twenty Seminary girls for Oscar Wilde's lecture but that Miss Sill under the influence of some communication from Rev. [Frank P.] Woodbury did not allow or dissuaded them from attending. The lecture however was considered good by some though his costume and manner was somewhat objectionable” (12 Mar. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ). The student editors of *RSM*, meanwhile, pointedly noted at the top of their “Clippings and Exchanges” column in the Mar. 1882 edition of the magazine that “Oscar Wilde lectured before the under-graduates of Yale, Feb. 1” (86).

9. Mary Downs had criticized RFS social policy during her tenure as editor of *RSM*. See *PJA*, 1:364–66, n. 1. For biographical information on Downs, see *PJA*, 1:212, n. 5.

10. Text beginning “will still be brighter” through the signature is written across the top of the last page and perpendicular to the main text.

From Laura A. Malburn

During the winter of 1882, 54-year-old Anna Haldeman Addams had surgery. The specific nature of Anna's malady and the exact circumstances of her operation and care remain open to conjecture. Before the treatment, she had been bedridden since at least early January 1882.¹ The operation occurred in late January or early February, and Anna recovered under the care of gynecologist William Goodell,² Harry Haldeman's professor at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, who was also physician-in-charge of the charitable Preston Retreat, a hospital for low-income women.³ Anna received post-operative nursing care under Goodell's supervision in a recovery facility on Spring Garden Street.⁴ By the second week in March, she was back in her own rented rooms.⁵

In addition to her physical problems, Anna Haldeman Addams was dealing with the fresh emotional wounds of her widowhood. In an earlier letter, Laura Malburn addressed the fact that Anna was in mourning and warned her to be careful of her health. She assured Anna that she was still worthwhile, even if others were no longer directly dependent upon her, and urged her to turn to God for meaning and solace.⁶ Despite early optimism about hoped-for results of the surgery, Anna did not thrive after her recovery. In February, great-niece Edith Van Reed wrote to Anna that the family was “very sorry that your health has not improved any, as we were in hopes that the change would be of benefit to you.”⁷ Anna was

well enough to travel by mid-March, when she and Jane Addams returned to Cedarville. However, she continued to suffer from ill health throughout the rest of 1882 and into the winter and spring of 1883.

Freeport [Ill.]

Feb 11" /82

My dear Miss Addams

Your kind note has relieved my mind from a heavy burden of anxiety. I have for many days been distressed that my dearest friend was in such peril.

My constant desire and petitions have been for her safety and that the operation might prove a perfect success. Oh! how rejoiced I am that it is past, and I have bright hopes that it will perfect a cure, bringing restored health, and many days of enjoyment free from pain and despondence, also weariness and lassitude which always attend such diseases, and distract from every pleasure which life affords[.] Say to dear Mother I am in spirit with her every hour, and would that I could speak to little words of comfort and of love, but she has ever with her that silent comforter in whom she puts entire trust for all time[.]

How admirably all was arranged for her convenience. I think there could have been no improvement, physicians of such rare skill, a professed nurse, and her own dear ones to notice her progress, and anticipate every wish. How different from any treatment she could have received here, a marvel of perfection. My heart is overflowing with love for her, may the assurance give her a glint of comfort in her tired and restless hours it is all I have to give her now so far away[.] I would have written sooner but I have suffering from a miserable cold attended by a very sore throat, and am now only able to sit up with comfort, but am improving[.]

Please advise me as often as is convenient for you, of the improvement of your mother[.] I thank you kindly for your letter, hope you write me again soon[.] Ever Lovingly your friend

Laura A Malburn

Please direct to Mrs W. P. Malburn

ALS (SCPC, JAC; JAPM, 1:876-78).

1. AHHA's niece SH wrote to her with news of other illness and caretaking duties within the family and said "I am sorry to hear that you are ill enough to remain in bed" (9 Jan. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

2. On Goodell, see introduction to part 1, n. 36, above. It is impossible to know, since Goodell specialized in a wide variety of procedures, what exactly was the nature of AHHA's condition and treatment. Of the two classes of physicians—"those who simply practiced medicine" and "those who contributed to its development"—Goodell was of the latter category (Vogel, "Transformation of the American Hospital," 109). He published studies on ovariectomy, surgical treatment for dysmenorrhea (painful menstruation) and fibroids, fistula of the bladder, prolapse of the vagina, perineal tears, ligament cysts, abscesses of the ovary, lipoma of the perineum and vulva, vaginal spasm, and other physical conditions and procedures. Gynecological surgery in the 1880s was also performed to treat psychological, emotional, or

personality disorders in women as well as what were deemed sexual dysfunctions. Goodell published about removing "ovaries to cure masturbation, hysteria, 'hystero-epilepsy' and 'menstrual epilepsy,'" while other physicians advocated "castration of the female" as a remedy for "nymphomania," as they termed what were considered to be overly vigorous female sexual appetites or responses. Surgery could be the answer to problems of not just too much sex but too little as well. In 1886, Goodell recommended surgery for treatment of what he termed "ovaralgia," the "type of dysmenorrhea which occurred in old maids and widows because of an unsatisfied sex appetite" (Ricci, *One Hundred Years of Gynaecology*, 102, 522).

Gynecological surgical procedures that were performed in the era of the 1880s included ovariectomy (removal of diseased ovaries), oophorectomy (removal of ovaries with no evidence of disease, sometimes for psychological causes), hysterectomy (removal of the uterus), and, sparingly, myomectomy (removal of fibroids, then a high-risk procedure). It is likely, given AHHA's quick recovery, that she did not undergo any of these major abdominal surgeries but rather some other kind of procedure, and given the fact that she later complained of nausea and trouble eating, her treatment was perhaps more gastrointestinal than gynecological.

3. Philadelphia in the 1880s was a city rich in small dispensaries and hospitals, including those devoted to the care of women. Preston Retreat, where Goodell was physician-in-charge, was one of the city's oldest charitable hospitals for women, created through the will of Dr. Jonas Preston, who in 1835 gave the property for the founding of "a Lying-In Hospital in the City of Philadelphia for indigent married women of good character, distinct and unconnected with any other hospital" (Konkle, *Standard History of the Medical Profession of Philadelphia*, 421). Preston Retreat was located at 20th and Hamilton streets, and AHHA's care does not seem to have been connected with it. The city also had a Gynecological Hospital, created in 1874, at 1624 Poplar St., and the Gynecan Hospital, founded in 1880 by Joseph Price and incorporated in Jan. 1888. It opened on 12th and Cherry streets, later moved to a house on Cherry St., and then, in the 1890s, to North 18th St. There was also a Woman's Hospital at the corner of College Ave.

4. See A. P. Hellings to AHHA, 14 Nov. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp. Likely Arcada P. Hellings (1849?–89), the private duty nurse who cared for AHHA after her treatment. She wrote to AHHA in Nov. 1882 to tell her of the doctors and patients at the dispensary on Spring Garden St., where Dr. Goodell sent patients for recovery. Hellings had tended a woman who had "had two tumors removed" and had been in critical condition but who was rallying. "Am in the same room you occupied when here," she told Anna. She went on to detail some of the types of cases being handled at the establishment where AHHA was treated. "Doctor Goodell removed five tumors from a lady from Kansas, yesterday, in this house, she is doing well. And another lady in this house, from Utah, had her left kidney removed with a tumor. The only one on that side, ever removed. Perhaps you have read an account of it in the Medical Journal. The lady is going home next week well, has been here nine weeks. Is it not strange how any one can live without certain organs nature has proved as necessary? How skillful & successful Doctor Goodell is. He is well & sends his kind regards." Hellings went on to tell of news of Dr. Taylor (he was "not married yet"), Dr. Crandall (who seems to have been in charge, having recently improved working conditions and the provision of medical supplies), and Dr. Baer ("so cheerful and tidy as a new pin"). She also told of a sad case of a young patient of hers who had recently died following an ovariectomy after incurring internal injuries when she was "thrown from a carriage last summer." Hellings further reported about the Bicentennial celebrations in Philadelphia, including fireworks, parades, and tableaux, commenting "how gay the millinery and costumes are this season." She closed with "kind wishes for your good health, & very much love enclosed in this letter for you. Kind regards to Miss Jennie, & the rest. . . . Ever your devoted nurse. A. P. Hellings, 731 Parrish Street, Philadela."

Benjamin F. Baer (1846–1920), a gynecologist whom Hellings identified as one of the doctors AHHA knew from her treatment, was a graduate of the Univ. of Pennsylvania School of

Medicine (1876). He was a lecturer on gynecology at the Univ. of Pennsylvania (1880 to 1885) when HWH studied there, and AHHA knew him as well. He served as Goodell's assistant and conducted the university's dispensary "at a time when the vogue was topical treatments consisting in the application of strong tincture of iodine to the vault of the vagina in one case and of carbolic acid, chloral, and glycerine in the next. Ovariectomy was the great operation, while fibroid tumors and pus tubes were just looming up on the horizon and looked at with askance by the older surgeons" (Kelly and Burrage, *Dictionary of American Medical Biography*, 49). Baer became a colleague of S. Weir Mitchell in 1885, when he became a professor of gynecology at the Philadelphia Polyclinic and College for Graduates in Medicine, a position he held for forty years. He was president of the Philadelphia Obstetrical Society from 1885 to 1886 and a member of other prestigious medical associations. He published on supravaginal hysterectomy for fibroid tumors, surgical procedure for pelvic abscess, and other subjects. Baer was married (in 1866) to Lucy A. Heath, and the couple had ten children.

5. See part 1 introduction, n. 72, above.

6. 12 Dec. 1881, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.

7. Edith Van Reed to AHHA, 25 Feb. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp. Like SH, Van Reed reported illness in the family. "It has been a long time since we received your letter," she wrote, but explained that they were delayed in "answering it on account of Mamma's ill-health. She has been very nervous all winter, and it seems almost impossible for her to write." Edith had written in place of her mother, Mary L. Houseman Van Reed. If JA and AHHA's acquaintances are any indication, neurasthenia did indeed seem to be "inundating the urban middle class of industrial America" (Haller and Haller, *Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America*, 5). Medical journals of the time published a plethora of articles by physicians citing nervous diseases as a virtual epidemic sweeping modern life, particularly the modern lives of educated, refined, females and men of a sensitive bent.

It is not clear what Van Reed meant in her letter by "the change"—the term was used, in popular parlance, to discuss menopause, and AHHA was of menopausal or postmenopausal age. Van Reed could also have been referring more generally to hoped-for change wrought by the treatment or just by the change of location if the move to Philadelphia was, in part, supposed to bring about an improvement in AHHA's spirits and vigor.

From George Bowman Haldeman

Whatever Anna Haldeman Addams's problem was, it does not seem to have been life-threatening. George Haldeman did not interrupt his studies at Beloit College to come to Philadelphia to see her, nor did he seem overly worried about her well-being following her operation. There is some indication that Anna traveled to Atlantic City, on the New Jersey shore, in February 1882, presumably during her recovery.¹ George wrote his mother often during this period, informing her about school life, and expressing his concern.² He also wrote to stepsister Jane.

Beloit, Wis.

Feb. 12th 1882.

My Dear Jane,

Your last kind letter brought much encouragement to me, it was so fortunate to have everything result so happily and I trust the restoration will be permanent & that you will both be back by spring vacation. Of course it will be a striking change to you at Cedarville from Philadelphia and I have thought perhaps that

it would be best for me to stay with you during the spring term. It is merely a suggestion but it could be arranged nicely. I will make up 'Tacitus' this term, and there remains only Mental Philosophy and Demosthenes.⁴ As for the science I can have plenty to occupy at home and perhaps can spend a month at some summer school in the east which I would like to do very much, but at any rate I shall make semi monthly visits home if possible. I am sorry to say that we will not have optical mineralogy after all as our book is not very full on that subject any way. I rather regret it but we will have an extra dose of blowpipe work⁵ to compensate for it. These delightful Saturdays are chiefly occupied in gathering fossils of which I have the nucleus for a collection. Our nightly dreams are of Trilobites⁶ and frightful cephalopods,⁷ the avaricious impulse often alloys the pure scientific enthusiasm I fear and many a disgusted excursionist returns home with blighted expectations and a sparsely ballasted market basket, or else weighed down with rocks whose only virtue is their size. Just at present we are unravelling the mysteries of electric currents, we have finished physiological experimentation some time since. The tide of the departing term is ebbing, the high billow of new year's resolutions has ceased to be a sufficient stimulus for some of the heavy ladened at any rate our new local editor: better know[n] to you perhaps as my neighbor[,] the pianist is sick, another of the roomers is unwell & Mrs Wheaton's son has had a lingering illness altogether rather unfortunate[.] Mr & Mrs [Trumbade?] & family are visiting here for several weeks, the family consists of a healthy looking infant named Kate, the vocal gifts of her parents seem to have been inherited. Well Jane your letters would be none the less appreciated if more frequent though I fear I am the more delinquent[.] With much affection. Your loving brother

George.

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 1:879–82).

1. See AHHA to JA, [ca. Feb.–Mar. 1883?], below.

2. GBH had written a Happy New Year letter to his mother, including a summary account of his year's expenses (they totaled \$255.23, including rent, board, tuition, books, medical expenses, clothes, entertainment, and other expenditures). He reported that he hoped "to have a pleasant term, at least we will have interesting studies," and said that "[m]y time is still occupied with mineralogy and my interest increases as I advance." He also wrote about missing her, with hints of his need for her emotional support: "I want to see you dear Mother ever so much when are you coming back? Your cheerful letters are a great inspiration to me. I feel much more contented with your encouragements" (1 Jan. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

In addition to his interest in geological science, GBH was very active in 1881–82 in collegiate oratory and debating events. Near the end of Jan., he wrote to his mother: "Our Geology is fascinating. The last few days we have been determining specimens. I find mineralogy a great assistance in such work. The Seniors are in with us but to be candid, are better adapted for logic & moral philosophy than anything so plain as a natural science." He also reported that the "two [literary/fraternity] societies will have a joint debate in a few weeks of which I am one of the participants—our question about the reformation, whether its development & destiny were more influenced by spiritual or political considerations." He was studying

electricity in his physics course and wrote: "We had a highly entertaining time last Friday with the electric machine, and had the pleasure of seeing our hair stand up though not from fright." GBH inquired whether there had been any smallpox scare in Pennsylvania, as there had been a reported case in Freeport and another in Beloit, and "every body is being vaccinated all the physicians are reaping a rich harvest but there seems to be no special danger." If he knew that AHHA was in any special medical danger herself as he wrote, he gave no indication of it (22 Jan. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ). GBH wrote his mother again a week later, telling her of a fire in Freeport and of a lecture on the "structure of matter" given at Beloit. Prof. Chamberlain had given another in a series of lectures on geology, and the Beloit boys boarding with the Greenleafs were attempting German conversation around the dinner table. GBH also expressed little sympathy, personally or among his schoolmates, for the fate of the newly condemned Charles Guiteau. GBH did not mention AHHA's health but did mention his own: "My health seems good," he wrote, "and although as you say from now until spring is the test, I expect to pull through without difficulty if nothing unexpected occurs" (29 Jan. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

GBH did not address AHHA's illness until a Valentine's Day letter, when he wrote of his happiness that she seemed to have passed through "the ordeal" well and offered to come stay with her in the spring, studying at home in the parlor, so "it would not be so lonesome for you" (14 Feb. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ). In late 1882, GBH went to Florida with his mother with the hope that the warm climate would improve her health. GBH also wrote to HWH on 12 Feb. 1882, and without mentioning AHHA's treatment, he informed his brother, "[I]t seems as though I ought to stay with Mother and Jane for a time after their return it will not discommode my plans and they certainly should not be alone. It sometimes seems to me as if I were getting too much of Beloit" (UIC, JAMC, HJ).

3. GBH refers in this sentence to his studies in Latin and Greek oratory. Gaius (or Publius) Cornelius Tacitus (56?–117?), Roman historian and senator, was a student of rhetoric in his youth and gained fame as a public speaker. He was the author of incisive works of Roman history from which many maxims are drawn, including *Vita agricolae*, *Germania*, and his major works, the *Histories* and the *Annals*, of which only portions survive.

4. Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.), is considered the greatest of Athenian orators. Coming from poor origins and largely self taught, he rose to prominence as a politician when he delivered orations that roused the Greeks in resistance to Philip of Macedon, helped negotiate the Peace of Philocrates, and warned of Philip's transgressions against the peace agreement and further Macedonian control of Greece. After a long public career and a period of scandal and exile, Demosthenes committed suicide by poison rather than be captured by Macedonian functionaries seeking his surrender. JA's letter mentioned by GBH in the first line of this letter is not known to be extant.

5. A blowpipe, a small tubelike instrument used to direct air or some other gas through a flame to concentrate and increase heat in order to identify and analyze the various properties of minerals and crystals.

6. Trilobites are extinct marine segmented invertebrate animals from the Paleozoic era that are studied in fossil form.

7. Mollusks that have tentacles attached to the head, including squid and octopi.

From Helen Harrington

Ann Arbor. [Mich.]

March 9. '82.

Dear Jane,

In looking forward to the coming summer, the hope of seeing you again is one of my brightest anticipations. The days we four spent at Cedarville last spring seem to me like such a quiet enjoyment of friendship and beauty as will seldom come to any of us, and I shall be so glad to come again if the Fates¹ permit. I will tell you definitely when I find what time father wants me to be ready to go west with him. If you are not disappointed in me when we meet again, and you cannot conceal it from me if you are, I shall be sure my year's work has been in a measure successful.

When I hear of Miss Sill's teasing Mattie about the class letter I feel the same old rebellious spirit as in the days when we recited Moral Philosophy to Mary Ho[l]mes and heard about Christian cannibals. The plan adopted concerning the class letter seems to be the only plausible one and I cheerfully enclosed a half-sheet of good grammar and rhetoric quite innocent of any ideas and sent it on assured that one of these letters will be short-lived. I hope, as is proverbial, the fate of early death will fall upon the good one.²

Miss Sill wrote to me to know if you were coming in June to take your degree, if you do I think I will.³ I do not value a B.A much for it has come now to mean very little but I would rather like to take the best our old Alma Mater has to give since it belongs to us. I suppose it is not much of an object to you since you would have taken it last year if you had wished. Did you know that Miss Williams was the first lady to take a masters degree from here?⁴ I think what was generally termed her conceit is a natural outgrowth of this place. Every student has about the same self-sufficient pride in this University that an Englishman has in his institutions. This place certainly gives me the inspiration that comes from feeling oneself a part of the busy world. I am glad you have found such satisfaction in the preparation for your chosen work and wish I had as definite an aim in view.

I hope the return home and these bright spring days will restore your mother's health again, give her my love and as for yourself you know that I am always—
Your loving friend

Helen Harrington

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:888–91).

1. In ancient mythology, the Fates were three goddesses of destiny, sometimes referred to as Klotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. Homer represented them as old women spinning, and the Greeks believed they controlled birth, life, and death.

2. Anna P. Sill developed the idea that young graduates of RFS should keep in touch through circular letters. JA's class of 1881 dutifully participated, with varying degrees of candor about



Henry W. Haldeman graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School, Philadelphia, in March 1882. Anna Haldeman Addams wrote to Henry on 12 October 1883 (UIC, JAMC, HJ) from Europe: “We see and think of you as you wore the cap and gown, and, I never felt prouder as a mother, than I did that day.” (F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia; SCPC, JAC)



Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman completed a term in the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, March 1882. (F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia; SCPC, JAC)

their lives. Neither circular letter of spring 1882 is known to be extant. See also Martha Thomas to JA, 21 [and 22] Sept. 1881, n. 2, above; and Mary Ellwood to JA, 8 June 1882, below.

3. See also Helen Harrington to JA, 15 Apr. 1882, below.

4. Ella Cornelia Williams, a mathematics teacher with a master's degree. As a new teacher in 1880–81, Williams was contracted to teach at RFS for \$150 a month with her Univ. of Michigan degree—exactly twice as much as that being paid younger teachers with more experience who had only seminary training (see RFS Exec. Com. “Minutes,” 11 Nov. 1880, RC).

To Ellen Gates Starr

536 North 4" St. Phila— [Pa.]

March 19—1882

My dear Ellen—

Will you believe me if I say that your Christmas message and kindly letter were to me the dearest part of the Christmas time, and that a non acknowledgment has n't been from a lack of sympathy or of desire for our old fashioned letters.¹ It was only because the letters I did write were not those which ought to be sent & I know you would only have been disappointed in them and in me.

We are going to start for home next Wednesday. I will be dreadfully disappointed if I don't see <you> at least for a few minutes in Chicago. Could you meet me in the <ladies waiting room of the> Chicago and North western Depot Thursday about one o'clock, the train does not start until after two and we could have a good visit.² I hope the time is n't too inconvenient for you to come.³ I will be there as near at one o'clock as I can, but it may be a little later. I have had a profitable pleasant winter, and there are many things which I want to say to you and to ask you ?about.

Excuse this horrible looking sheet, "this pen is poor" and I am interrupted every few minutes. Miss Anderson wrote me of your satisfactory visit together,⁴ the brigh[t]est plan I have for next summer is to see you both at Cedarville & the long visit I hope we can then have. Your Sincere Friend

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:892–93).

1. See EGS to JA, 1 Jan. 1882, above.
2. This letter, indicating that JA would arrive back in Chicago on 23 Mar. 1882, helps date the time of JA's return to northern Illinois.
3. EGS and her good friend Mary Runyan may have met JA at the station. See EGS to JA, 9 Apr. 1882, below.
4. SA's letter to JA is not known to be extant.

From Sarah F. Anderson

[Rockford, Ill.]

M'ch 29, 1882

My dear Jane:

Was so glad to see Alice¹ yesterday, but did not have enough she made so short a stop and there were so many to see her.

Now my little lady, word comes from Ellen that she hopes I will come this week as after this week there are to be two others in the house and so it will be more difficult to find a place for me. I know that when alone they call the house full so under the circumstances I think I had better go this week, and so good

bye to you my girlie for another week at least. There is a possibility of all my plans being set aside for there is a case of scarlet fever in school, which fact is of course kept very quiet here. It would seem that very few have been exposed, but then she had not been exposed so far as we know, and so in case there should others take the disease, my place will be here. Poor Katie Smith² is having the hard time. I am not allowed to go into the room as I never had the disease, but the girl is in her hall and K— has had the fever and the Dr. does not want more going in than can possibly be avoided. So she has almost all the care, the mother comes today. I understand that this is your brother's vacation³ so think my plan just as well—wont you be down in the mean time—I am so glad you are so near[.] You dont know how different I feel about it. So sorry to learn of your mother's illness & glad Dr. H.⁴ is there, trust she will be nearly well again. Be careful of yourself my dear. My love to Alice & your mother. Yours

Sarah F Anderson.

I⁵ am glad about you Jane dear.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:894–96).

1. SAAH.

2. Kate ("Katie") L. Smith was a 1878 RFS graduate. After teaching in the RFS Preparatory Dept., she married Fred S. Prentice and lived in South Bend, Ind. It was Lucy M. Smith, Katie L. Smith's associate in the Preparatory Dept., who was well known at the school for nursing seriously ill students. The subject of a student becoming ill with scarlet fever at RFS must have been a sensitive one for JA, for her sister Martha had died of typhoid fever while a boarder at the seminary.

3. GBH.

4. HWH.

5. Text beginning with "I am glad" is written in the left margin of the second page of the letter.

From Ellen Gates Starr

Chicago. [Ill.]

Apr. 9. 1882.

Dear Jane,

My exhausted condition of body explains the fact of my remaining at home, or rather in Annie Beckwith's room, writing letters instead of going to church on Easter Sunday. I was partially ill while Miss Anderson was here, & have remained so ever since from concurring causes, but it didn't prevent my having a lovely time, & I think she enjoyed her visit as much as I did. I wish you had been with us. I looked upon my effort to bring together under favorable circumstances the persons whom I wished to know each other, with great complacency. Miss Rice, Annie, Brother Will, Miss Runyan, Miss Wight, Miss Anderson & myself met in Miss Holme's parlor & talked about Hamlet, & everybody was highly pleased

with everybody else. Miss Anderson & Annie took to each other like ducks to water, & Miss Rice was as lovely as she was expected to be. By the way, Annie has fallen in love with your picture, & wants it; & remembering your remark that I could have all I could find, I held out hopes to her of being able to obtain one. If you have any more would you be willing to give one to a friend of mine whom you have never seen, but whom I intend you shall see sometime? I hope you will see Miss Runyan again some time. I was rather disappointed in her that day. I begin to realize how devoted I am to her when I think of how soon she is going home, & that she won't be here next year. I don't see what I am going to do without her. Miss Anderson suggested that I should come out to Rockford Friday night & stay with her, & we both go out to Freeport the next morning which I think is a very good way. Miss Anderson is such a satisfactory person, I realize it more & more. I don't see how I happen to have such charming friends. As to Brother Will, he is an angel. I am sorry for everybody that doesn't know him. I was rather disappointed in Booth.¹ Miss A.[,] Will, & Miss Runyan were not, Annie didn't go. She don't like him. If Salvini ever comes again I will go every time he plays if I never have another new bonnet, & my dear, where ever you are do you betake yourself to the nearest city & see him. It is one of the things people can't afford to lose. Every body else that you have ever seen sinks into mediocrity when compared to him.

Dr. Mitchell crushed me to the earth the other day by calmly taking matters in his own hands, stopping my Greek & making me study for the Harvard ex—[.]² He paralyzes me so that I can't do a thing but mind him. He says if I am in Chicago next year we shall go on with our Greek, & I ought to begin the ex—as soon as possible. I am to recite to him in the things I am to be examined on instead of Greek. It is lovely of him, isn't it? You know I don't pay him anything, he offered to take me. I don't know yet where I shall be next year, but probably here, as the St. Louis scheme doesn't seem to offer anything. Don't wait until after the 1st of May to write to me. Give my love to your Mother, & remember me also to Miss Peart.³ Devotedly yours,

Ellen G Starr.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:900–6).

1. Actor Edwin Booth (1833–93) was one of the great tragedians of nineteenth-century American theater. The son of the prestigious English actor Junius Brutus Booth (1796–1852), Edwin Booth specialized in leading Shakespearian roles, including King Lear, Richard III, and Shylock. His career was sidetracked for a time after his brother, fellow actor John Wilkes Booth (1838–65), assassinated President Abraham Lincoln in Apr. 1865. In 1882, Edwin Booth appeared in Chicago in *Hamlet* and traveled to Rockford as well.

In the same letter in which he expressed his opinions about Oscar Wilde (see SA to JA, 7 [and] 9 Feb. 1882, n.8, above), GBH wrote to AHHA reporting that his school session ended Mar. 29th. He suggested that perhaps AHHA could meet him in Chicago to see Booth's performance: "About the time of your return Booth will be in Chicago[.] I wish that you could hear him, I might join you at Chicago and come home with you from there," he wrote.

"He plays in Hamlet at Rockford a week from tomorrow night[.] I am almost tempted to go down but the impossibility of securing a good seat without sending for it in advance makes it rather impracticable" (12 Mar. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

Meanwhile, the policy barring Rockford girls from seeing Booth's performance had not been carried out without discussion. At the 14 Mar. 1882 RFS Exec. Com. meeting, Anna P. Sill had "brought up [the] matter of attending theatres,—in reference to coming of Booth—" and the committee members had "voted not to change the traditional policy of non-attendance" (RFS Exec. Com. "Minutes," RC).

2. EGS was studying in preparation for taking entrance examinations to qualify to attend Harvard Univ. through its special Harvard Annex program, which allowed selected female students to study on an informal basis with Harvard professors and work toward a certificate rather than an actual degree. The program, which was organized on a British model, was fostered by the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women (eventually incorporated as Radcliffe College) and administered in selective localities under the auspices of the Com. on Harvard Examinations for Women. Successful candidates pursued a full course of liberal studies with a core group of professors who taught the women in addition to their regular duties as Harvard faculty.

The 1870s and 1880s were decades of heated activism by women—many of them the daughters, mothers, or wives of male Harvard alumni—to bring about coeducation at Harvard. In the mid-1870s, in response to pressure from the Women's Education Assn. of Boston and other women's groups, the Harvard Corp. opened examinations to women. In the 1880s, as activists attempted to force change using financial incentives, the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women raised \$100,000 as an endowment for the women's Harvard Annex. By the early 1890s, various buildings had been appropriated for Annex use, and the ranks of female students had increased to over two hundred. Some seventy Harvard professors who were sympathetic to their cause were willing to teach them. In 1893, Radcliffe College was established as a degree-granting sister institution to Harvard.

In the summer of 1883, EGS attempted to register to take the Harvard examinations through regular channels open to potential male applicants in Chicago but was denied the chance because she was a woman. "I was informed . . . that the ex. for women were held only in Cambridge[.] New York & Cincinnati. The ex. are exactly the same for women as for men, but they wouldn't let me sit down there & write them out," she told JA in exasperation (EGS to JA, 3 July 1883, below). EGS told JA that she would consider trying again the next summer by going to Cincinnati to take the exams there. She eventually abandoned her plans to attend Harvard.

3. AHHA's cousin, Mary Peart (Hostetter), who visited Cedarville and Mitchellville for extended stays in 1882–83 (see *PJA*, 1:78, n. 179).

From Sarah F. Anderson

Seminary, Rockford Ill.

April 11 [and 12], 1882.

My Jane, my dear girl,

I am lonesome! and I want to propose that you spend some time with your sister very soon and stop here for a couple of days both going & returning. Every one asks, 'when is she coming?' Miss Sill wanted to know tonight how soon we might see you. You'll come, wont you dear?, perhaps this week. You must surely come before Ellen comes the first of May. I want you once more before then.¹

I reached Rockford about half past eight—left Freeport at 6.15, had supper at Mrs. Allen's.

When Miss Sill asks me to return for another year, what do you think of my making conditions like these. I should be pleased to retain my place in the school² but feel the need, personally of more instruction, and study, and would like either leave of absence for a year, or for ten weeks <of> each of the next four years if I continue to stay here. In case the latter condition were granted, I think I would go to Wellesly next year, and perhaps to Ann Arbor the year following.³

Do you think I can accomplish something by taking it piecemeal in this way.

Wednesday morning [April 12, 1882]—

Was interrupted last night. This morning rec'd a letter of three pages from Bennie Thomas, he speaks of his Baby Sister as Annie Elizabeth.⁴ Mattie has read me his letters all year, he is a bright boy.

Miss Sill asked me this morning about coming back another year. I said something like what I have written you, but there was not time for any talk. She went on to speak of this one and that one coming another year, and then said it was possible that some might receive permanent appointments this year. I dont know as you will understand this, but in reality Miss Sill is the only member of the faculty, the rest are hired teachers or tutors. Miss Blaisdell was head of her department but none of the others are, she said she thought likely Miss Holmes would ask to be appointed. I am sure she thinks I am working for that place, but I dont care to oust Miss Holmes just now, and if they had a real good teacher there I should not be discontent in the least to stay where I am, at least for several years. I rather think that if Miss H. talkes⁵ such a step Miss Potter will not care to do so.

Write me about your cousin Agnes.⁶ Did the Iowa friends come?

Mary Ellwood sent me a sweet little Easter poem. You will see it when you come. And when will that be, my dear, very soon please. Dont wait until you feel strong, perhaps that will be one way to gain strength.

Jane dear, I reckon and rely on your help and friendship as I do on the Sun as I do on divine help, and I feel just as confident of your never failing me.

May God bless you as cause his face to shine upon you and give you peace. Yours ever,

Sarah F Anderson

My love to Mrs Addams & your Cousin Mary.⁷ I hope your mother is feeling better.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:907–10).

1. SA had just returned from a visit to Cedarville. If JA visited RFS in Apr., RSM made no note of it. For JA, one of the benefits of returning to northern Illinois was increased exposure to her friends. There was a good deal of visiting back and forth between JA's old RFS cohorts

in the spring of 1882. As SA mentions here, in early May, EGS made a trip to Rockford and Durand, including time at the seminary with SA (see EGS to JA, 14 May 1882, below). According to the Mar., Apr., and May 1882 editions of RSM, EGS visited SA in Feb., SAAH and MCAL made a trip to the seminary in Mar., and Mattie Thomas visited JA in Cedarville in Apr.

2. SA's job at RFS entailed both teaching and administrative functions. In addition to her teaching duties, she handled student accounts, kept the books for the seminary, and was responsible for counseling students who experienced personal problems or had family difficulties.

3. SA confided in JA regarding her misgivings about continuing in her position at RFS without further training. She told JA about Sill's offers and debated with her how best to negotiate her position (see also SA to JA, [4 June?] [1882] and 6 June 1882, both below).

SA's concerns seem to have been focused on the issue of developing her talents and taking advantage of the growing opportunities for women to engage in advanced intellectual inquiry. Continuing her education, however, also involved financial incentives and would have given her more say in RFS policies and curriculum. Although there was no official tenure process at RFS, the more established and highly paid teachers dominated the governing of academic affairs. According to RFS Exec. Com. records in the late 1870s and early 1880s, SA and other junior teachers made approximately half the salary paid to older seminary-educated teachers such as Sarah Blaisdell, Mary E. Holmes, or Caroline Potter, who had greater seniority at the school. Their pay, relative to experience, also ranked behind that of newer teachers who came to the school with bachelor's or master's degrees. In 1877–78, for example, SA, who was “engaged full time with the books & teaching,” was contracted for \$350, while Potter made \$600 for the year (RFS Exec. Com. “Minutes,” 10 July 1877; see also 12 June 1877, RC). According to RFS Exec. Com. budget sheets for 1878–79, Sarah Blaisdell received \$125 in the month of Nov. 1878, while SA, Katie and Lucy Smith, and other younger women without college degrees were paid \$75. In 1879–80, the figures for Nov. 1879 were \$125 for Blaisdell, \$150 for Potter, and \$75 for SA. By 1880–81, Blaisdell and Holmes's salaries remained the same, Potter's had risen dramatically to \$225, and SA had received a modest raise to \$87.50. In June 1881, the RFS Exec. Com. proposed that SA's yearly contract for 1881–82 be raised to \$650 a year, ranking just behind Mary E. Holmes, who made \$700. Minutes from the 11 Oct. 1881 RFS Exec. Com. meeting record that “Sarah F. Anderson in response to her request” was engaged “at a Salary of \$500 per ann[um] with a proposition to pay from said salary the sum of \$50 on the Note of D. S. Perry.” SA accepted these terms, “it being understood that this arrangement with Miss Anderson applies only to the present [1881–82] year” (RC).

4. Mattie Thomas's younger siblings.

5. SA probably meant to write *takes*.

6. Perhaps a reference to Agnes Addams Clifton (1845–1905), JA's first cousin, whose husband, Edward (whom she had married on 28 Sept. 1881), had recently died. He was buried in the Cedarville Cemetery 12 Apr. 1882.

7. AHHA's cousin and Cedarville houseguest, Mary Peart.

From Helen Harrington

Jane Addams evidently responded to Helen Harrington's March 9 letter with enthusiasm, agreeing that she would join Harrington in Rockford in June to receive her bachelor's degree. The two friends were the only members of the class of 1881 who were granted an A.B. degree at the June 1882 commencement exercises. Because granting degrees was new to the school, Rockford Female Seminary leaders formed

policies over the spring months of 1882 about how to handle the process, who would qualify to earn degrees, and how qualifications would be determined. Requirements for the degree were necessarily somewhat subjective. Most degrees were granted on a retroactive basis to qualified teachers and to high-achieving students, like Jane Addams and Helen Harrington, who had graduated from earlier classes before 1882. Degrees were also granted to those who were basically honors students in the current graduating class,¹ and honorary degrees were given to women who had made significant contributions to the seminary. A committee on degrees (made up of members of the Rockford Female Seminary Board of Examiners, Board of Trustees, and Executive Committee), in consultation with principal Anna P. Sill, decided who was deserving. In some cases, successful breadth of training and completion of advanced courses at Rockford Female Seminary and/or other institutions was considered adequate evidence of erudition.² In other cases, those desiring degrees were required to undertake further study or pass oral examinations given by board members to prove their abilities in certain fields. Both Helen Harrington and Jane Addams had studied ancient languages and science while at Rockford Female Seminary, and both had the experience of studying, and being examined, at highly respected schools in the year following the completion of their seminary educations.³

Ann Arbor, [Mich.]

Apr. 15 '82.

My dear friend,

Your letter is just received and it makes me quite enthusiastic on the subject of degrees.⁴ I would like so much to go back to the old Sem. with you and take that last gift of our, "alma mater"—it would seem like beginning over again and together. I should never think of trying for it at any other time than now or under any other circumstances than with you.

I sent for a catalogue and wrote to Miss Sill but cannot find out definitely what more than we had is required. I have had all the Latin and German that is either optional or elective and more but have had no Greek. I do not see how a degree can be given on one or two years of Greek: four years is required for entrance here. I thought I was well prepared in Latin when I came here but never worked harder than I have to attain a creditable standing in the freshman Latin, my ignorance in subjunctives and fine points in grammar was deplorable. We are reading the comedies of Terence⁵ now and I enjoy it immensely now but the painfulness of my struggle through Livy⁶ cannot be described. If a degree is given in any course not requiring Greek and I could find out what is required I think I could meet the requirements. I feel sure I have gained more in real scholarship here than I could in any year at Rockford and I can get certificates from my professors of all the work done here if I am fortunate enough to pass my final examinations on this last semester's work. I do not like to worry you about it when it seems as though I might find out myself but if you have just been talking over the matter with Miss Anderson perhaps it will not be too

much trouble to tell me what will be required. The catalogue and Miss Sill are so indefinite as I told Mr. Dickerman⁷ he was about the coal stove. If there is any thing needed that I have not now maybe I could make it up in the next few weeks under good instruction. Just as soon as I hear from you again I will tell you whether I can or not.

Dear friend, I know so well just how hard it was for you to go back to the old place again, and I know hard it is to bear always although you say so little and you do not know how often you are in my thoughts. If I go to commencement at all I should like above all things to come and go with you. I am going to leave here just as soon as I can get my examinations, and after spending a few weeks in Wisconsin go to the California home. I shall feel so much more pleasure in going if I can <see you and> compare the years work with you. I have shortly to read a half-hour essay on, "Lear", do you remember our reading it together? In Cordelia I have full opportunity for expressing your old idea of the power of being great and good without doing striking things. I think I understand what you would say about the class of girls who ~~would~~ want to take the degree and their motives. My feeling on the subject is quite different from what⁸ it would be if I had stayed there this year and had not been where things are on so much larger scale and broader foundations than at Rockford. I hope to hear from you soon and you know, Jane, that I am always, Your loving friend

Helen Harrington

ALS (SCHS; *JAPM*, 1:911–13).

1. The RFS Exec. Com., meeting in W. A. Dickerman's office (see n. 7) on 10 Jan. 1882, passed a unanimous resolution: "That degrees, regular and special, should be granted only on recommendation of the faculty and favorable action by the Board of Trustees. All special applications are in addition to be pronounced upon by a committee appointed for that purpose by the Executive Committee: their action being reported to the Board of Trustees with the application." Mary E. Holmes's application for the A.B. degree was accepted at the 13 Apr. 1882 meeting, upon "presentation of her list of acquirements." Rev. Wilder Smith (who was serving as secretary of the Exec. Com.) and Rev. William Curtis were appointed to consider other applications. At the 11 May 1882 meeting, committee members made appointments for speakers to appear at the commencement and set the basic parameters by which A.B. and A.M. degrees would be awarded (RFS Exec. Com. "Minutes," 1882, RC). The school magazine reported, "It was decided to grant the degree of A.B. to those completing the full Collegiate course, as shown by examinations; also to confer the honorary degree of A.M." (*RSM* [July 1882], 230).

2. RFS Board of Trustees "Minutes," 1882, RC; *JAPM*, 1A:148. Only two students from the class of 1882 earned A.B. degrees, Julia Gardiner and Hattie Wells. The rest of the women who were granted degrees had all graduated from RFS in prior years and were active either as RFS faculty or members of the RFS Alumnae Assn. (see also Commencement Report in the *RSM*, [21 June] 1882, below).

3. The official decisions about who would receive degrees in June were made just before graduation. During the 20 June 1882 meeting of the RFS Board of Trustees, held the day before commencement, "Rev. Dr. Curtis reported from the committee on conferring degrees, recommending that the degree of A.B. for proficiency in studies throughout the collegiate course be conferred upon Misses J. E. [Julia] Gardiner, H. E. [Harriet, or Hattie] Wells, L. J.

[Jane] Addams, H. M. [Helen] Harrington, M. E. [Mary E.] Holmes, L. I. [Laura] Rose, and that the honorary degree of A.M. be conferred on Miss L. [Lucy] M. Smith, Miss C. [Caroline] A. Potter, Mrs. M. [Marie Thompson] L. Perry, Mrs. W. A. [Fanny Jones] Talcott. The report was accepted and adopted" (RFS Board of Trustees Minutes, 1882, RC; *JAPM*, 1A:148).

4. JA's letter is not known to be extant.

5. Publius Terentius Afer, or Terence (ca. 190–159 B.C.), was a Roman comic poet born in Carthage. Brought to Rome as a slave, he was freed by P. Terentius Lucanus. Much of his dramatic works were Latin adaptations of comedies by the Athenian dramatic poet Menander (ca. 342–292 B.C.). Terence's six plays include *Andria*, *Hecyra*, *Heautontimorumenos*, *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe*.

6. Titus Livius, or Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17), was a Roman historian born in Padua. A friend of Emperor Augustus, he wrote *History of Rome from Its Foundation*, a 142-volume history extending from Rome's formation through the death of Drusus in 9 B.C. Of these books, thirty-five remain extant in modern times.

7. Attorney Worcester A. ("W. A.") Dickerman, long-time general agent for the RFS Board of Trustees. According to RFS Exec. Com. budget accounts, Dickerman was paid a salary of \$125 a month for his services to RFS plus a monthly allowance of \$100 to \$200 for expenses. The school also contracted with his firm to handle various kinds of legal services. For a biographical note on Dickerman, see *PJA*, 1:394–95, n. 10.

8. Text beginning with the words "what it would be" appears at the top of the first page of letter and perpendicular to the main text.

From Ellen Gates Starr

Chicago, [Ill.]

May 14, 1882

My dear Jane,

Your pleasant letter was received a few days before I left Chicago.¹ My trip did me good, I think, in point of health, though it was so cold up there that I wore a "wadded" jacket & a fur cloak over it all the time. It is lovely up there, & in summer, when everything is green, must be a sort of paradise. I hope you can come out & visit me in the summer in addition to the visit I intend to make you. I want to do a good deal toward making up my losses in respect of your society & companionship. I hardly know much about my summer yet. Miss Runyan may make me a visit, & I may even go to St. Louis for a time. I don't suppose it will be very cool there, but Durand isn't exactly polar in temperature, & I don't think the difference would be exactly very great.² I suppose you know that Kate Carnefix³ is married. I had a letter from her a day or two before the wedding day, asking me to come. It went to my Father, & was forwarded, which made it late. Of course I couldn't have gone. The Carpenters⁴ tell me he is an excellent man, & I hope Katie will be happy. I am very forlorn & blue without Miss Runyan. I try to get accustomed to it, & of course I must, for women, who earn their own bread, can't always be together, but I find how attached I was to her. I wish you could see her in the summer. I would like you to know her. I missed the Cedarville visit. I had made up my mind for it, & I don't think I came home with just the feeling I should <have> had. But never mind, I shall

see you in the summer. Possibly Miss Anderson, too. I wonder when she goes to Penn. She told me she intended spending six weeks with her sister. I should be glad to know if it is the first or last part of summer.

You & Miss Anderson are such comforts. I have been unfortunate lately. I don't know whether it is my fault or other people's, but I seem to conflict with people, & be disappointed with <in> them. I know I shall never be disappointed in you two. You are of the few persons I am really sure of. I am rather blue just now, & if you feel like doing anything towards raising the spirits of a compatriot, you might write me a good long letter. With a great deal of love to yourself & your Mother, I am devotedly yours,

Ellen G. Starr.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:929–32).

1. JA's letter to EGS is not known to be extant.
2. EGS wrote to JA on 19 Apr. 1882 to discuss her summer plans. EGS had planned to spend the summer vacationing with Annie Beckwith and studying for her Harvard examinations, but she wanted to explore the idea of coming to be with JA instead (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:914–17). SA, meanwhile, urged JA to "try the sea shore" if she had not "made good progress by the last of June" (27 Apr. 1882, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:920).
3. Catharine ("Kate") A. Carnefix married David F. Graham in Rock City, Ill., on 11 May 1882. The wedding was announced in the June edition of *RSM*. For a biographical note about Catharine A. Carnefix, see *PJA*, 1:240, n. 13.
4. Likely a reference to Cora and Carrie Carpenter, RFS class of 1878, who were teachers in Rockford (see *PJA*, 1:291, n. 7).

From George Bowman Haldeman

Beloit, Wis.

June 1st 1882.

My Dear Jane,

It was a pleasure to hear from you and I may say something that has not been enjoyed recently. I fear you are having troublesome times, and I naturally wonder at Tilghman's¹ sudden departure, the blighted hope of a new lawn mower probably was a motive in that direction, or perhaps you didn't give him any employment? It is strange Jane that the atmosphere affects you.² I always imagined that it was the reverse and that your influence at least on the home atmosphere was the most cheerful, and you have not changed my opinion by your opposing statements.

Cedarville must be animated with such a rare occurrence as the celebration of decoration day.³ No doubt idyllic in the extreme. Its The spot itself seems so from here. I long for a seat in the library there is no place more inspiring to study than that comfortable corner. You have the boat launched and have been enjoying moonlight rides perhaps and other pleasant inconsistencies encouraged by well established precedents of maternal example but I will cease

to transcribe visions, the nearest I approach to the poetic, perhaps it is poetic to be visionary but inexpressibly so at least. The imagination is in requisition to paint the pictures and the language is at fault if it cant transcribe them. Our classical course teaches us the imperfection of human speech if nothing more. When we see how barely the Greek contains the great thoughts of Socrates, how poorly figurative are our own expressions, how each languages worries even the same familiar idea into its own peculiar contortions some like <the> good old "one hoss shays" having <long ago> collapsed as vehicles of thought, then others like clumsy wagons moving slow with the burden of weighty ideas as the German or the fragile vel⁴ conveyances as French not so well adapted for the ponderous. Ah but it is useless even English is inadequate to convey the idea. You can comprehend it only through intuition. I trust you will be mild with me Jane but this [answers?] as a relief from the tense mental strain. Conversation does not always find its greatest enjoyment in consistencies[.] I really believe that such disagreements are entirely compatible I was going to say with each other but at least are harmonious with some dispositions.

With very much love, Your affectionate brother

George.

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 1:937–40).

1. Tilghman Resh was a 22-year-old farmer who, together with his wife Esther, worked at the Addams home place. The two did repairs, handled the gardening and yard work, and managed the care and marketing of poultry and stock. They remained at work in Cedarville during the time that JA and AHHA were in Philadelphia in the autumn and winter of 1881–82. Apparently Tilghman's employment at the Addams home came to a rather abrupt end about May 1882. GBH implies that it was JA who was supervising his employment at that time, but in Dec. 1881, it was AHHA that Esther wrote to (on behalf of herself and Tilghman), reporting on their progress with things at home. Her letter provides insight into the Addamses as employers of domestic help and their role in the local economy.

Writing the week before Christmas, Esther told AHHA that Tilghman would be taking turkeys to Freeport the next day to send to AHHA in Philadelphia for the holiday. She reported that the red heifer had given birth to a new calf the previous day and that Tilghman wanted to know what he should do with the calf. He also wanted to know when AHHA wanted the hogs butchered. The lard from the last batch of hogs was being sold at Henry Richart's store, but consumers had objected to its quality. Esther had been busy selling cream and butter and was getting offered higher-than-usual prices for her premium goods. She told AHHA that the cats were doing well and the flowers also. Toward the end of her letter, she broached the topic of the quality of hired help. "Tilghman is not only a good man on your place, but a true friend," she informed AHHA. She then went on to offer an analysis of his and other employees' loyalty to AHHA: "[I]nstead of telling every little thing that happens he keeps to himself, as you know you have had men to do that, and girls too, now I think Celia [Doll-dorf] was also a friend to you a great deal more so than many of the Snyder girls." Esther had received a letter from Celia, who was working in Iowa but not planning to stay there much longer, and Esther told AHHA that Celia would be a good honest worker to get back in Cedarville in the spring. Having thus done her duty by Celia, she wished AHHA a merry Christmas and happy New Year, and signed her letter in a way reinforcing her prior point: "We remain Your true friends. Esther & Tilghman" (19 Dec. 1881, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

Things went well at the Addams home when Tilghman was replaced. In the spring of 1883, JA wrote how beautiful the home place looked “under the new-man,” who “has made garden trimmed the raspberries &c[.]” (JA to SAAH, 24 Apr. 1883, below). According to AHHA, a Mr. and Mrs. Resh served as tenants caring for the Addams home while JA and AHHA were in Europe, in 1883–85.

2. JA evidently had confided in GBH about feeling depressed at home in Cedarville.

3. Memorial, or Decoration, Day, on 30 May of each year, was a solemn occasion. It was a time to remember, especially those who had died as a result of the Civil War (see also JA to SAAH, 29 May 1883, below).

From Sarah F. Anderson

[Rockford, Ill.]

Sunday evening—[June 4?] [1882]

Dear Jane,

Thought it possible you might be planning to come the first of the week and write to say that I will be gone until Wednesday noon. Miss Blaisdell is here and it is so good to have her. I hope you will come Thursday or Friday to stay until after commencement.¹

I really need to talk to you. Miss Sill talked with me again on Thursday and then it was left that I did not return, and on Friday she asked Miss Beattie² to take my place. I think it quite possible that she may have something else to offer and yet I see several reasons why she may think it just as well that I should go³—and if there is any thing farther said she will be the one to say it not I—and I want to talk over plans for the future with you.

I have not said what it is that calls me away in the morning—and I don't feel like saying any thing about it. It was only decided upon within an hour. I go with Minnie Black, and she goes because she must. I have urged your coming. You know my dear girl that there is no immediate necessity for decision—probably can be no immediate decision, and if you are not well enough to come I will see you after school—but if it is convenient for you to be here, we want to see you. Yours,

Sarah F Anderson

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:942–44).

1. Instead of staying in Rockford for an extended time, JA made two trips. The “Personals” column of the June 1882 *RSM* reported that “Jane Addams made the Seminary a short visit of two days, and we all lamented that she could not prolong it. But she promised to be here at Commencement exercises” (189). Commencement 1882 served as a mini-reunion for several of the girls from the class of 1881. Ella Browning and Nora Frothingham were among those who returned to RFS to see JA and Helen Harrington receive their degrees and participate in commencement week festivities.

2. According to the 1882–83 RFS catalog, Mary L. Beattie was a teacher of elocution at RFS during the 1882–83 academic year. However, her name does not appear among the faculty roster approved by the RFS Exec. Com. at its 15 Sept. 1882 meeting. Beattie graduated from

RFS in the class of 1873. A self-proclaimed spinster, Beattie lived almost all her life in Rockford and was very active in the RFS Alumnae Assn. (Wells, Caswell, McCullough, and Herrick, *Jubilee Book*, 91). Beattie studied for two years at Wellesley College, and she also traveled for a year in Europe. She served as a kind of substitute-at-large for her alma mater. She taught off and on in the RFS Preparatory Dept. She also taught as a substitute teacher in the regular academic classes when faculty members were ill or on leave. She filled in for Caroline Potter during Potter's vacation to the East Coast in early Jan. 1883, when Potter went to visit "ladies' colleges in the East," including Vassar and Wellesley (*RSM* [Jan. 1883], 29). Here, clearly, Anna P. Sill had asked Beattie to fill in for SA, who intended to take time off from the school.

3. Over the summer, Anna P. Sill again offered a position to SA for the 1882–83 academic year. It is not clear if this offer involved teaching or if it was a purely administrative position. SA told JA in Aug. 1882 that negotiations over the job were still under way. SA received and agreed to verbal offers from Sill and other RFS officials, but she had some difficulty getting the exact offer codified in writing. She wrote to JA soon after JA returned from Nantucket to tell her that "Miss Sill has written me once and asked me how soon I could come back," while Lucy M. Smith was already congratulating her "on my decision to return for another year" (13 Aug. 1882, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:975, 976). SA, however, remained ambivalent. She was frustrated by the slowness with which W. A. Dickerman and other authorities on the RFS Board of Trustees proceeded in defining the terms of her employment, and she still wished she could take time off from teaching at the school for a variety of personal reasons, including the illness of her sister. SA was listed in the faculty roster of the 1882–83 RFS catalog as simply the school's accountant (whereas in 1881–82 her title in the catalog had been a dual one: accountant and teacher of English Studies). At their Sept. 1882 meeting, the RFS Exec. Com. approved her as among the list of faculty members officially hired at the start of the academic year. She was engaged at a salary of \$450 a year, with \$50 "additional on note." This total of \$500 matched the salary paid Mary E. Holmes but was far less than that paid to RFS veteran teacher Caroline Potter, who was hired at \$900, the largest rate paid to any member of the RFS faculty (RFS Exec. Com. "Minutes," 15 Sept. 1882, RC).

It is probable that SA's final arrangement with the school allowed for her to have time out of town or that she took a temporary leave of absence or did her duties from afar, for by the winter SA was with her sister in Pennsylvania (see also SA to JA, 6 June 1882; and EGS to JA, 12 Jan. [1883], both below). In the next several years, the internal conditions that had troubled SA at RFS were largely reversed and SA's status was rapidly elevated. Anna P. Sill, Caroline Potter, and other older teachers who had long been mainstays at RFS retired, and SA was promoted to head the seminary. She did not attend graduate or medical school, and she worked at RFS for the remainder of her career (see also a biographical profiles of SA in *PJA*, 1:490–93).

From Sarah F. Anderson

Seminary. Rockford. Ill.

June 6. 1882.

My dear Jane.

Your letter came this morning, but I was intending to write you in any case.¹ You are my good angel, dear. I dont in any sense deserve your thought and attention as you give it, but you cant know how good beyond words it is to know that you do care for me in this way.

I think likely I will stay here next year, making some arrangements with teachers to do my work or such part of it as must be done while I am gone—

but I hardly think I can get away another year not at least for quite a number of years, but perhaps after this summer I can study either in Summer School or with private tutor about half of every vacation.

What do you think my little woman, had I better stay under these circumstances or go?

I had a note from Miss Ellers² yesterday, but she said almost nothing about her work. She is in Hospital, receives \$10.00 per month, but said nothing as to instruction rec'd or benefits derived.

I had pleasant surprise last week rec'd letter from Ellen saying she was feeling blue or not first rate and if it was convenient for me to see her Friday evening to telegraph her to that effect, which I did and we had a very pleasant time. She went back on early train yesterday morning, their school closes the 16th inst. She takes the Harvard examinations as I think I wrote you. She tries an ex. in six studies for unless she succeeds in five she receives no certificate for any. If it were not so expensive studying in that way I dont know but it would be a good thing taking private lessons in Chemistry for the ten weeks of such a man as Dr. Mitchell. I am writing to learn more of Wellesley. I think the lady Dr. Hunt³ spoke of is not there now. They had no class in Biology last year. Botany is the Science best taught there. I dont think I can get away before school closes, but it seems as though I must see you.

Do you know any more of how the summer and another year is to be spent! I hope it will be possible for you to spend six weeks at the sea shore, and that you will take the time for rest and not for study, and if you are planning for Smith's dont think of doing more than half work. I am quite glad to have you go to school another year if only you are willing to face the necessity of doing but half work. I am glad you are feeling better, the Spring has been a hard one for you. You have not had much help from the weather.

Would it be too hard for you to come here from Mt Carroll. My best day for visiting is perhaps Sunday, and yet it will not much matter any day in the week, aside from Sunday they are all alike. It will not even much matter whether I know before you come, so if any day you feel like⁴ dont wait to write.

I dont know that I have made my meaning very clear on one point. I have not yet told Miss Sill whether I would fill my place while away & stay on those conditions & she has not really said they would not employ me if I did not but intimated as much.

Laura Ely & 'Edward'⁵ are in town. Yours ever,

Sarah F Anderson

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:945-48).

1. JA's letter is not known to be extant.

2. JA's RFS classmate Annie Ellers (Bunker) (d. 1938) studied nursing at Boston City Hospital in 1881-82. She completed additional training in Boston in graduate nursing and medicine with a specialty in pharmacy. In 1886, she became a medical missionary in Korea for one of the boards of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Societies of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

The next year she married an American, Rev. D. A. Bunker (d. 1932), whom she met on the voyage to Korea. Although she traveled frequently, she lived in Korea for the rest of her life. In her later years she worked as a teacher in a missionary school.

3. Possibly a reference to New Englander Dr. Harriot K. Hunt (1805–75), the first woman to apply to Harvard Medical School and organizer of the Ladies' Physiological Society of Boston. Hunt received an honorary medical degree from the WMCP.

4. The text from this point on in the letter is written on top of the pages and perpendicular to the main text.

5. JA's former classmate Laura Ely (Curtis) and her new husband, Edward (sometimes Edwin) L. Curtis (1853–1911), a Chicago teacher who had graduated from Yale Univ. in 1874 and from Union Theological Seminary in 1879, had also studied in Germany. Mattie Thomas wrote to JA to report that the engaged couple had come to visit Rockford the weekend before their marriage and that she had seen the bridegroom-to-be at Sunday service at the Congregational church (see 27 Apr. 1882, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:922–27). SA told JA about the marriage in a letter written the day of the wedding (27 Apr. 1882, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:919–21). In May 1882, *RSM* carried a formal announcement that the two were married on 27 Apr. 1882 at the home of Ely's parents in Ottumwa, Iowa. The newlyweds lived in Chicago, where Edward taught at McCormick Theological Seminary until 1891, when he became a professor of theology at Yale Univ. Laura Ely Curtis came back to Rockford to attend the 1882 commencement. A year later, the Apr. 1883 *RSM* reported the birth of a daughter to Laura and Edward Curtis on 8 Mar. 1883 in Chicago.

From Mary P. Ellwood

College [Northampton, Mass.]

June 8th '82

My dear Jane:—

Dont be frightened at my answering your letter¹ so soon but I wanted to write to you about coming to college next year—I beg of you my friend dont come if you are not well dont come if you have to brace—for it will not pay in the end—but if you are well then come by all means—I hardly think I shall return next year as I am getting a little tired of study & should like a rest—I have been at it for six years now and now would like a change do you blame me?

I hardly know what to tell you about rooms etc. I should advise you differently according to the class you intend to try for & if you intend to try for the Junior class next year I should advise you to apply immediately for a room in the Dewey House and if you think you cant make the Junior but the Soph class I should advise you to apply for a room in the Hatfield House—you might apply for No 18 Hatfield that is my present room. It is a single room and I think you would enjoy it—lovely view etc but I am very much afraid you can not get in to any of the houses on the college grounds as I believe the rooms have all been assigned and lots of students who board in town now can not get in now but then your intending to enter Junior or Soph. might possibly make some difference. If I were you I would apply for either the Dewey or Hatfield immediately and if you can not get in then you will have to board in town. I want to see you ever so much next summer & especially if you think you are coming to college[.] I

am afraid you will have to take examinations in everything as your certificates are over a year old and if you intend to take an examination in German I would advise you to study up that above all things. Frau Kapp² is the hardest teacher in the whole college—if you would like I will send you the examination paper we had the first term just to show you what you may expect—I dont think you would have any trouble about your Greek & Latin—Prof. Tyler³ is very easy in fact he is too lazy to give you a very stiff examination. Miss Williams⁴ the Latin teacher is death on subjunctives—I have the papers for all of our Horace, Cicero & Livy examinations which you may have the benefit of. I am sorry I can <not> be in Rockford at Com. time but six of us girls have an invitation to go home with one of the other girls and as it is not probable I shall my friends here again very soon I though[t] I had better accept it—I shall be home the Sat. June 24 after Com. and if the class of '81 adjourn to Geneva or any other place within a thousand miles I shall be most happy to see them—otherwise I hardly think I shall see Helen⁵—you say she comes the 15th—give her my love. I should like nothing better than to see all you girls at Com. but I shall be with you in spirit if not in body. I did not intend to inflict you with quite such a long letter but I got to going & could not stop.

Hoping to hear from you when I get home. I am Your true friend

Mary P. Ellwood

P.S. I had the class letter Monday—did you ever see such a fool as Sill—I am so thankful she did not write in our letter—I hope she is satisfied now—Jane how many more years do you suppose she is good for?—

M

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:949–56).

1. JA's letter is not known to be extant.

2. Frau Marie F. Kapp (ca. 1840?–1923) became professor of German language and literature at Smith College in 1880. A native of Germany, she emigrated to the United States with her family in 1850. She received an honorary M.A. degree from Smith in June 1904, retired from the school in 1911, and continued to live in Northampton (see also Mary Ellwood to JA, 1 Sept. 1882, below). Ellwood's assessment of Kapp as the hardest teacher in the college evidently had merit. Upon her death on 20 Oct. 1923, a fellow Smith professor recalled her exacting standards: "She had no patience with sham; she had no patience with mere emotionalism. She knew that living meant working, fighting, and that one could not build a fighting machine out of a currant bush or a peach tree. She was rather severe in her exactions of others, but her severity was tempered with kindness and helpfulness" ("Frau Kapp," 68).

3. Henry Mather Tyler (1843–1931) taught Greek at Smith College from 1877 to 1912. He was also acting dean of the college from 1890 to 1912. He and Frau Kapp were among a core group of early faculty members who were recruited to Smith by President Seelye and who remained at the school for decades. Kapp, Tyler, and Seelye all retired from Smith in the period 1910–12.

4. Harriet Josephine Williams (d. 1922) was one of the first four women to pass the Harvard examinations for women in 1874. She studied in Cambridge, Mass., and in 1879 began teaching Latin at Smith. She taught at Smith until 1885.

5. Helen Harrington.

Commencement Report in the *Rockford Seminary Magazine*

Rockford, Ill.

[21 June] 1882

"It is all indication of growth most satisfying to all interested in the progress of education, to notice the increasing attraction which the annual commencement of Rockford Female Seminary furnishes for the citizens of Rockford. Each annual recurring occasion of this character is marked by a larger attendance of those who have no special interest in any of the young ladies who appear prominently before the public, but who are devoted to the cause of higher education, and who are anxious to lend the encouragement of their presence to all good work in this direction.

"The thirty-first commencement of Rockford Female Seminary, which occurred to day, was marked by similar characteristics as in former years. There was the wealth of flowers everywhere, while each fair maiden who went through the trying public ordeal was absolutely loaded down with graceful, blooming tokens of the regard of friends, who thus testified their congratulations at the close of a severe career of study.

"The platform was decked with flowers, the pillars trimmed with green, and the leading luminaries of the institution occupied prominent positions in conscious self satisfaction. The esteemed Principal¹ occupied her customary place in the front, and benignly allowed her eyes to wander over the crowded, heated, but attentive audience, or to droop in happy drowsiness over the close of one more year of trying mental labor and watchfulness. At her left sat the venerable Professor Emerson,² also his annual place of honor. On either side were the trustees and prominent guests. Indeed, to one who has attended these exercises from year to year, it would be difficult to notice even a change of location on the platform of the regular annual platform ornaments.

"This commencement is marked by a feature, an upward progress, which every alumnae or friend of the institution must welcome with warmest delight. For the first time the Seminary attains to the dignity of a college, and the regular collegiate degree of A.B. is conferred upon two of the nine graduates—Misses Julia E. Gardiner³ and Hattie E. Wells⁴ step from the portals of their loved Alma Mater with the proud appendix 'Bachelor of Arts' stamped in glowing initials after their names. Truly, the two fair ones may be forgiven for the feeling of pride which arises at the knowledge that they are the first who enjoy this happy honor.

"The literary exercises were of the character which annually are looked for—wise, profound, full of axiomatic truths presented with carefully-selected diction and frequently partaking of the poetic frenzy. And yet, who, that has not passed through this soul-trying ordeal, can realize the amount of hard, grinding work, the searching of musty tomes, the collecting and selecting of myriad notes, and the final evolving of symmetry and beauty of thought and phrase out

of the chaos of intangible sentences and ideas, before the closing masterpiece of the college course is given to the attentive public ear.

"The customary salutatory was delivered ably by Minnie M. Marks,⁵ of Oak Park.

"Camilla W. Fitch,⁶ of Rockford, produced from the subject 'True Greatness,' an original and instructive address.

"Mary A. Baker,⁷ of Harvard, gave warning to the ambitious, under the title, 'Not Every Stone a Stepping Stone,' elaborating upon the fact that in all likelihood some deceptive boulder, upon which the energetic pilgrim, with his 'excelsior' banner proudly waving in the breeze, might confidently step, would prove unfitted to sustain his weight and tumble the mortified aspirant and his bright-hued banner in the dust. The lesson was a true one. Men must not hastily assume that every stone which lies in the pathway is an aid to onward progress. It must be cautiously approached and carefully examined, lest it prove a device of the enemy or an unworthy object which tends to lower rather than to elevate.

"The Iliad as a Force in Grecian Life,' was a philosophical effort which displayed great study, and Miss Carrie Strong,⁸ of Naperville, wrestled bravely with the intricate topic.

"A beautiful piece of poetic fancy and description, under the title of 'A Day in June,' was delivered by Abbie Warner,⁹ of Roscoe. It was a change from the tendency to dryness and prosiness which is liable to be the rule in the average college commencement essays or orations. Miss Warner's sketch, filled with flowers and blossoms and trees, and teeming with poetic tributes to nature, made a creditable impression.

"Miss Julia Gardiner, of Rockford, delivered a well-developed oration upon: 'Give me where I may stand, and I will move the world.' This was a specially well-delivered essay, the enunciation and careful use of voice being noticeably commendable.

"Miss Minnie Marks, of Oak Park, argued in an effective manner that 'Beauty Lies in Expression,' citing George Elliot as an instance where the beauty of expression far out-weighed the comeliness of face or figure.

"Accidental and Secondary Effects,' was the title of the essay of Sarah G. Sperry,¹⁰ of Batavia. It was delivered with impressive accentuation and good gesticulation.

"The Great-Man Theory,' was the subject of Miss Hattie Wells' essay, illustrating the power of noted individuals over nations and peoples. This was a most thoughtful article.

"Mrs. W. A. Talcott, of Rockford, class of '60, had the honor of the alumnae essay, and devoted a season to the elucidation of 'True Culture,' in an earnest and practical manner.

"The valedictory was the prize given to Katharine G. Waugh,¹¹ of New Milford, together with an excellent effort upon the Latin subject, '*Cogito Ergo Sum*'—I think, therefore I am.



Catharine Gouger Waugh McCulloch, graduate of Rockford Female Seminary in the class of 1882, was a lifelong friend of Jane Addams. She gained fame as a lawyer and a leader in the struggle for woman suffrage. (Originally published in Frances Willard and Mary Livermore, *A Woman of the Century* [1893])

“The musical part of the program was of unusual excellence, the best feature being an exquisitely rendered vocal selection—‘For You, Dearest Heart’—by Miss Addie St. John. Miss Sila Brown sang very prettily Giebel’s ‘Fisherman’s Bride,’ displaying a voice pure and sweet, and capable of fine development with proper culture.

“The other musical numbers were a vocal duet—Mendelssohn’s ‘May Bells’—by Misses Nettie Burton and Nellie Fuller; a finely executed piano solo by Miss Lillian Utter—Lysberg’s ‘Awakening of the Birds,’ Mason’s ‘Concert Galop,’ by Miss Ruth La Forge; and a piano duet—Raff’s ‘Valse Capris,’ and Low’s ‘Bohemian Rhapsodie,’—by Misses Laura Hemmenway and Lina Gumaer.”¹²

The diplomas were presented to the seven Conservatory graduates and the nine Seminary graduates; the degree of A.B. was conferred on the two young ladies mentioned above, on Jane Addams and Helen Harrington, ’81, L. Isabella Rose, ’72,¹³ and Mary E. Holmes, ’68; and the honorary degree of A.M. on Lucy Smith, Caroline A. Potter, Mrs. Seely Perry, and Mrs. W. A. Talcott, and the 31st commencement of Rockford Seminary closed.¹⁴

PD (RSM [July 1882], 233–37. Reprinted from the Rockford Register, 21 June 1882).

1. A reference to Anna P. Sill.

2. Joseph Emerson of Beloit College, president of the RFS Board of Trustees. For a biographical note on Emerson, see *PJA*, 1:179–80, n. 14.

3. For a biographical note on Julia E. Gardiner, see *PJA*, 1:417–18, n. 3.

4. JA’s friend Hattie Wells (Hobler) was, like her classmate Sarah G. Sperry (Snow) (see n. 10), from Batavia, Ill. Before she married, Wells taught Latin at RFS (in 1885, 1886, and 1887); after marrying, she taught private classes in the history of art. She remained a loyal supporter of RFS and was an officer in the RFS Alumnae Assn. In 1917 she earned an M.A.

from the Univ. of Illinois and traveled for a year in Europe. By 1922, she had made her home in St. Louis. See also *PJA*, 1:293–94, n. 2.

5. Minnie May Marks (Ward) was a seasoned speaker, having participated in RFS debating circles during her seminary years. For the 1882 Class Day exercises, which were done as a mock trial, Marks appeared as the prosecuting attorney, “rigid and angular, keen and nervous,” imitating “a certain Rockford practitioner to a nicety” (*RSM* [July 1882], 231). After graduation, Minnie May Marks married attorney Carlos J. Ward. The couple lived in her hometown of Oak Park, Ill., and had three children. Minnie Marks Ward was active in the Nineteenth Century Club of Oak Park and the Woman’s Club of Chicago. She was also a member of the Oak Park Board of Education and was active in her local Baptist church.

6. Camilla Fitch (Hamlin) took classes with JA in JA’s second year at RFS. After graduation, Fitch lived in Rockford until 1903, when she married William Elliot Hamlin and moved to New York City.

7. After she graduated, Mary Agnes Baker maintained close ties with RFS, visiting often during the winters. She usually spent her summers in resorts along the East Coast. See also SA to JA, 26 Oct. 1881, n. 15, above.

8. Schoolteacher Carrie Strong trained to become a nurse and joined the staff of a hospital in New Haven, Conn. Some time later, she studied massage with S. Weir Mitchell in Philadelphia and became a professional massage therapist. She established a residence in Waterbury, Conn., and worked as an independent practitioner.

9. Abbie Mae Warner taught school until 1896, when failing health forced her to retire, and she moved to Los Angeles, Calif. She made frequent trips between California and Chicago.

10. Sarah G. Sperry married Chicagoan T. W. Snow, who managed the Otto Gas Engine Co. The Snows lived in Chicago and Harrisburg, Pa., before moving back to her hometown of Batavia, Ill. Like Hattie Wells (Hobler), Sarah Sperry Snow was active in the Batavia Episcopal church. She gave birth to eight children, six of whom survived past infancy. See also JA to SAAH, 18 July 1883, below.

11. Catharine (sometimes Catherine, “Kitty,” or “Kittie”) Gouger Waugh (McCulloch) (1862–1945), who attended RFS from 1878 to 1882, became an attorney and judge and a leading suffragist. Three of her children—all of her sons—became attorneys. Waugh was born in Ransomville, N.Y., the daughter of Abraham Miller and Susan Gouger Waugh and was raised on her family’s farm in New Milford, Ill. After graduating from RFS, she read law in the firm of Marshall and Taggart in Rockford before graduating from the Union College of Law in Chicago in 1886. She was admitted to the Illinois bar that year. Unable to secure a position in a Chicago firm because of her sex, she practiced law for four years in Rockford before moving to Chicago. In Rockford she focused on equity issues, particularly those faced by the female poor and those who gave birth to children out of wedlock. Although valedictorian of her class at RFS, she was not given an A.B. degree in 1882. RFS granted her an honorary A.M. along with an A.B. degree in 1888, when she prepared a thesis on women’s wages that championed the idea of the minimum wage. For a published version of Waugh’s thesis, see Waugh, *Women’s Wages*.

In May 1890, Waugh married Frank H. McCulloch (1863–1947), who had been a member of her class in law school and shared her commitment to women’s rights. Temperance and suffrage leader Rev. Anna Howard Shaw (1847–1919) officiated at their wedding. Shaw was a close friend of Waugh. She would become the president of the National American Woman Suffrage Assn. (NAWSA), in which Waugh would also serve as an officer. Together the wife and husband established the law firm of McCulloch and McCulloch in Chicago. In 1894, they moved to the suburb of Evanston while maintaining their law offices in the Merchants Loan and Trust Building in Chicago. Kitty Waugh McCulloch was admitted to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1898, and she was the first woman in the United States to be elected a justice of the peace. She served in that office in Evanston for two terms in 1905–9 and

1909–13 and was master of chancery of the Superior Court of Cook Co. from 1917 to 1925. She became dean at the Illinois College of Law in 1913, and from 1916 to 1920 was president of the Women's Bar Assn. of Illinois. Meanwhile, she and Frank McCulloch—whose partnership in marriage lasted over half a century—raised three sons and a daughter. She was active in both the Chicago and Evanston women's clubs and in a Congregational church in Chicago, the First Congregational Church of Evanston, and the Evanston Political Equality League.

McCulloch was very prominent as a political activist in the suffrage and temperance movements, especially at the state level. She led a whistle-stop train tour of the state in 1893 in support of a suffrage bill she had drafted that would allow women in the state to vote in presidential elections. Accompanying her on that tour from Chicago to Springfield was her friend JA. She was vice-president of NAWSA and its legal advisor and was the superintendent of legislative work for the Illinois Equal Suffrage Assn. from 1890 to 1912. She and her friend Ella Seass Stewart (1871–1945) organized an auto tour to promote state suffrage for women, in which Illinois women traveled in teams by car from town to town, speaking on behalf of votes for women from inside their open automobiles. After the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which gave women the right to vote, McCulloch became chair of the League of Women Voters' Com. on Uniform Laws Concerning Women and the first president of the Illinois Women's Democratic Club. She was also a member of the Illinois Anti-Saloon League and a consul to the WCTU in Chicago. She specialized in state laws dealing with women and children and frequently testified before the state legislature on reform bills she had helped frame. A Rockford newspaper reported that “she has one might say, dedicated her training to the cause of women, for she has fostered campaigns, done much work on platforms, and written many books and pamphlets to aid the cause” (“Catharine Waugh McCulloch”). Among her publications was the feminist suffrage play *Bridget's Sisters* (1911) and the novel *Dr. Lex* (1899), about legal discrimination against married women and mothers, especially with regard to legal guardianship of children. The book led to the passage of a bill by the Illinois legislature in 1901 granting wives equal rights with their husbands in this regard.

Like JA, Kitty Waugh McCulloch became a member of the RFS/Rockford College Board of Trustees (1920–41). She and JA remained friends for the rest of JA's life, and McCulloch raised funds to endow the Jane Addams Chair of Sociology and Social Work at Rockford College. She was also a trustee of the Chicago Commons settlement house and director of both the Chicago Church Federation and the Illinois Conf. of Charities and Correction. She and her husband published *A Manual of the Law of Will Contests in Illinois* (1929). She and her husband traveled extensively to analyze the legal systems and temperance movements of other countries, and she was particularly interested in the role of women and in policies for the care and health of mothers (particularly working women) and children in the Soviet Union. She returned from a 1937 trip in the Soviet Union to lecture to temperance groups in Illinois about public temperance efforts there. McCulloch was described toward the end of her life as “dignified, gracious, and invariably well-dressed” (*NAW*, 2:450). She practiced law into old age and died of cancer in Evanston, Ill., at the age of eighty-two.

In her memoirs, JA referred to Kitty Waugh anonymously in the context of the interest she and her classmates had in the “growing development of Rockford Seminary into a college.” She and Waugh accordingly enrolled in “a course in mathematics advanced beyond anything previously given in the school” and were both active in the effort to get RFS admitted to state and interstate oratorical competitions. “My companion in all these arduous labors,” JA recalled, “has since accomplished more than any of us in the effort to procure the franchise for women, for even then we all took for granted the righteousness of that cause into which I at least had merely followed my father's conviction. In the old-fashioned spirit of that cause I might cite the career of this companion as an illustration of the efficacy of higher mathematics for women, for she possesses singular ability to convince even the densest legislators of

their legal right to define their own electorate, even when they quote against her the dustiest of state constitutions or city charters" (*Twenty Years*, 53–54). In this recollection praising Waugh's activism, JA exaggerated JHA's stance regarding women and the vote somewhat; though he supported many reforms protecting the legal and property rights of women, he was not a champion of women's suffrage.

12. The women who participated in the musical portion of the commencement program were all students of the RFS Conservatory of Music, not regular students of the seminary.

13. For a biographical note on L. Isabella ("Bella") Rose (Cypert), see *PJA*, 1:294, n. 5.

14. The editors of *RSM*, headed by editor-in-chief Hattie Wells, silently revised the final paragraph when they reprinted this account of commencement in their school magazine. In the original *Rockford Register* version, JA and Helen Harrington were not mentioned. Their names and the names of all the other degree recipients not in the class of 1882 also were not listed in the official RFS 1882 Commencement Program that was handed out the day of the degree-granting ceremony. The version of this last paragraph printed in the *Register* was as follows: "The diplomas were then presented to nine graduates, the degree of A.B. conferred on the two young ladies mentioned above [Gardiner and Wells], and the honorary degree of A.M. upon Lucy Smith, Caroline A. Potter, Mrs. M.[arie] T.[hompson] Perry and Mrs. W. A. [Fanny Jones] Talcott, and the Thirty-first Commencement of Rockford Seminary closed" (see also clipping from Sill "Scrapbook," [21] June 1882, RC). The *RSM* version is more accurate and inclusive.

The RFS Alumnae Assn. held their annual business meeting and dinner on the same day as commencement. JA attended in response to an official invitation sent out by RFS substitute teacher Mary Beattie, who was secretary and treasurer of the alumnae group in 1882–83.

From John Weber Addams

After receiving her A.B. degree from Rockford Female Seminary in June 1882, Jane Addams traveled east. Her hopes for attending Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, in the fall were once more renewed, and she briefly visited the Smith campus in anticipation of admission to the school.¹ She spent most of July on Nantucket Island, joined by her Freeport friend Flora Guiteau and, for part of the vacation, her cousin Clara L. Young from Philadelphia.² Here her brother fills her in on events at home.

Cedarville [Ill.]

July 26, 1882 11. AM

Dear Jane—

Your card of the 21st came to hand yesterday. Glad to hear that you are taking so much enjoyment from the sights &c of "quaint old Nantucket."

Laura went to Marys last Wednesday and expect her & Sadie back to day.³

Mary expects to start for Chatauqua this afternoon. Hope she will have a pleasant time. She takes Maggie with her to help look after the children.

We have been having fair weather for the last ten days no rain for all that time with a good breeze blowing all the time—but looks like we would have rain tonight or by tomorrow again. Mr. Gandy⁴ I believe intends to build the Summer Kitchen at Mr Wheelands⁵ this week—though the Bricklayer will not

be ready to work at that time for a couple of weeks yet. Mr Wheeland has all the lumber Brick & Sand there ready—and waiting. With as much patience as he can spare towards Mr Gandy on whom he lays all the delay—though I think he can afford to wait your convenience and think it will be more satisfactory to yourself to be around when the change is made in the House.

Our new House is progressing finely⁶ —and will be ready for the Plasterers to commence lathing next week. It is apparently one of the seven wonders of the World to the unsophisticated citizens of Cedarville—and is taken by storm every Sunday—with all kind of Comments and opinions. The Mill is running nicely far surpassing my most sanguin expectations of doing first class work. No news of any kind that I know of that would be worth relating to you—consequently you will have to take this hasty written epistle for what it contains and my expression of love to yourself[.] With the Hope that you & Miss G⁷ may be both much benefited by your travel. Yours &c

WeB_____

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:966–67).

1. Although it is sometimes said that JA took entrance examinations at Smith in June 1882, there is no evidence that she did more than visit the campus. No records of the examinations are known to be extant, and Mary Ellwood, in a Sept. letter, clearly implied that JA had not taken examinations and was instead planning to seek admission by supplying proof of academic attainment in lieu of examination, just as she had for entry to medical school in Philadelphia the year before. Writing from De Kalb, Ill., on 30 July 1882, toward the end of JA's time at Nantucket, Ellwood indicated she was replying to an earlier letter from JA. "I am glad you have decided not to try for College until Christmas time—the longer you put it off the better for you. If you have been to Northampton I dont believe you got a very good impression of the College when it was closed." Ellwood had "about decided" for herself "not to go back to College" and promised to tell JA "why when I see you" (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:968–69, 970; see also Sarah F. Blaisdell to JA, 29 Aug. 1882, below).

2. On the trip to Nantucket and JA's soul-searching there, see introduction to part 1, above.

3. JWA's wife, LSA; their daughter, Sarah ("Sadie") Weber Addams; and MCAL. The card from JA that JWA mentions in the first sentence of this letter is not known to be extant.

4. Morgan Gandy (b. 1838?) was a carpenter and builder in Cedarville. Born in West Virginia, he married Emma K. Gandy (b. 1837?) in Ohio, where they lived and had three sons and a daughter. Another son, Bert (b. 1877?), was born after their move to Illinois. Morgan Gandy constructed the parsonage for the Cedarville Presbyterian Church in 1879 and 1880. Mr. and Mrs. Gandy joined the Cedarville Presbyterian Church in 1882 and were familiar with all the members of the Addams family. The Gandys moved to Kansas in the mid-1880s, and Emma K. Gandy wrote to AHHA on 8 Aug. 1887 from their homestead near "the settlement then called Gandy," where Morgan and Will Gandy operated a carpentry, painting, and cabinetmaking business called Gandy and Son. Will, whom Emma K. Gandy called Willie, also ran a barber shop in the town of Sherman Center. Emma Gandy may have written AHHA with an unspoken hope of some financial aid, and she directly asked AHHA to send "<any>thing in the way of clothing that you want to give away, and have no one there you care to give it to. . . . The things you have gave us done us so much good." The conditions she described were certainly a contrast with the Addams family prosperity in Illinois. She told AHHA about her fear of the extremely severe winter storms, the destruction of all their crop

in a hailstorm in 1886, and the threat of drought to the current crop. The Gandys grew only food for their family because they were unable to afford a team of horses or a wagon or any cattle or pigs that would enable them to move from subsistence into a greater commercial market. They were looking forward to Mr. Gandy's Civil War pension to help them, but even after receiving it they remained in debt. Their son Charlie was away working on a new railroad in Colorado, while their daughter Luella had been teaching at a subscription school for the summer but had become ill in the middle of the term. Her mother bemoaned their inability to send her to a "good school for a year, so she could be fitted for a better paying position. . . . It has always been one great desire of my heart to give her a good education, but it seems I must be disappointed in that, as in so many other things." Emma K. Gandy's memories of Illinois were apparently fond. "Many times in memory, do I sit under the locust trees in the yard of our old home by the brook," she remembered, writing from her homestead where there was no water within a mile. "Then I was afraid of the water, now I would be glad to see a water fall, or a creek of running water." She wrote of the news she had heard of GBH and HWH and asked "how Jennie is. Please give her my regards." She signed the letter "your friend E. K. Gandy" (UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.; see also JA to SAAH, 24 Apr. 1883, below).

5. Adam Wheeland (b. 1822?) farmed what was known as the Wheeland (sometimes spelled "Whelland") farm, located in Lancaster Twp., Stephenson Co. JHA had owned the property since at least 1871, and JA inherited it in the fall of 1881 as part of her share of her father's real estate. The Wheelands worked the land as tenant farmers. The family included Adam and his wife Amanda (b. 1829?), who were both from Pennsylvania, and their eight children, Margery (b. 1851?), Jacob (b. 1855?), James (b. 1857?), Joseph (b. 1862?), Charles (b. 1864?), Harry (b. 1869?), Hattie (b. 1869?, evidently Harry's twin), and Elsie (b. 1875?). The last five children were all born in Illinois. Jacob, James, and Joseph all worked as laborers, but Jacob and James had been out of work for some months at the time of the U.S. census of 1880. Margery, the eldest daughter, lived at home, as did the younger children, who were in school.

6. The new home that JWA and LSA constructed on the north side of Cedar Creek, which they named "Cedar Cliff."

7. Flora Guiteau.

From Sarah F. Blaisdell

Beloit, Wisconsin.

August 29th 1882.

Dear Jane,

Your welcome letter came to me on Saturday.¹ Thank you for letting me know of yourself and your plans. I was sorry to learn of your Mother's illness and glad that she has prospect of better health in the future. The year has been a severe one for her with its sorrowful changes—severe indeed for you all though not without its brightness—your grief mitigated by happy recollections & comforting hopes. I am glad indeed to know that the summer has been one of enjoyment in the midst of new and varying scenes and especially glad that you have experienced returning health with each day. May the improvement continue until you are indeed one of the strong ones physically. You are going to Smith in Sept.² Well, I rejoice with you. A year in New England may be the best thing for your health which you will doubtless be often reminded is thus to be looked out for. Will experience and the cautions of your friends be enough to keep you

moderate in your efforts after knowledge and to regulate your disposition to burden-bearing? I hope so. You see I give my caution in anticipation. I am truly glad to have you carry out your wishes for study but should be exceedingly sorry if the result should be the impairing your present ability to do and to enjoy.

Your day in Northampton interested me much. I have never seen the place but I can imagine its beauty. My second home, where I grew from childhood, was in Lebanon N.H. lying on The Connecticut. The home was about four miles from it. My later years in N.H. were spent very near this river so that it is familiar to me as Rock river, and very dear. One of those fine Eastern Elms stands in front of the old home towering far, far above it, an object of exceeding beauty. It is worth much to have grown up in the midst of pleasant scenery. My last visit to my very earliest home furnished me with a picture that, I think, will always hang in my memory. It was an old picture but so retouched and brightened up that it seems almost if not altogether new. I am glad you have the prospect of a year in N.E. independent of the opportunity of study or of association with people. The air will invigorate, I trust, and the scenery will be a delight and an inspiration. Dont work too much. Dont. Now pardon me, and I will say now more. You know my interest. My highest, best hope for you which I need not mention, as I scarcely know how, but I think you know that it runs through all I think or wish for you. I shall hope to hear from you when you are at your work, if your Mother's health admits your carrying out your plans.

The summer is passing pleasantly here. My brother's health is now very good for him so that he expects to resume his college work at the reopening. It is a matter of great rejoicing to us. He seems to me better than for a long time. He is away for a few days with Jamie. He is much interested in yourself and plans. You will be sure of his kindly remembrance & that of Mrs. Blaisdell.³ They would send special word if here & knowing of my writing. Thank you for the picture of the Parthenon. It is beautiful and gives me pleasure[.] Please give my love to your Mother with wishes for her health. My kind regards to your brother. To yourself I am as ever Yr friend

Sarah F. Blaisdell

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:982-85).

1. JA's letter is not known to be extant.

2. Sarah Blaisdell clearly had not yet been informed that JA had once more postponed going to Smith because of poor health. In Aug. 1882, upon hearing that JA had abandoned her Smith plans for the fall term, SA encouraged JA to come to live at RFS, much as Mattie Thomas had during the previous year, to contribute to the life of the school and study ancient languages with Sarah Blaisdell's replacement, Ellen Burrell. JA did not do so.

3. References to James Blaisdell, Susan Ann Allen Blaisdell, and their fifteen-year-old son, James ("Jamie") Arnold Blaisdell.

From Mary P. Ellwood

De Kalb Ills.

Sept 1s' 1882

My dear Jane;—

Your letter was received yesterday¹ —I am sorry we shall not be able to see each other but am more sorry your mother is ill. I do wish I could see you before you go to Northampton—I could tell you so many things that I can not write—about “entering on a diploma” that is very easily done[.] All I was asked was Does this meet all the requirements of entering & I said yes & was given a certificate of admittance on three months probation & if at the end of that time you do not come up to their standard you are “dropped” from college,—you never know anything about your marks & you will not need your Rockford checks but will need a certificate of moral character—it would be a good thing to have your minister send that to Pres. Seelye before you go at all. I judge from your not taking examinations that you will enter as special—if so unless you are very anxious to study Rhetoric, Anglo-Saxon or Shakespeare dont take any of them for I dont believe you will like them under Miss Hersey²—you will find very few girls in Smith College who like her. The German teacher Frau Kauph³ has the name of giving the hardest lessons & examinations in College her “exams” take from 3 to 4 hours written at that[.] But take Literature under Miss Kate Sanborn[.]⁴ I think you will like it—you may not like Miss S._____ at first but I think you will when you get acquainted with her—she is a friend of the girls which can not be said of Miss Hersey—of course you will have to take 13 hours a weeks work (unless you make some special arraignment) but dont take any more—that is enough for you & then you will have time for lectures, concerts etc.—I wish you were going to board in the Hatfield House— I do you know where you are going to board—get as near the College as possible. I shall write to some of my friends to call on you—I know they are not the kind of girls <you> will especially like but they are nice girls although a little “full of fun”—you may hear some hard stories about the Hatfield Freshmen of '85 but dont belive them.

Couldnt you come & see me before you go—I would like to have you ever so much—I know you are busy but if your Mother's health will permit I wish you could—you could leave Freeport about noon on the C & N.W. & come to the Junction (Turner)⁵ on the way to Chicago & I would meet you there. Come any day—it dont make any diff. to me I would be glad to see you any time.

Wishing you good health, luck & success I am Yours sincerely

Mary P. Ellwood.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:987–92).

1. JA's letter to Mary Ellwood is not known to be extant.

2. Heloise Edwina Hersey (d. 1933) taught rhetoric and Anglo-Saxon literature at Smith from 1878 to 1884. In 1887, she founded a preparatory school for girls aged fifteen and older, located at 25 Chestnut St. in Boston. She was the author of *To Girls: A Budget of Letters* (1901).

3. Marie F. Kapp. For a biographical note, see Mary Ellwood to JA, 8 June 1882, n. 2, above.

4. Katherine ("Kate") Abbott Sanborn (1839–1917) taught English literature at Smith from 1880 to 1883. Born and home-schooled in Hanover, N.H., she was the daughter of Mary Webster Sanborn and Dartmouth College professor Edwin David Sanborn. Kate Sanborn was quite well known as a journalist, literary critic, and author or editor of over fourteen books, including *The Wit of Women* (1885) and *A Truthful Woman in Southern California* (1893). Before going to Smith, she ran a day school in St. Louis and taught elocution at Parker Institute in Brooklyn. In addition to teaching, she supported herself as a professional lecturer, elocutionist, and freelance writer. She was a friend of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps and through Phelps's influence became a regular columnist for *Youth's Companion*. In 1871, she succeeded Mark Twain as a humor writer and editor of the Club Room department for *Galaxy* (a national monthly magazine produced in New York until 1878). She left Smith to pursue the lecture circuit, "and how wise her decision was may be judged from the fact that in three months in the Western cities she earned more money than she had been able to make in two years of hard and constant work at Smith" (*Boston Journal*, 4 Feb. 1894). Ellwood's prediction that JA might not like Sanborn at first but would enjoy her courses seems to be borne out by the assessment that Sanborn was a bold, witty, unconventional lecturer, given to "odd mental twists" and bursts of originality (*Boston Journal*, 4 Feb. 1894). She used unorthodox methods in her classes and won a loyal following among the Smith students, who packed her courses. Many later attributed a lifelong appreciation of literature to her teaching. Vocal on the subject of the rights of women, she was proud that she had been financially independent from the age of seventeen and that she had helped break barriers for women in public speaking. Sanborn produced a correspondence course based on her lectures called the Round Table Series of English Literature, which included twenty-five lessons on various literary periods and authors. In 1885, Sanborn's fiancée, George Burnham, a wealthy manufacturer, died tragically of pneumonia on the eve of their wedding. On his deathbed he arranged for Sanborn to inherit a generous portion of his sizable estate. She retired to a farm in rural Massachusetts, where she wrote humorous accounts of her experiences as an amateur farmer as well as her memoirs and various collections of essays.

5. The Chicago and Northwestern Railroad ran through Turner in Du Page Co., Ill. Up to 1856, Turner was called "Junction."

From Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

As the autumn of 1882 turned to winter, Jane Addams found herself bedridden, in a painful condition of invalidism similar to that which she experienced at the start of the year in Philadelphia. Urged by her sister Alice, she moved temporarily to Mitchellville, Iowa, and submitted to a spinal procedure at the hands of step-brother Harry Haldeman. Harry had previously tried the treatment successfully on a male patient named Captain Ewing, and he believed that he might also be able to remedy Jane's painful back condition.

Jane Addams approached the procedure with a stoic and optimistic attitude, and happily the outcome for her also proved successful. In the late fall of 1882, she moved into the Haldeman home in preparation for the procedure. Sometime around mid-November, Harry performed the surgery. He probably used injections that created strategically placed scar tissue along his stepsister's spine, a technique designed to help pull the spine into a less contorted, more natural, alignment.

Jane was then put to bed and began several weeks of lying more or less flat on her back. While confined, she was probably subjected to various therapeutic regimens typical of back treatment at the time, including massage, traction, and/or various bracing and strapping techniques, all to encourage her muscles to reconfigure and her misshapen spine to straighten.

When Addams recalled this period of her life in her memoirs, she merged the experiences of the winters of 1881–82 and 1882–83. Speaking of the two separate incidents of debilitation and convalescence—the one spent in Pennsylvania, the other in Iowa—she described them as one long weary illness. “The winter after I left school” she wrote, referring to Rockford Female Seminary, she was hampered by, as she put it, “the development of the spinal difficulty which had shadowed me from childhood.” It was this, she said, rather than emotional symptoms, that forced her into S. Weir Mitchell’s care, “and the next winter I was literally bound to a bed in my sister’s house for six months.”¹ While at first emphasizing her back trouble, she admitted in a separate passage to the emotional costs of the year and the impact on mind as well as body. Without mentioning her father, she wrote that “[t]he long illness left me in a state of nervous exhaustion with which I struggled for years, traces of it remaining long after Hull-House was opened in 1889. At the best it allowed me but a limited amount of energy, so that doubtless there was much nervous depression at the foundation of the spiritual struggles” she endured.² She then referred to the sporadic entries she made in her notebook in this period—written in Philadelphia, on Nantucket, in Mitchellville, and later. These jottings, she confessed, were made not “in moments of high resolve” but “in moments of deep depression when overwhelmed by a sense of failure.”³

Through her Iowa convalescence of 1882–83 and on through the remainder of the decade Jane Addams struggled to reconcile her inner convictions and her outer behavior, the life of the mind and that of endeavor. She eventually achieved what she sought in the Hull-House years, namely a moral center grounded in social action. “[F]or as my wise little notebook sententiously remarked,” she wrote looking backward on herself and the decade of the 1880s, “In his own way each man must struggle, lest the moral law become a far-off abstraction utterly separated from his active life.”⁴ During the forced inactivity of her time in Mitchellville, the sense of resolution she desired was still a long way from actual achievement. But by April 1883, when Jane returned to Cedarville, she was approaching life with new physical vigor.

Anna Haldeman Addams, meanwhile, coped with her own continuing ill health by traveling to the warm climes of Florida for the winter. George Haldeman left Beloit for most of the school year in order to accompany her. Shortly after Thanksgiving 1882, Anna wrote to Harry Haldeman from the health resort of Green Cove Springs, on the St. Johns River in northeastern Florida.⁵ She offered an evaluation of the people she and George met vis-à-vis those they knew at home in Illinois, saying “we are miles an[d] miles from all our friends—among strangers doubly strange, because they are mostly so different in habits[,] education[,] and

taste. Tho' in no wise; beneath the average man or, woman of Cedarville—more orderly and christian, in deportment." Despite the search for warmer weather, she reported cold temperatures and being "chilled thru" in the "private house" where they were staying, which had "good clean beds [and] good plain meals" but poor heating. They headed from Green Cove Springs to the popular winter resort of St. Augustine, on the Atlantic coast, and then to Palatka, another St. Johns River community. George hoped to go "to Tampa Bay way below Pensicola" as well, and in the spring the pair also went to Melrose, Florida.⁶ Harry briefly joined his mother and brother at Christmastime 1882, when Anna complained of particular ill health. Anna and George returned to Green Cove Springs as winter turned to spring, and they enjoyed fishing excursions to a nearby series of lakes and dips in the town's sulphur springs.⁷ Anna remained in Florida until May, and she hoped for a time that Jane Addams might join her there.

In her letter to Harry written in November 1882, Anna referred to Jane's operation. After briefly expressing concern for Jane, she praised her son's abilities as a physician: "Hope Jane will get right," she wrote, then she shifted her focus to Harry, writing "well you may be sure, to God and, yourself as his agent will be due the praise, and, we will all bless you."⁸

Mitchellville Iowa

Sept. 10th 1882.

My dear Jane

Your note received.⁹ Am glad the birthday remembrance was such a delight.

I write you Jane to have you come out and see us[.] Harry has something to relieve your back.

He has thought of that back night and day and has tried successfully a similar case Captain Ewing of Fontanelle who is still stopping with us. So come on Jane and give us the comfort of helping your back.

Harry wants you to come before you go to Smith's¹⁰ as he feels sure and so do I that he can help you.

Love to the folks at home.

Cant Ma & Mary¹¹ come and spend a couple of months with us.

Now Jane dont disappoint us as we must help your back when we can and we can now [.] Ever your loving Sister

Alice Haldeman

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; JAPM, 1:995-97).

1. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 65. At the beginning of chap. 4, "The Snare of Preparation," JA conflated the two periods of rest, combining what she calls "the long winter" (i.e., the winter of 1882-83 in Mitchellville, where she spent weeks of recovery reading in bed) and the "winter after I left school" (i.e., the previous winter of 1881-82 in Philadelphia, where she finished her medical exams but decided to "put aside the immediate prosecution of a medical course") (65). She segued almost directly from the two winters into her explanation of her first trip to Europe, pausing briefly to describe her contemplative and depressed state of mind from 1882 onward.

2. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 66.
3. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 66. On JA's notebook writings, see also introduction to part 1, above.
4. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 66.
5. Green Cove Springs was a popular tourist center known by such titles as the "Resort Capital of the South," the "Saratoga of the South," or "Parlor City" in the late 1800s. Guests came from Thanksgiving through May to enjoy the town's temperate climate, mineral and freshwater springs, and riverfront. Earlier known as White Sulphur Springs, it was located in an area originally inhabited by the Timucua and Seminole peoples and later populated through Spanish land grants. The town sprang up near the site of a sawmill in the early 1800s, and most early residents made their living from the timber industry. The area, with its healing waters and beautiful scenery, became reputed as a destination for those seeking relief from ill health or snowy winters. Abraham Lincoln and Harriet Beecher Stowe were among visitors to the town. Green Cove Springs was occupied by federal troops during the Civil War. After the war, it became the seat of Clay Co. government (in 1871–72) and tourism flourished. When AHHA and GBH arrived in 1882, the town sported several new buildings, including the Italian Renaissance-style Clay Co. courthouse (built in 1880) and the illustrious four-story Clarendon Hotel (established 1871), which controlled the spring at Magnolia and Walnut streets and sported magnificent river views from its rooms. (The Clarendon later burned down, in 1901, and was replaced by the Qui-Si-Sana in 1905, a Spanish-style hotel where AHHA stayed in later visits to the town). Several other large resort hotels had recently been built, including the Oakland Hotel on Spring St. (1880) and the Riverside Hotel (1882). With a boom in Queen Anne-style houses built between 1880 and 1900, the town had many private rooms to rent to visiting tourists. Hotels and boardinghouses were flanked by bathhouses and piers. Visitors enjoyed the river's edge, and steamers regularly plied the waters carrying guests on excursions. The many lakes and tributaries of the St. Johns River were also excellent destinations for fishing, and GBH and AHHA were among those that enjoyed that pastime. The area suffered economic setbacks in the mid-1890s as the great freeze of 1895 destroyed surrounding citrus groves and railroad services expanded southward, carrying tourists to other locations. After a brief upsurge in the 1920s, the town's tourism base collapsed after the Great Depression began in 1929 and later was superseded by military development in the World War II era.
6. AHHA to HWH, 30 Nov. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ.
7. See AHHA to JA, [ca. Feb.–Mar. 1883], JAPP, DeLoach.
8. AHHA to HWH, 30 Nov. 1882, UIC, JAMC, HJ.
9. JA's note is not known to be extant.
10. The news that JA was not going to Smith College traveled to most of her friends in the fall. Helen Harrington wrote to JA from her new home in Santa Paula, Calif., on 28 Oct. 1882 to express concern that JA was not at Smith and suggest that JA could come west to stay with her near the Pacific to recover her health (see SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1019–25). JA did not write any letters for two months after her surgery, but she did send out a fund-raising letter for RFS before undergoing treatment in Mitchellville, asking her classmates to contribute to the seminary. Mary Ellwood replied to JA from her parent's home in De Kalb at Thanksgiving time, saying that her parents preferred to donate to the new local public library instead and suggesting that Rockford businesspeople be contacted to contribute to RFS (SCPC, JAC; 23 Nov. 1882, *JAPM*, 1:1027–30).
11. Mary Peart, who became a visitor in the Haldeman home while JA was being treated there. HWH found her to be a trying houseguest and implied that she was a hypochondriac. "Mary Peart shows no sign of going but persistently hangs on," he wrote to AHHA on 20 Jan. 1883. She "gets up a hemorrhage scene every few days but without any result and has been perfectly well ever since I returned. I can hardly bear the sight of her . . . but Blessed

be God—it may be his will and if it is I am willing to be his humble instrument and do all in my power for her and for her Eternal Comfort” (UIC, JAMC, HJ). HWH had been visiting AHHA and GBH in Florida.

From Ellen Gates Starr

265 Huron St. [Chicago, Ill.]

Oct. 22. 1882.

My dear girl:

Your letter¹ was a pleasure as well as pain to me, I don't often “give taffy,” to use a slang phrase, so let me have the luxury of saying that I do think you have a beautiful disposition. You really have no idea yourself how admirable you are in that respect; & I am just beginning to appreciate it. I told Miss Anderson (whom I saw for a day) that I thought people in general who like you & admire you, appreciate your good mind more than your good heart, which is a mistake. Well, my friend, I believe you are truly patient. Indifference & apathy isn't patience, you know. I wish I could see & talk with you. I told Miss Beckwith² about you. She has had dreadful spinal trouble from her childhood, & knows all about it; so of course she felt interested, as she has always admired you. You know it was she who wanted your picture. She is entirely cured, & I think her back is about as strong as most people's, now. Miss Anderson told me that she thought you did intend to go to Smiths for certain moderate work, as soon as you were in order to go, & had been through certain processes, I suppose of plaster-Jacketdom. Annie is very anxious to have you go to N.Y. to the celebrated Dr. who cured her. If you go to Smith it would be about as convenient to have a doctor in N.Y. as anywhere, & you might as well have the best. You could go & see him any time. I will get his name. I presume Dr. H.³ will know about him, as he is very famous as to spines. Please don't think me officious. I am almost afraid to write this, fearing you will think so, but I am very anxious to have you come out of this in the shortest possible time & the best possible manner. I ventured my opinion about Ida Runyan's eyes last winter, & she took my advice, (albeit she was a little mad at my giving it for I didn't know her very well except through her sweet sister)⁴ & went to Knapp the great N.Y. oculist.⁵ He gave her the most consoling advice, & helped her very much, so that she is using her eyes this winter even to read, a thing she hadn't done for two years. So I am growing bold.

¶ I enjoyed Miss Anderson's visit, though so short. My hopes were raised as to her coming here to study this winter, but I couldn't get Dr. Mitchell for her, his time being full, so I fear she will go to Ann Arbor. How much I should enjoy having her here, I cannot express. Now that I am settled in my new quarters, & my room is in as good condition as I feel it is worth while to put a room in which one spends so little time, so that my mind is free of that, I miss Miss Runyan more than ever. My lines have fallen in as pleasant places this year as I could possibly expect. I am much nearer town, which saves me a great deal of

time. My school, my room & my Aunt's house are all within about a block, & Annie is only five or six blocks away.⁶ I take my meals with Miss Kirkland,⁷ the principal of the school, who lives in part of the school building, so that after my breakfast & lunch I am there ready for work, & go only a few steps for my dinner. The school is large for a private school, 170 in all. I have the graduates,⁸ intelligent girls of about seventeen perhaps, some younger, in one class; A history of Art. This I find very enjoyable. We have been studying Greek sculpture, Architecture &c, and are coming soon to early Christian art, & so on. Of course all the possessions of my aunt & brother⁹ are at my disposal. I have also a lovely class of beginners in Latin. Some of the brigh[t]est & nicest girls in school, who are making excellent progress. Then a Geography class, which, at the risk of seeming vain I will say is the only thoroughly good Geography class that I ever saw. It is my pet & pride, though its excellence is owed quite as much to favorable circumstances, perhaps, as to its teacher. I will tell you how I do it. We are studying Europe now. We began with Norway, & following along the coast, noted all the important places, sailing up the rivers & taking all the large or noted cities on their banks. All places of historical importance we talked about in that connection, & learned all we could about important architecture & art. I bring them pictures of these things as far as I am able, not hesitating to demand them from friends & acquaintances, & the children many of whose parents are cultivated people, & have brought home these things from their travels, assist very much. Neither to¹⁰ I scruple to demand information of parties who have it to give, about any place I want to find out about. Annie drew me a diagram of Versailles,¹¹ & spent an entire hour that she intended to read French with me, in telling me about it. Miss Starr gives daily lectures to her niece alone on European cities, art &c. So you see I couldn't do all this without help & especially without pictures: & as far away from the centers of civilization as I have been heretofore, the labor of transporting the enormous piles of photographs would have damped my ardor. We have studied so far, by views & illustrations, Paris, Versailles, the Alps, Pisa, Florence & Sienna. Next week we take Rome. They can tell all about The Duomo of Florence,¹² Giotto's tower¹³ even to the sculptures on it, the baptistery,¹⁴ The Uffizzi & Pitti galleries,¹⁵ the campinile at Pisa¹⁶ & ever so many other things. I brought the photographs of the paintings on the walls of the Roman catacombs to show the art class, & at the same time showed them to the Geog. class. The latter enjoyed them & appreciated them quite as much. So much for school, which closes at 1.30 P.M. I take my lunch then, & at two have a private pupil who stays until 3.30, when my labors for the day are over. This youth takes Caesar, Algebra & Greek if you please. Dr. Mitchell, bless his heart, sent him to me, with the most flattering recommendations. He said he was dreadfully afraid I would not dare to take him on account of Greek, but that I needn't be a bit afraid, for I knew enough Greek to teach a thirteen year old boy three years. This is quite an addition to my income. I am very much better off in regard to this world's lucre than I have been before, in addition

to my other advantages. When I finish the art, Miss K. wants me to take the graduates in Shakespeare, which makes me very happy, for I enjoy that above every thing. I have written eleven pages & more than half about myself; but I concluded that the only way for us to know anything about each other again, was to begin & be egoistic. So I have begun; & here you have an outline of my present condition. I am rather glad to change a little my channel of thought & study this year. I do not teach history at all. I shall take a French lesson once a week, & study moderately on my Greek, & try to do a good deal of general reading which I haven't had time to do on account of so much time being consumed by acquiring facts for the classes I had to teach. We have been reading Ruskin a little. Did you ever read the death of Moses? I don't know which book it is in, for I read it from a little book of selections entitled "Beaties of Ruskin;"¹⁷ but it is one of the most sublime bits of English I ever read. Annie & I are going to substitute something else for Shakespeare this year. Perhaps Mental Philosophy, if everybody doesn't flout us for it. Miss Rice is as nice as ever. I have been to see her several times. She has been very ill. I shall never be as fond of Miss K. but I like her very much, & shall perhaps get along much more comfortably & conveniently with her than I should have with Miss Rice. I suppose everything has happened for the best, even, perhaps my being without Miss Runyan. I suppose no one knows how hard that is for me. As far as my personal happiness is concerned, I would go back to the old regime readily for the comfort of having her with me. The first experience I ever had in my life, of any real pain in parting, came with separating from her. I began to think myself incapable of that kind of feeling, finding that I am not is worth much more to me than the price. I don't speak of it, because people don't understand it, except Miss Anderson: her boundless sympathy understands every thing. I felt inspired to speak of it to you. "People" would understand, if it were a man. Now write me a letter about yourself. Your sincerely devoted friend

Ellen G. Starr

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1005-18).

1. JA's letter is not known to be extant.
2. Annie Beckwith.
3. EGS refers here to HWH. The physician she refers to as the famous specialist in New York was probably Dr. Charles Fayette Taylor (1827-99), author of *Theory and Practice of the Movement Cure* (1861) and an expert in the treatment of chronic back pain and deformity. Taylor, who received his M.D. at the Univ. of Vermont (1856) and studied in London, was the founder of the New York Orthopedic Dispensary (in 1866) and served as the chief surgeon there. Sufferers from back pain traveled from all over the country to be treated by him at the institute. He was an authority on Pott's disease, or curvature of the spine caused by childhood tuberculosis, which was most likely the cause of JA's condition. Among his articles, with which HWH was undoubtedly familiar, were "Mechanical Treatment of Angular Curvature or Pott's Disease of the Spine" (1863) and "Spinal Irritation or the Causes of Backache among American Women" (1864). Taylor recommended a system of treatment for spinal pain that involved "application of local rest and protection by proper splinting. . . . To these ends he

devised a series of corrective and protective appliances, many of which are still [in 1912] standard" and were very similar to the techniques HWH may have used in his treatment of JA in Mitchellville in 1882–83 (Kelly, *Cyclopedia of American Medical Biography*, 2:432).

4. Evidently a reference to the sister of EGS's friend and fellow teacher, Mary Runyan, from whom EGS had been separated since the end of the previous school year.

5. Dr. Jacob Herman Knapp (b. 1832), a famous New York ophthalmologist. Born in Dauborn, Prussia, and educated in Germany, France, and England, Knapp received his medical degree in Germany. In 1854 and from 1860 to 1868 he was professor of ophthalmology at the Univ. of Heidelberg. At the end of the 1860s, he moved to New York City, where he founded the New York Ophthalmic and Aural Institute in 1869. He served as surgeon at the institute and at the New York Charity Hospital and was a lecturer on eye and ear diseases in the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1874, he became president of the New York Pathological Society. He published widely on such topics as intraocular tumors, the use of cocaine in ophthalmic and general surgery, and methods of cataract extraction.

6. In 1882, Miss Kirkland's School for Girls was located at 275 E. Huron St. (new number 10 W. Huron St.), near EGS's aunt Eliza Allen Starr's residence and salon. In 1891, the school relocated to 38 and 40 Scott St. (new numbers 54 and 56). Annie Beckwith was still at Miss Rice's School for Girls at 487–89 LaSalle St. (new numbers 1319–21).

7. Elizabeth Stansbury Kirkland (1828–96), like EGS's former employer Rebecca Rice, moved in significant religious and academic circles in Chicago society. Her parents and her brother were all accomplished editors and writers, while her sister Cordelia was a close companion and fellow teacher.

Kirkland's father was William Kirkland (1800–46), a Presbyterian minister, Latin and literature professor, principal of the Detroit Female Seminary, and founder of the *Christian Inquirer*, a Unitarian journal. Her mother was Caroline Matilda Stansbury Kirkland (1801–64), a teacher and writer. When Elizabeth was a teenager, the family moved to New York City, where her father became the editor of the *New York Evening Mirror* and her mother an editor of the *Union Magazine of Literature and Art*. Caroline Kirkland also wrote for magazines and published a series of successful books about backwoods life, including *A New Home* (1839), *Forest Life* (1842), and *Western Clearings* (1846). Popular in literary circles, she became a friend of William Cullen Bryant and Washington Irving. Elizabeth's brother, Joseph Kirkland (1830–94), a Chicago-area businessman and lawyer, was also a novelist. He served as literary editor of the *Chicago Tribune* from 1890 until his death.

Elizabeth Stansbury Kirkland moved to Chicago in 1868, along with her sister Cordelia Kirkland (1835–1925), who was also a writer. Together they opened a school for girls in their Dearborn St. home. The home and school were destroyed in the 1871 Chicago Fire. Elizabeth Kirkland reestablished the school in a private residence in 1875, and in the early 1880s, she opened the newly equipped school at 275 Huron St. An Alumnae Assn. of the Kirkland School was established by former students of the school in 1891 to "work with women of education, leisure, and accomplishment, and 'to put them to their highest use'" ("Elizabeth S. Kirkland"). The association also operated club and lunch rooms for working girls and a lending library and a lounge where young working women could gather. Elizabeth Kirkland retired from teaching in 1894 and devoted her time to the Kirkland School Settlement, which in 1896 was located in a rental property at 334 Indiana St., which became 119 East Indiana (later Grand Ave. about 530 north) near Michigan Ave. It offered a free kindergarten and operated boys' clubs and a singing group. Kirkland also wrote several books for young people, including works on manners, composition, elocution, cooking, and housekeeping and histories of England, France, and Italy. Both Elizabeth Stansbury Kirkland and Cordelia Kirkland were members of the influential women's clubs in Chicago, the Fortnightly Club and the Chicago Woman's Club. After Elizabeth Stansbury Kirkland's death in 1896, Cordelia Kirkland assumed responsibility for the Kirkland School Settlement. It discontinued

operation in April 1898. The Kirkland School closed in 1902. By 1919, Cordelia Kirkland was living in Los Angeles, Calif.

8. Like Miss Rice's School for Girls, the Kirkland school admitted both boys and girls into its primary department but limited the higher grades to girls. EGS taught several subjects at Miss Kirkland's School, including, as she details here, art history, cultural geography, Latin, English literature, and perhaps mental philosophy. The school received strong support from Chicago society matrons whose daughters attended it, and the connections that EGS made there as a teacher later served her well when she sought support during the founding years of Hull-House.

9. Eliza Allen Starr and EGS's artist brother, William Wesley Starr. As an art historian and private teacher, Eliza Allen Starr possessed an extensive collection of original art works, prints, photo reproductions, stereoptic views, glass slides, and books on European art. EGS later in the letter refers to her Aunt Eliza as "Miss Starr."

10. EGS probably meant to write *do*.

11. Begun as Louis XII's hunting lodge, the vast palace of Versailles was created for Louis XIV, known as the Sun King. The surrounding gardens, which were designed by Andre Le Notre, and the palace, which was designed by architects Louis Le Vau and Jules Hardouin-Mansart with interiors by Charles Le Brun, were the largest in Europe.

12. The Italian Gothic Duomo Cathedral (Duomo di Santa Maria del Fiore) was one of the largest cathedrals in the world. Its towering red-tiled dome dominates the city of Florence. Construction of the Duomo began in 1296 and involved many contributing architects. The great cathedral dome was designed by sculptor Filippo Brunelleschi (1337–1446), a major architect of the early Renaissance. The remarkable technical principles that Brunelleschi devised for the huge dome, which featured elaborate rib vaulting, have been used in the construction of monumental domes since his time. The interior of the Duomo features splendid stained-glass windows and fifteenth-century frescoes and once housed many important sculptures, including the *Pietà* by Michelangelo (see also JA to Sarah Weber Addams, 28 Jan. 1888, below).

13. Giotto di Bondone (1266?–1337), a Florentine master painter and creator of frescos in Padua, Assisi, and Florence, became the supervisor of the Duomo in 1334. He created the original design for the cathedral's bell tower, or campanile (popularly known as "Giotto's Tower"), which was completed by others. The campanile includes reliefs by Giotto's successor, Andrea Pisano (1290?–1348), and in its niches, a series of statues of biblical prophets by Donatello (1386?–1466). The sculpted marble panels of the campanile depict scenes on the theme of the order of the universe. The tower is a showpiece of early Renaissance Florence.

14. The Baptistery of San Giovanni of Florence, which dates from the fourth to the eleventh centuries. One of the oldest buildings in the city, the baptistery combines Romanesque, Paleochristian, and Byzantine architectural styles. It is most famous for its magnificent sets of early Renaissance gilded bronze-relief doors, including those by Lorenzo Ghiberti (1381?–1455), most especially Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* (completed ca. 1425–52), representing scenes from the Old Testament.

15. Art museums in landmark Italian Renaissance buildings in Florence. The Uffizi (Palazzo degli Uffizi) was designed by the Mannerist architect Giorgio Vasari (1511–74), and the Pitti Palace (Palazzo Pitti) was designed by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) and enlarged by Bartolommeo Ammanati (1511–92), who created its signature courtyard and two lateral wings.

The Uffizi Gallery was conceived by Cosimo I Medici and created by his son Francesco I. It features the art treasures amassed by the Medici family dynasty over generations and by the Lorraine family after them. It became state property in the mid-nineteenth century, when it was reorganized for more modern viewing. The extensive collections include works by Dutch, German, and Venetian masters, as well as the Florentines, with rooms dedicated to some of EGS's favorite artists, including Fra Filippo Lippi and Botticelli (see also JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, n. 7, below).

The Pitti Palace, the former residence of the Medici grand ducal family, and the adjoining Boboli gardens are home to several Florentine museums, including the Palatine Gallery, first opened to the public by Leopoldo of Lorraine in 1828. The Palatine Gallery collection includes paintings by Titian, Raphael, Van Dyck, Caravaggio, and Velasquez (see also JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, n. 7, below).

16. The Campanile of Pisa (better known as the Leaning Tower of Pisa), located adjacent to the Pisa Cathedral, it is one of the most recognized structures in the world. Construction of the circular marble bell tower began in 1173 and proceeded in various stages, ending in 1350. Around 1178, it was observed that subsiding soil was causing the tower to slowly lean out of the perpendicular, a process that has increased over the centuries.

17. This small book of selections EGS refers to has not been located; however, it is possible EGS had been reading a selection from Part V, "Of Mountain Beauty," of John Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, vol. IV. In chap. 20, called "The Mountain Glory," Ruskin imagines the grace and relief of Moses at the time of his death as he climbed the Abarim range to Mt. Nebo, from which he viewed the Promised Land. "[T]he whole history of those forty years was unfolded before him, and the mystery of his own ministries revealed to him; and that other Holy of Holies, of which the mountain peaks were the altars, and the mountain clouds the veil, the firmament of his Father's dwelling, opened to him still more brightly and infinitely as he drew nearer his death; until at last, on the shadeless summit,—from him on whom sin was to be laid no more—from him, on whose heart the names of sinful nations were to press their graven fire no longer,—the brother and the son took breastplate and ephod, and left him to his rest" (Cook and Wedderburn, *Works of John Ruskin*, 4:460–61). John Ruskin's writings on beauty, moral aesthetics, and social reform would provide an important intellectual base for EGS and JA as they constructed the operating principles of Hull-House.

To Ellen Gates Starr

Mitchellville Iowa

Jan 7 1883

My dear friend,

I remember that all the letters Dr Johnson wrote during the year 1783 contain minute accounts of his asthma & the fifty ounces of lost blood; you doubtless retain as I do, a very dreary impression of these same letters, notwithstanding the pious reflections of the dear old man.¹

You see the analogy I was audacious enough to imagine. I steadily resolved during the last six months to write no letters. I was may be too, a little ashamed to show even to my good friends against what lassitude, melancholy and general crookedness I was struggling. I have had the kindest care, and am emerging with a straight back and a fresh hold of on² life & endeavor I hope.

I am still in bed have been here for eight weeks recovering from an operation on my spine which has been severe but effectual.³ The supine posture will explain to you the dreadful chirography and the use of a lead pencil, for both of which I am thoroughly ashamed.

Your letter was a source of great delight to me for it gave me a satisfactory <idea> of what and how you are doing, and I need hardly say, my friend, that it met with my unqualified approval and admiration; I consider the geography class

a stroke of genius. I quite envy you the private lectures from your aunt, I think that I would rather see Europe with her eyes than almost any one I know.

The thirteen year old boy was a blessing for I am so glad you have a Greek student, all I do now in the noble tongue is a little Greek testament, but the first thing I thoroughly undertake will be a course of Homer—I will begin my reformation as Erasmus⁴ did his.

The one of the many results which I hope (?) to find from this long seclusion is that it has brought me back to Books; to find more comfort and steadiness there than I have discovered in reading for the last two years. I have lately finished Carlyle's Frederick the Great,⁵ it was voluminous but repaid me with the lasting memory of such a hero as only Carlyle knows how to set forth. It is only that class of books which can do me the least good when I am in trouble, most books at such times strike one as full of vain words & nothing more.

We have written so much about MacBeth in our earlier correspondence that it seems very natural to put in a word about him here. I have gained from reading Mrs Shelley's Frankenstein a new conception of the power of the witches, the possibility of an appeal to give sympathy to them, in their relation to McBeth. The book did n't particularly impress me until near the end of it <when suddenly> I received that same impression almost catching of the breath as I always do when McBeth calls out he has murdered sleep & the witches are revenged on him for their creation.⁶ I don't know whether you have read it or not—alas! my friend, that is the saddest result of our lack of intercourse—that I no longer do feel sure of what you have read or thought.

My sister and I have had some very nice times this winter, we greatly enjoyed Northcote's Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds⁷ and grew so interested in his bright friends and period that we steadily read all the books we could find on them, until finally our enthusiasm was quenched as in a bog and we stopped in the midst of Cumberland's ~~biograph~~ Memoirs,⁸ for Cumberland was pedantic & learned and all the kindly human biography shrivelled up. My plans for the rest of the winter are immature, I probably won't be strong enough to do much of any thing, my mother & Geo are in Florida and I shall probably join them in Feb. My Mother was dangerously ill about Christmas time and sent for brother Harry. She has improved rapidly under his treatment but he does not consider her well enough to attempt a change of climate until Spring—I shall be glad to go and make her convalescence less tedious, and at the same time add to my own.⁹

I thought of you very vividly Christmas-eve while I read the Hymn on the Nativity,¹⁰ and remembered the lovely letter you sent me last Christmas. I wish I could show you that I appreciate your grief for Miss Runyan for I believe I do—I have experianced it once or twice it belongs almost as much to places as it does to people.

I am much obliged to you for your advice which I do not consider in the least officious but very kind. I suppose Miss Beckwith's physician was Dr */left blank by author/*¹¹ whose works Dr H. consults and to whom I am indebted for much of my torture.¹²

I am afraid, my dear, you will find this letter illegible perhaps it would be better if you did, for I can only write a few sentences at a time & am afraid it is not wonderfully connected. Please appreciate the effort and write to me when you can. Yours forever

Jane Addams

If you cut off the fringe of the inclosed card¹³ I think it will be pretty, just now it looks like the letter—ragged.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1037–40).

1. A reference to letters written in the last year of Samuel Johnson's life, during which he suffered from ill health and melancholy over the deaths of friends. Johnson died in 1784 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

2. The words "of" and "on" are overwritten.

3. When HWH wrote to GBH and his mother at the end of Jan., he reported: "Jane is still on my hands and gaining slowly but I do not think it best for h[e]r to get up yet and leave her bed and spoil the whole work[.] She does not do all I wish her to do—and: tho' in the main she is very compliant and ready apparently to submit to all I suggest" (30 Jan. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

4. Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), a lecturer on Greek at Cambridge, whose writings on the New Testament and criticisms of the established church prepared the way for the Reformation.

5. Thomas Carlyle's *History of Friedrich II of Prussia: Called Frederick the Great* (1858–65) was his last major work. JA referred to reading Carlyle when she described the 1881–82 and 1882–83 periods of illness and bed rest in her memoirs. She wrote: "In spite of its tedium, the long winter had its mitigations, for after the first few weeks I was able to read with a luxurious consciousness of leisure, and I remember opening the first volume of Carlyle's 'Frederick the Great' with a lively sense of gratitude that it was not Gray's 'Anatomy'" (*Twenty Years*, 65; see also introduction to part 1, above).

6. A reference to *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (1818), the classic horror story of supernatural power, loneliness, and revenge by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851). Miserable in the alienation he experiences because of his terrifying appearance, Frankenstein's tragic monster takes revenge upon his creator. JA here draws a parallel with Macbeth and the witches who "are revenged on him for their creation." Regarding JA's enduring interest in the interpretation of Macbeth, particularly the concept of murdering sleep, see JA, Essay in the *RSM*, *PJA*, 1:337–42.

7. *The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds: Comprising Original Anecdotes of Many Distinguished Persons, His Contemporaries; and a Brief Analysis of His Discourses* (1819), by James Northcote (1746–1831). The artist Joshua Reynolds (1723–92), a distinguished portrait painter and proponent of history painting, was one of the original founders in 1764 of The Club, the exclusive group of male intellectuals and politicians that included, over time, Reynolds's influential friends Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke (1729–97), Oliver Goldsmith (1730?–74), and James Boswell (1740–95).

8. A reference to *Historical Memoirs of His Late Royal Highness, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, including the Military and Political History of Great Britain during That Period* (1767), compiled by Richard Rolt (1725?–70). William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland (1721–65), was the third son of George II. As commander of the English army during the Seven Years' War, his brutality and dogged suppression of the Scottish Highlanders earned him the epithet "The Butcher." Cumberland figures in Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), whose main character is a commissioned British army officer in a regiment in Scotland in 1745.

9. HWH advised AHHA to stay in the warm climate until late spring. AHHA wrote to JA hoping that JA would join her in Florida in Mar., but it appears that JA did not make the trip south (see AHHA to JA, [ca. Feb.–Mar. 1883], below). JA was home in Cedarville by early Apr.

10. There are several pieces reflecting on Christ's birth that EGS might be referring to, including Ben Jonson's "A Hymn on the Nativity of My Savior" and John Milton's "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity."

11. JA may possibly have been thinking of Dr. Charles Fayette Taylor (see EGS to JA, 22 Oct. 1882, n. 3, above).

12. EGS surmised correctly when she guessed that JA's treatment would entail going "through certain processes, I suppose of plaster-Jacketdom" (EGS to JA, 22 Oct. 1882, above). AHHA soon wrote to JA to say "Hope your Jacket has come and will meet every requirement, so you can sit up and get strong" ([ca. Feb.–Mar. 1883], below). When JA was up and about, probably in Mar. 1883, she was fitted by HWH with a jacket brace. She wore a brace designed by Dr. Augustus Sargeant in Chicago under her clothing for several months before finally abandoning it for good during her first trip to Europe (see also JA to SAAH, 18 July 1883, below).

13. The card JA described as an enclosure is not known to be extant.

From Ellen Gates Starr

[Chicago, Ill.]

Friday, Jan. 12, [1883]

My dear Jane,

I have now a space of time long enough to feel it worth while to begin a letter with reasonable certainty of being able to finish it. Have waited for such an interval since receiving your lovely letter, which I should have considered it a calamity to be unable to read. I found no difficulty about it however. I appreciate very highly the effort you make to write me such a long letter, & assure you that the pleasure it gives me is proportional. I am not "going taffy" when I say that you must have such a thoroughly superior mind to enjoy books like Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* when you are ill, & must be a good deal exhausted nervously. I don't know what I should feel adequate to reading under the circumstances, but I fear not Carlyle. I always did say you were a remarkable girl. I have not read any of the books you speak of, unfortunately. While in St. Louis Miss Runyan & I read the first part of Bayard Taylor's translation of Goethe's *Faust* together.¹ I enjoyed it more than anything I have read in a long time. She has had the advantage of studying it with a gentleman who has made a life study of Goethe, & has classes in *Faust* & *Wilhelm Meister* which are simply enchanting.² I attended one. The lesson was on *Brocken*,³ & he made it so clear that I felt surprised that it had ever been so unintelligible to me. *Faust* seems to me the most wonderful thing that I have ever read. Everything is in it. If one only knew it all, experienced all the philosophy of it, one would have about all that is necessary. One of the greatest pleasures of my visit was in recognizing how much Miss R.⁴ has improved. I think she is one of those persons who develop late &

was probably very girlish when you & even I was moderately developed. At all events, I think I never saw any one change so much for the better in so short a time. Her kindergarten training has been a splendid thing for her. I admire the system very much. In the first place they <are> all so enthusiastic. "What makes life dreary is want of motive," & they have a tremendous motive in their lives & believe in it so passionately that they will work for it without pay if necessary. It amounts to about that in St. Louis, the salaries are so insignificant, but I can't get Mary to come here for a good salary, because she feels she can do better work there. Of course it's all very lovely if people can hold out under that sort of thing. I think I am growing practical in my old age. I think it is quite worth while <to> save a little strength out of the race, & amass enough of this world's goods to be comfortable, albeit it is very fine to sacrifice one's self on the altar of a high calling. Mary talks so beautifully about her work, & her own case is so convincing that I always agree with her at the time, but afterwards when I think how hard she works & how delicate she is, I take it back. Miss Anderson doesn't seem to be very well. I felt sorry that her sister's illness should have called her away & prevented her taking the time for study as she intended.⁵ She was as lovely about that as she is about everything. She is one of the few people of whom you feel that it would have made a difference if you hadn't known her. I have all I can do with private pupils & classes outside of my school work. It keeps me very busy, but is easy work. The only thing that I regret about my work is that I get very little time for "improving my mind" & the work I do does not require much reading except on artistic subjects. It is a little lonely, too, the life I lead, & I am getting to feel that social intercourse is a good thing even if people are not extraordinary. Young persons don't feel that for a time, but it comes with a certain amount & kind of experience. I have a terrible realization once in a while, of the amount of time we spend among people for whom our indifference is perfect, & the oases of a few hours & days with those who do us good. Perhaps our indifference ought not to be. I don't think you often feel indifference. At least you don't speak of it often. I should be so very glad to see you sometimes, my dear, & have some good talks. If all the good things in the way of work & friends could be gotten together into any time & place, what happy people we might be, to be sure. I am very glad you thought of me on Christmas eve. We have so many associations, that although we meet seldom of late I never feel any fear that I shall lose you out of my life altogether. I do hope, my dear, that you will continue to improve in health & strength, & that I shall see you quite well before a very long time. Please give my love to Mrs. Halderman. I remember with great pleasure my two interviews with her. You have been in my mind very much of late. Believe that your trials have always my sympathy and you have always my affection as well as my admiration. Sincerely your friend,

Ellen Starr.

1. American poet, novelist, and travel writer Bayard Taylor (1825–78) is best known for his translation of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust*, done in the original meters and published in two volumes in 1870–71 and issued in various editions in the United States, including ones by Stroefer and Kirchner of New York and Fields Osgood and Co. of Boston (1870–71).

2. Goethe wrote *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels: A Novel* in intervals between 1777 and 1829. It was published in the United States in various translations, including ones by R. Dillon Boyland and, more famously, Thomas Carlyle. The story, featuring the journey to self-fulfillment of Wilhelm Meister, a young eighteenth-century man who travels the country with a theater company, is considered the prototype of the German Bildungsroman and remains a pivotal work in German Romantic literature.

3. Brocken, the highest peak in the Harz mountains of northern Germany, has been used as the setting for various legends and literary works. The Spectre of Brocken is an optical illusion whereby the observer's shadow is magnified and ringed in rainbow bands, reflected on the cloud banks below. Goethe used Brocken as the setting for the witches' sabbath scene in *Faust*.

4. Mary Runyan.

5. SA had earlier been concerned about taking time off to be with her older sister, Mary Anderson Thompson of Uniontown, Pa. (Mary was SA's stepsister, the daughter of SA's father, John Anderson, and his first wife, Sarah Redburn. Anderson also had another sister, Emily Anderson Bickel (or Bickle) (b. 1855?), who was the wife of William A. Bickel (or Bickle) (b. 1855?, Germany), a merchant in Geneseo, Ill. [see also introduction to part 4, n. 20, below]). SA wrote to JA about Mary from Uniontown when she was visiting her sister and touring local mountains with her on summer vacation. "I am sorry to leave Mary and almost tempted to ask Miss Sill to allow me to be absent the first few weeks and give up my ten weeks time later," she wrote on 13 Aug. 1882. "I did not know until today how very much she [Mary] dreads my going away before she is sick. It is of course a hard time for me to be away from school—and yet if Mr. D. [W. A. Dickerman] felt so inclined he could do the office-work, and I would not feel at all badly to have the others take the family work" (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:976).

From Anna Hostetter Haldeman Addams

Florida Riverview House
Green Cove Springs, [Fla.]

[ca. Feb.–Mar. 1883]

My Dear Jane—

Your letter like a welcome bird of passage, brough[t] good news and made us glad;¹ The Jacket—is what worries me can you not be once properly fitted and then use your powers, and see if you are getting strong.² Weir Mitchell—with his fondest expectations—could wish no better patient for the rest cure than you have been,—You certainly have tested the merits there may be in keeping quiet—'tho the soreness of the back kept you from resting when it was first treated. Am so glad cousin Mary is better—and once more in her cheerful mood, it would rob one of half the charm of life—not [to] hear Mary's gleeful laugh, I hear it often waking, and in my dreams of her; How much it did for me, in the dark and, sad days at Cedarville no words can tell.³ I want to write to Mary when I get stronger it tiers me more to write and read than to walk or exercise some. Since Flora has been ill I am so thankful, that Mary went to Harry's and



Stereograph of Victorian visitors at Green Cove Springs resort in Florida, ca. 1879. Anna Addams spent a portion of the winter of 1882–83 there with her son George Haldeman. (E. and H. T. Anthony and Co., New York; LC, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62–95633)

did not stay at Mrs Guiteau's as we thought some of her doing.⁴ Think Sarah and Susie may be glad to be home, and Linn is once more a family man.⁵ His letters to us were full of complaints of his loneliness. George has gone for flowers and that means a walk of a whole afternoon. To day we have the first cloudy day in nearly two weeks—and the sun as hot as in mid summer with us; But to day it is chilly and we have a fire in the hearth, but the windows are open. The orange trees are full of blossoms, and spring is nearly past for this climate.⁶ Do not wonder that cousin Jennie is worried about Mamie,⁷ I am worried too, and wish I were well enough to be with her awhile I might then do her some good.— I asked in one of my letters how much the Iowa land sold for and, what my share is? will you please tell me Jennie, all about it in your next letter, I signed the deed but, know nothing of the transaction, except that it is sold.— Would like to know if it sold for cash or on time—and, if my portion is deposited in the Bank in Freeport or how it stands.⁸ Please write me. Wednesday morning,⁹ have been down at the peir to see George go a board the Sylvan Glen to attend the fair now held at Jacksonville.¹⁰ Four and five steam boats come in, nearly at the same time, and to see the surging wave of mortals going and coming—gives life and change to this quiet place. The full dress one sees is rather a mark of weakness of our sex—nearly as fine suits of silk satin and velvet, as we used to see at Atlantic City last Feb one can see here any day at the peir when the boats come in;¹¹ I do not go often have been twice there since my return to the springs.— It is the wealthy who come here and spend money freely—for it takes

money even to live plainly board is so high—and washing, ectra[.] But nothing to pay for climate the most valuable thing of all people can not make it and it is not for sale. Do hope you can come before March is ended, do not look for your this month—but next, I shall be very hopeful you will come. My strength is coming back slowly, I eat so little that I do not get strong, for my stomach does not retain food very well, day before yesterday I ate nothing all day—I was so nauseated. It seems a queer symtom with me as neve[r] in all my life had I any trouble in that way untill last spring when I was so ill on our return home, and ever since it follows me. Wonde[r] sometimes if the Eather I took could have caused it.¹² I will send this—as it is time to mail it— Hope your Jacket has come and, will meet every requirement, so you can sit up and get strong. Give love to Cousin Jennie Reichard to cousin Mary I will write soon. George wants to know if Harry likes the jewelry?¹³ With love to all. Your devoted Ma

A H H Addams.¹⁴

If¹⁵ Webe is still with you I send kisses to him



PS Had a very short letter from Mary saying she is as well as usual—were going to have a corn festival that night.¹⁶ The wheel in little towns seems to have a dead grind, alas!

ALS (JAPP, DeLoach).

1. AHHA was writing from the River View House, a resort boardinghouse owned by Jasper F. Green in the period when the town of Green Cove Springs was popular as a “watering hole for the rich” (Blakely and Deaton, *Parade of Memories*, 155). See also SAAH to JA, 10 Sept. 1882, n. 5, above.

2. A reference to the possible use of a temporary cast during the first stages of JA’s physical recovery, later replaced by a corset-style customized back brace.

3. AHHA’s fondness for Mary Peart (Hostetter) was evidently not shared by HWH, who described Peart in his 30 Jan. 1883 letter to GBH and AHHA as “sly . . . and sneakin.” While AHHA rested in Florida, a blizzard had hit Mitchellville, and the Haldemans had a household of guests. HWH expressed some tension in describing JA’s progress (see JA to EGS, 7 Jan. 1883, n. 3, above), apparently frustrated by something less than complete compliance with his advice, and he seems to have detested Mary Peart (see SAAH to JA, 11 Sept. 1882, n. 11, above). SAAH, meanwhile, was not feeling well. She was experiencing “a constant pain in her side,” and HWH was concerned about her symptoms. He had listened and thought he detected “fluid in the thorasic cavity. . . . Alice has been very sick.” While JA was bedridden, Peart was complaining of illness, and SAAH was showing actual signs of malady, the Haldemans were also looking after MCAL’s young son James Weber Linn. Little Weber (or Webe) had been with the Haldemans at least since Thanksgiving, and he was in the process of overcoming bedwetting. HWH ended his letter to GBH and AHHA expressing “love and deep devotion” to his mother and his concern that a return to the “hoary climate” of the Midwest would have dire consequences for her. He indicated feelings of debt for the time and effort she had spent in seeing him and GBH through what he termed “years of darkness and social storm.” Both AHHA and HWH used the metaphor of darkness in reference to past events in Cedarville (UIC, JAMC, HJ).

4. Flora Guiteau and her mother Maria.

5. SH and Susan Hostetter and their brother Linneaus ("Linn") Hostetter, a favorite nephew of AHHA.

6. Tourist season usually extended from Dec. until May, when hot temperatures set in. Many northerners—including some who initially came, like AHHA, because of their health—took up part-time residence and invested in the citrus industry. As a result, the number of orange groves increased substantially between 1880 and 1885. Waterfront properties were developed accordingly, including homes that were occupied only in the winter. A vigorous produce trade operated in the 1880s between the region and locations to the north, including New York, supported by innovations that helped preserve perishable goods during shipping.

7. Virginia ("Jennie") Hostetter Reichard and her sister, Mary ("Mamie") Hostetter Greenleaf. Mamie and her husband Frederick Greenleaf had two children, neither of which survived infancy. Their son Ray Greenleaf was born 16 Feb. 1883 and died 9 June 1883. This reference may either be about concern for her in her pregnancy and/or imminent childbirth experience or her well-being—and that of her child—in the aftermath of the birth.

8. JA and the family at large handled numerous land transactions in the first several months of 1883. They bought and sold land in Stephenson Co. and assumed mortgages on land occupied by others. Upon JHA's death in 1881, the Addams family inherited property he held in Iowa and Canada as well as in Stephenson Co. In early 1883, partly at AHHA's urging, they sold farmland in Fayette Co., Iowa. AHHA had written to SAAH about the sale in the late fall. AHHA asked her daughter-in-law to clarify about prices: "Do I understand that yours, and Jane's (making one half of the land) will bring \$6,900, or is that, all the entire, 480 [acres] will bring[?]" She then expressed her belief it would be smart financially to sell if a fair price could be had, as she believed "there is a land boom now because money is easy and, by another year, land may depreciate." If MCAL wanted to sell, she did also. Alternatively, she wanted to sell her "interest—at what it is worth." She was motivated in part by her desire to make the money available to HWH, who could either invest it in "good mortgages on real estate" or take it as a loan, on generous terms, and use it toward establishing a better situation for himself. "[I]f he would like to use it in getting himself established in Des Moines he could use it, giving me his note for it (and no interest —for two year's)," she wrote SAAH. "I want Harry to stop night riding, there is means enough between us, yours and mine, to have him save his health, which is of more value than all this earth can give besides. I do not know if Des Moines is a good move or some other city[.] But positively sure am I that Harry must quit the hard-life of a country practice or die soon" (30 Oct. 1882, IU, Lilly, SAAH). HWH followed through on her wishes. On 29 Jan. 1883, HWH wrote his mother that "Mr Barton [the family lawyer and accountant] placed the ten thousand dollars at my disposal, in the 2nd National Bk at Freeport to be loaned on first mortgages on land in Iowa—I sent a receipt to Mr. Barton to that effect" (IU, Lilly, SAAH). On 30 Jan. 1883, he traveled to Des Moines and gathered applications from five people requesting loans. In Apr. 1883, AHHA investigated buying a lot in Melrose, Fla., possibly reinvesting some of the funds from the sale of the Iowa real estate or other mortgages managed through Barton (see H. A. Hawkins to AHHA, 6 Apr. 1883, IU, Lilly). HWH followed his mother's urging and gave up his Mitchellville medical practice in 1884, when he and SAAH moved to Girard, Kans. (see also JA to SAAH, 18 July 1883, n. 12, and 17 Sept. 1884, both below).

9. AHHA evidently began this letter on one day, ca. Feb. or Mar., and then resumed it again on an unspecified Wednesday. The exact date—i.e., which Wednesday—is not known. Wednesdays in Feb. 1883 fell on the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th of the month and in Mar. 1883 began with the 7th.

10. The St. Johns River spread out in lake-like form above and below Green Cove Springs. GBH's steamer would have traveled approximately thirty miles north on the waters of the north-flowing river, passing Orange Park and arriving at the river port at Jacksonville. The date of the fair in Jacksonville that AHHA refers to has not been ascertained through research

in local sources. Steamers were the most common mode of transportation and commerce between Green Cove Springs and Jacksonville from 1875 to 1890, during the heyday of the area's resorts. When AHHA and GBH were there in the early 1880s, they experienced what has been termed the "golden days" of the steamboat, when some seventy-five different vessels operated on a regular schedule up and down the St. Johns (Blakely and Deaton, *Parade of Memories*, 137). The boats took approximately four hours to travel the 25-mile route, with stops at towns on both sides of the St. Johns River. They would pause to pick up and leave off passengers, deliver packages and goods, and receive products from vendors for delivery elsewhere. The steamers functioned as floating general stores as well as pleasure crafts. The river remained the main route for travel and commercial exchange until almost the end of the century. Luxury liners also offered popular excursions in the area.

11. This is the first known evidence that AHHA traveled to Atlantic City in Feb. 1882. Whether by "we" she means that JA accompanied her—in what must have been during her period of seaside recuperation after surgery, when JA was following dictums of the rest cure—or that there were other members of her party is unknown.

12. Here AHHA refers to her surgery in Philadelphia in the previous year and the ill health she experienced while traveling home to Cedarville from the East Coast in Mar. AHHA suffered from bouts of this type of illness and from intestinal difficulties for the remainder of her life. She later identified a prolapsed rectum as part of the source of her discomfort, and she received treatment for a chronic rectal disorder during her latter years in Cedarville. AHHA had also experienced other ailments before she went to Florida to restore her health. She wrote to SAAH that the "dread Erysipelas" that often plagued her had appeared again (30 Oct. 1882, IU, Lilly, SAAH; see also *PJA*, 1:115–16, n. 1, 1:464–65).

13. Without actually naming SAAH, HWH had described in his 30 Jan. 1883 letter a difficulty in his relationship with his wife, who may have resented the fact that he had left his family at Christmas to see to his mother's needs in Florida. HWH wrote of an apparent miscalculation on his part regarding expectations at home that he should return from his travels bearing gifts, specifically jewelry. He evidently took action to remedy his oversight, perhaps with the help of his brother and mother, thus AHHA's closing comment in this letter that passed along GBH's inquiry regarding HWH's satisfaction with "the jewelry." HWH had written to AHHA that there "is still a lingering love for the barbaric and savage in the way of ornament in the heart of women. An ornament will do more to smooth over a grief in supposed wrong than the noblest art—or heroic deed—a trifling present of scarlet or silver, or gilt which catches the eye—has greater power as a rule than any assurance of affection. Reasoning thus I made up my mind to atone for my negligence and short sightedness in not following out my first impulses and feeling—which said bring on the Baubles and load them with trifles" (UIC, JAMC, HJ).

14. Signature is written in the right margin and perpendicular to the text on page 7 of the letter.

15. Text beginning with "If Webe" through "alas!" appears on the verso of page 7.

16. MCAL was living in Harvard, Ill.

From Sarah F. Anderson

In the spring of 1883, Jane Addams grew stronger physically, only to be faced with a family crisis at home in Cedarville. Brother John Weber Addams had suffered another mental breakdown. It was the worst he had experienced since his marriage to Laura Shoemaker Addams. The family sought varied medical advice from

mental health experts before Weber was hospitalized once again for several weeks of treatment at the state hospital in Elgin, Illinois.¹ When he grew ill, John Weber Addams was in the early stages of making improvements in the family grist mill, including renovations and construction work on a mill dam, as well as overseeing the preparations that accompanied the coming of springtime on the family farm and rental properties. Funds were tight, with work having just been completed on his home, "Cedar Cliff." Jane Addams, in concert with other family members, took over much of the responsibility for decision making, not only about the best course for her brother's treatment but regarding the family finances and business interests as well. Alice Addams Haldeman and John Manning Linn both made trips to Cedarville to help with legal matters and to oversee the work of tenant farmers working on Addams family properties. Jane Addams offered personal support to her sister-in-law Laura, who stayed at home to provide an atmosphere of normalcy for her young daughter Sadie during the time Weber was institutionalized. Together they met with the overseers who were managing the construction project at the mill. Jane Addams in turn gained comfort through correspondence with her closest allies from her Rockford years, including Ellen Gates Starr, Sarah Blaisdell, and, here, Sarah Anderson. Blaisdell had written earlier in the month to extend her sympathy to Jane at "this added affliction." In her letter she characterized Addams as "a burden bearer."² Anderson writes in a similar vein.

Anna Hostetter Haldeman Addams was not among those who pitched in to take care of matters while Weber was away. In writing to Alice shortly after she had returned home to Mitchellville from Cedarville, Jane Addams rather pointedly commented "Have not heard from Ma."³

Rockford. [Ill.]

Apr. 22. 1883.

My dear Jane,

I am afraid you are sick. Wont you write me a line or have some one do it for you. I have heard that Weber went to Jacksonville instead of Elgin, and have been afraid that, this change of plans must have given rise to new anxieties and perplexities⁴—dear heart there has been much given you to meet these past few years, and though so sorry that they came to you, so young, that they came at all. I am in a certain sense glad to see that the word is true, 'as thy day so shall thy strength be' —realizing the magnitude of the trial, you [best?] <it> with proportionate earnestness of purpose and patience to endure and wait.

When one is found capable of good deeds, how much is given them to do by those who see but do not act. So I bring a possible chance of action to you.

Early in the week there is to be a meeting of the Executive Committee. It is understood that at that time it will be moved that a meeting of the "Board of Trustees" will be called—probably for sometime in May—I think the small family is the alleged reason at least for the anxiety <of> which I suppose the call for an extra meeting is the expression—I cannot say whether any thing of

consequence is meditated or not, but I think not—I suppose of course that The Ladies of the Board will be informed of the meeting and invited to be present—I wonder could any thing be done—I wish I could have a talk with you.⁵

Are you well enough to come here.⁶ Are you sick and unable to give any thought to it—or are you for [absent?]. Write me and let me know about yourself. I write in such uncertainty.

My eyes are better. I heard Joseph Cook⁷ last Thursday evening. He lifted us up and out—what an advantage to a lecturer is such a body, such a head—our admiration and interest are at once enlisted.

My dear girl I hope all is well with you. If at any time I could be of use or comfort to you you would let me know would you not. Yours assuredly,

Sarah F Anderson

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1060–62).

1. JWA was familiar with the Illinois State Hospital for the Insane at Elgin. His father had committed him to the institution for several months in 1872. When JWA grew ill in 1883, the family briefly tried a new approach at a private hospital in Jacksonville, Ill. That attempt was quickly aborted and JWA was transferred from the Jacksonville hospital to the Elgin facility (see JA to SAAH, 24 Apr., 25 Apr., and 1 May 1883; and JA to EGS, 24 Apr. 1883, all below).

The Illinois State Hospital for the Insane was founded in 1851 in response to the mental health reform movement spearheaded nationally by Dorothea Dix (1802–87) and others in the 1830s and '40s. Dix, a champion of the use of public funding for the care of “the destitute and of the desolate,” appeared before the Illinois legislature in 1846 in support of the coalition of Illinois activists and physicians who successfully sought legislative support for a state mental facility (Dix, quoted in Deutsch, *Mentally Ill in America*, 177). Illinois was among a group of western and midwestern states that founded public mental hospitals in the period 1851–75. Based on the prototype of the Worcester State Hospital in Massachusetts, the first public hospital for the insane, erected in the 1830s, these state facilities emphasized (at least in theory) the therapeutic treatment and recovery of the mentally ill and sought to discharge them back into their home communities, healed or effectively restored to functional behavior. These theories, which had mixed success in practice, were a marked contrast to older, less benevolent ideas of long-term custodial care or incarceration, and they helped mitigate some of the worst abuses and cruelties in the treatment of inpatients who had been designated as insane. As a result, at mid-century, some of the new hospitals were run more like boarding-houses, or even retreats, than hospitals, and seeking mental health therapies lost some of its stigma among the middle classes. In the era when JWA was first being treated, commitment to an institution for limited stays had become an accepted way of handling mental illness, and a large proportion of patients in hospitals were there, as JWA was, for stays of less than a year and for acute bouts of illness. In 1880, over forty thousand patients were being treated in some 140 mental hospitals nationwide, most of them public facilities. Within the decade, the previous emphasis on curing mental illness and treating middle-class patients diminished, and public policymakers concentrated on the intractability of insanity and shifting mentally ill people living in poorhouses into asylums. As the end of the century approached, the character of inpatient populations also changed; most were those with chronic conditions, often accompanied by overt behavior disorders. Instead of working toward treatment, recovery or improvement, and release, administrators focused on custodial care. Public perceptions of mental institutions declined, internal abuses were common, and most patients were hospitalized until they died. This kind of custodial care, sadly, was the fate of JA's brother, who would spend his last years and die in a state institution (see *PJA*, 1:482–83).

2. Sarah Blaisdell to JA, 13 Apr. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1056–57. Blaisdell opened her letter with the query: “Need I assure you of my sympathy with you in this new sorrow?” and went on to reassure JA of her and her family’s ongoing affection and supportive thoughts. She reminded JA to turn also to God. “I have heard of you occasionally during the winter through Miss Anderson and others and have been glad to think that you were through the severe treatment, moving towards a state of improved health,” she wrote. “You’ve not been idle though restricted. Now a new burden is upon you, but you are glad and I am glad that you can comfort your sister[-in-law]. I know you as a burden bearer and to her you must be an inexpressible comfort in this illness of your brother, which I sincerely hope may be of short duration, that he will soon be restored to his family and friends” (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1056–57).

3. See JA to SAAH, 24 Apr. 1883, below. JA may have been simply referring to not having heard yet about plans for AHHA’s impending return to Cedarville in May instead of to her absence during family trials regarding JWA.

4. JWA actually went to Elgin, back home briefly to Cedarville, then to Jacksonville. When the Jacksonville option failed, he returned to Elgin, where he remained for treatment.

5. The issue of “The Ladies of the Board” was an ongoing one (see *PJA*, 1:435–36, n. 1). The RFS Alumnae Assn. had long been pushing for the inclusion of women on the board, and male trustees such as Beloit’s Joseph Emerson, stalwarts of the RFS Board, continued to balk at the idea. At their June 1882 meeting, the trustees, headed by Emerson, passed the following resolutions regarding the admission of women to the board: “WHEREAS, Serious doubts exist in the minds of some members of the Board as to the legality of electing ladies acting members of this Board, therefore: *Resolved*, That, in response to their communication, we invite the Alumnae to nominate such number of ladies as they think proper, to act, in connection with the Principal [Anna P. Sill], at its meetings, and aid us by their counsel, co-operation and influence” (*RSM* [July 1882], 230; see also RFS Exec. Com. “Minutes,” 21 June 1882, RC; *JAPM*, 1A:149). JA was among those selected to be a member of “The Ladies of the Board,” and the meeting SA refers to occurred on 10 May 1883 (see “Minutes of Special Meeting of the RFS Board of Trustees,” 10 May 1883; and Speech to the Annual Meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn., [20 June] 1883, both below).

6. JA did go soon to visit SA in Rockford. According to the May 1883 *RSM*, “Jane Addams spent a few days at the Seminary, the guest of Miss Anderson” (158). The visit evidently coincided with the special meeting of the Board of Trustees. SA was especially close to members of the class of ’81. She was intimate with Mattie Thomas’s family as well as with JA and EGS. JA, EGS, and Mary Ellwood visited her in Rockford in the spring of 1883.

7. Popular lecturer Joseph Cook, who spoke on such issues as labor, politics, reform, and religion. Cook had recently returned from a lecture tour abroad. For biographical information on Cook, see *PJA*, 1:233, n. 16.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

April 24 1883

My dear Alice

We felt quite forlorn when we left you on the train and as we walked up street realized that we had left the best part of ourselves. We had a busy afternoon, bought plush for my black silk and did some of Mary’s¹ shopping. We saw Mr Barton² a little while in the afternoon, he expressed much regret at your departure but hoped we would have no more critical issues.³ In short my

dear, he spoke in the kindest manner and with a great deal of sincere respect. Saturday morning, Mr Rich the mill-wright took Laura and myself all over the mill, we had quite a satisfactory talk with him about the breast of the dam and he promised to over-see it,—the men began work there yesterday morning.

Yesterday afternoon we drove up to the farm as Laura had some work she wanted to see to; every thing was doing nicely and Laura feels much easier and a little more accustomed to the business. She is as cool <as can be> and will come out all right.

Last evening Mr Linn and his father came out from town with Will, they have driven down to see to the farm this morning with Mr Gandy,⁴ and will go back to morrow. Mr Linn had quite a long talk with Mr Barton yesterday about the Butlar affairs &c and it seems to have made quite an impression on him.

Laura received a letter yesterday from young Dr McFarland,⁵ giving quite a pathetic account of his father's⁶ circumstances and ill-management, and inclosing Dr Prince's⁷ bill, and Mr Ball's⁸ with four dollars hotel. They weren't presented as a demand but the entire letter was rather an appeal to generosity. We don't intend to do any thing until we see Mr Barton and of course then Dr Prince's is the only bill we will pay. We seem destined never to be free from the Jacksonville affair and I am very glad you secured the papers you did from Dr McFarland.⁹

Laura's handkerchiefs came yesterday and we are looking for a letter daily. Lizzie and Agnes Addams¹⁰ called last evening and spent some time we had a real satisfactory visit.

I hope Cousin Mary¹¹ is well this cold raw weather. Give my best love to her and to Harry. I slept most of the day Saturday and Sunday and feel real well and rested since, have no back ache and my eyes are all right. I am amazed at myself and full of reverence for the winter's work.

I have been helping Sadie¹² write her letter while writing this, and between the two am afraid neither are brilliant.

Have not heard from Ma. The place looks splendidly under the new man, has made garden[,] trimmed the raspberries &c[.]

Remember me to Lizzie[.]¹³ With love to you all and much to yourself. Ever your loving Sister

Jane Addams

I wish you knew how many times I think of you a day.

Laura sends her love to all.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1063–66).

1. MCAL.

2. Edward P. Barton, who continued to work as the family's lawyer.

3. Exactly what critical legal issues JA refers to is unclear. The family bought or carried the mortgages on various pieces of land in Mar., Apr., and May 1883; Edward P. Barton served as their lawyer and notary public (see *JAPM*, 27:543–49). According to Stephenson

Co. Courthouse deeds, "Jane Addams, unmarried," bought 80 acres of land, at \$4,400, in the west half of the southwest quarter of Sec. 26 in Twp. 28 on 28 Mar. 1883, and 154 acres of land, at \$9,000, in Lancaster Twp. on 19 May 1883. As part of the latter deal, she also sold land in Lancaster Twp. for one dollar to the Evangelical Society of Lancaster for a cemetery in the southwest quarter of Sec. 7 (*JAPM*, 27:543-44; see also 27:545-48).

More immediate matters the Addams family had to address may have entailed taking the proper legal steps to pave the way for JWA's incarceration in the state asylum at Elgin. According to Illinois law, JWA's commitment required a legal proceeding to certify him as insane by a Freeport jury. Legal documents in JWA's case were filed at the Stephenson Co. Courthouse on 4 Apr. 1883, including the jury verdict of insanity and the necessary warrants for commitment. A similar procedure had been completed, under JHA's direction, in June 1872 and would be again, overseen by JA and family, in 1885 and 1892 (see legal documents, *JAPM*, 27:1033-41). By 1915, after the public hearing law had become obsolete, LSA was serving as JWA's legal conservator (see also JA to SAAH, 22 May 1883, n. 2, below).

In 1883, a public hearing was required for either voluntary or involuntary admission to a state mental facility. The stipulation that citizens must have a jury trial and be certified insane by their peers before they could be committed to a state mental institution arose from the notorious case of Elizabeth Parsons Ware Packard (1816-97). Packard's experience was one of the most publicized cases of improper institutionalization of the nineteenth century. It served to establish the legal precedent for similar laws (popularly known as Packard laws) passed in other states. The case was one in which Dr. Andrew McFarland figured prominently (for more on McFarland, see n. 6).

Elizabeth Packard was institutionalized against her will by her minister husband, Theophilus Packard, Jr., who disapproved of her free-thinking political and religious viewpoints, including her rejection of Calvinism, her interest in phrenology and spiritualism, and her antislavery convictions. She spent three years (1860-63) involuntarily committed at the Illinois State Hospital for the Insane at Jacksonville, Ill., where McFarland was superintendent. After her release from the asylum, Packard successfully sued her husband in Kankakee Co., Ill., in 1864. She also wrote exposé publications to bring the issue into public debate. Her determined political lobbying led to new state policy formulated and passed by the Illinois General Assembly in 1865-67. The resulting act, which was legislated when JHA was a senator, mandated a trial by jury to determine sanity. The measure was intended as a protection against unwarranted actions by family members that could lead to false accusations of insanity and the wrongful confinement of persons who were not suffering from mental illness. The system of jury hearings, though intended as a reform to protect the liberty of sane individuals, often functioned to deter families from seeking institutionalization as an aid for ill relatives because they wished to avoid the violation of privacy involved in a public hearing. There was also some indication that juries made up of laymen were even more prone to falsely deem individuals insane than physicians trained in the mental health field, and as institutionalization became more marginalized and stigmatized, so did the trial-by-jury process. The jury system was repealed in 1892.

4. JML; his father, John Ross Linn, who was an agricultural expert; Cedarville carpenter Morgan Gandy; and LSA's brother William Shoemaker (b. 1865?), who as a teenager lived with and worked for JWA and LSA at the family mill and farm. Shoemaker is listed as part of the Addams household in the U.S. census of 1880. By 1888, he was living and working in business in his hometown of Lena, Ill. In 1883, JML was working as a supply pastor in Harvard, Ill. His father was a resident of Rockford.

5. Dr. George C. McFarland (1841-1905) was the son of Dr. Andrew McFarland (see n. 6) and Annie H. Peaslee McFarland. The younger Dr. McFarland received his medical degree from Rush Medical College in Chicago in 1863 and worked as a general surgeon and as administrative assistant to his father at Oak Lawn Retreat, a private institution established by

the McFarland family on the outskirts of Jacksonville, Ill. His brother, T. F. McFarland, was also a physician. George C. McFarland died of heart disease in Jacksonville on 16 Jan. 1905.

6. The Addams family clearly had had a rather unsatisfactory encounter with JHA's old acquaintance, Dr. Andrew McFarland. They were not alone in experiencing dissatisfaction with the elder Dr. McFarland, who, although he enjoyed a positive reputation within the medical profession, had a history of confrontations with politicians and members of the public. As one historian has put it, McFarland and his Jacksonville facility "were continuously involved in public controversy, part of which was related to McFarland's domineering personality" (Grob, *Mental Institutions in America*, 265). The Addamses did not leave JWA in his care, and they disputed the charges forwarded to them from his private facility in Jacksonville.

Dr. Andrew McFarland (b. 1817) was a well-known proponent of mental health reform in Illinois and a former president of the Illinois State Medical Society. For sixteen years (from 1851 to 1867) he was the superintendent of the Illinois State Hospital for the Insane at Jacksonville (also referred to popularly as the Illinois State Asylum at Jacksonville or the Jacksonville State Hospital) and in 1883 was the proprietor of Oak Lawn Retreat, a private hospital for the insane. JHA served on the Illinois legislative committee that oversaw state institutions during the time when McFarland headed the state hospital in Jacksonville, and in this capacity he knew McFarland well. Born in Concord, N.H., to a Congregational minister, McFarland was educated at Dartmouth College and Dartmouth Medical School (M.D. 1848). He worked briefly as a general physician and surgeon before becoming the head of the New Hampshire Insane Asylum (later the New Hampshire State Hospital). He came to Illinois in 1851 as an experienced administrator in the mental health field and an advocate of modern ideas for the care of the insane. In 1860 he was president of the Assn. of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane, and he was among those who supported the adoption of a (then-progressive) cottage plan for the two Illinois state hospitals constructed in the 1870s, one of which was the Illinois State Hospital for the Insane at Kankakee. Established in 1879, the Kankakee hospital opened to patients in 1880. It was built according to a compromise plan, with a traditional central building with wings that extended out from each side and clusters of small detached cottages. JWA spent many of the last years of his life at this institution that McFarland had helped to design.

When lobbying for what became known popularly as the Liberty Law, or Packard law (the Bill for the Protection of Personal Liberty), Elizabeth Packard also urged the Illinois General Assembly to investigate McFarland as superintendent of the Jacksonville asylum. The results of the investigation were highly critical of procedures at the Jacksonville hospital. The General Assembly recommended that McFarland be removed, but the hospital's board of managers and trustees refused to comply. A bitter conflict ensued, and McFarland resigned from his position. Packard's criticism of McFarland, meanwhile, became the subject of statewide popular discussion when she published *Mrs. Packard's Reproof to Dr. McFarland, for His Abuse of His Patients . . . Nov. 12th, 1860* (1864). She won the support of woman's rights advocates when she used her critique of McFarland's administration in her crusade to win legal recognition of the individual liberties of married women in such cases, including the right of wives incarcerated by their husbands to retain custody of or contact with their children. These issues became the topic of nationwide debate with the printing of Packard's account of her institutionalization. *Modern Persecution or Insane Asylums Unveiled* (1873) included the *Report of the Investigating Committee of the Legislature of Illinois*. Dr. McFarland was publicly critical of the state law, which he felt shifted the determination of mental health from professional to lay hands and from medical to legal authority. McFarland also vehemently denied that false incarceration was a problem under the old law. McFarland left the administration of the state asylum, and in 1872, he opened Oak Lawn Retreat, a private mental health treatment center for men, on acreage outside Jacksonville.

7. Dr. David Prince (1816–89) established a private hospital in Jacksonville, Ill., in 1866

called the Jacksonville Surgical Infirmary, known popularly as the Infirmary or as the David Prince Sanitarium.

Born in Connecticut and educated at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York in Fairfield, N.Y., and the Medical College of Ohio in Cincinnati (M.D. 1839), Prince worked as a general and orthopedic surgeon in Payson and Quincy, Ill., before becoming a professor of anatomy and surgery in the Medical Dept. of Illinois College at Jacksonville (1843–45). He relocated for several years to St. Louis, where he was chair of surgery at St. Louis Medical College, and in 1852 returned to Jacksonville. He was a brigade surgeon in the Army of the Potomac during the Civil War and went voluntarily to Libby Prison to supply medical care to captured Union prisoners of war. He was one of the organizers of the Morgan Co. (Ill.) Medical Society. He was also active in the Illinois State Medical Society, for which he was president in 1860, and he served as vice-president of the American Medical Assn. in 1863. After the war he returned to Jacksonville and established his hospital.

Prince was known as a medical innovator. He was bold in his use of drug therapies, incorporated new diagnostic laboratory techniques, and was an early proponent of antisepsis. He also devised new variations on orthopedic appliances, including those used to treat scoliosis, or vertical curvature of the spine. At his Jacksonville Surgical Infirmary/David Prince Sanitarium, he offered a wide variety of care, including, in the 1860s and 1870s, gynecological and orthopedic surgery, plastic surgery, and the use of medical electricity as a therapeutic device. In 1881, he traveled to Europe, where he was a delegate to the International Medical Congress in London and observed techniques being used in hospitals in London, Paris, and Berlin. He was also a delegate to the International Medical Congress when it met in Copenhagen in 1884. As one medical historian has concluded, “David Prince’s medical treatment could be given to indicate that he was in the vanguard of using many new therapies, partly from a concern with the inadequacies of existing treatments” (Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 85). Prince was especially interested in experimental forms of surgery, and he maintained a private dissecting room on the top floor of his barn, where he practiced his operating theories on cadavers before actually using them with patients. He died of pneumonia in Jacksonville on 19 Dec. 1889. Upon his death he was lauded for the care he administered to patients who could not pay for his services, his adoption of new methods of treatment, and his liberal public-spiritedness.

8. See also JA to SAAH, 25 Apr., 1 May, 7 May, 22 May, and 24 July 1883, all below.

9. Neither Dr. George C. McFarland’s letter with its enclosure nor the “paper” from Dr. McFarland are known to be extant.

10. JA’s first cousins Elizabeth Belle Addams (1861–1940?) and Agnes Addams Clifton, daughters of JHA’s brother James Huy Addams.

11. Mary Peart (Hostetter).

12. JA’s niece Sarah Weber Addams.

13. Elizabeth “Lizzie” Blanch (Blank or Blarke) was born in New York State on 14 Jan. 1864 and lived in Iowa. She was a resident in the Girls’ Dept. of the Iowa Industrial School (Iowa State Reform School for Girls), which opened in Mitchellville, Polk Co., Iowa, in 1880 under the direction of Lorenzo D. Lewelling (1846–1900) and his wife, Louise Lewelling. Lorenzo Lewelling was later a populist (People’s Party) governor of Kansas (1893–95). Blanch apparently joined the Haldeman household during 1882. She worked as a maid and housekeeper and moved to Girard, Kans., with the Haldeman couple. She also served as a baby nurse when Marcet Haldeman was born. “Her devotion and kindness while in your family,” AHHA wrote to son HWH, “calls for a life long interest in her welfare that you can not loose sight of so long as she lives—tis binding on us all” (12 June 1893, UIC, JAMC, HJ). By 1900, Lizzie Blanch was living in the Young Women’s Christian Association in Denver, Colo. SAAH’s notebooks indicate that she always remembered Lizzie with a gift at Christmas.

To Ellen Gates Starr

Cedarville Ill.

April 24" 1883

My dear Friend—

I was very much delighted and comforted to receive your picture. Nothing has pleased me so much for a long time, I have stationed it where I can see you almost every minute I am in the house, and the fact of its being there makes a great difference to me in the entire house. It is not as good as it ought to be, but I find myself liking it better.

I never acknowledged your Esther <Easter> card,¹ my dear, but not because I did n't appreciate.

We have been in the midst of perplexity and a peculiar kind of trouble. I have been with my brother Weber almost all of the time for the last month, he is now in the Hospital for the Insane at Elgin and we are relieved of course from all personal care, but we all feel more or less the strain we have been through. I shall stay for some weeks at least with his wife, she needs comfort and help and there is a great deal of business to see to.² I find myself becoming quite absorbed in business affairs and am afraid I shall lose all hold of the softer graces and refinements; but shall always come to you to find them and be cheered up.

I have passed through Chicago twice during the last week, but it was when we were removing my brother from Jacksonville to Chicago and it was no time to see you, although I thought of you each time. I am feeling much better, my native air agrees with me always, expect my mother home in about a week. Write to me when you can. Excuse my dolorous letter but take it as a mark of my friendship that I can write to you such things. Thanking you for the picture many times I am Your Sincere Friend

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1067–68).

1. The Easter card JA mentions here is not known to be extant. See photograph of EGS, *PJA*, 1:279.

2. JA also wrote to SAAH on 24 Apr. 1883 (see above). SAAH had just recently visited Cedarville to help with the legal proceedings regarding JWA's institutionalization. JML also traveled to Cedarville with his father to help with administration of the farm and rental properties.

From Ellen Gates Starr

Chicago, [Ill.]

Apr. 25, 1883.

My dear girl:

I received your sweet letter this afternoon; so thoughtful for others & so forgetful of yourself, that it was just the sort of reproach to me that I happened

to need just now. You make me ashamed that I ever allow myself to fall into a frame of mind to question whether what we get out of existence is worth the trouble it is to exist; as if that were the question at all. My dear, I won't say I admire you more, for that is a cold word, & you have too little vanity to care for admiration; but I love you more the longer & more I know you. So I needn't say anything about sympathy, for that is implied by love. But I will say that I do take it as a strong proof of friendship from you, that you write to me out of the midst of your troubles; and for that reason your letter is a deep pleasure as well as a pain. I am very glad to know that you are better. You must try now to be a little selfish & accumulate strength. I hope your mother will return very much benefitted. Please give her my love. Miss Anderson seems to be having a miserable time with her eyes. I wish I could have made her a visit & entertained her while she was forced to be idle. I am somehow not one of the people who are on hand when they can be of use. You don't know how much I was touched by your saying you were comforted by my picture. Bless you, dear, I wish I could be a very great comfort to you. I am looking forward to the pleasure of seeing my only sister,¹ this summer. We have not been together for seven years. She has been in Paris for the last two years. I feel a little anxious about the summer, for I want her to be happy, & of course want to do all I can to make her so, & seven years is such a long time that I feel I hardly know her at all now, & must begin anew. I hope she won't be disappointed. Believe, my friend, how much you always inspire me to a better view of life, & how sincerely you are beloved by your friend

E.G.S.

ALI (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1071-74).

1. For biographical notes on Mary Houghton Starr Blaisdell, see *PJA*, 1:239, n. 8; and *JA* to *SAAH*, 16 Feb. 1888, n. 13, below.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

April 25" 1883

My dear Alice

Inclosed find Dr McFarland letter with Mr Ball's receipt.¹ We showed it to Mr Barton yesterday afternoon and he said we had better refer him to you, telling him that you had made all the financial arrangements. We all think here Mr Barton & Laura & myself, that Dr Prince had better be paid at once, you had better send the five dollars direct to him and inform Dr McFarland of the fact. As to the rest, of course it is an open question, Mr Barton says they can't collect it after giving your receipt in full but as he said "it is [not]² a very pleasant thing to have him blowing about Jacksonville or elsewhere that your brother's bills weren't settled."

Twelve dollars may be a big bill for them to pay in their present circumstances, the fact that they would never ~~would~~ have had the bill except through their own mismanagement, while very clear to us may not strike them so. Then too the fact that Dr McFarland³ was an old friend of Pa's still remains and I hate to have anything disagreeable left over. At the same time there is no use in being imposed upon. We wrote to Dr McFarland that Dr Prince's bill would be settled.

It almost seems to me that the other had better be fixed too, but you know about that better than I do. If you do settle it you had better do it direct from Mitchellville, and we can send the money to you. Write to me when you decide & let me send it.

Mr Linn left this morning, excuse a business letter but there is a good deal to do before mail time.

<Love to all.> Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1069-70).

1. Neither Dr. McFarland's letter nor Mr. Ball's receipt are known to be extant.
2. JA probably meant to include the word *not* following "it is."
3. Dr. Andrew McFarland. Apparently the Addams family was dealing not only with this old friend of JHA's but also with his son, Dr. George C. McFarland, who was also involved in hospital administration (see also JA to SAAH, 1 May 1883, below).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

May 1st 1883

My dear Alice

Your kind letter came yesterday but we still find ourselves in perplexity in regard to Jacksonville. Please send Dr Prince's bill right away, for we think there doubt but what we ought to pay that and besides we wrote to Dr McFarland that that had been sent, for I thought you would do it as soon as you received the last letter. Laura had a very insulting letter from the young Dr the other day, and we can't very well lay ourselves open to things like that even if we are imposed on. We will show that letter and yours I guess to, Mr Barton and if he thinks best we had better send it right from here by a post-office order. But Dr Prince it would be better for you to send, as you have had all the business with him. Laura has about decided to put in the application for conservator, and then the business can all be done very easily.¹ They have started to work on the dam with Mr Saylor² to oversee the job. Of course it is a big undertaking but Mr Saylor seems equal to it, and to see it go on briskly takes a good deal off of our minds. They will finish the mill this week, so that will be done for in the line of expense. We have been real busy but it is most of it out doors and I am feeling splendidly from the exercise, have quite recovered what I lost during the few weeks at first.

I have had a little fuss with one of my neighbors, Mr Dawson³ next the Wheeland farm claimed a goodly slice off of the timber, wrote me a postal requesting me to be on hand at such a time with my deed in the presence of the county surveyor.

It ended mostly in smoke after all, but there was quite an excitement for he is famous for petty law suits. We are just getting ready to go to town and I am writing so fast I hardly know what I am saying. How about the pictures at Mr Abgails, will you pay them please and I will send the twenty five dollars.⁴

Laura & Sadie sends love. Laura says she will write in a few days.

With love to Cousin Mary, Harry and yourself. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1076-77).

1. LSA eventually became the legal conservator for her husband. She had been acting in that capacity for many years when JWA died in 1918.

2. Andrew J. Seyler (1840?-1914), a Cedarville millwright. In the U.S. census of 1880, Seyler was listed as a widower who lived with his daughter, Almeda, in his parents' home in Cedarville. Like many Cedarville residents, he was born in Pennsylvania. His father, George Seyler (b. 1819?), was a tailor. Andrew Seyler died 13 July 1914 and was buried in the Cedarville Cemetery.

3. William Dawson (1829-94) resided on Sec. 17 of Lancaster Twp., adjacent to the Wheeland property JA inherited. Dawson was born in England and trained as a horticulturist and gardener in Lincolnshire. He married a former schoolmate, Elizabeth Fowler (b. 1830), and together they immigrated to the United States. The Dawsons traveled from England to New York, then to Chicago, Rockford, and, finally, Freeport. Dawson hunted and sold quail for a living before purchasing property in Freeport, where he grew and sold garden produce in the summer and worked as a butcher in the winter. In Oct. 1875, Dawson remarried. He wed a widow with three children, Rosetta Brown Hill (1837-98), of Brodhead, Wis., and all of his stepchildren established residences and married in Freeport. In 1877, William and Rosetta Dawson came to Lancaster Twp., where they purchased land to establish orchards, berry fields, and specialty produce gardens. The Dawson farm had over thirty acres under careful cultivation, on which Dawson grew several varieties of small fruits. Dawson's son, Joseph (b. 1853), married Emma Herbig (1854-1906), a German immigrant, and their family also lived on the Dawson farm, where Joseph Dawson worked as an assistant to his father.

4. See also JA to SAAH, 29 May 1883, below.

From Anna P. Sill

Rockford Seminary, [Ill.]

May 3rd 1883.

My dear Miss Addams,

You have received a notice of the meeting of our Board of Trustees, next week, Thursday. The principal business will be,

- 1st To adjust the Salaries of Teachers on semipermanent uniform basis,
with regards the College and the Preparatory Dep'ts
2. Some important vacancies are to be filled

3. What changes shall be made in the term of our Catalogue, if any
4. How to remedy somewhat diminished patronage from abroad, and what are its causes? The latter clause first considered.
5. Shall free tuition be given to Rockford Students in the College Course.¹
6. What methods used to be used to arouse interest in Rockford and elsewhere for the Equipment and Endowment of the Seminary.²
7. The present important crisis as it regards the future.³

Should you be called upon to express your views as a recent pupil I hope you will be fully prepared to speak as a student of the work of teachers, and the needs of the Seminary[.] If you cannot be here, write these views—but I trust you can come.⁴ Yours lovingly,

Anna P. Sill

ALS (RC; *JAPM*, 1:1081–82).

1. Enrollment in RFS collegiate courses declined in the early 1880s. The seminary suffered from lack of popularity as students were drawn to new opportunities for college education and sought greater freedom from regulation. Despite her desire for educational equity for her students, Sill, as trustee Ralph Emerson put it, was “good as a barb wire fence” when it came to restricting RFS girls to behaviors she felt were consistent with high morals and proper dedication to Christian values (quoted in Townsend, *Best Helpers*, 200). The number of students in RFS collegiate courses dipped from fifty-three in 1880 to thirty-five in 1883, and the RFS dormitory accommodated far fewer students than it was designed to house. Sill thought that the problem was in part economic and that the cost of tuition and board was too high for many students to afford.

2. Laboratory and library facilities at RFS remained substandard in the early 1880s, and the school had difficulty attracting donors. Both conditions improved under the administrations of Martha Hillard and SA. Science and library needs were on the agenda of the business portion of the annual meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn. in June 1883, and JA provided leadership on the issue of raising funds for a library (see Speech to the Annual Meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn., [20 June] 1883, n. 6, below). The desire of those in favor of reforms to encourage updated styles of teaching, moving away from older oral recitation methods to newer lecture and written research formats, was connected to the need for a library facility.

3. Disagreements over RFS's collegiate status and the presence of women on the RFS Board of Trustees proved especially contentious in the spring of 1883. Anna Sill's relationship with Joseph Emerson remained close but strained, and Beloit College president Aaron L. Chapin refrained from attending RFS Board of Trustees meetings as long as Sill was head of the school. Miss Sill, meanwhile, received strong support for her ideas about upgrading the school from the RFS Alumnae Assn., whose members not only wanted the name of the seminary changed to Rockford College but also backed the idea of women joining the Board of Trustees as full-fledged members. The battles of the spring of 1883 were effectively Principal Sill's last. As the women the RFS Alumnae Assn. nominated were brought onto the Board of Trustees as honorary members, Sill requested, and received, a six-month leave. She formally resigned as principal in Jan. 1884. JA wrote sympathetically to SAAH from Europe about Anna Sill's retirement, telling her that she looked “for a long account of the Rockford Commencement, and poor Miss Sill[']s last day on the rostrum” (22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1539).

4. As Anna Sill hoped, JA did attend the meeting in Rockford. She was the only recent graduate among the women chosen to participate in the Board of Trustee meetings and the

only woman representative who did not have strong personal or business connections to male members of the board. Miss Sill evidently felt that JA would lend the student perspective, and JA had already demonstrated her concern with fund-raising and contributing to the needs of the school (see Minutes of Special Meeting of the RFS Board of Trustees, 10 May 1883, below).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

May 7" 1883

My dearest Alice—

Laura[, Sadie and I came back from Harvard yesterday,¹ it did us all good I think, for Laura grows very depressed at times and is always more cheerful after being away. The business worries her a good deal, I have been able to help her some and we are trying to keep it perfectly straight, but there is so much expenditure required just now in the mill and the dam, the men won't leave the mill until this week, while the work on the dam has just fairly begun. Of course Web² may have had clearly in his own mind how he was going to meet all his payments, but it seems to me they could not but have worried him some.

We had a very nice time at Mary's, she is looking a good deal better than when we saw her in the spring. Little Web³ looks well and happy, and is certainly very much improved <in every way> since he left home in the fall. He never has accidents in the day time and it is only once in the greatest while that Mary reminds him of himself. He said to me "Do you know why Aunt Allie don't write to me"? and when I suggested it was because he owed you a letter he indignantly replied "She would n't mind that."

Laura has postal from Weber almost every day & last letter <evening> there was a long letter, I am afraid he is going to feel far from justly about the entire affair, although of course we must remember his mind is far from sane now. Capt Stewart⁴ went down to Elgin last Wednesday, he could n't see him but had a long talk with Dr Kilbourne.⁵ Weber had learned <his letter showed> that some <one> was there but he did n't know who it was. I am sorry you think we hav n't done the right thing in the McFarland affair, but it was Mr Barton's advice and Laura felt Weber would much rather it would be paid. We have counted up the total expenses of Jacksonville at almost \$500.00 and it is hardly consistent after all that to have trouble and insult for only seventeen. Geo McFarland seems to have paid out that sum in ready <money> and his father is evidently unable to repay him. He has sent us receipts from Dr Prince[, the hotel & Mr Ball, all made out in the young Dr's name.⁶

I am going to Rockford next Thursday, the Board of Trustees has been convened in a special meeting. Mr Woodbury⁷ wrote me & I had a long letter from Miss Sill,⁸ she is anxious I should be on hand although I feel powerless to affect anything. Mary was so disappointed over the short visit that I may go to Harvard from Rockford, if there is nothing special occurs in the business

line and if Mrs Clark⁹ from Lena comes over for a few days to stay with Laura as she expects too. I saw Mrs & Miss Purington¹⁰ the other day, they both sent their love to you. I am feeling real well, the being out doors &c agrees with me and I rest every day. Sadie was delighted with your letter. We came home from Harvard via of Beloit and had a good visit with George. Took a ride, saw the college &c.

I hope Harry is well again. Give my love to him & Cousin Mary. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1083–86).

1. JA, her sister-in-law, and her niece went to visit the Linns in Harvard, Ill., over the weekend of 5–6 May 1883 (see also JA to SAAH, 3 May 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1078–80).

2. JWA.

3. James Weber Linn.

4. Capt. William Stewart (b. 1833?), who had served in the Civil War, was a Cedarville farmer. He was born in Ireland, and his wife, Amelia Stewart (b. 1846?), was English. Their children, Anna (b. 1867?), Amelia (b. 1869?), Robert (b. 1870?), Elsie (b. 1871?), Sadie (b. 1875?), and William (b. 1878?), were all born in Illinois.

5. Dr. Edwin Arius Kilbourne was the superintendent of the Northern Illinois Hospital for the Insane at Elgin from Sept. 1871 until his death on 27 Feb. 1890.

6. These receipts with Dr. George C. McFarland's name are not known to be extant.

7. Rev. Frank P. Woodbury, secretary of the 1883 RFS Board of Trustees and a longtime RFS board member.

8. See Anna P. Sill to JA, 3 May 1883, above.

9. Lydia Shoesmith Clark (b. ca. 1854) was born and raised in Lena, Ill. One of eight surviving children—the others were John, George, Edward W., James S. (d. 1877), Louisa (Parris), Mary (Buss) (d. 1887), and Elizabeth (Latham)—she was the daughter of prosperous farmers James Shoesmith (1816–87) and Lucy Baker Shoesmith (1817–d. post-1888). The Shoesmiths, born and raised in England, married in 1835 and began their family. After the births of their first five children, they emigrated to the United States from England via Canada. Arriving in Illinois in 1848, they established a farm in Kent Twp., Stephenson Co., where their remaining children were born. Their youngest daughter, Lydia Shoesmith, married N. A. Clark (b. 1852), also of Lena, in 1879. The Clarks owned a 172-acre farm in Lena that Mr. Clark had inherited in 1874.

10. Margaret Savilea Purinton (often spelled Purington) and her daughter, Etta E. Purinton (b. 1854?). Margaret Savilea Purinton (1819–96) was born in Pennsylvania. She was the wife of George Purinton (1809–83), who was born in Maine. The Purintons lived at the corner of Liberty and Mary streets in Freeport and were buried in the Freeport cemetery. George Purinton was an attorney and judge. A graduate of Bowdoin College (1835), he studied law privately and taught briefly in Baltimore before coming west to Illinois. He opened a law practice in Freeport in 1840 and in 1848 was elected judge of the Court of Stephenson Co. and presiding judge of the Co. Commissioners' Court, positions he held until 1853. In his later life, he became a justice of the peace. The Purintons were members of Grace Episcopal Church in Freeport.

Minutes of Special Meeting of the Rockford Female Seminary Board of Trustees

Rockford, Ill.

May 10th 1883.

Special Meeting.

May 10th 1883.

The Board met at the Seminary pursuant to the call of the Executive Committee.

The following members were present: Rev. Joseph Emerson, D.D. President. Rev. W. S. Curtis D.D. Vice President. Rev. Frank P. Woodbury Secretary. Rev. Hiram Foote, Hon. S. D. Hastings, Rev. Wilder Smith, Hon[.] William Lathrop, D. Selwyn Clark, M.D[.], Rev. J. K. Fowler.¹

The following honorary members were present. Miss Anna P. Sill, Mrs. W. A. Talcott, Mrs. Seely Perry, Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. David Keyt.²

The meeting was opened with prayer by the President.

The Secretary stated that, in accordance with authorization by the Board at its last meeting the following persons nominated by the Alumnae had been confirmed by the Ex. Committee to act in connection with the Principal, Miss Anna P. Sill, as Honorary Members of the board,—Mrs. W. A. Talcott, Mrs Seely Perry, Mrs David Keyt, Mrs N. C. Thompson,³ Mrs. Byron Graham,⁴ Miss Jane Addams.

The Secretary read letters excusing the absence of Hon. Gilbert Woodruff and Rev. H. M. Goodwin D.D. and reported the absence of T. D. Robertson Esq to be due to disability from illness.⁵

At the request of the President, Rev. Wilder Smith read a report of the action of the Executive Committee in calling this meeting.

The President then called upon Miss Sill, who read a full statement of her views as to the condition and prospects of the Seminary.

An extended conference was then held on the subjects presented by the Principal; and it was

Voted: That there be no reduction of terms to students for board and general tuition.

Voted: That we have a public meeting in behalf of the Seminary, if circumstances would justify it, and that the ladies who are honorary members of the board be appointed to ascertain that fact, by seeing leading persons of the town and by getting them committed to the movement so far as speaking and cooperation is concerned.

The board adjourned sine die,⁶ with prayer by Rev. H. Foote.⁷

Attest:

Frank P. Woodbury Sec'y.

1. Longtime RFS Board of Trustees members Joseph Emerson of Beloit; William S. Curtis of Rockford; Frank P. Woodbury of Rockford; Hiram Foote of Rockford; Samuel D. Hastings of Madison, Wis.; Wilder Smith of Rockford; William Lathrop of Rockford; Selwyn Clark of Rockford; and J. K. Fowler of Rockford. All these men had been trustees of the seminary during JA's time there as a student. William S. Curtis chaired the RFS Exec. Com., and Wilder Smith was the RFS Exec. Com. secretary.

2. Anna P. Sill and JA, Fanny Jones Talcott, Marie Thompson Perry, and Charlotte Keyt. Charlotte Leonard (Skinner Keyt) was born in Milton, Vt. (b. 1830?), one of thirteen children of Benjamin Leonard, Jr., and Lucy Colburn Chandler Leonard. The Leonards moved from Milton, Mass., to Rockford in 1850. Charlotte Leonard married James B. Skinner (1824?-72), a Rockford blacksmith, in 1851. Skinner had come to Rockford from Barre Center, N.Y., with his parents in 1839. He became a successful manufacturer and inventor of agricultural implements, working in partnership with C. C. Briggs and I. A. Enoch in Rockford until his death at the age of forty-eight. That same year, the newly widowed Charlotte Leonard Skinner married Rockford contractor and designer David Keyt (b. 1826). Keyt was a business associate of several of the members of the RFS Board of Trustees. Charlotte and David Keyt were Republicans and members of the Court Street Methodist Episcopal Church of Rockford.

David Keyt was born in Piqua, Ohio, where he worked with his father, John Keyt (d. 1851), as a carpenter and builder. In 1857, he and his brother James (d. 1886) were recruited to build the Second Congregational Church at South Church and Chestnut streets in Rockford. Keyt moved to Rockford for the job with his first wife, Lydia A. Sawyer (d. 1861), who was originally from Dayton, Ohio. Over the next three decades, up to his retirement in 1888, Keyt oversaw the construction of many other public and private buildings in Rockford, including the Centennial and Court Street Methodist Episcopal churches. He was especially renowned for the beauty of his interior designs. His nephews, W. A. (b. 1858) and W. R. Keyt (b. 1850), worked with him in his business and became Rockford contractors and designers in their own right. Among their buildings was Adams Hall, the science building erected on the RFS campus in the early 1890s. David Keyt was the contractor for Sill Hall, the RFS gymnasium constructed beginning in 1886.

3. Mrs. N. C. Thompson was the former Laurentia "Laura" J. Blackmer (1832-1917). She was the wife of wealthy Rockford banker and agricultural implement manufacturer Norman Cornelius "N. C." Thompson (1828-98), who during his long civic career served as a mayor of Rockford and a member of the Rockford City Council. Laura Blackmer (Thompson) was born on 30 Aug. 1832 in Barnard, Vt., the eldest child and only daughter among seven siblings. She graduated from the nearby Thetford Academy (ca. 1850) and in Sept. 1853 married N. C. Thompson in Barnard. N. C. Thompson was born in Knoxville, Ga., on 25 May 1828. He was sent north and educated at the Troy Conference Academy in West Poughkeepsie, N.Y., near where his father Norman Brace "N. B." Thompson (1801-74) had been raised. From 1845 to 1847, N. C. Thompson studied at Yale College (now Univ.), leaving school when his family's Perry, Ga., home and mercantile business were destroyed by fire.

In the first years of their marriage, Laura and N. C. Thompson lived in Perry and had two children. The first, Charles Ernest (1854-May 1856), died when Laura Thompson was pregnant with their second son, Norman Frederick "N. F.," who was born 27 June 1856. In June 1857, the extended Thompson family, including N. C. Thompson's father and mother, Seraph Howe Ruggles Thompson (d. 23 Feb. 1874), moved to Rockford. There N. C. Thompson went into business as junior partner with his father in the banking and manufacturing firm of N. B. Thompson and Son. He and Laura Thompson had six more children: George (1859-1904), Arthur (1861-1924), Florence (1863-88), Norma (b. 1868), Amos (b. 1870), and Mary Leonora (1872-79). By the early 1880s, Thompson's large riverside manufacturing plant was a major employer in the city of Rockford. The Thompsons were Republicans and members of the First Presbyterian Church of Rockford. They were also leaders in organizing the Rockford Public Library. N. C. Thompson died in Rockford on 4 July 1898.

N.C. and Laura Thompson's son, N. F. Thompson, graduated from Yale Univ. in 1881. In Jan. 1883, he married Adaline Eliza Emerson (b. 1859), who graduated from Wellesley College in 1880 and was the eldest daughter of RFS Board of Trustees member Ralph Emerson and his wife, Adaline Elizabeth Talcott Emerson. In the late 1890s, N. F. Thompson managed his father-in-law's personal affairs in conjunction with the business of the Emerson-Brantingham Co., and from 1900 to 1924 he was vice-president and then president of the Board of Directors of the Manufacturers' National Bank of Rockford. He and Adaline Eliza Emerson Thompson were major benefactors of Rockford College. Adaline was a trustee of the college from 1895 to 1913, and N. F. Thompson contributed a gift collection of over 2,000 volumes on history and English literature to Rockford, many of the books originally from the library of Ralph Emerson.

4. Mrs. Byron Graham was the former Mary L. Hyatt (ca. 1842?–1910). Originally from Illinois, her family pioneered by wagon to the West. Mary Hyatt (Graham) came as a teenager from Nevada, Calif., to attend RFS and was a senior in the RFS Preparatory (or Academic) Dept. in 1860–61. On 12 Feb. 1863, she married Rockford distiller, manufacturer, and business developer Byron Graham (1838–1922) at the Emmanuel Episcopal Church of Rockford. She and her husband were the parents of two sons, Robert and Harry. Byron Graham was the son of Julia Driggs Graham (b. 1814) and wealthy Rockford businessman Freeman Graham, Sr. (b. 1807), owner of the Rockford Cotton Mill and a business associate of Marshall Field. His family came from New Haven, Conn., to Beloit, Wis., and on to Rockford in the 1850s. Byron Graham began his business career as secretary to RFS Board of Trustees member Ralph Emerson at the Emerson-Talcott Co., later becoming general sales manager for the firm. In 1875, he, together with his brother David Graham and their father Freeman Graham, Sr., founded Graham's Distillery. The business, eventually operated by brothers Byron, David, and Freeman Graham, Jr., became part of the Graham Bros. Corp., which included woolen, cotton, and paper mills on the Rock River as well as the distillery. Located at 1600 South Main St. in Rockford, Graham's Distillery was the first sour mash distillery in the state of Illinois. Byron Graham and his father also developed and sold various other businesses outside Rockford, including paper mills in Rock Island, Ill., and Dubuque, Iowa. Byron Graham retired from business in 1913.

5. Gilbert Woodruff was from Rockford, and Rev. H. M. Goodwin was from Olivet, Mich. Attorney Thomas D. Robertson of Rockford was a former secretary of the RFS Board of Trustees. All were longtime RFS Board of Trustees members and had been trustees when JA was a student at RFS. Robertson, along with RFS general agent Worcester A. Dickerman, was one of the founders of the Second Congregational Church of Rockford (1849). Joseph Emerson, 1883 RFS Board of Trustees president and cousin of board member Ralph Emerson, became the pastor of the Second Congregational Church in 1854.

6. Latin, *sine die*, translates as "without day," i.e., adjourning without establishing the date for a follow-up meeting.

7. For JA's tongue-in-cheek account of this meeting, see also Speech to the Annual Meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn., [20 June] 1883, below.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

May 22 1883

My dear Alice

I am sorry that I delayed and put off letter writing last week and that you found the silence ominous, but we were some way busy and preoccupied. I am more glad and relieved than I can tell, to be back again with Ma in the old

home, where I can think freer and more quietly some way for I was beginning to feel smothered with the business cares. As Carlyle expressed it <I> felt that I was by no means “of weight for the adventure[.]” That the dealings were beyond my powers and comprehension and it is well to be where I can see them more clearly than when in the midst of them. The reports last week from Elgin were very very discouraging and it almost seemed as if they would never be better, but Dr Kilbourne wrote to-day saying that there had been a marked change for the better, and we had two letters from Weber himself one to me and one to Laura¹ both of them very much quieter and better than any thing he has yet written either from Jacksonville or Elgin, of course it may not be permanent and very possibly there will be a relapse,² but for the present it gives me a breathing spell.

I suppose of course you know of the arrival of the new nephew at Harvard,³ I am very anxious to behold him “face to face” but can’t very well go this week and all the reports say Mary is doing so nicely that I can wait easily.

We have had a great many calls from the people in village and it makes it seem like a real hearty pleasant welcome back again. We will be very much disappointed not to see you Commencement⁴ time, wish you could change you mind. I hope Cousin Mary is as well as usual, we have thought of her very often since our coming home and comparing it with last spring’s coming home.

Ma sends love to all. With the best love to Harry and Cousin Mary[.] Ever
Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1087–90).

1. Neither letter is known to be extant.

2. Unfortunately, JA’s fears that JWA’s improvement might prove temporary and that he was likely to suffer a recurrence of his symptoms proved well founded. After 1883, JWA experienced a series of relapses, or incidents of acute schizophrenia, serious enough to warrant institutionalizing him again. The next major incident occurred in 1885, when JA had to act to commit her brother. JWA was then thirty-three years old. He experienced extreme manic phases during which he became delusional. The commitment papers filed in Stephenson Co. on 3 Aug. 1885 recommended that JWA “should be for his own benefit committed to the Illinois State Hospital for the insane,” and the court order for the commitment stated that the jury that deemed JWA insane found him “under mental excitement” (*JAPM*, 27:1034, 1036). See also *PJA*, 1:480–81.

3. Stanley Ross Linn (1883–1945) was born in Harvard, Ill., on 21 May 1883. He was the Linn’s fourth child and the last who would live to adulthood.

4. A reference to GBH’s approaching graduation from Beloit College and the family gathering for the commencement ceremonies on 27 June 1883, in Beloit. JA, AHHA, HWH, and JML all attended, and HWH made a rare visit to Cedarville in the process. JA also attended events during commencement week at Rockford. SAAH remained in Mitchellville with Mary Peart, while MCAL remained home in Harvard caring for her new baby (see also JA to SAAH, 5 June, and 15 June 1883, both below).

From Eva E. Townsend Clark

Rockford Ills[.] 302 So. Main St

May 23rd 1883

Dear Miss Addams

Your letter has gratified me exceedingly and touched me as well for I think it very kind of you to be willing to give time and thought to anything outside of your own cares and responsibilities.¹

Your subject pleases me: it is altogether original and delightful and I am sure that as treated by you the only "uncomfortableness" will be in name.

How shall I phrase it for the toast-mistress? Both titles are so good it seems a pity to leave out either. What would you say then to putting it "To the uncertainty of evolution or the uncomfortableness of tradition." Please let me know at any convenient time the special wording you prefer.²

Hoping that for our sakes you may find yourself quite free at Commencement to come to us—and for your own that the future may grant a lessening not an increased weight of anxiety

I am as always Yours faithfully

Eva Clark

P.S.³ On re-reading your letter I see that I have not answered your suggestion of passing on this fine theme of yours to some one else. It made no impression upon me at first reading for we would rather take the chance of you than the certainty of any one else. If circumstances should hinder your coming we should most deeply regret it, but it is either you or no one who answers this toast[.]

E.T.C.

ALS (RC; *JAPM*, 1:1091).

1. Clark is referring here to the fact that JA had agreed to speak at the upcoming RFS Alumnae Assn. meeting during commencement week in Rockford (see Speech to the Annual Meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn., [20 June] 1883, below).

2. *RSM*, in reporting on JA's speech, rather cleverly referred to both versions of her title. Former RFS teacher Mary Norton spoke about education in California just before JA's part of the program. "Following her," *RSM* reported, "Jane Addams of '81 responded to the sentiment 'The Uncomfortableness of Evolution.'" They then began their transcription of JA's talk with the subhead "To the Uncomfortableness of Transition" (*RSM* [July 1883], 215).

3. Text of the postscript appears at the top of the first page of the letter and perpendicular to the main text.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

May 29 1883

My dear Sister

I don't understand why it is you do not receive my letters for I certainly have been writing at respectable intervals ever since you left us. I have only time for a short note this morning; all goes well as usual, we are busy seeing to some what reduced wardrobes and preparing for Decoration Day¹ which Cedarville intends to celebrate with unusual pomp this year.

About the pictures at Mr Abgail I think we decided on the Mater Dolorosa[,] the Sistine Madonna and the others I do not remember especially, only that both the calves and turkeys were prettier than the figure pieces. Select as you think will be the prettiest and most appropriate—it becomes rather flat & prosy getting them at such a late date but I suppose the girls will like them just the same. Ma and I made some calls the other day in town, Flora is coming out next Thursday as they have two days vacation.² I am going down to Harvard & will bring back the small boys,³ we hear from Mr Linn every day who always reports Mary as doing Splendidly. Excuse brevity for this morning. With love to Harry and Cousin Mary. Your loving sister

Jane Addams

P.S. I want Harry to know the many compliments I get on my improved health and appearance. I met Mrs Dr Stoskopf⁴ the other day who did not know me & she afterwards apologized by saying that the impression she had had of me was that of a delicate looking girl. I ~~do~~ can do a great many things without getting tired which last summer would have used me up completely but now are a pleasure to undertake. For all of which I shall always feel indebted to you & Harry.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1092–94)

1. May 30. JA wrote a rather melancholy description of “A Village Decoration Day” based on events she had experienced in Cedarville in 1883. The article was printed in the Mar. 1883 issue of *RSM* (75–79); *JAPM*, 46:387–99.

2. Flora Guiteau was teaching school in Freeport.

3. John Addams Linn and James Weber Linn were ten and seven years old, respectively, when their mother gave birth to their new brother Stanley Ross eight days before this letter was written. The Linn's daughter, Esther, who would be three years old in Aug., evidently stayed home in Harvard, Ill., with her mother while the boys went to Cedarville for a visit with their aunt.

4. Caroline H. Brewster Stoskopf (b. 1847?), daughter of Daniel S. Brewster, was born in Illinois. She wed Louis Stoskopf (b. 1842), one of eight children of Valentine (1817–1900) and Catherine Schoup Stoskopf, who immigrated to the United States from France and settled in Freeport in 1841. Caroline and Louis Stoskopf had at least two children, William (b. 1879) and Alice Louise (b. 1880). Louis Stoskopf was a physician and surgeon. He attended school in Freeport, studied at the Univ. of Michigan for two years, and graduated from Yale Univ. in 1865. He studied medicine at Rush Medical College, Chicago, and graduated from the medical department of Columbia College in 1869.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill.

June 5" 1883

My dear Alice

I have thought of you all day—this your birthday.¹ I am sorry that my visible remembrance will be late this year. But I hope you will see it some time the last of the week. Little Web has counted up his pennies to buy a birthday card but could n't find one to suit him in the collection at Harvard as he indignantly told his mother, and we have n't had time yet to get it in Freeport.

On last Wednesday we received the news of Aunt Susan's death.² Ma and I went to Mt Carroll on Thursday and came back Saturday, poor Aunt Susan's death had nothing sad really in it, and it was a comfort to know that the last few weeks of her life she had been carefully cared for. They were all there and we saw the full circle of the friends. Ma and I were at Wilderberg³ of course and I had my final visit with Sue Hostetter. The new house is almost completed, tell Cousin Mary that it stands nearer the road & bridge than Abe's does, and not where we supposed.⁴ The wedding⁵ on the twentieth is to be very quiet and although favored with a cordial invitation we do not think we shall go, as it would be a very hurried trip and we gave our congratulations and greetings more quietly the other day when we left. On Saturday I went on through to Harvard according to agreement to bring back the two oldest boys in the family for a country vacation. Mary is looking very well indeed, brighter & more hopeful than I have seen her for a long long time. It was the eleventh day when I came and she had been sitting up and Sunday walked out to the dinner table. The nurse Miss Holt is very efficient and careful and I don't believe that she will allow her to over do. The baby is quiet and very well behaved indeed, he has a good face for his nose is immense, about as much bulk in it now as little Web's has. Web is looking splendidly, his face is as fat and although he had three accidents the last month they were <all> within two days. He and John are on their very best behavior since they have been here, and the visit will probably do them good, at least the "trying to be good" part. I saw George in Beloit he has decided to go to a school on Cape Cod, Amnisquam,⁶ but I suppose Harry knows all about the change of place. I hope that you and Cousin Mary will have a pleasant summer. Ma and I spend a good deal of time renewing wardrobes for we feel as if it would be out of the question to spend all the summer here, and we would like to be ready to start, when the time comes for the change. I think that the going abroad seems more feasible for the latter part of the summer, than it did in the spring when I talked of it. I am very glad that Harry has decided to go east, as the change and the sea air can't help but make him feel better. I had a letter from Weber this morning, he still seems to be improving and Dr Kilbourne's reports are encouraging, although of course nothing could be more fatal than undue haste. I feel that we made a mistake in not putting his business into stronger hands for I am afraid the future will not be very plain sailing for him for a while, and

possibly it could have been straightened out more during this time, but we all failed to realize at first I think that the business needed any special help. I hope Harry won't fail of the Beloit Commencement and as long before hand as he can come we will be overjoyed to see him.⁷ It is needless to say that your genial presence would be thrice welcome at that time but I suppose the decree has gone forth and that you wont alter.

It is a constant source of surprise to me why you consider my letters rare, for I certainly have been writing full and often since you left. Tell Cousin Mary that all the Carroll friends inquired very kindly about her. We saw Cousin Jennie⁸ and the children.

With love from Web & John, Ma and myself to all and hoping to see Harry very soon, and with many happy returns of the day I am your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1097–1104).

1. SAAH celebrated her thirtieth birthday on 5 June 1883.

2. AHHA's eldest sister Susanna ("Susan") Hostetter Bowman died on 29 or 30 May 1883 at the age of seventy-one (see also *PJA*, 1:67–68, n. 98)

3. "Wilderberg" was located on the Hostetter farm outside Mt. Carroll. Originally constructed by AHHA's brother Abraham and his wife Catherine Hostetter, it was the childhood home of their children Charles Linnaeus ("Linn"), Abram, Ross, Susan Mattie, and Sarah Hostetter. In 1883 it was the residence of Linn Hostetter, who had inherited it in 1872. It also became the home of Mary Peart when Linn Hostetter married her in 1885 (see also *PJA*, 1:69, n. 100; 1:71–72, n. 120; and 1:78, n. 179)

4. "Northwood" was a two-story white frame house constructed across the Waukarusa River from "Wilderberg." It was built for Susan Mattie Hostetter and Henry Mackay, who wed on 20 June 1883. The Mackays raised their children in the house and made it their home for the remainder of their lives (see also *PJA*, 1:132, n. 1)

5. A reference to the upcoming June wedding of Susan Mattie Hostetter to Henry Mackay.

6. The Annisquam Laboratory, a marine biology summer school and research center, was run by renowned New England paleontologist and university professor Alpheus Hyatt (1838–1902). Hyatt operated the independent study summer program in the seaside resort village of Annisquam, Mass., located on Cape Ann (not, as JA mistakenly says here, at Cape Cod), in Essex Co., just north of Gloucester, which in the nineteenth century was a major center for U.S. fishing and maritime industries. The area of Cape Ann and Ipswich Bay, the Annisquam River, and Annisquam and Gloucester harbors was rich in marine life. In early July 1882, AHHA and GBH traveled together to Annisquam. AHHA spent the summer vacationing there until it was time to leave for Europe in Aug., and GBH studied at the Annisquam Laboratory before going to graduate school at Johns Hopkins Univ. in the fall.

Hyatt's summer school at Annisquam was founded in 1879 through an endowment from the Woman's Education Assn. (WEA) of Boston and the Boston Society of Natural History (BSNH). The WEA was founded in the autumn of 1871 by women devoted to the promotion of advanced educational opportunities for women. It had committees devoted to intellectual, industrial, scientific, and artistic endeavors and gave out small grants to worthy projects. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) professor Alpheus Hyatt was instrumental in designing programs to bring science education into public schools, and in 1870 he backed an initiative by the BSNH to establish the Teachers' School of Science. He offered a series

of lectures on animal science to women at the BSNH. His laboratory school at Annisquam was an outgrowth of these educational efforts. Hyatt began the program in the summer of 1879 to provide specialized training in science to teachers and, more important, to create a research base for visiting students such as GBH to conduct advanced studies in marine biology. Instruction was offered free of charge. Classes were held from 1879 to 1880 in two rooms in Hyatt's summer home. Preference in admission was given to serious investigators with specific research proposals. By the summer of 1881, with funding from the WEA and the BSNH, equipment was moved out of Hyatt's house into a small building on the shore of Lobster Cove. The school then became known more formally as the Annisquam Laboratory and had status as an academic department of the BSNH. Summer classes were conducted at the Annisquam Laboratory for the next six years, with Hyatt and assistant B. H. Van Vleck as instructors. Instruction remained informal and personal, with each individual's studies independently designed by Hyatt according to their interests and skill levels. Hyatt had a 58-foot schooner, called the *Arethusa*, constructed for the use of his students. The program was coeducational from its inception. The records of the BSNH show that GBH was among five female and five male students accepted for the program in 1883.

Prof. Alpheus Hyatt was born in Washington, D.C., and educated at Yale and the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, where he worked with Louis Agassiz (an early proponent of quality higher education for women) and graduated with a B.S. degree in 1862. He received an honorary LL.D. from Brown Univ. in 1898. After serving in the Civil War, Hyatt joined with three other scientists at the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., to edit *American Naturalist*, the first American periodical devoted to the field of biology, and he helped found the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem. He was curator of the BSNH from 1881 until his death. He was also closely allied with the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Cambridge, Mass., and was chair of zoology and paleontology at MIT from 1870 to 1888 and at Boston Univ. from 1877 to 1902. Hyatt published on a wide range of scientific subjects, but he was best known for his work on marine groups, including living and fossil cephalopods. A scientific philosopher, he embraced the investigation of evolutionary processes and problems of classification. In the early 1880s, his publications included texts for teachers, including *The Oyster, Clam, and Other Common Mollusks*, No. 6 in the series Guides for Science-Teaching published in Boston (1880, 1884). Some of his best-known scientific works, including *Fossil Cephalopoda in the Museum of Comparative Zoology* and *Genera of Fossil Cephalopods*, were published in 1883. His work on corals was published in 1885, and his work on sponges in 1886. Hyatt was married in 1867 to Audella Beebe of Kinderhook, N.Y., and the couple had four children, including Alpheus Hyatt III. The Hyatts were generous and sociable people, and Alpheus Hyatt was known as "an approachable man, considerate of younger men under him, and though strong in his own feelings and convictions, was tolerant of all opinions, however diverse" (NCAB, 23:362). GBH and AHHA no doubt had a pleasurable time in Annisquam.

Hyatt's summer Annisquam Laboratory closed in 1886. It was the precursor to the permanent year-round Woods Hole Marine Biological Laboratory and Oceanographic Institute, located at Woods Hole, Mass., on Cape Cod. With financial backing from the women of the WEA, Hyatt's laboratory equipment was moved from Annisquam to Woods Hole, and the Marine Biology Laboratory was officially founded in the spring of 1887. Alpheus Hyatt served as the first president of the Corporation of the Marine Biological Laboratory (1888–89). He died in Cambridge, Mass., on 15 Jan. 1902.

7. See also JA to SAAH, 15 June 1883, below.

8. Virginia ("Jennie") Hostetter Reichard.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

June 15—1883

My dear Alice

I am glad you enjoyed the cup and saucer and hope you may placidly drink tea out of it on your sixtieth birthday. The Beloit Commencement is the 27th of June, we of course expect to see Harry here before then. Ma and I are going up the day before and George has engaged rooms for us but he expects Harry to room with him and is counting on a good long visit and an opportunity to show him all the lions of Beloit.

The change in the summer school is to go to Annisquam on Cape Cod, I supposed of course George had written about it, for he fully expects that Harry is going with him and that they will do some fine work together.¹ I wish that you were coming home for I think that we would all enjoy the Commencement very much as a reunited family.

The small boys are still here and demur to going home, although we expect Mr Linn this week or the first of next. Web has n't had any accidents during the night, but one afternoon came to grief when he was up playing with Sadie when of course he was n't watched[.] I was dreadfully sorry about it, put him to bed & talked until he cried as if his heart would break, but I am afraid that the impression was n't very lasting and have watched him like a hawk ever since, it is too bad to have him lose ambition as I am afraid he will after awhile.

I have been interrupted so often in writing this that I will close without much ado. Give my best love to Cousin Mary and Harry. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1105–7).

1. HWH did not go. See JA to SAAH, 2 July 1883, n. 1, below.

Speech to the Annual Meeting of the Rockford Female Seminary Alumnae Association

Rockford, Ill.

[20 June] 1883

TO THE UNCOMFORTABLENESS OF TRANSITION.

Every beginning christened with young hope has a magic in its new name. As if it were accompanied by a gay-eyed phantom who cried, "I am the spirit of youth! with me all things are possible."

We saw this phantom a year ago, when we heard the old letters A. B. for

the first time gravely spoken in our chapel, and when Rockford Seminary was declared a College.¹ The new name woke up a tumultuous multitude of wishes, ideas and expectations. We felt for the moment as if we stood upon the opening of a freer and broader scholarship, and we looked upon the new-fledged bachelors as if they were about to inaugurate a higher order of things.

But just as there comes to every promising youth a time when his friends are filled with disappointment, and he himself with chagrin, a time when he traverses the uncertain region between roseate hope and definite attainment—so for one year our Alma Mater has been left to struggle through the uncomfortable period of transition. Freightened with the responsibilities and historic demands of the word College, depressed and drawn back by her long Seminary ideas and associations, she has vainly striven to adjust herself to her new standards. She has pressed forward with every step attended by chagrins, misunderstandings and perplexing disappointments. She has had the bitter experience of being representative but not actual, a College in name, a Seminary in form, a hobbledehoy,² neither a man or a boy. This transitional period is natural and inevitable, and comes to try the mettle of every new undertaking, but we are frightened when we remember that the strain is often attended with mortality and sometimes ends in extinction, and we cry, “Wherein lies the uncomfortableness of transition, and is there no remedy?”

Let us put the question to the co-hippos³ as he hobbled over the dreary plains with his half-hoofed feet, conscious that in spite of all his strivings he was *not* a horse.

Let us ask the non-de-script tadpole who is pushed and snubbed by all the big frogs in the pool.⁴

Let us ask the cray fish⁵ who has exuviated the old shell and lies helpless and exhausted, unfitted to the new.

Let us inquire, if you please, of the ladies of the Honorary Board of Trustees as they sit in trustee meeting, a quiet row along the wall, a little dazed at their positions and wondering what is to be evolved from this co-mingling of the conservative and the enthusiastic.

Could all the transitional forms which we have evolved, the co-hippos, the tadpole, the cray fish and the much honored ladies, from their utmost experience and probity formulate a reply they would say:

“We are uncomfortable and uncertain because we are dimly conscious of sham and unfairness, because we bear a name which we do not duly represent and have raised vague expectations which we cannot fulfill.” And had they power to advise us they would add: “Do not separate the future from the past, the line of progress is a shaded line and never abrupt, and as each alumna is bound to the past of the Seminary by the sacred ties of pity, memory and faithfulness, so ye are each bound to the future of the College by the stirring appeal to your courage and ambitions—by all that makes life uplifted and progressive.”⁶

1. JA is referring to the in-between name the seminary went by in the mid-1880s, Rockford Female College (later changed simply to Rockford College).

2. “Hobbledehoy” is an archaic term for an awkward adolescent male, i.e., one in the in-between voice-changing stage of physical development when he is no longer a child but not yet an adult—as JA says, “neither man nor boy.”

3. JA may be referring to the eohippus, a horse-like creature of the early Eocene period found in fossils in the western United States. It had four toes on each forefoot and three toes on each hind foot and was approximately nine inches high at the shoulders and eighteen inches long.

4. Tadpoles are fish-like larval amphibians whose fins and external gills disappear as they metamorphose into adult frogs or toads, which are then able to move out of the water and survive on land.

5. Crayfish, also called crawfish or spiny lobsters, are edible freshwater crustaceans that are not “true” lobsters, although they resemble their larger, meatier counterparts, saltwater lobsters. They lack the enlarged front legs of their marine kin.

6. JA’s comments about the difficulty of evolving into more progressive forms were somewhat ironically followed by Caroline Potter’s remarks, which upheld an idealized vision of proper womanhood. Potter spoke on “The Madonna of the Future” (opening with the toast “A creature not too bright or good / For human nature’s daily food; / a perfect woman, nobly planned / To warn, to comfort and command.”) Potter spoke of the beauty of idealized motherhood represented in Raphael’s paintings of the Madonna—“that sweet faced woman, holding in tender firm clasp the babe who signifies a new life to the world”—and concluded that “[i]f the Romish church had done nothing else for the world but to give to it her lofty conception of womanhood, by that alone she had almost saved the world.” “Woman,” she observed, reinforcing the image of womanhood embraced by the class of ’81, had a “definite place and function in every human life. . . . [H]er office is to give—she is the bread giver” (*RSM* [July 1883], 217).

Marie Thompson Perry, who had a sense of humor, rose after the close of the toasts to announce “that the tadpole honorary members of the Board of Trustees had gained one leg—it had been appointed on a committee” and suggested the members adjourn to chapel to discuss business (*RSM* [July 1883], 219). During the business meeting, it was decided that a contribution donated to the Alumnae Assn. be given to Mary E. Holmes for use in the science department. “Jane Addams then proposed that a fund for founding a library be raised, and in behalf of the classes of ’81 and ’82 pledged one thousand dollars, if the other classes would raise the remaining four thousand, with the expectation that a second five thousand would be forthcoming should this first be secured. After much discussion of ways and means, it was decided to take steps toward raising the funds” (*RSM* [July 1883], 219–20). Adeline Potter Lathrop was elected the new president of the Alumnae Assn., and the annual meeting adjourned.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

July 2nd 1883

My dear Alice

Please excuse lead pencil but it is positively too warm to handle pen and ink. I send by this morning’s mail Harry’s chess score which he will be no doubt very glad to see. We all feel dreadfully over the short visit here, it is almost as if we had n’t seen him at all.¹

I hoped up to the very last minute that you would come with him. So much has happened and been thought of since you left in the spring, that it seems a long long time since I have seen you.

Weber came home on Saturday evening.² I was up yesterday afternoon and took tea with them, he is quiet and perfectly rational, taking a more sensible view of his case than he has ever expressed before. I feel though that he must necessarily be very uncertain of himself all summer.

I suppose Harry has given you the news of the Beloit Commencement,³ so I won't expatiate on the music[,] orations etc. I do wish you could have been at Rockford this year. Annie Dean⁴ was there and asked of you over and over again, Marie Upson⁵ represented your class. Everyone seemed unusually social and happy I thought. Mary Ellwood and her sister would like to join the party to go abroad this fall, and rather expect an aunt of theirs to be the chaperon.⁶ Mrs Rowell⁷ will spend the winter in Rome and is very anxious to have us spend part of the time with her. In case the Ellwood's fail to secure their aunt I would like very much to know where the Tewksberry's go. I meant to ask Harry for Geo Tewksberry's⁸ address all the time he was here, but the visit was so short some way and confused that I did n't get to it. I wish that you would send it to me in a postal, if you have n't time to write a letter and I would be glad too if either you or Harry would write to him about it, but in either case I would like the address at once, as Mr Ellwood⁹ is going to New York this week & would like to secure our passage. It would be pleasant to go in the same steamer with them & to be with them while we are in Germany.

I would be wondrous glad to behold your kindly face before we sail. Geo is going to the sea shore this week and is anxious to have Ma go with him.¹⁰ We have n't heard from Mary since Mr Linn was in Beloit, but she was n't nearly so well then. I am going down there pretty soon to visit a couple of weeks for Mary seems to feel as if she needed some one.¹¹

It is so warm that I am not equal to writing more now.

Ma and Geo send their best love to all. With love to Cousin Mary[,] Harry & Yourself. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1109–11).

1. HWH loved to play chess, as did GBH, and JA later sent a chess set to the Haldemans as a present from Europe. Apparently HWH's rare visit to Cedarville in June 1883 did not go entirely well and ended in some hurt feelings. On 11 July 1883, JA wrote to SAAH regarding the state of the "household when Harry left after so short a visit and giving up the summer school. You are not just in your estimate of Ma and George in regard to it, for I am afraid that there was sorrow and misunderstandings on both sides" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1117). JA had indicated earlier that GBH hoped that HWH would attend laboratory school at Annisquam along with him. See JA to SAAH, 15 June 1883, above.

2. JWA returned home to Cedarville from Elgin on 30 June 1883.

3. A reference to HWH, JA, JML, and AHHA attending GBH's graduation from Beloit College together on 27 June 1883. Beloit records show that GBH completed regular terms

in his first three years at the college. Latin, Greek, and mathematics were among his regular subjects. In his final year, however, he completed only the first of the three terms of a regular academic year while in residence at the college. No grades or subjects were posted for the middle term, when GBH was in Florida with his mother, and for the final term—GBH's twelfth at the college—his studies were listed generically as "Miscellaneous," with a score of 70. This final term may have been completed with some kind of independent study arrangement.

4. Sarah A. Dean (Hinckley) of the RFS class of 1873, an acquaintance of SAAH during her time in Rockford. Sarah A. Dean married Frank D. Hinckley, a grain inspector, and lived in Milwaukee, Wis. She had four daughters and a son. Dean was an RFS classmate and friend of RFS substitute teacher Mary Beattie.

5. Marie P. Upson was a friend and classmate of SAAH in the RFS class of 1872. She did not marry. She taught in Rockford and later in Omaha and Lincoln, Nebr. She became a county superintendent of schools in Nebraska. While in Rockford, she was active in the Congregational church and Sunday School. She lived in Beatrice, Nebr., in 1914.

6. Mary Ellwood, Harriet ("Puss") Ellwood, and their aunt Alida Young did accompany JA and AHHA to Europe in Aug. 1883. JA's stepcousin SH also went, as did two Rockford women, Mary Hodges Penfield and her daughter, Mary, who she met in Europe. See also JA to EGS, 11 July 1883; JA to SAAH, 18 July 1883; and part 2, all below.

7. Amelia Maria Collins Rowell was a Freeport friend of AHHA. She traveled to Europe with an acquaintance of AHHA, Mrs. Austria C. Knowlton, in 1883–84. Mrs. Rowell and Mrs. Knowlton visited JA's party while all were sightseeing in Rome during Mar. 1884. (See JA to JWA, 20 Mar. 1884, and JA to MCAL, 31 Mar. 1884, both UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1443–46, 1459–62). Mrs. Rowell also saw the travelers in Paris in June 1884 (see AHHA to HWH, 14 June 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ). Mrs. Rowell's husband was a partner in the firm of Sanford and Rowell, a Freeport lumber enterprise. JA and Mrs. Rowell traveled together during a portion of JA's second trip to Europe in 1887–88. For biographical information on Amelia Rowell, see introduction to part 4, n. 38, below.

8. Chicago businessman George Tewksbury was a friend of both GBH and HWH. In 1895, Tewksbury was the treasurer of the Chicago Cottage Organ Co., a large manufacturer of reed organs and pianos with offices at 215 Wabash Ave. in Chicago. Tewksbury traveled frequently for pleasure and in his job, seeing to business affairs in New York, Boston, and abroad. He wrote vividly and at length to HWH in 1895 about a trip he took to Europe, including an account of a brief Mediterranean voyage from Marseille to Algiers, his impressions of the city of Algiers and its people, and his experience visiting and dining in nearby Bilida. He gave HWH a colorful description of an Arab celebration attended by over a thousand people, featuring musicians and dancers and food and jewelry merchants, and shared anecdotes from his family's continuing trip, including an account of their tour of the Azores that emphasized its beautiful vegetation ([18 Apr. 1895], IU, Lilly, SAAH). HWH wrote to Tewksbury for JA in July 1883 (see JA to SAAH, 11 July 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1115–18).

9. Isaac Leonard Ellwood.

10. AHHA and GBH went to Annisquam, Mass. to vacation and study, respectively, in July.

11. JA may have visited Harvard, Ill., in early July; however, she saw JML in Cedarville the week of 11 July 1883, and she spent time with MCAL later in the month in Wisconsin.

From Ellen Gates Starr

Durand, [Ill.]

July 3, 1883.

My dear Jane,

I am ever so glad, not only that you are going to the sea side, but that you are going now, & coming back in August. I understood Miss Anderson that you were going away in Aug & as Miss Runyan will probably be here all of July, I feared I would only get a short visit with you. I shall be rejoiced to take it in Aug instead if you are at home by that time. I wish you could have made me a visit of a few days while Miss R. was here.¹ I had planned that, thinking you were to be at home in July, & I wanted you to see more of her. Perhaps you will some time. We are having a good rest; doing nothing whatever, for a time, not even reading, we were both so tired out, & if we get down to dinner, at 12 o'clock we deem it sufficient, omitting breakfast altogether. Now I must tell you of the wrongs of our sex endured in the person of your friend. After staying in Chicago two weeks to take the Harvard examination, I was informed by the Prof. in charge, on Thursday morning when I went to be registered, that I & my instructor had been laboring under a misapprehension, & that the ex. for women were held only in Cambridge, New York & Cincinnati. The ex. are exactly the same for women as for men, but they wouldn't let me sit down there & write them out, so "the king of France with 20000 men marched up a hill & then marched down again." Dr. Mitchell was furious. I think he will ask me to study again with him next year, & if I can make up all the entrance ex. including Greek, I will go to Cincinnati next summer & take them, perhaps. I hope your trip will do you ever so much good, & it will be more gratifying to see you after you come back, you will be so much better. Give a great deal of love to your dear Mother. I hope her illness is not long or serious; & with very much love to your dear self I am your sincerely devoted friend

Ellen G. Starr.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1112-14).

1. JA apparently did not visit EGS and Mary Runyan in Durand. She left Cedarville at the end of the second week of July. While GBH and AHHA went by train to Massachusetts, JA went to Mt. Carroll, where she visited the Hostetters. She then went to De Kalb to visit the Ellwoods, taking a short trip into Chicago to see about getting a new brace for her back, and then went on to Waukesha, Wis., to spend time with MCAL, who was in Wisconsin seeking rest and treatment for her health (see JA to SAAH, 18 July 1883, n. 12, below). JA then went east, visiting family in Philadelphia, before traveling to New York, where she met AHHA and prepared to leave for Europe.

To Ellen Gates Starr

Cedarville Ill

July 11 1883

My dear friend

You were present in my thoughts all day on Sunday the tenth of June. I climbed the pine hill towards evening and sat in the same place as nearly as I could remember, I recalled a great deal of what we said and thought there and although much of it must have been superficial to have been discussed so freely, I was thankful that I had received so much of you and wished that a few rare moments might come to us again. I wish that I could express to you the sort of blessing and happiness I feel that you have come to the good cherishing mother church. I wish you could tell me how to come there, for I feel as you do that so much is dependent on habits of mind.

My experiances of late have shown me the absolute necessity of the protection and dependence on Christ, his "method and secret" as Mathew Arnold put it. That the good men and books I used to depend upon will no longer answer. The little I have, has been purely experimental but it is sure. You I am sure have come into the fulness of it for you would be satisfied with nothing else.

It is seems quite "essential" for the establishment of my health and temper(?) that I have a radical change, and so I have accepted the advice given to every <exhausted> American "go abroad." We sail from N.Y. on the 22nd of Aug to be gone a year.¹ We will spend the early winter in Dresden, the spring months in Rome and next summer where ever fancy leads us.² How I wish you were one of the party.³ I think I would rather have six months with you than a year without you. Is there any possibility of you "coming over" during that time. You remember Mary & Puss Ellwood at school, I start with them and their aunt, but we have friends in Dresden whom we will meet⁴ and if Ma goes we will be more or less independent of them. I had hoped for a more congenial intimate party, but I was anxious to start at once and after all what you obtain depends on yourself, and I am glad to have a party I can be more or less independent of. If I had but a fidus Achates⁵ I think I could study German & see Rome with much energy and result, if it were you my friend.

I am ashamed of this letter, I have not said what I meant in the first two pages. But I have been interrupted twice & my mind is so filled with business, farming & the care of my brother who has come home,⁶ that I have almost neglected my best friends. I always feel someway that you will understand what I mean, even when I am shabby & far from my best.⁷ We won't be here but a few days. Write me soon. Yours forever

Jane Addams.

excuse⁸ this stationery & astonishing ink, I found it necessary to patronize the village store.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1119-20).

1. JA wrote to her sister on the same day she wrote this letter to EGS. She told SAAH: “[W]e have engaged passage on the ‘Servia’ of the Cunard Line for Aug. 22nd. I am trying very hard to persuade Ma to go and she thinks seriously of it. There are four in the party now [counting JA, Puss and Mary Ellwood, and Alida Young] and if she and Sarah Hostetter go it will be six. Large enough to be companionable and happy” (11 July 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1115–16); See also JA to SAAH, 22 Aug., and 27 Aug. 1883, both below; and AHHA to HWH, 22[–28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.

2. For the travelers’ itinerary, see introduction to part 2, below.

3. EGS and JA did travel to Europe together, in 1887–88. Their experiences on the trip proved instrumental in their founding of Hull-House in 1889. See part 4, below.

4. JA, AHHA, SH, the Ellwoods, and Mrs. Young reconnected with Mrs. Penfield and her daughter in Dresden on 19 Nov. 1883 and the group stayed at a pension there through Christmas and into Jan. 1884 (see JA to EGS, 2 Dec. 1883; JA to MCAL, 6 Dec. 1883; and JA to GBH, 4 Jan. 1883[1884], all below). The Feb. 1884 *RSM* carried brief news of JA and Mary Ellwood’s midwinter travels in the “Personals” section, announcing to the RFS community that “Jane Addams and Mary Ellwood are in Dresden. They write that there are twenty-five Americans in their pension, sixteen of whom are from Illinois. Their party numbers eight” (68).

5. Latin, *fidus Achates*, or faithful Achates—a phrase meaning a “true friend” or soul mate. Achates, in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, was the loyal lieutenant of Aeneas.

6. The text beginning with the words “come home” through JA’s signature is written at the top of the first page.

7. A month later, JA wrote to EGS from Philadelphia to speak again of the importance and closeness of their friendship (see JA to EGS, 12 Aug. 1883, below).

8. JA’s postscript is written in the right margin of the first page of the letter and perpendicular to the main text.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Waukesha Wis

July 18th 1883

My dear Alice

I have been trying to find a quiet time for writing for over two weeks, and your long kindly letter coming this evening made me feel ashamed of my unsatisfactory letters.¹ We left Cedarville Saturday morning,² George and Ma took the train en route for Annisquam, and I went to Mt Carroll to make a final appeal to Sarah to join the European party.³ She had written that it was impossible but before we went to bed had determined to go. She will be a wonderful acquisition to the party in every way, and is so enthusiastic that she declares she will go now if she goes alone.

There will be six of us, Puss & Mary Ellwood with their Aunt Mrs Young, Sarah—Ma and myself. It is a nice number I think and quite an ideal party. We have engaged passage for the 22nd of Aug on the Servia of the Cunard line. The plan is to spend the months of Sept & Oct in England & Scotland, the winter at Dresden until February and then go to Italy.⁴ The Ellwoods know a Mrs Hughes of Brighton who has chaperoned parties through England &c and Mr Ellwood who knows her well personally has engaged her services until we “learn the ropes” as he elegantly expresses it.⁵

I am delighted over the prospect of our going and am sure we are going to have a happy, healthful profitable time. If you have the route you took with Dr Ebell⁶ I would be ever so much obliged if you would send it me. Of course we are reading guide books and travellers at a great rate but there is nothing like personal suggestions.

I have not heard from either Ma or George since they reached Mass. but will meet Ma in N.Y. a day or two before sailing. We shut up the house in much better shape than we ever did before. Old Mr and Mrs Resh⁷ live in the back part, they will keep & feed two cows & a horse and pay as rent one third of the produce off of the thirty acres. We sold a good many of the vehicles etc and all together it is much simpler and better than ever before.

I had a lovely visit at Carroll, the house was full of jolly people & the sound of marriage bells seemed to be yet in the air. On Monday I reached Chicago about half past two and <accidently> met Mary Ellwood in the depot. I was carried almost bodily to De Kalb over night and met the aunt⁸ whom we will meet so often again for the next year. I enjoyed my visit, for there was every thing in the world to make it agreeable. The house is the most elegant I ever was in or saw, the manifest evidences of unbounded wealth is undoubtedly somewhat shoddy but withal there is some thing sort of historic and impressive in a three stair cases, a gardener's house on the grounds, stables filled with horses and dogs.⁹ Mary came back to Chicago with me Tuesday morning, we met Sade Sperry¹⁰ and the girls were with me when I went to Sargeants for the jacket. I liked Dr Sargeant¹¹ very much indeed, he took the measurements and seemed to know exactly what was wanted. The new jacket won't be nearly so high as this one and of course relieve the pressure in my lungs. The cinches will be ajustable so that I can either make them lower or higher, the part between the steel braces is made of a corset material. I will go down again in about ten days to have it fitted. He seemed to remember of Harry, when I introduced myself as his patient.

I finally reached Waukesha¹² at seven in the evening. Mary is better again than she was two weeks ago. She does n't cough one fourth as much as she did last summer but the dropsical tendency is quite pronounced. Nothing will induce her to wean the baby before fall. He is by far the best looking and best natured baby the family has been blessed with.

I will do all I can for Mary while I am here & will try to provide for help for her the coming winter, she ought to have some one to take complete charge of the baby as soon as he is weaned. I will be here until about the tenth of Aug and then go east making a call at Phila &c before we sail. I would be wonderfully glad to see <you> once again. I am glad you have Kugler,¹³ those are the books Flora¹⁴ thinks so much of. Mary brought her Lübke¹⁵ with her. I mean to make as much use of them as I can before we go, I came very near buying them in Chicago. I got Lessing Laocoon¹⁶ to get some idea of principle & analysis of art. I would rather even follow a wrong clue & come to bad conclusions than wander thro the galleries at random & depending merely on my fancy for criticism. We left

Weber feeling steady & well. It seems as if the world had grown a shade or two lighter of late. I am [so?] glad Ma has¹⁷ decided to go with us. You must have enjoyed Miss Sill's visit. I am glad she came.

With love to Harry and Yourself[.] Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1121–24).

1. None of these letters are known to be extant.
2. Saturday, 14 July 1883.
3. SH did join the party. She traveled with JA and AHHA in Europe for one year, from Aug. 1883 to Aug. 1884. JA and AHHA initially planned to be gone for the same period of time but decided to extend their stay into the spring of 1885 (see part 2, below).
4. This describes the actual itinerary followed from Aug. 1884 to Feb. 1885 (see introduction to part 2, below).
5. The travelers did not employ Mrs. Hughes.
6. A reference to the leader of SAA's traveling party from Rockford during her 1875 trip to Europe. SAA wrote home to JHA about Dr. Ebell's role as chaperone and the welcome surprise of Mrs. Ebell's unexpected appearance at the dinner table when the party was in Germany: "It was amusing to notice the expressions of the girls as they came in one after another. It was hard to tell who was happier, Mrs. Ebell or the party. It seemed so good to see a home face." Mrs. Ebell helped guide part of the party when it split for different destinations in the winter. "She will remain with us until we reach Glasgow," wrote SAA, "and bring back the young ladies who are to spend the winter here" (SAA to JHA, [ca. July 1875]). See also SAA to JHA, 13 June, 18 July 1875, SCPC, JAC.
7. See GBH to JA, 1 June 1882, n. 1, above.
8. Alida Young.
9. James Weber Linn quotes this passage from JA's 18 July 1883 letter about visiting the Ellwood home in his description of JA's activities in the summer of 1883 in his authorized biography, *Jane Addams: A Biography* (70).
10. RFS 1882 graduate Sarah ("Sade") Sperry (Snow), who taught high school in her hometown of Batavia, Ill., in 1883.
11. Chicago physician Dr. Augustus Sargeant, who from 1883 to 1891 lived and worked at 273 Ontario St., just west of State St., in Chicago. Although JA's jacket was worn for medical reasons to help her recover from back problems, corset-style braces of various designs were promoted by vendors for a variety health purposes (at the same time that corsets in general were deemed necessary to make the proper appearance in the tight-laced fashions of the day). Advertisements for various kinds of ladies' curative corsets (such as Dr. Scott's, a "beautiful invention" designed for "health, comfort and elegance" that promised to help "ward off and cure disease") were common in newspapers of the 1880s and in popular magazines such as *Harper's*.
12. In 1883, both SAAH and MCAL suffered from ill health that involved symptoms of dropsy, or edema. Both of JA's sisters became overweight in middle age, as did JA—SAAH especially so. As has been noted, HWH had been very concerned about SAAH earlier in 1883, when he could detect fluid in her thoracic cavity (see HWH to AHHA, 30 Jan. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ). HWH was not doing well himself in the spring and summer of 1883—he suffered, among other things, from alcoholism—and in 1884, with AHHA's financial help, he and SAAH left Mitchellville for Girard, Kans., and made a shift from medicine to banking as their primary way of making a living. It is possible that some of SAAH's ill health during their time in Mitchellville was related to difficulties the couple were facing in their effort to have a

child. In the 1880s, they used artificial insemination in their efforts to combat problems with infertility. Their much-heralded daughter Marcet was born in June 1887 (see *PJA*, 1:510–11, 521–22; and *JA* to GBH, 5 July 1887, below).

MCAL, always fragile in health, seemed to rally well after the birth of her son Stanley Ross Linn. However, she soon developed a respiratory illness with a cough. The family thought it best that she go to a rest home retreat in Wisconsin to regain her strength. She was treated at the Pennoyer Sanitarium in Kenosha, Wis. Located in the southeastern corner of Wisconsin, below Milwaukee and on Lake Michigan, the Pennoyer Sanitarium was not far northeast of Elgin and De Kalb, Ill. MCAL and JA stayed in Waukesha, outside Milwaukee, and took day trips for MCAL's treatments at the sanitarium.

Pennoyer Sanitarium was founded as a water cure establishment in South Port, Wis., in 1840. In 1850 it relocated to the harbor at Kenosha as the Kenosha Water Cure resort. Edgar Pennoyer (1822–93), who operated the facility with his sons, purchased it in 1859 from Dr. H. T. Seelye. It offered guests opportunities for rest and rehabilitation, including a regimen of good food, fresh air, therapeutic baths, and massage. SA, who had previously visited Pennoyer, recommended it to MCAL. MCAL made a second trip to Pennoyer in 1884, the year she had surgery, for nursing-home care. SA was treated in Kenosha in the fall of 1885. JA wrote to SAAH at the time, saying that “Miss Anderson is at Kenosha in an invalids home, she was threatened with nervous prostration, I am worried about her and anxious to see her again” (23 Oct. 1885, below). The Pennoyer building that MCAL (and probably SA) were treated at in the 1880s was destroyed by fire in 1890. A new one was constructed on the lakefront and was in use until 1919, when Pennoyer Sanitarium was purchased by the Dominican Order of nuns and the former sanitarium became St. Catherine's Hospital. MCAL returned to Pennoyer as a convalescent during her final illness in the spring of 1894. She died at the facility in July 1894, soon after her forty-ninth birthday, and JA assumed guardianship of her minor children (see also *PJA*, 1:541–44; and *PJA*, 3).

13. A reference to the two-volume *Handbook of the History of Painting* by German art critic and historian Franz Kugler (1808–58). Kugler was also a historian and biographer of Frederick the Great and the Seven Years' War. In his handbooks, Kugler presented illustrated interpretations of the Italian, German, Flemish, and Dutch schools of painting from the early Christian era into the first decade of the nineteenth century. Illustrations indicated the location of the particular artwork in Europe, and the handbooks served as a guide to cathedral altarpieces, paintings in museums and galleries, and private collections in palaces and castles. Kugler's discussions included artworks that JA viewed in Dresden and Berlin. Several revised, translated, and expanded editions of Kugler were published by others and were popular in Britain and the United States in the 1870s and 1880s. These included *Handbook of Painting. German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools*. Based on the Handbook of Kugler. Re-modeled by the late Prof. Dr. Waagen. A new edition thoroughly revised and in part re-written by J. A. Crowe (2 vols., London, 1879); *Handbook of Painting. The Italian Schools*. Translated from the German by a lady. Edited by Sir Charles L. Eastlake (2 vols., London, 1867). Sir Edmund Head's (1805–68) *A Handbook of the History of the Spanish and French Schools of Painting Intended as a Sequel to Kugler's Handbooks of the Italian, German, and Dutch Schools of Painting* (London, 1848) functioned as a supplement to the standard Kugler.

14. Flora Guiteau.

15. A reference to one of the works of German art historian Wilhelm Lübke (1826–93) that were current in 1883, which included *Outlines of the History of Art*, English trans. from the 7th German ed., ed. by Clarence Cook (New York, 1878); *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the Middle Ages*, English trans. from the 5th German ed., with appendix by L. A. Wheatley (London, 1871; 4th ed., Edinburgh, 1877); *History of Art*, English trans. by F. E. Bunnnett, 2nd ed. (London, 1869); and *History of Sculpture: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Time*, English trans. by F. E. Bunnnett (London, 1872).

16. German literary critic and dramatist Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's (1729–81) best-known work of cultural criticism, *Laocoön: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1766). Educated in theology at the Univ. of Leipzig and in medicine at Wittenberg, Lessing began writing dramas in the early 1750s, when he was a friend of Voltaire at the court of Frederick II of Prussia. The published version of *Laocoön* was written in Leipzig and Berlin in the mid-1760s. An intended third part was not finished. In *Laocoön*, Lessing discussed Homer's *Iliad*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and other works. He critiqued neoclassical ideas of tragedy and beauty and contrasted the written art of poetry with the visual art of painting and the sculptures of ancient Greece and Rome. He argued for the fuller depiction of human passion, action, and emotion as well as greater illusion in art.

Despite his book's title, Lessing never actually viewed the *Laocoön Group*, the highly naturalistic Hellenistic marble group of sculptures of the Rhodian school that gave his book its name. The sculpture, a representation of a scene from the *Aeneid*, depicts the suffering of the heroic Trojan priest Laocoön and his two sons, who maintain dignity in their agony as they are being crushed to their deaths by snakes. They have been condemned for offending the gods by warning the Trojans against the Greeks. Created ca. 50 B.C. and discovered in Roman emperor Nero's palace in 1506, it was put on view at the Vatican Museum in Rome. The statue was an inspiration for Michelangelo and, reproduced in casts and engravings, strongly influenced Baroque sculpture.

JA went to see the sculpture when she was in Rome in 1884. She wrote home to GBH that she found it "superior a thousandfold to any picture, cast or description." In it she saw not so much lofty nobility as very human compassion. "The main idea is not as I supposed that of agony and physical suffering," she wrote, "but of human sympathy, the live figures—the elder son and the father are suffering for each other and unmindful of their own pain, and it is so portrayed that you recognize it at once" (21 Mar. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; JAPM, 1:1448).

17. Text beginning with "has decided to go with us" through the signature is written at the top of page one and perpendicular to the main text.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Waukesha Wis

July 24" 1883

My dear Alice

Your kind letters came to hand on Saturday.¹ I have not written nearly as often as I had wished and planned, but it has been one continuous effort to place ourselves thus far on our journey. We have really had no plans except the general ones I have written you.

I will be here until the eighth or tenth of August and then will go on to Phila. I should like to go either by way of Washington or go directly through to Troy and sail down the Hudson, but that will be discussed later.

And now, my dear, the all important question of seeing you. Of course I should go upon my journey with a lighter heart if you had first wished me a bon voyage. Could n't you and Harry come here for a few days? It is on the direct road you know from R Island.²

About Weber's <relation to you> don't give yourself a moment of uneasiness. He has not expressed the least unkindness or misunderstanding of your motives, and has said several times that he hoped you would not remember what he said

to you when he was not himself. He and Laura both feel very grateful for what you did for them, and by no means hold you responsible for the Jacksonville blunder. We were all at fault when we decided that he should go there. While he seems so rational and to look at his case better than he ever did before, he is of course uncertain of himself to a certain extent, and must not test himself too much. I think he could certainly visit and talk with you for a little while, but I would almost dread a two or three days visit, such as you would be obliged to make if you went to Cedarville. He would feel dreadfully to have you there and not come & stay right at his house. A visit might turn out all right as he does not seem nearly as sensitive as usual.

I am much obliged for the receipt of the coupons and have no uneasiness about the Des Moines investment.³

I have written this in a wonderfully hurry as the chirography shows—as I want to mail it as I drive Mary down to her bath, & it is time to start. She takes the massage treatment & it⁴ reducing the dropsical tendency more than any thing else. Just think of her weighing 135 lbs. The doctors all declare that she has no serious symptoms but I am worried every minute, I do all I can to make her rest but it don't amount to a great deal after all[.]⁵ Excuse haste[.] Yours

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1125–28).

1. The letters are not known to be extant.

2. Rock Island Railroad. JA wrote to SAAH again on 31 July 1883. A week before leaving on her trip east, she confided to her sister that “a great fear seizes me that I won't see you” and that she was hoping that SAAH was on her way to Wisconsin. If she was, JA wrote, “I shall be rejoiced to see you” (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1129, 1130). SAAH did go to see JA in Waukesha before JA departed for the East (see JA to SAAH, 8 Aug. 1883, below).

3. It is likely that with the help of SAAH and HWH, JA invested in mortgages related to property in Des Moines, Iowa (see *JAPM*, 27:1081).

4. JA probably meant the phrase to read “it is reducing.”

5. In her 31 July 1883 letter, JA reported to SAAH that “Mary has been improving the last week markedly. The baby is a dear delicate little fellow but bright and thriving” (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1129).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Albany, N.Y.,

Aug 8" 1883

My dear Alice

We are here for the night and take a boat at half past eight in the morning, giving us time to see the capital and some thing of the city before we start.¹ We came in more than four hours behind time this evening reaching here at nine instead of half past four. We were delayed last night for over five hours by a wrecked engine which was on the track and they were obliged to build a rail

road track around it. We enjoyed the ride, although Agnes² looks very tired and we were both glad to get off & rest for to night.

The jacket pounded and rubbed me all the way but I did not have a back ache, and although I feel sore to night I have not the regulation pain so I guess we can call it a success, although I do hope it will grow more comfortable in time than it was to-day. "Whatever happens or what ever does n't happen" I shall never cease to be grateful that you made the fare well visit. It will be a remembrance all through the trip. I hope you are not all tired out. With love to Harry & yourself. Ever Yours

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1133–34).

1. JA wrote this letter on hotel stationery featuring an engraving of the Delavan Hotel in Albany, T. Roessle, Son, & Co., proprietors. On 9 Aug. 1883 she reported to SAAH that she spent the morning of 8 Aug. seeing "the State house in Albany. It is a wonderful piece of work. The interior is gray sand stone, so carved & modeled, that the color & substance is impressed on your mind for hours afterward" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1136).

2. JA's cousin Agnes Addams Clifton, daughter of Lavinia and James Huy Addams, who accompanied JA east to visit family in the Philadelphia area.

To Ellen Gates Starr

The following letter to Ellen Gates Starr is unusually revealing of Jane Addams's emotional state. Here she confides to Ellen of the elevating effect of their friendship, which she feels helps her to be her best, most active, and idealistic self. The letter also includes Addams's statement that her long depression, begun in the summer of 1881, had effectively lifted. She looks forward to her trip to Europe with some reservations about its usefulness and her own ability to maintain resolve. Despite these doubts, Jane Addams was clearly feeling better physically and emotionally than she had since the summer of her father's death two years before. Her tone in these days before her departure for Europe was one of optimism.

536 N 4" St[.] Philadelphia [Pa.]

Aug 12" 1883

My dear Girl—

I have but a few minutes to write for I am in the midst of a goodly number of aunts and innumerable cousins who claim every minute.

You have been in my thoughts a great deal this summer, & I want you to know my friend that my view of things is always a little higher and more vigorous when I take a stand point besides you. We had a beautiful ride down the Hudson a few days ago, and I quite enjoy a few days sojourn in this kindly city before the final ending in noisy N.Y.¹ Don't be afraid to write me when you are "low in your mind." I have been so for almost two years it seems to me, and have not spared you with dolorous impressions and details, and since my horizon

has brightened a little do tell me how you feel and let me be the cheer to you if possible that your letters have been to me. I called on the Dean of the Medical College yesterday and had a beautiful talk with her.² I quite feel as if I were not "following the call of my genius" when I propose to devote t[w]o years time to travel in sea[r]ch of a good time and this general idea of culture which some way never commanded my full respect. People complain of losing spiritual life when abroad. I imagine it will be quite as hard to hold to full earnestness of purpose. This is a good 4" of Aug. letter, but it is all I have time for. Write me when you can whether it is much or little[,] grave or gay. Ever Yrs Sincerely

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1140-41).

1. JA wrote to SAAH late at night on 9 Aug. 1883 from her bedroom at the home of their uncle and aunt, Nathan and Harriet C. Addams Young, to say she had arrived safely and happily in Philadelphia. She reported that she "had a beautiful ride down the Hudson" and that she was glad to have taken "that route. It was a quick succession of history and beauty" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1135). She had consulted historical guide books about points of interest. She had also "met Genl Beaver's sister on the boat, Anna McDonald, who was at Uncle's here during the Centennial summer [1876]. I remember the remark Pa always made when her mother's name was mentioned—'She was the smartest woman in the Addams family, she had a good mind.' The daughter has certainly received some thing of it, for she is the brightest girl I have met for a long time, we had a lovely day and renewed some thing of the kinship feeling" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1135-36). Anna ("Annie") R. MacDonald, JA's second cousin, was the stepsister of Gen. James Addams Beaver (1837-1914), who became governor of Pennsylvania in 1887. She was the daughter of Ann Eliza Addams Beaver and her second husband, Rev. Samuel H. MacDonald, who were married in 1845. JA also reported that she was glad to be back in Philadelphia, where she was greeted by family and saw familiar places again. "We arrived in Phila. by ten o'clock. Aunt Harriet is at Spring lake, but the rest were on hand to give us a warm welcome," she wrote. "It seemed very natural and pleasant to see the lights and houses of Broad St again" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1136). She was soon enmeshed in a series of visits to and with her extended family (see also JA to SAAH, 18 Aug. 1883, below).

2. A reference to a visit with Dean Rachel L. Bodley at the WMCP.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

536 N 4th St Philadelphia Pa

Aug 18" 1883

My dear Alice

Your kind letters from time to time have cheered us all with their breezy news. I have been in the midst of chagrin & trouble. Last Monday afternoon¹ Agnes[,] Aunt Lydia & I planned to go to Reading, Uncle² went with us to the depot, and in a crowded St car on Callowhill my pocket book was taken containing my letter of credit. Since then the main occupation of life has been to telegraph and correspond with banks. The letter was undoubtedly picked so of course there has been no finding it, but it has all been finally arranged so that it

would not be honored if presented and the probabilities are that a bright thief would not attempt it.³ Mr Worrall⁴ has been my right hand friend and has certainly done every thing that keen fore thought could suggest. Thursday Clara⁵ & I met in N.Y. and saw Monroe & Co the bankers about getting a duplicate. We had a little visit with Uncle Harry⁶ who was so cordial & affectionate that it seemed like a blessing simply to have seen him. He sent his best love to you. The house is closed but he will meet us in N.Y on Monday⁷ & spend both evenings with us at the hotel. From the city Clara & I went to Spring Lake⁸ where we saw Mary Worrall, the children and Anna⁹ for the first time. They have a beautiful cottage by the sea shore, the children run & swim and are as hearty as can be. We had a very hearty pleasant visit & came back to Phila last evening. Anna was full of suggestions & interest & she & Mary with Mr Worrall & James¹⁰ expect to come to N.Y. Tuesday night to see off next morning, our steamer starts on Wednesday at half past eight A.M.¹¹ Clara & Miranda¹² are going from here so we will have quite an elaborate send off.

The day before Miranda & I spent at Ambler. Sallie¹³ has been dreadfully sick all winter and looks very much reduced & thin & wan. They are just as devoted & happy in each other as can be. Aunt Elizabeth¹⁴ said I should remind you of a promise to paint something for her. The Aunties at Reading¹⁵ of course were kind and jolly. Agnes staid there to make her visit first before coming back to the city. My outfit is quite complete, I have a leather trunk & a "nobby" ulster &c. I lost twenty five dollars in my purse & have economized on the rug question. Mrs Penfield has decided to go, & will meet us Monday. The more the merrier I suppose. Sarah Hostetter & Cousin Mary¹⁶ are here spending the day. Sarah will be here until Monday & we will go to N.Y. together & meet Ma, George may come down with her. I have not time to write more, please excuse pencil, but there is no ink in Clara's room, she is still taking her nap & I am undressed & cannot search down stairs. Do not be uneasy about my letter of credit. Every one laughs at my fears. You know it cannot be used in America. I think of you often & often my dear and am so much obliged for the last visit. I wish you knew how different my impression of Uncle Nathan is from the former one.¹⁷ With love to Harry[.] Ever Yr loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1142-45).

1. 13 Aug. 1883. The letters JA mentions are not known to be extant.

2. JA's traveling companion Agnes Addams Clifton, JA's aunt (JHA's sister) Lydia W. Addams Albright, and one of JA's uncles, probably Nathan Young (JHA's brother-in-law), with whom JA was staying. Nathan and Harriet C. Addams Young's home was located at 536 North 4th St. in Philadelphia.

3. These financial arrangements were satisfactorily attended to. JA and AHHA also carried a letter of introduction for "Mrs. John H. Addams and her daughter, Miss Jane Addams, of Freeport, Illinois" from Elihu Benjamin Washburne of the U.S. ministry to France. The letter was written on 365 Dearborn Avenue, Chicago, letterhead, 10 Aug. 1883, and addressed

United States of America

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting:

I, the undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States of America, hereby request all whom it may concern to permit *Jane Addams*,
a **CITIZEN** of the **UNITED STATES**,
safely
and freely to pass and in case of need to give
her all lawful Aid and Protection.

DESCRIPTION	
Age	23 years
Stature	5 feet 3 1/2 inches
Complexion	fair
Eyes	gray
Nose	straight
Mouth	thin-lipped
Chin	dimpled
Hair	light brown
Complexion	rather sallow
Age	medium

Given under my hand and the
Seal of the Department of State
at the City of Washington,
the 14th day of August,
in the year 1883, and of the
Independence of the United States
the one hundred and eighth.

J. Frelinghuysen

AUG 19 1883

Jane Addams's first U.S. passport, 1883. (SCPC, JAC; JAPM, 27:491–92)

"To the Diplomatic and Consular officers of the United States." Mr. Washburne explained that "Mrs A. is the widow of the late Hon John H. Addams, for many years one of the most prominent men of our state" and that JA and AHHA "propose spending a year or two in Europe." Washburne commended the two women to "your kind offices" and to the help of others they might encounter in their time abroad (SCPC, JAC; JAPM, 1:1138). Elihu Benjamin Washburne (1816–87) was an acquaintance of JHA and a former U.S. representative from Illinois (1853–69). He was the U.S. minister to France from 1869 to 1877.

4. JA's cousin by marriage, Peter (or Petera) B. Worrall, the husband of Mary C. Young Worrall and son-in-law of JA's hosts, Nathan and Harriet C. Addams Young. Mary C. Young (b. 1845?) and Peter B. Worrall (b. 1840?) lived at 2005 Mt. Vernon St. during the 1880s. He was in the dry goods business and imported cloth from Europe. The Worralls's children included Nathan Young (b. 1870), Bessie (b. 1871?), Frank (b. 1873), Charles (b. 1875?), Walter (b. 1877?), Marie (b. 1885), and Dorothy (b. 1887). Ray Worrall (1880–81) and a daughter, Marion (1868?–1885), were buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery. See also JA to SAAH, 27 Aug. 1883, n. 7, below.

5. Thursday, 16 Aug. 1883, and JA's cousin Clara L. Young.
6. JA's uncle John Harrison Weber.
7. Monday, 20 Aug. 1883.
8. Spring Lake was a summer resort on the Atlantic seashore in New Jersey, south of Asbury Park. Young apparently spent part of the summer there away from the Philadelphia heat. JA's aunts Rebecca Addams and Susan Jane Addams Mull also vacationed there.
9. JA's cousin Mary C. Young Worrall, her children, and Mary's sister, Anna Young Mohr.
10. JA's cousin by marriage, James Nicholas Mohr, the husband of Anna Young Mohr.
11. The *Servia* departed from New York Harbor on the morning of 22 Aug. 1883.
12. JA's cousin Miranda E. Addams, daughter of Rebecca Margaret Addams and Richard Addams.
13. JA's cousin Sarah ("Sallie") W. Reiff, who lived in what was then the small town of Ambler, Pa., north of Philadelphia. Sallie Reiff died in 1885.
14. JA's aunt Elizabeth Weber Reiff, sister of JA's mother SWA and John Harrison Weber.
15. An assortment of Addams relatives lived in the Reading area. JA's uncle Daniel and aunt Lydia Addams Albright were in Womelsdorf, a few miles from Reading. Several Addams cousins were residents of Sinking Spring, the birthplace of JA's father, which was a few miles from Reading. JA's aunts Mary B. Addams Van Reed and Susan Jane Addams Mull probably lived in Reading.
16. Another reference to Mary C. Young Worrall.
17. When JA wrote to SAAH on 9 Aug. 1883, she observed that "Uncle is looking a great deal better & more cheerfull than when we were here before" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1137).

Part 2

A FEVERISH SEARCH AFTER CULTURE, 1883–85



Jane Addams, 1880s. (JAPP, Hulbert)

Introduction



When Jane Addams and her entourage embarked for Europe from the bustling port of New York in late August 1883, they were tracing the footsteps of thousands of privileged American women whose white upper middle-class families deemed the Grand Tour of Europe¹ to be a valuable and even necessary extension of a young woman's education during the last decades of the nineteenth century. While it seemed to Jane a firm tradition,² a popular rite of passage, even a shared female ritual, the Grand Tour was not yet a generation old, a by-product of the vast sea of social change wrought by the Civil War.

Although some noted American women, such as women's rights activist Elizabeth Cady Stanton and "Battle Hymn of the Republic" author Julia Ward Howe, had traveled to Europe with their husbands and a few intrepid figures such as transcendentalist Margaret Fuller had journeyed alone in search of self-fulfillment, it was rare for women to tour Europe during the antebellum era. In contrast, after the Civil War, young American women traveled with their older female relatives to Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland to experience Europe and its high culture in parties of two to twelve that typically consisted of sisters, cousins, or school friends in their twenties accompanied by mothers, aunts, and teachers.

In her memoir *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, Jane Addams called this feminine wanderlust a "feverish search after culture."³ The fervency that drew affluent mothers and daughters to Europe in such large numbers matched the ardor with which American girls were attending college for the first time. They plunged into literature, science, and public speaking, while their mothers' generation, denied the benefits of a college education, organized women's clubs in which they could educate themselves by preparing and presenting papers on art, history, and other fields of intellectual inquiry. Young women who were not able to go to college because of gender exclusion embraced the Grand Tour as a substitute

form of higher education. Those who had matriculated envisioned it as a kind of graduate school. This seems to have been Jane Addams's perspective. She had tried professional education and found it wanting, suffered personal tragedy, and fallen into malaise and physical illness, and she approached her Grand Tour opportunity with seriousness of purpose and intensity, dedicated to recovering her questionable health and augmenting her midwestern education and lack of worldly experience.

The Grand Tour was a methodical experience for women intent on absorbing the arts and culture of the Old World. They visited art galleries, museums, concert halls, monuments, ruins, and other historic sites. They also studied German, French, and/or Italian. European travel exposed the women to differences in cultures and to the class stratification of European societies, broadening their parochial and ethnocentric upbringing. For some, including Jane Addams, the Grand Tour laid the groundwork for social activism, helping to spur the progressive impulse that flourished by the turn of the nineteenth century, of which she became an abiding symbol.

A mark of emancipation as well as affluence, the Grand Tour was an empowering experience for women across generations. It provided a significant opportunity for the first generation of college graduates and their female relatives of the women's club generations to share a potentially perspective-altering educational adventure. Jane Addams noted in her memoir that the German and French pensions were "crowded with American mothers and their daughters who had crossed the seas in search of culture."⁴ Her entourage was typical. Jane's companions at the outset were her stepmother, Anna Haldeman Addams, just turned fifty-five; her stepcousin (Anna's niece) Sarah Hostetter, twenty-seven; a Rockford classmate, 20-year-old Mary Ellwood; Mary's sister Harriet ("Puss"), twenty-two; the Ellwoods' aunt, Alida Ellwood Young, in her mid-forties; and her stepmother's friend Mary Hodges Penfield, sixty-three, who was joined later by daughter Mary, called Molly.⁵ The eight women did not always travel together as a group but sallied forth as an Addams, Ellwood, or Penfield party and reunited from time to time.⁶

Years later, generalizing on the basis of her own experience, Jane Addams recalled a pronounced difference between the generations of travelers: the mother immersing herself in foreign languages and cultures; the college-educated daughter less fully engaged with her exotic surroundings, more insecure, "only at ease when in the familiar receptive attitude afforded by the art gallery and the opera house," which represented "the familiar atmosphere of the classroom which had, as it were, become sublimated and romanticized."⁷ In all likelihood, Jane Addams was also recalling her stepmother, Anna, who spoke the German she had learned from the Pennsylvania Dutch. In her memoir, she described "the mother making real connection with the life about her, using her inadequate German with great fluency, gayly measuring the enormous sheets or exchanging recipes with the German Hausfrau, visiting impartially

the nearest kindergarten and market, making an atmosphere of her own, hearty and genuine as far as it went, in the house and on the street.”⁸ This observation reprised her own youthful yearning to be engaged with life rather than remain a passive and studious onlooker.

Jane Addams’s 21-month Grand Tour, August 1883 through May 1885, fell into two distinct parts: active touring and concentration on study. From her arrival in Queenstown, Ireland, on 29 August 1883 until she reached Berlin for a second and longer stay in October 1884, Jane and her companions explored the British Isles and the Continent in a big push to see as much as possible. While the travel was fast paced during these thirteen months, the party nevertheless settled down in several cities for brief periods. After a whirlwind tour of scenic Ireland and an enforced two-week stay in Dublin due to Anna’s intestinal illness, the Addams group traveled by train and boat to Scotland, arriving on 19 September 1883 in Glasgow. A two-week tour of the Highlands and Edinburgh was followed by a journey through the English Lake District to London, where they spent three weeks in October with day trips to Windsor, Oxford, and Stratford. In early November, augmented by the Ellwood party, they departed for the Continent, touring Holland and journeying on to Berlin before settling in Dresden for six weeks, where they celebrated Thanksgiving and Christmas.⁹

In January 1884, the party visited several other German cities, including Gotha, Nuremberg, Saxe-Coburg, Eisenach, and Munich, before heading to Vienna, after which they journeyed south to Italy, through Trieste, arriving in Venice on 13 February. Eight days in Venice led to three weeks in Florence, where they absorbed the aesthetic treasures of the Renaissance capital. They spent five weeks exploring the arts and antiquities of Rome, 17 March until 21 April, culminating in the experience of Holy Week and Easter. Her time in Rome seems to have been a high point for Jane. To Sarah Blaisdell, her former classical language teacher at Rockford Female Seminary, she exclaimed: “We were in Rome for five weeks, it almost seemed when we left it as if we never could be the same again as when we came, and yet one is almost afraid to leave it, for fear that the added sense will go, when the ‘visible history’ is no longer around you. . . . Rome was like the history of the world itself, no one man was of sufficient account to have made any difference, and each spot of ground had been lived <over> four or five times and was covered with at least three layers of ruins. It was at first confusing and depressing, but a little familiarity, produced an affection and proprietorship as I have n’t felt any where since I left home.”¹⁰

The spring and summer months after the travelers left Rome were the most hectic for Addams and her companions. She convinced her stepmother and stepcousin to make their one deviation from the standard Grand Tour—to visit Greece.¹¹ The three women took a train south to Naples and over to Brindisi, where they boarded a steamer for Athens; they arrived on 27 April and stayed almost a week before returning to Naples via Sicily. They made expeditions to Pompeii, Sorrento, and Capri and ascended the lava-strewn slopes of Vesuvius

before heading north to Switzerland. During the three-week journey to Geneva, they stayed in a different city or town almost every night.¹²

After a week in Geneva where they had daily appointments with a dentist¹³ and bought music boxes, they traveled to Paris, where the younger women stayed for two weeks. Anna Haldeman returned to Geneva after a week to rendezvous with her son George Haldeman, who was joining them during his summer vacation from graduate study at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. The Addams party, now four, toured the Swiss and French Alps in a holiday mood. They climbed a number of peaks and glaciers before boarding a boat in Zurich for a trip down the Rhine through Heidelberg, Frankfurt, and other German cities. They returned to London via Belgium, arriving on 9 August 1884. Sarah Hostetter embarked for the United States with the Ellwood sisters and their aunt, while Jane, Anna, and George toured Wales, southern England, and the Isle of Wight and then spent three weeks in London. George Haldeman returned home on the *City of Berlin* in mid-September. This concluded the touring phase of the trip.

The last eight and a half months of Jane's European sojourn were as slowed down and sedentary as the first year had been a rush to see as much as possible. The two Addams women would "not travel so constantly" during the next year, Jane Addams wrote a family friend, because she and Anna would "be glad for a rest and a chance to digest what we have been so rapidly taking in."¹⁴ The past year had been one of "unmitigated pleasure and travel," she wrote home. She hoped her second year in Europe would "have a little more study and profit in it."¹⁵

In late September 1884, Jane and Anna left England for Berlin, where they stayed in "a sort of language pension" until 19 January 1885. Toward the end of October, Jane reported to stepbrother George that they had been "very quiet and regular and very glad to settle into the pleasant hum-drum of life."¹⁶ Jane took French and German lessons, finding them arduous, and frequented lectures in German at the Victoria Lyceum. She described it as an "advanced lecture course for ladies, given by Professors from the University."¹⁷ They "settled into almost a boarding-school routine," Jane reported to her stepbrother.¹⁸ Both women enjoyed "roaming about the city at large" and attending concerts and opera.¹⁹ Highlights of this part of their trip were their attendance at the Ordens Fest, a glittering court ceremony attended by nobility and royalty,²⁰ and the lasting friendship they developed with a German woman and her daughter.²¹ From Germany they journeyed to Paris, where they stayed with the Bonniol family for four months. They tried to immerse themselves in French language, culture, and history.²² As they prepared to return to the United States, they spent more time experiencing Paris with American friends from home, including Jane's cousin, Mary Young Worrall.²³ In late May 1885 they returned home, embarking from Liverpool on the *Servia* and arriving in New York during the first week in June.

The trajectory of their European tour had been set by the travel memoirs and tour guides they relied on.²⁴ Visiting major cities such as London, Paris,

Florence, and Rome was required, of course, but within the prescribed route the Addams party gave themselves leeway to make their own plans in an ad hoc fashion. On board the *Servia*, for example, the group held an “animated discussion of guidebooks & maps” before they decided to disembark at Queens-town, Ireland.²⁵ The expedition to Greece, which Jane Addams longed for but her two companions dreaded, was debated until it was almost too late to go, but she prevailed. When they traveled as the Addams party with Anna, it was often Jane and Sarah, or Jane alone, who made actual travel arrangements. In this they were aided immensely by the services of the Thomas Cook and Son travel agency. Although the women seemed to have developed a bias against the popular tour organizer at some point during the winter of 1884,²⁶ Jane Addams and her companions had “quite gotten over” their “prejudice” against Cook’s tickets after they had used them “safely” and successfully in their trip to Athens. Jane enclosed a “Cook map” in a letter to her sister Alice, with the “proposed route” for their summer 1884 tour of Switzerland written “in ink,” although, she assured Alice, “we will change it some what.”²⁷

Outbreaks of illness and weather conditions were major determinants of the Addams party’s precise itinerary. Anna’s numerous health-related troubles, including repeated bouts with intestinal problems, fevers, sinking spells, a sty, a boil on her chin, painful teeth, and assorted aches and pains,²⁸ posed a continual worry for Jane. She dutifully reported them to Anna’s sons, usually after the fact and with an accompanying disclaimer that each condition was nothing serious.²⁹ The presence or absence of cholera in a given locale dominated their travel decisions, especially in the warm months. The timing of their trip to Rome was carefully scheduled to avoid Italy during the summer, when cholera was more likely to appear, and letters home in the summer of 1884 were filled with references to reported outbreaks on the Continent that required changes in itinerary.³⁰ In January 1884, the group decided to avoid Prague because of reports of smallpox there.³¹ The travelers abandoned the planned visit to Staffa and Iona in Scotland because they were “tired of rainy boating.”³² Jane and Sarah changed plans and fled Geneva for Paris for two weeks in June 1884 because Switzerland was cold and rainy.

The party’s mode of travel resembled that of countless other American tourists. By 1883, with the increasing ease of transatlantic steamship travel, it took only a week to go from New York City to the west coast of England by the fastest boats. Railroad travel had also improved, and the popularity of organized tours like those of the Thomas Cook and Son agency allowed American women to feel confident traveling overseas “alone”—that is, without male protection. “Steam palaces” like the Cunard ship *Servia*, on which the Addams party traveled to and from Europe, had luxurious accommodations, and “package tours” with prearranged transport and lodging enabled them to travel safely and comfortably.

The travelers in Jane’s group journeyed from city to city mostly by railroad. On an English train they experienced discrimination when asked to move from a

second- to a third-class car, which they refused to do. The “whole thing is rather a revolution of our ideas of equality,” Addams reported.³³ They used mules, donkeys, and horses or horse- or mule-drawn carriages to travel shorter distances. They also used boats or ferries. In major cities they stayed at boardinghouses or pensions that specialized in American visitors; often all fellow guests were from across the Atlantic. At Miss Warner’s pension in London, Jane reported that the Addams-Ellwood-Penfield party shared meals with “twenty two Americans who have just made the tour of the Continent and are ready to go home.”³⁴ Such lodgings catered to American (and British) clientele by providing service in English and food amenable to American palates. The proprietors extended themselves to offer a familiar setting, even when guests might have preferred a more indigenous experience. In Dresden, hosts Frau and Herr Rocher meticulously arranged an American-style Christmas celebration, although the Addams group desired a traditional German Christmas.³⁵ Such familiar accommodations, while making travel easier, insulated them from the culture and language of their host countries and affirmed their identity as tourists. It was not until they came to Paris in January 1885, the final leg of their journey, that Jane and Anna Addams chose to room in a non-English-speaking home; however, once again, the majority of lodgers were Americans. Their paths crossed constantly with other American or English tourists pursuing a version of the Grand Tour.³⁶

For the most part, the women seemed to travel amicably as a group, enjoying one another and their experience together. When the Addams and Ellwood parties joined forces with the Penfield pair in London in October 1883, Jane reported that the Penfields “seemed as glad to see us, as only Americans away from home can be & we expect to form one party for the winter.” At its largest, the traveling group did have some inconveniences. They found “that as six we quite take carriages & cabs by storm,” Jane reported. Then she worried, “I don’t know what will happen when we are increased to eight.”³⁷ All was well; they were a “happy & reunited party,” when the Penfields again joined the combined Addams-Ellwood women in Dresden from Berlin, where, as sometimes happened in other places when they all stopped together, the three parties lodged in separate pensions. In a letter from Dresden, Jane noted that “[w]e recieve a great many compliments on the ‘party’ that we are all so good natured and agree so well.”³⁸

Sarah Hostetter, who became a reluctant tourist longing for home,³⁹ offered a different perspective. In her letters home she described Anna Addams as a difficult member of the party with whom she had periodic contretemps. Her family might not have been surprised because Anna was well known among her Hostetter kin as an entertaining, self-centered, often demanding and prickly relative.⁴⁰ While Jane was “sick in bed” for several days, a “family fracas” arose between Sarah and Anna, which Sarah described to her brother, Linn Hostetter: “Aunt flew into one of her tearing rages and more than gave it too me.” She also reported that Anna “flies into a rage at poor Jane who is so very sick and weak.” Sarah, as the healthy one of the trio, apparently bore the exhausting brunt of

Anna's illness in Dublin, caring for her during the night, including three nights when Anna was so ill that both Sarah and Jane stayed up with her. "If Aunt Ann goes on very much more I shall just politely waltz home some of these fine days, for there is no use in taking too much from anyone," Sarah fumed. "[T]he fracas this morning has been one of the most striking things that has occurred," though she had learned that she "had better keep . . . [her] mouth shut after this but internally," she did not intend "to yield an inch" of her "rights or opinions." Although Sarah implied that Anna's behavior that morning was not an isolated incident, Sarah assured her brother that "[t]he root of the whole trouble is that Aunt Ann[,] Jane and I have seen too much of each other."⁴¹

By January 1884, Sarah reported to brother Linn Hostetter that "[i]n speaking of the study of human nature I had intended to say that it shows itself in curious ways in our own party of six[.] We have been quite astonished at the amiability we have shown for the past few days. . . . Aunt Ann becomes very much disgusted with old pictures[,] churches[,] &c, and when today I suggested that if she felt that way she had better not go, as it only tired her out I was answered that we could not make her stay in a corner if we wanted to and she would go as much as she liked and criticize as much as she liked. Whereupon I subsided[.] I quite agreed with some of her ideas only in a milder way and she became so emphatic I thought it best to venture no more remarks[.]"⁴² Shortly after Sarah left to return to the United States at summer's end in 1884, Anna indicated that she "bade" Sarah "good bye very reluctantly for—our journeyings for the past year were shared in a most—interesting way—and Sarah is one of the noblest



Sarah Hostetter, 1878. Sarah was Anna Hostetter Haldeman Addams's niece. She helped her stepcousin Jane Addams care for Anna when she became ill during their travels together. By August 1884, Sarah, who seems to have been homesick during her European venture, was eager to return to her home in Mount Carroll, Illinois. (A. N. Rockstead, Mt. Carroll, Illinois; JAPP, Schneider)

girls—I ever met and, the thorough test, that the—wear and tear of travel bring out, in so many ways never dreamed of in ordinary home life—is evidence in—her favor for, the best and noblest traits of character.”⁴³

Anna apparently also had difficulty in her relationship with the Ellwood sisters, who Sarah indicated were at “swords points” with Anna when the group was in Rome.⁴⁴ After the Ellwoods and Mrs. Young left for Naples a week before the Addams party was ready to leave, Sarah Hostetter reported home: “The Ellwoods have gone[.] Separated at last[.] I hope now we may be able to travel in peace, but Aunt Ann is somewhat exacting.”⁴⁵

Jane seemed almost above all of the undercurrents that swirled among the travelers, determined not to let differences among the traveling party deter her from her goal, energetically intent on bringing her own vision of the Grand Tour to fruition for herself. In extant letters, with one exception, Jane did not indicate any personality clashes or disagreements with her stepmother. In an October 1884 letter to her sister Alice from Berlin, recalling the time that Alice was her nurse as she was bedridden and recovering from back surgery, Jane wrote: “You do much more for me than I can ever pay back, and the hard part of the sick winter was all on your side. It [is] much easier to lie still and be patient, than it is to travel and keep your temper. I have not by any means succeeded in the latter & I can be very irritable and ugly.”⁴⁶ Jane’s silence on her personal relationship with Anna in her letters to relatives may have been understandable, especially as Jane’s sister Alice was married to Harry Haldeman, Anna’s beloved physician son. “Sarah and I both feel that it is a privilege to have Ma with us,” reported JA in a letter home to Alice, “and that we could hardly keep on without her.”⁴⁷

A holiday spirit prevailed in the Addams party after George Haldeman joined the three women during the summer of 1884. When he was back at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, the trip a success, Jane reminded him not to “think too much upon the ‘wholesome conversations’ of the last summer.” She added that she was “more oftener in the wrong than right and unconsciously (then) trying to excuse the weakness of my own position. We had some and many pleasant times.”⁴⁸ Anna believed that the time in Europe had provided an excellent respite for her overworked student son. She would miss him.⁴⁹

It was not surprising that her family’s health was a frequent topic of Jane’s correspondence. She had spent much of the previous two years in poor health; she and sister Alice had studied medicine in Philadelphia; her stepbrother, Harry Haldeman, and her Hostetter stepuncles were practicing physicians; and her stepmother was chronically ill. Although the European tour may have been intended partly to restore her well-being—she was still recovering from major back surgery and emotional stress—she hardly gave a second thought to her own condition. She had to monitor and minister to Anna’s illnesses, which began almost immediately when Anna was bedridden two weeks in Dublin. Jane had to make vital decisions almost single-handedly about her care and treatment and whether the trip could continue. She paid little attention to her own

psychological health in her letters, rarely referring to it. Moreover, a number of Jane's letters to her older sisters were preoccupied with Mary Linn's precarious health, including her major surgery in May 1884, the nature of which none of the correspondence spelled out.⁵⁰

Aside from seasickness and an occasional cold or stomach upset, Jane Addams was remarkably well during the two years of travel. In Ireland, she noted (perhaps facetiously) that the "mal de mer" she suffered in crossing the Atlantic had done her "lots of good" and that she felt "better than I have for a long time."⁵¹ By the time the travelers left Edinburgh, one month into the trip, she had discarded the back brace, or "jacket," she had worn since surgery the previous winter. In November she announced that despite the rigors of travel, her back was improving.⁵² Although she hinted at not having the stamina to study vigorously, particularly the German language, her correspondence revealed few physical limitations. From Rome in March 1884, Anna Addams wrote her son Harry (who had performed the experimental back surgery) that Jane was "growing—fleshy and—looks very much improved," though she worried about her propensity to "over tax herself in sight seeing." Craning her neck "up to the ceiling and high walls in looking at Frescoes and paintings" was "the hardest work" for her.⁵³ By summer 1884, when Addams rode on horseback up Swiss mountains and climbed on foot to the Rhone Glacier, she seemed to have recovered her health. "Sarah declares that if I can stand that," she wrote Alice after the grueling ascent to the glacier with her cousin and stepbrother, "I am good for anything & I think so too."⁵⁴

Of the young women who traveled abroad during this era, few equaled Jane Addams's dedication to travel as study and education rather than as leisure entertainment. For her there was a full agenda of tasks to accomplish and sights to see. Touring required constant preparation. In addition to formal language study, she and her companions pored over travel memoirs, study guides, notes, maps, and other travel aides.⁵⁵ Baedeker, the indispensable multivolume guidebook, was always at hand, as were such popular titles as Hare's *Walks in Rome*.⁵⁶ Jane also purchased a collection of books on the art of Europe.⁵⁷ "There is no use in going to see things until you have a little previous knowledge," she wrote sister Sarah. The "old life of Florence was such an intense, intellectual affair that it takes more than usual effort to get into the spirit of it."⁵⁸

Addams found the experience of travel to be genuinely stimulating and intellectually exciting. She seldom complained of unpleasant aspects of travel or the demanding pace of their first year. At the sight of their first castle in Ireland, Jane noted that "every bit of romance and chivalry we had ever felt or read, tingled to our fingers end."⁵⁹

Eventually she also discovered that she had "learned to discriminate more than was possible during the novelty and delight of the first months."⁶⁰ She wrote that "[t]he success of travelling certainly lies in the power of selection, but no-one can help having a delightful time when each day shows something historic

and beautiful.”⁶¹ She sometimes found tension between her focused approach and her serendipitous delight in the splendors of European cities. Learning German while encamped in Dresden called for the “same solid endeavor here” that “genuine study always demands,” she wrote to her friend Ellen Gates Starr, but it was “a little harder to give it,” because in Europe one felt “a constant temptation” to “play the dilettante, you meet so many people who are doing it successfully.”⁶²

Travelers in the Addams and Ellwood parties recorded what they saw and experienced in diaries and letters. Anna wrote letters primarily to her two sons, Harry and George; Sarah Hostetter alternated among her siblings; and Jane sent letters home to family and friends.⁶³ Like Mary Ellwood and Sarah Hostetter, Jane also kept a day-by-day diary of her trip as she experienced it from arrival in Ireland on 29 August 1883, after a sailing time of “7 days, 3 hrs. 32 min.,”⁶⁴ until 1 October 1884, after which there are only sporadic entries through 21 January 1885. The entries throughout are brief, in most cases no more than a sparse listing of sights seen or books read. “I don’t try to keep a journal,” she wrote to Alice, “for I would rather ‘read up’ during the evening than write down. I keep a note book with me for a ‘few facts & figures’ and an occasional stray impression on the spot but that is all.”⁶⁵ Jane also recorded in her two small diaries a list of hotels, pensions, tradespeople, and language teachers the party used; an accounting of money she spent; lists of gifts she purchased for herself and members of her family; a list of her initial correspondents; and assorted notes.

Like many well-read tourists on the Grand Tour, Jane Addams wrote what she called “circular” or “journalistic” letters to her older married siblings, Alice Addams Haldeman, Mary Addams Linn, and John Weber Addams, and their families. They were to be sent from one to the others in turn, thus were less personal in content.⁶⁶ Often filling many sheets of notepaper, they were descriptive of where she went and what she saw of the major tourist attractions and only occasionally contained nuggets of insight or self-revelation. While she claimed to “abominate to[the] system” of “circulating” letters and protested that she did not enjoy writing them, she believed it was “really the only way to keep even with the travels.”⁶⁷ Writing one of her first “circular” letters soon after she landed in Ireland, she indicated to sister Mary, to whom she sent it, that it was “entirely too journalistic to be very pleasurable.” Continuing, she indicated that she had “left out what I wanted to say.”⁶⁸ Nevertheless, she continued to write long descriptive “partnership” communications, often ending with apologies for her lack of personal messages to each sibling. Sometimes the Addams party’s travel was so fast paced (as in summer 1884) that she fell behind even in sending circular letters. And sometimes, to avoid duplication, Jane let accounts sent home by Anna substitute for what she might have written.⁶⁹ Besides being more efficient, these shared letters brought family members along on the trip by proxy and provided a continuous diary-like narrative of the Grand Tour she had experienced and provided a record for posterity.⁷⁰ Such letters may have

focused Jane Addams on writing about what she thought her family would be interested in reading rather than on what may have interested her most.

Despite being settled in Berlin and Paris during the last eight months of her tour, Jane wrote fewer letters home, perhaps in part because she was not so deluged with a constant assortment of new and unusual sights. During her last weeks in Europe, when she believed that she would soon be seeing her siblings, she gave up her “usual” weekly “epistle.” She had been “going through the ‘sights’ of Paris in regular tourist fashion,” she explained to sister Alice, “and that means coming home at six o’clock in the evening so tired that you cannot write a word.”⁷¹ She was “growing very tired of letter writing” as the tour came to its conclusion “or rather have lost the power to write,” she reported to her friend Ellen Gates Starr.⁷² At times when she tried to write personal letters to siblings amid hectic movement she wished she was “safe back in the old journalistic plan.”⁷³

In her circular letters Jane wrote of Anna’s health and her health, of travel plans, and of their various accommodations and means of travel. Her letters were also a recitation of the museums, art galleries, castles, palaces, historic homes and sites, churches, and public buildings they visited, sprinkled liberally with references to her attempts to learn French and German. She also mentioned literature with which she knew her family was familiar, remarked on her growing admiration for the musical theater so dear to her stepmother and stepbrothers, and reported sightings of famous people and occasions.

Jane’s circular letters reveal that she read (or reread) novels, poems, biographies, and histories, some of them familiar from her Rockford days, that focused on the specific places she visited. She and Sarah investigated bookshops in each of their major venues and purchased histories, guides, and picture books associated with that place or the next place they intended to visit.⁷⁴ She enjoyed reading Irish poet Tom Moore⁷⁵ as she toured Irish lakes and reported that she “tried to fix at least the best of the literature with the spot associated with it.”⁷⁶ Jane wrote stepbrother George Haldeman that it was “utterly impossible to transport yourself, back into the time of Danté and Goitto⁷⁷ or Lorenzo the Magnificent and Savanarola, without a certain amount of effort and distinctive reading.”⁷⁸ In Scotland she read Walter Scott’s *Rob Roy*, studied “plans of all the many battle fields and raiding grounds” so she could locate them, and recited Robert Burns’s “Tam O’Shanter” on the train trip to his home in Ayr.⁷⁹ She read George Eliot’s *Romola* and John Ruskin’s *Walks in Florence* in preparation for Florence, Ruskin and William Dean Howells to get ready for Venice, and Bulwer-Lytton’s *Rienzi* in Rome.⁸⁰

Yet for Jane, the focus of her interest seems to have been the art, architecture, and music of European high culture as well as a continual search for the details of the lives of the heroes she had discovered in her studies of history, literature, and religion at Rockford Female Seminary. She was intrigued by the royal families of Europe, and she reported her brushes with living royalty, often adding a personal aside that indicated she was not at all impressed. She

was also beginning to construct a list of female heroines new to her. Now and then her letters home also revealed her growing personal awareness of social issues. She seems to have made a point of visiting educational and charitable organizations, including schools, orphanages, and hospitals, and, where language was not a hindrance, investigating the working and living conditions of women and children.

Sister Alice and best friend Ellen Gates Starr's avid interest in art may have provided encouragement for Jane's own study. Jane envied Ellen's deeper understanding of visual art during her first sojourn in London in the fall of 1883, when she wrote, "[M]y friend, you know works of art were always rather out of my line."⁸¹ Hesitant to assert opinions on paintings or other artworks, she informed George Haldeman in January 1884 that she was "not quite ready to express any views on art, but I have enjoyed the architecture and pictures more than I had any idea I should."⁸² By the time she reached Italy, however, she readily shared her opinions on Michelangelo's *David*, Ghirlandaio's paintings, and the Medici tombs. She found that Florentine frescoes depicting the lives of saints revealed "the immense power which mere <human> goodness has, when it is prominent enough to become a power at all." She knew what she liked and what affected her, "not withstanding Mr Ruskin's severe criticism."⁸³

With the guidance of her musically inclined stepmother and Sarah Hostetter, herself a music teacher, Jane developed an appreciation for musicales and opera. On the Continent, the women attended symphonies and solo performances. Of a concert by famed Russian Jewish pianist Anton Rubenstein shortly after she arrived in Berlin, Jane reported: "For the first hour I was rather indifferent, the second I found myself growing excited and after the last half I wished that he would never stop."⁸⁴ Jane grew into an opera aficionado, seeing as many performances as possible and investigating the behind-the-scenes production machinations on special theater tours. In a diary entry for Saturday, 25 November 1883, from Dresden, Jane recorded that "[i]n the evening heard *Mignon* at the Hof Theatre, very fine but not the play of Wilhelm Meister."⁸⁵ Ten days later, on 7 December, she saw *Mignon* once again and reported to her diary "[t]he finest scenery imaginable."⁸⁶ She pronounced *The Barber of Seville*, which she heard on 29 November, "very funny."⁸⁷ The list of musical events Jane and Anna attended during the time they were settled in Berlin and then Paris reveals them as frequent opera-goers.⁸⁸ Jane was moved especially by the operatic performances of the works of Richard Wagner.⁸⁹ *Tannhäuser* was "the most powerful thing I ever heard, or thought could be represented," she wrote her sister early in 1884. "The great moral struggles of a human soul, who is trying to regain what he has lost, with every thing against him." She continued, "Victor Hugo's Jean Val Jean was the only character that ever expressed it in just the same force before to me."⁹⁰ Nevertheless, despite her affinity for art and music of the European capitals, Jane Addams, reflecting on her trip years later in *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, found that after too "much visiting of its [Dresden's] art gallery

and opera house," she "would invariably suffer a moral revulsion against this feverish search after culture."⁹¹

Berlin and Rome provided the travelers with their closest views of the royalty of Europe, though Anna seemed more interested than Jane. One of their early encounters with royalty came in Berlin. Jane reported their glimpse to sister Alice: "The great incident of the day was the near approach to royalty we had in the evening." It took place after the Addams party had spent the day visiting the Sans Souci Palace, where Jane enjoyed recalling historian Thomas Carlyle's treatment of one of her heroes, Frederick the Great. "We were told when we got on the train," Jane wrote, "that two princesses of Mecklenburg were going to Berlin in the same train. We immediately posted ourselves at the windows to behold. First long folds of carpet were stretched from the private room in the depot where they were, over the platform to the train then a little pair of stairs by which to mount. Two policemen were stationed to keep the people off of the carpet. In about five minutes a foot man gorgeous in blue & gold flng⁹² open the door and marched gravely out, took off his hat and stood by the car door. Then two men also in livery & with long swords dangling at their sides like German officers, also appeared and waited. Last of all the princesses themselves, two modest little women dressed in black cashmere and little black hats tied down with veils. They walked quickly over the carpet looking as if the crowd make⁹³ them very red and comfortable,⁹⁴ and were seated in their own compartment. I felt much like quoting Horace. 'The mountains labored and brought forth a mouse.'⁹⁵ In Berlin, from rooms in their pension, they watched the king come and go and became almost as interested in his well-being as the German populace. Like other tourists, they followed the German crown prince's first boar hunt,⁹⁶ and they went to great lengths to obtain special tickets to the once-a-year Ordens Fest, at which those who had received special royal recognition during the past year were officially presented to the court.⁹⁷

From Rome, Jane reported that "[w]e had an excellent view of the King & Queen the other day. The latter is very pretty and quite popular. The King was continually bowing to right and left, so that he did not have his hat on his head two seconds at a time. It is seldom that they appear together so that we were quite favored. We saw his majesty one day when he was driving himself as he is very fond of doing, it is said. He was holding his two fast horses with one hand, and continually lifting his hat with the other, while the two footmen behind sat doing nothing with their hands folded & there hats on their heads."⁹⁸ In Germany, Jane found much to admire in the life and position of respect in which Queen Louise of Prussia was held.⁹⁹ She also discovered that some of her royal heroes had feet of clay. She became very disappointed in Queen Victoria's royal consort Prince Albert and his tutor when she visited Saxe-Coburg in Germany.¹⁰⁰

Through travel, "you become interested in affairs that would never have touched you thro reading or abstraction, and your sympathies are insensibly widening all the time," she wrote.¹⁰¹ Although Jane's position as a tourist did

not necessarily permit her easy access to ordinary citizens in the countries she visited, she was a keen observer of their surroundings. In Ireland she noted the living conditions and pay of the families who worked for English landlords.¹⁰² On the Island of Capri in Italy, she found that the female mule-drivers who had worked at that dangerous job for generations for little money were teasing extra pennies from the new tourist trade.¹⁰³ She discovered the wages and working conditions of the lace-makers in Venice¹⁰⁴ and noted women working in porcelain works in Meissen, Germany.¹⁰⁵ In almost every pension in which the Addams party lodged, Jane paid special attention to the economic position of the manager, who was often a single or widowed female. She began her investigation with Rebecca Warner of Miss Warner's boardinghouse, where the Addams-Ellwood-Penfield party stayed when they were in London. "We became quite attached to Miss Warner and her sister," Jane reported to her sister Mary Addams Linn. "[T]hey are New England people who have kept this boarding house in London for twenty years. They make but little money I imagine for they pay rent of 136 lbs a year, a general tax 30, Queens tax 12[,] water rates[,] poor rates, land rates &c until it is perfectly amazing to look over their tax list. Besides that the man owning the house pays so much a year to the Duke of Portsmouth who has a life lease on the land. It is the big fish living off of the little fish over & over again."¹⁰⁶

In addition to gazing at the mountain beauty and tramping the glaciers of Switzerland, Jane also found time and an English-speaking guide to consider social issues with. Sarah Hostetter reported that she and Jane found that "[w]omen were doing all the work in the fields. Carrying great loads of hay on their heads." In her opinion, "They are free but are slaves to toil." Sarah noted that Jane's guide "was the school master & he gave her some very useful information. Among other things said that the children only went to school in the winter about six months[.] They worked so hard that it made them dumb. . . . Said the way he happened ever to learn enough to teach was that his father was good to him & did not make him work so hard."¹⁰⁷ She observed children wherever she went, from the beggar children of Ireland and Italy to the children in special schools and orphanages in England and Germany.¹⁰⁸

Jane Addams rarely revealed her philosophical or spiritual ideas in writing. She conveyed her intimate thoughts subtly and sometimes between the lines and usually not to family. Her more expansive and introspective letters were written when time permitted, particularly to former Rockford Female Seminary classmate Ellen Gates Starr, former teacher Sarah Blaisdell, and her stepbrother George. In these missives she engaged more readily in judgment and self-criticism, revealing her doubts, reflecting on the past, pondering future directions, and philosophizing about such values as friendship.

Jane's sporadic letters to Ellen Starr attest to the intellectual companionship the two women shared. It was with Ellen that Jane expressed her opinions on art, culture, friendship, and the future. She offered a glimpse of the sensitive and

sometimes impulsive communication that presaged the bond of friendship and professional creativity that would probably be the most important of her life: a fruitful initial partnership that affected the course of history. Starr's letters were "always an inspiration and of intrinsic value," Addams wrote to her near the end of the journey, apologizing for not having written more often.¹⁰⁹ In her first letter to Starr from Europe, two months into her Grand Tour, she wrote: "'To have the world before you when to choose' contains more privileges and possibilities than I had imagined. It enlarges one's vision but there is little chance for solid work." Commenting indirectly about their own relationship, she confided that she was "more convinced every day that friendship with the mutual pities and responsibilities is after all the main thing in life, and friendship and affections must be guarded and taken care of just as other valuable things."¹¹⁰ Later she wrote Starr that after such a long separation, she was "haunted by a fear that I do not know you."¹¹¹

Addams admired the spiritual serenity that her friend seemed to have found while they were pursuing different paths. "I prize this peace and rest which you have comprehended as a new element in your character, and that you are to me so much the dearer."¹¹² In a low mood she wrote Starr from Switzerland in June 1884: "I have been idle for two years just because I had not enough vitality to be anything else." The result was that "while I may not have lost any positive ground, I have constantly lost confidence in myself and have gained nothing and improved in nothing." Worse, it was her own fault. She was convinced, she confessed to her friend, "that failure through ill-health is just as culpable and miserable as failure through any other cause."¹¹³

Prodding her stepbrother to be more sociable in graduate school at Johns Hopkins, she wrote him from Dresden: "I am more convinced all the time of the value of social life, of its necessity for the development of some of our best traits. There are certain feelings and conclusions which can never be reached except in an atmosphere of affection and congeniality, and that friends will not come to us without an effort of our own, towards understanding them, & expressing ourselves." In the same letter she confided her misgivings about the worth of travel: "[Y]ou doubt whether any good is accomplished in placing yourself as a mere spectator to the rest of the world."¹¹⁴ By October 1883, Jane, now beginning to see herself as a seasoned traveler, informed George Haldeman that the "main impression" she had gained from traveling thus far was "the power and force of circumstances or rather surroundings to produce powerful effects upon the mind, independent almost of your own control."¹¹⁵ Three months later she could tell George that "you gain a great deal of showy and interesting knowledge but after all it is not the kind that satsfyeth."¹¹⁶ And what would satisfy?

It was almost as if Jane's journey was two journeys—the "feverish search after culture" haunted by a furtive, semiconscious quest for the hard-core reality of the human condition that was reflected but dimly in the art galleries, opera houses, and monuments she patronized. Her growing awareness of the

incompatibility of these two worlds—the upper-crust world of superfluity, the lower-class world of want—contributed to a spiritual malaise, a soul sickness, a feeling of anomie, that she did not face up to until she was older.

Addams first encountered poverty overseas in the British colony of Ireland, but its impact was muted by fabled Irish charm. “I have seen more cosy places, and more wretched places in Ireland than ever before,” she wrote her sister Alice two weeks after disembarking from the *Servia*. “The amount of dirty, ragged children on the streets is appalling, but they are so impudent jolly and continually begging that it is hard to pity them.”¹¹⁷ Whatever poverty Jane Addams might have witnessed before her European trip, it was likely that she had never before seen children begging. For all of the countryside’s beauty, Sarah Hostetter wrote, poverty “hangs like a shadow for every where we were annoyed by numbers of little children,” as young as two or three, “who ran after us begging for a penny.” It was “easy to understand why the Irish are such a miserable people,” she added. “The life is crushed out of them by these wealthy landowners.”¹¹⁸ The huge landed estates the travelers saw in Ireland and England, their manor houses juxtaposed with serf huts, were a far cry from the family farms that had surrounded Addams as she grew up in Illinois.

After a week exploring Dublin, Jane, like her cousin, began to link the poor with larger social forces. “We had a ride to-day through the crowded city,” she wrote Alice, “and although the day was fine and sunny and some of the streets gay and animated, one felt everywhere almost as a palpable presense—the wretchedness and misrule.”¹¹⁹ She learned about the politely phrased “Irish Question” from reading materials, tourist sites, and impromptu conversations with strangers—the Irish struggle for freedom from colonial rule, whose methods ranged from passionate parliamentary debate all the way to assassination and terrorism. She came to realize that Irish “wretchedness” was fundamentally the result of imperial policies toward the subjugated people—taxation, land seizures, export laws, monopoly, and brute force. Although the Easter Rising of 1916 and achievement of partial independence would not occur for another generation, Irish unrest was reaching a fever pitch around the time of her visit; it was palpable in the Dublin air. Identifying one of the problems as “misrule,” Jane’s sympathies in the bitter conflict seemed to lay with the colonized people.¹²⁰

As Sarah, Anna, and Jane traveled through Germany toward Italy, they visited several towns briefly along the way. On 15 January, at the end of a dreary winter day, they arrived at Saxe-Coburg, which Anna Addams described to her son Harry as a “poor old dirty town.”¹²¹ In her diary Jane called the hotel “miserable”¹²² and, along with Anna,¹²³ who was as appalled as she was, JA recorded that they “[l]ooked from the [hotel] window [at] the woman going back and forth with huge vats of beer on their backs, carry[ing] it from the brewery to the cooling place. Work all day, from 5 in the morning until 7.30 for one mark and a half. Impressed with the powerlessness of one man to do anything.”¹²⁴ She was aware that Prince Albert, younger son of the former Duke of Saxe-Coburg-

Gotha, who had been the enlightened consort of England's Queen Victoria and whose statue was prominent in the marketplace, "tried so hard & here was all this misery and hopeless work."¹²⁵ Although neither her diary nor her letters home reveal it, in her memoirs, Jane reported that she had been reading Gray's *Life of Prince Albert* and his tutor and unofficial counselor to Queen Victoria, Baron Christian Friedrich Stockmar.¹²⁶ "The book had lost its fascination; how could a good man, feeling so keenly his obligation 'to make princely the mind of his prince,' ignore such conditions of life for the multitude of humble, hard-working folk."¹²⁷ Still engaged with the idea of the powerlessness of the women treated like beasts of burden, she commented about what she saw in the fields as they journeyed through the countryside on their way to Nuremberg on 16 January: "The women every where with heavy baskets on their backs."¹²⁸ In her memoirs she recalled the occasion and that she had been "[s]tung into action by one of those sudden indignations against cruel conditions which at times fill the young with unexpected energy," and, accompanied by the hotel clerk, whom she referred to in her diary as to Uriah Heep,¹²⁹ Dickens's symbol of a hypocrite in *David Copperfield*, she reported that she began "interviewing the phlegmatic owner of the brewery who received us with exasperating indifference, or rather received me, for the innkeeper mysteriously slunk away as soon as the great magnate of the town began to speak."¹³⁰ While none of the four extant accounts of this event¹³¹ report Jane's rash behavior, they all contain sufficient knowledge of the details of the women's work day, conditions, and remuneration to make one think that someone from the party—most likely Jane—did investigate.

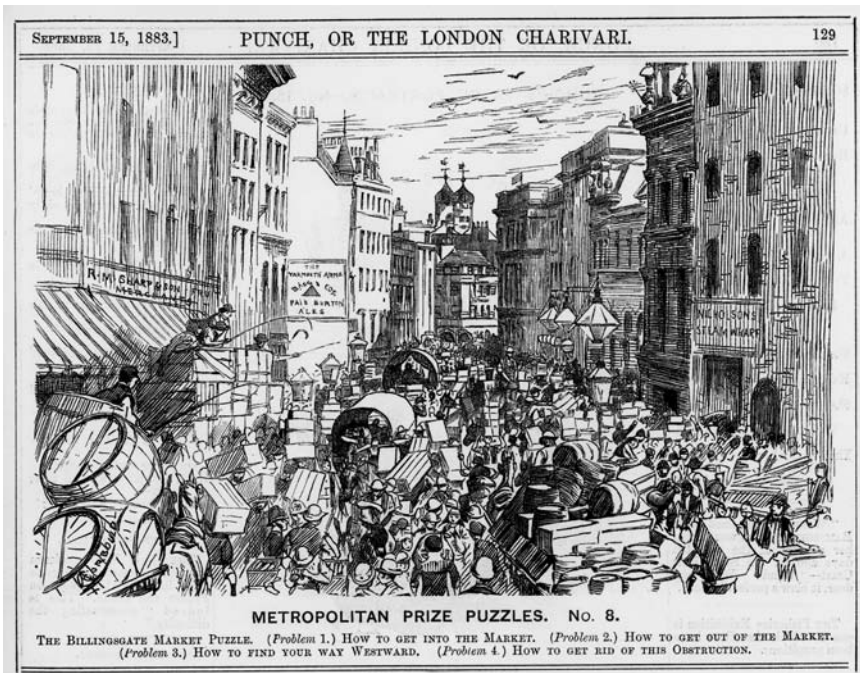
During Jane's final month in Paris in May 1885, she saw women working in a very different setting. In her last extant letter home from Paris, she informed Alice that on Sunday afternoon, 17 May, she and her cousin Mary Worrall "went to a meeting of the McCall Mission."¹³² The two women visited one of the thirty-four storefront meeting halls established by Rev. Robert Whitaker McAll, pastor in the English Congregational Church, and his wife, Elizabeth Siddall McAll, to assist the working poor in France.¹³³

During 1884–85, the McAll missions in Paris hosted "nearly seventeen thousand meetings" composed of "more than a million persons gathered for religious instruction."¹³⁴ Operated by volunteers, "fifty pastors and one hundred-fifty lay men" throughout Paris held regular mission services and Sunday Schools for children, mothers' meetings, and assorted gatherings of young men, young women, and fraternal societies. Mission leaders conducted home visits and urged cleanliness and thrift. Women had active roles in helping organize and conduct the mission meetings. They served as greeter-doorkeepers and led the song services. "The lady doorkeepers are . . . found to be remarkably successful in maintaining order in the meetings," reported an observer.¹³⁵

It was, however, an earlier experience in London that became the catalyst for initiating Jane Addams's life's work, although she probably didn't recognize it until many years later. Most of the three weeks that Jane and her party spent in

London in the fall of 1883 were devoted to historical and cultural landmarks—her favorite being Westminster Abbey—and vicarious enjoyment of the city's royal and aristocratic opulence. Nonetheless, she recalled that the night of 27 October 1883 altered her life and led circuitously to her founding of Hull-House six years later. "We had quite an adventure last Saturday evening," she wrote her brother Weber. "Miss Warner the lady of the house took nine of the guests¹³⁶ down into 'East End' to see the Saturday night marketing. The poorest people wait until very late Saturday night as meats & vegetables which cannot be kept over Sunday are sold cheaper. We reached the neighborhood by the underground railway & then rode on top of a street car for five miles through mobs of booths and stalls, and swarming thousands of people." Although she admitted that this nocturnal voyeurism "was simply an outside superficial survey of the misery & wretchedness," it was "enough to make one thoroughly sad and perplexed."¹³⁷

In her memoir a quarter-century later, Addams embellished this expedition into a momentous turning point of her young life, an experience that gripped her with "despair and resentment" that made "all huge London . . . unreal save



Jane Addams and Sarah Hostetter may have seen a similar market scene when they visited London's East End with boardinghouse proprietor Rebecca Warner in October 1883. (Published originally in *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 15 September 1883, page 129)

the poverty in its East End.”¹³⁸ What made this event so pregnant was that she was intellectually prepared for it. Like other sites she visited, she had “read up” on it beforehand, although likely not with the deliberateness of her preparation to see a monument or artwork.

Ten days before her visit to the East End, London’s daily *Pall Mall Gazette* caused a sensation among literate Londoners with excerpts from a just-published pamphlet with the eye-catching title *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Condition of the Abject Poor*. Produced by the missionary London Congregational Union, the penny pamphlet broadcast “the discovery that seething in the very centre of our great cities, concealed by the thinnest crust of civilization and decency, is a vast mass of moral corruption, of heart-breaking misery and absolute godlessness.” It claimed that “only the merest edge of the great dark region of poverty, misery, squalor and immorality has been touched” by the Christian church. “Whilst we have been building our churches and solacing ourselves with our religion and dreaming that the millennium was coming, the poor have been growing poorer, the wretched more miserable, and the immoral more corrupt.”¹³⁹

The pamphlet aimed at the heart of the poverty crisis: ghastly overcrowded tenements in which the poorest families struggled to raise their unwanted broods, often two or more families to a room, amid appalling physical and moral squalor: foul-smelling, excrement-littered dwellings shared with petty criminals and prostitutes. If the information was not new, the style of presentation was, provoking a “thrill of horror throughout the land,” one newspaper commented. In January 1884, the *Pall Mall Gazette* reported that the pamphlet was “echoing from one end of England to the other” and that “we shall have to go back a long time to discover an agitation on any social question in England which has produced so prompt, so widespread, and . . . so enduring an effect.”¹⁴⁰ Historians have judged it one of the most influential treatises on the plight of the English poor.¹⁴¹

Radical *Gazette* editor W. T. Stead¹⁴² promoted the pamphlet in two rousing front-page articles, describing the problem of congested slum housing as “a huge cancer eating into the very heart of the realm.” In his first article (16 October), he asked: “Is It Not Time” to face “one of the grimmest social problems of our time[?] Where is the leader of men, who will preach a new crusade against the crying evil of our times?”¹⁴³

One of the leaders that he called for was a young American woman who was thoughtfully absorbing everything of interest about the vibrant capital of the globe-spanning British Empire she was visiting at the peak of the Victorian age. It was unlikely that this observant traveler missed the *Gazette* articles or the popular pamphlet.¹⁴⁴ Addams recalled its impact in her autobiography: “[T]he conscience of England was stirred as never before.” Her own conscience was stirred after she witnessed the “joyless” squalor of the East End.¹⁴⁵ She found herself in London just at the moment when efforts by the English middle class

to ameliorate urban misery—at first by acknowledging it—were gaining full swing. One fruit of this social reformism was the founding by Oxford dons and students of the Toynbee Hall settlement house in the East End a year later.¹⁴⁶

The poverty that Addams witnessed in London, Ireland, Saxe-Coburg, Rome, southern Italy, Paris, and elsewhere was a major source of her growing malaise about the worth of her travels in preparing herself for a socially useful life. On one hand, the cultural artifacts she sampled—from cathedral frescoes and monks' quarters to Roman ruins and Wagnerian opera—reflected social values of heroic courage, sacrifice, moral and spiritual passion, human compassion, the power and pitfalls of good, the enduring quest for justice. Her encounter with the ghost of Martin Luther in southern Germany showed her the impact one person could make on history and with Savonarola in Florence the dangers of moral absolutism and political extremism.¹⁴⁷ On the other hand, the sum total of her cultural consumption in European capitals left an aftertaste not only of social irrelevance but of self-indulgence. Were these intellectual and sensual pleasures merely escapism from the pain and losses of her own life as well as from the sufferings of humankind?

This moral disquiet was driven home to her in an epiphany on the night she visited London's East End, according to her memoir. Riding on the omnibus near midnight, she flashed back to an essay she had read at Rockford Female Seminary by Thomas De Quincey, in which he described night riding on a mail coach in rural England. In her recollection, the British writer was unable to warn a young couple dallying in the path of the large carriage, who barely escaped "sudden death," because he was searching for the exact words of warning that Achilles called out in the *Iliad*. His engrossment in the literary representation of reality had stymied his will to act in a life-or-death emergency in which real people's lives were at stake.¹⁴⁸ Literature was not just irrelevant to real life, she thought; it kept one from acting rightly. The irony was that it was this supposedly useless or even antisocial writing that prompted her own self-reflection about literature's drag on right action. In this instance, at least in hindsight, the very essay that she denigrated helped arouse her social conscience.

"This is what we were all doing," Jane Addams rued in her memoir, "lumbering our minds with literature that only served to cloud the really vital situation spread before our eyes. . . . For two years in the midst of my distress over the poverty which . . . [was] suddenly driven into my consciousness," she wrote with a dose of hyperbole, "there was mingled a sense of futility, of misdirected energy, the belief that the pursuit of cultivation would not in the end bring either solace or relief." In retrospect, she remembered feeling the "paralyzing sense of the futility of all artistic and intellectual effort when disconnected from the ultimate test of the conduct it inspired."¹⁴⁹

Yet the fact remained that some of her literary and artistic encounters in Europe, from Goethe, Dickens, Victor Hugo, and George Eliot to Dante, Giotto, Fra Angelico, and Raphael, had a significant bearing on her later lifelong com-

mitment to social justice. Just as her taste of London poverty would have had less meaning without the penny pamphlet that prepared her for it, so in a larger sense her vocation for uplifting the urban poor in America—many of them immigrants from Europe—might have been less passionate without the European literary and artistic lights that served as her moral beacons.

Notes

1. The concept of the Grand Tour originated primarily with upper-class British men who traveled to the continent of Europe to acquire a knowledge of languages and exposure to French and Italian culture in the eighteenth century.

2. JA's sister SAAH had gone to Europe with her chaperone, AHHA's friend Vicenta Fensley (for a biographical note, see *PJA*, 1:127, n. 2; 1:135, 136, n. 3) during the summer of 1875 with a group of women from the Rockford, Ill., area. JA's stepbrother HWH had also studied for two years in Leipzig, Germany, before AHHA and JHA were married. Stepbrother GBH attempted unsuccessfully to study in Europe, and neither JA's brother, JWA, nor MCAL had an opportunity to experience the Grand Tour.

3. *Twenty Years*, 75.

4. *Twenty Years*, 71–72.

5. For further identification of JA's entourage, see JA to SAAH, [22 Aug. 1883], n. 4, below.

6. Mrs. Penfield did not disembark in Ireland, as did the others, but continued to Liverpool to meet her daughter Mary. The Ellwoods and Mrs. Young proceeded to Scotland, while JA and SH remained in Dublin with AHHA, who was recuperating from intestinal problems. The six women reunited in Edinburgh in Sept. 1883, although Mrs. Young and the Ellwood sisters soon departed for London, leaving the Addams party to finish a tour of Scotland on their own. The six women met again in London, where they shared lodgings at Miss Warner's pension, and then traveled to the Continent for a two-month stay in Germany. Mrs. Penfield and daughter joined them in Berlin in Nov. 1883 but left them for Vienna in Jan. 1884. The Penfields met the combined Addams-Ellwood party in Rome shortly before the Ellwoods separated from the Addams party in Apr. After spending the summer apart, the Ellwood and Addams groups were reunited in Aug. 1884 in England just before SH and the Ellwoods returned to the United States.

7. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 72.

8. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 72. JA may have been recalling AHHA's friendship with German teacher Frl. Clara Steiniger and her mother during their three-month stay in Berlin at the end of 1884. See JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, n. 6; and JA to SAAH, 30 Nov. 1884, n. 17, both below. JA seemed proud of AHHA's facility with the German language that her experience with Pennsylvania Dutch provided. Arriving in Arnheim, Germany, JA reported to GBH: "Ma uses her German splendidly" (6 Nov. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1249). AHHA remarked to HWH: "My german, tho I speak but little has been of great service to us" ([ca. 4 Jan. 1884], UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

9. During the initial months of their tour, sightseeing and studying activities were intense. From Dresden, where JA and AHHA settled for almost two months, JA commented to her sister MCAL, whom she had been trying to write since Thanksgiving, that "a german lesson every afternoon, an opera two or three evenings a week and the morning leaves very little more time [to write] than if we were traveling" (6 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1288).

10. See 26 Apr. 1884, below.

11. See JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, n. 18, below. SH wrote to brother Linn Hostetter that she thought Athens "a wild goose chase" (20 Apr. 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

12. They passed places that Jane “dreadfully” wanted “to stop and see, but didn’t have time” as their journey reached its most relentless pace (JA to SAAH, 25 May 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1509). On their journey north, the travelers sped through Siena, Pisa, Genoa, and Milan and into the region of Lakes Como, Varese, and Maggiore, where they visited the district’s villages and islands. By 31 May, they were in Switzerland, having gone through the St. Gotthard’s Pass via the recently opened (but still incomplete) St. Gotthard’s Tunnel and on to Andermatt, Lucerne, Berne, and Lausanne, arriving in Geneva on 5 June.

13. “My teeth have never been so miserable,” wrote JA to sister SAAH, “Do not [be] dreadfully surprised if you see me come home with a new set!!” (10 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1529).

14. JA to Mrs. James Goddard, 23 June 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1543.

15. JA to SAAH, 16 Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1646.

16. JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, below; and JA to GBH, 24 Oct. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1618.

17. JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, below.

18. JA to GBH, 17 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1612.

19. JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, below.

20. See JA to EGS, 7 Dec. 1884, n. 2, below. See also JA to SAAH, 15 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC; and JA to MCAL, 23 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm, *JAPM*, 2:8–12, 13–16.

21. See n. 8; and JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, n. 6, below.

22. It was a “comfort to know,” JA wrote from Paris, “that the lady of the house cannot speak English” (JA to MCAL, 23 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:14). On the Bonniol family, see JA to EGS, 21 Feb. 1885, n. 16, below.

23. Toward the end of their stay in Paris, Mary Young Worrall, daughter of JA’s aunt Harriet and uncle Nathan Young of Philadelphia, joined JA and AHHA in Paris while her husband, dry goods importer Peter B. Worrall, conducted business in England. AHHA and JA also spent time with Mr. and Mrs. Oliver B. Sanford and Mrs. and Mrs. Ralph Emerson of Rockford, Ill., friends who were tourists in Paris (see JA to JWA, 19 Apr. 1885, nn. 2–3, below).

24. JA asked GBH to be patient with her lack of correspondence, for she reported that “a great deal of leafing over maps and guide books” was required “in order to see intelligently” and told him that “much of my spare time is so spent” (2 Feb. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1366). JA’s first year in Europe closely resembled the Grand Tour Marie J. Pitman described in *European Breezes* (1882), 303–6. Other typical American women’s travel memoirs that documented European sojourns and offered advice to female travelers include Ella Thompson, *Beaten Paths: or, A Clever Woman’s Vacation* (1874); [Blanche Willis Howard], *One Year Abroad* (1878); and Lizzie W. Champney, *Three Vassar Girls in England* (1884).

25. JA to SAAH, 27 Aug. 1883, below.

26. By the end of Sept. 1883, JA reported that “[t]he Cook tickets have been a marked success” (JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1883, below). However, shortly afterward, in her letter of 3[, 6, and 7] Oct. 1883 to MCAL (below), JA indicated the party’s dismay in finding themselves booked by Thomas Cook and Son into a third-class railway car for the first time. The group may have experienced several other disappointments with their Cook travel schedule. On their way from Holland to Germany, the Addams party had a problem with their train tickets, which Cook had arranged, and with their luggage. JA wrote to SAAH that “[t]he first train we have failed on was at Arnheim, it was owing to our Cook tickets not being available on the express trains.” She also explained that they had to spend the morning “hunting up” their “trunks, which apparently were detained upon the frontier” (6 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1252–53). This caused them to lose a day in their schedule.

27. 25 May 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1509. The enclosure is missing. By the spring, all seemed well with their Cook arrangements. SH wrote to brother Ross Hostetter and his wife, Libbie, that the party was “at a Cook hotel very good then [that] we are under the care again

of these agents all the rest of the way in fact so we hope to have no trouble" (23 Apr. 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

28. See nn. 29–30. See also JA to SAAH, 10 Sept., and 16 Sept. 1883; 20 July 1884, n. 7; 20 Dec. 1884, n. 3; and 21 Feb. 1885, n. 17, all below.

29. On 24 Oct. 1884, JA informed GBH: "Ma has had a little run of fever but is quite recovered. For a day or two it looked as if we might have a serious case, but fortunately she threw it off[,] came to the table to-day for her dinner[,] and really looks better than she has since we have been here in Berlin" (JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1618).

30. Cholera is a disease marked by severe gastrointestinal symptoms including diarrhea and can result in death. See also JA to JWA, 17 Aug. 1884, n. 18, below.

31. See JA to SAAH, 8 Jan. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1327–32.

32. JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1883, below.

33. JA to MCAL, 3[, 6, and 7] Oct. 1883, below.

34. JA to JWA, 14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1210. See also nn. 23, 36.

35. JA to MCAL, 6 Dec. 1883, n. 2, below.

36. Some of the friends from home that they came across in Europe were Mrs. Amelia Collins Rowell and Mrs. Austria C. Knowlton from Freeport, and Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Emerson and Mr. and Mrs. Oliver B. Sanford of Rockford. They met Miss Ella Cornelia Williams, a teacher at RFS, in Rome, where they also once again saw Mrs. March and her daughter, who had lodged where they did in Dresden. They also found themselves sharing meals in Dresden with Theodosia Burr Kirkland (sister-in-law of Elizabeth Kirkland, founder and principal of the school at which EGS was teaching in Chicago) and two of her daughters. In Berlin they stayed in the same pension as temperance leader Frances Willard's good friend Kate A. Jackson and members of her family. SH recorded in her diary while she was in Athens that it was "strange how the same persons will turn up in our travels." She was "surprised to see at lunch a lady and gentleman who had been to several of Mr. Forbes lectures with us in Rome" ("23 Mar.–15 May 1884," 26 Apr.).

JA and her party took a dislike to English tourists. "We met an Oxford student yesterday who boasted that the first ascent of the Matterhorn had been made by an Oxford Don," JA wrote home to MCAL from Switzerland. "[W]e failed to see the connection between his degree and his exploit but said nothing" (12 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1556). In a letter written from Visp, Switzerland, SH complained of the "English people at table" in their hotel. "I never saw such rud[e]ness in my life. These people have a maid & man with them & one would suppose them to be Ladies & gentlemen but such was not the case. ~~They~~ I never saw such actions even among our most common people at home," she reported. "Quantities of wine & champagne did not help the matter any" (SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 13 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

37. JA to JWA, 14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1212.

38. JA to MCAL, 6 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC, below.

39. "The other day I amused the party very much by announcing that I thought a trip to Europe a bore. . . . I could come home now without very much regret for what I should have left behind" (SH to Linn Hostetter, 23 Jan. 1884, JAPP, Schneider). On 12 Mar. 1884, she wrote Sue and Henry Mackay that it "almost makes me weep for joy to think of packing up to go home" (JAPP, Schneider).

40. For biographical information about AHHA, see introduction to part 1 in *PJA*, 1. See also a biographical profile of AHHA in *PJA*, 1:442–66.

41. SH to Linn Hostetter, 20 Sept. 1883, JAPP, Schneider. See also n. 42.

42. SH to Linn Hostetter, 23 Jan. 1884, JAPP, Schneider.

43. AHHA to HWH, 16 Aug. 1884, IU, Lilly, SAAH.

44. SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 6 Mar.[Apr.] 1884, JAPP, Schneider. To SAAH in "quite a gossip letter," JA described the Ellwood sisters as "perfectly unlimited as to time and money,

and see every thing in a good natured, happy go lucky sort of a way." She reported that "Mr. Ellwood writes the girls very happy and jolly letters, and always ends up by telling them not to dare to come home until they have seen every thing in Europe, and can speak French & German as well as English" (14 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1295).

45. SH to Linn Hostetter, 13 Apr. 1884, JAPP, Schneider.

46. 24 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1627.

47. 8 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1208–9.

48. 24 Oct. 1884, JAPP; *JAPM*, 1:1619.

49. See JA to SAAH, 17 Sept. 1884, n. 11, below.

50. "You don't know how glad I was to hear definitely about Mary even when the news was so discouraging. Some days I am so uneasy that it seems to me I must take the first ship and go to her," JA wrote to SAAH. "And I want you to promise me solemnly, Alice, that if there is any danger of my not seeing Mary again, that you will write to me or cable so that I can come home, before it may be too late" (17 Jan. 1883[1884], below).

51. JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], below.

52. "You ask about my back, it has been doing beautifully since I discarded my jacket. I have not worn it since we left Edinburgh and by my back has been growing stronger all the time. It did not fit me. I had it adjusted in Dublin, it was better for a few days but was soon askew again. I intended to get another in London in case I could not go without, but to my surprise after the first few days it was a positive relief. My back is better than it has been for a long time, for the last month in spite of all the riding I have absolutely no back ache with the exception of one day" (JA to SAAH, 6 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1253).

53. AHHA to HWH, 27 Jan. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

54. 20 July 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1568. On 1 Oct. 1884, JA wrote SAAH that when they had left London a year before, she had weighed "ninety eight, and I now carry about one hundred and fifteen pounds" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1603).

55. A plethora of memoirs, novels, advice books, and tour guides written by and for American women attested to the popularity of the Grand Tour for those who could afford it. These books doubled as guides to upper-class feminine conduct, encouraging young women's consciousness of their gender and its responsibilities and pleasures and offering models of social life beyond their families of origin (see also n. 24).

56. Baedeker's travel guides, which JA's party relied heavily on, were the most widely used European guidebooks for American tourists during the nineteenth century. Designed for pocket use and easy reference, the guides (which included maps) contained detailed information on all aspects of travel. In 1832, Karl Baedeker (1801–59) of Koblenz, Germany, began developing the guidebook series that carries his name. Among his initial publications were guides on Belgium, Holland, German, and Switzerland. He (and his progeny after his death) continued to expand their guidebook business, publishing works on countries, sections of countries, and cities across most of the continents, presenting them in a variety of languages, including German, French, Spanish, and English. During the 1850s, the Baedekers adopted the red covers that came to be associated with their guidebooks.

SH purchased a copy of the 11th edition of Augustus J. C. Hare's *Walks in Rome* (1883) in Florence on 10 Mar. 1884. It is extant and contains annotations that reveal what SH and JA heard in the lectures given by Russell Forbes and what they saw during their stay in Rome.

57. JA's two extant diaries for the trip contain references to a number of books she purchased. Among the art books were volumes on German, Flemish, Dutch, and Italian painting; the history of art, various schools of painting, and masters of sculpture; and techniques and definitions of language applied to art. See "Diary, 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," back pages; *JAPM*, 28:1731–32. See also JA to SAAH, 13 July 1883, nn. 13, 15–16, above.

58. JA to SAAH, 6 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1394. Among the volumes JA apparently consulted was Susan and Joanna Horner, *Walks in Florence: Churches, Streets and*

Palaces. SH reported in her 28 Feb. 1884 letter to Sue and Henry Mackay that the party had consulted Ruskin's *Walks in Florence*, especially his work on the church of Santa Crocé, had three Baedekers, and were reading George Eliot's *Romola* while in Florence. She indicated that in preparation for Santa Crocé the party had "'read up' on the place and tried to follow Ruskin's directions." She continued, "We strained our necks and eyes over some fine frescoes by Giotto and used opera glasses, according to directions." She reported that while investigating a tomb of one of Galileo's ancestors, "[w]e did everything that Ruskin had said but get down on our knees to study the tassel on the cushion under the head of the creature" (JAPP, Schneider).

59. JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], below.

60. JA to GBH, 20 Jan. 1883[1884], JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1351.

61. JA to SAAH, 19 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1228.

62. JA to EGS, 2 Dec. 1883, below.

63. At the start of the trip, while the party was in Ireland, JA began to keep a record of her correspondence with friends and family in the United States ("Diary, 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," back pages; *JAPM*, 28:1731). It is easy to imagine that this sort of record-keeping was soon discarded because there was little time to maintain such records or to pursue a voluminous correspondence regularly. JA apparently did not keep correspondence she received while she was in Europe. She probably had little room in her trunks and valises for more than her summer and winter clothes, traveling necessities, gifts, reading materials, and souvenirs.

There is, however, no doubt that JA was a busy correspondent. On 2 Sept. 1883, she wrote cousin Clara Young, uncle Harry Weber, stepbrother GBH, her siblings, former RFS teacher and special friend SA, and SH's sister, the recently wed Sue Hostetter Mackay. Her uncle George Weber received a letter written on 3 Sept. She wrote GBH again and Cedarville childhood friend Flora Z. Guiteau on 7 Sept. On 8 and 12 Sept., she sent letters to SAAH and JWA. JA seems to have received letters in Sept. from EGS, Mrs. Mary A. Barton, and Eliza Clingman of Cedarville; cousin Lizzie Addams; aunt Elizabeth Weber Reiff; and former RFS friends Corinne Williams (Douglas) and Martha "Mattie" Thomas (Greene). She also planned to correspond with her Addams aunts, Dean Rachel Bodley, and teacher Sarah Blaisdell, but there is no indication that she did so during the Sept. period. Unfortunately, none of the letters from this scant Sept. list are known to have survived. The only JA letters known to be extant for the 2–12 Sept. 1883 period, for which JA kept her record, are two she wrote to HWH, dated 7 and 12 Sept. (UIC, JAMC, *JAPM*; 1: 1159–62, 1168–70); and one to SAAH, dated 10 Sept., below.

In general, JA's surviving correspondence consists of letters she wrote to siblings and their mates, stepbrother GBH, niece Sarah Weber Addams, Sarah Blaisdell, and EGS. JA managed to keep only one birthday greeting card from nephew James Weber Linn and one letter from EGS (see 28 Apr. 1885, below) from among the voluminous correspondence she received while she was in Europe.

SH also wrote letters home to Hostetter and Bowman relatives. Her "Folks at Home" letters may have been shared among her aunts, uncles, and siblings and their families living in the Mt. Carroll, Ill., area. SH's extant correspondence is located in JAPP, Schneider. AHHA's extant correspondence from Europe to her sons HWH and GBH is located primarily in UIC, JAMC, HJ and IU, Lilly, SAAH.

64. Addams, "Diary, 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," front pages; *JAPM*, 28:1675.

65. JA to SAAH, 19 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1221. JA's two extant trip diaries, dated 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883 and 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885, are located in UIC, JAMC. If AHHA kept a diary of her travel experiences, it is apparently not extant. SH seems to have kept a diary of the trip and a portion of it is extant in JAPP, Schneider. Photocopies of the travel diary of Mary Ellwood exist in the Ellwood House archives, De Kalb, Ill., and in JAPP, Ellwood.

66. JA to SAAH, [ca. 27 Jan. 1884], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1317. JA used the term "circulating

letter" in JA to SAAH, 11 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1472. JA used the term "journalistic" in JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], below.

67. JA to SAAH, [ca. 27 Jan. 1884], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1317.

68. 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], below.

69. "Ma has given you such detailed accounts of our days in London," she wrote to GBH, "that I will not risk repetition by going back" (6 Nov. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1247A-48). AHHA's 1883 letters to GBH from London are apparently no longer extant. AHHA also wrote to HWH about her first visit to London. See 9 Oct., and 18 Oct. 1883, both in UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.; and 26[-29] Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

70. SAAH recorded JA's circular letters in a journal to create a complete record of the trip.

Most of the circular letters that were included in this selected edition are extant only as the copies SAAH provided in that journal. In the instances when both the original letter and SAAH's copy are extant, a comparison revealed SAAH as a faithful copier who sometimes misread her sister's rapid scrawl. Mostly her errors appeared in proper names; however, she apparently sometimes omitted some of JA's brief personal comments. When the editors chose to include a circular letter and had access to both the original letter and the copy, they selected the original letter for publication. Documents from SAAH's journal rendition of the letters are identified in the citation line as such.

71. 1 May 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:55.

72. [30(29) Mar. 1885], below.

73. JA to SAAH, 25 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1450.

74. JA and SH often spent time in bookshops and book stalls. The women purchased small volumes to give one another as presents at Christmas, apparently as mementoes of their stays in various places. Among books surviving in SH's library are volumes that she purchased, including a few in German reflecting the attempt that JA and SH made to learn the German language. SH acquired H. J. Wilmot Buxton and Edward J. Poynter's *German, Flemish and Dutch Painting* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1881) in Dublin on 8 Sept. 1881; *Poems of Robert Burns* (London: W. Kent and Co., 1881) in Glasgow on 28 Sept. 1883; Hans Christian Andersen's *Picturebook without Pictures*, translated from the Danish by Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouque, 6th ed. (Berlin: Franz Duncker Publishers, 1870) in Berlin on 14 Nov. 1883; and *The Nephew as Uncle*, a comedy in three acts from the French of Picardy by Friedrich Schiller, adapted for translation from German into English by Charles Dickens, Jr., 15th ed. (Dresden: Louis Ehlermann, n.d.) in Dresden on 16 Dec. 1883. The following are among gift books SH received from JA: Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*, The Handy Volume "Waverley" (London: Bradbury, Agnew, and Co., n.d.), a small paperboard edition dated "fall of 1883"; and Dante Alighieri's *The Vision; or Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise*, Chandos Classics, translated by Rev. H. F. Cary (London: Frederick Warne and Co., n.d.), given in Florence in Mar. 1884. JA also presented SH with Mrs. Jameson's *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., n.d.) in Florence during Feb. 1884. As a memory gift, perhaps in recognition of their shared experience, JA presented SH with Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The Island of Capri*, translated from German by Lilian Clarke (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1879). It had the notation "S. M. Hostetter, Comp. J.A." It is likely that AHHA, whose card was found in the volume, gave SH the 53rd ed. of Heinrich Heine's *Book of Songs* (Hamburg: Hoffman and Campe, 1883) for Christmas in 1883. SH indicated that she acquired it in Dresden and dated it 5 Jan. 1884. See also nn. 24, 58-60.

75. JA had grown up hearing the poems and songs of Irish poet-balladeer Tom Moore, a favorite of her stepmother, AHHA. See also JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], nn. 24, 33, below.

76. JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, below.

77. JA often transposed the letters "o" and "i" when writing Giotto's name in her letters.

78. JA to GBH, 8 Mar. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1400.

79. JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1883, below; and Addams, "Diary, 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 28 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1695–97.

80. References to the literature JA and her traveling party were reading appear throughout her correspondence and diaries.

81. 3 Nov. 1883, below.

82. 20 Jan. 1883[1884], JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1352.

83. JA to SAAH, 11 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1413. For essayist-critic John Ruskin's comment, see JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, n. 13, below.

84. JA to SAAH, 18 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1256. Of Anton Rubenstein (1829–94), JA recorded: "He is very homely, has no bridge at all to his nose, but looking at his head as a whole there is some thing very powerful in it, and a nervous tense organization is evident in every move he makes. The audience was delighted with him" (JA to SAAH, 18 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1256–57).

85. Addams, "Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885"; *JAPM*, 29:19. JA refers to the story for the opera based on Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.

86. Addams, "Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 7 Dec. 1883; *JAPM*, 29:22.

87. Addams, "Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 31 Nov. 1883; *JAPM*, 29:20–21.

88. The list appears on two pages toward the back of Addams, "Diary, Nov. 2, 1883–21 Jan. 1885"; *JAPM*, 29:86, 88.

89. See JA to SAAH, 17 Jan. 1883[1884], nn. 5–6, below.

90. JA to SAAH, 17 Jan. 1883[1884], below. A year later, in Berlin, JA found Wagner's *Lohengrin* "very dramatic and intense in the plot." The opera "made an impression on me that I don't believe I will ever forget," she wrote to GBH (28 Dec. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1688).

91. JA's correspondence and diary from this trip offer scant evidence for this later conclusion on her part.

92. JA probably meant to write *flung*.

93. JA probably meant to write *made*.

94. JA probably meant to write *uncomfortable*.

95. JA to SAAH, 18 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1266–68.

96. See JA to EGS, 7 Dec. 1884, n. 2, below.

97. See JA to EGS, 7 Dec. 1884, n. 2, below.

98. JA to MCAL, 15 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1475.

99. See JA to EGS, 7 Dec. 1884, n. 8, below.

100. See JA to JWA, 27 Jan. 1884, below. See also nn. 121–31.

101. JA to SAAH, 16 Sept. 1883, below.

102. JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], below; and Addams, "Diary, 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 29 and 31 Aug.; *JAPM*, 28:1676–77.

103. "The town and hotels are built up on the saddle [of the island of Capri] and every one reaches them on donkey back, The donkeys are about as big as good sized rabbits, (and each has two women to take care of it[!]) (and collect the fare pennies for their trouble). These women carry all the baggage on their head & even good sized trunks and are descended from the women who carried all the stones for the villas above, from the sea shore stone by stone on their heads. The men are all engaged in coral fishing and go away for long cruises, and these black eyed women seem to take care of everything" (JA to JWA, 19 May 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1500).

104. See JA to SAAH, 17 Sept 1884, n. 12, below.

105. See JA to MCAL, 6 Dec. 1883, n. 10, below.

106. 4 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1246. See also Addams, "Diary, 29 Aug.–Nov. 1883," back pages; *JAPM*, 28:1724. JA commented on Mrs. Phillips, who kept the pension in which AHHA and JA lodged during their fall 1884 stay in Berlin in JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, below.

107. SH to Linn Hostetter, 6 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider.

108. Writing to brother JWA from Siena, Italy, JA reported that at Naples “[t]he begging was frightful, it would be utterly impossible to give to every body as the carriage was followed by six to twenty all the time. One of the nearest approaches to total depravity was this. We were eating our lunch when a little boy about three years old, came up with a wretched little turtle dove tied to a string, he had dragged it about until it was almost dead, and as he was still keeping it up, I offered him four sous for the bird, he ran away perfectly delighted, and we had just untangled it from the string ready to let it fly when the child’s father came out and seeing a fine chance to make money said we couldn’t have it unless we would give him ten sous. That was perfectly absurd and as we refused to give it, he took back the bird, tied it up again the worst way he could and then sent out the little boy to dangle it up and down before our eyes, thinking he would excite our pity until we would give in” (19 May 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1502). See also JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883]; JA to JWA, 29 Oct. 1883; JA to GBH, 4 Jan. 1883[1884], n. 3; and JA to SAAH, 20 Dec. 1884, all below. See also JA to SAAH, 22 [and 23] Dec. 1883; and JA to SAAH, 28 Dec. 1884, both in UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1297–1308, 1690–97.

109. JA to EGS, 21 Feb. 1885, below. Unfortunately none of EGS’s letters to JA for this period are known to be extant, except EGS to JA, 28 Apr. 1885, below.

110. JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, below.

111. JA to EGS, 21 Feb. 1885, below.

112. JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, below.

113. JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, below.

114. JA to GBH, 4 Jan. 1883[1884], below. The previous Oct., after an excursion to Oxford from London, JA had alluded to her own struggle to make her studies relevant to an active life in the larger world in a letter to GBH: “You felt the history of learning, and the independent line of life students lead from one age to another, and yet connected by invisible suckers and tendrils to <the> actual helpful life of the world” (17 [and 18?] Oct. 1883, below).

115. JA to GBH, 17 [and 18?] Oct. 1883, below.

116. 20 Jan. 1883[1884], JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1351.

117. JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. 1883, below.

118. SH to “Folks at Home,” 30 Aug. [, 1 and 2 Sept.] 1883, JAPP, Schneider. See also JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], n. 14, below.

119. JA to SAAH, 16 Sept. 1883, below.

120. JA to SAAH, 16 Sept. 1883, below.

121. AHHA to HWH, 14 Jan. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ. AHHA probably began her letter on 14 Jan. and finished it several days later. According to JA’s diary entry of 15 Jan. 1884, the party did not arrive in Saxe-Coburg until 8 P.M.

122. “2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885,” 15 Jan. 1884; *JAPM*, 29:29.

123. “[S]ome fifty women were carrying—tanks of hot beer on their backs—from the big brewery to the clarifying house where it is to cool and be bottled or filled into kegs,” AHHA wrote to son HWH. “These open barrels they carry on their backs hold from three to four of our common bucket fulls—of beer; and this weight they carry, at one time on their back—taking from 5 o’clock in the morning till seven at night—this is a day’s work—for which they get a Mark and a half—about 35 cts of our money. It just about—broke my heart to see the pathetic way in which these poor, women clasped their hands firmly together to keep the steaming hot—hellish mass from spilling out and scalding them. . . . Tis a land of semi-barbarism, to make women a beast of burden—even more so than a horse. . . . My back ached tonight from pure pity (and sympathy) for the poor creatures” (14 Jan. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ, Supp.).

124. Addams, “Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885,” 15 Jan. 1884; *JAPM*, 29:29. See also JA to JWA, 27 Jan., 1884, n. 11, below.

125. Addams, "Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 15 Jan. 1884; *JAPM*, 29:29. See also JA to JWA, 27 Jan. 1884, n. 11, below.

126. JA had been reading *The Early Years of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, which Queen Victoria had authorized. It was edited by her secretary, Lieutenant-General C. Grey, and published in 1867. Baron Christian Friedrich von Stockmar (1787–1863), physician and then advisor to and agent for King Leopold of Belgium, also served as advisor to Queen Victoria of England and her consort, Prince Albert (1819–61). He had been Prince Albert's mentor during his early years as a student at Brussels and Bonn and his travels through Italy. Prince Albert and his mentor were considered progressive and enlightened statesmen who actively promoted science, art, and philanthropy.

127. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 74–75.

128. Addams, "Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," [16] Jan. 1884; *JAPM*, 29:30.

129. Addams, "Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 15 Jan. 1884; *JAPM*, 29:29.

130. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 74.

131. JA's account in her diary, in two extant letters she wrote home, and in AHHA's letter home to HWH.

132. 19 May 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:69.

133. During a visit to Paris in 1871, shortly after the end of the Franco-Prussian War and the aftermath of the Paris Commune, the McAlls saw the deplorable conditions in which the poor of the city existed. Robert Whitaker McAll (1821–93), at the time pastor of a church in Hadleigh, England, and his wife, Elizabeth, determined to establish a protestant mission among the Catholic working class. According to one observer, Robert McAll "was never content with preaching to ordinary church-goers, but was always endeavoring to reach the poor and those who were out of the way" ("R.W. McAll," 690). After gathering support for their venture in England and in France, the McAlls returned to Paris early in 1872 and settled in the Belleville area. They began bringing help and the Bible directly to the Catholic poor in their first mission hall on the Rue Julian Lacroix. By 1885, the McAlls had ninety-nine missions in cities in France, Corsica, and Algiers. The McAll movement had financial support from the churches of other countries, including the United States. The Church of St. Paul, completed in 1879, known as the American chapel of Paris, where JA sometimes attended services, supported one of the mission stations, and in 1883, contributions from the United States totaled \$16,755 (see "R. W. McAll," 691).

134. Loomis, *Modern Cities*, 165.

135. Loomis, *Modern Cities*, 175.

136. SH was one of the nine who accompanied Miss Warner to the East End. Instead of going to church the next morning, and while the sights were still fresh in her mind, she wrote the following description to Sue and Henry Mackay:

Last night Miss Warner took a party of nine out to the East side of London to see the poor people do their marketing. We had quite a funny time and a time which made us think seriously of the poverty and wretchedness of many people in this great city. We took the underground railway to Aldersgate about two blocks from here is the famous Grubb St and near also the former residence of Mrs Bardell. Indeed it did not take a very vivid imagination to picture some of the scenes described by Dickens. On the corner of the St sat an old huckster woman so drunk that it was dreadful and beside her a man trying to force her to take another glass of whiskey to revive her. [B]eside her also stood a woman with two cross dirty little children[.] We were glad to get on top of the tram or street cars (they are like our st cars only they have steps to go on top and seats. []) We went past rum shops filled with men women and children and then through the market where these poor people come on Saturday night late to buy their provisions. The streets were filled with people. There was a poor woman with an empty purse paying

her last penny for a bit of meat and there a boy and half drunken man having a quarrel over some fish[.] So it was. I think we could hardly have a scene just like it in America though we too have many poor people in our large cities. No wonder Dickens could describe it so well—for as I glanced down some of the dark dreary side streets I could almost imagine some of *Oliver Twist* or the den of old Crook. We went a distance of nine miles and were glad to get back to Dorset square where the air seemed some lighter (27 [and 28] Oct. 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

137. JA to JWA, 29 Oct. 1883, below.

138. *Twenty Years*, 68, 69. In *Twenty Years*, JA recalled: "Our visit was made in November, 1883, the very year when the *Pall Mall Gazette* exposure started 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London,' and the conscience of England was stirred as never before over this joyless city in the East End of its capital" (69). JA's diary for this period reveals that on 1 Nov. she was en route to the Continent, arriving on 2 Nov. 1883.

At various times, JA seemed to recall that she first came upon the settlement idea during her first trip to Europe and associated it with a visit to Toynbee Hall during that trip. For example, in a letter to her friend Julia Boyd of New York, Martha Freeman Esmond (friend of Louise de Koven Bowen, who became one of JA's close friends, a major financial supporter of Hull-House, and, after JA's death, the president of its board of trustees) reported on 8 July 1901 about a conversation with JA during a visit to Hull-House. Esmond wrote of JA: "Since she couldn't study medicine, she now turned her thoughts to the alleviating of the lot of the poor. In London she was fascinated by the work she saw at Toynbee Hall, then in its early stages. Returning home she could not think of anything else but a social settlement in Chicago. But she was not prepared to undertake it just then. In 1887, with Miss Ellen Starr, she again went to Europe, where she studied industrial conditions in East London. She and Miss Starr settled in Chicago on their return from Europe and the two decided on the settlement venture" (quoted in Herma Clark's column, "When Chicago Was Young," *Chicago Tribune*, 10 July 1949).

Making a presentation on 6 June 1933, "Settlement Work through Fifty Years," JA announced: "In 1883 was organized what was then the first settlement group. . . . I saw them two years later in 1885 after a regular hall [Toynbee Hall] had been built living in East London, aggregating together to undertake public service" ("Broadening Horizons in Community Work," 25).

There is little extant evidence (except her own words) to support JA's contention that she became aware of Toynbee Hall during her first European journey. During the winter of 1883, Toynbee Hall was being established with the leadership of Samuel A. Barnett (1844–1913) and a group of men associated with Oxford Univ. Barnett, then vicar of St. Jude's in Whitechapel, was named warden in Feb. 1884. The structure that became known as Toynbee Hall was begun in July 1884 and completed in 1885; one of the first residents was occupying the almost-complete building by Christmas Eve of 1884.

Between Aug. 1883 and May 1885, JA was in London on four occasions. The first was Oct. 1883, before the Toynbee Hall project began. The second was briefly during Aug. 1884 and then again in Sept. 1884. The last was in May 1885, when JA was on her way through London to board the *Servia* for her trip home. On each occasion, she and AHHA lodged with Rebecca Warner, who had taken JA to the East End in Oct. 1883. Perhaps Miss Warner knew of the Toynbee Hall plans and informed JA, who then trekked to the East End on her last stay in London in May 1885. However, JA left no evidence in letter, diary, notebook or James Weber Linn's authorized biography that she did, and there is no indication in extant Toynbee Hall records or in the papers of Samuel A. Barnett, AHHA, or the correspondents to whom JA and AHHA wrote that she visited during this early period.

On a visit to London in July 2004, Margaret Strobel, at the time director of the Jane Ad-

dams Hull-House Museum, Univ. of Illinois at Chicago, reviewed the earliest Toynbee Hall visitors' records for 1884–85 and did not find JA's name or that of any of the Addams traveling party in the records. Henrietta Barnett recalled that “[i]n 1887 Miss Jane Addams came to see us” (Barnett, *Canon Barnett*, 2:30). Perhaps Jane unintentionally conflated memories of experiences from her first and second European trips. Surviving evidence strongly suggests that JA's first Toynbee Hall visit took place in the early summer of 1888 (see introduction to part 4 and JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, both below).

139. Mearns, *The Bitter Cry*, 55–56.

140. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 Jan. 1884, quoted in Mearns, *The Bitter Cry*, 41, n. 16.

141. Publication of the pamphlet ushered in “a new period of heightened public awareness of the slums of London.” The pamphlet and tracts that followed “stimulated both parties to pay attention to working-class housing and led directly to the appointment of a royal commission on the subject. The agitation disturbed the consciences of the Queen and Prince of Wales and did not die down until the Conservative Party had committed itself to reform, stronger housing legislation had been enacted, and the clearance of London's slums and the re-housing of the evicted had been entrusted to a new, infinitely more powerful municipal government” (Mearns, *The Bitter Cry*, 13).

142. William T. Stead (1849–1912), crusading English journalist and peace advocate who died in the *Titanic* disaster, founded the *English Review of Reviews* in 1890, exposed the horrid treatment of women and children permitted by English law, and wrote of the deplorable conditions of the poor in Chicago in *If Christ Came to Chicago* (1893), his classic treatment of Chicago at the time of the Columbian Exposition of 1893.

143. “Is It Not Time?” *Pall Mall Gazette*, London, 16 Oct. 1883, reprinted in Mearns, *The Bitter Cry*, 81, 83.

144. Or for that matter, that she would have missed articles that might have continued reverberating for months in the press of Great Britain. SH reported in a letter of 13 Apr. 1884 to her brother Linn Hostetter that JA subscribed to and read faithfully the *London Weekly Times*.

145. *Twenty Years*, 69.

146. See introduction to part 4, below.

147. “One learns to have a new respect for Luther and wonder how one man could do so much” (JA to JWA, 27 Jan. 1884, below). On Savonarola, see JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, below.

148. De Quincey, “A Vision of Sudden Death,” 113. Assuming that this flashback actually occurred, either her memory of De Quincey's essay failed her or she had misread it. Rather than block his quick response, his recall of “the shout of Achilles” actually spurred him to act; he shouted twice and saved the young lovers' lives. In this crisis, literature motivated right conduct. Even if she misinterpreted it, what matters is how De Quincey's literary essay affected her. See also Essay in the RSM, Jan. 1885[1886], below.

148. *Twenty Years*, 70–71, 76.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

[On board the S. S. *Servia*, en route
NY harbor to Cobb, Ireland]¹

[Aug. 22, 1883]

My dearest Alice

We are off and moving away from N.Y. harbor. My last impression of America was the big, beautiful majestic Brooklyn Bridge.² I was choked up of course & wept the regulation weep at the last minute, but I am all right now. George and Uncle Harry waved us off the girls were all four of them up from Phila. yesterday so we have not had the least chance to feel forlorn.³ I hope you are feeling as cheerful as we do. The salt breeze acts on me like magic, and the party are jolly and good natured.⁴ Write as often as you can dear, and know that the desire to see you will only pull in stronger tension every day until we get back. With love to Harry. Always Yr

Jane Addams

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1145).



The S.S. *Servia* of the Cunard Line, on which Jane Addams traveled to and from Europe, 1883–85, had entered service in 1881. She was the first Cunard liner to be lighted by electricity. (John S. Johnston, LC, Prints and Photographs, Detroit Publishing Co. Collection, LC-D401-10924)

1. On-board stationery used by JA's stepmother identified the vessel as the "Cunard Royal Mail Steamship *Servia*" (AHHA to HWH, 22[-28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.). The British-based Cunard Line, founded in 1840 by Samuel Cunard of Halifax, Nova Scotia, provided transatlantic transport for passengers and mail. As ocean travel expanded after the Civil War, the Cunard Line held a position as the leading transatlantic carrier. The 7,400-ton, 530-foot *Servia*, launched in 1881, was the second-largest ship in the world; it had five decks and a saloon with "the grandest staircase on the Atlantic." The first liner fully equipped with electric lighting, it carried 480 first-class passengers, 750 in third class. Its steel hull, large engine, and screw propeller gave the "ocean greyhound" unusual speed. "She was the first in a flotilla of ever larger ships crossing the Atlantic on an express service, i.e., one catering primarily to passengers and leaving the haulage of cargo to second-class liners or freighters" (Brinnin, *Sway of the Grand Saloon*, 272-73).

2. The Brooklyn Bridge, a suspension bridge over the East River connecting Brooklyn and Manhattan, had just opened on 24 May 1883. A spectacular feat of modern engineering, the bridge was designed in 1867 by engineer John Augustus Roebling (1806-69), the inventor of wire cable. It was the first suspension bridge with steel cables, giving it superior strength and stability; its 1,600-foot span was then the longest in the world. After Roebling's death in a June 1869 ferry accident, his son Washington Roebling (1837-1926) took over supervision of the dangerous construction project, solving many structural challenges, even though he was severely injured during the excavation of the riverbed. President Chester A. Arthur and New York Governor Grover Cleveland attended the bridge's showy dedication in May 1883. The bridge "became a highly recognizable landmark and an important cultural icon," Kenneth Jackson noted, "and many artists and writers saw it as a symbol of American urbanization and industrialization" (*Encyclopedia of New York City*, 154-55).

3. The well-wishers at the dock were JA's stepbrother GBH; her uncle John Harrison Weber; and her Philadelphia cousins, Miranda E. Addams, Clara Young, Mary Young Worrall, and Anna Young Mohr.

4. Besides JA and her stepmother, the seven-member party included AHHA's friend Mary Hodges Penfield (who would meet her daughter Mary in Europe), JA's stepcousin SH, RFS classmate Mary Patience Ellwood and older sister Harriet ("Puss") Ellwood (also an RFS graduate), and their aunt, Alida Ellwood Young.

Mary Hodges Penfield (1820-1908), born in Clarendon, Vt., married David Sturges Penfield (1812-73), a founder of the Third National Bank in Rockford. With his brother John Penfield, David Sturges Penfield managed land holdings and helped develop the town. After her husband died, Mary Penfield led an active life, traveling in Europe; visiting daughter Mary "Molly" Fuller Norton and her clergyman husband in Woburn, Mass.; and wintering in Florida. A philanthropist, she donated the property on which the first YMCA building was erected in Rockford. The Penfields had three daughters. Molly Penfield, who had grown up in Rockford and toured Europe with the Addams party, was age forty-four on 19 May 1899, when she became the second wife of 45-year-old Congregational minister Stephen A. Norton, then living in San Diego, Calif. Anna Frances Penfield (1853-1936), who attended RFS, graduated from Vassar, and returned to Rockford to become a cultural leader and philanthropist as the wife of businessman C. R. Mower (see SA to JA, 26 Oct. 1881, n. 4, above). Laura Penfield (1848-78), her eldest daughter, also a student at RFS, wed Rockford real estate and loan agent Henry H. Robinson (b. 1846).

SH was the daughter of AHHA's brother Dr. Abraham Hostetter and his wife, Catherine Bowman Hostetter. See a biographical profile of SH in *PJA*, 1:531-32.

Mary Patience Ellwood was vice president of JA's class of 1881 at RFS and attended Smith College. For a biographical note, see *PJA*, 1:283, n. 10.

Harriet ("Hattie" or "Puss") Ellwood (Mayo) (1861-1934) was born 12 Mar. 1861 in De Kalb, Ill., the second child and the oldest daughter of Isaac and Harriet Miller Ellwood. After attending local schools, she followed in her mother's footsteps and matriculated at

RFS. Musically and artistically inclined, she enrolled in the music program at the seminary, from which she graduated a year before her sister Mary and JA. After her European travels, Harriet Ellwood returned to De Kalb with her sister and aunt, Alida Young. On 8 Apr. 1897, she married widower Dr. Edward Mayo of Sycamore, Ill., and became stepmother to his two children. The couple lived in De Kalb in a home that was a wedding gift from her parents. In 1900, Harriet Ellwood Mayo and her husband had their only child, Edward, Jr. Harriet May Ellwood Mayo died on 1 Apr. 1934. For additional biographical information, see *PJA*, 1:220, n. 19; 1:283, n. 10.

Alida L. Ellwood Young (1837?–89) went on the trip as a chaperon for her nieces, the daughters of her brother Isaac Ellwood. She was born in Montgomery Co., N.Y., the youngest child of Abram (or Abraham) and Sarah Delong Ellwood. Her father was a farmer, businessman, and railroad builder who brought his family west to Sycamore, in De Kalb Co., Ill., in 1856. The couple provided a public school education for their ten children, who all lived to maturity. Alida Ellwood was nineteen years old in 1856 when she became the second wife of merchant Elsey F. Young (1819–74) of De Kalb Center, Ill. By 1860, he had become a banker in De Kalb, Ill., and moved his family there. Alida Young cared for Elizabeth Young (1848?–68?), the only surviving child of her husband's union with his first wife, Caroline Waterman (d. 1852). The couple also had two children of their own. Kate (1858?–62?) died when she was four years old and a younger child when only nine months old. After the death of her husband in Hot Springs, Ark., the childless widow joined the household of her wealthy brother Isaac Ellwood in De Kalb, Ill., where she lived and helped raise his children until her death on 5 June 1889.

AHHA described their accommodations in a letter to her son Harry: "Sarah and I have a stateroom together. Jane and Mary Ellwood and Mrs. Young and her niece Puss Ellwood [share a stateroom] and Mrs. Penfield has one to herself opposite Sarah and me" (22[–28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

S.S. Servia—Mid Ocean

August 27" 1883

My dear Alice

Your last kind letter in New York has been a cheering thought and send off ever since.¹ It was lovely in you to write so that it would come just when it did at the very last minute. I asked Uncle Harry to write you that I could n't send word off Sandy Hook² for in the rush I had provided myself with neither stamps, paper or postals, but we found Mrs Penfield well provided and withal very generous, so we did send off our last impressions after all.³

The first day we were all sea sick, Ma the least of all and Mary Ellwood the very worst—with all stages between & we are all a little uncertain yet, no one quite serene, but no one has been so bad as to wish to be dead and we all feel that if nothing worse overtakes us, that it will not be so very bad to travel for a year.⁴

The first two days are a blank in my mind, the next three were a dense fog, the fog-horn sounded all the time and it was impossible to see ten feet away from the ship. It was in the midst of the uncertainty on Sunday morning, when the Eng service was read,⁵ it certainly was impressive and comforting may be only because every body was together at once doing the same thing, wh gave a feeling of sociability & help. We have <been> very warm and uncomfortable in

our thick clothes until to-day,⁶ when every-thing seems to be much more as we expect the sea to be. Mr Worrall⁷ and all of them said so much about keeping warm that our state rooms were crowded with rugs, ulsters & hot water bags—so much useless material. The ship itself is a never ceasing wonder, there is no chance for feeling solitary & alone with the ocean &c, ~~we are~~ for this is a continent almost right here. Theodore Thomas⁸ & some his friends are on board, I saw him sitting to-day on the same bench with a small boy who was playing a Jew's-harp,⁹ he was watching him with a mixture of good-natured contempt & kindly amusement which made his face very pleasant to remember. Celebrity no two, is Henry James¹⁰ the novelist who I look at most of time between courses at table, he is very English in appearance but not especially keen or intellectual in app. Freddy Gebhardt¹¹ stalks the hurricane deck in a solitary state wh gives a full length portrait of himself and his sorrow.

We have found Mrs Penfield a very desirable acquisition to the party, she is witty & spirited, and she and Ma keep us all stirred up by punning on each others puns. Last night we saw a phosphoresant sea—great balls like electric light were rolled from the stern of the vessel.¹² “Almost as foine as the American lightning bug” an Eng<lishman> remarked to the infinite amusement of every one. He had made the tour of the U.S. in three months & declared the fire flies were the finest thing he saw.

We have had an animated discussion of guide books & maps this morning & have decided to land at Queenstown,¹³ spend a week in the Emerald Isle & take a steamer from Belfast to Glasgow, from there north to Inverness, down to Edinburgh & thence to London reaching about three weeks later than we had planned. We think it will be better in saving both time & money. Don't stop writing on account of the address what ever happens, for we will keep the Am. Ex posted and have our letters forwarded to us.¹⁴

Please excuse this lead pencil, I tried ink but the uncertainty of hitting the small aperture of the ink bottle led me to give it up.

I was tired when we left N.Y & a little used up over the loss of my letter,¹⁵ but I feel quite rested & up to the mark now. The sea sickness cleared me up. It is a comfort to find other people have lost their letters of credit & do not feel unduly alarmed about it.¹⁶ We have met some very pleasant people on board and it will be pleasant to find them turning up again.¹⁷ So many of them seem to be planning for a winter in Germany. Mary Ellwood has just come in with a purse full of Eng. money & declares that we “must practice using this stuff or we will be cheated out of our very eyes.” So I will stop writing & go to counting. We are due in Queenstown tomorrow (Wed) afternoon at four o'clock and I wont write more until we land. With love to Harry & yourself. Always Yrs

Jane Addams.

Ma looks splendidly & is the best sailor of the party.¹⁸

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1148–51).



Mary P. Ellwood, 1884, Florence, Italy.
Mary had been Jane Addams's classmate at Rockford Female Seminary and then attended Smith College for a year. She kept a diary of her European experiences. (Fotografia Montabone, Florence, Italy; SCPC, JAC)

1. SAAH's letter to JA is not known to be extant.

2. Sandy Hook, a peninsula in northeastern N.J., extended into the ocean five miles north toward N.Y. At the north end, where the *Servia* passed by, two forts had been built to protect New York Harbor. Sandy Hook was the last opportunity for passengers to send mail from ship to shore before heading out into the Atlantic.

3. JA's hastily written "last impressions" were in her 22 Aug. 1883 letter to SAAH, above.

4. AHHA wrote to her son HWH that "the first day out the waves were as high as barns" (22[-28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.). On 24 Aug., SH informed her family that seasickness had set in shortly after they had left New York. Although she and "Aunt Ann," JA's stepmother, had "no great reason to complain," she wrote that "Jane was in misery in her state room," as was Puss Ellwood. In a humorous recounting, SH wrote of the others lounging on deck in various stages of malady (SH to "Folks at Home," 24 [and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). Mary Ellwood recorded in her diary that "Puss & Jane and Aunt Lide [Alida Ellwood Young] soon found their way to their staterooms where they spent the rest of the day on their backs." Two days into the voyage, some were recovering, although JA was "still a little under the weather" (24 Aug. 1883, JAPP, Ellwood). Toward the middle of the voyage, AHHA wrote that "Jane begins to have color and sleeps well and is quite a sailor" (AHHA to HWH, 22[-28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.). On 27 Aug., Mary Ellwood noted that "the roughest seas they had experienced had made most of the party all sick again." To recover, they ate "crackers, cheese, raisins, bananas, etc." ("Diary"). On 28 Aug., the day before they completed their Atlantic crossing, SH reported that "[w]e did not have any serious relapses but a few of us felt uncomfortable yesterday" (SH to "Folks at Home," 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). JA's worst bout of seasickness on her first trip to Europe was the next spring when she voyaged to and from Greece on the Mediterranean (see JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, n. 19; JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884; and Essay in the RSM, Jan. 1885[1886], all below).

5. The "Eng" worship service, conducted by the purser, was most likely Anglican (Church of England), from which the U.S. Episcopal church derived. "[W]e had the prayers and responses of the Episcopal Church read, and sang some hymns," AHHA told her son HWH (22[-28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

6. "Our state rooms have been so hot that the first two nights we nearly perished," SH wrote home. "It was a foretaste of purgatory so it seemed[.]" The party managed to change their staterooms because of the heat, at least for sleeping (SH to "Folks at Home," 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

7. Peter B. Worrall, a dry goods entrepreneur associated with Fred Butterfield and Co. in Bradford, England, and A. Van Bergen and Co. in France, made extended business trips to Europe. He escorted JA and her party on some outings around England in fall 1883 and fall 1884. Mary Young Worrall, whom he brought with him, joined JA and AHHA in Paris in spring 1885 for several weeks of sightseeing (see introduction to part 2, n. 23, above; JA to JWA, 29 Oct. 1883; JA to EGS, 21 Feb. 1885, n. 10; and JA to JWA, 19 Apr. 1885, all below).

8. German-born Theodore Thomas (1835–1905) was a nationally renowned orchestra conductor and choral director whose family had emigrated to the United States when he was a boy. In 1864, he founded the "Symphony Soirée" series at New York's Irving Hall, whose orchestra performed the work of classical composers and was considered comparable to major European orchestras. Thomas, who also inaugurated popular summer concerts in Central Park, toured the East and Midwest with his orchestra during the 1870s. He also founded the Cincinnati College of Music. Encouraged by Chicago businessmen, he created and served as founding conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in the 1880s (and as music director of the World Columbian Exposition in 1893). He played a leading role in popularizing European composers and the symphony orchestra in the United States. SH, who became a music teacher, found him "the most dis[t]i[n]guished person" aboard the ship (SH to "Folks at Home," 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

9. A Jew's harp is a small musical instrument comprised of a lyre-shaped metal frame with a metal tongue that is plucked while the frame is held in the mouth.

10. Henry James (1843–1916), one of the most famous American writers of his time, was returning home to his adopted England after an extended stay in the United States. A major theme of his novels was the experience of Americans abroad and the clash of American and European civilizations; his most recent novel, *Portrait of a Lady* (1881), dealt with a young American woman's innocence in confronting European mores. SH found James "not very brilliant in his appearance" (SH to "Folks at Home," 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). AHHA wrote that he was "bald has a well shaped head and no beard wears a grey business suit and would more readily pass for a merchant than a literary man" (AHHA to HWH, 22[–28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.). Commenting on his appetite for food and reading matter, Mary Ellwood quoted JA as remarking "'it takes a great amount of food to feed the lamp of genius'" ("Diary," 26 Aug. 1883).

11. Frederick "Freddie" Gebhardt, Jr., an American millionaire from Baltimore, was the lover of celebrated English actress and singer Lillie Langtry (1852–1929), who had completed a U.S. tour in spring 1883. Gebhardt, who was traveling under an assumed name, had been the subject of notoriety in recent months because of his dalliance with Langtry. SH wrote, "I p[r]esume he is going over to escort the 'Jersey Lilly' [Langtry] accross next winter. 'Freddie' looks stupid and dont appear on deck very often" (SH to "Folks at Home," 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider, 1883). JA later reflected that she was disappointed to find a lack of camaraderie among the passengers.

12. After a few days of fog, Mary Ellwood wrote in her diary that "[t]he sea was full of phosperous tonight—it looked like balls of fire" (27 Aug. 1883). "[I]t seemed to be in beds of light and looked like stars" (SH to "Folks at Home," 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). Viewing the "stars that, sparkled and jumped out of the water to glide into the next wave . . . trailling clouds of gold in the water," AHHA was inspired to remark, "God is so wonderful, we cannot help but Hallow his name" (AHHA to HWH, 22[–28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

13. Transatlantic passengers often began their grand tours at Queenstown on the south-east coast of Ireland (see JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], below). The group's

itinerary for their first weeks in Europe closely followed the plan they had made on board ship. JA, SH, and AHHA were delayed in Ireland when AHHA fell ill in Dublin.

14. JA and her party were ever anxious to receive mail from home. The "Am Ex," or American Exchange in London, functioned as a convenient forwarding office. JA's group had paid a \$15 fee for safe forwarding of mail as they journeyed around Europe. In a letter to GBH the following Jan., JA explained that he should always write them care of the American Exchange, since "[t]he letters are never delayed more than two or three hours in London and it is the only possible way to avoid losing them" (20 Jan. 1883[1884], JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1350–51).

15. Major U.S. banks issued letters of credit for the convenience of travelers. Americans could draw on them at most reputable European banks, eliminating the risk of carrying large sums of cash and having to change U.S. money into foreign currencies. JA lost her letter of credit when her pocketbook was stolen in Philadelphia shortly before embarking from New York. As a result, JA wrote her sister, "the main occupation of life has been to telegraph and correspond with banks" (see JA to SAAH, 18 Aug. 1883, above).

16. Seeing a notice on the *Servia* reporting the "loss of a letter of credit" on board, SH noted that "Jane is not the only unfortunate person" (SH to "Folks at Home," 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

17. They encountered fellow passengers a few days later in Dublin. Although the Atlantic crossing was a success for JA and her party, seasickness aside, she later reflected on her first ocean voyage that it was "provoking" that "you are more impressed with the good ship than the sea." The boat was "such an immense affair, with all the elements of life complete in itself, that your interest soon concentrates on the boat, and you rather shrink from the impersonal sea" (JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, below; for a detailed account of the women's crossing, see SH to "Folks at Home," 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug., 1883, and 24[and 28] Aug. 1883, both in JAPP, Schneider; and AHHA to HWH, 22[–28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

18. AHHA apparently led the sailing party in high spirits and good humor. As the steamer left New York, she remarked, to the group's amusement, "Well, the tears are shed, the flowers have been presented & now nothing is lacking for a first class funeral except the corpse." Suffering the least of the seven women from seasickness, she "acted guardian angel for the whole party"; for example, encouraging them to go on deck when possible so that the salt air could revive them (Mary Ellwood, "Diary," 24 Aug. 1883). AHHA credited her son HWH's medical advice and medicines for her good health. She admitted that the "Bromide of sodium" prescribed for her had upset her bowels, that she had "diareah all the way over for seven days on ship board" (AHHA to HWH, 9 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.). She got "very hoarse" and almost lost her voice. Still, she was "enjoying the journey," she wrote her son, "more than I ever thought I could" (AHHA to HWH, 22[–28] Aug. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

To Mary Catherine Addams Linn

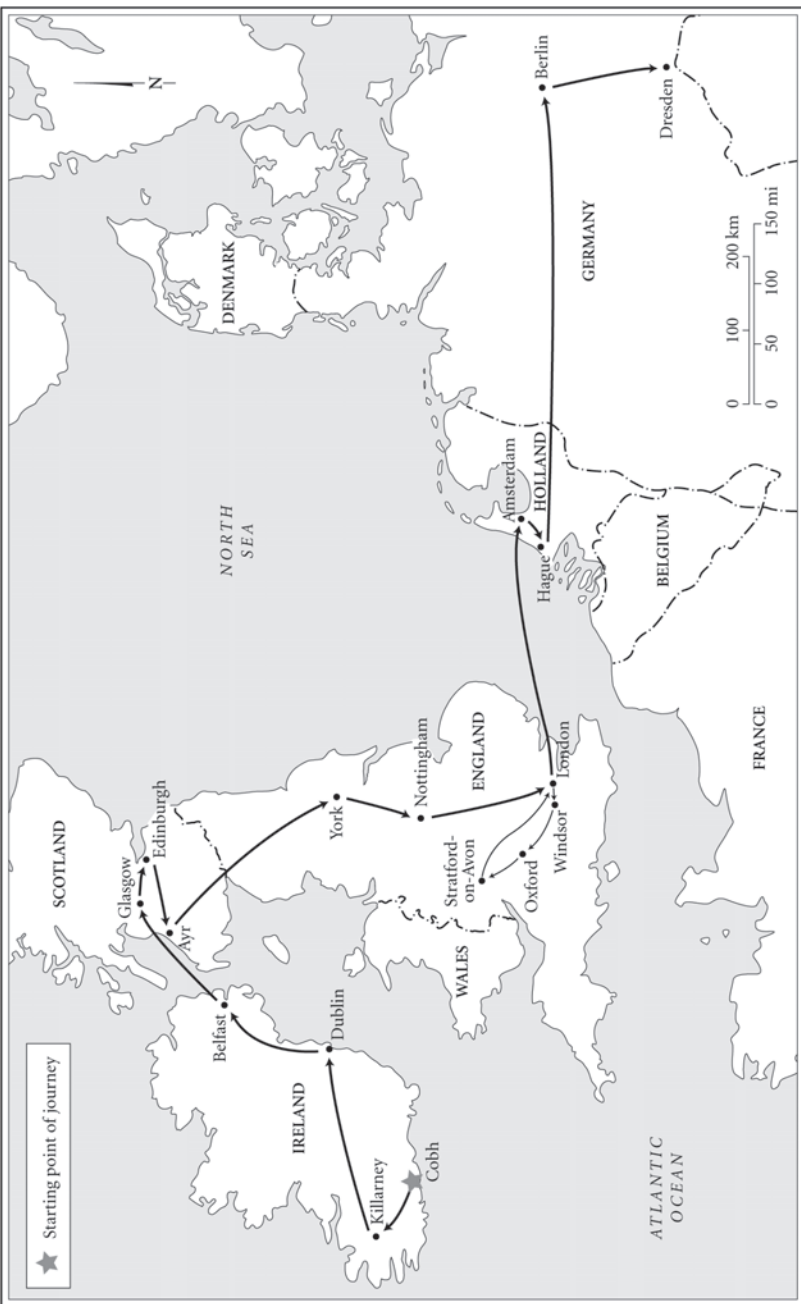
Killarney [and Dublin,] Ireland.

Aug 31. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883].

My dearest Mary.

We have passed three days on land and if the next year prove as delightful as these three specimen days¹ we have a stretch of uninterrupted delight before us. To begin at the very beginning and make the thing methodical, I think I wrote you from the steamer that we had decided to land at Queenstown,² take a hasty tour through Ireland and come down from Edinburgh to London.³

Wednesday just about noon there was a cry on the steamer of land! and there it was the beautiful Irish Coast, with the lovely rolling hills, gray and green with



Map indicating the route the Addams party traveled in 1883, which begins in Cobh, Ireland and ends in Dresden, Germany.

yellow patches of harvest fields running right down into the sea. The signal was taken off Crooks Haven and our arrival was telegraphed to America. We saw Fasnet lighthouse standing right in our course when it was announced that we had made the trip in seven days & three hours, the quickest time the *Servia* ever recorded.⁴ We were taken off into a tug boat apparently in mid ocean, about two dozen passengers, 165 immense bags of mail and a great deal of baggage.⁵

We had a feeling of utter desertion when the immense *Servia* steamed off with all the passengers waving good-byes. About half an hour's ride brought us into Queenstown harbor, it is guarded by a fort on either side. Ft. Carlisle & Ft. Campden—unassailable looking structure with underground passages for torpedo tugs, ramparts with the red coats of the “bloody British” visible occasionally, two or three men-of-War lying off the coast. The harbor is said to be so big that all the navies of Europe could harbor in it, and as we came up into it just at sunset we were equally impressed with its beauty & the power of the English Government.⁶

There were two pretty Irish young ladies on board the tug—one of them had a lover on the *Servia* whom she had been to see. She was eager to know of Am. for she said she was coming some day.

We got through the custom house with our six trunks very easily and went directly to the Cork depot much to the officers amusement who said “And did all ye ladies come so far just to see Cork.”

After our first experience in the little cars, second class with half a dozen of our *Servia* friends, we arrived at Cork at nine.⁷ The hotel was filled as it was Exposition week and we went to bed six in a room,⁸ very much delighted with our first experience on land & a happy party.

The next morning was devoted to baggage question, and we finally sent it all on ahead to meet us at Glasgow.⁹

The famous bells of Shandon were to ring just at twelve—and we stood on St Patrick's bridge an expectant row, but no sound came from the Cathedral.¹⁰

In the afternoon in company with two *Servia* people we went to Blarney Castle¹¹ (it excites me even to write the word) our first Castle. The ride was beautiful along the winding silvery Lee¹² for six miles past two old English places with their great smooth parks, high stone walls, full of holly laural and hawthornes. The country was divided into little fields like gardens every bit of it worked—each man had about two acres with his little stone hovel on the edge of it. The stone walls were every where and picturesque as could be, the grain all stood in shocks and the hay was being taken in. In one little field about an acre square, we counted thirteen men at work making hay. It was very pretty and thrifty looking and we saw little of the squalor, tho' the men average but six shillings a week wages.¹³ We were besieged by troops of children after the cart begging for pennies, the more we thru the more the crowd increased. They were all well fed, very pretty and saucy. They were not at all provoked if we refused as we had to at last in self defense, but shouted “Yankees” “Yankees” at the top of their

lungs—a wild little mob.¹⁴ The old ruin itself was a wonder of great strength which impressed you even before its picturesqueness. We climbed up the powerful old tower but could not reach the Blarney stone with our lips.¹⁵ A young Englishman managed to kiss it & then offered to hand it around second hand, but we refused. We crept about fifteen feet into one of the secret passageways which opened into the side of the hill. The foundations of the Castle and natural rock were so merged and covered with heavy Eng. ivy that it was impossible to distinguish them almost. We could see the watch tower and just trace the moat while every bit of romance and chivalry we had ever felt or read, tingled to our fingers end. The present Lord of Calhurst has a beautiful Castle near, with its stables & complete, his income is 13000 pounds and his tenentry looked better than those near Cork. The old square tower is 120 ft high and we saw the port holes from which they poured molten hot lead on Cromwell's men below.¹⁶ We got back to the hotel by seven, after taking a drive around Cork which continually amused us with its bits of donkeys[,] many children and irish blarney. That evening we had our first experience of a table d'hote dinner.¹⁷ We sat one hour & half and finally got up very much amused—somewhat impressed and a little hungry. We voted on the spot not to try it again. It was wonderful to see what an impression Father Mathew has made on the people of the place—they tell a great many stories of him and regard his statue almost as that of a saint.¹⁸ We reached Killarney this morning by eleven and by twelve were all in an open wagonette bound for the lakes.¹⁹ We rode in that for nine miles—on roads smooth as a parlor floor flanked by stone walls, catching glimpses of churches and lovely country places. We passed a retreat for old bachelors—²⁰ “Where is the one for old maids” we asked the driver. “Sure ma'm they offered to build them one, but they said it wasn't their fault they were old maids” & so they didn't build it for the [“]innocents.” The cottages on Lord Kenmore's place²¹ 170 had been built by one architect & looked like the prettiest pictures. They get better wages than at Cork. We told them it was because they were the nearest province to America, the cable ending at Valencia just two miles away.²² We rode for nine miles through the Macillguddy Mts.²³ infested all the way by hordes of beggars, the children with bright complexions & straight strong mouths—the women pretending to sell stockings & bog oak trifles. All of them so good natured that they almost twisted the heart out of your bosome, let alone the pennies out of your pockets.

Kate Karney's grand daughter gave us a drink of goats milk, a bugle sounded at the opening of Dunboe Gap, resounded again & again & finally died away in a sort of unearthly sweetness.²⁴ Through the stoniest part of the gap for four miles we went mounted on horses each one with a guide, who related the stories in the broadest of Irish. We passed thus mounted through the black valley where the sun never shines for three months of the winter. It was full of dingy little fields & huts. Most of them without windows. I asked my guide how they could see in the winter[.] “Sure ma'm they dont need light in the winter, they stay in the dark.” We rode to the lower lake where we found a boat waiting us

with the lunch, and Mrs Young who was afraid of the horseback ride. We had a lovely ride of six miles through the Lakes of Killarney—one continuous stretch of legends & beauty.²⁵ We passed under an old bridge without rowing to feel the charm, which was to banish toothache forever, past valleys where the land is so good if you put in sheep at night “will come out fat in the morning.”²⁶

The main Island where seven “white mice are to be seen every Sunday evening” after services. The lovely point where the three lakes join called the “meeting of the waters,” the great high peaks of Mts. which were softened & covered with clouds we’ll always remember. There were innumerable legends of the ODonohue who lives under the lake & rises out every May morning.²⁷

We landed at Ross Castle, an old ruin covered with ivy, found a carriage in waiting to take us back to the hotel, in time for a six o'clock Dinner.²⁸

September 1st Dublin,

I stopped there and went to bed, I find the letter is entirely too journalistic to be very pleasurable, and that I have left out what I wanted to say. Mrs Penfield²⁹ went to Liverpool & we are to meet her again. She is a beautiful old lady & thoroughly independent & self reliant. There was something pathetic in seeing her wave us off from the “Servia,” and she said that the twelve hours between leaving our party and meeting her daughter would be the most lonesome of her life.

Ma has stood the journey splendidly. The sea sickness did me lots of good and I feel better than I have for a long time. I meant to put in for the children the legend of St. Patrick’s lake that we saw yesterday. It is the lake into which he banished all the snakes from Ireland. They are in a big <iron> box, all save one & he tries to get out every Monday morning. A little stream flows into the lake but it hasn’t any outlet, for the snakes drink up all the extra water.³⁰

This morning we expected to spend at Muckross Abbey,³¹ but it was raining so hard we couldn’t leave the hotel. We took a train for Dublin at eleven o’clock and arrived here at six this evening. It was a long ride but not tedious for we had a host of amusing adventures by the way.³²

We read & recited Tom Moore & found that after seeing Inisfallen³³ & Killarney we appreciated him as never before. It has rained all day—a steady pour. The first faces we saw at the very door of the hotel were two parties of the Servia and it gave us a very pleasant welcome.³⁴ We will be here Sunday & Monday and then go to the Giants causeway & from there to Glasgow.³⁵

I do hope you are better if you are not I will recommend a siege of sea sickness. Our first Saturday night makes us feel a wee bit pensive may be, & very prone to think of the folks at home.³⁶ I had planned tomorrow for writing more letters, but I believe I will try a plan. If you will send this letter to Weber and have him send it on to Alice I will write the next one to him and he can send it & the next one to Alice and ask her to send it. It will save writing and every body will hear oftener[.] I don’t mean all the letters—just these ponderous

journalistic affairs—if you are willing to do it.³⁷ I hope the Cablegram reached you all right, it was sent to Queenstown. The party are all in bed, and send no message unless from a land further off then even this—dream land itself. I am going there myself this minute with a “good night” to you all as heartily as I ever said it when “kissing you on the spot.” With love to all and kisses to the children not forgetting Stanley Ross.³⁸ I am forever your loving sister

Jane Addams.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1152–57).

1. JA might have been alluding to the title of Walt Whitman's just-published *Specimen Days and Collect* (1882), his personal account of the Civil War and other experiences.

2. Queenstown, at the mouth of the Lee River on the southeast Ireland coast, provided an ocean harbor for the city of Cork, twelve miles north. Originally the Cove of Cork, it was renamed Queenstown in honor of a visit by Queen Victoria in the mid-nineteenth century; its name later changed to Cobh, Gaelic for the word “Cork.” It was a frequent port of call for transatlantic vessels.

3. Their plan for a “hasty tour of Ireland” was derailed by AHHA's sudden illness in Dublin (see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept., and 16 Sept. 1883, both below).

4. They landed on Wednesday, 29 Aug. Before they arrived, SH reported that “the Servia is making the best time she has been known to make” (SH to “Folks at Home,” 23[, 25, 26, and 28] Aug. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). Crookhaven was an Irish town on the Atlantic in southwest County Cork. The 160-foot lighthouse sat on Fastnet Rock, an islet that was the most southern point of Ireland.

5. JA later confided to her friend EGS that they were “put off into a little boat apparently in mid ocean, and as the big Servia sailed away, we experianced the first sensation of ‘utter solitude with sea and sky’ that we had had. It was really oppressive for a few minutes” (see JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, below).

6. The well-fortified Queenstown harbor served as a base for British naval vessels.

7. Cork, county seat of County Cork, Ireland's largest and southernmost county, was founded as a religious community by St. Finbar in 622. A major seaport and industrial center, it was Ireland's third-largest city (1875 pop. 102,000).

8. The party stayed at the Imperial Hotel in Cork.

9. They arrived in Glasgow, Scotland, on 19 Sept.

10. The Anglican St. Anne's Church, also known as Shandon Church, was famous for its bells, which were cast in 1750. St. Finbar's Cathedral (Anglican), built in 1880, also had mellifluous chiming bells. St. Patrick's Bridge across Cork's Lee River was completed in 1859.

11. They visited the ruins of Blarney Castle on 30 Aug. a few miles northwest of Cork. The castle was constructed in 1446 by Dermot McCarthy, king of Munster. Tourists tried to lower themselves over the battlements so they could kiss the famous “Blarney stone,” eighty-three feet off the ground, which, according to legend, would magically bestow the “gift of the gab” (SH to “Folks at Home,” 30 Aug.[, 1 and 2 Sept.] 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

12. The Lee River flowed fifty miles from the Shehy Mountains past Macroom and Cork to Lough Mahon, at the northwest tip of Cork Harbor.

13. Six shillings was half a pound; one pound equaled about five U.S. dollars at the time. JA and her companions, all from midwestern U.S. agricultural families and communities (JA and AHHA owned farm land operated by tenants and the Ellwood sisters' father was a wealthy manufacturer of barbed wire), carefully observed crops, livestock, harvesting, and other farming activity when they traveled through European rural areas.

14. As the “ragged and dirty” children, as young as two or three, pursued their horse-drawn

omnibus, SH worried that they would “cut their little feet” (SH to “Folks at Home,” 30 Aug. [, 1 and 2 Sept.] 1883, JAPP, Schneider). See also introduction to part 1, above.

15. Apparently JA and Mary Ellwood “insisted upon hanging from” the “great height to kiss it, whereupon ‘the others’ insisted that they should not dare to attempt it, they could not possibly do it” (SH to “Folks at Home,” 30 Aug. [, 1 and 2 Sept.] 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

16. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), anti-royalist leader of the English Civil War, was instrumental in the execution of King Charles I in 1649, then led military expeditions to crush pro-royalist forces in Ireland and Scotland. His warfare in southern Ireland in 1649–50 involved brutal methods to force Irish Catholics to surrender, including massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. Cromwell forcibly dissolved Parliament in 1653 and named himself lord protector of the English Commonwealth.

17. A “table d’hôte” dinner was a multicourse meal offered at a fixed price. “[W]e had 9 courses being 1 hr 20 min. at the table,” Mary Ellwood recorded in her diary (30 Aug. 1883). Although the group apparently agreed never to try it again, they often chose the table d’hôte offering at hotels throughout Europe.

18. Father Theobald Mathew (1790–1856), the “apostle of temperance,” was a Roman Catholic priest who devoted his life to help the poor of Cork. After being ordained in 1814, he spent the next four decades setting up schools, clubs, and benefit societies in Cork; fighting poverty and disease; and crusading for temperance throughout Ireland, winning converts to his abstinence pledge. He ministered to thousands afflicted by the 1832 cholera epidemic, and during the famine years of 1846–47 he worked tirelessly to alleviate suffering. In 1849 he journeyed to the United States and spent two years promoting temperance. The bronze statue in Cork was erected in 1864 to memorialize him. In her diary, JA quoted what she called a “Father Mathew story” about his leadership of the Irish temperance movement (“29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883,” 31 Aug.; *JAPM*, 28:1682). During the 1880s the American temperance movement, which everyone in JA’s party was aware of, if not involved in, was approaching the peak of its influence.

19. Killarney was a town in the southwest corner of Ireland in County Kerry. The Lakes of Killarney were known for their beauty. A wagonette was a small horse-drawn carriage with or without a cover, one seat in front and two in back.

20. Mary Ellwood described the bachelors’ retreat as “one wing” of a “lunatic asylum” (“Diary,” 31 Aug. 1883).

21. The Earl of Kenmare (a descendant of Englishman Sir Valentine Browne, who had been appointed surveyor general in Ireland in 1559) presided over County Kerry’s third-largest landholding of 91,000 acres. Over 2,000 tenants lived on the overcrowded estate. By the time JA visited, the earl had gone bankrupt rebuilding his mansion, Killarney House, and the estate had fallen into trusteeship. During the 1880s the Kenmare estates were the focus of violent struggles involving nationalist groups that resisted the exploitation of tenants, including the Land League, the National League, and the Plan of Campaign. Mary Ellwood noted in her diary that the earl’s estate was “very extensive & contained 170 ivy covered stone cottage[s] which are inhabited by his laborers who received 9 shillings a week & their cottage & garden beside” (31 Aug. 1883).

22. The first transatlantic telegraph cable was laid in 1858 between the island of Valentia off the southwest coast of Ireland and Trinity Bay in Newfoundland, Canada, but it quickly failed and was replaced by a permanent cable in 1866.

23. Macgillycuddy’s Reeks was a mountainous area in County Kerry just west of Killarney.

24. SAAH wrote “Dunboe” instead of “Dunloe” when she copied JA’s letter into the journal. Kate Kearney’s cottage at the entrance to Dunloe Gap was memorialized in verse by Thomas Moore (1779–1852), Irish poet and songwriter. In her diary, JA quoted lines from Moore she had apparently heard from their driver: “I have seen Kate Kearney’s daughter’s daughter, / I have seen Killarney’s beauteous water, / I have seen the hill & purple too,— / And have tasted

of the mountain dew" ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 31 Aug.; *JAPM*, 28:1679). JA's companions were familiar with Moore's poetry and songs, as they were well known in the United States. AHHA, who had learned Moore's tunes as a child, sang some for the Irish boatmen who rowed them on the lake. Mary Ellwood noted in her diary that as they climbed the mountain, they were besieged by "beggars who run behind our wagons for miles—here we consent to stop and hear a man blow a bugle & we are fully paid for it in the triple echo which we hear" (31 Aug. 1883).

25. After their ride over the mountains and through the Dunloe Gap to the "foot of the upper lake," a boat carrying "four oarsmen with lunch" met the group. Mary Ellwood described the three scenic Killarney lakes: "[T]hey are connected by a river 5 miles long & very narrow & winding" ("Diary," 31 Aug. 1883). JA agreed with SH, who saw the lakes as a "fairy land . . . with a legend for every little island and rock" (SH to "Folks at Home," 30 Aug. [1 and 2 Sept.] 1883, *JAPP*, Schneider).

26. The legend of the old bridge was that if anyone washed their hands under it, they would never get a toothache. In her diary JA recorded several other ancient legends associated with the lakes ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 31 Aug.; *JAPM*, 28:1681–82).

27. Lough Leane, or Lower Lake, gave rise to the legend of O'Donoghue, a just and honorable chieftain, who was supposed to rise from the lake on a white horse during the month of May and ride across the lake in the company of fairies. As he arrived at his ancient castle it returned to its original state of splendor. Those courageous enough to follow him across the lake did not get wet and received a bountiful gift. But the chieftain rode back before the sun rose, leaving his castle ruins behind.

28. The ruins of Ross Castle (the last Irish castle to surrender to Oliver Cromwell in 1649–50), two miles southwest of Killarney town, sat on the Ross Island peninsula on Lough Leane. JA and party spent the night of 31 Aug. at Killarney Railroad Hotel.

29. Mary Hodges Penfield is identified in JA to SAAH, [22 Aug. 1883], n. 4, above.

30. In a diary entry JA noted that they saw "Serpents lake where St Patrick banished the serpents. They try to get out every Monday morning" ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 31 Aug.; *JAPM*, 28:1682). Mary Ellwood gave a more embellished account in her diary (31 Aug. 1883). According to legend, in the Black Lough, St. Patrick imprisoned the last snake in Ireland, which remained at lake bottom waiting to get free.

31. Muckross Abbey, two miles south of Killarney, was a Franciscan abbey founded about 1340.

32. The women left Killarney late morning on 1 Sept. According to Mary Ellwood, they "slept a little, read some, and played cards" on the train to Dublin ("Diary," 1 Sept. 1883). They arrived around 6 P.M. JA did not record their "amusing adventures" in extant letters or her diary.

33. Thomas Moore's poem "Sweet Innisfallen" was about Innisfallen Island in the Killarney Lakes ([Moore], *Poetical Works*, 2:162–63).

34. While they stayed at the Gresham Hotel in Dublin, the group's travel plans were disrupted by AHHA's illness (see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. 1883, below). An advertisement at the back of an 1872 travel guide for Americans claimed that the "elegantly furnished" Gresham was a "Magnificent Establishment—admitted to be one of the best in Europe—Patronized by the Imperial Family of France, and several of the reigning Families of the Continent, Ex-Presidents of America, Ambassadors, Nobility, Gentry and Public from all parts of the world" (*Morford's Short-Trip Guide to Europe*, 1872).

35. JA, SH, and AHHA did not visit the "Giants Causeway," an unusual basaltic formation caused by prehistoric volcanic eruptions located near Belfast on the east coast of present-day Northern Ireland. After being detained in Dublin because of AHHA's illness, they traveled to Belfast on 17 Sept.; the next day, after visiting a linen factory, they took an overnight ship to Glasgow.

36. JA apparently suffered relatively little homesickness during her tour abroad.

37. On her circular letters, see introduction to part 2, above; and JA to JWA, 29 Oct. 1883, n. 2, below.

38. Stanley Ross was MCAL's infant son, JA's nephew. The other Linn children were John Addams, James Weber, and Esther Margaret.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

When Anna Addams became ill shortly after the travelers arrived in Dublin, Jane must have feared that her new adventure would be cut short. On 7 September, she was forced to write to Anna's physician son Harry and explain that his mother had been stricken and that she had been under a physician's care for several days but was "mending fast."¹ Even after the distinguished Irish physician Dr. John Francis McVeagh² recommended that Anna return home, Jane pleaded, "Don't urge her coming home even if the old Doctor did suggest it." Perhaps thinking of herself as well, a few days later Jane argued that her stepmother had "enjoyed the first week of travel so much" that if they traveled "moderately" and without pressure, "it can't help but do her good."³

For the several days that Anna was ill, Jane and Sarah Hostetter shared the responsibility for her care. Jane reported that Sarah took the brunt of the nursing chores. The three women believed that the illness was brought on by "overexertion." Sarah Hostetter wrote to her family that they "ought to have had better sense than to have done so much in so short a time." Moreover, "Jane has no idea how to take things easy." She was "not very practicle though as nice as can be."⁴

Dublin Ireland—

Sept 10— 1883—.

My dear Alice

I wrote to Harry the other day about Ma, and hope I did n't so write as to make him too uneasy for she has been getting better very fast. We have pinned all our hopes on Dr McVeagh, who is a very skillful physician. He asked for Harry's address this morning and is going to write him his diagnosis⁵ and opinion of the case. I suppose he will get the letter a few days after this one. Ma is very much better this morning, and we are all very light hearted and happy. We are going to go to a lower room to-morrow with a sitting room attached, stay there for one week and then be off again, rested up and wiser for the lesson. I am quite sure I would have been sick before long, if some-thing had n't happened to check our mad career.

Sarah and I are beginning to get very much interested in art books and are glad for the chance to study. The city is full of inflammatory phamplets and we are getting some faint insight into the somewhat vague affair called the "Irish question."⁶

Yesterday afternoon when I was riding home from the Botanical Gardens⁷ an old gentleman talked to me in the street-car in ~~the~~ <a> quiet chatty manner,



Irish farm family and their sod home. Jane Addams, Sarah Hostetter, and Anna Addams explored the Irish countryside together. By the time Jane Addams left Ireland for Scotland, she had learned about the poverty of the Irish people and heard about absentee English landlords. (National Library of Ireland, Dublin)

when something was said of England and he suddenly flushed up and became a changed man. "They have gone too far, too far" "we can't stand it any longer." "I am a conservative and hold an appointment from the Queen of Manufacturer of Irish poplins, but I'm going to speak my mind now if it ruins me." The effect was electrical on the whole car and I was rather frightened at the hurricane I had raised, in the quiet old gentleman who had been calmly asking me about his son in America but a minute before.⁸ It is perfectly surprising to find how many famous men have emanated from Dublin & Ireland. There is the loveliest statue of Goldsmith at Trinity College that I wish Harry could see, it has that sort of innocent beautiful expression.⁹

I think that I will invest some of your money in Irish lace,¹⁰ there is some beautiful lace here in the shops and I don't believe we'll regret it. We will all help select it to the best of our judgement. I wish you could look upon us this morning. We have a great big room, with a fire place in which a little copper tea kettle is singing, a big mahogany bed with curtains and a little brass bed in which Ma is propped up nibbling arrow root.¹¹ There is a round polished table before the fire where Sarah and I are writing. I have seen more cosy places, and more wretched places in Ireland than ever before. The amount of dirty, ragged children on the streets is appalling, but they are so impudent jolly and continually begging that it is hard to pity them.

Our letters came from London Saturday. Ma was glad to have one from Harry. I hope the next mail will show me your familiar hand.

Ma sends love to Harry and yourself[.] Ever Yr most loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1163–67).

1. JA to HWH, 7 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1159.
2. Eminent Dublin physician John Francis McVeagh (1818?–1893), who trained in Edinburgh, was associated with Trinity College. He founded St. Joseph's Hospital for Children and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and he worked at various Dublin hospitals and asylums. A fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, he was reputed to be a keen diagnostician. AHHA liked McVeagh, who was sixty-five years old in 1883. She described him as an "old Irish practitioner for 40 years" who showed "an interest, and sympathy not to be looked for in a stranger" (AHHA to HWH, 13 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ). See also JA to SAAH, 8 Oct. 1883, below.
3. JA to HWH, 12 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1169.
4. SH to "Folks at Home," 5 Sept. 1883, JAPP, Schneider.
5. The exact diagnosis of AHHA's illness is not known, but apparently she had suffered similar symptoms in the past. McVeagh diagnosed "an inflammation of the mucous membrane of the descending colon" after he examined her "heart, lungs and rectum" (JA to HWH, 7 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1160). AHHA's physician son HWH wrote his mother a comforting letter on 25 Sept 1883: "Inject" a mixture of "Powdered Golden Seal" and warm water "with a Syringe—into the rectum—Every Day for Some time. The remedy is harmless," he advised, "but efficient when mucous membranes are effected." He also suggested castor oil. If she did not "gain in the course or a month or Sooner," he urged her to "Come Home to me—and I Will take the refractory Rectum in care and make you Well." He added reassuringly, "Do not think Dear Mother that you Will have no one to care for you if Sickness—Comes upon you, this is a Sad mistake I Shall always be ready—and my Home Will be yours or We Will make one together. No I assure you Alice is full of Deep Womanly Sympathy and ready to open both Heart and House—Whenever you Will Come" (IU, Lilly, SAAH). In her response from London on 9 Oct., AHHA discussed her attack and the various medications prescribed. She noted that JA had also been put on medication in Dublin.
6. The question of home rule for Ireland dominated Irish political life until a rebellion during World War I, known in Ireland as the Anglo-Irish War, led to Irish independence in 1921. Charles Stewart Parnell (1846–91), the most prominent Irish nationalist leader of the 1880s, was fighting in the British Parliament for Irish self-government. JA wrote of McVeagh that he "[s]at quite a little while last evening discussing the Irish question in a [way] which threw quite a light on our benighted minds. He is an upright royalist" (JA to HWH, 7 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1160).
7. Most likely the botanical garden JA mentioned was in St. Stephen's Green, a 27-acre city park that in the seventeenth century had been an open common for punishment of prisoners, including public whippings, burnings, and hangings. After being enclosed for two centuries it was reopened for public use in 1877, and the gardens were created in 1880. On 1 Sept., JA visited the People's Garden, built in 1864 in Phoenix Park, the largest public park in Europe. "[W]e drove to Phoenix Park, saw the spot of the late murders . . . seems to be a constant sensational topic" (JA to HWH, 7 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1162). In 1882, Lord Cavendish, British chief secretary for Ireland, and his undersecretary had been assassinated by Irish terrorists there, a setback for the Irish nationalist cause.
8. On her first trip to Ireland, JA was introduced to the bitter centuries-old conflict between Ireland and England. Since the time of the Norman conquest of Ireland in the twelfth century, the Irish people had lived and labored as English vassals. Through numerous revolts

the colonized people struggled to regain their land, religious freedom, and independence. By 1800, Ireland's population was 4.5 million, of whom over 3 million were Catholic; the latter had not been permitted to own property since the penal laws were instituted in the early 1700s. Accordingly, most of the landowning class was Protestant, while most Catholics were laborers or tenant farmers. Catholic farmers held small plots on short leases and paid high rents to Protestant absentee landlords, who generally did not care to invest in land improvements. Tenant families typically lived in small stone hovels, and nearly half farmed less than three acres. Potatoes were the crop of necessity because only potatoes could feed a family on such small acreage. The potato blight of 1846–47 caused a famine that led to 1 million deaths and mass migration to the United States and elsewhere. The Irish population plummeted from 8.5 million in 1845 to 6.5 million six years later. After the potato famine the Irish once again raised the banner of rebellion and the Fenian movement sought political freedom. Genuine land reform began with the 1881 Land Act, but agitation for home rule continued during the 1880s and 1890s. Following the 1916 Easter Rising and the Anglo-Irish War, independence for a large portion of the country was secured by 1920 with the Partition Act, creating the Republic of Ireland alongside British-ruled Northern Ireland.

Throughout her life JA kept a keen eye on Anglo-Irish relations. In the early Hull-House years many of her Chicago neighbors were Irish immigrants. During 1920–21 she served as one of eight members of the American Comm. on Conditions in Ireland, a fact-finding body created by the Com. of One Hundred on Ireland and the New York-based *Nation* magazine to investigate and publicize conditions in Ireland after the partition and the Republic of Ireland gained independence.

9. The Univ. of Dublin, known as Trinity College, Ireland's noted university, was founded by Queen Elizabeth I in 1592 on land confiscated from a Catholic monastery and as a center for British and Protestant influence. At the main entrance JA saw a statue of Irish-born poet Oliver Goldsmith (1730?–74).

10. SAAH collected lace.

11. Arrowroot is an herb whose tuber yields a starch that is nutritive and healing.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Gresham Hotel Dublin— Ireland

Sept. 16" 1883

My dear Alice

Your long kindly letters have made two days quite eventful in our rather quiet Dublin life.¹ I am very much obliged for the birthday remembrance. Ma had given me a very handsome Brussels lace scraf, so that with that and the grave face of Dante, I shall have quite enough to mark the twenty third milestone[.]² We had a ride to-day through the crowded city, and although the day was fine and sunny and some of the streets gay and animated, one felt everywhere almost as a palpable presence—the wretchedness and misrule and that it is deeper than any thing government can reach.³ We had the much talked of visit to-day from the climatic Doctor. He was a perfect farce, but served the purpose of amusing us and affording a subject for many sarcastic remarks ever since.⁴ We have wisely concluded to keep right on with our original plan except that we will go very slowly and remember that we are none of us giants in power.⁵ The weather for the past week has been delightful, if it continues we will have a beautiful time

in Scotland. The rest of the party have gone on to London, where we ought to meet them some time in Oct. If it is foggy and disagreeable we will go direct to Germany, if not will spend the three weeks in London.⁶

I don't understand why you had n't heard about the ill fated letter of credit, I certainly wrote you a long and harrowing account of it from Philadelphia.⁷ I was surprised to hear of your trip to Cedarville and more glad than I can tell that you had such a pleasant impression and good visit with Weber.⁸ I hope the farm arrangements will be all satisfactory, I know about this Leobold Smith, thought of offering him the Bechtold farm last summer. I have not heard from Weber for a good while, I took it for granted that all was well, but your letter was quite a relief.⁹

Sarah and I have invested in a good many unmounted views, it is provoking to be obliged to pay ten cents more than we do for exactly the same thing at Soule in Boston.¹⁰ We got some very nice blank albums and are pasting them at once, it is the easiest way to carry them and in the end you have a sort of realistic journal.¹¹ We have been patronizing second hand book stores, and are quite roused on Irish history, as Sarah says it would have been posted before hand but the next best thing is to get it before we leave. We saw the O'Connell monument in the cemetery to-day, there is some-thing inspiring in a life and memory like his.¹²

It seems to me that is where the benefit of travel is going to come in. You really learn little more as accurate knowledge, but some way you become interested in affairs that would never have touched you thro reading or abstraction, and your sympathies are insensibly widening all the time.

My experiance has been rather limited to philosophize upon, but it has been intense as far as Ireland is concerned. The headwaiter has just opened our sitting-room door with a flourish, and enters with our six o'clock dinner. Write as often as you can. I hope you and Harry are feeling better about Ma. She is quite like herself the last two days. The old Doctor has certainly been faithful, if he is a little fussy as we think sometimes, for instance when he thinks Sarah looks pale or that the room is about half a degree warmer than it was yesterday.¹³

Please give my kindest regards to Cousin Jennie.¹⁴ How is Fred Greenleaf?¹⁵ Ma sends love to Harry and yourself. Ever Yr loving Sister

Jane Addams

We don't understand why Mr Molter did n't buy Nell.¹⁶ I wish you had gone into the house, so you could have given us a report upon our old gentleman.¹⁷

P.S. Mrs Penfield is Anna's mother & a very dear old lady.¹⁸

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1171-74).

1. SAAH's letters to JA and/or AHHA are not known to be extant. After a whirlwind of touring in their first days abroad, JA and SH, detained in Dublin by AHHA's illness, spent their time nursing her and making travel and banking arrangements. On AHHA's illness, see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. 1883, above.

2. JA's twenty-third birthday was 6 Sept. 1883. SAAH had sent JA as a birthday gift either her own rendering of the poet Dante's "grave face" or an artistic or photographic reproduction.

3. JA's encounter with abject poverty in Ireland led her to question the effect of British domination and "misrule" on the dire conditions of the Irish populace. The claims of Irish nationalists seemed to influence her thinking.

4. A "climatic doctor" advised an ill person on the most suitable climate for restoration of health. Thomas More Madden (1838–1902), honored in Ireland and the United States for his achievements as physician and surgeon, had published treatises on the relationship between climate and disease, including *On the Spas of Germany, France and Italy* (London, 1865) and *On Change of Climate* (London, 1874). He held positions in his specialty, obstetrics and gynecology, at Dublin hospitals, including St. Joseph's Hospital for Children, where McVeagh, AHHA's attending physician, was on staff; he likely referred AHHA to Madden. JA wrote in her diary that the "celebrated 'climatic Doctor' MacMadden" had a speech impediment and "could tell nothing even when he tried." He apparently said that the "most salubrious climate" was "that between Nice & Genoa" as well as southern Spain. He stated that Dresden, where the travelers would spend several weeks in late fall, was "cold awfully cold" ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 16 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1690). AHHA wrote her son HWH that Dr. Madden was "such a complete specimen of a donkey (or long eared man) . . . he left us at sea as much as we were before" (15 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ). In a subsequent letter she wrote to him that "(. . . it maddens me to think of his) useless visit" (9 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.). The "old climatic Dr. . . . did not earn his fee," SH reported, "which was two guineas for a visit less than half an hour in length" (SH to "Folks at Home," 18 Sept. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). JA referred to Madden's care and high cost as an "imposition" (JA to SAAH, 8 Oct. 1883, n. 1, below). In a letter of 25 Sept. 1883, HWH cautioned the women to consider climate when they traveled.

5. JA outlined their "original plan" to travel from Ireland to Scotland and then on to London in JA to SAAH, 27 Aug. 1883, above. Henceforth, concern for AHHA's health often dominated their travel planning.

6. The Ellwood sisters and their aunt, Alida Ellwood Young, had waited several days in Dublin to assess the state of AHHA's health. When it was clear she would recover but remain in Dublin to recuperate, they decided to continue their Ireland tour, leaving Dublin on JA's birthday, Thursday, 6 Sept. The Addams and Ellwood parties reunited in Scotland later in Sept. and spent several weeks in London before proceeding to Germany.

7. See JA to SAAH, 27 Aug. 1883, nn. 15–16, above, about her lost letter of credit.

8. In July 1883, JA's mentally ill older brother, JWA, had come home from the Illinois State Hospital at Elgin. He returned to the hospital in Aug. 1885 (see a biographical profile of JWA in *PJA*, 1:479–83).

9. Leopold Smith was a farmer living in Waddams Twp., just west of Buckeye Twp., where the Addams family lived. JA had recently purchased 154 acres from the Bechtold family and Alice and James Wheeland for \$9,000; she also agreed to pay debts owed by Bechtold family members. This property was presumably what she referred to as the Bechtold farm (sometimes referred to as the Wheeland farm).

10. Photographer John P. Soule established the Soule Photographic Co. in Boston before the Civil War. It sold photographs of artworks and tourist sites in Europe.

11. Throughout her travels, JA purchased albums and photographs or renderings of sites she saw. These albums are apparently no longer extant.

12. Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) was an Irish nationalist, orator, and political agitator known for his eloquence. Opposing any union with England, he advocated an independent Ireland. He died in Genoa, Italy, and his remains were reburied in 1869 in Dublin.

13. For a biographical note on John Francis McVeagh, see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. 1883, n. 2, above. McVeagh, in JA's words was a "scholarly finished physician, more like the old time Scotch physicians," who lived "two doors from the hotel and comes in often" (JA to HWH, 7

Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1159–60). He seemed to grow fond of the American women and presented them a copy of “his book” (Addams, “Diary, 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883,” 16 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1690). He indicated that AHHA’s malady was “grave,” JA wrote her brother-in-law HWH, and the “fact of the extreme weakness has seemed to worry him more than any thing else.” Nevertheless, she reported, AHHA claimed that “at no time was she as weak as when in Florida,” when she had had similar symptoms. Despite her serious condition, JA argued for continuing their tour. As soon as it was safe to leave, she proposed, they would “settle as quickly as possible in our winter quarters so that Ma can be there quietly while we make our little trips from the common center” (12 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1168–69). On 25 Sept. 1883, HWH wrote to his mother that he had heard from McVeagh (letter apparently not extant) and considered her “most fortunate” to have him (IU, Lilly, SAAH). Dr. McVeagh had been “heavenly kind” to them, JA reported to HWH. “He took such a hearty interest in this case that some way inspired us with confidence from the very first, and it did more than anything else to get Ma well” (12 Sept. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1169).

Although JA’s letters downplayed AHHA’s illness, SH reported that the doctors had “scared” JA and her by telling them that “Aunt Ann ought to go right home as she is in a very delicate condition” with a chronic bowel inflammation (SH to “Folks at Home,” 18 Sept. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). According to JA, McVeagh had written HWH that she should return to the United States as “she was never safe away from a good physician.” Thus, a few days into her grand tour, still recovering from back surgery, JA found herself in the position of making a critical decision about her stepmother’s health and the viability of continuing their journey, apparently contrary to the doctor’s advice. “I don’t want to take the responsibility of insisting upon her staying, but I feel very sure in my own mind that she will be as well here as at home,” she wrote GBH (8 Oct. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1201). Apparently AHHA concurred.

14. “Cousin Jennie” was JA’s stepcousin, Virginia Hostetter Reichard.

15. Frederick Greenleaf was the husband of AHHA’s niece Mary (“Mamie”) Irvine Hostetter Greenleaf (see *PJA*, 1:101–2, n. 6).

16. “Mr. Molter” could have been one of three Jacob Molters living not far from Cedarville, Ill. “Nell” was probably a horse or cow that JA had arranged to sell before leaving for Europe.

17. This may have been Tilghman and Esther Resh (see GBH to JA, 1 June 1882, n. 1, above).

18. Mary Hodges Penfield, one of JA’s traveling companions for the Atlantic crossing, had sailed on to England when the others disembarked at Queenstown, Ireland; she joined JA’s party in England and again in Germany in the late fall. One of her daughters was JA’s friend Anna Frances Penfield Mower (see JA to SAAH, [22 Aug. 1883], n. 4, above).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Jane Addams, Sarah Hostetter, and Anna Haldeman Addams left the Irish capital for Belfast on Monday, 17 September. Their sixteen days in Dublin had been spent mostly nursing Anna and handling travel and banking arrangements. The morning they left for Belfast, Jane and Sarah visited the old Trinity College Library. Jane Addams noted that the name of Susan B. Anthony appeared above her own in the guest register, and using quotation marks she recorded in her diary: “Equal rights for women, political & social advancement advocated by Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N.Y. U.S.A.[.]” After touring Belfast and visiting a “manufactory” where linen was produced by hand, the three women took an overnight boat to Glasgow,

arriving on the morning of 19 September. That same day they traveled by train to Edinburgh, staying at the Windsor Hotel.²

Jane Addams's 30 September 1883 letter to her sister, Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman, is a good example of the "circular" or "journalistic" letters that she wrote from Europe, especially during her first year of more extensive touring. The 30-page handwritten letter, one of her longest, catalogs her past fortnight's sight-seeing with brief comments on the numerous sights and virtually no introspection or commentary on family members or relationships. Just two weeks before, Anna Addams's health crisis had been the principal topic of her correspondence, but there is only a passing mention of it at the close of this letter. Jane often apologized, as she did here, for writing "partnership" letters to her siblings, but she continued this practice as she found multiple letter writing to be physically depleting and she preferred to spend her evenings preparing for the next day's tour.

Golden Lion[,] Stirling, Scotland

Sept. 30" 1883

My dear Alice

It has been so long since I have written you and every day has been so full that some way I don't know where to begin. We left Edinburgh just a week ago to-morrow morning. It seemed to us from the very first minute like an enchanted city, I don't ever expect to feel the same towards any other city unless it be Athens itself, and even that can't be much more filled with heroic associations and beautiful architecture to commemorate them.³ We are going back there to-morrow for a few days and I sort of look on it as so much more time under an enticing spell. Mrs Young and the girls had gone on to London, but came back to Edinburgh to make the Inverness tour with us.⁴ We had time before we started to hear Henry Irvine twice, once with Ellen Terry in the "Merchant of Venice" and once in Louis XI.⁵ It was <the opening of> a new little opera house, but one of the most disorderly audience I ever saw. The upper galleries were filled with students who whistled sang or applauded as the mood seized them, while the rest of the audience were not in the least annoyed but seemed to consider it parts of the intertainment. Irvine's acting was wonderfully realistic although some of it rather stiff and elaborate. We will always associate him in the role of two hideous old men.⁶

It was on Sunday that we saw Edinburgh in its true character. It seemed as if every soul in the entire city went to church, the streets and the very air was steady and decorous. Sarah & I attended St Giles John Knox's old church.⁷ It is an immense building, you probably remember it, right at the head of High St where the old Tolbooth prison was, marked by the Hart of Mid-Lothian.⁸ The people poured into the door in perfect crowds, pushing one against the other way out into the street. They seemed to be swarming equally to all the other churches, a complete contrast to the Sundays we had seen in Dublin both in dress and manner. We had a beautiful drive around the Salisbury Craigs and Arthur's seat,⁹ coming back by Holyrood Palace and Chapel.¹⁰ I won't write

about Edinburgh now but wait until we come into again.¹¹ We were wonderfully glad to see the rest of the party and they to see us,¹² and we were quite a merry party as we started out reunited on Monday morning.¹³ The ride to Inverness was right through the wildest part of the highlands and out again on the rolling endless moors. The air, the freshness, and the beautiful purples were charming and we all seemed to be feeling better every mile. We had a copy of Rob Roy¹⁴ and plans of all the many battle fields and raiding grounds that we past, but history & traditions seemed so associated with every spot. From the Castle of Linlithgow where Queen Mary¹⁵ was born through the Pass of Killie-crankie¹⁶ and so on up the Inverness itself with the battle field of Cullenden Moor.¹⁷ It is remarkable when one thinks how many English battles have been fought out on Scottish soil.¹⁸ Inverness¹⁹ is a beautiful little place, the grain was standing in the fields <in> shocks, they never harvest until the first week of Oct. although they sow the grain in April. We saw some splendid specimens of highland cattle, during the long drive we took on Tuesday morning. We gathered some dainty little hair-bells and our hats full of beech nuts. We took a boat on the Caledonian Canal²⁰ at three in the afternoon, and sailed until six when we got off at a pier at the foot of a mountain called the Falls of Foyers.

Ma & Mrs Young with the baggage rode up to the hotel in a dog cart, but the rest of us were told with an indefinite wave of the hand "to follow the road" which we did for three quarters of a mile before we reached the hotel. It was a cosy little place on the Mt overhanging Loch Ness, and we had quite a series of adventures before the evening was over.²¹ We met three Scottish ladies²² and as we traveled with them all the next day we came to know quite well. Two of them were daughters of Dr Bennett of Edinburgh, may be Harry knows of him, he wrote quite extensively and before the fire there had been a College in Chicago named for him his daughters said.²³ The young lady is a good microscopist and very intelligent, she has given us her London address and will call on us.²⁴ Her sister belongs to the nobility rather we inferred. She traveled with a maid &c and is living in a castle near Perth.²⁵ They told us a great many interesting things about Prof. Blackie whom they know well.²⁶ In the morning it was raining as I never saw it rain before except two or three times in Scotland since we have been here. The falls²⁷ were about a mile and half away from the hotel, and as we had spent the night here for the express purpose of seeing them, the younger portions of the party sallied forth in the rain. The Scotch ladies "could not understand how any one who had seen Niagara would expose themselves for falls like this." We reached them at last by climbing down a wild ravine, they were not unlike Wild Cat Run on the Susquehanna²⁸ you remember, the ravine itself was beautiful with the wet glowing heather everywhere. We took the boat at ten o'clock and went on down the Canal, the Canal only occurs at intervals connecting four lakes. Loch Oiche is the wildest and prettiest, on it is the ruin or Urquhart Castle,²⁹ and further down the tomb to seven of the murdered McGregors.³⁰ The mountains came down to the very edge of the water, in the valleys between we could see

the lovely country places and shooting lodges.³¹ About four o'clock we passed Ben Nevis,³² he was covered with mist and refused to lift his cap to us. We had planned to stop at Ballachlulish and take a coach down through Glencoe to Oban, but it was so disagreeable that we kept on the boat until Oban. We reached there about eight. It is on Loch Linnhe near the sea and a little rough.³³ Poor Mary Ellwood was dreadfully sea sick. She was so thoroughly stirred up on the Servia that the least suggestion now is too much for her.³⁴

We cut off our plans for going to Staffa and Iona from Oban,³⁵ and although our tickets went on to Glasgow by boat around through the Kyles of Bute,³⁶ we were so tired of rainy boating that we took the train next morning for Glasgow.³⁷ In spite of the weather I think we shall always feel repaid. The scenery along the Lochs and Canal is charming. Even the fertile part of the land is used for hunting grounds and so is left quite wild with only a game keepers lodge here and there. It is a very fine deer range, and also for grouse. Mrs Cox told us that her husband had shot six hundred this fall, but that it is estimated from the rent they pay the cost of the keepers, dogs &c that each grouse costs a man five dollars. It seems a frightful extravagance, the northern part of the Canal is so highly cultivated & the country is full of lovely country houses & grounds, and then we pass the miles & miles of country devoted to shooting. Out of very perversity it cleared about two hours after we left Oban. The ride was picturesque for the first three hours. Past Lochs Awe and Earne and Ben More & Ben Lui.³⁸ It is strange how the Scotch Mt came to have a distinct personality to one, so you can recognize their peaks no matter how distant after seeing them once. We were surprised to find ourselves in a hotel at Glasgow with an elevator, gas in the bed rooms and a rocking chair, we felt as if we might be in the Palmer House.³⁹

The whole city⁴⁰ seemed full of stir, there is a great wealth there from the ship building interests and we could see the smoke of the foundries miles away. It was a perfect surprise after passing thro the streets of the handsome modern buildings, to come into the old part of the city to the necropolis and old cathedral. The grave yard looks like a veritable handsome "City of the dead" the hill is high and covered with handsome monuments one to John Knox is beautiful.⁴¹ I don't remember whether you were in Glasgow or not but I persuaded myself that you had been in the cathedral. It was our first huge Gothic Cathedral. It was built in the 12th cent. the nave is I think 140 ft long and entirely unoccupied but the chapter house and choir are still used the latter as a church. The guide insisted that it was second only to Westminster in the Kingdom, and I don't see how any thing could be more vast or impressive. We had n't any of us known any-thing specially about it before, so the surprise was complete. The stained glass windows were elegant even way down in the crypts. Read it up if you have any thing that tells of it.

On Friday we went to Ayr, a day long to be remembered. It is a ride of about an hour & a half from Glasgow, and we read aloud from Burns all the way down.⁴² When the six of us are together we just fill a carriage, close the door and then we are free to do as we like, and we have some very good times.⁴³ We drove directly

from the station at Ayr to the Burns territory, the house where he was born, the fields he plowed and to old Alloway Kirk.⁴⁴ It is a complete ruin and presided over by the most grotesque old Scotchman you could imagine. He would get every body crowded around one of the windows to look into the Kirk, he would then point with his long skinny finger and repeat all that horrible part from Tam o'Shanter, getting so worked up that you grew excited from very sympathy.⁴⁵ The monument to Burns is beautiful but perhaps the loveliest part of the day was our call on his niece Miss Baggs.⁴⁶ She is an old old lady, lives in a handsome little cottage, near the monument. She was so high bred and gracious, received us as if we had been expected and welcome guests instead of strangers. She had the loveliest soft eyes, Ma thought they looked like Burns' own. She showed us two of Burns original letters and made our call delightful. We followed Tam o'Shanter's ride back to Ayr. Here we parted with Mrs Young and the girls, they go on to London while we do the part of Scotland they have been over.⁴⁷

On Saturday morning we went from Glasgow to Balloch Pier on Loch Lomond,⁴⁸ on Saturday morning, we only expected to make part of the trip on Saturday, but there is some thing so exciting and enticing about those trips that you are urged right on through. The Cook tickets have been a marked success. We don't use the hotel coupons but think some of trying them on the Continent.⁴⁹ Loch Lomond was frightfully windy so that we could hardly stay on deck, we had a splendid view of Ben Lomond⁵⁰ and all the Mts back of them full of Rob Roy's exploits, we had been reading it the night before and were keen to find them out. From Inversnaid at the head of the lake we rode ~~nine~~ <five> miles by coach to Loch Katrine. The ride was wild and pictureque ~~who~~ we secured seats who was garrulous and genuine John, the swift motion of the four horses and the open coach was exciting. We again took a steamer at Stronallachar on Loch Katrine strange to say it was as quiet as Loch Lomand had been blustery. The quiet beauty was inexpressible. When we saw Ben Nevis⁵¹ and Ellen's Isle we could fairly see the fair Lady of the Lake rising from the silvery strand over the "calm bosom of the lake."⁵² It was perfectly delightful as was the coach ride through the Trassachs afterward.⁵³ There is no help to the imagination like locality, and the death of the gallant grey haunted us until we reached Callander.⁵⁴ The last coach <ride> was nine miles and we finally arrived here at Stirling stiff but hilarious.⁵⁵ We do not mean to undertake any more trips as hard as that, but the delightful scenery and bracing air enables one to endure most anything.

This morning we drove to the old Gray friars church, the battle field of Bannockburn, the Work of Mar, Wallace Monument⁵⁶ and last of all the old grey Castle.⁵⁷ There was no guide on Sunday but we had a good plan of it and wandered around at will. It was certainly fascinating and seemed to comprehend all the exciting parts of Scottish history. The remains of the moat, the draw bridge still there, the high walk on the battlements & the lovely view from the Queen's look out. The chapel where Queen Mary was crowned was amusing for we have seen nothing but relics and associations of her unfortunate majesty since we have been Scotland. The palace here is the eight one that has been pointed out

to us as hers and we can almost trace her pathetic history by the battlefields and strongholds.⁵⁸ If we stop at Linlithgow as on our way to Edinburgh tomorrow we will see her birth place and make it complete.⁵⁹ It is certainly a delightful & at the same time a vivid way to take in history.

I do not approve of such voluminous letters as this is, and mean either to write oftener or not attempt to tell so much. You will all be bored trying to read it. I was feeling too sort of languid last week to write much and this week has been such a rush there was no time. We usually have to spend the evening looking up things for we find ourselves painfully ignorant. We heard from Mrs Penfield the other day, she is anxious we should make our plans to spend the winter all together as one party. She and her daughter are still in England & will meet us in London.⁶⁰

I will ask you please to send this letter to Mary,⁶¹ as I have n't time to write any more letters this evening. I know that partnership letters are not very agreeable, but I will have to do it some times. We are having a cosy Sunday evening at this old hotel,⁶² with a blazing open fire and all of us writing before it. Ma stands these trips splendidly, altho we will be in London by next week and settle down at last. As long as she drinks plenty of milk and keeps warm she is all right.⁶³ The highland air and delightful scenery keep us all in the best of spirits.

Your kind letters have reached us at so many points, that I shall feel very much grieved if there is any diminution.⁶⁴ I hope Rose Reichard is much better. Please give my love to Cousin Jennie.⁶⁵ With love to Harry and yourself. Ever
Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

Please excuse this blotty letter. I am almost ashamed to send it and I have written so fast I don't believe you can read it. If you can't, don't bother Mary with it.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1175–90).

1. "22 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 16[17] Aug.[Sept.]; *JAPM*, 28:1690.

2. Addams, "Diary, 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 18 and 19 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1690–91.

3. The women had stayed at the Windsor Hotel in Edinburgh for five days before departing for a tour of the Scottish Highlands. Edinburgh, ancient capital of Scotland (1877 pop. 219,000), was known as the "modern Athens" because of its art and architecture. JA, AHHA, and SH visited Athens, Greece, in spring 1884 (see JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884; and JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, both below). Perhaps JA was already campaigning for the trip to Athens.

4. JA, SH, and AHHA returned to the Scottish capital on 1 Oct. and left for England the next day. The Ellwood sisters and Alida Young had toured the English Lake District while AHHA was recuperating in Dublin; however, they returned to Edinburgh to reunite with JA, SH, and AHHA for a standard tour of the Scottish Highlands that was popular with American travelers. The Ellwood party left for London on 29 Sept.

5. Henry Irving (1838–1905) and Ellen Terry (1847–1928) were the most illustrious English actors of the late nineteenth century and often performed together. The women attended an evening performance on Friday, hoping to see Irving and Terry in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, roles they had originated at Irving's Lyceum Theater in London in 1879.

6. Due to Terry's illness, Irving performed the title role in *Louis XI*, by French playwright Casimir Delavigne (1793–1843); the next day the group saw a matinee of *Merchant of Venice* in which Terry portrayed Portia and Irving played Shylock.

7. SH wrote that they had found "an enormous congregation" at St. Giles Cathedral. "[N]ot being able to get seats," they returned to their Edinburgh hotel (SH to Linn Hostetter, 23 Sept. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). John Knox (ca. 1513–72), Scottish reformer and founder of Presbyterianism, was originally a Roman Catholic priest who became converted to Protestant doctrines in the 1550s. Conflict with the Catholic royalty, especially Mary Queen of Scots, led him to write the Confession of Faith, the basis of the new Presbyterian church. It was approved by the Scottish Parliament in 1560. During the 1560s Knox was minister of St. Giles Cathedral, built between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Besides being the birthplace of Scottish Presbyterianism, the cathedral was the site of crucial events in Scottish history, such as the 1567 coronation of King James VI and his farewell to Edinburgh upon leaving to assume the English throne in 1603, thus uniting the two kingdoms.

8. The Tolbooth, also known as the "Heart of Midlothian," had once served as the Scottish House of Parliament, court of justice, and prison. The site, near St. Giles Cathedral, was marked by a heart-shaped design of cobblestones. One of Walter Scott's Waverly novels was entitled *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818). Midlothian was the name of the county of which Edinburgh was county seat.

9. Arthur's Seat, the name of a high hill overlooking Edinburgh, was "surmounted by the unmistakable outline of a recumbent lion" and was the "striking feature in all views of Edinburgh," a contemporary guidebook noted (Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland*, 56). Salisbury Crags was a rocky ridge on the west side of Arthur's Seat.

10. Below Arthur's Seat, Holyrood Palace (built in the 1670s) was the historic seat of Scottish royalty; it occupied the site of Holyrood Abbey, founded 1128, the remains of which were called Holyrood Chapel.

11. They returned to Edinburgh on 1 Oct. after their Highlands tour. No other letters by JA about Scotland are known to be extant.

12. Mary Ellwood recorded in her diary that JA treated the group to taffy in honor of their "happy reunion" (22 Sept. 1883).

13. They set out for Inverness in the Scottish Highlands on 24 Sept.

14. The great Scottish novelist Walter Scott (1771–1832) published *Rob Roy*, his popular novel about the highland chief, in 1818. The actual Rob Roy (1671–1734), leader of the outlawed MacGregor clan, became a brigand after his lands were confiscated by the Duke of Montrose in 1712. He was known as the Scottish Robin Hood, an image fostered by Scott's novel.

15. Mary (Stuart) Queen of Scots (1542–87) was born in Linlithgow Palace. She was less than a week old when she succeeded to the throne upon the death of her father, James V. Queen of Scotland for twenty-five years, she was later beheaded for conspiring to assassinate her cousin, Queen Elizabeth I of England.

16. In 1689, the narrow gorge of Killikrankie was the site of a bloody encounter between an army sent by the new king, William III of England (William of Orange), and the highlander Jacobites who were loyal to Catholic King James VII, who had abdicated the throne in Dec. 1688, ending the Glorious Revolution. Although the highlanders decimated his troops in this battle, William was crowned king of Scotland in Apr. 1689, achieving the restored monarchy. Subsequently England and Scotland combined their parliaments in 1707 to create the United Kingdom.

17. In Apr. 1746, at the Battle of Culloden, near Inverness, English troops routed an army of Jacobite Scottish highlanders led by Prince Charles ("Bonnie Prince Charlie"), leaving more than 1,000 dead and ending his quest for the British throne. The battle was the last major stand of Scottish resistance to English rule. The highland clans were destroyed and their leadership was executed or transported to the American colonies. Highland Scots were banned from bearing arms or wearing their clan plaids.

18. English and Scottish armies had fought intermittently for several centuries, even for forty years after the two countries formally united, with England the dominant partner, in 1707.

19. Inverness, "capital of the Highlands," was an old city in north-central Scotland situated where Loch Ness entered the Moray Firth and the North Sea. JA's party spent the night at the Union Hotel.

20. The Caledonian Canal, built in the early nineteenth century, connected lochs across Scotland's Great Glen from northeast to southwest, providing a shipping route between the North Sea and the Atlantic.

21. JA did not reveal her "series of adventures" in extant letters or her diary. Loch Ness, twenty-four miles long, one of Scotland's largest lakes, flowed south of Inverness. They stayed overnight at the Foyers Hotel.

22. In her diary, JA noted that the three women were "Mrs. Mahon of Ayr, Mrs. Cox who has a castle near Perth, and Miss Bennett of London" ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 26 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1694). John Hughes Bennett, M.D. (1812–75), was an esteemed professor, physiologist, and pathologist at Edinburgh University's Institutes of Medicine who contributed widely to medical literature.

23. Bennett College of Eclectic Medicine and Surgery, named in honor of John Hughes Bennett, was established in Chicago in 1868. Its building was destroyed by the 1871 Chicago fire. The college was reestablished and in 1910 merged with other schools into the medical department of Loyola Univ. Admitting women from its inception, it employed the polyclinic method of closely supervised clinical instruction for which Bennett was renowned.

24. In her address book, JA listed "Miss Julia Bennett, 39 Charleville Rd., West Kensington SW, London" (UIC, *JAMC*; *JAPM*, 28:1694). In a later letter to SAAH, she mentioned that "Miss Bennett" was "fond" of microscopy, a specialty of her father's (ca. 27 Jan. 1884, UIC, *JAMC*; *JAPM*, 1:1319), but apparently neither Julia nor her sister was a physician. It is not known whether Julia Bennett and JA met again when she was in London in Oct. 1883.

25. Mrs. Cox, the other Bennett daughter, had apparently married into the Scottish or English nobility.

26. John Stuart Blackie (1809–95) was a Scottish scholar and man of letters. Professor of Greek at Edinburgh Univ. (1852–82) and a renowned translator of Greek texts, he had endowed its Celtic chair upon retiring in 1882. JA was familiar with his works. See *PJA*, 1:390, n. 5.

27. John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland* (1875) described the Foyers River descending to Loch Ness "in two grand falls through a deep and tortuous gash or glen in the mountain side, rocky, but shrouded within thick woods" (251). The Baedeker guide called the Fall of Foyers "probably the finest waterfall in Great Britain" (*Great Britain*, 496). In her diary, JA described taking a "wagonette" part way and then walking down a "serpentine path" in the pouring rain to see the falls ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 26 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1694–95).

28. JA had visited Niagara Falls on the Canadian border with SH in summer 1881 and had seen Wildcat Run on the Susquehanna River during a visit to relatives in Pennsylvania.

29. JA probably meant to write "of Urquhart Castle." The ruins of twelfth-century Urquhart Castle, blown up in 1762 to prevent the Jacobites from seizing it, sat on a promontory in Loch Ness, as JA correctly notes in her diary, not in Loch Oiche ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 25 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1693).

30. JA is probably referring to the Well of Seven Heads commemorating the vengeance that clan poet Iain Lom MacDonell exacted on the seven men who murdered Alasdair MacDonell, twelfth chief of Keppoch, in 1663.

31. The mountains were part of the Grampian Range in northern Scotland.

32. Ben Nevis (4,435 ft.) was the tallest mountain in Great Britain.

33. Ballachulish was a town on Loch Leven in Argyll. Glencoe was where English soldiers massacred the MacDonald clan on 14 Feb. 1692. On Wednesday, 26 Sept., the party arrived at the Station Hotel in Oban, a seaport on Loch Linnhe, which flowed into the Firth of Lorn on the southwest coast of Scotland. Oban's bustling harbor was the main port to the Hebrides.

34. On their seasickness while crossing the Atlantic, see JA to SAAH, 27 Aug. 1883, n. 4, above.

35. A steamer excursion from Oban to the islands of Iona and Staffa, off the Isle of Mull, would have taken about ten hours round trip, including a one-hour stop at each island. Iona, site of Iona Abbey, had been venerated by Christian pilgrims ever since St. Columba had landed there from Ireland in 563 on his mission to Christianize Scotland. Staffa was known for Fingal's Caves, basaltic formations similar to the Giants Causeway in Ireland. JA felt that they would "always be sorry" that they did not visit the two small islands "for the associations with the early monks &c are very interesting" (JA to SAAH, 6 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1252).

36. The Kyles of Bute were the narrow straits separating the island of Bute from the mainland on the west coast of Scotland.

37. JA's group trained to Glasgow on Thursday, 27 Sept., arriving that evening.

38. Lochs Awe and Earn were picturesque lakes southeast of Oban. Ben Lui (3,729 ft.) and Ben More (3,874 ft.) were mountains east of Oban.

39. They stayed at the St. Enoch Hotel in Glasgow. Palmer House was an elegant modern hotel in Chicago that was rebuilt after the Chicago Fire of 1871.

40. Fast-growing Glasgow (1879 pop. 578,000) was an industrial center and seaport known for its modern shipbuilding. It was Scotland's largest city (and Great Britain's second largest).

41. Murray claimed that Glasgow Cathedral, consecrated in 1197, was the "finest Gothic edifice in Scotland" (*Handbook for Travellers in Scotland*, 150–51). The Baedeker guide called the crypt, which was below the choir, its "chief glory" (*Great Britain*, 480). The necropolis full of elaborate monuments rose on terraces behind the cathedral. A statue of John Knox perched atop a Doric column.

42. Prolific poet and songwriter Robert Burns (1759–96) was Scotland's most celebrated literary figure. His birthplace of Alloway, county of Ayrshire, was the heart of "Burns country" in southwest Scotland. Burns's several hundred poems, ballads, and folk songs immortalized the Scottish countryside and farm life. He was best known for his satirical verse, narrative poems, and love songs.

43. British railway carriages at the time held only six to ten passengers.

44. Burns's birth cottage in Alloway, which contained a few Burns relics, was located about two miles south of the Ayr railroad station.

45. Alloway Kirk, the village church built about 1516, figured in one of Burns's most famous poems, "Tam O'Shanter," a ghost story in narrative verse that tells of a drunken farmer returning home on horseback through the churchyard late one night who was pursued by witches and barely escaped capture. Having just reread it on the train to Ayr, JA wrote in her diary that she "liked Tam o'Shanter as I never did before" ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 28 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1695).

46. Burns's youngest sister, Isabella Burns Beggs (1771–1858), had settled in Alloway and told stories to visitors about her life with her famous brother. JA's party visited with Beggs's 77-year-old daughter, also named Isabella (1806–86), Burns's niece, who received the travelers in her bedroom while she was ill and shared Burns's stories and memorabilia. After being shown two of Burns's letters to his younger brother William (1767–90), JA wrote in her diary, "Cultivate taciturnity. Look on all men, dream what you can and then apply it to improvement whilst young, for what is mere accident soon becomes fixed as habit" ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 28 Sept.; *JAPM*, 28:1697). The two Burns letters JA saw were dated 2 Mar. and 10 Nov. 1789.

47. After the excursion to Ayrshire, Young and the Ellwood sisters left AHHA, SH, and JA to head back to London via Dumfries, Scotland, where Robert Burns died in 1796. The group reunited in London on 6 Oct.

48. Balloch, northwest of Glasgow, was a port town at the southern end of Loch Lomond, one of Scotland's most beautiful lakes.

49. Cook's Tours had begun to offer hotel coupons in 1868. The company "negotiated fixed fees with hotels" and "then issued booklets of coupons, each good for breakfast, dinner, or room." The "terms of the arrangement" were "printed on the coupon booklet." By 1880, five hundred hotels throughout Europe participated in the Cook's Tours coupon program (Withey, *Grand Tours and Cooks Tours*, 160).

50. Ben Lomond (3,192 ft.), one of Scotland's highest peaks, rose above the eastern shore of Loch Lomond. On the Scottish rebel Rob Roy and the Walter Scott novel that popularized his daring exploits, see n. 14.

51. JA may have meant to write "we secured seats [with a driver] who was [a] garrulous and genuine John." Horse-drawn coaches met steamers at Inversnaid near the northern end of Loch Lomond to bring tourists across a mountain ridge and east to Stronachlachar to board a steamer on the mile-wide Loch Katrine with its steep cliffs. JA probably meant to write "Ben Venue" (2,393 ft.), a mountain situated near Loch Katrine. She had seen Ben Nevis earlier in this part of her trip (see n. 32).

52. Ellen's Isle and Loch Katrine were immortalized in Walter Scott's epic Romantic poem, *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), a portion of which JA quotes here.

53. The Trossachs, a wooded valley just east of Loch Katrine, figured in Scott's poem *The Lady of the Lake* and his novel *Rob Roy*.

54. The "gallant gray" was the hero's dying horse in *The Lady of the Lake*.

55. The town of Stirling on the River Forth was built into the side of a hill that Stirling Castle stood upon.

56. As a boy, James VI was crowned Scottish king in Stirling's Greyfriars Church in 1567. The Battle of Bannockburn, June 1314, was memorable in Scottish history because the Scots, led by Robert the Bruce (1274–1329), routed superior English forces commanded by King Edward II. Following this victory, Bruce, who had been crowned king of Scotland in 1306, fought further battles, invaded England twice, and in 1328 achieved a settlement granting Scotland independence and his right to the throne. Mar's Work was a stone structure of sculptures and inscriptions built by the Earl of Mar. The Wallace Monument commemorated the victory of William Wallace (ca. 1272–1305) over the English in 1297 at the Battle of Stirling Bridge, after which he was elected guardian of the Scottish kingdom. Wallace's army was defeated by English forces under Edward I in 1298; Wallace, eventually captured and executed in London, was revered ever after as a Scottish national hero.

57. Stirling Castle.

58. Following an English invasion, a Scottish counterattack, and the death of her father King James V, Mary Queen of Scots took refuge with her mother at Stirling Castle, where the infant girl was crowned queen in its chapel in 1542. She lived in the castle until age five; later her son James VI also lived there as a child. The Scottish queen's reign (1542–67) was remarkably violent from start to finish. She quelled a revolt led by her half-brother, who opposed her Catholic marriage. Then her husband was murdered, possibly with her complicity. Mary's second marriage, to the Earl of Bothwell, provoked a revolt by Scottish nobles, who defeated her army in 1567. She abdicated the throne and was imprisoned, then escaped to lead another army; after its defeat she sought refuge with her cousin Elizabeth, the English queen, who imprisoned and later executed her in London.

59. JA's diary for 1 Oct. does not mention a stop at Linlithgow. The travelers reached Edinburgh about 11:00 A.M. and left the next day, 2 Oct., for Abbotsford, home of Scottish novelist Sir Walter Scott in southern Scotland. JA wrote to MCAL that they were "shown through the rooms just as Sir Walter Scott left them—with his study chair at his desk, his armory & relics, where the materials of his stories can be traced." On the same day, JA toured other Scottish sites, including Melrose Abbey, "a beautiful ruin," and Dryburgh Abbey, where the Scottish novelist was buried (3[,6, and 7] Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1197).

60. Mary Hodges Penfield had continued on to England after JA and her party disem-

barked the *Servia* at Queenstown, Ireland (see JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], above). Penfield joined them in England in Oct., and she and daughter Mary rejoined them in Germany in late fall.

61. MCAL, JA's oldest married sister.

62. The Golden Lion Hotel in Stirling, recommended by Baedeker, was a short walk from the railroad station (*Great Britain*, 487).

63. AHHA had been seriously ill in Dublin (see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. and 16 Sept. 1883, above).

64. These letters from SAAH are not known to be extant.

65. Rose Reichard was the daughter of AHHA's niece Virginia Hostetter Reichard and her husband D. Harvey Reichard, who lived near SAAH and HWH in Mitchellville, Iowa; her health problem is not known. Her mother Virginia, JA's stepcousin, was "Cousin Jennie."

To Mary Catherine Addams Linn

Grasmere, Cumberland Co.

[, Nottingham, and London,] Eng.

Oct 3rd[, 6, and 7,] 1883—

My dear Mary—

Your kind letters have been read and appreciated as never before and the last one that said Stanly was quite well seemed to roll away a small mountain from before us—I hope & pray that nothing serious will again overtake the little fellow.¹ I am afraid by this time you are all worn out. I do wish you would keep the woman you spoke of having, all winter long to help you take care of the baby.

We are here tonight in a beautiful hotel on the edge of Grasmere² within a stones throw of Wordsworth's cottage where he first brought his wife within the sound of the church bells from the church yard w[h]ere Wordsworth & Colredge are burried.³ The lake and the surroundings of the little town⁴ it seems to me would be enough to inspire poetry in the most prosaic man. It is surrounded by high hills, which are in shape and contour like mountains, the ridges are sharply defined against the sky, and each has a name of its own taken from the shape of the top. We were in the little house today where Wordsworth lived for nine years against the street. It is a little white washed stone wall with no entrance from the street at all, but going around through the garden and in the side door it is a perfect ideal cottage. The garden is on the side of a hill, with rustic seats, and beautiful views over the lake, every spot of which is embalmed in Wordsworth's poetry. We have had a day of experiences. We came down last evening from Scotland and landed at Penreith,⁵ a little town on the edge of the lake district. From there we took a carriage early in the morning, and have ridden by carriage and boat the distance of thirty miles. Lake Ulswater is supposed to be a miniature Lake Lucerne, and it is hard to imagine any thing more weird and picturesque.⁶ The carriage road winds along the shore for its full length of ten miles, and twice through the beautiful grounds of the "gentry" as the driver

says. We had dinner at Patterdale on its edge & drove on through the Kirkstone pass, there is a huge rock shaped like a church.⁷

“From whose rocky fame
The savage pass doth take its name[“]⁸

The highest point is 1481 ft surrounded by the sharply outlined hills, one called “Hight St” looks as if a road ran along its very crest, another the “standing ridge” raises its high bulk right in a valley between two Mts. We came down where the road was perfectly straight — & the back wheels had to be logged & chained. Coming into the little valley below, was a perfect change, it was filled with rainbows, we saw five during the afternoon, they rise from the little lakes in a broad band and form a perfect bow across the heavens. We stopped for half an hour at Mt Rydal where Wordsworth, Southy and DeQuincy have all written & lived, every trace of them is carefully preserved and pointed out.⁹ The roads they walked[.] The rocks they sat on &c. It certainly makes them very real and delightful. The region is favored with the remains of Genius, Dr Arnold’s¹⁰ place & Harriet Martinau’s¹¹ are shown.

Nottingham¹²

Oct 6th

I have had no time to write again, until now—and to try to describe all we have seen since then would fill pages. We want to make London by Saturday and so are rather pushing things.¹³ We had a very funny experience this afternoon with our tickets, the first approach to any difficulty since we left home but it was more funny than exasperating. We bought second class tickets from York to Leeds—and seated ourselves in a second class carriage as coolly as possible. Just before the train started the guard asked to see the tickets and said, “You have green tickets.” We saw that they were green, but could see nothing remarkable in that fact, until he told us that it meant we belonged in a third class car. We objected, there was no time for any thing more, we were locked in as usual, and all went smoothly until we came to Leeds. The guard came back with two other conductors, and they all insisted that we must pay extra. The plot thickened, we were sent to the Superintendents office and affected a compromise. Every body was very polite & firm, but finally acknowledged there had been a mistake. The whole matter of class cars is so perfectly absurd. The first class are cushioned with arms—only place for six. The second are cushioned without arms and they can crowd in ten people. The third class are cushionless and rather forlorn sometimes, and sometimes exactly like the second class—but we rather objected to coming down to them at first—and were in perfect consternation the first time our Cook tickets called for them. We have met some of the very nicest people we have seen in the third class cars—this afternoon a lady who was as refined & educated as I have ever known in America.¹⁴

The whole thing is rather a revolution of our ideas of equality. It was funny in Dublin, after we left when Ma was still sick we asked for a “Lavatory car”

they were perfectly amazed & said "We only have one it's in Belfast, we keep it for the Lord Lieutenant." It is only one of the queer things happening all the time. I think when they occur "I will remember that & write it home" but they are almost too intangible to take away from the surroundings.

London

Oct 7, 1883.

Just then we heard a grand commotion in the street and went out to view the "goose fair" as it is called—an institution which has been held annually from time immemorial at Nottingham. The streets were filled with booths of cakes, nuts & toys, grotesque figures parading the streets singing &c. There were shooting matches—rope dancing and everything else that was gay and animated. The consequence was we took in the panarama until it was too late to do anything else.

We reached London, the centre truly of all things on yesterday afternoon. We are very favorably impressed with Miss Warner's.¹⁵ She and her sister keep a boarding house for Americans alone. They are cultured New England women and the house is very nicely run. There are about twenty very pleasant people here now. Last evening at dinner it was very funny to hear them all tell their experiences of the day. One old gentleman remarked with a sigh that he had seen about "two miles of paintings." One young lady declared she had lost her way because the sun was shining and she had been so used to grope about London in a fog. We will be here about three weeks including the time spent in suburban trips.¹⁶ Ma is feeling pretty tired from the last week of travel and did not go out this morning.¹⁷ The rest of us went to hear Spurgeon.¹⁸ We were fortunate enough to secure seats through the kindness of a lady who befriended us at the door. Promptly at eleven o'clock a handbell was rung, and strangers were entitled to take the vacant seats. There was a perfect rush and excitement for about five minutes until they were settled. There was something very imposing in the vast congregation of six thousand people and the singing was magnificent. The preacher himself was magnetic & controlled the audience easily. One could feel oneself swaying toward him each minute. He has a sympathetic full voice—but the sermon itself was undoubtedly very ordinary both in thought & expression. His regular congregation are enthusiastic over him & perfectly delighted to answer any question you put. On our way home we passed the rank & file of the "Salvation Army"¹⁹ singing through the streets. We had encountered them two or three times in Scotland, at Stirling they marched with a brass band, and the other day at York, we had just come out of the grand quiet old Cathedral, and our thoughts for the last two hours had been in the centuries long past, so it was rather startling to be brought back so suddenly—their motto was "Blood & fire." . . .²⁰

I am always Your loving sister

Jane Addams.

1. None of MCAL's letters to the travelers are known to be extant. Her youngest child was Stanley Ross Linn, born 21 May 1883.

2. JA, AHHA, and SH had left Stirling on 1 Oct. to return to Edinburgh, where they visited several hospitals, Edinburgh Castle, and the Museum of Science and Art and revisited the National Gallery and National Museum of Antiquities. They departed Edinburgh on 2 Oct. for a trip through southern Scotland, northern England, and the Lake District en route to London. They reached Grasmere in the Lake District on 4 Oct. and stayed overnight at the Prince of Wales Hotel.

3. English Romantic poets William Wordsworth (1770–1850) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) both used imagery of the mountainous Lake District in their work, as did other English writers. Wordsworth moved to the six-room stone Dove Cottage, formerly an inn, outside of Grasmere with his sister Dorothy in 1799 and lived there with his wife Mary Hutchinson (d. 1859) for six years after their 1802 marriage. Both husband and wife were buried in Grasmere churchyard. Wordsworth and Coleridge, whose poetry JA had studied at RFS, were two of her favorite Romantic writers.

4. Grasmere village lies at the north end of Lake Grasmere. Atop Helm Crag (1,300 ft.) north of Grasmere were several "curious crags, supposed to resemble when seen from below, a lion and lamb, an 'Ancient Woman cowering beside her rifted cell,' the 'astrologer, sage Sidrophel,' etc." (Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 387)

5. Penrith, an old market town, was the railway terminus for tourists entering the Lake District on the east side.

6. Lake Ullswater, nine miles long, was the second-largest of the English lakes.

7. Patterdale was at the head of Lake Ullswater and at the foot of St. Sunday's Crag (2,756 ft.).

8. JA paraphrased Wordsworth's "The Pass of Kirkstone," in which he wrote of the geological formation "whose church-like frame / Gives to the savage Pass its name" (Perry, *Complete Critical Guide to William Wordsworth*, 562). Kirkstone Pass was south of Patterdale, en route to Lake Windermere. The pass (1,500 ft.) led between two mountains, Red Screes (2,540 ft.) and Caudale Moor (2,500 ft.). A rock supposed to look like a "kirk" (church) sat on the Ullswater side of the pass.

9. Rydal is a village near the head of Lake Windermere two miles from the town of Ambleside. Rydal Mount, above the village, was Wordsworth's home from 1813 until his death in 1850 (thirteen miles from Coleridge's cottage at Keswick; they often hiked together). There he wrote many of his poems and built his reputation, becoming England's poet laureate in 1843. Many admirers, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Nathaniel Hawthorne, visited him there. Poet Robert Southey (1774–1843), a friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge, joined the latter's short-lived utopian settlement in Pennsylvania in the 1790s. Essayist and novelist Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859) was best known for *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1822), an influence on JA and her RFS classmates (see *PJA*, 1:248–49, 1:250, n. 1). These four English writers were known as the Lake Poets. De Quincey rented Dove Cottage in Grasmere from 1809 to 1834. In college and in late Oct., when she visited London slums, JA reported that she was deeply affected by De Quincey's essay "The Vision of Sudden Death" (see introduction to part 2, above).

10. Dr. Thomas Arnold (1795–1842), headmaster of the Rugby school, was the father of poet Matthew Arnold (1822–88). Dr. Arnold built his home "Fox Howe" on an estate in Rothay. Wordsworth, who lived nearby at Rydal Mount, had urged the Arnolds to settle there, arranged the land purchase, and assisted with the house design. Matthew Arnold vacationed there for most of his life.

11. Journalist and social reformer Harriet Martineau (1802–76) wrote widely on public affairs, travel, and history. She "used to find it a pleasant walk across the fields to visit the Arnolds from her own house, 'The Knoll,' which she had built in 1845. Wordsworth, who

was seventy-six years old when she first met him, took a great interest in the house, saying that the building of it was the wisest step of her life, 'for the value of the property will be doubled in ten years.' He planted two stone pines in the garden and helped to choose the motto for the sundial, 'Come, Light! Visit me!'" (Eagle and Carnell, *Oxford Literary Guide to the British Isles*, 7). Martineau lived at "The Knoll" for thirty years until her death.

12. Nottingham, an old town in the English Midlands that probably originated as an ancient British settlement, was the center of the lace and hosiery industry. Luddite rebellions took place there (1811–16) when "stocking-makers endeavoured to improve their miserable position by concerted action against the masters, chiefly by the destruction of machinery" that could replace them such as power looms (Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 430).

13. The group had left Grasmere on the morning of 5 Oct. After a boat trip on Lake Windemere to view the spectacular scenery, JA, SH, and AHHA trained from the town of Windemere to the northern English city of York.

14. Passenger tickets were issued for first-, second-, or third-class accommodations, reflecting the more overt English class structure. Baedeker warned that "tickets are not invariably checked at the beginning of a journey, and travellers should therefore make sure that they are in the proper compartment" (*Great Britain*, xxi).

15. On Saturday, 6 Oct., JA's party took the train from Nottingham to London. They had arranged to stay at a boardinghouse in Dorset Square run by American Rebecca Warner and her sister. On arrival, however, they discovered that they could not get rooms until the following week but that Miss Warner had secured lodging next door and they could take their meals with her. Once ensconced at Miss Warner's, JA wrote her brother, JWA, that they were in "an American boarding house" with other Americans who "give us a great deal of sage advice and always end up with the remark 'You wont get a single thing you can eat from the time you land'" (14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1210). They were reunited with Alida Young and the Ellwood sisters, who were already staying at the boardinghouse. JA and party "became quite attached" to the Warner sisters, "New England people" who had managed the boardinghouse for twenty years. When they left "Miss Warner's che[e]rful table" after a month, their "fellow boarders all stood at the door," giving them "a happy send off" (JA to MCAL, 4 Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1246, 1243).

16. For their "suburban trips" outside London, see JA to GBH, 17 [and 18?] Oct. 1883, nn. 4, 14–16, below.

17. AHHA was still recuperating from her illness in Dublin (see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. and 16 Sept. 1883, both above).

18. Rev. Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834–92), a Baptist minister, was so popular that a new London church, Metropolitan Tabernacle, was built for him. He "owed his fame as a preacher to his great oratorical gifts, humour, and shrewd common sense, which showed itself especially in his treatment of contemporary problems" (Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1303). For years Spurgeon had been a major tourist attraction in London. Noted American preacher Phillips Brooks heard Spurgeon on his first trip to Europe in 1865, finding him "not graceful, not thoughtful, nor imaginative" but "earnest, simple, direct and he held the hosts of plain-looking people wonderfully" (Brooks, *Letters of Travel*, 11). In her 1874 travel memoir, American Ella W. Thompson observed that "[t]en years ago, all strangers and sojourners in London went to see and hear Mr. Spurgeon; but he is no new thing under the sun, and is said to live largely on the income of his reputation" (*Beaten Paths*, 91).

19. In a letter to her sister and brother-in-law, SH wrote that the "Salvation Army have come before our eyes and ears in several instances. At York they had a large building for a place of worship and in red and blue letters over the door the words, 'Blood & Fire.' They ought not to be allowed to go through the streets in such a disorderly fashion." In her postscript, SH softened, saying "[t]he Salvation army have been marching through the streets since I finished

this letter with a Brass band and a crowd of people following after. It is easy to understand how they could get up an excitement." She wrote "that their members are not allowed to drink intoxicating liquors" was "a very good principle" (SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 7 Oct. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). The Salvation Army, which became a worldwide religious and social welfare crusade, had been founded as the Christian Mission in London in 1865 by revivalist Methodist preacher William Booth (1829–1912), who was devoted to "evangelistic, social and rescue work." Central to Booth's ministry was his "love for the poor, whose souls he sought to save by his preaching while at the same time ministering to their bodily needs" (Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 189). In 1878 the Christian Mission was reorganized along military lines and renamed the Salvation Army. After an American branch was formed in New York in 1880, it spread throughout the world. Booth published his plan for rescuing the poor of England in his manifesto, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890), where he proposed organizing destitute city dwellers into self-sufficient communities.

20. In the last two paragraphs of this letter, which the editors have omitted, JA described a brief visit on 5 Oct. to the city of York, especially its castle and Gothic cathedral; to Leeds, a center for woolen manufacturing; and to Walter Scott's home and grave at Abbotsford (see JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1883, n. 59, above). In closing, she urged MCAL to "[w]rite as often as you can my dear & don't apologize for short letters."

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

32 Dorset Square London [England]

Oct 8 1883

My dear Alice

Your letter written after the receipt of Dr McVeagh's came to day. I am sorry that I have n't kept you posted more continuously for of course you were both dreadfully worried. Dr McVeagh said all to us I think that he wrote to Harry and we considered the matter very seriously.¹ We thought of going direct to the continent from Dublin, but Ma insisted on our keeping to the Scottish plan until at least she tried her strength. She has took the journey splendidly and the last week of it was very hard travelling.²

The Scottish air was delightful and she always feels better out of doors. We will have to pick a pleasant locality for the winter and decide not to rove for awhile.³ I do not see how any thing could be gained by her going home unless she could be under Harry's direct care constantly.⁴ We will certainly give all the attention within our power, and take every precaution in eating and resting, to prevent another break down. She enjoys the travelling thoroughly, and when she is well at all improves under it I know. She appropriates and lives in all the fine and beautiful things we see. She would be better undoubtedly for close medical observation and care, but unless she was right with Harry I don't see how she would be any better <in America> without Harry than here.⁵

I am very sure she would not care to be in Mitchellville.⁶

I think that if Harry would write oftener, it would cheer her wonderfully, and I think that if you would send more messages and regards in your letters it

would make a great difference. No one knows how those things affect her health. I think that is the sole advantage in her being here, that she is away from all the disagreeable and sorrowful associations that her life has had so long. I don't want to take any responsibility in deciding, for I know that Ma's health is very broken, but I think she herself truly feels that she is as well here as at home.⁷ . . .⁸

Sarah and I both feel that it is a privelege to have Ma with us, and that we could hardly keep on without her.⁹ We are becoming adjusted to things, so that we can travel easily, and with less worry and care than at first. If you will all help us from the other side of the water, I think that all will go well. Dr McVeagh was a true and kind friend to us, and I think that his advice will help us for the rest of the trip. I have n't time to write more to-night and am afraid that I have n't clearly expressed what I wanted. My letters have n't been a success, my dear, and I am afraid you flatter me when you say how much you enjoy them, for they have neither been vivid or well written. We will learn to economize time I hope & do better. We made arrangements with the Am. Exchange to have our letters sent there for a year, so please always direct them. Your loving Sister

Jane Addams

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1204-09).

1. On AHHA's illness in Dublin and her physician there, John Francis McVeagh, see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. and 16 Sept. 1883, both above. In a postscript, JA implored SAAH, "Do write Dr Mc Veagh a nice letter. He did everything in the world for us & well earned his money. He would be dreadfully hurt by a slighting letter. He was fussy about Sarah & I for we were all right and are now, but he was certainly skillful with Ma's case, a less skillful man would have kept her there for two months for she was very sick. She is as grateful to him as can be as we all are. Dr Madden was an imposition, but Dr Mc Veagh told us his fee before hand and we did n't need to have him if we did n't want to" (23 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1230-31).

2. They spent two weeks touring Scotland on their way from Dublin to England (see JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1883, above).

3. The trio eventually decided to stay in Dresden, Germany, during late fall and early winter, but in Jan. 1884, as AHHA seemed fully recovered, they resumed a relentless pace of sightseeing on the Continent.

4. AHHA's son HWH had treated JA the previous winter. See introduction to part 1, above.

5. Despite JA's reassurance that her stepmother would do well if they planned their trip taking her health into account, SH had earlier written her physician brother, after a flare-up with AHHA, that she did not think her aunt "could stand this year's travelling about." She "does such imprudent things and takes so much strong medicine" (SH to Linn Hostetter, 20 Sept. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). In correspondence to stepbrother GBH on the same day she wrote this letter to SAAH, JA explained the decision that AHHA would not return to the United States. She felt "conscience-smitten" that she had not kept GBH better informed of his mother's condition, "but there was a great deal to take up time and attention, for after all there is a great difference <& much difficulty> in dealing with people on this side of the water" (8 Oct. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1199). See also JA to GBH, 17[and 18?] Oct. 1883, below.

6. JA's sister SAAH and brother-in-law HWH lived in Mitchellville, Iowa.

7. AHHA wrote her son HWH on 9 Oct. 1883 that "[i]t seems a long while since letters

came to me from you, but I am hoping and looking for them all the same" (UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.). A week later she wrote him that she had received his 22 Sept. letter, which was only her second letter from him and the first since her "almost fatal illness" (18 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.). Neither before nor after JHA's death in Aug. 1881 had AHHA been fully accepted into their Cedarville, Ill., community.

8. In a short paragraph omitted by the editors, JA mentioned her journey from the English Lake District to London. See JA to MCAL, 3[, 6, and 7] Oct. 1883, above.

9. JA may have been expressing her own feeling more than her stepcousin's. In a letter to her brother Linn Hostetter, SH had disclosed a rift with her aunt (20 Sept. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). JA would have been circumspect in writing anything critical of her stepmother to her sister SAAH, who was not only AHHA's stepdaughter but wife of her adored son HWH. On animosity between SH and AHHA, see introduction to part 2, above. A few days after sending her inflamed comments about AHHA to Linn from Scotland, SH wrote him that "the state of mind of the party at present is quite serene" (23 Sept. 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

To George Bowman Haldeman

32 Dorset Square London [England]

Oct 17. [and 18?,] 1883¹

My dear George.

We have been looking for a letter from Baltimore, and have been disappointed, for some days. We speak of you very often and speculate <upon> what you are doing and seeing and upon the new surroundings.² Baltimore must have every-thing which is conducive to study and uplift. It seems to me that is the main impression I have gained from the travel we have had — the power and force of circumstances or rather surroundings to produce powerful effects upon the mind, independent almost of your own control.

Ma was not quite so well for a few days, the London fog surrounds you as a papable presence which together with the commotion of the city calls for constant resistance.³ We all felt it, and were all glad I think to leave it for a few days last week, for a trip through Warwickshire. We feel better since our return and have taken a fresh hold on London sight seeing.⁴ I would be glad for your advice for the winter. Ma insists that we hold to our original plan and spend the first part of the winter in Dresden. The doctor so strongly urged a warm climate that it does n't seem the right thing to deliberately run risks.⁵ On the other hand the reports from Florence and the Italian city's wh he recommended, are not very satisfactory. The house here is full of people who have been traveling for a year or so and are now returning home. They all declare that the middle of winter in Italy is very cold and uncomfortable, the climate is changeable & there are not proper means for keeping warm. Ma enjoys the travel very thoroughly, but cannot endure another spell of hard sickness I am very sure, and all the unfavorable conditions must be avoided. Write to me and tell me what you think about it. I want to [do] just the very best thing.⁶ Our plan now is to leave here the 1st of November, spend a week or two in Brussels, go down the

Rhine and up to Dresden about the 1st of December. We would leave there in February.⁷ Ma enjoyed Scotland⁸ as I never saw her enjoy anything before and is quite eager for Germany. What ever happens do not regret that she came, for I mean that she shall lack no comfort or attention that can possibly be procured, and I am only to glad to have her with us at any price. Not only for the enjoyment and dignity she contributes but from the sincerest affection and the great good to me personally. I did not mean to write so much on the one subject, but there is no one here or at home to whom I say quite what I feel, and think that you know the risk involved and yet that Ma is probably just as well here as she would be any where.

We spent yesterday in Westminster, your first impressions are absolutely impressive.⁹ As you go from one generation to another, from Ed the Confessor to Henry VII and even to where Darwin lies,¹⁰ you feel as if history and English thought were tangible before you, it does not strike you that the structure ever was built or worked upon by hands, it is like a product of thought and the arches seem to spring and highten as English thought grew freer, and at last when you stand in the centre tower with the poets corner before,¹¹ your mind tries in vain to expand sufficiently to fill the space and you can imagine no flight higher.

The only possibly¹² way to appreciate London of course would be to take a specialty and follow it closely—out into all the advantages and research London offers.¹³ The way tourist usually see and what we are trying to do is necessarily superficial. Ma has given you such a detailed account of Oxford and the rest of our three days trip that I will not risk repetition.¹⁴ Our own Cambridge¹⁵ was inspiring, but would have been utterly lost in the many colleges, chapels and libraries of Oxford.¹⁶ You felt the history of learning, and the independent line of life students lead from one age to another, and yet connected by invisible suckers and tendrils to <the> actual helpful life of the world. It is breakfast time and we are preparing for a ride in Hyde park and another day in the Abbey.¹⁷ Write to us as often as you can. I do hope you won't be disappointed in any of the conditions or results of your work.

Ma and Sarah send their love and kindest message. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1215–20).

1. JA may have started this letter on 17 Oct. 1883 and completed it the next day. In her letter to SAAH dated 19 Oct. 1883, she indicated they took their carriage ride in the West End “yesterday,” and Mary Ellwood’s diary confirms that the ride took place on 18 Oct.

2. GBH’s letters to JA are not known to be extant; some to his mother, AHHA, are. GBH was studying biology at Johns Hopkins Univ. in Baltimore. JA wrote him in late Nov. that she had been “interested in all the details you have sometimes given us of your work. It must be perfectly fascinating and involve more sense of the creating power of the mind, than any other work could” (30 Nov. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1280).

Johns Hopkins Univ. opened its doors to students in Oct. 1876. Daniel C. Gilman (1831–1908), its first president, indicated that “[h]e would make it the means of promoting scholar-

ship of the first order, and this by only offering the kinds of instruction to advanced students which other universities offer in their post-graduate courses" (Hall, *Baltimore*, 1:599). GBH was attracted to the newly created American university, which had an organizational style and educational philosophy similar to that of a German university. GBH remained a student at Johns Hopkins Univ. through Dec. 1886.

3. The nature of AHHA's illness is not clear; possibly JA was referring to her earlier illness in Dublin. JA called the heavy London atmosphere a "dreadful yellow fog" ("Diary, 29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 11 Oct.; *JAPM*, 28:1708). To her brother JWA, she wrote that the only difference between the light above ground and in the "underground road" was that "underground it was black gray & above a black yellow" (14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1211).

4. Since returning from their trip to Warwickshire on 13 Oct. (see n. 14), JA had made her first visit to Westminster Abbey (see nn. 9–11) and had spent a day on the outskirts of London visiting Richmond and the palace and art galleries at Hampton Court.

5. They had consulted "climatic doctor" Thomas Madden in Dublin when AHHA became seriously ill; her physician, Dr. McVeagh, may also have recommended a warmer climate (see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. and 16 Sept. 1883, both above).

6. The strain of making the "right" decision about AHHA's health weighed heavily on JA and would continue to do so throughout their journey (see JA to SAAH, 8 Oct. 1883, above; and JA to GBH, 4 Jan. 1883[1884], below). JA's concern for AHHA's well-being was understandably most strongly expressed in letters to AHHA's sons, HWH and GBH.

7. The women would spend the early winter in Dresden, Germany; they did not visit Brussels.

8. On their trip to Scotland see JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1883, above.

9. Westminster Abbey, for centuries site of royal coronations and burials, was built by King Edward the Confessor and consecrated in 1065. Later work produced a soaring nave, highest in England, modeled on French Gothic cathedrals. The Baedeker guide to London (1885) asserted that the abbey "with its royal burial-vaults and long series of monuments to celebrated men, is not unreasonably regarded by the English as their national Walhalla, or Temple of Fame; and internment within its walls is considered the last and greatest honour which the nation can bestow on the most deserving of her offspring" (*London*, 181).

10. Edward the Confessor, who ruled from 1040 to 1065, established London as the capital of England and built Westminster Abbey next to his royal palace. Henry VII of the House of Tudor ruled England from 1485 until 1509. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV of the House of York, uniting the two opposing lines from the English War of the Roses (1455). The chapel of Henry VII was erected at the abbey during his reign. English naturalist and evolutionist Charles Darwin (1809–82) had died the previous year; he had a memorial slab but his body was not interred.

11. The south transept, known as Poets' Corner, had been the burial place of revered English writers since Geoffrey Chaucer was interred in 1400. Writers who had memorials at Westminster but were buried elsewhere included Shakespeare, John Milton, William Blake, Jane Austen, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, and Charles Dickens. JA wrote her sister SAAH that she did not think any day would "surpass in satisfaction the one we spent at Westminster Abbey. . . . [W]e came in by the north transept, we had a bag full of books to do it up as best we could, but somehow there was nothing of that kind to be done. It is like a production of pure thought or creation of the mind alone, and you can't imagine men ever building it. From Ed. the Confessor's chapel on through, you can trace the advance and enlargement of the English mind, and as the arches grow higher & more pointed and the ornament so profound, as if they had attained the highest, loftiest point that thought can reach. When we stood in the tower itself, and <when> one's mind tried to feel the height and space of it, it was impossible to think of its being built, it was simply conceived in thought" (19 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1224). JA visited the Abbey again 21 Oct. 1883.

12. JA may have meant to write *possible*.

13. They were "just beginning to have a little insight" into the "great sea of London," JA wrote to SAAH on 19 Oct. 1883 (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1228); to JWA she called it a "Monster City" and a "perfect riddle" (14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1210, 1214). On 23 Oct., after visits to St. Paul's Cathedral and the National Gallery, JA informed SAAH that "London is becoming more pleasing and interesting every day as one grows a little familiar with it, it is a wonderful wonderful spot on the earth's surface" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1230). The following fall, when JA returned to London after a year of travel on the Continent and elsewhere in England, she wrote to SH that she was "quite in love" with London (23 Sept. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1599).

14. AHHA had written her son HWH an account of the brief Warwickshire trip a few days before JA wrote this letter (12 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ). The party, which included Alida Young and the Ellwood sisters, left London on 11 Oct. for Windsor, where they toured the fourteenth-century royal castle and visited Eton boys' school. JA remarked that after viewing the chapel, state apartments, and cloisters of Windsor Castle for three hours, "it seemed a very ponderous affair for one woman's safety & comfort." Escorted with "about an hundred other people," she found "something perfectly absurd in the rush from one room to another." JA's group of six was "disappointed when we found we were not to see the Ruben's room, but by means of a 'silver key' & much talking to the guide he finally consented to let 'six of us in.'" Queen Victoria kept priceless art works at the vacation castle, including paintings by Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). While the guide rushed the other tourists into the next room and "stood guard over the door," JA's party "looked at the famous picture of 'St Francis & the beggar' & Rubens himself." They "stared with might & main for about a minute, trying to get a definite impression & then were hurried on feeling too guilty to look the rest of the people in the face" (JA to JWA, 14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1211). The group spent the night of Oct. 11 in Oxford, where they were joined by Mary Hodges Penfield and her daughter Mary, who had been there two weeks. After touring the city by carriage and visiting three Oxford colleges, the group traveled by train to Stratford-on-Avon. Next day they traveled by wagonette to Warwick Castle and the ruins of Kenilworth in Warwickshire. They returned to London via Leamington on Saturday, 13 Oct. See JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, nn. 15–17, below.

15. In the summer of 1882, JA visited Cambridge, Mass., home to Harvard Univ., the oldest American university (founded 1636), which was smaller and much younger than the premier English universities. The Baedeker guide noted that Oxford and Cambridge universities had "preserved so many of their mediaeval institutions unaltered, and differ so materially from the other universities of Great Britain, as well as from those in Continental Europe and America" (*Great Britain*, 222).

16. They had a "delightful day at Oxford," JA wrote JWA, informing him that "there are twenty Colleges in the town, & about twenty schools, as you drive along the street they look like so many fortresses or Castles with their old embattled walls, each one with its own Chapel & groups of buildings. But going into one through the gateway, there is a most complete change, the buildings are all grouped about a quadrangle, as green & smooth as velvet, the buildings around are all cloistered & then beyond are the towers & walls of college after college." (By 1900, Hull-House would present a similar aspect with many of its structures grouped around a quadrangle of green lawn.) They saw the university "as completely" as they could, "from the kitchen in Christ Church College where forty chickens were roasting on a revolving spit, to the fine old theatre where the highest scholars in the world have received their degrees" (14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1212). The first Oxford classes were held in the twelfth century. Christ Church, the largest college, was founded by Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (ca. 1475–1530) in 1524; its even older chapel served as the cathedral of the Anglican diocese of Oxford. JA's party also visited New College (founded 1379), Magdalen

College, and the Bodleian Library (established 1445), one of the oldest and largest in the world, known for its collection of early manuscripts and portraits. JA visited Cambridge Univ. almost a year later in Sept. 1884.

17. They secured an open carriage “big enough to hold six and with a very intelligent driver thoroughly explored the West-End [of London].” Rotten Row in Hyde Park was “filled with equestrians with the handsomest horses in the world.” After driving by the elaborate Prince Albert Memorial near Kensington Gardens, JA’s party passed “Buckingham Palace, St James’, the Prince of Wales magnificent residence and the shabbier ones of the younger brothers—through St. James’s Park out on Piccadilly and Pall Mall.” They concluded with a drive to Chelsea, where they saw historian Thomas Carlyle’s house “in a dingy little street, a plain red brick with a shabbier look than its neighbors” (JA to SAAH, 19 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1222).

To John Weber Addams

In this letter to her older brother, John Weber Addams, written near the end of her three-week stay in London,¹ Jane makes the single reference in her extant correspondence from this European trip to what she later recognized as her formative excursion to the East End on 27 October, where she glimpsed for the first time a subculture of degrading poverty whose “misery & wretchedness” made her “thoroughly sad and perplexed.”² In her memoir she depicted the East End experience as a milestone in her journey to social activism.³

32. Dorset Square, London. [England]

Oct 29, 1883.

My dear Web—

We have been devoting our energies so thoroughly to London for the last two weeks—that journalistic letter writing has rather dropped into the back ground. We leave the big town with the comfort of saying—that we will certainly come back on our way home, for it seems otherwise impossible to go away.⁴ We bought our tickets this morning for Dresden. We will go by the way of Rotterdam & take about a week of sight seeing in Holland.⁵ We had quite an adventure last Saturday evening, Miss Warner the lady of the house took nine of the guests down into the “East End” to see the Saturday night marketing. The poorest people wait until very late Saturday night as meats & vegetables which cannot be kept over Sunday are sold cheaper. We reached the neighborhood by the underground railway & then rode on top of a street car for five miles through mobs of booths and stalls, and swarming thousands of people. At one time we found ourselves in a Dickens neighborhood past Mrs Bardell’s house, the old debtor’s prison, & Louis all alone.⁶ We took a look down into dingy old Grubb St.⁷ It was simply an outside superficial survey of the misery & wretchedness, but it was enough to make one thoroughly sad and perplexed.⁸ Yesterday morning we heard Joseph Parker⁹ certainly the most powerful man we have seen or heard since we came to London. He is large and his head looks not unlike a lion. The large handsome Church or rather temple with the immense congregation



Jane Addams and traveling companions, London, October 1883. Seated, left to right: Alida Young and Anna Haldeman Addams. Standing left to right: Harriet Ellwood, Jane Addams, Sarah Hostetter, and Mary Ellwood. When Harriet Ellwood sent this photograph home, she wrote on the verso: "The two in the 'frontepiece' we call our 'Chaperones.' The four in the back-ground are the 'Angels without wings.' The one standing up next to Mary is Sarah Hostetter. The one next to 'Yours Truly' is Jane Addams and the Lady sitting in front of Mary is Mrs. Addams. The rest you will probably recognize. None of Them do This honorable party justice of course not. How could they? Do you remember the dresses Aunt L. and I have on?" (Elliott and Fry, London; Ellwood House Museum, De Kalb, Illinois)

was quite a contrast to the Sunday before which we spent at the old Foundling Hospital.¹⁰ Five Hundred little creatures boys and girls marched into the Chapel. The girls were dressed in high white caps & kerchiefs and during prayer there was a perfect wave of white aprons as they covered up their chubby faces. After service we saw them eat their dinners, the table full of the smallest ones was the chief attraction. They are kept in the country until they are three years old, & two of them who had been brought into town, but the day before, were crying for milk and looked at their cups of water with great disgust.

On Saturday Ma & I were under the kindly care of Mr Worrall, who gallantly devoted the day to us. We spent the morning in the South Kensington museum¹¹ and afterwards lunched with him at the Hotel Royal where he stops when in London. It was quite a "swell affair." We had a drive during which we became convinced that Mr Worrall had a good idea of localities in London. He

seems to be very busy, he called several times, lunched here with us once, and has now gone to Bradford. He thinks that in the Spring Clara & Cousin Mary will come out with him. About the most interesting [showing?] we had last week was at the Inner Temple—the region of the Lawyers.¹² One hundred acres right in this same neighborhood was occupied by law offices. The buildings of the inner temple are like palaces, the handsome old dining hall contains some of the handsomest silver plate in England. Here twelve state dinners are given by the Lord Chancellor each year all the judges in robes & wigs, the young students must attend thirty six dinners before they are allowed to come up for examination. And if they are not dressed in a certain cut of gown, they cannot be admitted to the dinners.

The old Temple Church dates from the time of the Knights Templar of the Crusade many of whom are buried there and lie in bronze all over the church.

Goldsmith's grave is here and the rooms he used to occupy are shown.¹³ The Temple Gardens extend along the Thames River, and they show you where the white & red roses were picked which gave the badges to the war of the roses.¹⁴ It is queer to see the thousands of law offices at one spot and instead of being rivals they seem to help each other along and many attend church at this same Temple. We have had some steady museum work this week. The British Museum fairly overpowered us, and we did not try to see more than a room or two.¹⁵ I think I must have written about the Parliament Houses,¹⁶ the great handsome buildings extend along the Thames and are very handsome from the outside, but we were rather disappointed upon going through them. The House of Commons looks dingy and crowded and there seemed to be more space given to lunch & smoking rooms than to actual work.¹⁷ We go to Westminster Abbey whenever we are any where near it, the great arches and isles are filled with the memories of the great men buried below until you hardly know which it is produces the effect upon you. We had a funny time the other evening, what Mary Ellwood called "The first real lark" we've had. A party from the house went to see Madame Tousaud's¹⁸ wax works. A long magnificent looking room filled with famous & infamous persons. Four of our party did not recognize "George Washington" so you can judge of the correctness. The figures are standing and sitting around in the most natural manner, and where you least expect them. Mrs Penfield watched a policeman a long time in great uncertainty and finally asked "Are you wax too?" To her surprise the figure replied, "I wish I was, may be I wouldn't be so hot." Puss Ellwood held out her ticket to a man at the door who proved to be labeled "The late Chas. Dickens." I send by this same mail a little book for Sadie "London Town" tell her to learn the pictures well, before I come home & that then we can talk about them. We had a "group" taken which may surprise you some day.¹⁹ We had but a few, so I may have to claim the one I send someday, but you can see that foreign travel has produced no material change in appearance. I was disappointed not to see your handwriting for some time but "continue to hope." We are trying to dispose of our baggage in a small

compass, and the room is so confused I hardly know what I am writing. Tell Laura I am still looking for her "occasional letter" With much love to her & yourself & kisses to the little niece, Ever your loving sister

Jane Addams.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1232–35).

1. JA also commented on London in JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, below.
 2. Two weeks earlier JA had written JWA that she feared his failure to write letters had to do with her "not sending a goodly quantity from this side." She jokingly told him to "prepare to be deluged with lengthy descriptions until you write in self defense" (14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, Microfilm, 1:1210). But a few days later she informed SAAH that she thought they "had better give up the journal-plan." She wrote that "each day is so full that to keep you posted at all would take quires of paper daily." If SAAH wanted "a mere note of each day," JA could send her the "skeleton so to speak" from her diary-like notebook. She indicated that she was not trying to keep a journal because it would be so time consuming. Jane thought it "funny to hear the various journal-experiences" from other Americans at the boardinghouse who were returning from the Continent; some "pretend to be positively ashamed of all they have recorded in their journal" (JA to SAAH, 19 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1221).
 3. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 66–71. See also introduction to part 2, above.
 4. JA returned to London in Aug. and Sept. 1884 and again briefly before sailing home from Liverpool in May 1885.
 5. For their journey through the Netherlands en route to Dresden, Germany, see JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, below. They arrived in Dresden on 19 Nov. after spending nearly a week in Holland and ten days in Berlin.
 6. JA is referring to people and settings mentioned in Dickens's first novel, *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (1837). Charles Dickens had been a child of poverty in Camden Town, the site of Mrs. Bardell's house. The old debtors' prison was the Marshalsea.
 7. Grub St. was "much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems; whence any mean production is called 'Grub Street,'" Samuel Johnson reportedly observed (Lovett, *Victorian London*, 215). The street, located in St. Giles Parish, was renamed Milton St. Poet John Milton (1608–74) lived in the neighborhood and was buried in nearby St. Giles Church.
 8. Late-nineteenth-century London was a city of extremes. The opulence of the fashionable West End (which JA had visited by private carriage on 18 Oct.; see JA to GBH, 17 [and 18?] Oct. 1883, n. 17, above) contrasted starkly with the poverty and misery in the East End: "The port and London's working-class districts, ever more docs, warehouses, factories, sweatshops, and immigrants from all over the world kept increasing the bustle, the crowding and the squalor." Many male workers were employed on the docks, and women labored as laundresses, waitresses, cooks, and prostitutes. Others toiled in the factories of "stink industries" making soap, rubber, tar, glue, fertilizer, and matches or in sweatshops. East End landlords divided tenements into "ever smaller units so much that often large families were forced to live in one or two rooms, packing as many as four people—children and grownups, male and female—into one bed. Toilets and washing facilities were shared with the rest of the people on the street. Rents were extortionate" (von Eckhardt, Gilman, and Chamberlin, *Oscar Wilde's London*, 99, 126–31).
- Although her mention of their East End expedition is minimal in this letter, in her memoir JA highlighted the experience as the most transforming of her first trip to Europe. On this night she "received an ineradicable impression of the wretchedness of East London, and also saw for the first time the over-crowded quarters of the great city at midnight," she recollected three decades later. "On Mile End Road, from the top of an omnibus which paused at the

end of a dingy street lighted by only occasional flares of gas, we saw two huge masses of ill-clad people clamoring around two hucksters' carts. They were bidding their farthings and ha'pennies for a vegetable held up by the auctioneer, which he at last scornfully flung, with a gibe for its cheapness, to the successful bidder." The people she observed "were huddled into ill-fitting, cast-off clothing, the ragged finery which one sees only in East London. Their pale faces were dominated by that most unlovely of human expressions, the cunning and shrewdness of the bargain-hunter who starves if he cannot make a successful trade, and yet the final impression was not of ragged tawdry clothing nor of pinched and sallow faces, but of myriads of hands, empty, pathetic, nerveless and workworn, showing white in the uncertain light of the street, and clutching forward for food which was already unfit to eat" (*Twenty Years*, 66–68).

According to this memoir, nothing she saw on her grand tour had the power of the "wretchedness" she found in a "momentary glimpse of an East London street." She was seized by "despair and resentment," and "no comfort" came to her "from any source" (*Twenty Years*, 69). Whatever her emotional response at the time, she revealed little in her letters or diary. Even writing her confidant, EGS, ten days later, she did not mention the East End tour, instead describing at length their trip to Stratford-on-Avon and artworks they saw in London (3 Nov. 1883, below). "Went with a party of nine to the east end," she wrote in her diary for that evening, where they saw "thousands of poor people who were marketing at the booths & market stalls along the streets" ("29 Aug.–1 Nov. 1883," 27 Oct.; *JAPM*, 28:1721).

Yet she later claimed to have been so affected by the experience that "for the following weeks," she recalled, "I went about London almost furtively, afraid to look down narrow streets and alleys lest they disclose again this hideous human need and suffering" (*Twenty Years*, 68). In fact, JA and her party left London less than a week after the East End visit. But over time the impressions of that evening remained with her. The experience grew to encapsulate a major dilemma of her first trip to Europe: her absorption in art and literature and her feeling of paralysis in the face of desperate real-life situations.

9. Englishman Joseph Parker (1830–1902) was a Congregational minister whose oratory was legendary. JA heard him preach in his own church, City Temple on Holborn Viaduct, completed in 1874.

10. The Foundling Hospital, a home for London's street orphans, was established in 1739 by shipbuilder, mariner, and philanthropist Thomas Coram (1668–1751), who returned from the Massachusetts colony to be "shocked by the sight of infants exposed in the streets, abandoned by their parents." He convinced a group of aristocrats as well as notables such as composer G. F. Handel (who donated an organ to the chapel and played benefit concerts) to support the construction of the hospital home, which had separate wings for boys and girls. The demand was so great that restrictions stipulated that "only the first child of an unmarried mother would be admitted; it had to be under 12 months old and the father must have deserted both the mother and child. Lastly, the mother had to have been of good repute before her 'fall.'" The chosen infants were sent out of the city to foster parents "until they were four or five years old and were then brought back to the hospital to be educated. The Governors arranged indentures at age fourteen for the boys and watched over them until the end of the apprenticeship. Most joined the Army, while the girls trained to be ladies' maids" (Weinreb and Hibbert, *London Encyclopedia*, 291–92).

In a letter to her brother Linn Hostetter, SH reported that they had gone to church at Foundling Hospital on Sunday, 21 Oct. "[Y]ou are then permitted to go through the building and to see the children at dinner," she wrote. "There are 500 children here they are all illegitimate children whose mothers are known. It was very a pathetic sight to see them all together and hear them go through the church services." The oldest were no more than twelve, she wrote. "They are all put out as servants when old enough." The Foundling Hospital was

“considered one of the sights of London and is recommended in the Guide Book” and “well worth our trouble” (21 Oct. 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

11. JA visited the South Kensington Museum more than once. It was founded in 1857 to promote training of competent fine arts and natural science teachers in England.

12. The Knights Templar was a small group of Christian knights who banded together after the fall of Jerusalem in 1099 to safeguard pilgrims’ journeys to the Holy Land. In 1162 they built Temple Church, which featured a circular nave, and they performed initiation rites in the crypt. After the Knights Templar was suppressed in the early fourteenth century, its confiscated property around the church was rented for lawyers’ lodgings. Eventually, the Inner Temple area became London’s legal and judicial center.

13. Writer Oliver Goldsmith, Irish by birth, lived and died on the second floor of 2 Brick Court, Middle Temple Lane, and was buried in the churchyard of Temple Church. His novel *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1764) was considered one of the great works of English fiction, and his play *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) was very popular.

14. Baedeker noted in his London guide that according to Shakespeare in *Henry VI, Part I*, it was in the Temple Gardens, near the Thames River, that the white and red roses were plucked that symbolized the houses of York and Lancaster, respectively, in the War of the Roses, a civil war that began with the Battle of St. Albans in 1455 and ended with Henry VII’s victory over Richard III at Bosworth Field in 1485.

15. The British Museum on Great Russell St., one of the world’s preeminent museums and libraries, was formed from several private collections in the mid-eighteenth century. The reading room, under an enormous copper dome, was used by many scholars, including Thomas Carlyle and Karl Marx. The museum encompassed zoological specimens, art, pottery, antiquities such as the Rosetta Stone, and precious manuscripts. JA wrote her stepbrother GBH that they had “attempted little in the British museum, but the Elgin marbles” (6 Nov. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1248), remains of sculptures of deities that once adorned the Parthenon, the fifth-century B.C. temple of Athena on the Acropolis, which Lord Elgin had stolen from Athens and sold to the British government in 1816.

16. The houses of Parliament were completed in the mid-nineteenth century. With its grand clock tower and ornate interior decorations, the Parliament building was an ostentatious monument to Victorian England. Besides the two legislative chambers and many offices, the building contained 11 courts, 1,000 staircases, and 1,100 apartments.

17. The House of Commons was “handsomely fitted up with oak-panelling, in a simpler and more business-like style than the House of Lords,” which was “sumptuously decorated in the richest Gothic style” (Baedeker, *London*, 176, 174). Baedeker noted that the lower house had only 476 chairs for 658 members; this, along with its smaller size than the other chamber (which had cushioned seats for all of its 434 peers), might have contributed to the congested and “dingy” feeling JA described.

18. Madame Tussaud’s Waxworks is not mentioned in the 1885 Baedeker guide for *London and Its Environs*, nor is it in Augustus J. Hare’s 1884 edition of *Walks in London*. Madame Tussaud fled to London in 1802 from the French Revolution, taking with her models from the heads of victims of the guillotine. Before her death in 1850, she opened her waxworks to public display.

19. The two Ellwood girls and Mrs. Young, SH, AHHA, and JA were photographed in London. See illustration, p. 271.

To Ellen Gates Starr

*"We feel as if at last we were 'abroad' the windmills in every direction the clang of the wooden shoes—and the thousand canals with Dutch ships tend to confirm the impression," Jane reported to sister Mary. The combined Addams-Ellwood-Penfield party left London on Thursday afternoon, 1 November. "We had chartered a small omnibus from the Railway Co.," Jane continued. "It was filled with eight women & eight satchels with eight trunks groaning on the top. We reached Harwich about six o'clock which gave us ample time for our supper &c before the boat sailed at quarter of ten. There was a small saloon with ten berths in it which we at once appropriated to our party & went directly to bed, expecting of course to be dreadfully sea sick. Imagine our surprise when we moved so smoothly without a ripple—and saw the windmills of Holland in the early morning scarcely knowing that we have moved at all."*¹

Amsterdam Holland

Nov 3— 1883

My dear Friend

I have thought of you many times during the past months and each time with a fervent wish that you were here. "To have the world before you when to choose" contains more privileges and possibilities than I had imagined. It enlarges one's vision but there is little chance for solid work.

To begin at the beginning—we landed in Ireland or rather were put off into a little boat apparently in mid ocean, and as the big *Servia* sailed away, we experienced the first sensation of "utter solitude with sea and sky" that we had had. It was really oppressive for a few minutes. The provoking part of the voyage itself is—that you are more impressed with the good ship than with the sea. It is such an immense affair, with all the elements of life complete in itself, that your interest soon concentrates on the boat, and you rather shrink from the impersonal sea. You may have heard through Miss Anderson that my mother was very sick in Dublin, we were detained there for three weeks.² But after the first great danger was past and the rest of the party had gone on, we were not sorry for the rest. Scotland left a uniformly delightful impression from Inverness to Abbotsford.³ We came slowly through the north of England by way of the lakes and with frequent stops and were in London about three weeks. In many respects by far the most remarkable weeks of the entire time. It impressed me constantly as old Rome—the world in itself—and possessing the best of all nations, times and peoples, and one's mind endeavors to fulfill the requirements by unusual expansion and effort. Our party was enlarged there by Mrs and Miss Penfield⁴ from Rockford, and eight of us crossed the channel in a very placid manner. Our first town of the watery land, was the Hague which is simply delightful.⁵ It is the summer residence of the King which gives it a certain gay and festive appearance, the lakes and fine parks with handsome residence

combine to form a popular resort for travellers. The art museum is small,⁶ but filled with representative Dutch painting. Paul Potter's⁷ bull is the lion I believe although I did not care as much for it as one of Rembrandts there, the school of anatomy which you probably know about—the intelligence in the various keen old faces is very striking.⁸

The country of Holland is as picturesque as can be, it is literally made up of canals, the small spaces between are beautiful green pastures, filled with fine Holstein cattle.⁹ After long research rather difficult in an unknown tongue—I have found out how the wind mills control the amount of water. They at first appear simply as picturesque features of the landscape and of no earthly use. This old town of Amsterdam¹⁰ does not impress us favorably, the houses all lean from their insecure foundations & the tall ones threaten to fall upon you.

The many canals in the town are sluggish and impure <and are repulsive> in spite of the <interesting> boats filled with cabbages and wooden-shoed oarsmen.¹¹ From here we go to Hanover and Berlin and thence <to> Dresden.¹² We will settle there for about three months unless my mother needs a warmer climate. I hope to get into regular study for a little while and have a little insight into German. I wonder what you are studying this winter? Do you know, my dear, I never knew so little of your plans and work before. This won't do, and I shall be expecting a detailed account immediately on receipt on this—I am more convinced every day that friendship with the mutual pities and responsibilities is after all the main thing in life, and friendship and affections must be guarded and taken care of just as other valuable things.

I have a confession to make in regard to the John Inglesant¹³ you so kindly sent me and which had devious wanderings before it reached me, just before I left for the east. I did not recognize your handwriting but took it for that of a certain youth, who has been sending so many books etc that I have been obliged to return them. I was not sure this was from him, but the suspicion rather injured my temper and I left the book with my sister ~~since~~ until I come home. I am dreadfully sorry for I wanted to read it both for the book itself and because you had enjoyed it. If possible I will get it here sometime during the winter. I am very much obliged to you my friend for your kindly thoughtfulness, and hardly know how to apologize for my impoliteness in not acknowledging it before—I have found that it takes all the time between for even the most superficial collateral reading. I enjoyed Tom Moore as never before while amidst the quiet beauty of the Killarney lakes,¹⁴ and since then I have tried to fix at least the best of the literature with the spot associated with it. It reminds me of our peculiar experience at Stratford-on-Avon, the town was in gala dress and uproar over the servant's fair¹⁵ and it was with difficulty we saw Shakespeare's cottage at all, and then our attention was divided between the "sacred relics" and a drunken man who was outside the window quoting Hamlet.¹⁶ In the morning we found it impossible to get into the church as it was occupied by the relatives of the deceased vicar's wife who were holding high mass over the body.¹⁷ We

were told a wedding would take place shortly and we might get in between the two ceremonies. We did, but the solemnity of the affair was rather broken. The church on the Avon, the surrounding all dedicated to one memory, made even the world-genius a little more tangible. When we <in> read the plain church register "<Apr 27> 1616 Will Shakespeare Gent." Sarah Hostetter remarked to me in confidence "I don't believe Bacon wrote the plays."¹⁸ I have often wished for your help, my friend, you know works of art were always rather out of my line and London affords opportunity for the richest enjoyment there is in all else. The Raphael cartoons¹⁹ at the South Kensington Museum you know, and nothing can ever show the effect of the master hand more completely. In spite of all I had ever read or heard, I was perfectly surprised at their magnificence and power, and shall always have them to carry with me. All the other many fine things in the museum are insignificant when who²⁰ ~~metally~~ think of the one room.

I had planned to write a detailed description of four or five things that interested me & that I wanted to write you on the spot, but it is time for table de'Hote—that abominable accompaniment of European travel.

This letter is general & diffuse—the kind I abominate but it has told our plans and results, and henceforth I shall write often and as the heart speaketh without going into more generalities. Our address for the year will be c/o The American Exchange Trafalgar Sq. London. Write as often as the spirit moves you and know that <a> letter in a foreign land is a perfect treasure.

I am glad you had a visit from Miss Anderson. I feel a little forlorn not to have written or heard from her for some time, but between my mother's sickness and my own weariness from travel I have written very little, but am much better now. Believe me always and everywhere Your Sincere friend

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1237–42).

1. 4 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1243–44. JA did not find time to correspond with best friend EGS until she reached Holland.

Harwich, located northeast of London in Essex Co. at the junction of the estuaries of the Stourland and Orwell rivers, was a busy North Sea port for travel to the Netherlands.

2. On AHHA's illness, see JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. and 16 Sept. 1883, both above. SA, a teacher at RFS, had developed a special friendship with JA during her student days at RFS. JA's correspondence with SA during JA's first travels in Europe is not known to be extant.

3. JA's journey through Scotland to London was described in her letters to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1883; and to MCAL, 3[.6, and 7] Oct. 1883, both above.

4. Mary Hodges Penfield had accompanied JA's party on the *Servia* but had continued to England to meet her daughter Mary, while the others disembarked in Ireland. She reunited with JA's group in Oxford in Oct. 1883.

5. The Hague, a city on the North Sea founded in the thirteenth century, was the seat of the Dutch government, including the Parliament and Supreme Court. JA wrote to MCAL that it was reputed to have "all the gaiety & beauty of Paris with more cleanliness and no wickedness" (4 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1244). In later years JA visited The Hague for

peace conferences, notably in Apr. 1915, when, as leader of the Woman's Peace Party in the United States, she served as president of the International Congress of Women, comprised of 1,000 delegates from twelve countries who sought peace during World War I.

6. The Mauritshuis Museum had been built in the seventeenth century as a residence for Count John Maurice of Nassau, the Dutch West India Co.'s governor of Brazil. The art gallery was established in 1821.

7. Dutch painter Paulus Potter (d. 1654) was renowned for his realistic paintings of animals, notably his *Young Bull* (1647).

8. Of the paintings by Dutch artist Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–69) at this museum, JA was most impressed by his masterpiece, *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp*, the portrait of a prominent Dutch surgeon giving a demonstration.

9. The Holstein-Friesian breed of black-and-white cattle originated in Holland. Holstein cattle, which were highly regarded for the quality of their milk, were imported to the United States starting in the mid-nineteenth century.

10. Amsterdam, commercial capital of Holland, was Europe's leading mercantile center in the seventeenth century. At the time JA visited, the city was striving to regain its place as a major seaport. The opening of the North Sea Canal in 1876, which connected Amsterdam to the sea, was considered an extraordinary feat of modern engineering. The harbor was being reconstructed, which, combined with constant dredging of the canals, may have accounted for the "incessant industry of dredging and toiling" of which JA complained.

11. To GBH, JA wrote that "Amsterdam was disagreeable in the extreme, the streets were unclean, the houses leaned in all directions and threatened to fall upon you and the general odor was foul" (6 Nov. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1247A).

12. The travelers left Arnheim, Holland, on 7 Nov., spent that night in Hanover in northern Prussia, then arrived in Berlin the next night for a ten-day visit. For their ten-day stay in Berlin, see JA to EGS, 2 Dec. 1883, below; and JA to SAAH, 6 Nov. and 18 Nov. 1883, both in UIC, JAMC; both in *JAPM*, 1:1251–54, 1255–69). JA and her party arrived in Dresden in mid-Nov. and stayed until after Christmas.

13. *John Inglesant: A Romance* (1881) was a novel written by J. Henry Shorthouse (1834–1903) about the education by Jesuits and adventures of the title character, who served King Charles I of England. JA finally read the work. See JA to EGS, 7 Dec. 1884, below.

14. On JA's visit to the Lakes of Killarney in Ireland and appreciation of Irish poet Tom Moore, see JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], above.

15. Visiting Stratford-on-Avon, England, William Shakespeare's birthplace, on 12 Oct., JA found a "perfect uproar over a 'Servant Fair,'" she wrote to JWA. "The servants in England are all hired for a year at a time—the year expires on Oct 11. Michaelmas day. The next day they all go to the fair at the nearest market town & rehire to new masters. They were roasting oxen in the open street when we arrived, had swinging machines running by steam, ale in streams &c it was an experience in itself." In Warwick they encountered another servants' fair and JA noted that the servants there "each have a shilling to spend, & the streets are full of temptations for their money. The wages of an ordinary laborer who is boarded in the house of a farmer, is from 10 to 12 pounds 50 or 60 Dollars. The girls receive from 5 to 6. None of the Farmers own their own land but rent it from the Lord Squire at 15 lb an acre" (14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1212–14).

16. The government exhibited the house where Shakespeare (1564–1616) was born in Stratford-on-Avon as a museum, including "a most interesting collection of portraits, early editions, and other relics of the great dramatist, including his school-desk and signet-ring" (Baedeker, *Great Britain*, 245). Although they found the servants' fair clogging the streets entertaining, the women "didn't enjoy it so much when the old lady who controls Shakespeare's birthplace was afraid to let us in because she was afraid the rabble would break open the door" (JA to JWA, 14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1212–14).

17. Shakespeare died in Stratford-on-Avon on 23 Apr. 1616 and was buried in fifteenth-century Holy Trinity Church. When they arrived at the church to find the entrance barred by the funeral about to occur, JA wrote that they “waited with as much patience as possible & wandered about in the old church yard, but it was rather distracting and impossible to concentrate the mind on Shakespeare as the occasion demanded.” Finally “the word came out that we could go—and it certainly was impressive at last” (JA to JWA, 14 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; JAPM, 1:1213).

18. A controversy has persisted among literary scholars since the mid-nineteenth century over whether English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626) might have authored some or all of the works attributed to Shakespeare.

19. “Cartoons” were drawings made as patterns for a painting, textile, or stained-glass panel. “From the late 15th century cartoons became an essential part of studio practice, especially with the systematic working methods of such artists as Raphael” (Turner, *Grove Dictionary of Art*, 5:898–99). JA wrote SAAH that the Raphael cartoons were “great beautiful conceptions” and that “[w]e don’t see how we can see any thing finer and grander in paintings, if we hunt all the art galleries in the world, they seemed to embody the very perfection, and unlike many of the other old masters we have seen we could be perfectly honest in our admiration” (19 Oct. 1883, UIC, JAMC; JAPM, 1:1223).

20. JA may have meant to write *you*.

To Ellen Gates Starr

“I shall always think of you in connection with Berlin, and feel grateful to you for the delights it has given me,” Jane wrote to her sister Alice Haldeman, who had sung the praises of Berlin and Frederick the Great to the young Jane after she returned from her Grand Tour experience in 1875. Jane reported that she was “contented with the city,”¹ a sentiment she also shared with her friend Ellen.

16 Christian Strasse Dresden Saxony [Germany]

Dec 2nd '83

My dear Girl

There are some people here at the pension with us who know <you> and two girls whom I verily believe remember you in their prayers every night after they have been to the gallery. The people I mean are Mrs Kirkland and her two daughters. It is a satisfaction to hear of the reward of one’s labor, especially when it is such help as the kind you give—an awakening and a sense of the value of higher things. They think I simply know you casually as a school girl knew another, that is all I have ever said, but I reserve to myself the knowledge that I know some thing of the motives which induced and helped “Miss Starr to give her delightfully enthusiastic <lectures> of art and the European cities.”² I do not see much of them nor know them at well, for every body in Dresden is very busy or pretends to be, but it has set me to thinking very constantly of you. Not that I need any reminder, but don’t you ever get blue and think you need extraneous help, when you possess the faculty of so spiritedly giving out, which after all is the only assurance and confirmation we have of our powers.

We are settled here for about ten weeks, were so delighted with Berlin that we almost changed our plans and remained there.³ It is such a brilliant, high

toned city in some way, the people you merely pass on the street are all well dressed and apparently possess an absorbing idea and object. I used to imagine when "Unter den Linden"⁴ that it was the influence of the great bronze Frederick the Great, over looking and inspiring the street. This was one of the first statues which made me feel that it possessed a personality of its own, an endowment from within, which gave it power in itself away from the associations of the man it represented, or its likeness. I have felt it before but never so clearly and definitely. I believe it can only come with the colossal, and the same sensation is never associated with any picture however fine and exalted.⁵

We came very near to the self same Frederick in his palace of Sans Souci at Potsdam,⁶ his rooms are just as he left them and Carlyle has described them so accurately that I found unaided the traveling chest in his library and the antique bust of Homer.

It is the only palace we have been, where the personality of the man seemed great enough to encompass and transfuse the multiplicity of things. In most of them you think of the king himself as a mere puppet moving in the midst of the gra[n]duer, while he is weighed down by too much external. The books[,] drawings, fine virtu &c confirms to your mind what Carlyle said of him that the pathos of his life consisted in that he was so determined to be happy, and constantly tried it by all the highest means, as soon as war and the other grim-devils released him, he was back to it again.

The German palaces and pleasure resorts as a rule are a reproduction of their old fairy-stories, a confusion of marbles, bright colors and crystals, with no special taste <or idea,> but a continuous dazzle.

We landed at Rotterdam and have very pleasant remembrances of Holland, with the little green fields full of splendid cattle and the awkward and picturesque wind mills. I enjoyed the picture gallery at the Hague, was rather disappointed in Paul Potter's famous bull, but the Rembrandt's were very fine and I have discovered that I am fond of the Dutch paintings. Jan van der Meer⁷ always has some thing satisfactory and contented, and two girl faces, one in Berlin <gallery> and one here, give as [proper?] a type of inspiritualized womanly beauty as, <any of> the Italian pictures have given me. We spent a good deal of time over the Van Eyke altar piece at Berlin, the side wings are exquisite.⁸

To return to Holland, Amsterdam⁹ is a terrible down town which threatens every minute to fall into Zuyder Zee, and in spite of the incessant scrubbing and much water, is very filthy, we were glad to get away from it, for in spite of the constant sound of the wooden shoes, and the animated canals it is not attractive and the incessant industry of dredging and toiling is oppressive in the city. You can see how it would be almost a delight to them to have a dyke to build and concentrate their unceasing activity which after all is not industry. I am expecting Fraulein Nicolae,¹⁰ the German teacher every minute which accounts for the horrid writing. She comes every afternoon and devotes herself two hours. She is enthusiastic and gives us more of the genius & spirit of the language than I ever grasped before. But it requires the same solid endeavor here,

that genuine study always demands, & it is a little harder to give it.¹¹ There is a constant temptation I think, while over here, to play the dilettante, you meet so many people who are doing it successfully. Write to me when the spirit moves you, my friend, and in the mean time believe me always and forever Yours—

Jane Addams.

Ma sends her kindest remembrances.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1282–86).

1. 18 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1255. SAAH's 1875 correspondence to JHA is in SCPC, JAC.

2. EGS taught Latin and literature at the prestigious Miss Kirkland's School for Girls in Chicago, but her most popular classes were drawing, art history, and art appreciation. Theodosia Burr Kirkland (1840?–1919), wife of school founder Elizabeth Kirkland's brother, Joseph Kirkland, was traveling in Europe. Apparently her daughters, Caroline and Ethel, had been students at the school and had taken art history from EGS.

3. JA and her party stayed in Berlin, the capital of Germany, from 8 to 19 Nov., when they took a late afternoon train to Dresden, arriving three hours later. AHHA and JA returned to Berlin on 30 Sept. 1884 and remained until mid-Jan. 1885.

4. Unter den Linden was a wide bustling avenue in the center of Berlin, extending from the Brandenburg Gate to the monument of Frederick the Great, its name derived from the linden trees planted along the avenue.

5. Frederick the Great (1712–86) was king of Prussia from 1740 to 1786. Considered an enlightened despot, he centralized the Prussian government and established legal and economic structures. The imposing 44-foot statue, created by sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch (1777–1857), was located at the east end of Unter den Linden.

"By the way I wonder how you felt in regard to his statue on 'Unter den Linden,'" JA wrote to SAAH. "[I]t is the first thing that ever gave me the impression that artists sometimes talk about—that a statue is fine not as it is real and suggestive of the man himself as a fine picture is, but as it ~~but~~ as it acquires to you a force and individuality of its own—a thing in itself independent of all associations. I feel that to a degree every time we go the street, it is different from what it would be without the statue, which has power enough in itself to transfigure the street" (18 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1258–59).

6. Frederick the Great built the Sans Souci Palace at Potsdam outside Berlin to rival the French royal palace at Versailles. Completed in 1747, it was his home until he died there in 1786. JA and SAAH had studied *History of Friedrich II of Prussia: Called Frederick the Great* (1858–65), English historian Thomas Carlyle's ten-volume biography of the Prussian ruler, during JA's convalescence from back surgery the previous winter.

"Thursday we spent at Potsdam, and felt when we returned in the evening very much as if we had been wandering through fairy land. I could not shut my eyes without seeing the glitter of crystal and gilt," JA wrote to SAAH. "The decorations have more thought and fineness in them than any palace we have seen. Do you remember the cob-web ceiling in the room next the library. The famous clock was still there with the hands at twenty minutes past two—the hour he died, but every thing else in the rooms seemed to indicate that he was still living there.

I remembered what Carlyle said about the library, and so kept my eye on the door after it had been closed, but Sarah was completely confused and declared that she never could have found [it]. The fact was I was thankful all day that we knew some thing of Carlyle's account of him, it was either owing to that fact or the greatness of the man himself—but it was the only palace where the personality of the king has been great enough to rise superior

to the multitude of things. The chest of books he always carried with him, the Voltaire room and the drawings and music were as Carlyle says" (18 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1257, 1261–63).

7. Jan Vermeer (1632–75), a disciple of Rembrandt, was one of a family of Dutch artists; he was known for his precise interior paintings. The work that JA admired at the Dresden Gemäldegalerie was possibly his *Girl Reading a Letter at an Open Window*. The Vermeer painting JA saw in Berlin may have been *Woman with a Pearl Necklace*.

8. JA was referring to the multiple-panel work called *The Ghent Altar or The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, created by Hubert (ca. 1385–1426) and Jan (ca. 1395–1441) van Eyck for the Church of St. John in Ghent, renamed the Cathedral of St. Bavo in 1561.

9. JA may have forgotten that she had already shared her impressions of Holland with EGS. See JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, above.

10. JA was "hunting up" German teachers when she arrived in Dresden, expecting that they would "need four or five of them as none <of the best> have more than an hour or two at their disposal, and every one wants to be in a class alone" (JA to SAAH, 21 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1274). She signed on with Frl. Nicolae [Leberi?] in a class with two others, probably AHHA and SH. Although JA had studied German at RFS, she found that her "ear was most deplorably untrained." She reported to GBH that "we can detect some improvement as we surely ought to with two hours a day under her vigorous mind. There is some thing very attractive in it all to me—the language and to a certain extent, their way of looking at life & the few objects which they hold of the greatest importance and effort" (30 Nov. 1883, SCPC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1278–79). She later expressed disappointment with her progress in German during her Dresden stay, but she gained much more proficiency during her four-month sojourn in Berlin in autumn and winter 1884–85.

11. Although in late Dec. she wrote home that "German goes on swimmingly," JA found studying strenuous. "I could not study steadily without a feelings of the old sort, so have given it up as far as much study goes, but we cannot help but get a great deal from class with such an enthusiastic teacher as Fraulein Nicolae [Leberi?]" (JA to SAAH, 22 [and 23] Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1298).

To Mary Catherine Addams Linn

16. Christian Strasse. Dresden Saxony [Germany].

Dec 6, 1883.

My dear Mary—

I have been trying ever since Thanksgiving to write you of our famous dinner and day — but a german lesson every afternoon, an opera two or three evenings a week and the morning leav[e]s very little more time than if we were traveling. The house contains twenty five Americans ladies all told with but one gentleman aged fifteen, who is very gay and quite equal to the occassion. Herr Rocher and his frau, are two old people, as kindly, & happy & interested in their guests as can be imagined.¹ On Thanksgiving Day the table was set in the drawing room or salon, the doors and walls were festooned with wreathes and ropes of evergreens and pink "everlastings" and the dinner was a masterpiece.² One course after another Soup—Fish—The Turkey &c—a huge English plum pudding in burning flames[,] ice cream, coffee & confections. We had American cranberries and American corn, there was a perfect shout when the last dish came on the

table and Herr Rocher gravely declared that he had sent for it by Cablegram. There was an abundance of wine of course and the toasts came thick and fast to the King of Saxony³—The President of the United States, the Host and Hostess, and finally we en masse turned our faces to the west and drank to the “Friends over the sea,” so that for a few moments after there was danger of tears from all sides.⁴ I do not approve of wine, and since over here disapprove more gravely and surely than ever before, but this is the happy & jolly view of its use.⁵

We attended service in the American Chapel in the morning. The very appropriate text was “I pray thee let me go, for my Fathers have a feast today in their city” or words to that effect.⁶

We were out last evening to hear the famous Meiningin troupe said to be the best in Germany.⁷ We are able to understand a good deal, enough to carry the play easily and imagine that it helps our german study. I never knew before how beautiful the german could be made to sound & rhyme. It would take but a little while to grow very enthusiastic over the language. The toy shops here as Christmas time approaches are a perfect wonder to behold, immense toy villages & barracks of soldiers, but all unfortunately so big that there is no transferring them. After hearing the experiences of various people we concluded not to risk much for Christmas, but I hope the little packages will reach you safely and that you will know all the good wishes and thoughts that come with them. We are quite a happy & reunited party since Mrs Penfield and her daughter have come from Berlin.⁸ We recieve a great many compliments on the “party” that we are all so good natured and agree so well. “That all the big parties they have ever seen were in a continual broil and turmoil” & “how do we manage it?” After such a speech we retire en masse and congratulate our selves & have a mutual admiration party. We spent the other morning in the Johoman’s Museum a very fine collection of porcelins was one of the chief attractions.⁹ The Dresden china from the earliest beginnings to the most exquisite finish.¹⁰ The historical museum made me wish in every room that I had Web & John with me, the horses & knights in full armour—and life size fighting each other.¹¹

The beautifully worked silver armours from Nuremberg and those of beaten brass from Madeberg. The long swords with their jeweled hilts, all the instruments of the chase, and the huge magnificent tent, captured from the Turks in 1683. The Saxons are all proud of their old Prince Augustus the Strong.¹² All the stories and poems and legends relate to him. They keep a famous horseshoe which he broke in two with his hands. His helmet of iron was so heavy that we could hardly hold it in both hands yet the guard assured us that though the armor looked so immense it was too narrow across the shoulders for the present King of Saxony to wear and that the iron gauntlets were too small for an ordinary man’s hand. It does not seem after all as if the race was degenerating. We find Luther’s suvinoirs every where, here was his writing table, & drinking cup of bone. The people of Dresden have just erected a handsome monument to him in the market place. All Germany seems united to do him honor.¹³ Sarah has a

singing teacher twice a week. Puss Ellwood paints for four hours every day at a studio downtown, Mrs Penfield studies French and the rest of us German each day, so you see we are all making desperate exertions toward knowledge.¹⁴

I am writing this letter in a perfect hurry as we are expecting Fraulien Nicolae every minute. If you can read it at all you may send it to Alice, I wrote Weber but a day or two ago, I had hoped to discontinue partnership letters when we were settled down, and if you object to them I will. If not it is a great saving of time.

In case you cant read this scrawl please rest assured that the whole of it means to convey the best love of your loving sister

Jane Addams.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1287–90).

1. Herr Rocher and his wife were proprietors of their pension at 16 Christian Strasse in Dresden (1875 pop. 196,000), the capital of the German kingdom of Saxony, on the Elbe River in southeast Germany. Known as the “German Florence” for its art and architecture, Dresden had become a major German industrial and commercial center by the time of JA’s visit. Some pensions in European cities catered exclusively to Americans and English-speaking travelers (see introduction to part 2, above). JA found the pensions in Dresden “much more adapted to American living and comfort. We are here but one flight of stairs from the street floor, while in Berlin we were obliged to be on the fourth floor to find any thing desirable” (JA to GBH, 30 Nov. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1277–78).

2. The Rochers went to great lengths to provide familiar holiday trappings for U.S. and British travelers. But seeking to make the ambience as homelike as possible sometimes created a sense of comic disjuncture for English-speaking tourists, who, like JA, wished to experience a European holiday as the local residents did. She noted that Christmas preparations were “very funny. All the Americans in the house are trying to make it as German as possible with the tree & wax angels &c and all the old customs as far as we can find them out. The Host on the other hand is trying his best to make it American and like ‘home to you.’” JA remarked that Herr Rocher was “very energetic and intends to have miseletoe[,] English plum pudding &c and asks all manner of questions. It is very funny to hear every one give vague and unsatisfactory answers and beg him not to put himself to so much trouble, but have his usual German Christmas. On the other hand he will give no information of the German Christmas for he intends to have it American. There is much polite parrying and dodging on both sides and it remains to be seen who will come out Victor” (JA to MCAL, 10 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1291).

3. The German state of Saxony, in which Dresden was located, had until recently been an independent monarchy; it had joined with other German states in uniting with Prussia, its former enemy, in 1871 to form the Second German Empire, in which Prussia was dominant. The king of Saxony still reigned as a ceremonial ruler. The U.S. president was Chester A. Arthur, who assumed office when James A. Garfield died in Sept. 1881 after being shot by JA’s childhood acquaintance, Charles Guiteau. After spending several weeks in the city, JA wrote that they had become “attached to Dresden & begin to feel a sort of pride in its greatness, like its own people. They are proud of the [German] Emperor in a way but complain bitterly of the higher taxes since Prussia has taken all the telegraph & post taxes—and all the officers highest in the army” (JA to MCAL, 4 Jan. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1325–26).

4. JA’s correspondence from Europe expressed little homesickness, which was most keenly felt by the travelers at holiday times. On their first Thanksgiving abroad, she wrote GBH, “[W]e thought of the scattered family very gravely that day and sent a good many thoughts

westward" (30 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1279–80). When SH received a "bulky" letter "written by the entire family on Thanksgiving Day," it "plunged her into tears and meditation," JA commented. "It is doubtless owing to the time of year, as Puss Ellwood says 'When we are all over Christmas, there will be no danger of home sickness for the rest of the year'" (JA to MCAL, 10 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1291). In mid-Dec., SH wrote that she had "not seen Jane & Aunt Ann cry any yet over letters from home but Mrs Young does and the truth of the matter is I do enough to last the whole crowd" (SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 16 Dec. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). At their first Christmas away, SH was "the only one who confessed to a secret cry"; she was given an "immense red handkerchief to receive <dry> her tears" (JA to SAAH, 26 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1312). JA admitted a "home-sick undertone" to their "merry" German Christmas (JA to GBH, 4 Jan. 1884, below). To SAAH, JA reported a bit wistfully: "Herr Rocher will give us a tree here, and we intend to decorate our own rooms and hang up our stockings. We will have a merry Christmas I think in spite of wind and tide" and continued reminding her sister of their 1882 Christmas when JA was recovering from treatment to her back: "I have thought of you and of Mitchellville very very often the last week during the Christmas stir, and all its occosiations of last year. You were so kind and jolly then that I hardly knew I was in bed, don't think now that all your devotion and goodness during the long winter is not often in my mind, and remembered with the warmest gratitude" (22 [and 23] Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1298–99).

5. In a letter to her brother JWA, JA commented on German beer-drinking habits (see 27 Jan. 1884, below).

6. In her diary, JA recorded that in the Thanksgiving morning service they heard a "home sick sermon with people crying on all sides" ("2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 29 Nov. 1883; *JAPM*, 29:19).

7. The Meininger Co. was an innovative and influential actors' company sponsored by George II, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen (1826–1914) and his actress wife, Ellen Franz (1839–1923).

8. Mary Hodges Penfield had been in JA's party crossing the Atlantic (see JA to SAAH, [22 Aug. 1883], n. 4, above).

9. The Landesmuseum Joanneum in Dresden, built in the 1580s and renovated in the 1870s, was both an art and historical museum. It contained the largest porcelain collection in Germany. When JA was there, weaponry and armor were exhibited on the museum's first floor.

10. The Addams party spent a day in the village of Meissen, which featured a restored castle, during the first week in Dec. "We passed a room with four hundred girls at work the guide wouldnt allow us to go in because he said 'they were so light thoughted[.]' They wouldn't work when visitors were there but we were allowed to see the men" (JA to MCAL, 10 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1292–93).

11. JA's nephews, James Weber and John Addams Linn.

12. Augustus II (1670–1733), called Augustus the Strong, was king of Poland (1697–1704, 1709–33) and elector of Saxony (1694–1733) as Frederick Augustus I.

13. Martin Luther (1483–1546), German theologian and leader of the Protestant Reformation, spent most of his life in Saxony. The Luther monument in Dresden's Neumarkt Platz, created by Rietschel, was "bronze cast after the original at Worms" (Baedeker, *Northern Germany*, 242). From Berlin, JA had written SAAH that the "city is in a commotion, the celebration of the Luther four hundredth anniversary" of his birth (6 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1253).

14. On JA's German teacher, Frl. Nicolae [Leberi?], see JA to EGS, 2 Dec. 1883, n. 10, above. By mid-Dec., JA declared that they were "settled in such a comfortable pension" and were "getting so enthusiastic over German, Puss over her painting & Sarah over her singing teacher that the party meet in a room every little while to congratulate ourselves upon the success of the winter" (JA to SAAH, 14 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1295).

To George Bowman Haldeman

Dresden. [Germany]

Jan 4—1883[1884]

Dear George

Ma is using the family bottle of ink and if you will excuse a pencil I will proceed to pick up our rather dilatory correspondence.¹ You say truly that letters are few, but as I read your letters to Ma with the same interest as I do the ones addressed to myself, I take it for granted that you so regard her letters as containing our joint doings & seeings. I was very much pleased with the Christmas card, please accept my best thanks for the delicate sentiment and poetry of the designs[.]² Ma has given you the account of our Christmas[.]³ we were interested in all the foreign Christmas customs and very merry in spite of a home-sick undertone. I hope that you succeeded as well in making the day what it ought to be.

I am sorry that you did n't go to Philadelphia, the invitation I am sure was sincere, and you would have felt and appreciated the broad kindly feeling which envelopes Uncle's house at Christmas time.⁴

I am more convinced all the time of the value of social life, of its necessity for the development of some of our best traits. There are certain feelings and conclusions which can never be reached except in an atmosphere of affection and congeniality, and that friends will not come to us without an effort of our own, towards understanding them, & expressing ourselves. Excuse the moralization, but I believe you need it, for I am afraid you are a little inclined to be an anchorite.⁵ We enjoy your descriptions of what the microscope reveals, biology must be perfectly fascinating, and I wish very much I <could> study with you for an occasional evening.⁶ There is every temptation while abroad to play the diletante, and many of the people we meet are disappointing on that very account, you doubt whether any good is accomplished in placing yourself as a mere spectator to the rest of the world.⁷ We expect to leave here next Wednesday, go to Leipsic, Weimar, Nuremburg[,] Munich & back to Vienna before going into Italy.⁸

I would like above all things to see Athens,⁹ and we will investigate the line of boats at Venice & if possible sail to Greece & from there to Sicily, and visit Italy from the Southern point upwards. But this may be impracticable, for I find that neither Ma or I are very strong and that we feel best when we don't attempt too much.¹⁰

I hope that you will by all means plan to join us next summer.¹¹ You would reach us by the middle of June, we would be in Switzerland, you would be with us there, down the Rhine, through Belgium and France, and if Sarah sails from Liverpool we would go back with you and see some thing of the south of England, it grew too cold last fall to enjoy the country and so we left Canterbury, Brighton &c until another time.¹²



Map indicating the route the Addams party traveled in 1884, which begins in Dresden and ends in Berlin, Germany.

That would give you a very nice summer trip, we don't plan very much for another winter and may be it is hardly safe to decide now what we will do next autumn,¹³ but in case of our coming home or not, I am very sure you would n't regret a summer on this side of the water.

I was sick in bed for three or four days last week but am up again and feeling much better, on the whole I am sure that I am improving.¹⁴ But I am some

times very uneasy about Ma, we guard against every possible chance of another attack, which I am afraid she could not stand;¹⁵ so it would be a great help & comfort if you were here next summer to see her, and help decide on the plans for another winter.

Please excuse this dry letter—we had a hard trip to Königstein¹⁶ yesterday and I am feeling desperately tired this morning in consequence. Always Yr loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1320–23).

1. Of their correspondence since the trip began, no letters are known to be extant from GBH to JA. Four letters are extant from JA to GBH for the same period. See 17 [and 18?] Oct. 1883, above. See also 8 Oct., 6 Nov., and 30 Nov. 1883, all in SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1198–1203, 1247–50, and 1276–80.

2. The card is not known to be extant.

3. AHHA's account to GBH is not known to be extant; however, what she wrote of the occasion to HWH is extant. See 23[, 24? and 25] Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC, HJ. On 23 Dec., JA reported that the Ellwood sisters had "planned a raid on the market or 'Christmas fair' as it is called here. It was a perfect joy to walk through it between the booths, of ginger bread, candies, wooden figures of all kinds—windmills, villages, animals[,] men & women. By spending fifty cents judiciously you could have made a child perfectly wild with delight, and the only regret was that all the children we loved best were so far away from them. I think I felt more 'abroad' for about half an hour in the market than I have felt since we left home." After dinner they went to the Gewerbehaus, Dresden's noted concert hall, "where the children of the poor schools some four hundred of them, had their Christmas tree. I would not have missed the sight for a good deal." The children "sang once or twice accompanied by a full orchestra, and after a short speech &c fell upon the presents, and the sixteen Christmas trees. Each child had an immense bundle mostly clothes and apples, . . . an *immense* cake and some candy. The Queen under whose auspices it is given was not there, but the two Princesses Josephine & Matilda—children of the King brother, & heir to the throne—did the gracious <by> walked in among the children patted their heads &c and ate some of their cake. There was the greatest enthusiasm and admiration for them among all the spectators" (JA to SAAH, 22 [and 23] Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1301–4).

On Christmas Eve the pension guests were treated to German delicacies, and dancing followed gift exchanges with the twenty-four other female guests. On Christmas Day the eight women in JA's party had a small celebration in their quarters, which was decorated with a tree and evergreens. JA described it in a letter to sister SAAH as a "very Merry Christmas of the genuine German sort." Gifts were limited "to a small price, so every thing was comfortable and happy. Jokes abounded," she reported. "Mrs Penfield who strongly objects, on all occasions, to nude statuary received a cherub very scantily clothed" (26 Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1310–11).

4. GBH had been invited to the home of JA's aunt Harriet Addams Young and uncle Nathan Young in Philadelphia for the Christmas holiday. Giving in to his reclusive tendencies, GBH had declined the invitation, choosing to remain alone.

In a letter on 30 Dec. 1883 to his mother, GBH described Christmas Day as gloomy, commenting: "I lead a quiet life as usual and spend many idle moments musing by the fire-side, and will confess have some pleasant melancholy in longing and gazing at those two dear faces which seemed never sweeter to me than they do now" (JAPP, DeLoach). Perhaps in response to his decision to spend the holidays on his own, AHHA followed JA's admonishment

about the importance of social interaction with her own. On 28 Jan. 1884, GBH responded to AHHA: "Your remarks on Society were excellent my Dearest Mother, and accord with my views on the subject, but here I do not find a good opportunity to practice them. The motive and inducement and I may say the return for moving in 'Society' is small, very small. It is a waste I fear, an extravagance which I can't afford. It is a different thing to be sociable. 'The honest friendly social man' is a good type. I will try to imitate it" (JAPP, DeLoach).

5. Two months earlier JA had extolled the value of friendship in a letter to EGS (see 3 Nov. 1883, above).

6. GBH was then a graduate student studying biology at Johns Hopkins Univ. in Baltimore. JA and GBH had studied science together as children.

7. JA had expressed a similar sentiment to EGS a month before (see 2 Dec. 1883, above). JA had mentioned to her sister SAAH that she enjoyed visiting the mineralogical museum in Dresden as "a relief from too much art Gallery" (22 [and 23] Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1299–1300). See also introduction to part 2, above.

8. For JA's travels in Germany and Austria during Jan. and early Feb. 1884, see JA to MCAL, 13 Jan. 1884; JA to SAAH, 17 Jan. 1883[1884]; JA to JWA, 27 Jan. 1884; and JA to SAAH, 10 Feb. 1884, all below.

9. JA, AHHA, and SH sailed from Brindisi, Italy, to Athens in late Apr. 1884 and back to southern Italy in early May. See JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884; JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884; and Essay in the RSM, Jan. 1885[1886], all below.

10. JA's health continued to improve during her first months in Europe (see introduction to part 2, above), but she did not feel fully recovered from her back injury and the emotional stresses of the previous year, and anxiety about her stepmother's health compounded her fatigue.

11. GBH joined his mother's party in June for a three-month summer tour, similar to what JA had proposed (see JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, below). In a letter from Florence, JA informed GBH that they were "delighted" with his decision to join them. She was sure that he would "never regret it" and that he would "never have received a heartier welcome" than awaited him (8 Mar. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1400).

12. JA, AHHA, and GBH accompanied SH back to England before she returned to the United States in Aug. 1884. After SH's departure the trio toured Wales, southern England, and the Isle of Wight. See JA to JWA, 17 Aug. 1884; and JA to SAAH, 17 Sept. 1884, both below.

13. As early as Nov. 1883, JA and AHHA were considering staying in Europe for a second year.

14. In a letter to HWH dated 6 Jan. 1884, AHHA had reported that "Jane had quite a billious attack last week—but is quite well now even better than for a week before the attack" (UIC, JAMC, HJ). JA attributed the source of her illness to the "famous eel salad and Weinachtzeit cake" (JA to SAAH, 8 Jan. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1328). Both were German Christmas specialties. SH described "Weinachtszeit" cake as "a peculiar kind of German Christmas cake, nuts[,] fruit & etc" (SH to Linn Hostetter, 28 Dec. 1883, JAPP, Schneider).

15. JA refers to AHHA's illness during the previous Sept. in Dublin.

16. Königstein, "a small town at the mouth of the Biela-Tal" River was the site of an ancient fortress that was traditionally used to safeguard valuable treasure and documents of Saxony in time of war (Baedeker, *Northern Germany*, 151). JA wrote to SAAH on 8 Jan 1884 of the excursion: "We had a beautiful day, enjoyed the views of Saxon Switzerland and the beautiful valley of the Elbe from the top. The fortress impresses one as perfectly impregnable" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1329).

To Mary Catherine Addams Linn

Hotel Wüncher Duchy of Saxe-Coberg.

Gotha Gotha Germany

Jan 13, 1884.

My dear Mary . . .¹

I shall always think of Weimer² in connection with the swift clear River Ilm with its fine bridge & the large handsome park. The people associate the park almost entirely with Göethe³ and it is said when they take their walks, they trace out the different scenes of his life laid there and talk of him as they go along. His garten-haus is on the bank of the River, it is a little bit of a house with only one story, longer than wide, with but four windows on each side. Here he lived for seven years and studied science from his little garden. On the opposite side of the park is a sort of hut, of but one room, where his friend the Duke of Weimer would live for days together, hold his state Councils there & telegraph to Göethe across the park.⁴ In the same park is the simple square home of where Liestz⁵ the great composer lives now.

We looked into the face of every old man we passed in the park, hoping to see him but were disappointed. The old Ducal palace is full of reminiscences of Karl August & his great poet friends.⁶ One series of rooms are decorated from the works of the poets who lived at Weimer and three of the rooms are kept as Göethe left them. The grave yard of course is a point of interest. The Empress of Germany⁷ is a daughter of the former Duke of <Sax> Weimer and has worked a lovely alter piece for the mausoleum where the old dukes as well as Göethe & Schiller are buried side by side.⁸

The old library is the most interesting one we have seen any where. The arrangement of the interior is such that it impresses you as built of books, it is circular with the first and second floors crowded with busts, pictures & reminiscences. A circular stair case here is made from one oak tree that holds 164 steps without any external support. The tree is so carved into spiral that one step by its pressure supports the next. It is made by a prisoner who so redeemed his life. The church at Weimer⁹ has a large alter piece painted by Cranach which contains portraits of Luther & other Reformers in which Christ is represented as subduing the devil by a ray of light, it is the most wonderful thing. When you first look at it, you see nothing at all in his hands and as you look longer the light becomes visible and grows stronger & brighter. We came on this far yesterday afternoon, Gotha is said to be one of the prettiest and best laid out towns in Germany. The old palace is built on the summit of a little hill, it is surrounded by a park and the rest of the town slopes down and is built around it. It has a great many fine chari[t]able institutions.¹⁰ Mary & Puss Ellwood & myself tried to visit one of them which we supposed an orphan asylum but blundered into a young ladies boarding school for "the fine damen of all countries" as the polite principal informed us. We were shown its workings given catalogues &c and

were asked at the door if we were American teachers in search of new methods. This afternoon we drove out to the new cemetery. It contains the only Crematory Hall in Germany they say & is very complete. The upper part of the building is quite like a little chapel where the services are held while the body is deposited on a little platform & sunk in the floor, that is all the people see, but a bright little woman with a lantern took us into the mysteries below.

An immense furnace is heated for ten hours, the body to be burned is then placed into the heated chamber and in two hours is completely consumed.

The complicated flues &c carrying off all the gases which are in turn consumed. There was nothing in the least repulsive or disagreeable about it. It was built and is sustained by a Society in Gotha. Has been in operation for five years in which time one hundred & sixty four bodies have been consumed.

We unfortunately looked into the open door of a little house near, we were slightly horrified to see four bodies lying there in the midst of evergreens & flower. The regulations of the city are so stringent that no body can be kept within the limits over night but "at once brought here where it lies until interment.["] Some of the German customs are very pretty, for instance almost all the graves here, as we had before seen in Dresden, had little Christmas trees on them which were put there at Christmas time. A great many of the graves were completely covered with dozens of wreaths and strewed immortals.¹¹

We are constantly coming nearer to Luther as increasing relics & stories testify. Tomorrow we go to the Wartburg where he was concealed for almost a year. It is in the midst of the Thuringian Forest where not a hundred years ago, it was considered good political economy to detain the traveller by whatever annoying means to keep them in the country spending more money.¹² It snowed most of the night and gives us the first genuine winter feeling that we had had, but it is not cold, and not at all uncomfortable traveling. We are amused each driver that we have, even if he only takes us from the station to the hotel informs us that his town is very pretty in the summer, and adds that then the trees are green and they have many flowers. We have learned by this time to receive the intelligence calmly. We are very anxious to receive the letters with the Christmas news and results—and hope to find them at Nuremberg. Ma unites in kisses to the children . We will have to call this a circular letter. I am afraid that it may be rather full of graveyard but one dreary impression would be dispelled if you could see the comfortable room I am writing in. Our three rooms open into each other, each of them containing two queer little beds covered with the inevitable red feather bed.

The white porcelain stoves are heated and actually look warm and the many candles, on an average of five to a room, are cheerful if not very luminous.

With love to All. I am Always Yours lovingly

Jane Addams.

1. The editors have omitted portions of this letter, starting with a description of the group's two-day visit to Leipzig after leaving Dresden on 9 Jan. 1884. They witnessed the traditional New Year's fair, watched young German schoolboys being given a military drill, saw Schiller's home and Wagner's birthplace, attended an orchestral concert, and were "turned away in chagrin" from the university library when told that "'Damen were not allowed.' We very naturally enquired 'Why' but a shrug of the shoulders was the only reply we received."

2. Weimar, where JA's party arrived at noon on Friday, 11 Jan., was the capital of the grand duchy of Saxe-Weimar.

3. From her RFS studies, JA was well versed in the work of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), the German poet, playwright, and novelist (see *PJA*, 1:267–68, n. 10).

4. The nearby Borkenhauschen, built by Goethe in 1778, had been a summer home of the duke, Charles Augustus (1757–1828).

5. Franz Liszt (1811–86) was a Hungarian composer, pianist, and conductor. Considered the greatest pianist of his time, he was an innovator in both piano technique and his piano sonatas and concerti. Giving up piano performance, he conducted the ducal orchestra in Weimar (1848–61), but after losing favor with the Weimar court he left for Rome and Budapest. He returned often to Weimar in his later years, where, according to AHHA, he regularly ate at their hotel, the Erdping; she was disappointed not to see him.

6. Among the poets JA was referring to were poet and playwright Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), philosopher and writer Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), and poet Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813).

7. Augusta (1811–90) wed William I (1797–1888). Kaiser Wilhelm I became king of Prussia in 1861 and when Germany was reunified was elected German emperor in Jan. 1871 during the Franco-Prussian War.

8. Schiller and Goethe were buried in a vault in the Frauenhor Cemetery.

9. The late Gothic hall-church dedicated to saints Peter and Paul in which Johann Gottfried Herder served as court preacher had an altar that had been created by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) and completed by Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515–86) in 1555.

10. JA and her companions arrived in Gotha on 12 Jan. 1884, and stayed that night at the Wüncher House Hotel. Friedenstien Palace was constructed in the 1640s.

11. JA meant *immortelles*, flowers made of a paper-like composite material.

12. Martin Luther was one of JA's heroes. Shortly after he was excommunicated in 1521, he was given safe conduct by Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to the Diet of Worms, where it was hoped that he would retract his renunciation of papal authority. He did not. As a result, the Edict of Worms declared him an outlaw and called for his seizure. Luther's friends secured him in the castle of Elector Frederick III of Saxony, the Wartburg, located near Eisenach. It was there that Luther translated the New Testament into German and began his translation of the entire Bible. See JA to MCAL, 13 Jan. 1884, n. 8 below; see also *PJA*, 1:264, 266, nn. 2–3.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Nuremberg, Bavaria [Germany]

Jan 17" 1883[1884].

My dear Alice

Your Christmas letter came a few minutes ago. You don't know how glad I was to hear definitely about Mary even when the news was so discouraging. Some days I am so uneasy that it seems to me I must take the first ship and go to her. She has spent all her life doing for other people and now when she needs

help the most there is no one to go her. She has every claim on me and has a right to demand every thing. If I were more sure of my own strength, I ought to be with her now.¹

It was about the first week of December that I knew from her letters she must be all broken down, for the way she spoke of herself in regard to the children made me feel sure she must be feeling much worse than usual. I hope you left your address with her best friends so that you can be sent for, and that the nurse will do all that we expect from her. And I want you to promise me solemnly, Alice, that if there is any danger of my not seeing Mary again, that you will write to me or cable so that I can come home, before it may be too late. I am sorry that you² disappointed in Mr Linn, I have seen what you left Christmas, but Mary is so devoted to him that her sole happiness is knowing and feeling that he is happy and contented. So I know that you wont let her feel however indirectly, that he is not doing for her or others what you expect, for it only grieves her and can do him no possible good now. You did not tell me much about the nurse, is it Miss Holt?³ So much will depend on her care and conscienciousness. The dear little baby has had every thing against him, but I hope after he is weaned and put on good milk that he will be better than he has ever been in his life. I know that you will do all you can, any time you are needed at Harvard. If one sister puts the ocean between and seems to shirk her duty, you know, dear, that you must do enough for two.

We are in this medieaval old town, the quaintest and altogether the most delightful that we have seen. We wandered around for a long time this morning and simply to mention the things we saw at every turn without attempting a detail, would be to fill pages. . . .⁴

I will send you another picture of Wagner,⁵ as soon as I come to one. I hardly know what pictures you have and what you have n't, I have n't spent much of the money. Purchased two medillions at Weimar which I think are very nice, tried to send them by mail but when I found the charges seven marks, concluded to bring them home with me. We heard a great deal about Wagner when in Dresden—his three last operas are never given there, owing to some trouble which date back to '48 when he was among the insurgents & threw a fire brand into the king's palace.

We hope to hear some of his operas in Munich or Vienna. Tanhauser⁶ was the most powerful thing I ever heard, or thought could be represented. The great moral struggles of a human soul, who is trying to regain what he has lost with every thing against him. Victor Hugo's Jean Val Jean⁷ was the only character that ever expressed it in just the same force before to me.

This is not a circular letter, I wish I never needed to write them, but it takes so much time to read up and look ahead that there is little left. We can get nothing <local> but German books here, and it takes so much the longer to read, although as Sarah said of a little phamphlet in the Wartburg, "when we get desperate, we can tear the meaning out."⁸

Ma is feeling better than she did in Dresden,⁹ and we all expect wonders from the balmy weather of Italy. Write to me when you can and believe me always & forever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1338–49).

1. SAAH's letter to JA about their sister is not known to be extant. In a 4 Jan. 1884 letter to MCAL, JA wrote that she hoped MCAL was able to use her "eyes for reading and writing." JA had persuaded herself "that it was only inflammation and nothing deeper" (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1324). JA wrote SAAH from Florence that they had received "a letter from Dr [Charles] Goddard to-day which Mary asked him to write." Goddard spoke "hopefully of the case" and said that Mary "seems confident and cheerful," but JA believed that they had not "been told how sick she was and is" (6 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1398). MCAL had surgery of some kind in May 1884. For more on Mary's health, see JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, n. 2, below.

2. JA probably meant to write "you are disappointed."

3. JML had hired Josie M. Kiester, the young widow of a Winnebago, Ill., physician, D. Milton Kiester, who had died four years before, to be Mary's nurse. The "dear little baby" was their son Stanley Ross Linn, born the previous spring. The editors do not know if SAAH intervened to help her older sister during this difficult period.

4. After leaving Gotha on 14 Jan., the party traveled to Eisenach, where they spent the night. The next day they stayed in Coburg, and they arrived in Nuremberg on 16 Jan. for a four-day visit. The editors have omitted JA's description of visiting Eisenach, Coburg (see JA to JWA, 27 Jan. 1884, below), and Nuremberg.

5. German composer Richard Wagner (1813–83), born and schooled in Leipzig, was one of the great creators of opera. His innovative and controversial work, drawn from German history and Teutonic mythology, was a powerful expression of the Romantic movement. His music and writings exerted a profound influence on the development of opera as a genre and on European culture and politics for the next century. He was radical both politically and artistically. His involvement in the failed German revolution of 1848 led to his flight from Dresden, where his early operas were performed, and forced exile from his homeland. The "three last operas" JA referred to were two of the *Der Ring des Nibelungen*: *Siegfried* (1871), *Götterdämmerung* (1871), and *Parsifal* (1882), his last opera.

6. Wagner's Romantic opera *Tannhäuser*, first produced in 1845 in Dresden, was criticized for its unconventional structure and technique. Based on German pagan myths, it told the story of a knight-minstrel who struggled between the captivating sensuality of the goddess Venus and Christian asceticism. After seeing the opera in Dec. 1883 in Dresden, JA wrote MCAL that it was "one of the most powerful things & music & words that I ever heard or dreamed. . . . [T]he passion & pathos of the great moral struggle is wonderful" (4 Jan. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1326). JA had also seen Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nuremberg* in Dresden in Dec. She probably did not see any Wagner operas during her stay in Munich in Jan. 1884; she attended his *Flying Dutchman* in Vienna in Feb. and other of his works in Berlin during fall 1884.

7. Jean Valjean was the hero of Victor Hugo's 1862 masterpiece, *Les Misérables*, which decried the class injustice of mid-nineteenth-century Paris. Hugo (1802–85), French poet, novelist, and playwright, was a leading figure in the European Romantic movement. JA and AHHA met the elderly Hugo at a Paris reception held for him in May 1885; he died 22 May 1885 (see JA to JWA, 10 May 1885, n. 12, below).

8. Soon after arriving in Berlin in Nov. 1883, JA wrote to sister SAAH that she was "so dazed by the language, that we do little else but study the German dictionary" (6 Nov. 1883, UIC,

JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1253). Having grown up among German immigrant families in Pennsylvania, AHHA was the most proficient of the group and served as its informal translator.

9. It is not known what ailed AHHA in Dresden; it might have been related to her serious illness in Dublin in Sept. 1883.

To John Weber Addams

Munich Bavaria [Germany]

Jan 27, 1884.

My Dear Web—

Having had the Christmas accounts and festivities from all the rest, I have been waiting almost impatiently for yours. I have no doubt that you had a merry old-fashioned time, that the turkey fell a sacrifice and Santa Claus did his duty as usual—but I have been waiting and delayed writing so long I hardly know where to begin now. We have quite fallen in love with Munich.¹ It is handsome & clean almost like Berlin in the fine public buildings and with more public statues and monuments than any city we have seen. This is owing I suppose to the fine Bronze works here. We went through them the other day, saw the casts of the famous bronze doors in the capitol at Washington & when asked if they were like the original were too cowardly to acknowledge we had never seen them, and changed the subject.²

A little way out from the town on an elevation is a mammoth statue of Bavaria³ in the form of a woman with the Bavarian lion at her feet. She is seventy three feet high, and one of the things to “do” is to mount the circular <iron> stairway inside of her and get the fine view of the mountains from her head. We were foolish enough to try it, at least the younger portion of the party while Mrs Penfield, Ma & Mrs Young stayed in the carriage.

We were provided with candles and started up, it was a long journey through the pedistal & finally some one announced that they had reached the edge of the bronze petticoats & that it was growing very warm. We formed a procession round & round the stair way, for it was said that thirteen people could stand in the head and we thought six surely could.

The head was big enough but the neck was dreadfully narrow and after Sarah[,] Mary Ellwood & myself had squeezed through it the rest concluded they wouldn't try it, but were so dizzy going down they almost got into a panic for we had the two lights. The view may have been fine enough but the aperture in her nose was so small that we couldn't see much of it & came down hot & dizzy & concluding that, that was the most foolish thing we had attempted. Behind the statue is the hall of Fame and handsome Greek Colonnade where in are placed statues of all of Bavaria's most celebrated men. The city seems full of incentives towards honor & fame. “The Maxamilianium” an institution founded by King Maximilian is for the free education of young men who show a special aptitude for civil service. . . .⁴

The amount of beer brewed & drank in Munich is enormous. Allowing for all export, it averages seventeen gallons yearly to each man, woman & child. The Brauhaus near the Post office is one of the sights of the city, all that is brewed is drank on the spot.⁵ There were about five hundred men in the rooms the day we looked at them, and it was a disgusting sight that I should never care to see again. There is one side of the german beer-drinking that is social & attractive, to see the entire family at an out door concert each with his huge mug &c but here is the excess again and almost all of them show the miserable result.

The soldiers are almost as numerous as at Potsdam,⁶ the garrisons in and about the town have twelve thousand soldiers, the drills on the large parade ground are very imposing affairs—the tramp of the men, the confused shout of the officers, & the cannon make you forget that it is “all play” & that the cannon are all powder and no shot.

We have had a great deal of fun at Mary Ellwood's expense, who is a devoted admirer of the “brave soldier boys[.]” The largest parade ground is just opposite the picture galleries. The three days we went there had the same result; that we would miss Mary a few minutes after going in, and not see her again until we went home, when she would be standing in an entire row of small boys gazing through the high fence. This is our first large Catholic City. almost every door is ornamented with a wooden image of the Virgin, and we have three or four times seen the priests walking along the streets with burning tapers, carrying the sacrament to some sick person, while all they passed took off their hats & tried to shake hands with them. One learns to have a new respect for Luther and wonder how one man could do so much.⁷ We were at the Castle of the Wartberg in the Thuringian Forest where he was confined for a year. His room is as he left it with the green tiled stove & the ink spot he made on the wall when he threw the ink bottle at the Devil's head. The Castle has been fitted up with great care and scholarship into a complete twelfth Century Castle⁸ it was here the old Minnesingers of Germany had their contests and claim to have founded the modern opera.⁹ The views & the forest are beautiful but we saw a great deal of the misery at Coberg. Our hotel faced the market place where stood a statue of Prince Albert [“]Victoria's husband.”¹⁰ He was such a philanthropist that one would naturally suppose his birthplace would be less depraved than some of the other German towns. But right across the market were a dozen or fifteen women going backward and forward with huge casks—almost barrels—fastened on their backs. These were filled with hot beer which they were carrying to a cooling house. The stuff stirred & spilled of course as they were walking often scalding their heads & shoulders. They did this from five in the morning until seven at night for a mark & a half a day—37 ½ cents.¹¹ We enjoyed every minute we spent in Nuremberg. It is a quaint middle-age city with the old walls and moat still there. We saw some of the most beautiful wood & stone carvings imaginable—life sized groups & figures on the sides of the Churches and public buildings—every doorpost and the fountains in



Jane Addams visited Martin Luther's study in the Castle Wartburg in Germany.
(Originally published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, June 1880, page 50)

the market are elaborately worked as if their restless fingers could not leave any thing alone.¹² This of course is the picturesque side of the middle-ages but we saw the ignorance & superstition when we were in the old castle where a secret judgement was formerly held with all the horrible instruments of torture. The pillory was used in the market place as late as 1854. I know you like Longfellow—he has a beautiful poem on Nuremberg if you care to look it up—it will repay you.¹³

Inclosed please find a little piece of moss from Weimar—a souvenir of Goethe & Schiller who are associated with everything in the town. It was a beautiful little place.¹⁴ All the German rivers we have seen are so swift & full that they are beautiful. I had a kind long letter from Uncle Harry this morning. Eddie has been very sick with Typhoid fever & poor Uncle Harry with that strain and his bussiness seems to be quite worn out, but as jolly as ever.¹⁵ This must be a “circular letter[“] as we leave for Weimer¹⁶ tomorrow and I wont have time for another in Munich.

Tell Sadie I am looking for one of her letters. With kisses to the little lady—and love to Laura¹⁷ and Yourself. I am Your loving sister

Jane Addams.

HLSr in the hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1356–60).

1. On 19 Jan., JA and party left Nuremberg for Munich, where they stayed for ten days.
2. The ten-ton bronze doors at the eastern entrance to the Capitol Rotunda in Washington, D.C., which depicted Christopher Columbus's explorations, were cast at the Royal Bavarian Foundry in Munich in 1861.
3. The 100-foot-tall statue *Bavaria*, designed by Ludwig Schwanthaler, was cast between 1844 and 1850. Baedeker advised tourists to ascend the interior early in the morning, "before the metal has been heated by the sun" (*Southern Germany*, 279).
4. The editors have omitted three brief paragraphs. In the first, JA describes the public library of Munich and mentions the city as a center of "historical painting." In the second, she comments on Obergammegau and the miracle plays presented there every ten years. The third paragraph relates to Mrs. Penfield and her daughter.
5. JA was referring to the Hofbrauhaus, the court brewery and beer hall. On the Addams family view of temperance, see introduction to part 1, *PJA*, 1:38. The travelers must have found it difficult to maintain their usual position on the use of alcoholic beverages. AHHA resorted to wine and brandy to soothe her pain during her Dublin illness. From Adelsberg, Austria, SH wrote sister Sue and her husband, Henry Mackay, of their dinner and drinking habits. "Well we have just come up from dinner and it was table d'hôte not a success, every thing was swimming in grease. We took some wine with Jane, Aunt & I. Puss and Mrs Young have beer[.] Mary seldom drinks either[,] sometimes wine. We dont have wine very often but today we realized the truth of the saying that 'bad cooking makes drunkards.' I am afraid we will be obliged to drink wine in Italy from what we hear of the water but every one said we must drink beer in Germany and I found that I did not need to" (10 Feb. 1884, *JAPP*, Schneider). An astonished SH told Sue and Henry Mackay that in Athens their hotel "under charged" them "for wine" (1 May 1884, *JAPP*, Schneider).
6. "The ground [at Sans Souci] was filled with soldier[s] probably two thousand, the full garrison at present there is seven thousand. The cavalry elocations were wonderful in the rapidity with which they mounted and dismounted their horses, as the dense mass of men & horses wheeled about without getting entangled" (JA to SAAH, 18 Nov. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1259).
7. See JA to MCAL, 13 Jan. 1884, n. 12, above; and Essay in the *RSM*, *PJA*, 1:263–68.
8. The newly restored Wartburg castle was begun in the twelfth century. After Martin Luther was banned from the Holy Roman Empire by the Diet of Worms in 1521, he took refuge in Wartburg Castle, where he lived like a prisoner for most of a year. During this time he began to translate the Latin Bible into German. Legend has it that as he struggled with his conscience the devil appeared and Luther threw his inkpot at him. In her diary, JA recorded that in "Luther's room—the green tile stove, old writing table & big jug, ink spot—all taken away by relic hunters" ("2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 14 Jan. 1884; *JAPM*, 29:29).
9. The contests among minnesingers probably took place in the *Sängersaal* (singing room) on the first floor of the palace. Minnesingers were poet-musicians who specialized in love songs they wrote and sang during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Germany. They were succeeded in the fourteenth century by Meistersingers (master singers), German guilds of poet-singers that flourished until the sixteenth century. Their songs were usually based on biblical themes and followed strict musical rules. Hans Sachs (1494–1576) was a famous Meistersinger who became the central character in Wagner's opera about the guilds, *Die Meistersinger von Nuremberg*. JA had seen the opera in Dec. 1883.

10. The statue of Prince Albert in the marketplace at Coburg was created by sculptor William Theed the Younger (1804–91). Albert died in 1861; his wife, Queen Victoria, attended the statue's dedication four years later.

11. "We stopped the night before at Coburg, to break up a long car ride, and as it was rainy we did not try to see much of the town. Prince Albert we of course associated with the place, but we saw so much wretchedness among the poor women carrying great heavy casks of beer, and the others working in the fields with heavy baskets on their backs, that it became positively painful and we were glad to get away. Ma has just closed a letter to Harry and has told you about it, so I won't risk repetition" (JA to SAAH, 17 Jan. 1883[1884], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1344–45). For AHHA's comment to HWH, see introduction to part 2, n. 123, above.

Over time JA would select the memory of the toiling women as an emblem of her first European trip, part of the accumulated experience that impelled her to move from passive consumer of books and culture to social activist. If she had come to Europe to imbibe the beauty of art and music and the picturesque in scenery, she here confronted the real world of poverty and suffering. In Saxe-Coburg, oppression was not glimpsed as it would be by a tourist taking a bus through London's East End or from an Irish roadside where JA viewed charming beggars. Here the view from her hotel window was the reality of badly exploited female brewery workers; the brutality was at her doorstep.

During the Addams-Ellwood-Penfield party's Dresden stay, Mary Ellwood had written in her diary, "As I stepped out of the door here I saw no uncommon sight simply a woman breaking up the coal and another sawing wood & then we often see men or women harnessed up with a dog & drawing an immense cart & see them carrying large baskets of clothes, apples or most any thing on their backs" (28 Nov. 1883). Other American women travelers in Europe around this time were disturbed by the labor performed by women workers and peasants. Blanche Willis Howard was "exasperated," she wrote in 1877, "by the sight of a woman harnessed to a cart" (Howard, *One Year Abroad*, 15). Mrs. S. R. Urbino noted in her 1869 travel memoir that "[r]iding past the fields of potatoes and tobacco, and seeing women hoeing in them, reminds one of slave labor." Although the German peasant women "work as hard as slave women," she remarked, "the difference is great; for the one works for her husband and children, and though often severely lashed by necessity, she is happy in comparison to the negress, who labors for a taskmaster, and has no right to call her children her own" (*An American Woman in Europe*, 108).

12. During the Renaissance, Nuremberg was Germany's art capital. While in the city, JA's party visited St. Sebaldus Church, dedicated in 1274 and filled with artworks from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Writing of German architect and sculptor Adam Kraft (d. 1509) and sculptor Veit Stoss (ca. 1445–1533), JA reported to SAAH that it was "as if their very religious ardor had soften[ed] the material & compelled it to express what they felt, a stone carving from sences on the Mt of Olives had more force than a painting could ever express" (17 Jan. 1883[1884], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1343–44). JA may have meant to write "scenes."

13. The enclosure is missing. In his poem "Nuremberg," American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–82) wrote: "Here, when Art was still Religion, with a simple reverent heart, / Lived and labored Albrecht Dürer, the Evangelist of Art" (*Poems*, 2:30).

14. On their way to Nuremberg, they had visited Weimar, where German poets Goethe and Schiller were buried. JA and her companions sometimes enclosed plants or flowers in their letters as souvenirs.

15. Uncle Harry was JA's uncle, John Harrison Weber; Eddie was his son, Edward Yale Weber.

16. "Weimar" was probably an error by the copyist of this letter, SAAH; they left for Vienna ("Wien" in German) the next day.

17. Laura was JWA's wife and Sadie was Sarah Weber Addams, his daughter.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Adelsberg. Austria

Feb 10. 1884

My dear Alice. . .¹

We still continued <to> be infatuated with Vienna. The day before we left, Ma[,] Mrs Young and myself went to the hospital.² We got a pass from the director so that we were privileged characters and saw all we liked.

The first and last impression is its size—it is simply enormous, it is built on the four sides of a large garden and looks like one immense building attached to another ad infinitum. They have 4000. patients just now. Each Prof seems to reign supreme in his own department, his own ward, kitchen, clinic hall &c.

The reading room for the students was very cosy and presided over by a talkative old lady who mistook us for “Frauen Doctors,” she said that sometimes they had five or six English ladies and that they were always very smart and very kind to her. The clinic halls are the most curious rooms, every thing in it seems to concentrate around the operating table, and it reminds you of the fore stage and stage boxes of a little shabby theatre. In one of them an operation was going forwards upon a man’s foot, and an obliging young man in a white apron insisted upon explaining it, in spite of our protestations. . . .

We have been reading “Romola”³ out loud every evening so that I have n’t written any letters. It seems to be hard work to be intelligently prepared for Italy, but we always fall back with comfort on the thought that we can have a courier if worst comes to worst.

Howell’s Italian Journeys and Ventians Days⁴ we have been reading off and on, but the latter is not very profitable. I am ashamed of this hurried short letter, but a nine o’clock breakfast, a long walk and ride and a table de’ Hote dinner has left little day light.

We saw more German wretchedness during the ride this morning than we had encountered before, if wretchedness it can be called when every one is warm and well fed.

The houses half divided with the cows, the smoke coming up of the front door from lack of a chimney, the fire burning on a sort of broad stone platform while the pot of the Sunday dinner was suspended by a chain from the low ceiling.⁵

I had a satisfactory letter from Mr Linn the other day, and do hope Mrs Keister will soon come.⁶

We go to Trieste to-morrow afternoon, from there to Venice for about ten days. We will stop at Bologna &c and reach Florence by the first of March. Three or four weeks there will bring us into Rome about the 1st of April, April and the first of May being <by far> the best in the immortal city according to Baadeker.⁷

Ma unites in love to Cousin Jennie & Harvey.⁸

Inclosed find a picture of Wagner from life, taken in Munich. Hope you will like it as well as the other one. We heard his "Flying Dutchman" in Vienna. The scenery was well managed and very effective, the music of course was fine.⁹ We were impressed with the opera house¹⁰ and almost ready to acknowledge that there could be ~~one~~ <another> more complete than the one in Dresden.

Ma sends love to Harry and yourself. She seems to be very well indeed for her, and we have almost outlived the dismal prophecies of the Dublin fraternity.¹¹ Your loving Sister always

Jane Addams

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1368–75).

1. JA's party left Munich on 29 Jan. and arrived in Linz, Austria, the same day. They then traveled down the Danube by boat to Vienna, where they spent a week before continuing south to Gratz on 8 Feb. The next day they arrived in Adelsburg, an Austrian mountain resort, staying for two days, then departing for Trieste. The editors have omitted four short paragraphs at the beginning of the letter and two short paragraphs in the middle, in which JA describes their journey by rail through the Austrian alps and their visits to monuments, museums, and art galleries in Vienna.

2. The party had stayed in Vienna for a week, 30 Jan.–8 Feb., at the Hotel d'France. The Allgemeines Krankenhaus, the Vienna public hospital that opened in 1784, was reportedly the largest in Europe, accommodating two to three thousand patients, mostly poor people (4,000 patients at this time, according to JA). It was a laboratory for the faculty and students of Vienna's world-class medical school. Several renowned physicians had contributed to the Vienna hospital and medical school's reputation as Europe's leading center for medical teaching.

3. Published in 1863, George Eliot's *Romola*, a historical novel of purification by trials, is placed in fifteenth-century Florence. It features Romola, the devoted daughter of an old and blind scholar, who weds a scoundrel and the downfall of preacher and reformer Savonarola.

4. William Dean Howells, who had served as President Abraham Lincoln's consul to Venice (1861–65), spent some of his time while there collecting observations that he presented in *Venetian Life* (1866) and *Italian Journeys* (1867). See also *PJA*, 1:151, n. 6.

5. SH described the impoverished conditions of the Austrian peasants they had glimpsed on a "novel and instructive" carriage ride in the vicinity of Adelsburg, where they stayed from 9 to 11 Feb. at the Ungar Krone Hotel before departing for Trieste and Venice, Italy. The "people seem to be quite poor," she wrote, and from what they could see of the dwellings, they "were half civilized. The houses and barns are nearly always together." Peering inside a crude dwelling, the Americans "saw the dinner hanging in a large kettle over the fire and a great big horse right in the same room." The smoke from the fires "came out of the doors of the houses," or from "under the eaves" of a thatched roof, as "only the better looking houses had chimneys. . . . It looked very strange to see people standing at their doors looking out and surrounded by smoke" (SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 10 Feb. 1884, *JAPP*, Schneider).

6. On MCAL's health and her nurse, Josie M. Kiester, see JA to SAAH, 17 Jan. 1883 [1884], n. 3, above.

7. In one of his travel guides to Italy, Baedeker advised that the "best time for a tour of Central Italy is spring, from the end of March to the end of May, or autumn" (*Central Italy and Rome*, xi).

8. JA's cousin Jennie and her husband, Harvey Reichard, lived in Mitchellville, Iowa, where SAAH and HWH resided.

9. The enclosure is missing. Richard Wagner's *Flying Dutchman*, first performed in Jan. 1843

in Dresden, was apparently the third Wagner opera JA had seen since arriving in Germany in Nov. 1883.

10. The Vienna Opera, whose opera house was completed in 1869, was at this time "one of the foremost musical institutions in Europe" (Sadie, *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 19:724).

11. In Sept. 1883, doctors treating AHHA's illness in Dublin had warned that continuing her European trip might be dangerous to her health. See JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. and 16 Sept. 1883, both above.

To George Bowman Haldeman

The combined Addams-Ellwood-Penfield parties arrived in Venice on 13 February for a ten-day visit, focusing on churches and art museums. Jane spent a "beautiful day" at the monastery where Byron wrote Childe Harolde, finding the "quiet, scholarly" cloister garden "very dreamy and picturesque."¹ Despite her delight with her first Italian city, Jane worried that the "seductive lazy climate of Italy" might take the edge off their determined and purposeful sightseeing.² The group followed the carnival celebrations from Venice to Padua and Bologna. Jane decided "that it was rather forced and not nearly as gay as in the old times you read about."³ As they approached Florence, Jane wrote her sister Mary, "It is as if spring had burst on us all at once"; they saw "all along the railroad the huge purple anemones and the fruit trees in blossom." Although the "houses are cold and every body avoids the shady side of the street," JA reported from Florence, "the sunshine is glorious."⁴ They were "glad to be settled again at a pension after such a constant round of hotels."⁵

The travelers allotted three weeks to experience Florence, from which Jane wrote the next two letters, one to stepbrother George and one to Ellen Gates Starr.

While Jane Addams was staying in Dresden, Germany, during the fall of 1883, her brother had evidently written a letter to her in German. She replied defensively just after leaving Dresden that he was being "sarcastic over our German acquirements." She admitted to him that "I know very little more German than I did before I left home owing to the simple facts that I was not well enough to study in Dresden, and that six and twenty American ladies in a boarding house will speak English. I confess so far, that you may not be disappointed and shocked, when you arrive next summer."⁶ Jane's approach to resolving this minor sibling conflict foreshadowed her adult involvement in conflict resolution on a large scale, in which she tended to minimize the significance of social antagonism.

Florence Italy.

March 8" 1884

My dear George.

I fear a discord in the family and hasten to explain my rash remarks on the German letter. I suppose any annoyance I felt, came from a secret consciousness of guilt, that I did not know as much German as I should, in short a recognition once again of the old disappointment that I am not yet strong enough to study

as I used to and enjoy it. You were very kind to write the letter and certainly I was very glad to receive as I always am for your letters in whatever form they come. The annoyance was but momentary and over long ago and quite forgotten until you spoke of it in your last letter.⁷ It is rather a difficult feat "to shake hands" when the Atlantic ocean rolls between the hands, but let us imagine it performed and all well.

We are delighted with your final resolution to come, I am sure that you will never regret it, and that will never have received a heartier welcome than awaits you here.⁸

We have arrived at the end of our second week in Florence, and think in one week more to be ready to start for Rome. The life of Florence has been so intense and much of it peculiar only to itself that it required an unusual effort to get into the spirit of it. It is utterly impossible to transport yourself, back into the time of Dante and Goitto or Lorenzo the Magnificent and Savonarola, without a certain amount of effort and distinctive reading.⁹ . . .¹⁰

We have seen of course the famous Medici Chapel, said to represent Michael Angelo's¹¹ peculiar genius better than anything even at Rome. The figure of Night & Day and Dawn & Twilight which lie at the base of the tombs, are perfectly incomprehensible and on that very account not very attractive to me. But they are very powerful and you could no more fail to be affected by their presence when you enter the room, than if they were some wonderful living organism. The amount of mind that a master spirit or genius I suppose Michael Angelo was, can put into a figure of marble so that it constantly emanates and expresses, always makes you wonder and speculate. Although of course the amount of use and good accomplished by the same is another question. . . .¹²

I quite envy your success in skeletonizing or rather should very much like to participate in the same. You must find your skill and precision constantly increasing doing so much fine dissecting. I had very little of it, but it seems to me the most fascinating work I ever tried.

The girls, Sarah and Puss & Mary Ellwood have just come in laden with "Hare's walks in Rome,"¹³ the eternal city is certainly a formidable undertaking, we have allowed ourselves six weeks, and hope in that time to see the most interesting and suggestive points. April and May are said to be very pleasant months—but we feel now that it would have been better had we arrived in Italy earlier. Ma was not very well in Venice but seems more like herself since we have been here. We find that the utmost caution is constantly necessary, for constant travel is a strain. We were pleased with the sketch of the room which struck us as very comfortable in all its arrangements.¹⁴ The two shoes under the table were all that appeared a trifle lonely and deserted. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.



Harriet "Puss" Ellwood, ca. 1885. (Mosher, Chicago; Ellwood House Museum, De Kalb, Illinois)

1. JA to SAAH, 20 Feb. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1388.
2. JA to SAAH, 16 Feb. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1381. On Venice, see Addams, "Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 13–21 Feb.; *JAPM*, 29:41–42.
3. JA to MCAL, 27 Feb. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1390.
4. 27 Feb. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1389.
5. JA to MCAL, 27 Feb. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1391.
6. JA to GBH, 20 Jan. 1883[1884], JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1351.
7. The letter JA received from GBH is not known to be extant; however, one that GBH sent to AHHA in response to the spat is. He wrote: "I will not attempt any more German letters. I fear it breeds discord in the family, and puts me in an unfavorable light, it was all Jane could do to pardon me for that last offence, which I meant harmlessly enough, and I do not understand yet why you are not all proficient German scholars, it is beyond my comprehension" (GBH to AHHA, 17 Feb. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach).
8. During the summer of 1884, after his first year as a graduate student in marine biology at the recently founded Johns Hopkins Univ. in Baltimore, GBH joined his mother, stepsister, and cousin for mountain-climbing in Switzerland and other travel, including tours of Germany and England.
9. JA had been reading about famous Italians associated with Florence, including poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) (see JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, n. 3, below); painter, sculptor, and architect Giotto di Bondone (1276?–1337?) (whose name JA seemed to consistently misspell as Goitto); statesman and arts patron Lorenzo Medici (1449–92); and preacher and reformer Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98).
10. The party left Florence for Rome on 17 Mar. 1884. The editors have omitted several sentences describing their sightseeing in Florence (see JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, below).
11. Michelangelo (1475–1564), the legendary sculptor, painter, and architect of the Italian Renaissance, worked for fourteen years on San Lorenzo, the Medici family church in Florence. The reclining stone figures at the Medici tombs "more puzzle and embarrass you than anything else," JA wrote to SAAH. "The Day is the only one which is finished, the Night looks as if he were about to move his chin and place his beard over his shoulder more comfort-

ably, which it seems to me would not be the necessary ‘repose.’ The guide-books give various guesses, as to what they are to represent, the mourning genius of Florentine liberty &c but I suppose his life and disturbed spirit at the time is the only explanation” (11 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1414–16). JA’s comment about the “amount of use and good accomplished” by Michelangelo’s artistry is interesting in the context of her own intellectual and moral quest during her European travels to find useful ways to benefit humanity.

12. The editors have omitted the last part of this letter in which JA described their excursion to Fiesole (see JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, n. 14, below).

13. See introduction to part 32, n. 56, above.

14. GBH’s sketch of his room at his rooming house in Baltimore is not known to be extant.

To Ellen Gates Starr

Florence Italy

March 9th 1884

My dear Friend

I heartily approved of your resolution to write oftener and at once determined on the same course myself—that it was much easier and better.¹ But constant travel since we have left Dresden and the necessity for much “reading up” has left little time for any thing else. I do not approve of doing any one thing to such an extent that no time or spirit remains for the gentler offices of life, and hence conclude that we have been travelling too fast, although most of our days have been very satisfactory and pleasant.

Your letter came to Munich, so that we were far away from the Kirkland family.² I think I had arrived to about the same general conclusions which you expressed and our table conversations were always confined to world wide topics—very pleasant withal.

We are at the end of our second week in Florence, long enough to raise some of the dead bones into life, and a genuine start it is, when Dante begins to arise with his personality³ or when you begin to see confusedly some trace of that intricate and intense political life of Florence, which even overcame Savonarola’s large aims and made him confuse “God’s cause” with Florentine government.⁴ His cell is carefully preserved at San Marco, it is so bare and narrow and all the influences so restricting and ruled, that you wonder more than ever how one man’s personality could counter act them all.⁵

The Fra Anglico’s⁶ there were more impressive and lovable than even the celebrated ones in the galleries. They look down from the bare white walls as if they were not representations, but an order of being who did not care to move, but had only to smile <in order> to lighten and relieve human woes. I had never caught the expression from any photograph, and do not much care for the photographs now, as they do not renew the impression but rather blunt it. There is a touch of the same thing in some of the illuminated books in the monestary library,—the smiling without dreading to do any more, and without being insipid.

Well my friend we have wandered through the lengths of the Uffizi and Pitti⁷ and of all the pictures there, I liked best Raphael's Madonna Gran Duca.⁸ You know it, of course the half length of the mother with the child held against her. There are many after that I shall be grateful for having seen and shall always remember, but in spite of the genius and beauty in both the galleries, the pictures in Florence which have affected me most powerfully are in the churches.⁹ It may be partly owing for <to> my barbaric instinct for size, or delight in seeing the story told before my eyes, but the grand series of frescoes which carry on a sainted life from one event to another, with increasing enthusiasm, until the very apotheosis when they are lost in a cloud of angelic heads never fail to affect <me> with a tremor and a corresponding desire for the power arising from mere goodness.¹⁰

The first one which so came to me was Goitto's series of the life of the Virgin in the Church of the Arena at Padua.¹¹ You probably know Ghirlandajo birth of the Virgin in the Choir of San Maria Novella,¹² <here,> it is very wonderful in spite of Mr Ruskin's criticisms.¹³ The so called Greek chorus <group> of personages in his pictures demands your attention to the main event, just as a little crowd attracts a greater one, or rather you think if such dignified composed looking people are so absorbed, it certainly must be interesting.

The drives about the hills are very lovely.¹⁴ It is said to be an early spring, and although the houses are cold, the fields are full of anemones and violets and the tops of the walls are covered with blooming roses. I have just read *Romola* again,¹⁵ read it for the identification of the places but after all the story is the main and absorbing interest and the moral comes with more force than ever that "his are not to be disregarded," I am glad that I always associate certain things you said about it, with the book. I was interrupted and I have written <the last of> this letter so fast that I don't believe you can read it, there are so many things to write about and that have come to me at different times to say to you, that I am ashamed for not writing more, but I must either send this, or none at all this afternoon. I almost envy you your Greek lessons. There is nothing after all, like the classics and to the satisfaction which comes from them—I mean in the line of reading.

Write to me when you can and believe me always yr friend

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1406–9).

1. In a letter to SAAH, JA explained that her lack of communication was due to the group's absorption of Florence, including studious reading. "I have gotten back dreadfully in my letter writing, chiefly I think because it takes so much time to 'read up'" (6 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1394).

2. See JA to EGS, 2 Dec. [18]83, above.

3. By her sophomore year at RFS, JA was familiar with the life and work of Dante Alighieri. Born in Florence, he participated in its unsettled political intrigues, opposed the temporal power of Pope Bonifacio VIII, and was banished from its precincts in 1302. He supported the ideal of a united Italy. He wrote *Divine Comedy*, a long vernacular poem detailing the journey of a poet through Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, during his exile from Florence.

4. Girolamo Savonarola joined the Dominican order in 1474 and first preached at the San Marco priory in Florence eight years later. His preaching focused on sin and corruption, both in the church and in the Medici rule of Florence. The pope appointed him vicar general of the Tuscany Dominicans in 1493. One year later, he played a central role in creating the Florentine republic, of which he became the driving force, determined to make it a model of Christian virtue. When he turned his moral wrath on the Vatican, the pope struck back, excommunicating him in 1497. He was convicted of heresy and sedition in 1498 and hanged, a martyr to political and religious reform. When she was a student at RFS, JA had studied the life of Savonarola. See *PJA*, 1:302–3.

5. Friar Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole decorated the Dominican monastery of San Marco, which is adjacent to a thirteenth-century church, in the fifteenth century. The women “went into the cells little places with one long narrow window but in each one a religious picture of some sort many fine ones,” SH wrote to her brother Linn (6 Mar. 1884, *JAPP*, Schneider). “Savonarola’s cell is shown with his crucifix and annotated bible, there is some thing much more ideal and satisfactory in seeing the cells of the past monks, than in the men of the Dominican garb whom we pass in the street,” JA wrote to SAAH from Florence. “They are most always coarse and vulgar in appearance and as if they were fit only for the heaviest manual labor” (6 Mar. 1884, *UIC*, *JAMC*; *JAPM*, 1:1395).

6. Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole (ca. 1395–1455), a Dominican friar, rose from journeyman illuminator to become the great creator of frescoes; his works adorned St. Peter’s and the Vatican Palace in Rome. At San Marco he was “entrusted with a programme of decoration that included an altarpiece for the church and over 50 frescoes for the convent itself, the largest group of related works to survive almost intact from the workshop of a single Renaissance painter” (Turner, *Grove Dictionary of Art*, 34–37). “Yesterday morning we were in the old monestary of San Marco where Fra Angelico has decorated the corridors halls, cloisters, and cells with the <beautiful pictures> which he seems never to have cared whether anybody saw or not. They are much sweeter seen there on the other wise bare walls, than even in the galleries,” JA informed SAAH (6 Mar. 1884, *UIC*, *JAMC*; *JAPM*, 1:1394–95). JA commented further in a letter to her former Rockford teacher Sarah F. Blaisdell: “I do not believe that anything can interpret the angelic spirit found in Fra Angelico’s paintings. Those in San Marco, where they are undisturbed and the only thing left in the rigid bare cells, and the long corridors, seem to be creatures of some other world rather than mere paintings, and you wonder what the effect of it was on the monk who lived in this cell and had only this picture to look at” (15 Mar. 1884, *UIC*, *JAMC*; *JAPM*, 1:1419–20).

7. The Uffizi Palace art gallery, which opened in the seventeenth century with the Medici collections, was one of the world’s preeminent art museums and the first public one. JA and companions made several visits to the Uffizi Gallery, the city’s most famous attraction. The fifteenth-century Palazzo Pitti, built to rival the Medici’s Uffizi Palace, became the ruling family’s residence in 1550 (see also EGS to JA, 22 Oct. 1882, n. 15, above).

8. The works of Raphael (1483–1520), one of the leading Renaissance painters, decorated the Vatican’s papal apartments. Working in Florence between 1504 and 1508, he specialized in devotional paintings of the Virgin and Child, notably his *Madonna of the Meadow* (1505), *Madonna del Cardellino* (ca. 1506), and *Madonna del Granduca*, in which a “pure type of simple female beauty is but slightly veiled by the religious character of the work,” the Baedeker guide suggested (*Northern Italy*, 511). Raphael’s Madonnas were “the nearest approach to the divine we see upon earth,” JA wrote SAAH. JA was impressed by a copy that her sister had once made of Raphael’s *Madonna of the Chair* when JA saw the original at the Pitti gallery. “[Y]our family will insist on thinking you are a genius in painting in spite of all your protestations to the contrary” (6 Mar. 1884, *UIC*, *JAMC*; *JAPM*, 1:1394).

9. In a letter to SAAH from Florence, JA wrote that she would “mention the churches we have seen, and spare you any details, the Duomo, of course, Santa Croce (for Goitto)

Santa Maria Novella (for Ghirlandajo) San Spirito and San Lorenzo (for Michelangelo), the Ognassanti, San Maniato [Miniato] for the beautiful views out from the town” (6 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1397). The Duomo was the largest cathedral in Italy at the time of its completion in the fifteenth century (see EGS to JA, 22 Oct. 1882, nn. 13–14, above).

10. In describing the Florentine frescoes, JA wrote: “[N]othing affected me as those splendid dramatic scene[s], where the life of St Francis or the Virgin is carried on from one scene to another with increasing enthusiasm until it ends with the very apotheosis and leaves the soul in heaven. The figures are apt to grow larger and more heroic in size as the story goes on, as if mere human form would n’t express the idea which has seized the painter. It shows the immense power which mere <human> goodness has, when it is prominent enough to become a power at all” (JA to SAAH, 11 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1412–13).

11. JA had visited Padua briefly en route from Venice to Florence. The walls and vaulting of Padua’s Church of the Madonna dell’ Arena, built in 1303, were covered with frescoes by Giotto depicting the lives of Mary and Jesus.

12. The Church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence was “perhaps the purest and most elegant example of Tuscan Gothic,” according to Baedeker, and its frescoes by Domenico Ghirlandajo (1449–94), created around 1490, were the artist’s finest and most popular works (*Northern Italy*, 502–4). His *Birth of the Virgin* (located in the choir of Santa Maria Novella) was JA’s favorite of his frescoes. Micheletti noted that “the wet nurses busy themselves with preparing the bath of the soft, pink, newborn baby, which seems to respond to the tender smile of the young woman holding the infant in her arms, while light invests the women and babe and turns the poured water into a sparkling stream” (Micheletti, *Domenico Ghirlandajo*, 45–46). “Ghirlandajo always has a group of dignified and well bred spectators in the fore-ground, who irresistibly draw your attention to the main event,” JA commented in a letter to SAAH, “for you think if such cultured looking people are so intensely interested there surely must be something to interest a lesser individual like yourself” (11 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1413–14).

13. In *Mornings in Florence* (1873–75), art critic and social reformer John Ruskin (1819–1900) wrote about Ghirlandajo’s frescoes in Santa Maria Novella that “if you are a nice person they are not nice enough for you; and if you are a vulgar person, not vulgar enough.” He wrote of the artist’s *Birth of a Virgin* series that “the point at which it just misses being as well as it can be done is the vital point. And it is all simply—good for nothing” (36).

John Ruskin was one of JA and EGS’s favorite English writers. Educated in England, he also traveled widely on the Continent. He became a legendary critic of art, architecture, and social issues during the Victorian era. A devotee of English landscape painter Joseph Turner (1775–1851), he also staunchly defended the Pre-Raphaelites, who through a careful study of nature and presentation of positive and uplifting subjects tried to give art a moral quality. Among his noted works on art and architecture were *Modern Painters* (1843–60), *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), and *Stones of Venice* (1851–53).

Moving from art to social commentary in the 1860s, Ruskin began promoting a system of national education, helping to organizing labor, and working for other social reforms. Among his noted works on social issues were *Unto This Last* (1862), *Sesame and Lilies* (1866), and *The Crown of Wild Olive* (1865). In 1867, Ruskin founded the Guild of St. George, a philanthropic enterprise to which members contributed funds. JA’s personal copy of *Selections from the Writings of John Ruskin* (1887) is among a special collection of Hull-House library books and JA’s personal library at UIC, JAMC.

14. Their excursion to Fiesole, an ancient Etruscan town in the hills outside Florence, was “delightful,” JA wrote GBH, “the only drawback being the swarms of beggars which haunted the carriage constantly” (8 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1403). (The word “which” may have been overwritten by JA as “who.”) The excavation of Fiesole (970 ft.) had begun in 1873, just a decade before their visit. “The old Roman amphitheatre is the most antient looking

affair we have seen. The almond trees are all in blossom, the roses very pink and fragrant in the hedges." JA's party also rode to Certosa, three miles further, a Dominican monastery that looked like a medieval fortress. The "views were very fine," JA wrote SAAH. She found "a drink of their celebrated 'Chartreuse' & a whiff of their perfumes were quite satisfactory" (6 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1396). SH found the wine "horrid though it is not just the thing to say so" (SH to Linn Hostetter, 6 Mar. 1884, *JAPP*, Schneider). Temperance advocate and anti-Catholic AHHA disparaged the monks at Certosa: "They make all sorts of perfumes and nectars and have a way of beguiling the innocent—into unrighteous ways—old grey beards—that wear white gowns and caps called the white Friars—(and, danger[ou]s wolves in side I am sure)," she wrote her son. The monastery "left a sad impression of dark and evil times gone by—for which it had been used. Cloisters—and—underground path ways and cells all have frightful secrets untold" (AHHA to HWH, 11 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

15. JA reported from Florence to SAAH that she enjoyed re-reading *Romola* "as never before" (6 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1398). SH urged sister Sue and her husband Henry Mackay to read it, too. "[T]he descriptions of Florence are good and the accounts of Savoronola exciting and I suppose almost true" (28 Feb. 1884, *JAPP*, Schneider).

To Sarah F. Blaisdell

Rome is "like undertaking to see the world itself, to see all of its sights," Jane wrote to her brother John Weber Addams.¹ "The ruins are depressing at first rather than inspiring," she confided to stepbrother George Haldeman, "but the inspiration and enthusiasm come as you learn to locate them better & see the connection of the past with yourself and the present."² Rome was simply too big, too grand, and too complex for Jane to capture in a single travel letter. Instead, she managed numerous letters from Rome that offer details of several special attractions.³ The Addams-Ellwood-Penfield travelers investigated the ancient city and visited early Christian sites. They explored St. Peter's Cathedral, the Vatican, the catacombs, the Appian Way, Caesar's household columbarium, and the Baths of Caracalla. On seeing the Colosseum by moonlight after touring it by day, Sarah Hostetter remarked that "it was lovely,"⁴ while Jane reported that it was "subdued and enlarged and very imposing."⁵

Jane seemed most intrigued with the Church of St. Cecilia,⁶ which was "built right over her house." Jane reported, "I feel differently towards her than to most of the Catholic saints—as if she really lived and was a good and beautiful woman whether a saint or not."⁷ The travelers also explored the Capitoline Hill and the Forum and then trod the Spanish steps where artists gathered to paint. Russell Forbes,⁸ an American expatriate who gave knowledgeable tours to various Roman sites for English-speaking travelers, and Hare's Walks in Rome⁹ were their primary guides in Rome.

It was also in Rome that Jane continued her search for a sculptor to render a life-sized medallion in marble of the head of her father, John Huy Addams. Jane and Anna had visited the gallery of American sculptor Hiram Powers in Florence, but according to Jane, Anna did not care for "the Power work very much." In the



St. Peter's Cathedral and the Vatican, the Colosseum, the Roman Forum, and the tomb of St. Cecilia were among the venues in Rome that Jane Addams visited. (From *Ricardo Di Roma*, JAPP)

same letter, Jane fretted that she was “almost afraid to try it, lest it should be a failure and a disappointment after all.”¹⁰ After investigating sculptors in Rome, she wrote: “We have been looking up the sculpture studios &c and are rather discouraged about the medallion.”¹¹ In fact, by the time the women left Rome, Jane had “entirely given up” on the marble medallion idea.¹²

Leaving Rome on 21 April, Jane, Anna, and Sarah traveled south by train to Naples. They stayed in Naples for one night at the Hotel de Vesuve; while there Jane and Sarah made arrangements for travel to Greece. The most thrilling sight in Naples was an eruption of Mt. Vesuvius. As they left at 5 A.M. on 23 April for the 380-mile train ride to Brindisi (arriving fourteen hours later), they observed “the smoke reddened by the flames and stretching away over the sky was very plain, and broad tongues of flames came up every few minutes.”¹³ They slept that night on board the Italian steamer Egadi, which departed for Athens on 24 April. They arrived in Athens two days later and stayed for a week, making sightseeing trips to ruins and ancient sites. Returning to Italy on 2 May, the women sailed past Sicily and landed in Naples, where they spent ten days visiting museums, ascending Vesuvius, and making excursions to Pompeii, Ischia, Sorrento, and Capri. Although her descriptions are sparse, Jane Addams was deeply moved by Greece, explaining to her friend Ellen Gates Starr¹⁴ that Greek ruins, especially the Parthenon, had a perfection and permanence that she did not find in Rome or elsewhere.¹⁵

META EENOΔOXEION ΑΥΥΛΙΑΣ¹⁶

Hotel de Angleterre Athens Greece

April 26" 1884

My dear Miss Blaisdell

I have been so ashamed of the hurried letter I sent you from Florence that I have hoped you never received it.¹⁷ Compromises of that kind between desire and inability are never a success, and I ought to have waited until we were quietly settled at Rome before writing you.

We have been planning all winter for a visit to Athens, but had quite given it up until last week when our enthusiasm suddenly overcame all difficulties and we found ourselves safely in port at Piraeus at five o'clock this morning.¹⁸ It is mortifying to confess that we were far more sea-sick on the Mediterranean than the Atlantic, and we are still so uncertain of ourselves that we will not venture out in the glaring sun to-day;¹⁹ But although I have seen nothing of Athens as yet, I am going to write you at once, for every Greek sign makes me wish that you were here to appeal to, and every time I look from my window I wish that you could see the Acropolis.

Our ride of six miles from the harbor was very novel, the road is on the remains of the one built by Themistocles along the north wall connecting Piraeus with Athens.²⁰ We could see remnants of the wall built into the cafés which line the entire way, and the little tables in front of the doorways were all occupied

even at that hour in the morning. The Turks were very disagreeable looking, their baggy trousers were too soiled and worn even to look picturesque, and the red fez was usually black with grime. The Albanians were much more attractive, they wear a loose embroidered vest and jacket, and a little white skirt gathered very very full about the waist and reaching to the knees. These skirts were always dazzlingly white and perfectly clean, and very pretty in the contrast, to the red gaiters and pointed red shoes.²¹ The wheat fields were ripe and red with the most gorgeous poppies I ever saw, we passed little groups of men harvesting in their lazy way, cutting a handful of wheat with a little round sickle, then picking it up and carrying it to a little loose stack. Fortunately the fields were small or it would have been an impossibility ever to have cut them.²²

Long before we reached Athens we saw the Acropolis,²³ and it was a relief to have it to look at, after we ~~reached~~ <came to> the dirty and ill kept suburbs. Goats and donkeys swarmed the streets as thickly as the ragged people and we were glad to reach the new part of the city, which is clean and modern. Our hotel is on the palace square with an outlook, which but for the costumes in the streets and the cafés everywhere, might be the outlook of a French town.²⁴ We had honey from Mt Hymettus²⁵ for our breakfast. I know not whether it was a sea-appetite or classic associations but it came very near to my idea of ambrosia.

We will be here until next Friday and return to Naples by way of Sicily.²⁶ We will see all we can in such a short time of the ruins,²⁷ the University²⁸ and Dr Schliemann²⁹ and even if there is little accurate knowledge we are sure of gaining much inspiration, and that after all is the main thing one lacks.

Our journey from Rome was full of incident, long before we reached Brindisi I remembered Horace's famous journey and was highly amused when a smell of fish floated into the car windows at Bari.³⁰ We passed through the famous olive grove between Bari & Brindisi, the trees are so old and twisted that they scarcely look like trees at all, the heavy branches are supported by piers of masonry and looking through them they appear like rows of columns, some of the trees have great stones imbedded in their trunks which they have lifted high from the ground, and look as if they were about to hurl them at you with their vicious arms, the wretched peasants building up the roots or picking stones under them, seemed of far less consequence than the thousand year old tree, and as if their life was of consequence only as ministered to the trees.

Brindisi itself was very white and glaring and we were glad to put out to sea. We were scarcely out of sight of shore during the journey, and it was all historical from Navarino to Salamis.³¹ We came within hailing distance of the shore at Cape Malea, where it rises abruptly from the sea for two hundred feet and seems perfectly inaccessible from above or below.³² On a little ledge a third of the way up is a hermits cell, a brick cone the shape of an old fashioned bee hive with no opening save the door, and two little arched arcades built on either side. The hermit has never left the mountain for over thirty years; Still higher

up where it look in danger of tumbling down every minute, is his church, built in the form of a tiny Greek cross with a dome—and unmistakably a church. The pious people of the neighborhood deposit food here every morning at the risk of breaking their necks. Our gruff old captain took off his cap and roared out a salute as he passed, but although the door of the cell opened, we saw nothing. The Captain confessed in an undertone that he sometimes left him a bag of oranges or dates, “when he was ahead of time, and there were n’t a lot of passengers to make remarks.”

We were in Rome for five weeks, it almost seemed when we left it as if we never could be the same again as when we came, and yet one is almost afraid to leave it, for fear that the added sense will go, when the “visible history” is no longer around you.³³

In all the other cities we had seen <as Berlin, Venice or Florence> our interest inevitably centered in three or four men, or at least in a generation or two, and it was comparatively easy to find traces of their lives or to see their works, and like studying biography in the most delightful circumstances. But Rome was like the history of the world itself, no one man was of sufficient account to have made any difference, and each spot of ground had been lived <over> four or fives times and was covered with at least three layers of ruins. It was at first confusing and depressing, but a little familiarity, produced an affection and proprietor ship as I have n’t felt any where since I left home. May be it is because you see that the ground even, can not belong long to any one association, that you feel your broader relationship with the human race as you never were in circumstances to see it before. It makes an impression—a difference in my own life—as any history I had ever read before never did.

We were in the city during the Easter ceremonies,³⁴ the passion week was impressive with the uniformly darkened churches, the veiled pictures, the desolate sobbing music and the throngs of penitents before the altars. The Easter ceremonies are much less impressive than in the days of the Pope, Cardinal Howard presided at St Peters and his Holiness did not appear. His ~~question~~ <position> is very delicate and all he can do, is to act the role of a deposed monarch. St Peters has been reduced to a parish church, he cannot appear in it with his own armed guard and to ask the government for a guard, would be to acknowledge the king’s authority which he declares does not exist. One felt a touch of sympathy for him, for he is really a prisoner in the Vatican. We went to St Peters as often as we could, for repetition of the impression is the only thing to give one an idea of its size. On Palm Sunday³⁵ we came to the Piazza about ten o’clock and found it filled with carriages, and streams of people pouring into St Peters—the steps always impressed me as if they were not made for <a> solitary person to ascend, but only intended and fit for a long procession or stately rites—we lifted the curtain to the door expecting of course to see the Church crowded, but to our surprise <at> the first view it looked empty, almost no-one was in the long nave, the two side chapels where the services were held

were large enough to contain all the people, and although the music was loud and full in the chapel, the main body of the church was quiet and it required some little search to find where the services were. It gave me a new idea of the immensity of the building but when the long procession bearing the palms moved down the nave and the huge doors which only open once a year on Palm Sunday & then by a miracle, duly opened without visible aid, the Church seemed filled with moving priests and boys and not large at all.

My mother has just suggested that writing letters all morning is not the quickest way to recover from the effects of the mal de mare, and I think I had better close this long letter. She sends her very kindest regards to you. Mrs Young with Mary and Puss left us at Rome, they are anxious to meet Mr Will Ellwood³⁶ in Paris the first of May and so were obliged to hurry on. My cousin is with us but expects to return with the rest of the party in August, while my mother & I have quite decided to spend another winter abroad, unless there should be some thing special to call us home. We expect George for the summer, will meet him in Switzerland in June. I will be very glad to hear from you, I hope to have more time for letter writing, for I am better every day and can endure the fatigue of travel more easily, I wrote no letters at all except home for the first months. Please give my kindest remembrances to Prof. and Mrs Blaisdell,³⁷ I remember my call at their house last June as one of my pleasantest fare wells to America. It always comes to my mind in connection with your home in Beloit.

I hear the Sem'y news from Miss Anderson,³⁸ and am anxious just now as all the graduates must be, to hear of Miss Sill's decisions for the future. I wish that she could come abroad next year, if one goes slowly travelling can be comfortable, and I am sure she would enjoy it and be able to endure it. I heard from Helen Harrington³⁹ the other day, and hope to see her in the summer. Yours with unchanging affection

Jane Addams.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1422-37).

1. 20 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1444.
2. 21 Mar. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1448.
3. JA to JWA, 20 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; JA to GBH, 21 Mar. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; JA to SAAH, 25 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; JA to MCAL, 31 Mar. 1884, Microfilm; JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; JA to SAAH, 11 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; and JA to MCAL, 15 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm. *JAPM*, 1:1443-46, 1450-58, 1459-62, 1464-69, 1470-73, 1474-76.
4. SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 10 Apr. 1884, JAPP, Schneider.
5. JA to SAAH, 11 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1472.
6. The home of St. Cecelia (d. ca. 230 or 176), the martyred virgin who became the patron saint of church music. According to legend, it was first converted to a church by Urban I (pope 222-30). The church was rebuilt in 1725.
7. JA to SAAH, 25 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1457.
8. JA and her party relied heavily on the expertise of Russell Forbes during their stay. SH

proclaimed that she was inclined to believe “Mr. F.’s theory rather than Baedeker” regarding the ruins of several temples near the Colosseum (“Diary, 1884,” 24 Mar.). AHHA agreed. JA explained to JWA that Forbes “is quite popular in Rome just now for rambling lectures [i.e. walking tours]. He is a self made American, verry clearheaded, and sure of what he does know” (20 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1444). For four francs each for two hours of lecture, the women joined his tours of the Capitoline Hill, the Forum, the Appian Way, Tivoli, the Ghetto Quarter, the Palatine Hill, and the Coliseum.

9. SH’s copy of Augustus J. C. Hare’s work is annotated to indicate each sight she saw and when she saw it. Russell Forbes’s name is often written in as the lecturer.

10. JA to SAAH, 16 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1442, 1441.

11. JA to SAAH, 11 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1473.

12. JA to SAAH, [ca. 7–19 May 1884], UIC, JAMC, HJ; *JAPM*, 1:1497.

13. JA to JWA, 23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1478.

14. JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, below.

15. This letter was attached to JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 15 Mar. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1418–21.

16. The hotel’s name in Greek.

17. JA wrote Sarah Blaisdell, her Greek instructor at RFS, from Florence on 15 Mar. 1884 (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1418–21). The traveling party arrived in Rome two days later.

18. The trip to Greece, which was not on the usual Grand Tour, may have been the boldest adventure for JA and companions during their time in Europe because it was potentially dangerous. JA had pushed the idea despite the ambivalence of AHHA and SH. In the 1870s, archaeologist Heinrich Schliemann (see n. 29) traveled in the countryside outside Athens with armed bodyguards, since outlaw bands had been known to attack travelers.

In Rome, SH wrote home that “Jane has just been in to talk about Athens she seems determined to go and it may turn out after all that we will go for a week” (SH to Linn Hostetter, 13 Apr. 1884, JAPP, Schneider). A week later SH expressed her ambivalent feeling that the Athens trip might be “a wild goose chase perhaps but Jane is very anxious and as we will never be any nearer I suppose it is all right” (SH to Linn Hostetter, 20 Apr. 1884, JAPP, Schneider). To JWA, JA implied that all three were eager to take the trip. “We have wanted all winter to go to Athens,” she wrote him from Brindisi, Italy, “and finally made up our minds to a two weeks trip, and are thus far on our way” (23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1477). The decision was not reached until near the time of departure. JA wrote her sister SAAH from Brindisi: “We are en route for Athens, have decided at last. We take a ship here at 6 to-morrow morning reach Athens Saturday morning, stay a week and return via Sicily to Naples” (23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1481).

19. The three women left Brindisi, an ancient port on the southeastern Italian coast, the main embarkation point to Greece and the Mideast, on 24 Apr. on the Italian steamer *Egadi*. “We were the only Ladies on board three men and a woman who was of a disagreeable character.” Seasickness set in almost immediately. “We did not see much as Jane & I were sick the whole of the first day and even Aunt Ann gave in to sea sickness,” SH noted in her diary. “The sea was unusually calm so the Captain said and we could not see why we had to be so sick” (24–26 Apr.). Describing their first day out, AHHA felt obliged to “draw a curtin—over the scene—for alas! a more sea sick . . . three—could hardly—be found. I who was such a good sailor on the deep Ocean—and every other water we crossed did succumb—on the Adriatic.” Although she was “only sick—a few hours,” AHHA wrote to son HWH, “Sarah and Jane—did not react till the next day. Then their appetites had a keen edge, and food was relished with a gusto” (27 Apr. 1884, IU, Lilly, SAAH). Their last dinner en route to Greece was “one of the funniest experiences we have had,” JA related to MCAL. “An Italian lady spoke German & French, but no English. A Frenchman spoke a little English & Italian but no German, and an Italian gentleman who was very jolly and insisted upon talking Italian

to every body whether they understood or not, and last of all the Captain who understood a little of everything, just enough to get the meaning horribly mixed and very funny. For the two hours of the long table de'hôte we kept up a general conversation, and no matter in what language it was held, the conversation had to be translated to a least two people. It was very entertaining and proved an effectual cure to sea sickness" (26 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1485).

20. They arrived at Piraeus, the port for Athens, at 1 A.M., "and after four there was no more sleep so we arose and dressed & the minute we got on deck a dozen or more men rushed at us and in all sorts of Languages wanted to take us on shore," SH recalled. "We were armed with Cook tickets and quietly inquired for our man an old man stepped up and showed us a paper proving him to be the right one so we took him and left the steamer . . . for a little boat that took us to shore." In their agent's protective custody the three women encountered "a drove of the worst looking persons," SH wrote, "but the Cook man took a carriage & away we drove to Athens about six miles." She recalled that the "horses drove on a full trot all the way stopping only once at a wayside inn for water" ("Diary, 1884," 24–26 Apr.).

AHHA wrote to HWH that they came six miles over "the celebrated way built by Themistocles—the foundations of which were old bottles and glass—filled with mortar—and of course—has been kept up with fine stones, filled in for hundreds of years" (27 Apr. 1884, IU, Lilly, SAAH). Themistocles (ca. 527–460 B.C.) was the Athenian leader who led his people to freedom from Persian rule in 479 B.C. Under his aegis the Long Walls were constructed between 460 and 445 B.C., connecting Piraeus with Athens.

21. Greece was part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire from the early fifteenth century until an independent Greek kingdom was established in 1833. Its relations with Turkey were still unsettled in the 1880s. SH described Greece as "in a transission state, King George of Denmark has been king since 1863 and the kingdom has increased in extent & culture since the Turks have lost control over it" ("Diary, 1884," 28 Apr.). AHHA noted that lower-class Turkish men wore "knee stockings with a sort of loose sack (or skirt) pulled in at the knees and that flaps in and out" as they walked "in a most ungainly way," along with "a turban and turned up shoes." She found that the "more dignified turks wear the full pantaloons fastened at the ankle—caste in dress—as well as in power forms well drawn lines of demarkation, that as yet, admits of no new departure." Women wore "turkish head dresses" and "long dresses." She remarked on seeing "only one colored person an African woman—as black as night" (AHHA to HWH, 27 Apr. 1884, IU, Lilly, SAAH). As for Albanians, JA noted that the men's embroidered vests and "general appearance of drapery" made them look like "very elaborately dressed women." The Albanians' and Turks' "striking costumes in the streets make us almost feel as if we were in an oriental country," JA wrote her sister MCAL (26 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1486). Albania was Greece's closest neighbor to the northwest on the Balkan Peninsula. During the waning days of the Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century, many Albanians were recruited to fight for Greece and settled there with their families, creating a substantial minority Albanian community.

22. The women also remarked on the dazzling wild poppies in southern Italian fields. "The Poppies grew every where like weeds, bigger and redder than any poppies I ever saw before" (JA to JWA, 23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1477). AHHA described the poppies there as "beds of fire" (AHHA to GBH, 23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ). The poppy was the class flower of JA's RFS graduating class of 1881.

23. The Acropolis, located on a rocky hill 500 feet above Athens, was "the earliest seat of the Athenian kings," the Baedeker guide noted, "who here sat in judgement and assembled their councils." The fifth-century B.C. ruins "still present the finest picture of the unrivalled art of antiquity" (*Greece*, 39). From her hotel room, JA enjoyed the "very fine" view of the "Acropolis with the ruined temples." If they had not been "so thoroughly shaken by the sea," they would "no doubt have rushed to it the first thing," she informed MCAL. "[B]ut the streets

underneath are very dirty and disagreeable with the open sewers and dozens of donkeys and goats" (26 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1487). AHHA was indignant that "the horrid Turks" had used the Acropolis "for a fortress and blew it to pieces with gun powder. 'Tis too sad," she wrote her son GBH, "one feels weighed down with—a sorrow that no words can express" ([4–7 May 1884], UIC, JAMC, HJ).

24. The hotel the Addams party had selected was comfortable and centrally located. "As I sit in front of a third story window (the window is on the French plan) that and opens from top to bottom like a door—so that it lets in the wide expanse of far distant hills,—and range of mountains on one side—the Acropolis right in sight to the left and the busy streets near by sandwiched between, so that by lifting my eyes from the page—I see some—new scene,—objects,—and people," wrote AHHA to HWH in her first letter to him from Athens on 27 Apr. 1884 (IU, Lily, SAAH). She was impressed with the modern convenience of a telegraph station in the hotel and telephones in each room up to the fifth floor.

SH had a "pleasant room" but objected to the fact that on either side of her "there are gentlemen and they will give vent to their feelings. One persists in whistling all sorts of tunes and in practising vocal exercises," which disturbed her sleep. As she was "humming very quietly" to herself "the Old Kentucky Home," she was astonished to hear her neighbor "whistle 'Mollie Darling.'" She had "been very quiet ever since" ("Diary, 1884," 26 Apr.).

Like the pensions where they had stayed in other European cities, the Athens hotel was filled with Americans and English. The women sat at "a table that seats 60 persons two thirds filled with Americans—one fourth English the—remainder being miscellaneous, representing—different nationalities—five and (more) different languages being spoken" (AHHA to HWH, 27 Apr. 1884, IU, Lily, SAAH). By the time they left Athens a few days later, the group of thirty-five Americans at the hotel had dwindled, replaced mainly by Germans.

25. Hymettus was a mountain three miles south of Athens, celebrated by classical writers for its delectable honey.

26. On their return trip, see JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884; and Essay in the *RSM*, Jan. 1885[1886], below.

27. They made excursions to the Temple of Jupiter Olympus, the Stadium, the Odeon of Herodes Atticus, the monument of Philopappus (allegedly containing the prison of Socrates), the Parthenon, the Tower of the Winds, the ruins of the old Market Gate, the Stoa of Hadrian, the burial ground of Agia Triada, and the Temple of Theseus. They concluded their touring in Athens with the Theatre of Dionysus and a second visit to the Acropolis. JA's responses to the ruins of classical Athens were few; she made only sketchy comments if she made any at all in her diary. Five weeks after returning from Athens, JA summarized her response to the ancient ruins in a letter to EGS, 8 June 1884, below. In contrast, SH's and AHHA's impressions were copious (see AHHA to HWH, 27 Apr. and 1 May 1884, IU, Lily, SAAH; and SH, "Diary, 1884," 24 Apr.–6 May).

JA was disappointed that they did not explore the Greek countryside. Her cousin and stepmother were opposed to rides out of the city, probably due to the perception of danger (see n. 18). "Jane is very much disgusted that we could not take long rides into the country," SH wrote to her sister and brother-in-law from Athens. "We tried it once & though nothing happened to us I would not care to venture far alone again. I offered to go if we would get a courier but on no other conditions would I. The people are so terrible looking and they are wholly unaccustomed to see ladies without a gentleman escort" (SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 1 May 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

28. The Univ. of Athens, located in the modern section of the city, had been built in 1837. Following the German model, it had schools of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. The Addams party was "not exactly favourably impressed with the students who swarm over the city," JA informed SAAH. "I think most of them are Germans" (see 7 May 1884, below).

29. Heinrich Schliemann (1822–90), a wealthy German-born businessman, was noted

for his archaeological excavations. In 1870 he claimed to have unearthed the remains of the ancient city of Troy at Hissarlik in western Turkey (he kept the artifacts as his personal property). He was also responsible for major discoveries at Mycenae in Greece during the 1870s. Schliemann donated a substantial portion of his collection to the National Museum in Berlin in 1880. When JA and companions visited Athens, the self-taught Schliemann was a world-renowned figure who was then supervising a dig at Tiryns in Greece. He and his discoveries have long been the subject of bitter disputes. Four days after arriving in Athens, AHHA wrote to him. He replied that he was “exceedingly sorry not to be able to see you today” as he was “leaving with the Hereditary Prince of Saxony Meiningen” on an archaeological trip. But “my house and collections you can see any time you please as my doorkeeper has the keys” (30 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1488–89).

AHHA informed her son GBH that “Athenians do not like him very well—they say he—robbed them of much of their finest statuary and sold it away from Athens—and other places in Greece.” She blamed the Greeks because the country “could not protect itself against theft when it was in tumult and war—and its people slaves neither—Peer nor peasant seemed to hold an interest in any of the fine arts” ([4–7 May 1884], UIC, JAMC, HJ).

30. On their journey south from Rome, see JA to JWA, 23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1477–79. Bari was a town in southern Italy on the Adriatic Sea, noted by Roman poet Horace (65–68 B.C.) for its fisheries.

31. Navarino was the medieval name for Pílos, a town on the west coast of Greece. It was the scene of an early battle (425 B.C.) between Athenians and Spartans in the Peloponnesian War and the site of the rout of the Turkish navy by a combined British, French, and Russian fleet in 1827 that ended the Greek war of liberation. The Greek island of Salamis, close to Piraeus, was the site of the Athenian naval victory over the Persian fleet of Xerxes in 480 B.C..

32. After rounding Cape Malea at the southernmost tip of Greece, they sailed directly north to Athens. JA mentioned the hermit and his dwelling in her letter to MCAL, 26 Apr. 1884; the captain described the solitary man as “over seventy years old . . . a ‘very tall man with a big big beard’” (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1486).

33. JA also discussed events from her five-week sojourn in Rome in several letters home (see n. 3). Writing to EGS, JA contrasted the impact Rome and Athens had on her (see 8 June 1884, below).

34. “We had hoped to see the Pope at Easter time, but he never appears to the people since his lands were taken away from him in 1870,” JA wrote to her brother from Rome. “The Catholics say that he is a prisoner and a robbed and abused man but he certainly has a magnificent prison with its 1300 rooms” (20 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1446). SH noted in her diary that the pope did not even appear on Easter Sunday to “give his blessing to the people” and that his “power is almost gone” (5 Apr. 1884). Until 1870, Rome was the last of several papal states that had originated in the sixth century that the pope ruled directly. By the sixteenth century, the papal states took up much of central Italy. Napoleon’s forces seized most of the pope’s domain in 1797. The Congress of Vienna returned the lands in 1815, but in the 1850s and 1860s, nationalists led by King Victor Emmanuel II incorporated the papal states into the unified Italian kingdom, culminating in its takeover of Rome in 1870 as the new Italian capital. Until the 1929 Lateran Treaty recognized the Holy See as a sovereign nation, pontiffs considered themselves voluntary prisoners in the Vatican, beginning with Pope Pius IX (1792–1878). Leo XIII (1810–1903), who succeeded Pius IX in 1878, was serving when JA visited Rome. He had ordered Italian Catholics to stop participating in Italian politics and presumably was protesting the king’s rule by refusing to appear publicly during Easter week, sending Cardinal Edward Henry Howard (1829–92) in his stead. Although conservative like his predecessor, Leo issued the progressive encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) on the condition of labor (advocating just wages and trade unions), the first modern papal statement on social justice, for which he was called “the workers’ pope.”

35. After three weeks in Rome, JA, SH, and AHHA attended the momentous ritual of Palm Sunday services at the sixteenth-century St. Peter's Basilica, the heart of the Vatican. JA wrote to her sister SAAH that when they arrived at the massive domed cathedral, "the piazza was alive with carriages and people pouring up the splendid steps, which always seem to large and gradual for one person to walk up alone, but as if they were planned and made for triumphal cars and stately processions." They had "expected to see the nave crowded," but to their "surprise the church looked almost empty at first sight, although there were hundreds of people in it. The two chapels w[h]ere services were being held, were crowded, and an incessant stream of the devout were constantly kissing the bronze toe of St. Peter's statue, but there was a crowd no where else. The sense of its being animated make[s] the building seem bigger than ever before & more 'comprehensible' and humane." Although disappointed not to see the pope, JA described the "grand procession" that Cardinal Howard presided over, which "passed down the right side of the nave into the portico and came in at the great doors which are only opened once a year at this time, and then are declared to open miraculously. Sure enough," she wrote, "at just the right moment they swung slowly open without any hand touching them, the Catholics bowed their heads devoutly, but I am afraid that the heretics looked for the concealed pulleys & ropes." She kept "a piece of the olive which was blessed and handed about among the people." She enclosed "a few leaves," mentioning to SAAH that "if you have any devout Catholic you would like to present them to, he will probably be delighted" (6 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1464–66).

A week later, on Easter Sunday, JA again attended the service at St. Peter's, during which the papal choir sang for an hour and a half. To sister MCAL, wife of Presbyterian minister JML, JA confided that it was "an absolute relief and happiness to have Easter here and all the mumery over" (15 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1475). The three Protestant women expressed varying degrees of anti-Catholic (and anti-Italian) prejudice. JA dismissed Italian religious rituals as strange or pompous, and her cousin was repelled by what they had witnessed during Holy Week. On Palm Sunday at St. Peter's, SH and AHHA watched at least "a dozen persons kiss the toe of the statue" of St. Peter, SH wrote home, "not only the common looking people but persons well dressed & intelligent." She observed a "stately old gentleman" wipe the foot "with his handkerchief before he kissed it. It really made me sick, because I suppose I cannot understand the feeling. They have the religion & devotion with all the spirituality taken out to all appearances" (SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 6 Mar. [Apr.] 1884, JAPP, Schneider). The Good Friday scene at the Scala Santa, steps brought to the Vatican from Jerusalem that Jesus had allegedly climbed, disturbed her as well. She and JA watched "what happened when these poor deluded people reached the top & there was a most shocking image of Christ crucified," which they "kissed & wept over," SH wrote her brother. Even if they had no "old churches & ruins," she asserted, Americans were more "animated and enterprising" than the people of Italy, who "delight in idleness" (SH to Linn Hostetter, 13 Apr. 1884, JAPP, Schneider). She commented in another letter that if the Italians were "more intelligent and honest one might have at least a little respect for their religion" (SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 6 Mar. [Apr.] 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

For JA's stepmother, visiting the Rome of ancient pagans and present-day Catholics was a trial that prompted her to write invective-filled letters home to her sons. She wrote to HWH, "The three hundred—and—40 churches—grander than many palaces—had consumed all the money—people had no work—and, no pay—and they went to stealing—and turned into public thieves." Not only did she criticize papal opulence and corruption but she found Italians to be "profound in—nothing," like "children who are only seeking some indulgence for the passing hour. (And why should not they when indulgences—are sold at every church—and—public notices—printed to that effect.)" She called Italians "wretched people—preist ridden, blinded and crippled mind and soul not made responsible agents—a preists intercessions and the Pope's—pardon—send all to heaven and, none to hell all for theire Mercies sake—Amen."

She felt that “[t]he heathen are in <a> more hopeful condition—as they profess less—than these—bigoted prejudiced Catholic’s” (10 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

36. William (“Will”) Ellwood, the Ellwood sisters’ oldest brother, had married Jane (“Jennie”) Marie Allen in July 1883. She may have accompanied him on his 1884 European trip.

37. For a biographical note on Sarah Blaisdell’s brother, James J. Blaisdell, and his wife, Susan Ann Allen Blaisdell, see *PJA*, 1:185–86, n. 46.

38. SA, JA’s teacher and mentor at RFS, continued to be a close friend and an important link with her alma mater.

39. Helen Harrington, JA’s RFS classmate, was studying at the Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor. For a biographical note, see *PJA*, 1:393, n. 7.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Naples Italy

May 7" 1884

My dear Alice

We landed safely at Naples last evening about nine.¹ It seemed for a few hours as if the sail into the bay repaid the trip, it is surely “a bit of heaven to earth vouchsafed.” The moon was young and very bright, the sea a perfect purple and Vesuvius flashing and smoking as if it could not contain itself, the smoke leaves the crater in one grand curve and sweep. The only thing comparable to it is the tail of the comet we saw when I was in Mitchellville,² it is the same huge swing regardless of all consequence. We felt for the moment as if any other bay or harbor, however beautiful, would be tame without the smoking mountain. But there was never a greater contrast to all the quiet beauty than when we landed. The steamers always stop about a half mile from shore, and you must depend on the shaky little row boats, the bay seemed suddenly alive with them, the men shouting and knocking each other away with their long oars, they would climb up the sides of the boat like cats and shout down to you from the rigging above the sides of the ship beneath and hits your ears until it was distracting. Such a swearing and shouting & tumbling of baggage I don’t believe any body but Neopolitan Italians could do. We had become so used to a Cook agent in this trip that we looked about as usual for our blue coated German and as none appeared we quietly sat down for the hub bub to subside. At the end of one half hour it was comparatively quiet and we secured a boat, got through the custom-house finely and were just congratulating ourselves on our coolness and success, when we had to encounter the cab men. Quantities of men prowl about the cab stands, mount the box unless they are forcibly prevented and ride in triumph to the hotel, where they extort money either from you or from the hotel men for bringing you. We had been warned against them over and over again, but one of the worst sort “nabbed us.” He talked English & talked a great deal, about another custom house & courier to the hotel being necessary &c and although he did ride to the hotel we had said nothing to him and got off without paying any money. It is part of the unjust travelling system to make the

traveller himself responsible for everything that happens to him, as Dr Hawks said to us "be very careful in the streets of Rome, the drivers run you down, knock you over, and make you pay for it." However the experience now it is over, was rather interesting.

To go from the end to the beginning of our sail we left the harbor of Piraeus ~~Saturday~~ Friday morning at ten. Nothing could have been finer than the first days sail, we skirted along the Grecian coast until evening, through the Straits of Salamis and along the historical Mts of Argolis.³ The shore was a deep blue it was continuously of Mts raising in billows one above the other & the water was an indescribable shade of intensified sky.

We were the only ladies on board and perfectly overwhelmed with the attentions of the Captain & his three mates, the chief engineer, who was a Scotchman and acted as general interpreter and every man of the entire crew.⁴ The "Egarde"⁵ is said to be the largest boat in the Mediterranean and the Capt had been with her to America ten times & of course spoke some English. We were on long enough to feel the intimate, interested feeling to every body & every thing on board which I have heard people describe as their experience on the Atlantic steamers, but which I did not in the least experience on the Servia. Just at sunset the first evening we rounded Cape Matapan,⁶ you remember that Virgil says it is there Aeolus⁷ keeps his winds in bags, and he certainly unbagged them all that evening.

The Captain said that it was the Adriatic flowing into the Mediterranean, but such a night as we had of it I hope never to pass again. It was not only the side way roll of the ocean steamer, but in addition an up & down which threatened each time to land you on your head and stand you up again on your feet. About five in the morning I determined to try the ladies cabin, laid down on one of the sofas where the stewardess kindly brought be[d] pillows & a shawl & I never moved from that one spot until six in evening. I wondered how Ma & Sarah were faring but could not possibly go to see. About two the Stewardess brought word that the "madam was on deck and buono"⁸ that the Mademoiselle was still playing Jonah & the whale or rather made vigorous motions to that effect.⁹ About six Ma was well enough to come down and insist upon our going on deck and as the storm was subsiding we forthwith grew better. It has been very funny since & was even funny then, but we will keep off of the Mediterranean. I will never forget my sensations when the steward came into the ladies cabin,—just after I had ejected my very boots it seemed to me,—with an egg in his hand which he made me understand one of the hens cooped up on deck had just laid & that he wanted to cook for me. Just at that moment an egg was the most repulsive thing on earth, and an egg laid by a sea-sick hen was unendurable. On Sunday morning about nine we landed at Messina <Catania>, for a cargo of oranges and sulphur, the view of Mt Ætna¹⁰ was magnificent, it smokes sort of calmly and benignly—like an after dinner-pipe and very different from Vesuvius. It was much higher but less abrupt, the acres of olive groves on its side and the fertile country full of villiages which straggle up the sides is very pretty & takes away

all the fire & brim-stone look. There are three distinct zones of vegetation & by a marine glass we could just discern them. We ran along the coast of Sicily to Messina¹¹ getting there about six, the straits were very beautiful and the harbor one of the finest we have seen. We were there until five the next evening, but were too used up from our sea-sickness to venture on shore. We were very sorry and very much disappointed but there was no help for it, the harbor was cool & breezy but the <was> shore intensely hot. The country I suppose is the most fertile in the world, we were feasted on the most delicate straw-berries, great lucious cherries[,] oranges[,] and “[janpones]” a new fruit to us which might have grown in Paradise.¹² We left the “Egardi” here, the gallant Captain took us in his own boat & settled us in our new quarters, the boat was little and full of passengers but took us safely to Naples in twenty six hours.¹³ This letter is too long to add much of our fellow passengers, the young Greek who was going to America & very home sick and poetical, quoting Pindar on the sunset and Homer on the “changing sea.”¹⁴ The Turkish light house inspector, who had such a contempt for “Greek lights” that merely to look at one seemed to put him in a rage.¹⁵

I meant to write again from Athens, but the six days there went around very quickly, we saw very little of the country of Greece but the city of Athens itself is a wonderful affair. We went through Dr Schliemann house¹⁶ which he so proud of, he himself was away from home but the house is open at[rium?] the plan was thoroughly Greek, the mosaics <on the wall> & paintings on the walls remind one of Pompeii & the open atrium was very comfortless and cold. His collection is extremely interesting and I was perfectly amazed at the amount of pure beaten gold & the fineness of the pottery and swords. The University is a very handsome building in a thoroughly restored and elaborated Greek style, we were not exactly favourably impressed with the students who swarm over the city, I think most of them are Germans as are the majority of the Prof[e]sso[rs] I believe. Of the ruin[s] the temple of Thesius¹⁷ is the best preserved, it stands in the middle of an open space now used as a parade & drill ground. We will be here a week or ten days and go north as quickly as possible for it is getting warm. Mrs Penfield had a touch of the malaria in Rome but is quite well now in Milan. We spent the morning in the museum, the wall painting from Pompeii are simply exquisite & full of life & story, not at all old & uninteresting as I had always imagined.¹⁸ The Farnese Bull¹⁹ & the Psyche²⁰ are two of the finest things, the first for the beauty gradeur & the second for beauty that we have seen. Your letters this morning were very welcome, we had had no mail for two weeks & it had accumulated here, I had twelve letters I believe & the rest fared as well.

To morrow we go to Pompeii,²¹ there is a fête given in the form of an ancient marriage feast with all the appropriate costumes &c.

It is too late to write any longer. I am afraid that you can't read this. It is a circular letter. Ma & Sarah send love to Harry & Yourself[.] Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

1. Naples, identified in several guidebooks of JA's day as one of the least interesting cities in Italy, was attractive as a place to visit primarily for its situation as "the metropolis of a region in itself gloriously beautiful" (Rolfe, *A Satchel Guide*, 24). "Naples is without exception the filthiest place I ever saw," JA wrote to her brother, JWA. "It is on the beautiful bay with every thing in the world to keep it clean and healthful, but the streets are so full of beggars and so unkept that they are scarcely passable. The people seem to live solely on Macaroni yards & yards of it are hanging out to dry over the roofs of the houses and out above the open sewerage. The drives into the country are beautiful and it was always a relief to be away from the city" (19 May 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1498–99).

Baedeker warned that "[b]egging . . . still continues to be one of those national nuisances to which the traveller must habituate himself. The . . . government has adopted energetic measures for its suppression, but hitherto with only partial success. The average Italian beggar is a mere speculator, and not a deserving object of charity. The traveller should therefore decline to give anything. . . . If a donation be bestowed, it should consist of one of the smallest possible copper coins" (*Central Italy*, 6th ed., xvii).

2. The Great September Comet (C/1882 R₁), discovered on 1 Sept. 1882, was visible until Feb. 1883. During this time, JA was in Mitchellville, Iowa, recuperating from the surgery on her back performed by her stepbrother HWH. See introduction to part 1, above.

3. The *Egadi* steamed out of the port of Piraeus through the Strait of Salamis, between Piraeus and Salamis Island, and along the east coast of the Peloponnese (now called Morea), where JA could see the eastern mountainous region of the area known as Argolis.

4. In her diary, SH noted that on their first night of the return voyage, they enjoyed a "sumptuous dinner with the Captain (a perfect gentleman) and one other first class passenger, a man employed by the Turkish government Inspector of Lighthouses." Although JA reported that the captain of the *Egadi* was proficient in English, SH wrote in her diary that neither the inspector of Turkish lighthouses nor the captain could speak English, "so as usual the conversation was limited" (2–6 May, 1884). In 1886, JA published a humorous description of their last dinner aboard the *Egadi* (when the women dined alone with the captain), in which she substantially changed her tone: "He had sailed to New York, and knew some English words chiefly connected with shipping," she wrote. "It requires some ingenuity to talk politely for two hours and use only such words as 'tonnage' and 'heavy freight.'" When the captain toasted the king of Italy and then "the big Bunker Hill," JA felt he was confusing the "Bunker Hill monument with George Washington." See Essay in the *RSM*, Jan. 1885[1886], below.

5. JA should have spelled it *Egadi*. Instead, she may have spelled it the way it sounded to her.

6. Cape Matapan is a promontory in the area known as Laconia that forms the southern port of the Greek Peloponnese.

7. In all likelihood, JA meant Homer instead of Virgil. In *The Odyssey*, Homer described how Odysseus met Aeolus, keeper of the winds, who agreed to place all of the contrary winds in a bag on board Odysseus's ship so that he could release them after he had reached Ithaca safely. Odysseus stayed awake to guard the bag until, when he was in sight of his native land, he was overcome by sleep. His crew, who surmised that the bag was full of gold, opened it and released the winds, which promptly roared to life and drove the ship away from their home.

8. Italian, *buono*, translates as "good."

9. SH reported an acrid dialogue between AHHA and JA in the midst of the seasickness: "Aunt Ann remarked, 'I can't stand this I am going on deck.' Jane 'Yes hurry up and get dressed,' Aunt A——n! [']but I am sick,['] (throws up, then drinks a glass of water, with the remark that) 'Well, I am going to have something to throw up anyway' drinks again & repeats the same performance. Jane. 'Well now you will feel better go up on deck.' 'No I don't feel better.' A few more dialogues of about the same style occurred at intervals during the

day" (SH to Linn Hostetter, 3–7 May 1884, JAPP, Schneider). The word "No" is underlined three times.

10. Catania, "a very pretty city of nearly 90 thousand" (AHHA to GBH, [4–7 May 1884], UIC, JAMC, HJ), is located on the western coast of Sicily, in the shadow of "the highest volcano in Europe, Mt. Etna" (SH, "Diary, 1884," 2–6 May). SH wrote to Linn Hostetter that while in the harbor they "could see the smoke and snowy summit of Mt. Ætna" (3–7 May 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

11. The Straits of Messina separated the Sicilian city of Messina from the Italian mainland. SH thought Messina "a beautiful little town and the harbor one of the most important in Italy" ("Diary, 1884," 2–6 May).

12. JA probably meant to write "shore <was> intensley."

SH called the new fruit "[Despole?]" and reported that "[i]t is something like a plum, the meaty part of the fruit. It has a cluster of three Large brown seeds. The skin is yellow and thin peeling off something like a plum" ("Diary, 1884," 2–6 May). SH was describing the fruit of the loquat tree (*Eriobotrya japonica*).

13. The travelers spent the night and part of the next day on the *Egadi*. At 3:00 P.M., the captain transferred them to a smaller coastal steamer, the *Firenze*, where, despite a considerable number of passengers, they had a cabin to themselves.

14. JA encountered these two passengers on the *Egadi*. SH and AHHA were impressed with the young Greek. AHHA reported to son GBH: "We have a young Greek lad 19 years of age on ship board bound for N.Y. he is from Smyrna—speaks quite good english some French and—reads the classical Greek as we would English" ([4–7 May 1884], UIC, JAMC, HJ). While he refused to denigrate Italians, he admitted that he hated Turks. See also Essay in the *RSM*, Jan. 1885[1886], n. 8, below.

15. See n. 5.

16. "Iliou Melaythron, the house of Ilium," where Schliemann lived with his Greek wife and collaborator Sophia, was constructed during the period 1878 to 1880. Biographer Caroline Moorhead described it as "the palace of a dreamer; a celebration of Homer and his epic poems; a self-monument to the man who discovered Troy." The house was built at the foot of Mt. Lycabettus, close to Syntagma Square, Athens, an area frequented by sophisticated Greeks and wealthy tourists. Designed by Bavarian architect Ernst Ziller (1837–1923) with detailed instructions from Schliemann, the stone and marble house was three stories high "with rooms on the ground floor in which to exhibit his growing archaeological collection, a great hall, a formal dining-room, several sitting-rooms and bathrooms." Bavarian artists painted "both walls and ceilings with murals, some from sketches drawn by Schliemann himself, others of objects and patterns from his Troy excavations" (*Lost and Found*, 190–93). JA and AHHA visited the mansion on 30 Apr. shortly before leaving Greece.

17. The fifth-century B.C. temple of Theseus, Baedeker asserted, was the "best preserved edifice not only of ancient Athens but of the whole of the ancient Greek world" (*Greece*, 67).

18. The Museo Nazionale in Naples contained a spectacular array of paintings, artifacts, and sculpture. Included among its treasures were bronzes from Herculaneum and paintings and artifacts from Pompeii.

19. The *Farnese Bull*, a 12 ft. x 9 ft. sculpture group carved from a single block of marble representing a scene from classical antiquity, was probably sculpted in Rhodes in the third century B.C. and brought to Rome during the reign of Caesar Augustus (27 B.C.–14 A.D.).

20. An 1883 guide for southern Italy referred to *Psyche*, a fragment found at the amphitheater at Capua, as "probably the most beautiful representation of Psyche in existence" ([Murray], *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Italy*, 153). AHHA asked JA to purchase a copy of this work for her in Italy in 1888. JA bought a copy and indicated that AHHA might enjoy it with her (see JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1888, n. 26, below).

21. In her diary for Thursday, May 8, JA wrote but one word, followed by three exclamation

points: "Pompeii! !!" ("2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885"; *JAPM*, 29:63). Pompeii, an ancient town situated at the Mediterranean shore on the slopes of Mt. Vesuvius, was subject to several devastating earthquakes before being covered by ash and pumice during an eruption of the volcano on 24 Aug. in 79 A.D.. The location of the town was rediscovered in 1748 and modern excavation was begun shortly thereafter. JA reported to her brother, JWA, that she, AHHA, and SH

had a very intelligent guide and wandered for about three hours through the silent streets. The part which is excavated is thoroughly cleaned & well kept and except that it is so continuous and complete, is a good deal like the ruins we saw in Rome. The Forum was almost a copy of the larger one at Rome, the theatres were like small Coliseums, the baths & temples were like those at Rome except that they had been undisturbed and were easier to trace. But the private houses were unlike any thing we had seen and gave us more of a 'homey' and familiar feeling to the people—than anything in Rome ever did. They were invariably built around an open court with a beautifully sculptured fountain in the middle of it. The marble tables & chairs were undisturbed[,] the wine jars built into the earth to keep them cool, the little mill stones in the kitchen and the handsome frescoes every where. The best ones are in the Museum at Naples—and were to me the loveliest pictures we had seen in spite of the fine old masters—we saw in Rome & Florence. The streets were wide enough for just one Chariot—the tracks of the wheels were worn into the stone pavement, while each crossing was made of high stepping stones for wet weather. The horses of course had to step over them each time and every stone had a worn impression of a hoof. It showed the weak point of the old civilization every possible elegance & comfort for the men but nothing for the animals or the more wretched people. (19 May 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1499).

In her diary, SH noted that "Pompeii was very interesting. The objects in the Museum especially 20 Bodies of people & animals in a perfect shape preserved in lava but distorted in the death agony. Remains of food & clothing. We had a pleasant guide to take us about[.] We sat on the highest steps of the theatre gallery (peanut gallery) and ate our lunch. The ruins are fine & very carefully excavated. . . . To a student of archaeology it must be one of the most interesting ruins in the world (8 May 1884).

To Ellen Gates Starr

After spending a week making short trips from Naples to Pompeii,¹ Capri,² Ischia,³ Sorrento,⁴ and Mount Vesuvius,⁵ Jane, Sarah, and Anna headed north to Rome on the 17th of May. The following day the women traveled to Siena; two days later they reached Pisa and then the seaport of Genoa on Italy's northwest coast before heading inland to Turin and then on to Milan, arriving on Saturday, 24 May. They remained in Milan for several days, sightseeing at art galleries and taking rides in the countryside. Jane and party then departed for Lake Como, where they took a steamer to Bellaggio and Menaggio, making their way north by boat and carriage through the scenic Italian lakes region. They stayed at Varese on the 28th of May and then journeyed to Pallanza on Lake Maggiore. From Stresa in northern Italy, the group took a boat to Lucarno, where they arrived the night of 29 May. Leaving Lucarno, the women traveled by rail through the famed St. Gothard

Pass to Andermatt, Switzerland, where Jane and Sarah Hostetter attempted their first "Alpine climbing," finding it "a very different thing from an Illinois hill."⁶ Jane and her two companions left Andermatt by train, arriving in Lucerne on 31 May, where they stayed at the Schweizerhof, a luxury hotel. From Lucerne, the group pressed on to Berne, concluding the northward trip upon their arrival in Geneva on June 5th.⁷

Geneva Switzerland

June 8th 1884

My dear Friend . . .⁸

I think it is Guido Reni's Crucifixion in San Lorenzo in Lucina⁹ that I have heard you speak of as very much admiring. I do not by any means agree with enthusiasts who declare it the greatest picture in Rome. The expression of the face does not bear out, does not equal the loneliness expressed by the sky and bleak position of the cross. In short it seems as if the artist shirked the responsibility of painting the face, by expressing the agony in <intrinsic> things which were easier to paint.

Guido's Crucifixion at Bologna¹⁰ in the gallery there, affected me much more, partly because he expresses the same solitude & lack of help, with Christ's mother and two apostles at the foot of the cross—the solitude in the midst of people being of course more intense and real, than the solitude away from people—and it took more frustration and power to paint it—it seems to me.

I think I wrote Miss Anderson some thing of our trip to Athens, and you may have had some items from her.¹¹ That we had delightful impressions of the Mediterranean sky and shores—sailing from the Brindisi and returning by way of Sicily. I shall always be thankful that we did not return <home> before seeing the Arcopolis.

What ever impression Rome left—that after all the perfection attained by the ancients was not permanent that in a certain sense the barbarians <had> owned the city as completely as the Romans & again the Pope as completely as either, was entirely banished by seeing Athens. That the Columns of the Parthenon will last because of their completeness, and must be copied forever and forever, because no one else can conceive any thing better <is incontrovertible.>¹² They are fresh from the impress of the Greek mind, and attain their beauty through mind alone. In short it was not one whit disappointing, alone of course the ruin and destruction is enormous. The lesser temples, even the well preserved temple of Thesus and the enormous remains of the temple of Jupiter, would not have been in themselves worth going to Athens for though infinitely more interesting and vivid there than they could be any where else.¹³ The new town is entirely distinct from the old, the fine University seems to largely patronized by the Germans, who in turn are very proud of and devoted to Dr Schlieman. We were taken through his house, it was undoubtedly very Greek and scholarly in its construction but just a trifle cheerless.¹⁴

I found to my mortification that I knew enough Greek to read streets & signs and an occasional inscription—but not much else. A Harvard graduate confided to me that he had “been pretty well up in Greek” when he left the University five years ago—“in short could turn English into Greek as fast as he could write” but now he hardly knew one letter from another & could not read the names of the streets. I was very much inclined to doubt one statement or the other.

I have one thing on my mind to say to you ever since Miss Anderson wrote me that you were looking more tired and worn than she had ever seen you.¹⁵ I wish every body was as thoroughly convinced as I, that failure through ill-health is just as culpable and miserable as failure through any other cause. And if you do not recuperate through this summer, my friend you are losing < & coming towards that failure>. It would grieve <me> more than I can tell to have you fail through any cause whatever. I have been idle for two years just because I had not enough vitality to be anything else, and the consequence is, that while I may not have lost any positive ground, I have constantly lost confidence in myself and have gained nothing and improved in nothing. A sad record isn't it, but true withal and I make the confession to warn you to take care while you can. Any improvement you may have detected in my style—arises from the fact that I used to try to express ideas—confused no doubt but still ideas on some thing. I am now content to write about any thing—the simpler the better and hence it may sound more lucid. It is part of the amusement of travel to observe how one learns to confine one's conversation with strangers to the commonplace remarks. It is friendliness and interest they want from you, and they quite resent any thing further as if you were really imposing on them.

Good Bye—my friend rest all you can & believe Yours Most Sincerely

Jane Addams.

P.S. My mother would be very glad to have Mrs Haseltine's¹⁶ address if you know it, and she sends her best love to you.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1523–27).

1. In her diary, SH wrote of their trip from Naples to Pompeii, “We went to Pompeii today. Took a carriage at the hotel and drove through the little villages on the bay. Such an amount of filth I never saw in my whole life. Then I do not want ever to eat another bit of Macaroni in Italy over the dirt & water right out in the streets hung the stuff & it was covered with flies too. The people live like animals & are not as neat in their habits as hogs. I dont know but it would be a good thing if all of Naples & suburbs could be covered with water & washed out of existence for a little while. There is no excuse for so much uncleanness.” When they returned from Pompeii, SH commented that they had to drive back the same way “but the Macaroni was all taken in for fear of rain” (8 May 1884).

AHHA also found Naples to be “the dirtiest—and vilest city” that they had visited: “[I]t beggars description for vile smells and vermin it stands alone. Lazy Mothers or older sisters amuse themselves picking the lice off the childrens heads,” she wrote, “while—the lines of maccaronie are drying in the dust and flies. And this in the principal streets one drives

through on the bay. The wash lines with cloths drying hang out every where along the public side walk" (AHHA to SAAH, 18 May 1884, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

For JA's comments on Pompeii, see JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884, n. 21, above.

2. "We spent last Sunday on the Island of Capri. It is about two hours ride from Naples and the steamer stops long enough for the passengers to visit the Blue Grotto. The little row boats are made a special shape to fit the entrance, only three people beside the oarsman are allowed in a boat. We all laid down in the bottom of the boat and waited for a wave to carry us in. It is about a quarter of a mile long and rather narro[w] and the water is of that light transparent blue with a sort of silver tint to it, that we call a-home baby blue, the rocks of the top and sides are colored only by reflection, but you find it hard to believe and find yourself trying to rub it off with your fingers" (JA to JWA, 19 May 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1499–1500).

In her diary for 12 May 1884, SH recorded that they took "a boat and a row round the south side of Capri. Went from a little fishing port. The descent was quite difficult. Aunt Ann went down on a little mule and twas very funny indeed. Her entreaties to be let get off but the women held her on with shouts of 'courage courage' and repeated whackings of the donkey. Jane & I were almost exhausted with laughter. Really it was very steep and part of the way down steps. But the little donkey was surefooted though its legs did seem as if they would break, and they twisted about in a very peculiar manner. We went into the Green Grotto almost as beautiful as the Blue, not as large or dark but a liquid green color on rocks & water. We went into the red grotto but it was not very marked in color."

3. "On Wednesday [14 May 1884] we [JA and AHHA] went to the Island of Ischia, the ruins from the earthquake last summer at Cassamicciola are frightful. The immense hotels and bathing establishments at the saline spring are completely shattered down to the lower story" (JA to JWA, 19 May 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1502). Ischia is a large island southwest of Naples. The summer resort town of Casamicciola was struck by a strong earthquake on 28 July 1883.

4. "On Monday evening we went to Sorrento. The Vittoria Hotel is one of the handsomest in Italy built on a cliff right over the sea. It was full of people but we had a lovely room and breakfasted on the balcony" (JA to JWA, 19 May 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1501). Sorrento is located on a peninsula jutting out in the Bay of Naples to the south of the city.

5. As she had for their visit to Pompeii, JA recorded in her diary only one word "Vesuvius!!!" for the entry dated Wednesday, 14 May 1884 ("2 Nov. 1883 – 21 Jan. 1885," *JAPM*, 29:64).

"Our day on Mt Vesuvius was a very successful affair," JA wrote her brother, JWA.

You are taken by carriage to the foot of the cone and from there by a wire rope railroad which seems to be straight up and down and takes you within about twenty feet of the old crater. The walking through the ashes and lava, some of it hot, is very hard. Ma & I gave up, but Sarah made it with the help of a guide. We walked over the top of the old cratre, the cracks and holes constantly emit puffs of sulphur and smoke and the ground under you seems perfectly hollow. But there is nothing especially dreadful about it until you come to the edge of the new and active cratre. I never heard sound as the tremendous "Bomb.[?]" It is not quite like a canon & not quite like thunder but sufficiently like both of them. The smoke and pieces of hot lava are thrown up in great jets, we stood on the edge about three minutes, and in that time there were five of those energetic booms, scattering out in all directions regardless of consequences. It is perfectly safe and you know that just where you stand the lava never strikes, still you would rather be at a respectful distance. One of the guides dropped some ~~hot~~ pennies into the hot lava for us, and as he rushed down into the cratre it seemed impossible that he could ever come out again. We were up in all about an hour, and when we landed at the bottom of the little railroad it seemed as if we had come into a quiet new world. The carriage road up and down the

mountain side is kept in constant repair, and crosses and recrosses the great lava stream of 1872. (19 May 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1502–3).

6. JA to SAAH, 31 May 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1512–13.

7. For JA's description of their speedy trip into Switzerland, see JA to SAAH, 25 May and 31 May 1884, both at UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1505–9, 1510–21. See also Addams, "Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 25–31 May; *JAPM*, 29:65–67; and JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, n. 4, below.

8. The editors have omitted the first two paragraphs and part of the third paragraph of this letter. In them, JA commented on the "success" of the Shakespeare readings that EGS was doing, mentioned the cold weather in Switzerland as a rationale for moving on to Paris, and indicated that she was sending engravings of art in Rome that she had selected for EGS.

9. Guido Reni's *Crucifixion*, a fresco, was located above the high altar in the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, situated on the west side of the Tiber River in Rome. JA was impressed with Guido Reni (1575–1642) after viewing his ceiling fresco *Aurora* in the Casa Rospigliosi in Rome, where she spent "half an hour" looking at it and found it "very lovely" (JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1468). Guido Reni was born in Bologna and went to Rome about 1600.

10. JA, AHHA, and SH had viewed Reni's *Crucifixion* at the picture gallery of the Accademia di Belle Arti di Bologna in Mar. 1884, on their way from Venice to Florence.

11. JA's letter to SA is not known to be extant.

12. The Parthenon, which featured sixty-two large and twenty-six small columns, sat atop the Acropolis, overlooking Athens. Baedeker claimed it was the "most perfect monument of ancient art" (*Greece*, 47ff). The huge marble temple to the goddess Athena was constructed under Pericles starting in 447 B.C. and was opened for public worship nine years later. For more on JA's trip to Greece, see JA to Sarah F. Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884; and JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884, both above.

13. The Temple of Jupiter, or Temple of the Olympian Zeus, completed in 130, was one of the largest Greek temples. It had fifteen tall Corinthian columns of marble.

14. For a description of their visit to German archeologist Heinrich Schliemann's house in Athens, see JA to Sarah F. Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, n. 29; and JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884, n. 16, both above.

15. SA's letter to JA is not known to be extant.

16. Mary Haseltine, wife of Rev. Theodore H. Haseltine. See *PJA*, 1:237–38, n. 2.

To Ellen Gates Starr

30 Rue de Bassano Paris— [France]

June 22" 1884

My dear Ellen

I received your letter yesterday written June 8" the same day that I last wrote you.¹ The coincidence has happened often in our correspondence but I don't believe our words were ever more divergent than they were the last time.

You have found the Peace which passeth understanding my friend,² and showed it in every line you wrote, but I am afraid that I was almost as unsettled and perplexed that Sunday as in the days when we were "estimable young ladies." I had been to a poor little American Chapel in the morning which had appealed more to my sympathy and pocket book than it had given me any comfort, and felt just about unsettled enough to write you a miserable letter. May be you never received it, for I addressed it to Durand thinking that you had left Chicago.³ I hope however that the pictures came to your hands.



George Bowman Haldeman, seen here in the early 1880s, spent the summer of 1884 with Jane and Anna Addams and Sarah Hostetter traveling in Switzerland, Germany, and England. (Gorham; SCPC, JAC)

We have been here almost two weeks, and find it easy to become interested and almost absorbed in French history.⁴ We leave on Tuesday, to meet George in Geneva as he missed us here,⁵ but I think that my mother and I will certainly come back another spring.⁶ We have spent three mornings in the Louvre, which of course was not time enough to comprehend its extent.⁷ The face of the Virgin in the Murrillo⁸ has an expression I never caught in any photograph of it, she looks timid and very young—almost like a child just ready to cry—from fright or rather awe.

I don't believe I understood you to say that the Transfiguration was your obhorance.⁹ It is to me—next to the parable of the prodigal Son, the one thing which expresses Christ's pity. The figures do not look as if they flying in the least, but as if some spiritual force were pushing them up, just as the force of gravitation tends to draw men down as if they could not resist it, and nothing was strong enough to bring Christ back to earth,—among the stupid disciples on the ground and the turbulent crowd under the hill—save his pity for the one poor boy in his torments. All other ties were sublimated, save his yearning tenderness. It is to me the greatest picture in Rome. I wish very much that I had written you from Athens,¹⁰ but it is hard to go back now with my mind full of Versailles Palace¹¹ and Marie Antionette—¹² we made an all days trip yesterday and returned late in the evening. I am too tired to-day for writing, and knew that when I began this letter, but had an impulse to tell you,—that I prize this peace and rest which you have comprehended as a new element in your character, and that you are to me so much the dearer. I have not found it so surely and often not at all but can see it not quite uncomprehendingly. Your friend always

Jane Addams.

1. See JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, from Geneva, above. EGS's letter to JA, written the same day, is not known to be extant.

2. JA may be commenting on the news EGS must have shared with her about becoming an Episcopalian. EGS was confirmed on 6 Apr. 1884 at St. James Church on Huron St. in Chicago.

3. EGS's parents lived in Durand, Ill., where she had grown up. JA had enclosed photographs of artwork in a June letter to EGS (see 8 June 1884, n. 8, above).

4. JA had been in Paris only eight days when she wrote this letter to EGS. She, SH, and AHHA had arrived there on the evening of 14 June after spending a subdued ten days in Geneva, where JA and AHHA had necessary dental work done. Geneva was "very chilly and it rained every day" and they "could do no jaunting about," so the threesome hastily concocted a plan to go to Paris for some sightseeing while waiting to rendezvous with GBH, who was planning to meet them for a summer holiday in Switzerland (AHHA to HWH, 14 June 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ). One reason for the abrupt trip to Paris was the realization that SH would return to the United States in Aug. Their tour as planned would not have taken them back to France before she departed. "Our plans have never had such an upset all year—as during the last two weeks," JA informed SAAH. "We have frequently received compliments on our travelling and routes, and have always received them blandly, thinking secretly may be that it was the result of superior planning, and I suppose this was destined to take all of that conceit out of us" (22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1532).

In Paris, JA and her party stayed at the Pension Stark at 30 Rue de Bassano, run by an American, Kate Stark. SH found the pension to be "very good but expensive considering our rooms which are very far back & small." She described Stark as a "too stylish" woman who "dresses in silks & satins and presides at her table most elegantly" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 15 June 1884, JAPP, Schneider). The Stark pension was noted for being "the great American rendezvous during the siege of Paris" in the 1870–71 Franco-Prussian War (JA to SAAH, 22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1534). It was apparently frequented by the U.S. ambassador at the time of the siege, Elihu B. Washburne (1816–87), an acquaintance of the Addams family who had formerly been an attorney and politician in Galena, Ill. He had prepared a letter for them addressed to U.S. diplomatic and consular offices introducing "Mrs. John H. Addams and her daughter, Miss Jane Addams, of Freeport, Illinois" (10 Aug. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1138), which they kept with them.

JA relished her first days in the City of Light and looked forward to returning to Paris for an extended stay. "Paris is fascinating there is no doubting that," JA wrote to SAAH. "We have been sight-seeing so hard for the last [few] days that I hardly know what to write about" (22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1533). To her brother Linn Hostetter, SH reported that she was "happy to be through with Paris" (22 June 1884, JAPP, Schneider). To Ross and Libby Hostetter, SH offered: "I am more convinced than ever this year that I should never like society at large. Give me very quiet country home & the friends nearest & best and enough work to keep soul & body healthy even if it is raising chickens & pigs and I think I can be happy" (15 June 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

Paris grated against AHHA's puritanical instincts as well. "Have seen only enough of Paris to tell me that here is the place all people of wealth, can, have, what is called a 'gay time,' the very air is full of it, and, all Paris means is—to live a grand round of pleasure," she wrote soon after their arrival. AHHA felt that Parisians were "grown up children—and, spoiled, ready (like any thing—ungoverned) to run riot—with government." They were not "willing to let any one govern who would know how." She had come to the "conclusion [that] the Napoleon's did most for them in a way, so far as to beautify Paris—and, take all responsibility off their hands—is concerned" (AHHA to HWH, 14 June 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

JA and SH took drives about the city along the famous Champs-Élysées promenade; through the capital's chief park, the Bois du Boulogne; along the Seine River and Quai

d'Orsay; and by the Champs de Mars, the Trocadéro, and the Hippodrome. They climbed to the top of the 160-foot Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile to view the city and visited the Hotel des Invalides and Armory to see Napoleon's tomb. They investigated the Madeleine Church, the inside of which JA pronounced "disappointing" (JA to SAAH, 22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1538); the Pantheon; the Cathedral of Notre Dame; the National Library; the Place de la Bastille; the Palais de Justice and its gardens, with their statues of famous French women; and the Palais du Luxembourg. Continuing to explore art, they made several visits to the Louvre and attended the Paris Salon, the yearly exhibition of current French art held in the Palais de l'Industrie. In addition to their shopping adventures, they made side trips from Paris to Versailles and Fontainebleau, the sites of historic palaces and gardens, and to Sevres, the noted center of porcelain production.

Not immune to the lure of Paris fashion, both JA and SH "invested in a new travelling dress" that was fitted by a Parisian dressmaker. The garments were "very 'tony' undoubtedly," JA informed SAAH, "but the success of them may be doubted, for I was obliged to stop at the end of the first sheet of this letter, to take mine off[.] I donned my ulster instead, so as to be able to move my arms. Sarah has just taken hers off for a similar reason and made the very sensible remark, 'The idea of two Paris-g country girls coming to Paris and getting dresses that they are only comfortable in when they sit perfectly quiet.' It shows," JA wrote, "that it is impossible to <even> pass through Vanity Fair without being singed" (22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1535). In John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), Vanity Fair was a fair that went on constantly in the town of Vanity symbolizing worldly pomp and follow. The expression "vanity fair" was often used to describe "any place or scene where all is frivolity and empty show; the world or a section of it as a scene of idle amusement and unsubstantial display" (*OED*).

5. On 7 June, JA's stepbrother GBH left the United States for Liverpool on the *Alaska*, expecting to meet his mother, stepsister, and cousin in Geneva. They had "written George distinctly to meet us in Geneva," JA informed her sister SAAH, "hoping to have seen the lakes, Vevy, Montreux &c by that time & be all ready to start for Mt Blanc when he came" (22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1532). When they changed their plans, they sent him a telegram in Queenstown, Ireland, requesting that he meet them in Paris instead, but he did not receive it and journeyed on to Geneva, where he telegraphed that he would wait for them to join him. "After a long council of war in the evening Ma decided to take the early train for Geneva, have a rest and quiet visit with George before we came," JA continued in the same letter (*JAPM*, 1:1538). "It was too provoking to miss George in that way and to have him miss a week in Paris" (*JAPM*, 1:1533). Arriving in Geneva on 21 June, AHHA found that her son "looks, rather thinner—and—(is (somewhat nervous—) I fear from hard and constant application to hard study" (AHHA to HWH, 29 June 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

6. JA and AHHA returned to Paris in Jan. 1885 and remained there until shortly before sailing home from England in May 1885.

7. In her diary, JA mentioned seeing the "Salon Carre, the Mona Lisa, Corregio, Raphael, St. Michael and the dragon, Room full of Rubens, beautifully arranged," and the *Venus de Milo*, a second-century-B.C. marble statue from the Greek island of Melos ("2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885," 14 June; *JAPM*, 29:69). "There is no end of the pictures," SH reported. "Napoleon robbed nearly all the galleries in Europe . . . a[l]though many of the pictures have been returned" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 15 June 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

8. JA probably referred to *The Immaculate Conception*, a painting by Spanish artist Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–82). It had been taken from Spain to France by Marshal Nicolas-Jean de Dieu Soult (1769–1851) in 1813. It was returned to the Prado Museum in Madrid, Spain, in 1941.

9. EGS's comment about the *Transfiguration* (1517–20), the final, largest, and most ambitious painting by Italian Renaissance master Raphael (1483–1520), which JA saw in the Pinacoteca

Vaticana, is not known; it probably appeared in her 8 June letter to JA, which is not known to be extant. Raphael's work depicted the New Testament episode (Matthew 17; Mark 9; Luke 9) that allegedly took place on Mt. Tabor in northern Israel, where Jesus appeared on the mountaintop with the prophets Moses and Elijah (the three figures look as if they are flying) to reveal his divinity to fearful apostles Peter, James, and John. In the foreground an epileptic boy with his family awaits Christ's return to earth; the apostles had not healed him. JA had spent five weeks exploring Rome in Mar. and Apr. See JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, n.3; and JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, both above.

10. Although JA did not write EGS from Athens, she related her impressions of Greece in her 8 June 1884 letter to her, above.

11. JA, SH, and their new acquaintance, American dentist Dr. Anna "Annie" C. Romberger (JA also spells it Ramborger and Ramberger), joined a "Gaze party." The women were taken to Versailles in a "four horse stage coach under the direction of a guide" and they "gazed & gazed" (JA to SAAH, 22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1538). Henry Gaze and Son, tourist directors and hotel contractors, had been offering first-class conducted tours of Paris and its environs since 1844 and was a major competitor for Cook's Tours. By the 1860s, the Gaze establishment was offering tours of Egypt and Palestine. Henry Gaze and Son had offices in New York City in 1891.

The lavish royal palace and parks at Versailles, southwest of Paris, had been built during the reign of King Louis XIV. After 1682, Versailles became the home of the French royal court. Wrecked by a Parisian mob during the French Revolution in 1789, the palace was later restored. During the Franco-Prussian War in 1870–71 it had served as a military hospital and the headquarters of the Prussian king. The palace's chapels, courts, and gilded chambers contained a vast collection of artworks.

JA found it "perfectly enormous and parts of it very elaborate and beautiful. The historical pictures, battle pieces &c if placed side by side would be five miles long. We walked over about a mile <(quite a sufficiency)> of the palace the guide said, and he took us over the best part of the garden," she reported to her sister. "It would be an elegant way to study French history—to take room by room of the Palace." She was most impressed by the Galerie des Glaces, the "long ball room where the old Kaiser [Wilhelm] was proclaimed Emperor of Germany" in Jan. 1871. It was "[m]ore interesting than the balcony from which Marie Antoinette pleaded with the mob, or the bed room door defended by the Swiss guard" (JA to SAAH, 22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1539).

According to JA's address book, Dr. Annie C. Romberger's Philadelphia address was 1300 Arch St. While JA did not refer to her by name, SH, who found her "one of the funniest people" she had met, described her in some detail to her brother Linn Hostetter. SH, who indicated that Annie had practiced dentistry for two years and had been successful, was particularly impressed with the fact that Romberger had "cleared six thousand dollars last year." Annie was from "the mountain districts of Penn," SH reported, and was the "first woman to graduate in dentistry in America and had to really fight her way through college[;] for ten years ago they did not regularly admit women to medical colleges." SH also noted that despite the dentist's success, Annie was "perfectly uncultivated in her manners," that she spoke with a "backwoods drawl" and "probably shocked a good many of the high toned people" at the pension with her comments but was also "good hearted" (22 June 1884). Dr. Romberger and JA met again when JA visited her Philadelphia relatives in Oct. 1886. According to the American Dentistry Assn., in 1866, Lucy Beaman Hobbs received a degree from the Ohio College of Dental Surgery, becoming the first female graduate of a dental school in America.

12. Marie Antoinette (1755–93), daughter of the Austrian emperor, married the future Louis XVI of France in 1770. Popular hatred of the queen, a symbol of royal decadence, fed the zeal of French revolutionaries, who imprisoned and beheaded her in 1793.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Jane Addams and Sarah Hostetter reunited with Anna Addams and George Haldeman in Geneva on 25 June. The foursome toured Geneva and Lausanne, then set out by "diligence," a stage coach with high open seats, for Chamonix, France, at the foot of Mont Blanc, a popular tourist attraction for mountain-climbing fifty miles southeast of Geneva.¹ At Chamonix they ascended by mule to Montanvert and traversed the Mer de Glace glacier on foot,² after which the group had their "first diet of real mountain climbing along a narrow pass, with only an iron railing against the rock for our hands and short dents for our feet."³ On 3 July they left for Martigny, Switzerland, in the Rhone Valley, a ten-hour ride north from Chamonix, then headed to Visp and Zermatt and on to Leukerbad and Interlaken before going to Meiringen, where Addams experienced the high point of her Swiss mountaineering, described in this letter. They left Meiringen on 21 July for Lucerne, where they rode the cog railway to the top of the Rigi Kulm, then traveled by steamer the length of Lake Zug and by train to Zurich and on to several cities along the Rhine River in southern Germany.⁴ As they neared the end of the frenetic summer, Anna Haldeman wrote to her son Harry that Jane had "more endurance than many who look stronger."⁵ The summer spent climbing the Alps helped her regain her health and stamina and strengthened her fragile back. She traded the purposeful study of language, art, and music of the previous year for the sublime and hardy exercise in the high alpine air.

Meiringen Suisse

July 20" 1884.

My dear Alice.

We have just returned from the Rhone Glacier⁶ and one of the most exciting adventures we have had since we left home. "This is the kind of things you read about" was the unanimous decision.

To begin at the beginning Ma was so much better⁷ last Monday that we left Visp in gay spirits and by train and carriage reached Leukerbad in the afternoon.⁸ There is nothing very remarkable about the lime baths there except that people sit in the great troughs for about six hours at a time—about a dozen in the trough we saw. They look a good deal like sea side bathers and make themselves as comfortable as possible. Each one has a little floating table before him, on which are his coffee, his books and his newspaper. They have little lunch baskets on the outside & reach them with long poles when they want them and altogether make as good a time as possible out of cutaneous diseases from which they are supposed to be suffering. The town is at the bottom of the most frowning & terrific cliff I ever saw, it seems perfectly inaccessible and the Gemni Pass⁹ has been cut into the solid rock backwards and forwards in little zig zags. We started out at six in the morning, Ma was carried in a chair by four men, Sarah & I were on mules and George walked. It took us just six hours to arrive

at Kandersteg¹⁰ on the other side. For two hours and a half we went up almost like a spiral stair case to over 7000 ft. The echoes were magnificent, Sarah was rather afraid and walked part of the way up, but I stuck to my mule preferring any thing to the fatigue of walking. It is prohibited by law to ride down since a Countess fell and killed herself some years ago.

The flowers were exquisite, but we found no Adelweis¹¹ although within about an hours ride of it on a glacier. From Kandersteg we rode by carriage to Interlaken, having engaged an old man with a double carriage to take us the entire trip of the Bernese Oberland¹² where a carriage is necessary. We rode part of the way along the lake of Thun, and had a beautiful view of the Jungfrau without a cloud.¹³ The next day George[,] Sarah & I sailed down the lake of Brienz to the Geisbach.¹⁴ We had a lovely view of the lake but I was rather disappointed in the falls which are no finer than many of the wild Alpine falls we had passed before. On Thursday we drove to Lauterbrunnen, and nothing in world to my mind can be more beautiful and pure than the lovely Staubbach.¹⁵ It is so fine and blows out so transparently that it does n't seem like water at all, but a thicker air which comes down from some where above but don't quite reach you. We went on to Grindelwald,¹⁶ saw the wild gorge which the glacier leaves every summer bigger & bigger as it melts & the ice grotto. The latter goes into the solid ice of the glacier for about fifty feet. A woman inside was playing the cithar¹⁷ and the echo was as clear and pure as glass. The shade was exactly that of the blue grotto¹⁸—as we were in the driving mood we went on through Brienz to Meiringen, reaching here just in time to see the illumination red & green of the falls.¹⁹ The next day came the great question of the Rhone Glacier, Ma was too stiff to try it but the rest of us started forth.²⁰ The first two hours were by carriage—then saddles were put onto the horses, which Sarah and I mounted. We had one faithful man and another guide, George walked & we were in for a six hours stretch over about the roughest bridle path you ever saw, where the horse occasionally leaped a great boulder for variety. We had seen so many waterfalls in the last two days that we hardly admired the Handeck²¹ as it deserved. It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when we reached the old quaint Grimsel Hospices.²² George had walked on ahead but as the men wanted to rest the horses for a half an hour we wasted the time eating cherries and did n't know what was coming. For when we ascended the mountain after leaving the Hopices we suddenly found ourselves completely enveloped in a cloud so dense that we could n't see three feet before us, while we heard the thunder rolling in the valley below us. Suddenly one cloud turned into thunder and lighting and rain, there were a party of four English people behind us, we kept together and kept the path as best we could, with our horses breaking through the hard snow up to their knees and occasionally jumping streams or boulders.²³ We could n't see George at all in the midst <mist> & did n't know what had become of him.²⁴ After we turned the top of the pass, we walked down the rest of the way to avoid riding over the wet slippery stones, and to our great joy the sun suddenly came out over the beautiful Rhone valley with the finest

rain bow I ever saw—the seven colors all distinctly there and ending in the mighty Rhone glacier. We were so wet when we reached the hotel that we had to go to bed at once, George had reached there before the rain came up at all, Sarah and I dined together with a feather bed banked up between us for a table, and altogether had a very jolly time of it. The scene on the mountain had been one of the most desolate and impressive things I had ever seen, one has no idea of the alps only in fine weather. The next morning we went to the glacier—the great object of all this expedition.²⁵ It is breaking up and each year its declining course is marked by black stones. The ice is all melted into great crevices & gorges & grottos & extends for fifteen miles. We got back to the hotel & all ready to start by seven o'clock, but had no sooner gotten well unto this desolate mountain—(a Grim sell we had learned to call it) than such a driving mountain rain set in as I never hope to see again. Our rubber coats were blown up around our heads. Sarah's umbrella turned inside out & in about three minutes we were wet to the skin. The Mt was one little st[r]eam touching another & it was either water or snow every step the horses took. We again had the pleasure of walking down the other side, so wet that the water rolled off our hats & backs in streams,



Jane Addams, her health much improved, spent two days with Sarah Hostetter and George Haldeman climbing the Rhone Glacier in Switzerland, seen here with a group of climbers sometime during the 1880s. (LC, Prints and Photographs, LOT 7738, LC-USZ62-108754)

again we went to bed and lunched there. This time it was not quite so jolly. The rain was left during but kept it up steadily. About eleven George concluded to go on in spite of the rain, but as our clothes never dried until three we stayed all night at the famous Grimsel Hopices. It was an inexperience worth having, about ten Germans were storm stayed as well as ourselves but only one English speaking person besides ourselves—the head waiter.

We had a very jolly afternoon & evening, and started out this morning in a snow storm and bitter cold weather. Any thing was better than rain, we rode for an hour and a half with out seeing a human habitation, nothing but the bleak mountains in their fresh snow. Our guides we[re] splendid staunch men, the German people are jolly but we were glad to come down into the warm valley where the sun was shining and the people coming from church in their Sunday clothes. We felt as if we had come into another distinct world and had escaped out of some sort of a purgatory. We reached here about one o'clock and after general repairs feel not much worse for the adventure. Sarah declares that if I can stand that I am good for anything & I think so too.²⁶ It is late and I must go to bed. Ma & George send love to Harry & Yourself. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

This is a general letter so “please forward.”

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1562–69).

1. Although JA found Mont Blanc “very imposing,” she felt it “would become depressing in time,” as the mountain cast a “continual shadow” over the valley where they were staying. She wrote to her brother JWA: “I confess that I prefer the smaller hills” (4 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1551).

2. The day after their arrival in Chamonix, where they bought “alpine stocks” (sturdy walking staffs; JA’s was approximately 5 feet long), the party “ordered mules” and set out for their “ascent to Montanvert said to be the highest inhabited house in Europe, an hotel.” They had “quite a time to mount” with “every body standing round to see the show,” SH wrote. “Aunt Ann got onto her mule and the flies being very bad the mule kicked at them & struck her foot. She was frightened and would not ride that mule for anything. Jane took it.” SH described her mount as “strong willed. Every other minute it would stop to kick the flies and give me a mental & physical shock. Then it had a way of twisting round under the saddle and every minute I would expect to slip off side wise the next go over backward.” She tried walking, but “found it too severe to walk all the way.” Eventually she made some adjustments to the saddle to make it more comfortable. The party reached Montanvert “in about two hours & a half,” where they “had a fine view of the valley of Chamonix.” After lunch at the hotel, AHHA returned to the village, and GBH, JA, SH, and guides crossed the Mer de Glace on foot after sending their mules ahead (SH to Linn Hostetter, 6 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider). AHHA related the story of their trip to the Mer de Glace in a letter to HWH, 2 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

3. JA to JWA, 4 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1551.

4. For JA’s description of her trip from Switzerland through Germany to Brussels, see JA to MCAL, 29 July and 10 Aug. 1884, both at UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1571–74, 1576–79.

5. AHHA to HWH, 31 Aug. 1884, IU, Lilly, SAAH. JA’s comment to MCAL supports AHHA’s report. “The hotel [at Zermatt] is eight thousand feet high. . . . From there George[,] Sarah

and I walked about two thousand feet higher to the Gormer lant[Gorner Grat], part of the way through eternal snow, and the air so rare that Sarah turned fairly purple and had to give it up," but JA did not (12 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1555).

6. Their adventure on the Rhone Glacier, source of the Rhone River, is described in nn. 20–25.

7. AHHA had had a serious accident while mountain-climbing two weeks before. The three women and GBH were traveling from Zermatt to Visp through St. Nicholas Pass "when we passed a woman carrying an immense white Umberella, which frightened Ma's horse and he shyed across the narrow road to the very edge of the precipice. In order to save herself from going over, Ma jumped or rather threw herself from her horse and landed in the road while her horse went on" (JA to MCAL, 12 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1554). AHHA informed her son HWH that the guide had considered her "too good a rider to keep a constant hold of my horses head so in making a turn round a mountain peak my horse shyed, and put two of his feet The hind feet over the brink of a precipice—two hundred feet high (and that is putting the hight moderate—) with a deep river running below—not a tree or brush or hillock between only a precipice. I being on the side next the chasm—and saw that my weight would drag the horse and (rider) down theu my self back wards—all done as a flash of lightning. I expected to be smashed or killed—but I wanted it should be at the top and—not at the bottom (the latter occuring I knew would be fatal) so I jumped" (19 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ). JA felt there was "no need in the accident happening for each horse is provided with a guide, who is supposed to walk at the horses head and keep hold of the bridle, as you pay for his services he ought to be at his post but our three guides were walking together behind and having a most social time" (JA to MCAL, 12 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1554). Despite the potential gravity of the accident, the injuries were not significant. "As she fell all in a heap," JA continued "no bones were broken and no serious harm done. She was dreadfully bruised and had to be carried on a chair to Visp," where she was treated by a "good german Doctor" at their hotel (12 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1554). In a separate letter, JA reassured sister SAAH that since the accident AHHA had "been uncomfortable of course but has not suffered any intense pain nor had a mite of fever." She was apparently treated with leeches; JA remarked that "as the blood thirsty little animals at once reduced the swelling we wer[e] inclined to have more faith in them than ever before" (14 July 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1558). By 12 July, AHHA was "so much better," JA wrote MCAL, "that we already begin to speak of the accident as a thing of the past, which we will make us all more careful." Despite AHHA's rapid recovery, however, JA estimated that "[s]he will of course be uncomfortable for some time and we will travel slower" (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1556). AHHA still felt aches and pains from the accident six weeks later in London.

8. The hot thermal springs of Leukerbad, used to treat skin diseases, were a two-hour carriage ride from Leuk, a settlement at the foot of the Gemmi Pass, a high alpine pass. "The complexions of many are very disagreeable," and their hotel "smelled of medicine strongly" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 20 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

9. SH recounted the ascent through the Gemmi Pass: "We approached slowly a perfectly perpendicular wall so it seemed at least but the road has been hewn out of the solid rock almost. It was simply awful we went up through this narrow gorge the road most steep. At one time I was almost overcome[.] I was right over a precipice only a narrow rail on the edge and the road almost straight up and down and my horse seemed as if he could not go." When they "came to a place where a lady had fallen from her horse and the cross showed the place The old man considered it better" for her to dismount. "To say that I breathed as freely as possible in the atmosphere at the top of the pass 7553 ft. does not express my delight. Nothing could induce me to go over it again it fairly makes me weak in the knees now to think of it" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 20 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider). Baedeker remarked of this

peak that in 1861 Countess d'Herlincourt "fell from her saddle over the precipice and was killed; a marble cross, ¼ hr. from the top, commemorates the accident" (*Switzerland*, 183).

10. Kandersteg, at about 4,000 feet in elevation, is a village on the opposite side of the Gemmi Pass.

11. The edelweiss is a white, star-shaped flower that grows wild in mountainous regions of Europe and Asia. Although not a serious collector like GBH, who analyzed several dozen plants in the French and Swiss Alps, JA also collected flowers, mainly as souvenirs, occasionally enclosing them in her letters.

12. The Bernese Oberland was the region in northeastern Switzerland where JA's party was touring. Interlaken lay between Lake Thun and Lake Brienz.

13. The Jungfrau (13,670 ft.) was a commanding peak of the Swiss Alps located just above Interlaken. They spent two nights at the Jungfrau Hotel (6,184 ft.), looking out upon the mountain, which had a melting glacier on its side that created a danger of ice avalanches.

14. SH agreed with JA's assessment of the seven-cascade Giessbach Falls. According to Baedeker's guide to Switzerland, they could see only the lowest cascade from the Lake Brienz steamer.

15. Lauterbrunnen was a pretty village in a dark rocky valley on the Lütschine River near the Staubbach Falls. The water, which fell from a 980-foot cliff, partly broke into a misty spray before reaching the bottom. "Without doubt," said SH, "I think this is the most beautiful fall in the world" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 20 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

16. Grindelwald, a summer resort, was the place from which tourists left to see the glaciers and artificially created ice cave in the gorge of the Lütschine River. SH wrote, "Jane and George went and enjoyed it very much" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 20 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

17. A zither is a musical instrument with thirty to forty strings strummed by fingers.

18. JA, SH, and AHHA had visited the Blue Grotto of Capri in May 1884. See JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, n. 2, above.

19. Meiringen, a Swiss village on the Aare River, which featured the Great Falls of the Reichenbach, was the starting point for the ascent to the Rhone Glacier.

20. The climb to the Rhone Glacier was a highlight of their Swiss adventure for the three young adults. When they awoke in Meiringen, the weather was rainy and they "agitated much" about whether to make the ascent. SH "declined until the last minute & then gave in" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 20 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

21. The Handegg Falls on the Aare River dropped about 250 feet.

22. The Grimsel Hospice, located at 6,000 feet above sea level, was partitioned into small rooms with thin wooden walls. Throughout the remainder of this letter, JA misspells "Hospice" as "Hopices."

23. The two women lingered at the hospice until "the wind came up and we could see the mist coming up slowly but surely to envelope us," SH wrote home. "Soon it began to rain and we could only trace the way a short distance in front. We rode over great stones and forgot all but the fact that we must hang on to our horses. Then we came to snow and it was cold. When we began to descend there was nothing else to do but get off and walk" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 20 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

24. GBH preceded them back to the Grimsel Hospice by "half an hour" and "had escaped the rain." SH wrote that her cousin "enjoyed our dilemma" (SH to Ross and Libbie Hostetter, 20 July 1884, JAPP, Schneider). JA considered GBH "quite a success as a mountain climber"; although he did not "approach the English," he "does extraordinarily well for an American" (JA to MCAL, 12 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; JAPM, 1:1556-57). After the party viewed Mont Blanc's Mer de Glace on foot, AHHA wrote her older son that GBH "was as indefatigable and—ten thousand times more happy than Napoleon who crossed these same Alps" (2 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ). GBH had "climbed the Riffleberg," a peak near the Matterhorn,

“where guides (and ropes) are necessary he went alone,” she wrote HWH a week later, “but none of us [k]new the danger, till he returned having made it in safety” (8 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

25. JA, SH, and GBH set off from the hostel early the next morning for the Rhone Glacier, embedded among five mountains that ranged from 10,000 to 12,000 feet above sea level.

26. Despite the sense of physical exhilaration with which JA concluded her trip across the glacier, within days she was downplaying the event in a letter to MCAL. “I think you know of our brilliant or rather exceedingly damp Rhone Glacier episode,” JA wrote ten days later from Baden-Baden, Germany. “[W]e came out of it with slight colds, but not much the worse for the experience” (29 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; JAPM, 1:1571–72).

To John Weber Addams

Leaving Switzerland, the Addams party traveled the Rhine River through Germany to Brussels, Belgium, and crossed the channel from Antwerp back to England, arriving on August 8. “It seems very nice to be back at Miss Warner’s,” Jane told her sister Mary Linn. On their way north, they had visited the spa at Baden-Baden; paused at the Schloss Hotel in Heidelberg, which was associated in Jane’s memory with Mark Twain’s travel narrative The Innocents Abroad (1869); stopped at Frankfurt; made a special trip to see the seven mountains and Drachenfels; and spent a day in Cologne, where they saw the “inspiring” cathedral and were entertained by relatives of friends from home.¹ When Sarah Hostetter left for the United States, Jane and Anna, along with George Haldeman, planned to tour Wales and the south of England during the remainder of August and September. After Jane returned home in 1885, she selected her experiences during this part of her trip to describe in an article she wrote for, but never submitted to, the Rockford Seminary Magazine. She titled it “Five Sunday Mornings in England.”²

Llandudno Wales.

August 17, 1884.

My dear Weber,

Our party has been reduced once more, and we said farewell to Sarah in the Chester³ station, on Friday. She went on to Liverpool where she met the rest of the party and they all sailed Saturday in the Alaska of the Guion Line.⁴ As she left Liverpool the same day as her great rival the “Oregon” there is no danger but what they will have a quick passage.⁵ We are here on the great Ormes Head as near to America as we can be on this side unless we were in Ireland. It is a very delightful place, although crowded with visitors as this is the height of the sea side season. The town is on a long neck of land ending in the two Ormesheads. The beach between them is one long even grade of sand and pebbles said to be one of the finest marine promenades in England.⁶ The road continues all the way around the Great Ormes Head from where you have a lovely view of the Menai straits, Puffins Island &c.⁷ All the north of Wales abounds in castles built by Edward I.⁸ after he subdued it.⁸ They are just ruined

enough to be very picturesque. The Druid stones⁹ are all about as the rest of Wales was the last stronghold the Druids had and between castles & stones we are beginning to get quite into the spirit of exploring Wales. We left London on Thursday and came to Chester one of the few walled cities of England. The houses are all gabled and the "rows" or principal streets have a double row of shops, the second story hanging and holding a store utterly independent of the one below it. We drove from Chester to Eaton Hall,¹⁰ the palace of the Duke of Westminster. He owns about one fourth of London and is said to be the richest man in the world although Vanderbilt hopes to equal him in five years. His park or grounds are eight miles by four and driving through them was like viewing a bit of Eutopia. Near the entrance we passed his private Secretary's house, a handsome mansion with green house, stables &c which we at first mistook for the Castle itself. At Intervals was his private lawyers house, his agents &c all on the same magnificent scale. In the deer park were herds of the most beautiful deer imaginable roaming about to the very gate of the castle. The mansion itself was a huge pile of Gothic architecture as visitors are not admitted we could see nothing, but confusing Towers and Turrets, and the outline of the handsome Chapel. The stables were enormous as his Grace owns some of the great race horses of England[.] All his servants live in a little village at one end of the park, the houses are built in one ideal picturesque style[.] It has a handsome school where each child born in the village is entitled to fourteen years free tuition and altogether was the prettiest little village we have seen in England. It was interesting to drive past it all, but not much in accordance with American ideas of Republicanism.

We were glad to get away from London, Wednesday was said to be the hottest day they had had for sixteen years. There were no fogs of course, and the city seemed much handsomer and gayer than it did last fall when we were there. We spent most of the time packing &c, and so didn't have much zest for sight seeing.¹¹ We spent one morning in Westminster Abbey and of course made straight way for Longfellow's bust which has been put up since we were there before.¹² It is very handsome and has a good place on the very edge of the "Poets Corner," but I didn't like the expression of it very well. We went into Jerusalem chamber¹³ where the Bible was translated in the time of James I. and where the work on the Revised Edition has been done. They had finished revising the old Testament just the Thursday before so that the chairs, table, pen & ink were there just as they had left them. The woodwork is all of cedar brought from Jerusalem at the time of the crusades, and the room has a strong cedar odor still. We went to Miss Warner's¹⁴ again and very much enjoyed American cooking after a year of *tabl de' Hotes*.¹⁵ The Ellwood girls did a good deal of shopping in London and found it much cheaper and better than Paris.¹⁶

We expect to go from here down into the Mt Snowdon district and then the south of Wales into Devonshire and the Isle of Wight¹⁷ as few people go to the continent this year owing to the cholera,¹⁸ so the watering places and seaside

resorts are filled to overflowing. We were obliged to try three hotels here before we could get into this one.¹⁹

I know that people don't feel like letter writing in such hot weather, but I hope you will all remember that as the party grows less and less letters are the more and more welcome. Give a big kiss to Sadie²⁰  and tell her I wish that she could see the little English girls dig in the sand and hunt for crabs, that I believe she could beat them if she were here.

If you will send this letter the grand rounds I will be much obliged. With my dearest love to Laura and yourself. Ever your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1580–83).

1. "We went . . . to Hiedelberg," JA reported to her sister MCAL, "stopping at the Schloss Hotel next the castle where Mark Twain wrote his famous book. The ruined castle is an immense extent of 'ruined hall & pillar' and one of the most picturesque ruins in Europe. From Hiedelberg we went to Frankfort, and then to Maenz, where we took the boat for an eight hours ride up the Rhine to Konigswinter, we were there all night for the sake of the seven mountains and Drachenfels." The next day they traveled by steamer to Cologne. "I don't know whether it was the beautiful vine yards, the fine ruined castles[,] the fairy stories or the enthusiastic Germans, but the whole has left an indelible impression. The scenery itself is disappointing and I think the effect comes from the way the Germans regard and love the old river. . . . The Cathedral at Cologne is a wonderful structure of pure Gothic. It is more reverence inspiring to me than great St. Peters itself, and the organ is magnificent. We enjoyed all of Cologne" (10 Aug. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1577–78).

The Rhine River, which flows north from Switzerland to the Netherlands through western Germany, boasted an extraordinary number of castles and much natural scenery along its shores. It had been opened to steamer traffic since the 1840s. Baden-Baden, located in southern Germany in the lower hills of the Black Forest, had long been a spa with a resort atmosphere (see JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, below). Heidelberg, which SAAH seemed to consistently misspell as "Hiedelberg" when she copied JA's letter into the journal she was keeping for JA, was the site of a spectacular castle ruin, a fine example of German Renaissance architecture that had been destroyed during the War of the Palatinate Succession (1688–89). Frankfurt am Main had long been a commercial and economic center. Königswinter, the community on the right shore of the Rhine River just beneath Siebengebirge (seven mountains), had already become a mecca where tourists could view and climb the seven scenic hills, including the signature Drachenfels (dragon's rock), which GBH climbed.

2. UIC, JAMC, Detzer; *JAPM*, 46:404–15. For excerpts from "Five Sunday Mornings in England," see nn. 6–7, 17.

3. Chester was the capital of Cheshire in western England and was "pleasantly situated on the right bank of the Dee." Baedeker called it "perhaps the most quaint and mediæval-looking town in England" (*Great Britain*, 269).

4. SH, Mary and Puss Ellwood, and Mrs. Young sailed for America from Liverpool on the cross-Atlantic steamer *Alaska* on Saturday, 16 Aug., after taking leave of JA, AHHA, and GBH at Chester, England. It was the same ship on which GBH had crossed to Europe earlier in the summer (see JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, n. 5, above).

Liverpool, the principle seaport of England, situated on the estuary of the Mersey River about three miles from the open sea, boasted an imposing array of dock facilities. First chartered in 1207, it had become an industrial and trade center by the 1800s.

5. JA is undoubtedly referring to the usual practice of transatlantic steamers that left port on the same day of trying to best each other's time by racing across the Atlantic as quickly as possible. The *Oregon* was the "last of fifteen ships built for the Liverpool and Great Western Steamship Company, known as the Guion Line for its founder American shipping executive Stephen Guion, whose ambition was to have the finest and fastest ships afloat" (Paine, *Ships of the World*, 377–78). The *Alaska* was also one of the Guion Line's boats. JA reported to SAAH in a letter of 14 July 1884 that the *Alaska* was being sold to the Cunard Co., forcing SH, who had been planning to return on the vessel, to make other arrangements, which would "hurry" their trip "for the rest of Switzerland and the Rhine" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1559).

6. They arrived in Llandudno, a popular Welsh seaside resort, on Friday, 15 Aug. It was located on the east side of the Creuddyn Peninsula on Orme's Bay, between Great Orme's Head and Little Orme's Head on the northwestern coast of Wales. JA described Llandudno as "at the first glance a handsome modern, sea side resort as might easily be found in Rhode Island or New Jersey. The sloping beach extends in a sweeping semi circle from Little Ormes Head jutting out into the ocean on the east to great Ormes Head standing far out on the west. The two spurs striking into the main land converge and cut the Peninsula almost into an island" ("Five Sunday Mornings," 5; *JAPM*, 46:407).

At Llandudno, JA later related, they walked for an hour over the "rugged sides" of "the Great Ormes Head" to attend church at a "little chapel dating from the days of good St. Tudno in 700. The chapel had been used for the parish church for years, but had fallen into decay and was fast becoming ivy covered and indistinct, when the summer visitors, turning its picturesqueness into account, had had it daintily repaired [in 1885] for their own use." The chapel was so crowded when JA attended that she noted that "the pastor makes a temporary desk under a tree, and the flock group themselves on the ground; or sit upon the flat grave stones under one of which lies the little son of John Bright" (1811–89, a British radical orator and statesman). ("Five Sunday Mornings," 6–7; *JAPM*, 46:407–8).

7. The Menai Strait, across Conway Bay from Llandudno, is an inland channel about fourteen miles long that separates Anglesey from Carnarvonshire, in North Wales. Puffin Island, off Beaumaris, was a small island with the ruins of a Norman tower and a seabird rookery. On their arrival, they "drove all around great Orme's Head—and George and Jane took a sail around the Bay" while AHHA "played with the lovely stones and pebbles on the beach" (AHHA to HWH, 16 Aug. 1884, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

8. During the reign of King Edward I (1272–1307) of England, Wales was brought under English domination. Among the castles in Wales that were constructed under Edward I were Conway Castle, built in 1284 at the mouth of the Conway River, and Beaumaris and Carnarvon castles, located on the northern and southern extremities of the Menai Strait. Harlech Castle was "well described as 'the ideal castle of childhood—high-perched, four-square, round-towered, and impressively massive,'" Baedeker noted (*Great Britain*, 293).

9. JA undoubtedly refers to the cromlechs (stone circles) and menhirs (standing stones), prehistoric stone creations that are found throughout Wales. Druids were the priest-leaders of a religion based on the worship of ancient nature deities in Celtic Great Britain and Gaul.

10. Eaton Hall, the country seat of the Duke of Westminster, was "an example of an English aristocratic mansion, adorned with all the resources of modern art and fitted up with lavish expenditure," Baedeker noted. It was situated on the River Dee, outside the town of Chester. The house that JA viewed was the fourth built on the site, "a magnificent Gothic pile erected by [Alfred] Waterhouse [1830–1905], in 1870–82." The interior was "most sumptuously fitted up" and contained "numerous modern paintings, including several family-portraits by [John Everett] Millais [1829–96] and a few works of [Peter Paul] Rubens." Visitors were "allowed to inspect the house and wander about the gardens without an attendant" (*Great Britain*, 276). William Henry Vanderbilt (1821–85), son of Cornelius Vanderbilt, inherited the bulk of his father's extensive fortune. In their wealth and extravagant lifestyle, the Vanderbilts were the closest American equivalents to British aristocracy.

11. On their first visit to London, the fog was so thick and yellow that visibility was difficult (see JA to GBH, 17 [and 18?] Oct. 1883, above). JA had just completed her second short visit to London. She returned in Sept. 1884 for three more weeks (see JA to SAAH, 17 Sept. 1884, below).

12. JA had been extremely impressed with her first visits to Westminster Abbey in the fall of 1883 (see JA to GBH, 17 [and 18?] Oct. 1883, above). The Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey had memorials to many of the most illustrious poets England had produced, including Milton, Spencer, and Chaucer. Longfellow died in 1882. He was memorialized in the Poets' Corner with a bust by sculptor Sir Thomas Brock (1847–1922).

13. The Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey is part of what was once the abbot's quarters adjacent to the abbey. Baedeker wrote that "it probably derived its name from the tapestries or pictures of the history of Jerusalem with which it was hung." The Jerusalem Chamber became legendary when King Henry IV died in the room in 1413, an event immortalized in Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part II* (Baedeker, *London*, 204). The Revised Version of the Bible was the first official revision of the King James Version (1611, Authorized Version) since its introduction in 1611. The entire revision took from 1881 to 1885 to complete, with separate groups working on the Old and New Testaments.

14. At Miss Warner's boardinghouse in London, JA, GBH, AHHA, and SH met the Ellwoods, with whom SH would travel back to the States. JA, Puss and Mary Ellwood, Alida Young, SH, and AHHA had all stayed at Miss Warner's "American" boardinghouse at 32 Dorset Square, London, the previous autumn. See JA to MCAL, 3[6, and 7] Oct. 1883, n. 15, above.

15. On the women's experience with table d'hôte meals, see JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept.] 1884[1883], n. 17, above; and JA to SAAH, 7 Sept. 1885, below.

16. The Ellwood sisters had dresses made by Mrs. Flynn [or Flinn] of 185 Regent St. while they were in London from 17 July to 10 Aug. 1884, before their departure for the States. JA and AHHA also visited Mrs. Flynn. "[Y]ou will be glad to know that we have new dresses," JA wrote to SH from London in Sept. 1884. "Irish poplins from the popular Mrs Flynn, they are quite pretty, mine is green of course and Ma's a dark plum. My chaperone has also invested in a new coat—long & brown & becoming, a cashmere polonaise to go with her black silk skirt, and a bonnet. I write these trifling affairs," JA reported to her former traveling companion, "because I know of your hearty approval and that we go to the continent a shade less shabby than a year ago" (23 Sept. 1884, UIC, JAMC; JAPM, 1:1598).

17. The trio left Llandudno and proceeded south to Carnarvon via Conway Castle on Aug. 18. The following day they visited Llanberis and its adjacent Dinorwic Slate Quarries at the northwest base of Mt. Snowdon, the highest mountain in England and Wales. JA and AHHA went up Mt. Snowdon, perhaps riding on ponies, before returning to Carnarvon and then followed the Welsh coast to Aberystwyth, where they stayed until Saturday, Aug. 23, exploring the old castle, climbing Constitution Hill, and going to the beach. They went to Hereford on the 23rd and proceeded directly to Ross-on-Wye in western England, not far from the Welsh border.

In the small town of Ross, JA found inspiration in the story of a little-known Englishman, whom she termed the "man of Ross," John Kryle (1637–1724). Kryle was a "wealthy man who spent nearly all his life in Ross, where he lived in modest style and devoted his surplus income to the common good" (Eagle and Carnell, *British Isles*, 288). Kryle was celebrated in verse by esteemed English poets Alexander Pope and Samuel Coleridge. Among his "simple virtues" that Pope celebrated, and JA repeated, were "[t]hat he planted shady rows of elms with <and made> seats under them for weary travellers, that he wooded the sultry brow of the hills and straightened the course of obstructed streams. He fed the poor, gave marriage portions to penniless maidens, settled his neighbors disputes, and kept a little apothecary shop where he . . . compounded and dispensed medicines to the needy." JA recalled that Pope pronounced "that he [Kryle] was born and died and 'just as he ought, he filled the space between'" ("Five

Sunday Mornings," 10–11; *JAPM*, 46:409–10). Alexander Pope's homage to Kryle is in his *Moral Essays*, Epistle III, "To Lord Bathurst on the Use of Riches," *Complete Poetical Works*, 165. Kryle's "simple history is touching," JA wrote, and it inspired Coleridge, who "upon his visit to Ross left very excellent advice" in his poem, "Lines (Written at the King's Arms, Ross, Formerly the House of the 'Man of Ross')," from which JA quoted, "'Here cheat thy cares! In generous visions melt! / And dreams of goodness thou hast never felt!'" JA observed that it was "easy to follow this advice on a sunshiny Sunday morning, when are <our> thoughts are often [better?] than we are, and we mean to do good that we never could do, just as timid children, in happy unconsciousness of <thier> own limitations, imagine themselves achieving the heroic deeds of the Prince in the story book." She "had gotten so far in these seductive musings as to conclude that John Kryle's life had demanded no unusual powers of mind or body or even of ambition, that he had simply attained the object for which the poorest son of Adam dimly longs," when she was "interrupted by the voice of the energetic member of the party" (undoubtedly GBH), who had "been out 'collecting information'" about the mundane aspects of Kryle's life. "Disillusion seems imminent," JA commented, "and we hastily move away from the garden into the little church. But there, even more than outside, the service, the sermon and the people continue the <to> proclaim the wonderful beauty of a goodly life" ("Five Sunday Mornings," 10–13; *JAPM*, 46:410–11).

After spending a Sunday in Ross, the three were poled by a boatman down the Wye River, arriving in Monmouth, England. They toured Raglin Castle and the ruins of Tintern Abbey (founded by Cistercian monks in 1131), and took a drive to Chepstow at the confluence of Wye and the Severn rivers. On 27 Aug., they rushed through sites in Bristol, an old town and commercial center on England's west coast, to reach Salisbury, dominated by the Salisbury Cathedral (1220–60), where they spent the night. The next day, JA, GBH, and AHHA took a carriage to the ancient site at Stonehenge on the Salisbury Plain. There were "four circles of great stones," JA related to her sister, "immense blocks of solid granite twelve feet high and so solid they cannot conceive how they were moved." And there were "all sorts of legends," she continued, about how the stones had come to be set up in their regular configuration. The party also toured Old Sarum, between Stonehenge and Salisbury, "the remains of a fortified city of the Saxons." From Salisbury, JA's party visited Anglican poet George Herbert's (1593–1633) rectory in Bemerton, near Wilton (JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1585–86).

On 29 Aug., the three travelers took a train to Winchester, located in the chalk hills on the River Itchen, where the most interesting aspect from JA's standpoint was its various charitable institutions. The Hospital of St. Cross was founded by King Stephen's brother in 1136. It was "for the maintainance of thirteen old poor men and their badge is the silver cross of St John of Jerusalem with the mottoe 'The alms house of noble poverty,'" JA informed MCAL. Each man lived in his own house around a quadrangle in a picturesque setting, receiving "bread and meat each day from the common kitchen and so much money." At the gate to the quadrangle was the "'Wayfarer's dole' who ever comes and asks for it rich or poor receives a horn of ale and a piece of bread." JA also reported on "another home which supports six old men[,] three matrons[, and] four boys" that had educated two boys, one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge. "The house is constantly supported by money left it four hundred years ago," JA wrote. She also remarked on Winchester College, a school for boys that had "all sorts of queer customs." Seventy "foundation boys" were "kept from the legacy of the founder Wykeham and their csraps[scraps] from dinner are given to twenty five old women who used the crusts" (31 Aug. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1586–87).

JA later recalled Winchester as a cathedral town "proverbially dull and staid," even with its ancient Norman and Saxon history. "[L]ooking rather disconsolately out of the Hotel window" in Winchester on a rainy Sunday morning, JA and party were startled by "three prolonged bugle calls" that announced the parade of a "regiment of British soldiers" marching to the

cathedral for Sunday services. Following along, JA took a seat near the front, giving her “an excellent point of observation <in> nearly the center of the cathedral. The ancient grandeur and massiveness of the north transept has been left untouched since its Norman completeness of the 11th cent. Infinite pains has been taken with the nave to transform it from the rude Norman into the elegance of the early Perpendicular” (“Five Sunday Mornings,” 13–16; *JAPM*, 46:411–12).

Ruminating later on the scene at Winchester Cathedral, JA wrote that “[a]n American mind brought suddenly from the boundless prairies into the ‘monuments of history’ is more overpowered than delighted. The dim aisles are full of ghosts, Queen Emma walking unhurt over the burning plough shares placed in the nave, the young king Alfred sitting on the choir steps to discuss with the good Winchester Bishop Swithin the propriety of having the nation’s counsellors learn to write, Richard the lionhearted rushing through the door and falling prone before the Altar praying that he may not ~~thank God for~~ <discover> his Brother’s <perfidy>, and Queen Mary and Phillip issuing from the Lady Chapel where the unhappy marriage has just been pronounced” (“Five Sunday Mornings,” 17–18, *JAPM*, 46:413).

Emma of Normandy (ca. 982–1052) was twice queen of England, first as the wife of Ethelred the Unready and then as the wife of Canute the Great. Her son, as King Edward the Confessor of England, accused her of having an intimate friendship with the Bishop of Winchester and confiscated her properties. Demanding to prove her innocence through ordeal by fire, Queen Emma walked unhurt over nine red-hot ploughshares in the name of Winchester Cathedral to reclaim her honor and properties. JA also mentions Alfred the Great (1849?–99?), first king of England to unite the people under one sovereign, and Bishop Swithin (d. 862), his enlightened teacher, who became a saint. Richard I (1157–99), king of England (1189–99), returned to England after being imprisoned in Germany for ransom to discover that his brother John (1167?–1216), who became king of England (1199–1216) after him, had confiscated his title and property. Mary I (1516–58), queen of England (1553–58) with Philip II (1527–98), king of Spain (1586–98), married Phillip there in 1554 and reestablished Roman Catholicism in England in 1555.

AHHA, GBH, and JA sailed to the Isle of Wight, off the south coast of England, on Monday, 1 Sept. JA summarized their sojourn at the Isle of Wight by writing SH that they “had some splendid coach rides over the high chalk downs, heard much scandal about the Queen, & saw Tennyson’s hat moving about in the shrubbery, and finally left the island Sept 6th” (23 Sept. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1599). From the Isle of Wight, JA returned to London on 8 Sept. and remained there until she and AHHA set off for Germany on 27 Sept. (see JA to SAAH, 17 Sept. 1884, below).

JA referred to Queen Victoria and Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809–92), noted English poet. In 1853, Tennyson began spending a portion of each year in Farringford in the Isle of Wight. Among his works are *Charge of the Light Brigade* (1854) and *Idylls of the King* (1859–85).

18. The appearance of cholera on the Continent was an ever-present threat to tourists and often shaped their itineraries and plans. Apparently, by this point in the summer, the dreaded disease had appeared in Toulon, France. “Do not be worried about the Cholera,” AHHA wrote son HWH in the summer of 1884, “as we have no alarming—accounts—and it is on the decline in France—we will be on our guard—I assure you” (8 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ). Despite her reassuring tone, AHHA may have feared infection with cholera more than the others. “I wish Harry would write us some simple precaution or cure for the first intimation of cholera, any thing he recommended would have a good deal of weight with Ma and she is some times inclined to be afraid of it,” JA wrote to SAAH from Switzerland in mid-July (14 July 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1559). Ten days before writing this letter, JA informed MCAL they would stay in England for Aug. and Sept. to wait until cholera on the Continent had diminished. By Sept., AHHA wrote to SAAH that the disease was “devastating the population of Naples at a frightful rate.” She added that their plans to travel to Berlin would be in

effect “if the Cholera does not sp[r]ead thro Germany.” If cholera did appear near Berlin, they would “sail for home most—any time” (14 Sept. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ, Supp.).

19. Tudno Castle Hotel.

20. JWA's seven-year-old daughter, Sarah.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

*After returning from the Isle of Wight, Jane, Anna and George settled once again in Dorset Square at Miss Warner's boardinghouse. As George's sojourn in Europe concluded, the trio spent their last week together sightseeing in London and environs while Jane and Anna made plans for the next phase of their European trip.¹ Jane reported that since they had returned to London she had “pretty well reviewed London with George, and Ma has absolutely refused to see another thing. We went up the river to Greenwich, to Guild Hall &c but pretty nearly over the ground of last year. I found it bore repetition and am quite in love with the city. To be sure it is rather an enormous object to be affectionate with but is my sentiment at present.”*²

*During the ten days remaining to them in London, Jane went to Canterbury to see the cathedral; visited art galleries; was entertained by cousin-by-marriage Peter B. Worrall for luncheon and a stage play; journeyed to Windsor to visit Stoke Pogis, where the churchyard is the setting for Thomas Gray's well-known poem *Elegy*; and saw the Burnham Beeches, which Jane admitted she thought might be a beach of sand rather than a stand of trees. In none of her letters from this London visit, nor in her diary for this period, does she mention a reprise of her visit to London's East End.*

After George's departure for the States on 17 September, Jane and Anna left England at the end of the month for Berlin. The “cholera scare” was behind them and they were “growing quite enthusiastic over Berlin,”³ where they settled from the end of September 1884 until mid-January 1885. They took French and German classes, attended lectures at a lyceum for women, went to the opera and other musical events, and did some modest sightseeing in the environs of the city. Highlights of their stay in the German capital included attending services with the royal family in the new cathedral and visiting the Reichstag in early December, where they heard Bismarck speak.⁴ Anna summarized their stay in Berlin in the last months of 1884 as a “profitable” one. They “tried to perfect” themselves “in the German language,” she wrote her son Harry Haldeman, and they had “attended the best Operas and concerts,” which, she added, cost a fraction of what such events would cost in the States.⁵ Jane wrote her sister Alice that by the time they left Berlin in a flurry of teas, concerts, and receptions, they were “quite too gay, and it may be well that we change our location soon.”⁶

After some indecision about where to end their trip to Europe, Jane and Anna decided to travel directly to Paris, where they stayed with a French family and immersed themselves in French language and culture from the end of January to

the beginning of May 1885. From France, they returned to England in May 1885 to sail for the United States on the Servia, the same Cunard liner that had brought them to Europe in August 1883.

Their last eight months in Europe were as quiet as the first thirteen had been frenetic. Although Jane and Anna made a few day trips during their time in Berlin and Paris, they did virtually no other traveling. They focused more on day-to-day life in the venues they had chosen and less on the enticing sights around them.

For a number of years Anna Haldeman had encouraged her son Harry to give up his practice as a country doctor and move to a city where the hours and conditions of work might be more agreeable. She may even have urged him to stop practicing medicine altogether. The family knew that the couple were planning a change; only the suddenness of the move was news. A month later, in October, Jane Addams wrote her sister Alice that it was "no small item for such an important branch of the family to change their locality."⁷ In early November, Anna wrote her son Harry that she was "so glad you love your new home, trust evry association, will be of the highest—and lasting happiness abound—and abide with you, and Alice henceforth and forever."⁸

32 Dorset Square London England

Sept 17" 1884

My dear Alice

Your letter last evening⁹ announcing the move produced a decided sensation. Never complain again of your letters being dull. I dislike to Harry's giving up his professional work, but as you say there are more ways than one of doing good, and I am glad that you are getting away from Mitchellville. Of course every body will miss you dreadfully, but in a short time you will have as many friends in Girard. We are anxious to have our first letter and descriptions of the place.¹⁰

George takes the box with him to morrow.¹¹ The things have been very disappointing to me since I have them all together. There is nothing worth much it seems but the chess board and the clock, the rest seems sort of trashy and yet each individual thing is nice enough.¹² Ma has put in most of the coins, the yellow one that is n't marked is from the battle field of Waterloo.¹³ The Russia leather slippers from Athens she put in for Harry and a good many other things as the labels will show.¹⁴

As there is no money left for expressage and duty you will have to reimburse George. I will have him send his bill on to you. There is nothing for the clock because I have found nothing that I liked as a "sleeping ariadne" that was too big, I will make that my look out for the next year.¹⁵

The Frederick the Great <is> not forth coming.¹⁶ There were no more of the kind you brought George, there was an elegant one for sixty five dollars if I remember rightly of the fine old man and his dogs. But that seemed to my then unaccustomed eyes as perfectly dreadful, since I have seen bronzes in Rome and other places I know that it was not so much, and if you would like

it, or a cheaper one for forty five dollars, let me know next winter & I will send it directly through to you from Berlin. The afghan and the French books were in to fill up solely as stuffing—I hope it will be all right, and that nothing will break in the going.¹⁷ We will leave for Berlin about the first of October. We have about decided to go by way of Hamburg, a thirty six hours sail from the dock near the Tower of London, and then only six hours to Berlin.¹⁸ I have n't time for anything but business this morning. Do write us all about the new surroundings. Ever Yr loving Sister

Jane Addams.

Our a/c is all right, you do not owe me anything if you will send draft to Geo.¹⁹

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1594–97).

1. They attended the Health Exhibition in South Kensington, which began as “an exhibition of improved foods, household furniture &c but really includes everything under the sun,” and spent a day in Cambridge with its seventeen colleges. JA visited the “New Womans Colleges,” which “hardly compared with the historic old colleges, the one we went through was quite like a Seminary” (JA to JWA, 14 Sept. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1592).

2. JA to SH, 23 Sept. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1599.

3. JA to SH, 23 Sept 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1600.

4. See JA to EGS, 7 Dec. 1884, nn. 9, below.

5. 26 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

6. 12 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:6.

7. 17 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1617.

8. 7 Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

9. SAAH's letter is apparently no longer extant.

10. SAAH had undoubtedly informed JA that she and HWH would be moving from Mitchellville to Girard, Kans. In a letter dated 14 Sept. 1884, AHHA encouraged SAAH and HWH to visit GBH in Baltimore in the autumn. If “Henry is troubled with a cough,” his mother wrote, “why not go from there to Florida—the most restful delightful climate in the world.” She mentioned that HWH might resume his medical duties in Melrose, Fla., where there had been no doctor the last time she had visited. She suggested that they take MCAL with them as well, for AHHA believed that good health was very dependent on the climatic conditions at the location of one's home. AHHA reminded SAAH that she hoped that wherever they went, their lives would be “well spent to be useful is to be happy,— and to be really useful one must have health” (UIC, JAMC, HJ).

On SAAH's and HWH's Sept. 1884 relocation from Mitchellville, Iowa, to Girard in south-eastern Kans., where the Haldemans became bankers, see also biographical profiles for HWH and SAAH in *PJA*, 1:507–31.

11. GBH departed from England on the *City of Berlin* on Thursday, 18 Sept. 1884. Reflecting on her son's imminent departure, AHHA bemoaned that “Jane and I will be without any friend—as all have gone home—and George goes so soon” (AHHA to SAAH, 14 Sept. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

12. During her tour of Europe, JA had acted as a purchasing agent for her sister SAAH, buying specific items SAAH had asked for as well as other goods. JA wrote SAAH from Florence in Mar. 1884: “Your last letter made me feel quite conscious-smitten—for I have n't been sending many pictures. Not because I have not been on the look-out, nor often thought of you, but it is very easy to spend other people's money, and I need n't want to get trivial

things that you did n't care for, nor spend so much that I would feel restricted when the real occasion came." When JA reached Florence, she announced to SAAH: "I will send you the same ones I get for myself from now on" (11 Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1410–11). On 10 Apr., JA and others in her party "selected" their "views of Rome." She purchased "about fifty in all and a vellum album for that number." She planned to "just repeat the order" for SAAH and "have them sent." JA had only chosen scenes that she had actually visited and that looked good in pictures, she told SAAH. "[I]f you care to look them up in Hare's 'Walks in Rome' you could trace us pretty thoroughly." There were a great many more views that JA would like to have had, but, she wrote, "there must be a limit to all things" (11 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1471).

Another item that JA obtained in Italy was fine lace for SAAH's collection. From Venice, JA wrote to SAAH: "We have grown profound or daft, I hardly know which on the subject of lace. The proprietors of the largest manufactory here make it a point to call upon tourists &c and show them all the mysteries of the craft." The factories "employ 2500.00 women and have nothing but hand work! They make all kinds and varieties," she wrote. The manufacturers had "men in all the old museums and palaces hunting the antique patterns &c," and, she continued, "[a] great many of the women do not [work] in the shop, and they all average but a franc a day. Some of them were very old, one seventy-six and one little thing nine years old. Their point lace was simply exquisite, and the way it was combined with the bobbin or duchess was wonderful" (20 Feb. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1386–87). From Rome, JA wrote to SAAH: "I am afraid that you were disappointed in the Venetian lace." JA offered to obtain some point lace in Brussels, where she planned to get some for herself, and suggested they could exchange patterns when she arrived back in the States (11 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1472–73).

The women managed to make at least one shopping expedition just before leaving the Eternal City, and JA did make some purchases for SAAH. SH wrote in her diary that their time "spent in wandering about among different shops looking at water color paintings[,] jewelry &c. [was] the most tiresome work possible" (17 Apr. 1884). JA wrote SAAH from Brindisi a week after leaving Rome: "[T]his is to you alone, and not a circular epistle, because I am afraid you have been rather blue over all your disappointments in European treasures. I invested heavily on your account in Rome so that there is little left of the one hundred dollars, not enough for the Swiss purchases" (23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1480). JA also managed to purchase items for SAAH in Switzerland and in Germany. Before she left Berlin she sent another container to SAAH and fretted over its safe arrival and the reception the contents would receive (see nn. 17, 19). The chessboard and hand-carved figures were purchased in Berne, Switzerland, when JA was en route from southern Italy to Geneva at the end of May 1884. She wrote to SAAH: "I do hope at least you liked the chess board and the clock. If I had known you were going to move into a smaller house, I would n't have bought you two immense pictures. Altogether I feel chagrined over the whole affair" (17 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1616).

13. JA and her touring party had visited the "battle field of Waterloo" in Belgium en route to England from the Continent the previous Aug. "An old veteran showed us over the field," JA wrote to MCAL. "[H]e became so excited and interested and dramatic that we quite felt as if we had lived the battle over again. The French had every single disadvantage in position, and it did not seem so great a glory that the English beat" (10 Aug. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1578).

14. JA, SH, and AHHA had ventured into the marketplace and found the street "filled with little shops where they were making red Russia leathe[r] shoes, slippers" (SH, "Diary, 1884," 1 May).

15. Ariadne, daughter of King Minos of Crete, fell in love with Theseus, the young man she helped to kill the Minotaur in his labyrinth. Theseus left her sleeping on the island of

Naxos, and Dionysus, god of wine, thought she was perfect and stole her away. JA seemed to be searching for the perfect decoration to add to SAAH's clock.

16. SAAH had apparently requested that JA buy a reproduction of a rendering of Frederick the Great. JA wrote SAAH on 17 Oct. 1884 that if she still wanted "a Frederick the Great, in a standing position with his two dogs at his feet, I will get it, and send it through the firm I buy of, their agents in New York being bound to get it through the custom-house" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1616). Apparently, JA found what SAAH wanted later that winter in Berlin. "The Fred the Great will fit the clock & I thought you would rather have it than one of the big ones," she wrote SAAH (15 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:8).

17. The box that JA sent to SAAH via GBH apparently arrived intact, although not without a great deal of worry on JA's part. "I do hope that the Venus de Milo was n't smashed," JA wrote her sister of a part of the box's contents, "it was one of the prettiest little things I saw in all Rome." She also fretted about the "duty of forty dollars" that GBH had to pay on the chest. "[I]t was a perfect imposition and as I think over the contents it seems to me that every thing in it would n't begin to [be] worth forty dollars." JA worried: "I have spent a great deal of money and bought nothing really pretty. I was sort of uneasy and worried about it before and this last touch of forty dollars seems like too much of a good thing" (17 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1615–16). "[T]he chest has been sort of a failure from the beginning," JA informed GBH, hoping that her family would be "moderately pleased with the contents" (17 Oct. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1611). When JA received the news that the chest has arrived safely, she expressed pleasure that SAAH appeared to approve of her selections. On later shipments of items for SAAH from Berlin, see JA to SAAH, 12 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:2–7.

18. JA and AHHA had originally planned to leave for Germany on 23 Sept., but they changed their tickets to Saturday, 27 Sept., as AHHA's dressmaking arrangements were not completed. On their vessel, the *Rainbow*, they "sailed from London Saturday afternoon at four, St Katherine's wharf is near the Tower, the view of the immense traffic and the long ride down the Thames was equal in interest to any trip we have taken." They viewed the "Green[w]ich Observatory and the Woolwich Arsenal, and the floating hospitals and institution." JA remarked that "[t]en of the fine old War Frigates have been turned in[to] rooms for houseless boys who are trained for the royal navy. Three or four hundred in each ship, they are anchored of course but the rigging and apparatus is kept to the ideal standard as a boat in use could not be." She found the frigates to be "the most majestic objects I ever saw, like the old-fashioned pictures of ships, and much more handsome than the modern Brittish Man of War." On their brief voyage, the captain of their vessel was "a jolly and burly Englishman, he took Ma and I down to dinner one on either arm and as we sat next [to] him we had all possible attention. I was dreadfully sea sick of course," she wrote to her sister, "although the voyage was said to be a calm one" (JA to SAAH, 1 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1603–4). She would later write to her stepbrother GBH: "I was so ill coming from England [to Germany] that I have a perfect horror of a ship—cannot bear to think of them" (17 Oct. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1614). They landed in Hamburg on Monday morning, 29 Sept., and spent the night there touring the city before proceeding to Berlin the following day.

19. JA is "suggesting" that SAAH reimburse GBH for the duty he paid on the chest of purchases that JA had sent with him for SAAH. The matter was not yet settled when JA answered a letter from GBH on 17 Oct. 1884: "It makes me fairly dizzy to think about the chest. Of course the duty was simply abominable, but there is not help for it now. I will send the amount to Alice as forty-five dollars expenses . . . and earnestly urge her to pay the same at once" (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1611). Also, on 17 Oct. 1884, JA wrote to SAAH to urge her to repay GBH (see n. 17). JA was relieved to hear from GBH that SAAH had paid him for all the expenses. See JA to GBH, 24 Oct. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1620.

To Mary Catherine Addams Linn

1A Potsdamer Strasse Berlin [Germany]

Oct 10. 1884

My dear Mary

Mr Linn's kind letter and your note came yesterday very welcome indeed for there has been rather a dearth of home news lately.¹ I am sorry the health report was not as good as usual, and very much hope the condition is due to fall weather alone.² We have received the Chicago Weekly Tribune with a regularity which implies that somebody has subscribed for it for us. We are very much obliged and I wish you knew how much we enjoy it and lend it.³ We have been for a week in our new quarters and begin to feel quite at home for the winter.⁴ Mrs Phillips the hostess is an English lady whose history is like the heroine of a novel. She is of an old family in England, was educated in Paris, and in Italy for her voice. She then married against her father's consent and was disinherited and completely ignored by the rest of the family. She has only given us bits of her history and after that it seems vague, but she lived in Spain for some years and since her widowhood has kept a little school for children in Berlin. As that did not pay very well, for a year she has kept this pension, trying to make it a sort of language pension with a French and German teacher in the house. She is every inch a lady, does not at all pose for a martyr or heroine, but is rather overworked & nervous in trying to keep things up to an ideal standard.⁵ Her little boy Percy is eight and a half years old and one of the most precocious children I ever saw, he speaks French & German as well as English the latter rather better, goes to school where he studies Latin History &c. In our first conversation he gravely asked me if I could give him any "points" about Athens, his mother said we had been there, and he was at present "writing a Greek History." Upon request he brought forth the document written in German script and in German, some hundred pages of note paper. He works at it every day, and occasionally tells me of his progress. It is of course his own idea. The German teacher is very nice, very much like Aunt Lydia, except she is younger and larger.⁶ She is very energetic and corrects our mistakes at table, just as she would during the lesson.

We were here first and had the pick of the rooms and of course took the two best ones in the house.⁷ Since then the house has been filling up, and as most of them stay for the winter, I shall descend into boarding house gossip that, you may know how we are fixed for the next three or four months. A friend and rather a co-worker of Francis Willard⁸ the temperance worker is here—Miss Jackson,⁹ with her widowed sister and her two children, the little girl is thirteen and is here to learn German, the boy is nine and hates "books and all that nonsense" as much as Percy likes them. They have been abroad for almost three years and seem to have no plans for going home. The other two boarders are two English old maids, about sixty who seem to be roaming

about the world and having the best kind of a time, but they only stay about a month to “do” [“]up the city.” They intend to go into every museum and climb to the top of every tower in Berlin.¹⁰ We take three German lessons a week and two in French.¹¹ The Victoria Lyceum is near here, a sort of advanced lecture course for ladies, given by Professors from the University, and we mean to take some of them later.¹² We have been sort of roaming about the city at large. Spent one morning at the Zoological gardens, one of the finest on the continent. The buildings are scattered through the park and are symbolical, the monkeys in a bamboo African house, the hippopotamus in the Egyptian style of house &c.¹³ The Thier-Garten or the great park proper, is only three minutes from here. It is like a large natural forest with roads and paths laid through. It is very gay every afternoon, all the Germans high and low seem to walk for hours every day.¹⁴

As the Emperor is at Baden Baden his palace is open to visitors and we went through it one morning.¹⁵ It is very handsomely furnished and full of presents and personal souvenirs. His writing desk was crowded with nick nacks pictures of his grandchildren &c. We went to the theatre one evening to hear William Tell, it was very beautifully put on the stage.¹⁶ The storm on the lake was simply terrific with the thunder and lightning. The theatre is much more expensive here than in Dresden, and we probably wont go so often as last winter.¹⁷ You dont know how overjoyed I will be to see my old umberella handle turn up again—I hope you dont feel the least responsible for it, for I must have left it in Rockford myself.¹⁸

We havent heard from George yet, but are expecting a letter every day.¹⁹ There is quite a large American church here, Congregational instead of Episcopal as they usually are over here, and a very scholarly pleasant minister.²⁰ If you will please send this letter to the others I will be obliged. With kisses to the children and love to Mr Linn. Ma sends her love, Ever your devoted sister

Jane Addams.

HLSr in the hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1607–10).

1. The letter and note are not known to be extant.

2. JA's sister MCAL had been seriously ill during the previous year and had undergone surgery in May. MCAL's health was a source of concern and worry for JA while she traveled in Europe some 4,000 miles away. On 11 Apr., JA wrote SAAH from Rome that she was “disappointed” not to receive news of MCAL's condition in a recent letter from SAAH. From this, JA understood that MCAL “must be better than she was Christmas” or SAAH “would have seen her. Mr Linn does most of the writing as it seems to tire Mary's arm, may be that fact makes me more anxious than if I had the assurances from Mary herself” (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1470). “It is just three weeks to day since Mary's operation,” JA wrote to SAAH at the beginning of June, “and the worst danger, must be over. It hardly seems as if Mary was strong enough to stand so severe an operation. She wrote in her last letter, that the feeling of exhaustion sometimes amounted to positive suffering. We have never been so anxious as for the last few days. Write to me all you know about it and the results” (10 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1531). The surgery was apparently successful, as JA wrote to Mrs. James Goddard in late June that they had been “very much troubled during the year over Mary's health

and are counting upon the good effects of the operation and Mrs Kiester's constant care" (23 June 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1543). Mrs. Kiester was a nurse MCAL's family hired to help her during her recuperation (see JA to SAAH, 17 Jan. 1883[1884], n. 3, above).

3. While abroad, members of JA's party tried to keep up with American news and periodicals. The previous winter in Dresden, for example, SH had written back to the States that "Mary [Ellwood] takes Scribner[s] magazine and Miss Penfield The Harper [*Harper's*, also an American magazine] so we see the monthlies." SH also noted that there was a reading room in the German city "a little on the order of the American Exchange" that had "all the American & English papers" (SH to Sue and Henry Mackay, 18 Dec. 1883, JAPP, Schneider). In June, JA wrote SAAH that the women "would be very glad for any magazines" and hoped that SAAH "will never again have compunctions about sending them." JA had only a subscription to *The Times* (London) because they "almost had to have some regular news of what was going on on the continent," but their "interests" were "by no means centered in the British metropolis" (10 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1530–31).

4. After their arrival in Berlin on 30 Sept., JA and AHHA selected Mrs. Phillips's pension on Potsdamer Platz. Their new pension had "a very nice location, near the Thier-garten." The weather was "simply charming now, like a genuine Indian summer. Unter den Linden is very pretty, the leaves are fall[ing] and little children are playing about in them as if they were in the country" (JA to SAAH, 1 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1605–6).

5. They had visited Athens the previous spring (see JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, above).

6. Their German teacher, Frl. Clara Steiniger, was "very bright and understands exactly what we want," JA informed GBH (17 Oct. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1614). A week later, she wrote SAAH that Frau Steiniger "and Ma are really becoming intimate friends" (24 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1625). They were invited for coffee and cake at Clara Steiniger's home in Nov. (see JA to SAAH, 30 Nov. 1884, n. 17, below), and at Christmastime Frl. Steiniger helped JA send packages to the States and purchase a music box for SAAH. In a letter to JA dated 15 May and 17 June 1886, Clara reminded JA of that occasion: "Denken Sie noch an un sere Reise durch die Stadt von Post zu Post?" (German, translates as "Do you still remember our journey through the city from one post office to another?") (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:266).

Clara Steiniger and her mother lived together, and a friendship developed between the Steiniger and Addams women. By 1886, Clara was the proprietress of a rooming house for foreign tourists in Berlin. EGS and SA stayed with the Steinigers when they visited Berlin on their trip with JA in 1887–88, and Steiniger may have visited Hull-House and attended the Hull-House Summer School at RFS in 1891.

Lydia W. Addams (1825–92) was the sister of JA's father, JHA. She was wed to Daniel B. Albright (b. 1822), who directed an asylum for orphans in Womelsdorf, Pa.

7. They had rented "two rooms, a bed room and a sitting room adjoining" that had "a rounding bay window which looks out over the Platz and down two streets," JA wrote to SAAH (1 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1605). "[W]e have a large bedroom with a hard wood floor, scrubbed every morning but our little sitting room is the envy of the entire house." The rest of the house was "heated by a furnace," JA explained, "which like all boarding house furnaces is always cold when it ought to be hot. But it does n't reach to this room so we are furnished with a small coal stove which is a genuine 'boomer.' It is a triangular room mostly windows, about ten feet square, and contains an immense comfortable sofa ornamented with our steamer rugs, a writing desk[,] a little sewing table[,] a centre table[,] and three easy chairs. Very often a tap at our door is followed by the question in a forlorn American voice 'May I come in and sit by your stove for half an hour—I am positively frozen—this is the only comfortable room I've seen since I have been in Europe.'" They had a view of "the royal family coming to & from the Potsdam station," regiments filing past on their way to or

from the offices of the Minister of War, and “all that goes on in front of the Reichstag Building” (JA to SAAH, 16 Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1648–49).

8. Frances Willard (1839–98), one of the most prominent American women of her day, was the organizational genius behind the phenomenal success of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which she helped found in 1874 and led from 1879 until the end of her life. Only ten years old, the WCTU’s membership of hundreds of thousands of women included individuals from every state.

9. Willard’s close friend, Katharine (“Kate”) A. Jackson (ca. 1836–1900), taught French at several female seminaries and at Northeastern Univ. in Evanston, Ill. Kate Jackson’s sister, Caroline “Carrie” Jackson Whitely (ca. 1849–1920), had been married to a physician, Robert Whitely, who died in 1879. Kate Jackson apparently spent a period of ten years living abroad with her sister and her sister’s two children.

10. The names of the English “old maids” are not known. At least several guests at the pension during JA’s tenure there were engaged in scholarly pursuits. In a letter to SAAH about their “brilliant” Christmas dinner at the pension, JA mentioned that the “most distinguished guest was Miss Adams, of the old Mass. family who has translated Grimm’s life of Goethe and is now at work on his life of Raphael, translating as fast as he writes it.” JA thought Sarah Holland Adams, whose translation of Herman Grimm’s *Life and Times of Goethe* was published by Little Brown and Co. in 1881, looked “a little like Miss Sill,” JA’s RFS principal. JA felt that “[p]robably the most entertaining guest was a Mr Richardson fresh from Harvard who is studying German linguistically and is <just now> tracing the Mother Goose ballads in their German dress. He quoted Mother Goose most eloquently, and regarded his countrymen as so many fountains of Mother Goose lore from which he could draw & refresh his memory” (28 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1693–94).

11. On the German lessons, see n. 6.

12. The Victoria Lyceum had been founded by Victoria, crown princess of Prussia (1840–1901), as a “place where girls, still barred from universities, could attend scholarly lectures” (Pakula, *Uncommon Woman*, 319). Crown Princess Victoria was the daughter of Queen Victoria of England. JA sometimes referred to the Victoria Lyceum as the “Woman’s University” (see JA to EGS, 7 Dec. 1884, below). The lectures at the Victoria Lyceum were “a great help for accumulating a vocabulary and, of considerable value in themselves,” JA wrote GBH. She had “tried one on Medeval History which was very interesting” (17 Oct. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1613).

Her enjoyment of the lectures increased, JA wrote GBH in Nov., “more each week as I understand the language better. . . . It is curious,” she observed, “to find myself losing all consciousness of the language, and merely taking the ideas and subject itself, and then by a sentence or two which I do not understand being brought back to the vehicle, with a sense of impatience that the language itself is of no importance.” She didn’t “do so well” in the lectures on medieval history, given by another lecturer, as the “good Doctor is apt to speak [in a] dreamy abstracted way that is exceedingly hard to follow.” She thought, though, that as her “vocabulary enlarges I will enjoy him the most.” She was “convinced that the only easy—almost the only possible way—to learn a language is to make it secondary to some absorbing idea. <To obtain> the language alone is mere drugery and hard work—the body without the soul” (15 Nov. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1637–39).

13. The zoological gardens in Berlin, established in 1844, had a large collection of animals.

14. The Tiergarten was a large and attractive park near the city. Its more than six hundred acres included a lake and marble statues commemorating royalty and illustrious Germans.

15. Baden-Baden was a spa where famous and titled Europeans gathered. JA and AHHA, GBH, and SH had visited there the previous summer on their trip from Switzerland through Germany to Brussels.

The palace of Emperor Wilhelm I, erected from 1834 to 1849, was at the east end of Unter den Linden. The elderly kaiser, eighty-seven years old at the time of JA's visit to Berlin, returned to Berlin a few weeks later. JA reported to SAAH: "The old Kaiser came back last Wednesday, the Anhalt station is not more than a block from here and we felt the general enthusiasm. I think a younger man could n't produce the same effect" (24 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1626).

16. Gioacchino Antonio Rossini (1792–1868) wrote his last opera, *William Tell*, in 1829. It was his thirty-sixth opera in nineteen years. JA had written MCAL the previous summer that they had spent two days at Lucerne. "Of all the swiss lakes it is by far the finest, the historical associations of William Tell, all seem to heighten the effect of the scenery" (29 July 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1572). While in Berlin, JA became "quite enthusiastic over music and the fine concerts. It is very hard to get tickets to Wagner's operas, as they are so popular just now" (JA to SAAH, 24 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1624). They had tried and failed to get tickets for Wagner's *Die Walküre*, the second opera of the Ring Cycle, and for *Lohengrin*.

17. JA and her entourage had stayed in Dresden from mid-Nov. 1883 until Jan. 1884. It was there that JA heard her first Wagner opera, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*. JA thought that "[t]he musical advantages in the way of operas and concerts are no finer" in Berlin than in Dresden. "It is much easier for ladies to go unattended here, we are already quite at home in a certain box in the third gallery, which strange as it may seem is one of the best places in the house," JA wrote to GBH. The Addams party had recently heard a "light opera. . . . The Barber of Seville," which JA thought "funny and innocent in moral, the music was very pretty" (30 Nov. 1883, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1277; 1279). JA wrote SAAH, "I think if I lived in Dresden I should be a confirmed Opera goer, . . . the tickets are never more than fifty or seventy five cents" (22 [and 23] Dec. 1883, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1306).

During the remainder of her trip to Europe, JA avidly attended Wagner operas: *Tannhäuser* before she left Dresden; *Flying Dutchman* in Vienna; *Die Walküre* and *Tristan and Isolde* in Berlin in the fall of 1884; and *Lohengrin* at the Paris Opera in the spring of 1885.

18. When she wrote to SAAH from Paris, JA said that she had lost the umbrella that SAAH had given her for the trip. She had left it in the hack after their ride through the Bois du Bologne. "I had hoped to bring it back with me in triumph, it has been the standby of the entire party during which time Sarah has worn out two and Puss Ellwood has lost three. It had been mended twice but was very dear to me, besides being a source of amusement." Continuing in a teasing vein, she wrote, "The satchel Mary gave me is always packed full and stretched out into sort of a round ball, while the umbrella you gave me is wound up tight & tall & slim" (22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1534). Sister SAAH was large and heavy, "stretched out into a sort of ball" like the satchel, while sister MCAL was rather "tall & slim" like the umbrella.

19. GBH was enrolled in his second year in the Johns Hopkins Univ. graduate school. AHHA and JA received a letter from him just prior to 17 Oct. 1884; it was almost certainly his first communication to his mother and stepsister since his departure from Europe.

20. A Union Church service was created in Berlin in the 1860s. Minerva Brace Norton reported in her travel memoir *In and Around Berlin* (1890) that "[f]or eight or nine years past, the present pastor, the Rev. J. H. W. Stückenbergh, D.D., born in Germany, but a loyal and devoted soldier and citizen of the American Republic, has, with his accomplished wife, been administering to the needs . . . of Americans in Berlin" (93). Dr. Stückenbergh studied at the Universities of Halle, Göttingen, Berlin, and Tübingen. According to Mrs. Norton, the Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, and Episcopalians actively promoted the Union Church. Rev. Stückenbergh presented the blessing at the Thanksgiving Day celebration at the American chapel that JA and AHHA attended. The names of Rev. and Mrs. Stückenbergh appear in JA's address book (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:1155, 1177).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Berlin Germany

Nov. 30" 1884

My dear Alice

Our second Thanksgiving day¹ passed very pleasantly although we are glad to believe it the last one on this side of the Atlantic. In the morning Mrs Whitely² and I went to the American Chapel where we listened to a very patriotic sermon and a very enthusiastic rendering of "America." Our dinner table talk was largely an effort to explain the nature of the day, to the Russian lady the French teacher, the Germans and the English and of them all the English were decidedly the most mixed on the subject. At six o'clock we went to the Englishes Haus, to the American dinner and reception. It is a full dress white kid occasion attended by two hundred and fifty of our countrymen and Germans who had formerly lived in America. Mr Kasson³—the new United States Minister received, the Consuls, secretaries &c did every thing in their power to put people at their ease and introduce them to each other. Owing to the preponderance of young men in the University and Medical schools⁴ the young ladies suffered no lack of attention. We sat down at the dinner table at seven and arose at half past ten, but as the raising toasts were interspersed between the courses it was not in the least tiresome. Mr Kasson began with the fish, and toasted President Arthur⁵ very gracefully and the response of three cheers was hearty. "The Kaiser" followed immediately and the response was three German "Yaps" not less hearty. "The Day we celebrate" was given by a Mr Fleishman, one of the wealthiest Germans in Berlin, who made his money years ago in America.⁶ It was a very good example of an old fashioned Fourth of July speech but his broken English and good will won him great applause. A Mr Conway⁷ on "American Homes" verged unto the pathetic and a General Sanford⁸ on "Homeless Americans" was very humorous. He was full of reminiscences of the American colony in Berlin thirty six years ago—composed of six young men and one young lady red haired and freckled, but whom they all adored and duelled over and who was a great success in Berlin society because of the novelty of an American girl. A Mr Wheeler⁹ a student responded to "The University" in some of the brightest hits of the evening. The beer shops which line the road to science, the ponderous mind of the prof &c. But the great lion of the evening was Mr Stanley,¹⁰ the African explorer who is here now attending the Congo Conference.¹¹ He has dined with the Emperor and been received every where with immense honor, and the Americans have felt a sort of proprietorship in him. His speech was very clever and took of the braggart spirit of young Am. to perfection. He said that he would not dare to praise Africa or any-other foreign country in this company. Should he describe the mighty Congo rolling over cataracts &c a voice would certainly say "look here, Sir have n't we got the Father of Waters,¹² the biggest river in the world—" and some thing surely of the "illimitable west" should could he compare the dusky beauties of Africa even for a moment to the girl—even when plain and

freckled beautiful because she is American. He spoke very easily and readily and was cheered and recheered. A band above “discovered sweet music” most of the time between the speaking—a altogether it was a very brilliant affair. We left about midnight <eleven> just when the dancing was commencing—feeling very well satisfied with our evening.

Friday evening we attended a concert in the Philharmonic rooms, decidedly the best music we have heard in Berlin. The Opera of Gluck’s “Orpheus”¹³ was sung throughout, but of course without acting. The music was surely “him-melaschs”[.]¹⁴ The part of Orpheus was taken by a Miss Spies,¹⁵ an alto singer who is the “mode” in Berlin this winter. Orpheus goes into the lower regions to win back <to life> the spirit of his wife Euridice, through his music and love. He passes by the furies and his music quells their dreadful dance and up roar, he goes through the sweet Elysian fields—and the chorus is so soft and enchanting that you think his troubles are over. But he has promised not to look a Euridice, only to draw her away by his music, she does not understand and dies from sorrow, he is frightened turns to look at her—and loses all. When he sings “Ach, ich habe sie verloren allé mein Gluck ist mein dahin”¹⁶ I think that half the people in the house were crying.

I think I wrote you of the pleasant afternoon coffee we had with our German teacher last Sunday, her mother is a dear old lady and did the honors so dignifiedly and impressively.¹⁷ I think that I shall have to ask you to send this letter to Mary and Weber, it seems as if I ought to have time to write seperate letters now, but the days pass very quickly with nothing done. You have never said whether you want the Frederich the Great¹⁸ or not. With love to Harry in which Ma joins. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1657–64).

1. On their Thanksgiving celebration in Dresden the previous year, see JA to MCAL, 6 Dec. 1883, above.

2. Caroline (“Carrie”) Jackson Whitely, sister of Katharine (“Kate”) A. Jackson (see JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, n. 9, above).

3. John Adam Kasson (1822–1910) was born in Vermont but moved to St. Louis, Mo., and then to Des Moines, Iowa, in the mid-1850s. Active in Republican politics, Kasson became assistant postmaster general under President Lincoln, codifying postal laws and postal pacts with foreign nations. He served in the U.S. Congress (1863–67, 1873–77). President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed him ambassador to Austria-Hungary, and in 1884 President Chester A. Arthur made him U.S. ambassador to Germany, where he served as a delegate to an international conference on the Congo (see also nn. 10–11).

4. By the 1880s, the Univ. of Berlin had become one of the world’s great universities, attracting many of Europe’s most distinguished scholars, scientists, and physicians. It did not then admit women.

5. Chester A. Arthur, elected vice-president on the Republican Party ticket with James A. Garfield, served as president of the United States from 1881 to 1885, after President Garfield was assassinated during the summer of 1881.

6. Mr. Fleishman is not mentioned in the *New York Times* article about the Thanksgiving Day celebration. However, Herr Kreismann, former American consul-general in Berlin, is.

7. According to the 28 Nov. 1884 *New York Times*, it was “Mr. Conroy” who made “a humorous speech” (“Thanksgiving in Berlin”).

8. “General” Henry Shelton Sanford (1823–91) was in Berlin as a U.S. associate delegate to the Congo conference (see nn. 10–11). He had held diplomatic posts in Frankfurt, Paris, and Belgium, where he forged close ties with Belgian king Leopold II and later helped lead the International Assn. for the Exploration and Civilization of Central Africa.

9. Probably New Englander Benjamin Ide Wheeler (1854–1927), who had graduated from Brown Univ. (1875), where he had also taught, and helped destroy the Rhode Island political machine. From 1881 to 1885, he studied philology and linguistics at German universities and earned his doctorate at the Univ. of Heidelberg. He was later a professor of Greek and comparative philology at Cornell, and he became president of the Univ. of California at Berkeley in 1899.

10. Renowned explorer Sir Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904), who received “tumultuous applause” on the occasion, had served in both Union and Confederate navies during the Civil War (“Thanksgiving in Berlin,” *The New York Times*, 28 Nov. 1884). Subsequently a newspaper correspondent in Asia and Europe, he was commissioned by the *New York Herald* to lead an expedition into central Africa to find British explorer David Livingstone (1813–73), whom he located after an eight-month search in Nov. 1871 and nursed to health. He led another Central African expedition (1874–77) in which he explored the Nile and Congo rivers and Lakes Victoria, Edward, and Tanganyika. He published an account of his expedition, *Through the Dark Continent* (1878). He had recently returned from a Congo expedition sponsored by King Leopold II. The Belgian Congo colony was reportedly organized on the basis of his expeditions.

11. The Berlin Conf. on the Congo, one of several international conferences held in Berlin in the late nineteenth century to coordinate European colonial rule in Africa, began on 15 Nov. 1884 and ended with signing of the General Act of Berlin on 26 Feb. 1885, which gave Belgium control of most of the Congo.

12. The Congo River, second longest in the world, flowed over 2,700 miles from the central part of Africa north and west to the Atlantic Ocean. The Mississippi River, the world’s third-longest river system, was called the “father of waters.”

13. Christoph Willibald von Gluck (1714–87) was a German opera composer. His *Orfeo ed Euridice* was first performed in Vienna, Austria, in 1762 and was subsequently rewritten for Paris presentation in 1774.

14. JA probably meant to write *himmlisch*, the German word for “heavenly.”

15. German contralto Hermine Spies (1857–93) debuted in 1882 and became noted for singing German lieder (songs).

16. German, “*Ach, ich habe sie verloren allé mein Gluck ist mein dahin*,” translates as “Oh, I have lost her, all my joy is gone.” JA should have spelled *allé* as *alle*.

17. They had been invited to “drink coffee” at the Steiniger house on the afternoon of Sunday, 23 Nov. Frl. Steiniger and her mother lived in a part of Berlin where the houses were “very fine,” AHHA related. The dwellings were “modern—and look some like New York.” They “passed through a court” and “into a back garden,” where they found the “entrance to the house.” The mother was a “dignified old lady (Dowager) very much in looks and manner,” like JA’s aunt Harriet Addams Young, AHHA noted. She and JA were “received and entertained royally”; the “only inmates” of the “beautiful german home” were the mother and daughter. The mother was seventy-three years old and “as full of animation as most people are in their prime of life.” Their teacher was “40 years old but seems about 30 years of age.” They were “offered coffee—and—a cake they call coffee cake—but it seemed more like a rich puff Paste with jelly-filled in more like a rich tort” (AHHA to HWH, 23 [and 24] Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

18. SAAH had asked JA to purchase a small likeness of Frederick the Great while in Germany. See JA to SAAH, 17 Sept. 1884, n. 16, above.

To Ellen Gates Starr

Throughout their European adventure, Jane and Anna Addams seemed intrigued by sights and stories connected with rulers past and present. The history of Europe that Jane had been exposed to in her formal education was that of leaders, heroes and villains, politics, and nationalistic struggles. Given her knowledge of the power of past leaders, it is perhaps not surprising that Jane and her stepmother, who was always intrigued by wealth and power, would be interested in and report to family at home on their brushes with the ruling elite of Europe. In none of her travels was Jane as close to royalty as in Berlin. "We enjoy our life in Berlin and already feel a personal interest in the Court and city gossip quite amuses us," Jane reported near the halfway point of their Berlin stay.¹ It was here that Jane discovered a new heroine.

Berlin, Germany

Dec 7" 1884

My dear Ellen—

Having come home late from a concert last evening, where I seriously injured my eyes directing my opera glass at the Crown Prince with an electric light flaring between, I am too demoralized to take the long journey to the American chapel and not bright enough to take in a German sermon near at hand, and am not at church as I should be.² Under these circumstances—blinking eyes, an uneasy conscience and a dull understanding, I dare to undertake a letter to you, my critical and literary friend, please accept the rather obscure compliment and excuse this letter. I was surprised when you said that you heard from me last at Paris,³ I was under a very strong impression that I had written you one Sunday from Winchester and given my "impressions" of the cathedral I enjoyed most in all England not excepting Canterbury.⁴ I sometimes have a suspicion that hotel porters betray the confidence reposed in their brass buttons and cosmopolitan manners, and do not post all letters put into their hands. . . .⁵ I attend three lectures a week in the Woman's University here, read German and a little French with two very excellent teachers, and enjoy the opera and city in general very much. Berlin, in my mind, is infinitely preferable <for a prolonged stay> to any of the smaller German capitals, and improves by acquaintance. I should like very much to stay here two months longer and get my ragged bits of German into shape, but my mother is not fond of the cold climate and we may leave soon after Christmas. I share your regard for Spain, and were it not for the cholera scare,⁶ we would probably have spent this winter in the south of France and Spain. It is hardly prudent to face all the inconveniences of quarantine and suspicion this winter, and hence Spain must wait for the "next trip." Is it among the utter impossibilities that we view the Alhambra and Escorial together?⁷ A trip confined to the coasts of the Mediterranean, including Sicily and Constantinople, floats before <my mind> as one of the achievements some ten years hence, to make up for a preponderance of Germany this winter.

I have been absorbed lately in the life of Queen Louise, the Kaiser's mother.⁸ There is in Germany, almost an entire literature on this one character. Poems, histories, sketches, essays, illustrated books, children's books &c. Her life is taught in the public schools and the children commit her letters, among the very first thing they learn. They regard her as the real founder of the German empire, and there is no doubt that her ideas were the largest and finest which could be conceived by an heroic soul. There is a statue of her in the Tiergarten, erected by the people of Berlin and presented to the Kaiser, so womanly and gracious, that I am prone to pass by it, even at the cost of some fatigue, every time I take a walk.

We heard Bismark⁹ hold forth in the Reichstag the other day, and were much impressed with the great man. He spoke without effort or haste, but as if he had no idea in the world of meeting opposition. It was truly ohne Hast, ohne Rast.¹⁰

The sculptures from Pergamus¹¹ in the museum here, affect me almost as powerfully as the Elgin marbles themselves, they have the same supernatural force and perfection, and represent the eternal conflict between the higher



Jane Addams admired this statue of Queen Louise of Prussia in the Tiergarten, Berlin, Germany in 1880. (Queen Louise, www.koenigin-luise.com)

and lower, the good and wrong, so intensified that it is almost painful. Like the struggles of Jean Val Jean or Tannhauser.¹²

I hope that you will take up your Shakspeare work again, one real success as yours was last winter, means more than a great deal of unconcentrated endeavor.¹³

The Germans are very fond of Shakspeare, and portray¹⁴ him magnificently, if a little heavy. I have read John Inglesant at last,¹⁵ I think the ending is weak, but it is a powerful portrayal of an intense life.

Write to me when you have time and impulse, my dear, I count on a Christmas time letter. The Christmas in Germany is beautiful, and celebrated with much "singleness of heart" than at home.

My mother sends you her love. Believe <me> Your Sincere Friend

Jane Addams

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:1666–70).

1. JA to Susan Hostetter Mackay, 23 Nov. 1884, *JAPP*, Schneider.

2. The crown prince was Frederick III (1833–88), who succeeded to the throne of the German Empire after the death of his elderly father, Kaiser Wilhelm I, in 1888 (see JA to MCAL, 13 Jan. 1884, n. 7, above). Frederick was married to Princess Victoria, daughter of Queen Victoria of England. When he became Kaiser, he was already ill with cancer of the throat. He ruled for ninety-nine days before his death. JA and AHHA also saw Crown Prince Wilhelm and his wife at the Ordens Fest ceremonies on 18 Jan. 1885.

During the last two months of her stay in Berlin, JA shared three major events concerning German royalty with her siblings at home. In her letter of 16 Nov. 1884 to sister SAAH, she proudly confessed that she had "unconsciously approached near the hem of greatness." JA wrote: "I have gone to and from Dr. Hermann's lectures with a young lady who has cultivated my acquaintance very assiduously—but with the motive I rather suspected of improving her English." JA discovered that her new friend was the daughter of "Baron B[un?]son" and was being educated with Princess Victoria. "I trust I will be able to preserve my equanimity and indifference as the acquaintance proceeds. She had previously informed me <that> she did not ~~not~~ know any of the young ladies in the class, many of them were jewesses and they were 'all exceedingly vulgar.' I said that I had not remarked it, they struck me as being unusually cultured and well informed, she shrugged her shoulders, and said yes, but they have no 'tone time what do you say in English.' The small adventure is hardly worth recording excepting that our contact with the genuine German is so very slight" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1654–56).

On Monday, 3 Nov. 1884, everyone in their house joined the "thousand carriages and horses" going to the Grünewald for the start of "the great boar hunt of this season" (JA to SAAH, 5 Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1630–31). It was the first boar hunt for the man who would become Wilhelm II (1859–1941), emperor of Germany (1888–1918).

"The hunting party of two hundred belonged to young Prince Wilhelm who of course killed the boar," JA informed Susan Hostetter Mackay in an account of the event. The huntsmen "all went by like a flash, and as the red-coats disappeared among the trees and the horns sounded dimmer and dimmer, it was really a very romantic scene in spite of the fifteen hundred spectators drinking beer and shouting wildly from loyalty to their future emperor. We waited at the hunting lodge for about an hour until they came back, & we had the satisfaction of seeing the shaggy beast lying [in] the court yard and really looking as if he might have been savage. Although in reality I suppose he was half tame" (23 Nov. 1884, *JAPP*, Schneider). Wilhelm II was known for "his sheer blood lust during his hunts in the Romintern Forest

and his delight in watching 'the panting desperate brutes as they hurl themselves perpetually against the farthest hedges.' It was not uncommon for William to kill 1,000 animals in a week, and when he was forty-three he put up a monument to commemorate the bagging of his 50,000th beast" (Richie, *Faust's Metropolis*, 202). JA also reported the event to SAAH (see 5 Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1629–36).

On their last Sunday in Berlin, 18 Jan. 1885, JA and AHHA attended the chapel ceremonies for Ordens Fest, which JA described as a court celebration held annually "in honor of the first king of Prussia being Crowned on that day." She called it "the most brilliant court display given during the entire year" and the occasion when "[e]very one who has received an 'order' during the year . . . is presented to the Emperor and Empress." JA and AHHA were fortunate to obtain "places in the first row—just opposite the royal entrance" in one of two rows of people permitted to stand and observe in the dome of the chapel. They saw the members of the royal family in regalia with pages, majordomos, ladies and gentlemen in waiting, and ambassadors and military figures in glittering finery and color. "It seemed like a magnificent scene on the stage and took an effort to be convinced that it was real & not acting," JA reported to MCAL (23 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:14–16).

3. EGS may have been correct. The last letter JA wrote to EGS that is known to be extant is one from Paris, 22 June 1884. It appears above.

4. JA shared her immediate reaction to the cathedral at Winchester with her brother, JWA (see 17 Aug. 1884, n. 17, above). More than a month later she wrote SAAH that "[t]he Cathedral [at Canterbury] of course is one of the handsomest we have seen, although not as interesting to me as Winchester" (1 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1606).

5. The editors have omitted a paragraph in which JA summarizes her travels since leaving Paris.

6. See JA to JWA, 17 Aug. 1884, n. 18, above.

7. JA, EGS, and SA did go to Spain in 1888 (see Addams, *Twenty Years*, 85–87; and part 4, below).

8. JA also wrote to GBH and Susan Hostetter Mackay about her fascination with Queen Louise. See JA to GBH, 15 Nov. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1637–44. See also JA to Susan Hostetter Mackay, 11 Nov. 1884, JAPP, Schneider.

Queen Louise of Prussia (1776–1810) was the daughter of Prince Charles of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and a princess of Hesse-Darmstadt. In 1793, she married King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770–1840), who was king of Prussia during 1797–1840. By all accounts a beautiful and charming monarch, Louise became obsessed with the threat that Napoleon, ruler of France, posed to Prussia; she was apparently instrumental in urging her husband to oppose the French ruler by military means. In 1806, the French army, under Napoleon, humiliated the Prussians in a catastrophic battle at Jena. In the aftermath of the battle, Queen Louise made a personal call on Napoleon at his headquarters at Tilsit to advocate for the Prussian nation and was rebuffed. Her courage deeply commended her to the people of Prussia, and she was widely celebrated, not only for her patriotism but also for her goodness and piety. After her early death in 1810, Queen Louise became a symbol of Prussian nationalism and resistance to French invasion as well as womanly fortitude and strength.

The cult surrounding Queen Louise's memory was renewed in 1870 when Louise's son, King Wilhelm I of Prussia, prayed at her grave in Charlottenburg on the sixtieth anniversary of Louise's death. On the same day in 1870, war was declared, a war that would end with a Prussian victory and the unification of Germany. A memorial volume published in the 1870s held that "the day on which, one hundred years ago, Louise, afterwards Queen of Prussia, beheld the light of this world, deserves to be honored by all Germans as one of the great memorial days in their country's history. The life and sufferings of the noble Princess are joined most closely with a significant and distinct part of Germany's past, and the blessed consequences

of her deeds endure even to the present." When Germany "in enthusiastic devotion to the great cause, went forth to an earnest and victorious contest [in the Franco-Prussian War], the memory of her and others, in glory, served to fill the champions of the Fatherland with an ideal sentiment, and to bequeath to their sons and grandsons an inexhaustible treasure of moral power" (Kluckhohn, *Louise, Queen of Prussia*, 34).

The marble statue of Queen Louise in the Tiergarten was sculpted (1876–80) by Erdmann Encke (1843–96). The "reliefs on the pedestal represent woman's work in war," wrote Baedeker (*Northern Germany*, 20).

In her letter to Susan Hostetter Mackay, JA wrote that "[t]he droop of the figure is so womanly and mature and motherly that you don't wonder all the children in Berlin regard her as the most wonderful being that ever lived. Her life is taught in the schools and they learn to love her and hate Napoleon and the French, almost before they can read. Napoleon treated her shamefully, our German teacher tried to tell us the story one day—of how she fled from him to one fortress after another—and she [JA's German teacher] cried from sheer indignation" (23 Nov. 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

9. Prussian statesman Otto von Bismarck (1815–98) became first chancellor of the German Empire and prince in 1871. An exceedingly strong leader, he succeeded in achieving internal economic and social reforms and in creating the Triple Alliance with Italy and Austria-Hungary (1882) to protect his newly formed state from France and Russia.

JA shared with GBH some newspaper gossip about the great man: "There is quite a newspaper story just now in regard to Du Bois Raymond, if you are working in physiology you doubtless feel his influence somewhat. Bismarck this summer was cured in Munich of a chronic neuralgia, and in gratitude to his physician gave him a chair in the Berlin University. The fortunate arrived this week to take possession, but the regular professors discovering that he was a charlatan refused to receive him. DuBois Raymond sent back his card when he presented and refused to see him. Bismarck's protégé thereupon challenged him to a duel, he refused saying that he was too old and that <when he did duel> he only fought with his equals, so it stands and all Berlin waits for the sequel. It is surprising in how few weeks one learns to center ones interests in a new place, and what formerly would have been a mere newspaper story of no moment now becomes a matter of some interest" (15 Nov. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1643–44).

Bismarck's "protégé" was young doctor Ernst Schweninger, who "took over and gained an immediate hold" on him (A. J. P. Taylor, *Bismarck* [New York, 1955], 196, quoted in Stern, *Gold and Iron*, 484n). Emil DuBois-Reymond (1816–96) was a noted German electro-physiologist who demonstrated the existence of electrical current in nerves. He became a professor in 1858.

10. German, "*ohne Hast, ohne Rast*," translates as "without haste, without rest."

11. Pergamon was the site of an ancient Greek city in Asia Minor, now Turkey. The initial discovery of the frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon was made by Karl Humann (1839–96) in 1871.

JA told GBH of "[t]he Battle of the Giants against the gods—the yielding of the lower brute life [to] the higher. They are of a later and more debased period than the Elgin marbles, but seemed to have touched the same level of power and perfection" (15 Nov. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1642).

12. See JA to SAAH, 17 Jan. 1884, nn. 6–7, above.

13. See JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, n. 8, above.

14. JA sometimes misspelled words beginning with "por" as "pro."

15. See JA to EGS, 3 Nov. 1883, above.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Berlin Germany

Dec. 20" 1884

My dear Alice

Your two kind letters and the package came the other morning. The package remains unopened, although I have so far made inroads upon one corner as to be aware that the contents are blue. You were very kind my dear, to send the checks, we would have been very happy and contented with only the remembrance in the package.¹ I am quite undecided whether my check shall be invested in an ivory brooch, an <exquisite> bronze statuette of the Pied Piper of Hamblin or a <certain> copy of "Walnheit und Dichtung."² Ma is undecided between an equal number of objects, and we will report later. This is Ma's third day in bed, she has had a very high fever and it has only to-day really broken and subsided. There has been no trouble at all with her bowels and stomach, nothing on her chest besides a slight cold, and yet her fever ran up to ninety four <pulse beats>, and forty two degrees by a fever thermometer. She feels weak and miserable to-day, but as if she had begun to mend. I wish Harry would write <us> what he thinks about these nervous fevers. This is the second one she has had this winter—with no apparent cause and no accompanying symptoms except head ache and exhaustion. She came down Wednesday night, we had n't been out a single evening last week, and there was no cause from over-exertion.³

We were invited to-morrow afternoon to drive with Mr Krohn's newphew—but now shall not be able to go. We presented our letter last week, the ladies



Anna Haldeman Addams, 1884, Berlin.
(Hülse and Michalk, Berlin, Germany;
JAPP, Schneider)

of the family called immediately, and evidently have long awaited our arrival.⁴ I went this morning to Miss Steiniger's little school to see her Christmas tree. The "Weihnachtsmann" came in with the Pfeffer-Küchen in one hand and the chastising cane in the other, the room was dark and the tree was very pretty, and the ten little German children with their verses and Christmas songs very charming.⁵

Dear Alice, I am more sorry than I can tell about the "two letters" between Mary and yourself, although of course your relations are unchanged. I think I know how Mary feels about criticisms and suggestions when she is too weak and wretched to make any change or to improve anybody or anything. But she understands you and the motives that stirred you up to write, I am by no means sure that I could have kept silence ~~and~~ <so long,> had I seen and heard what you report in your letter. I hope you will feel honestly bound to write me in case of any extremity.⁶ We may come home early in the Spring, April or May, we have no desire to wait for the cholera to appear.⁷

Ma sends her best love to Harry and yourself. She picked out the pictures as well as she could. They did n't have any pictures of Tyndall, Fred Litz or Spencer.⁸ Anyone in the literary line, whom you would like, be sure to write for and we will send them.

With "A Merry Christmas"⁹ Ever Yr loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1681–85).

1. SAAH had apparently sent dried flowers and sketches of JA and AHHA in the Christmas package that they opened on Christmas Eve. AHHA described SAAH's portrait of JA in a letter to son HWH as "the picture of a little student as she is (and always will be)" and of herself as "a picture of a little old Fairy—as I emagined—them and saw them pictured in my childhood" (24 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ). JA later wrote to SAAH that the cards "were beautiful" and had given her and stepmother AHHA "more enjoyment than any thing else in all this Christmas time. Your talent has been praised and admired by every one in the house" (28 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1695). The letters, cards, and sketches are not known to be extant. SAAH also sent each a five-pound note. As of 28 Dec. 1884, the women still had not spent the money because AHHA had not been "well enough to do much shopping and we want the fun of going out to spend it together," JA told SAAH (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1696).

2. *Aus Meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit* (My Life: Poetry and Truth) was Goethe's autobiography, published in six volumes (1811–22).

3. JA had kept her family abreast of the puzzling "periodical fevers" that afflicted AHHA. In late Oct. she wrote GBH that AHHA had recovered from a few days of fever that had "not been the result of overdoing, for we have been very quiet and regular and very glad to settle into the pleasant hum-drum of life" (24 Oct. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 1:1618). AHHA was recovering from the second spell, mentioned in this letter, by Christmas Eve, when she wrote son HWH that she was "only around the room again after a fever spell, of a weeks duration." She didn't know why the attacks were so frequent or the cause of her illness. "May be my nerves are—so ready to vibrate—to causes so slight—that like the Aspen leaves rustle (—and shake) even when there is seemingly no—breeze to move them all other trees being undisturbed" (24 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ). AHHA later wrote that she was room-bound

for two weeks during this particular attack. The feverish condition recurred in Jan. 1885; JA wrote to SAAH from Paris that their stepmother was “threatened with another attack again. Her bowels are regular & the fever does not seem to come from that, she is not sick in any way, except that this tremendous fever comes on and runs for three or four days & leaves her feeling weak & wretched” (1 Feb. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:20). JA had felt responsible for her stepmother’s health since her illness in Dublin in Sept. 1883, particularly because she had pushed the decision to continue the tour, despite dire warnings from her attending doctors. AHHA continued to be ill on and off for the rest of the winter.

4. Jacob Krohn, born in Prussia in 1832, settled in Freeport, Ill., where he manufactured cigars, sold tobacco products, and served as mayor in the 1870s. He had probably given a letter of introduction for the Addams women to his Berlin relatives, including his niece, Frau Lina Primer, whom they visited again in Jan. 1885 before leaving Berlin.

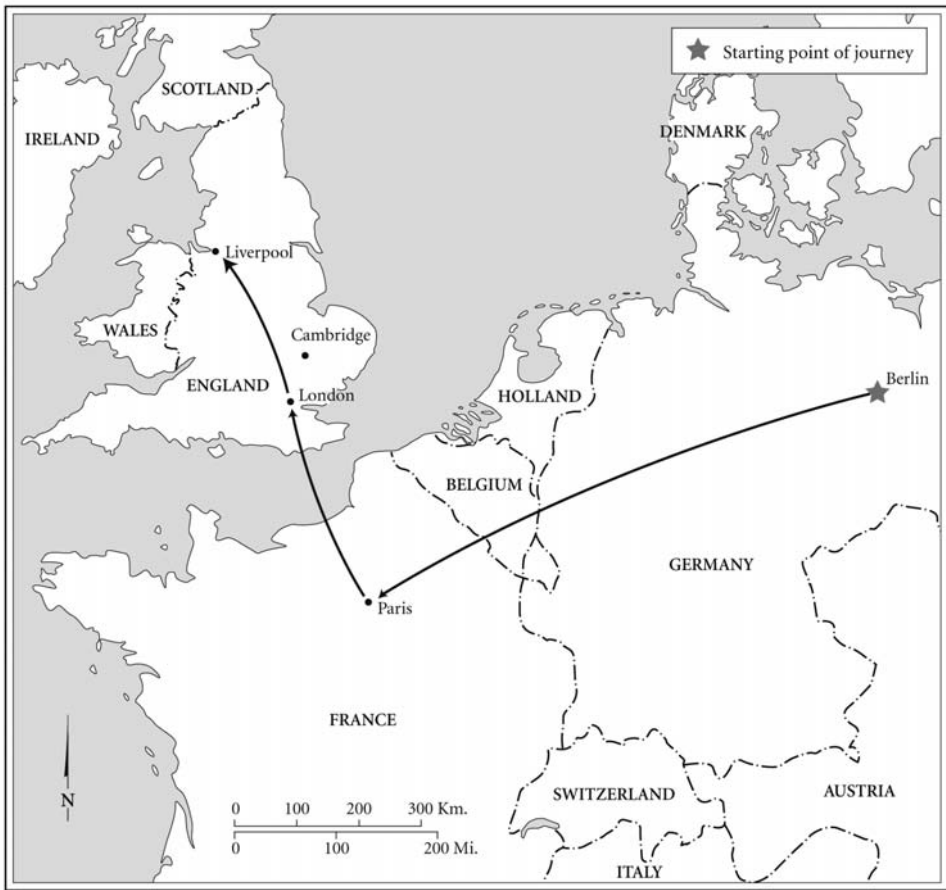
5. Steiniger apparently ran a private school for young children. In Germany the *Weihnachtsmann* (Christmas man), a Santa Claus-like figure, ushered in Christmas on *Weihnacht* (watch night), or Christmas Eve. *Pfefferküchen* is gingerbread.

6. Neither the “two letters” nor any other correspondence is known to be extant to explain the “criticisms and suggestions” SAAH sent to MCAL or the latter’s response. SAAH might have criticized JML or the children or expressed concern that MCAL, still recovering from surgery, was pregnant again. She gave birth to “Little Mary” in May 1885. Whatever the nature of the conflict, JA wrote SAAH a few months later, enclosing separate letters from MCAL and her husband, and noted that “the one from our Rev. Brother certainly showed a kindly spirit and I imagine the late passage of arms is forgotten as it should be” ([Apr. 1885], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:42). On MCAL’s precarious health, see JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, n. 2, above. Just five days before writing this letter, JA had apologized for not writing SAAH. JA’s letters had slacked off due to her French & German lessons, and she had been “writing more to Mary than any one else, as she seemed to need the letters most,” she explained to SAAH. “But there has been no design nor thought of revenge in it my dear,” JA assured her sister (15 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1671).

7. JA and AHHA returned to the United States in June 1885.

8. John Tyndall (1820–93), English physicist and popularizer of science; Franz Liszt and Herbert Spencer. In a letter of 14 Dec. 1884, AHHA informed her son HWH that the photographs she had sent were “the best I could do at present.” She had trouble finding “Darwin and Carlyle.” Liszt, “the musician,” was “in eve[r]y shop where pictures are shown.” On the other hand, Tyndall “has not enough honor in his own country to be photograp[h]ed,” as she could not find a picture of him anywhere, she wrote (UIC, JAMC, HJ). AHHA was unable to complete HWH’s requests for photographs while in Berlin as her illness rendered her “not strong enough to stand and make the selections” (AHHA to HWH, 26 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

9. On their second Christmas in Germany, JA found the Christmas trees and decorations special. “[W]e could never find such pretty things in America to make a tree of, because they are not made,” she wrote. “Here every street corner for two weeks has abounded with the most wonderful tinsel, and angels” (JA to SAAH, 28 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1692–93). JA was impressed by “how much nearer” the Germans “keep to the religious character of the day, that we seem to have lost through the jollity” (JA to SAAH, 28 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1695). When she expressed “surprise to an old lady who lives alone, that she should expend so much time on her solitary tree,” she answered very gravely and swiftly, “I don’t make it for myself, I make it for the Christ child” (JA to GBH, 28 Dec. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1688–89).



Map indicating the route the Addams party traveled in 1885, which begins in Berlin, Germany and ends in Liverpool, England.

To Ellen Gates Starr

Jane and Anna Addams left Berlin on Monday, 19 January 1885, en route to Paris. At the end of their first day of travel, they spent the night in Düsseldorf, Germany, which Jane found "a very pretty city with wide Boulevards & open squares." They spent their next night in Aix-la-Chapelle, where they took "time to see the Cathedrals and the famous springs & took the ten oclock train direct to Paris," arriving on Wednesday, 21 January. At Miss Cooke's pension, their room was ready "with an open wood fire, and a hot dinner waiting."¹

Jane's second sojourn in Paris was much less frenetic than her first, when she squeezed an enormous amount of sightseeing into a two-week visit.² Rainy weather and Anna's illnesses during February and March 1885 kept Jane indoors, concen-

trating on her French and attending to her stepmother. Nevertheless, in the first part of March, Jane did a lot of sightseeing with some American acquaintances, including a visit to the catacombs of Paris, which she found "like another Paris under ground with its avenues, squares & streets." Jane and her companions also received "special permission from the [Paris] police to visit the prison of Marie Antoinette, it is under the old Palais de Justice next the Seine, one of the oldest buildings in the city."³ With the Americans, Miss Smith and her cousin, Mr. Smith, whom Jane had met at Miss Cooke's pension, she also took a "steam boat down the Seine" to the famed Père Lachaise Cemetery, where she hunted up notables such as La Fontaine, Molière, and "poor old Marshal Ney who has no tomb or monument."⁴ She also spent a "full afternoon excursion" visiting the "romantic" Park of Buttes Chaumont and viewing the "half completed" church of Sacré Coeur in Montmartre.⁵

Although she did spend some time at the Louvre viewing art, Jane's focus in the late winter and spring of 1885 seemed to be on attending theater and opera performances and learning French. She saw Sarah Bernhardt in March, and although the house was "packed & so warm" that she "couldn't enjoy the play," Jane was impressed with Bernhardt "every minute as being an artist."⁶ The first opera Jane saw in Paris was, appropriately, *Carmen*, by the French composer Georges Bizet. Anna and Jane heard an impressive operatic concert with stars baritone Jean Baptiste Faure, contralto Marietta Alboni, and others⁷ and visited the French Chamber of Deputies and the Senate with diplomatic tickets arranged through the American ambassador.

Jane was not exactly jaded, but she certainly displayed the sophistication of an experienced traveler, calling the Parisian catacombs "very interesting but of course much less historical than those of Rome."⁸ Palm Sunday services at Notre Dame were "more impressive and pleasing" than the ones the previous year at St. Peter's.⁹ By the time cousin Mary Worrall¹⁰ arrived in April, Jane felt that she had already "done" Paris twice (in June 1884 and again in March 1885). "I flatter myself quite an efficient guide," she announced to her sister Alice. Sightseeing picked up after the arrival of Jane's cousin Mary and the onset of better weather; the two women sallied forth into Paris in "regular tourist fashion." Excursions outside the city included jaunts to Fontainebleau, Versailles, and St. Cloud and a boat trip up the Seine to Sèvres.¹¹

In her last extant letter home from Paris, Jane informed sister Alice that on Sunday afternoon, May 17, she and her cousin Mary "went to a meeting of the McCall Mission, and on the way visited the tulip show of the Jardin des Plantes which was simply magnificent."¹² As her days in Paris dwindled, mundane activities such as packing, shopping, having a dress made, and going to a dentist occupied Jane's time, all interspersed with hurried rounds of socializing with other Americans, including playing cards, eating in fine restaurants like the famous Café de Paris, and attending musicals and the theater.

35 Rue de Lubeck Paris—[France]

Feb 21" 1885

My dear friend—

The last sentence in your last letter did have a solemn effect. Regret and chagrin that I had allowed any thing to interfere with my correspondence with so good and talented a friend—one whose letters are always an inspiration and of intrinsic value. I do not <know> why it has become so difficult for me to write letters during the past year—but aside from the steady stream I direct towards my family about five a week—I write very few letters.¹³

We left Berlin the middle of Jan. stopping once at Dusseldorf¹⁴—where I enjoyed the modern paintings—and again at Aix la Chapelle.¹⁵ I was thinking yesterday rather drearily that I had accomplished very little since being in Paris. We spent ten days finding a “French family”¹⁶—the usual pension, or Paris “English boarding house” affords no opportunity for learning the French language—which is just now the chief object of my existence. We are very much pleased with our present location—the demonstrative affectionate family life, the little bit of a drawing room, barely large enough to accomodate the ten people, all talking at once and in the most animated manner, with no conception of how close the room is, or how loud their voices are. Since our arrival here my mother was so ill as to be confined to her bed for two weeks, so that I could not leave her more than an hour or two at a time.¹⁷ During the time <however> I read aloud “Ben Hur,”¹⁸ I do not think that I cared so much for it as you did, I think the character of Balthasar the Egyptian is the only one I shall always retain, it is one of the most spiritual <characters> I have ever seen drawn any where. It was daring to attempt a portrayal of the Passion. I began to be afraid about the middle of the book and got a little nervous over it before it came. The doubt and inaction which fell upon Ben Hur at the supreme moment, is a sort of pathetic explanation of Wallace’s own inaction at the Battle of Shiloh¹⁹—the will paralyzed by the very multiplicity of ideas and perceptions. De Quincy expressed it in his vision of sudden death.²⁰ My sight seeing in Paris has been limited to three or four mornings at the Louvre.²¹ It is so splendidly arranged for study that it is easy and delightful to go there. You are not overwhelmed and confused as you are in the Vatican for instance.

There is just the barest possibility of our going to Spain in March if my mother health permits.²² The “Castle” is very remote, but I shall see for you and write often to you.²³ I have a profound respect for the work you are doing in your Shakspeare readings.²⁴ When I think of doing things, that you did not & possibly could not do when I knew you—I am very impatient to see you, and am haunted by a fear that I do not know you.

Our fire place is so diminutive, that it is only useful in a picturesque sense, my hands are so cold that I can scarcely hold my pen.²⁵ This letter will not count in the line of our correspondence—I write only that the silence may be broken. I mean to read some thing of Millet,²⁶ I do not believe that the story

of the Beautiful is already complete, although I believe many artists could do much good by disseminating what has already been reached. Some of the copies we saw of the Sistine Madonna, (in Dresden)²⁷ were so fine that it seemed culpable and careless that every town & city in America do not contain one, that people who had already been touched by it, should be so indifferent and “unmissionary.” One believes the charge that art is selfishly occupied with her own perfection, and has no desire to teach or improve <those not aiding it> so absent of her own development. Write when you can, my dear, and believe me that my affection & friendship are unchangeable. Our address is always c/o American Ex. our letters are never detained more than two hours in London & it is much the safest place.

My mother sends her kindest regards to you. Yours

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:21–22).

1. JA to MCAL, 23 Jan. 1885, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:14.

From 814 to 1531, Aix and its cathedral, a portion of which was constructed during the time of Charlemagne (796–804), was the site of the coronation of all German emperors. In 1668, peace between Louis XIV of France and Spain was concluded here. The sulphur hot springs had been famous for their soothing powers since Roman times (see n. 15).

2. See JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, above; and JA to SAAH, 22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1532–39.

3. JA to MCAL, 8 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:30–31.

4. JA to SAAH, 25 Feb. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:25. The tombs JA saw included those of Jean de La Fontaine (1621–95), author of *Fables*; Molière (Jean Baptiste Poquelin [1622–73]), actor and playwright; and Michel Ney (1769), soldier of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic struggles who commanded the Old Guard at Waterloo on 18 June 1815 and was tried and shot for that treason on 7 Dec. 1815.

5. JA to SAAH, 18 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:33–34.

6. JA to MCAL, 8 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:31.

7. Jean Baptiste Faure (1830–1914) was noted for his operatic roles and as a composer of sacred songs. Italian Marietta Alboni (1823–94) was famous for roles in Rossini’s operas. She had retired in 1863 but sang again at Rossini’s funeral in 1868 and infrequently thereafter.

8. JA to MCAL, 8 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:30.

9. JA to MCAL, 29 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:35. On JA’s experiences in Rome, see JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, above.

10. Peter B. Worrall, husband of JA’s cousin Mary Worrall, had accompanied JA and members of her party when he was on a business trip to London in the fall of 1883 (see JA to SAAH, 27 Aug. 1883, n. 7; and JA to JWA, 29 Oct. 1883, both above). This time, cousin Mary joined her husband on his trip abroad; they landed in London on 20 Mar. after a voyage from New York on the *Elba*. The couple planned to stay at “Cliff Castle, a grand english home” owned by Mr. Butterfield, a business associate of Peter Worrall. They would have “Cliff Castle” to themselves, AHHA wrote to GBH, as Mr. Butterfield was at his villa in Nice. AHHA feared that Mary would be lonely in the grand English house while Mr. Worrall was away on business. She looked forward to Mary’s extended visit with them in Paris, as she would “enjoy the society of some one of our friends again” (22 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

11. JA to SAAH, 1 May 1885, UIC, JAMC and IU, Lilly; *JAPM*, 2:55. On JA’s previous sight-seeing excursions about Paris and vicinity, see JA to SAAH, 22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1532–39.

12. JA to SAAH, 19 May 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:69.

JA and her cousin visited one of the thirty-four storefront meeting halls that the McAll Mission had created in or near Paris by 1885. Rev. Robert Whitacker McAll, pastor of an English Congregational church, and his wife determined to establish a protestant mission in Catholic working-class Paris after they saw the deplorable condition of that population on a visit in 1871. They settled in the Belleville area of the city in early 1872 and began their work bringing aid and the Bible directly to the poor who were recovering from the Franco-Prussian War. By 1885, the McAlls had ninety-nine missions in cities in France. See introduction to part 2, nn. 133–35, above.

13. The letter from EGS that JA was replying to is not known to be extant; evidently EGS had expressed disappointment about the frequency of their correspondence. Even to her family, JA had apologized for a slackening in her correspondence. “I don’t know why it is that I have n’t been writing oftener lately, certainly not from lack of interest or thought of you, for the nearer the time approaches for going home, the more impatient we become, and the dearer you all are,” JA had written to SAAH (1 Feb. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:18). In a letter to MCAL written 29 Mar. 1885, JA claimed that she spent evenings in the salon conversing in French and thus had less time to correspond, even with her family.

14. In 1767, Elector Charles Theodore founded the Düsseldorf Academy of Art. It was reorganized in 1819 and “became one of the chief centers of German art.” Painters of the mid-nineteenth-century Düsseldorf School interpreted “scenes from private life, melancholy, sentimental and humorous or poetical themes readily intelligible to the middle classes of society” (Baedeker, *Rhine from Rotterdam to Constance*, 21, xxxiv).

15. Aix-la-Chapelle (“Aachen” in German) was an ancient Roman town in western Germany, near the French border. By the time JA visited, it had become a manufacturing center. See n. 2.

16. When they arrived in Paris on 21 Jan., JA and AHHA first stayed at Miss Cooke’s English pension but then found lodging with the Bonniol family, where French was the primary language spoken. They spent “a good deal of time in the family salon for the sake of hearing and talking French,” JA wrote MCAL (29 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:37). A little later she wrote her other sister SAAH that “French moves on famously, we have reached that interesting stage when we can ask for all we want at table and as long as we confine ourselves to a few ideas feel as if we knew a great deal. It is when one tries to put the polish & finish to a language that the discouragement comes, as it did to us in Germany” ([Apr. 1885], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:43).

Mme. P. Bonniol was “a finely educated woman, who was at the head of a ‘finishing school’ for about fifteen years, and the French she speaks is beautiful,” JA wrote to SAAH (24 Feb. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:24). At Mme. Bonniol’s, the women had taken two rooms, a “small saloon and a bedroom” with “real French windows,” opening onto a balcony that ran the length of both rooms. JA and AHHA had a “front view,” and one of their windows overlooked “the street into a walled court—that is open for nearly a square between two houses and a trellace of ten or twelve feet high <is> covered with beautiful Ivy.” Beyond the court, they could “see away up into other streets” (AHHA to GBH, 22 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC, HJ). They kept a “fire all day” in their “grate in the sitting room, and towards evening in the bed room grate,” JA wrote SAAH. “We have coffee & rolls in our room at half past eight in the morning, breakfast at twelve down stairs,—it consists of three courses & is a good substantial meal, dinner at half past six is quite an elaborate affair after which we repair to the drawing room, which is small and cosy” (1 Feb. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:19).

JA and AHHA found the Bonniols to be “so cordial & demonstrative that we feel more ‘at home’ than since we have left America,” JA wrote to SAAH in Feb. Since they planned to stay for three months, JA felt it would be “well to describe our ‘dramatis personae.’ Besides Madame Bonniol and her two daughters, there is Mrs Miller a widow lady from California, who has been here four months & is very pleasant. Miss Wells from Denver Colo. a plucky

girl about twenty who is studying in a studio, she [is] over worked & has been in bed for three weeks, is just getting up with her eyes as big as moons, but has never once acknowledged she was home sick. Another American girl [is] Miss [Louise] Parker, who has a magnificent voice & is training for the Italian Opera. She works tremendously, besides her music proper, she has 'masters' in Italian & French, for elocution[,] for gestures &c. She is a typical energetic American girl, not pretty but stylish, and very sweet. It seems a shame to think of her future among opera singers. Then there is an English young lady who has been in Paris eight years, she speaks French like a native and is quite one of the family. Three English children who go to school in the day but are here evening. Two girls about twelve and a boy of fourteen, every body pets them, helps them with their lessons in the evening when they study in the drawing room, so that it is in truth quite like a 'family.'" JA concluded her description of the *dramatis personae* by observing, "The air is very different from a pension" (1 Feb. 1885, UIC, JAMC; JAPM, 2:18–19).

17. AHHA suffered "periodical fevers" during the winter of 1884–85 (see JA to SAAH, 20 Dec. 1884, n. 3, above). AHHA was apparently ill for most of Mar. as well, although it appears that her sickness was not directly caused by the fevers. AHHA wrote her son GBH on 22 Mar. 1885 that for the past fifteen days she had taken all her meals in her room, as she was not "strong enough to ride or go down stairs," although she had spent time out on the balcony off their room during the previous week (UIC, JAMC, HJ).

AHHA had had "more attacks of a trying and disagreeable nature this year than last," JA wrote GBH, but she had never been as "seriously ill" as she had been the previous year in Dublin (see also JA to SAAH, 10 Sept. and 16 Sept. 1883, both above). AHHA's general health was better than it had been "the last two years in America," JA believed, but the illness in Paris, which included a painful boil on her chin, "interferes with her French and she has about given up trying, which is well so long as she is nervous" (JA to GBH, 8 Mar. 1885, JAPP, DeLoach; JAPM, 2:28).

18. Lewis "Lew" Wallace's *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (1880), which was translated into many languages, was one of the best-selling novels of the nineteenth century and one of the most popular biblical novels ever published. The fictional character Balthasar was an Egyptian prince and priest, one of the three "wise men" who witnessed Jesus's birth, who felt such spiritual communion with Jesus that he too died while witnessing his crucifixion. JA was referring to Ben-Hur's passivity in the face of the crucifixion.

Lew Wallace (1827–1905) was an American author who was world famous in his day for *Ben-Hur*. He was also a jurist, diplomat (minister to Turkey, 1881–85), governor of the New Mexico territory (1878–81), and painter.

19. Lew Wallace had served as a Union general during the Civil War, commanding a division at the Battle of Shiloh in Apr. 1862. Many believed that the fact that the Union narrowly escaped defeat at Shiloh was a result of Wallace's failure to carry out orders in a timely manner during the battle.

20. English writer Thomas De Quincey's "A Vision of Sudden Death" had affected JA deeply, causing her to ponder her own mental paralysis in stressful situations (see Addams, *Twenty Years*, 70–71; and introduction to part 2, n. 148, above).

21. JA had visited the Louvre, the monumental art museum, during her stay in Paris the previous June (see JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, n. 7, above). On JA's visits to the museum at the Vatican during her sojourn in Rome in the spring of 1884, see JA to SAAH, 25[26] Mar. 1884, UIC, JAMC; JAPM, 1:1450–58.

22. JA and AHHA did not travel to Spain in spring 1885, mainly because of AHHA's opposition. "Jane has been—restless—and anxious to go to Spain—amidst earthquakes[,] cholera and a warlike up rising of the people—but—prudence is the better part of valor—and I shall not venture—farther—but save—up strength and vigor—for the sea voyage 'home-ward bound,'" AHHA confided to GBH (13 Feb. 1885, UIC, JAMC, HJ). As early as Dec. 1884, JA

knew that a trip to Spain was unlikely due to the risk of cholera. "Spain must wait for the 'next trip,'" she told EGS (see 7 Dec. 1884, above). JA did visit Spain with EGS when she returned to Europe with her two years later (Addams, *Twenty Years*, 85–87; and part 4, below).

23. "Castle" (probably short for "air castle") referred metaphorically to the hoped-for trip to Spain. See JA to EGS, 7 Dec. 1884, above; and EGS to JA, 28 Apr. 1885, below.

24. During this year, EGS was teaching English, and guiding her students in reading plays by Shakespeare at Miss Kirkland's School for Girls in Chicago.

25. In Feb. they had "two weeks of dreadfully cold weather," during which time they "did n't do much of any thing but hover over" the "glowing coals" in their "diminutive fire-place" (JA to SAAH, 24 Feb. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:23).

26. Jean-François Millet (1814–75), a French painter of rural landscapes and realistic peasant life, was classically trained and associated with the Barbizon School. His best-known and widely reproduced work was *The Gleaners* (1857), a rendering of a peasant scene at harvest time.

27. The *Sistine Madonna*, painted by Italian artist Raphael in 1513–14, had been acquired by the Dresden Gemäldegalerie in 1754 and was its "most prized possession" (Osborne, *Oxford Companion to Art*, 332).

To Ellen Gates Starr

Palm Sunday, 30(29) March 1885]¹

[Paris, France]

My dear Friend—

I have just come back from the service in Notre Dame, the fine music, the waving palms undulating in the processions, and above all the building itself, impressed me more devoutly and deeply than the Palm-Sunday services we attended last year in St Peters itself.² The streets were thronged with people as we came home, almost all of them with a little sprig of lilac tree in thier hands, looking so demure and simple that one could scarcely believe that it was a Sunday in Paris.³ I believe more and more in keeping the events, the facts of Christ's life before us, and letting the philosophy go.

We are coming home in July. I am very glad the time is growing so short when I shall see you, I am growing very tired of letter writing, or rather have lost the power to write. I shall think of you Easter Sunday in which respect the card speaks truly.⁴ I hope you know how much I appreciate Your letters. Your friend

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:38–39).

1. Date and place written by EGS.

2. For JA's description of her Palm Sunday experience at St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome, see JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, above.

3. Until the end of 1884, the Addams party had carefully kept their Sunday activities to a minimum: attending church, reading, and writing letters. JA found that Europeans generally did not follow that regimen, especially Parisians. On Palm Sunday afternoon, JA "went with

Mademoiselle Eugenie [daughter of Mme. P. Bonniol], who is a very devout little Catholic in her way. She has gone this afternoon to walk in the park with her fiancée and see a balloon ascension—the church and balloon being a typical French Sunday” (JA to MCAL, 29 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:35). Of Easter, JA reported to her sister SAAH that “Paris on Sunday is a curious sight in itself, the afternoon of Easter we walked down the Champs Elysees in a crowd who fairly swarmed the pavements, undisguisedly looking at and criticizing each others clothes. Most of the clothes were well worth inspection, I admit” (9 Apr. 1885, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:45–46).

4. JA's card to EGS is not known to be extant.

To John Weber Addams

35 Rue de Lubeck Paris. [France]

April 19, 1885

My dear Weber

We have had such a gay busy week that I think I will make this a circular letter. Cousin Mary & Mr Worrall came last Sunday evening, and I think I was never more glad to see any body in my life.¹ It is a foretaste of the overjoy it will be to get home once more. We have had quite a time in the social line. Mr & Mrs Sanford² are in the next Street, the entire Emerson family³ from Rockford are within calling distance and as we see them frequently we are in a constant American atmosphere.

On Monday afternoon we all went to the Concours Hippique,⁴ it is really a horse fair but the horses are all driven & displayed by the gentlemen themselves, we saw Baron Rothchild⁵ and innumerable counts and gentry. In the evening Mr Worrall gave us what he called a “swell dinner” at the “Lyond’or”⁶ a restaurant off the Grand Boulevard, it was ten when we finished and we enjoyed the gas light effect of Paris. On Tuesday evening we went to the Hyppodrome⁷ where the most astonishing thing was a horse walking a tight rope, but with the exception of the building itself the performance was very inferior to Barnums.⁸ On Wednesday evening we went to the Grand Opera house and heard the opera of Hamlet.⁹ The house¹⁰ is certainly the most magnificent in the world, and the dress and jewelry of the audience exceeded everything I ever dreamed of. The opera itself was beautifully given, but not any better than those we had seen in Germany and Vienna—but the effect of the house and audience was marvellous. On Thursday afternoon we went to a private concert given by Madame de’ la Grange in her own drawing room. Miss Parker sang with immense success as she is soon to come out in public.¹¹ Between the singing there was tea & gossip and a general social time. Mr Worrall left Thursday evening for London but cousin Mary will stay here until the middle or last of May when he comes back. We had a ride in the park one afternoon with a private carriage lent by one of Mr Worrall’s friends and with a footman and driver felt quite equal to the rest of the beau-mode in the Avenue of the Acacias.¹² Friday afternoon we went out in the suburbs to a popular fête, which was the nearest approach to a Vanity fair¹³

I have ever seen. Flying horses, balloon ascension's fortune tellers Punch and Judy's shows mountebanks and shooting matches in one confusion. About one hour of it was enough to turn our heads and we came home early much to the surprise of the French part of the party, who didn't get home until past dinner time at six in the evening. Cousin Mary and I have settled down into systematic sight-seeing of Paris. Yesterday afternoon we went to the old Cathedral at St Denis.¹⁴ Mrs Sanford went with us and we had a very pleasant trip in spite of the heat, for the sun was excessively hot, and the street cars almost suffocating. This morning we took a boat to Notre Dame, but reached there too late for the Grand Mass, but saw an elaborate baptism of a dear little baby who was given the communion.¹⁵

We have not engaged our passage yet, because so many of the large boats have been sent to Afganistan to carry English troops and it is hard to tell which one will go next.¹⁶ If we engaged on a large Cunard, we might be put in any miserable little boat of the same line.¹⁷ The weather has turned suddenly hot and the trees are almost as far in foliage as in mid summer, we hear a little talk again about the cholera, possibly reappearing and are ready to leave any time that it is necessary.¹⁸ Please give my best love to Laura, & kisses to Sadie. Ma and cousin Mary send their kindest regards. I think of "Cedar Cliff"¹⁹ very often this lovely weather and expect to find the place wonderfully changed and improved in the two years time. The first year went very fast, the second slower and I think the third would be unsupportable. We have had fewer letters the last three weeks than any time during the winter and are waiting for the ships the first of this week. If you will send forward this letter, I will be much obliged and believe me ever your loving Sister

Jane Addams

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:47-49).

1. The Worralls arrived in Paris on 9 Apr., and Mary Worrall planned to stay with JA and AHHA while Peter Worrall finished up his business in London.

2. Louise Sanford (1835-1920) and her husband, Oliver B. Sanford (1831-91), had lived in Freeport, Ill., since the Civil War. In 1863, Sanford opened the first lumber yard in Freeport. By 1871, he had taken his brother-in-law W. D. Rowell into the business, which was sold to Sanford's son, William M. Sanford, and his partner, Harvey B. Zartman, in 1901. Sanford was one of the leading businessmen in the Freeport community. He was the founding director of the First National Bank of Freeport and led the National Telephone Co.'s successful effort to bring telephone service to the Freeport area beginning in 1880. He helped organize and served as an officer for the Independent Order of Mutual Aid, organized in 1879, to gather and invest funds in order to pay at least \$2,000 to widows and/or orphans of each member that died.

JA and AHHA had encountered the Sanfords in Berlin the previous fall (see JA to SAAH, 5 Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1629-36). After spending a wonderful winter in Italy, the Sanfords had come to Paris at the beginning of Apr., planning to sightsee with JA and AHHA.

3. The Addams party had "several very pleasant evenings with the Emerson's," a family they had known in Illinois. JA found Mr. Emerson to be "very much like his Beloit brother when you come to know him" (JA to SAAH, 1 May 1885, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:60). JA

and AHHA were socializing with the family of Adeline Elizabeth Talcott and Ralph Emerson, whose brother was longtime Beloit College professor and RFS trustee Joseph Emerson. For a biographical note on the Ralph Emersons, see *PJA*, 1:223; for a biographical note on Joseph Emerson, see *PJA*, 1:179–80.

When she arrived in Paris, JA welcomed an opportunity to immerse herself in French language and customs by deliberately boarding with a French family and not in an English pension (see JA to EGS, 21 Feb. 1885, above). Now that her stay in Europe was drawing to a close, she seemed to welcome “a constant American atmosphere.”

4. JA wrote MCAL on 29 Mar. 1885 that the “‘Concours Hippique’” had opened on the Champs-Élysées. “[I]t is a sort of horse fair or show, where only the people who are able to own and exhibit fine horses, congregate—consequently the spectators are all inormously wealthy and supposed to be select. On Wednesday, the great day the ‘belle monde’ come out in thier new Spring styles at the ‘Concours Hippique’ and the rest of Paris promenade under the shadow of the building in hopes of getting a glimpse of them. It is a long established thing evidently” (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:37).

5. Baron Alphonse Rothschild (1827–1905) was the head of the French branch of the immensely wealthy Rothschild family. His father, James Rothschild (1792–1868), youngest son of the German founder of the family fortune, had moved to Paris earlier in the century to establish a branch of the family’s financial business.

6. Au Lion d’Or, described by Baedeker as “‘cabaret françois’ quaintly fitted up,” was located at 7 Rue du Helder (*Paris*, 9th rev. ed., 13). JA returned to this restaurant while in Paris in 1887. See JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, n. 14. below.

7. The Hippodrome was destroyed by fire in 1871, and then “re-erected” in the Champs-Élysées between the Avenue de l’Alma and the Avenue Joséphine. “This vast circus holds 6000 spectators,” Baedeker noted. “Equestrian, acrobatic, and pantomimic performances, races, and ballets” were among the attractions (*Paris*, 6th ed., 54).

8. JA may have been referring to American showman Phineas T. Barnum’s New York City Hippodrome, completed in Apr. 1874. It was the largest amusement building ever attempted at that time. It seated more than 10,000 people and featured an oval arena with a partially enclosed roof. The Hippodrome later became Madison Square Garden. Barnum later became famous for his traveling circus.

9. *Hamlet*, by the French composer Ambroise Thomas (1811–96), debuted in Paris in 1868. For a number of years it remained a Paris favorite. Thomas composed both light opera and more serious work. He is best known for his light opera *Mignon*.

10. Baedeker described the Paris opera house, the Académie Nationale de Musique, completed in 1874, as “a most sumptuous edifice” and “the largest theatre in the world” (*Paris*, 6th ed., 77). During her time in Europe, JA had attended many operatic performances. Before leaving Dresden in Jan. 1884, JA had listed in her diary all the operas she had heard there, including: *The Barber of Seville* (Rossini), *Mignon* (Ambrose Thomas), *Der Freischütz* (Carl Maria von Weber), *Undine* (E. T. A. Hoffmann), and *Die Meistersinger von Nuremberg* and *Tannhäuser* (Wagner). The entire traveling party had heard Wagner’s *Flying Dutchman* in Vienna (see JA to SAAH, 10 Feb. 1884, n. 9, above). Although AHHA and JA had difficulty obtaining tickets for Wagner’s “Walkure” and “Lowengrin,” because they were “so popular” in Berlin during the winter of 1884–85 (JA to SAAH, 24 Oct. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1624), JA and AHHA attended the opera several times. JA kept a list of the operas and the musical events she attended. See Addams, “Diary, 2 Nov. 1883–21 Jan. 1885,” [168–69]; *JAPM*, 29:86, 88. The two women also saw Gluck’s “Orfeo and Euridicye” (see JA to SAAH, 30 Nov. 1884, above), Verdi’s “Don Carlos” and Meyerbeer’s “The Prophet” (JA to SAAH, 15 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1675). On Christmas night 1884, JA went to Wagner’s *Lohengrin* with two women from the house where she was staying. The opera was “magnificent,” JA wrote

to SAAH, "the chivalry and poetry of it, one can never never forget, and it was so dramatic and absorbing, that Elsie's test seemed like a test and touch to your own nature" (28 Dec. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1695).

11. Madame de la Grange was the voice teacher for Louise Parker, who was an American staying at Mme. Bonniol's with JA. Ten days earlier, JA had written SAAH that she had attended a concert and heard Miss Parker perform.

AHHA identified Miss Parker as a "Primadona," whom they could hear "trilling and warbling" in "sweetest tones" as she practiced during the day at the pension (AHHA to GBH, 1 [and 2] Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC, HJ). By 1886, Louise Parker had returned to the United States. JA wrote to AHHA from Philadelphia to tell her that "Miss Parker (our Miss Parker of Paris) is singing [the lead] now at McCaull's Opera house in the light Opera of 'Josephine.'" JA did not see the performance (24 Oct. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:335-36).

12. The so-called Avenue of Acacias was a "long avenue of old Locusts" (AHHA to GBH, 28 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

13. JA often referred to Paris in her letters as "Vanity Fair." For JA's first "vanity fair" experience, see JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, n. 4, above.

14. JA had visited St. Denis and its cathedral the previous Feb. St. Denis, an industrial town some four miles outside the city of Paris, was a noted burial place of the kings of France. Among the monarchs buried in the Cathedral of St. Denis were Louis XII (d. 1515) and his consort Anne de Bretagne (d. 1514); Dagobert I (d. ca. 638), and Henri II (d. 1559) and his queen Catherine de Médicis (d. 1589). The cathedral's crypt held the remains of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, Louis XVIII, Louis VII, and other princes, princesses, and members of the French nobility. The cathedral was adorned with many monuments and sculptures in honor of those who were buried there as well as French aristocrats and valiant warriors.

15. JA had gone to the Cathedral of Notre Dame, which was consecrated in 1182, on her previous visit to Paris in June 1884, when they "sat down to rest and wandered about" in the cathedral "for about half an hour" in the midst of hectic sightseeing. At that visit, JA remarked that "[t]he Rose windows are magnificent & the wood carving in the choir. I am quite sure I like the Gothic architecture better than the Roman" (JA to SAAH, 22 June 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1537). Notre Dame, located on the Île de la Cité, an island in the Seine that formed the oldest part of the city, was the cathedral of the archbishop of Paris. At the end of Mar. 1885, JA had attended Mass there on Palm Sunday, unaccompanied by AHHA (see JA to EGS, [30(29) Mar. 1885], above). JA thought the Palm Sunday "ceremonies" with "Music and waving and blessing of Palms was very grand," AHHA reported to GBH (28 Mar. 1885, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

16. On 30 Mar. 1885, Russian forces had overcome the Afghans at Pendjeh. Britain considered Afghanistan essential as a buffer state for India, and Gladstone, British prime minister, won approval to send British soldiers from other parts of the Empire to Afghanistan to defend it against the Russians. For a time, it seemed likely that the British navy would commandeer ocean liners to transport troops. Diplomatic cooperation between the great European powers prevented an armed conflict. Russian claims to territory were submitted to arbitration of the king of Denmark.

17. Their travel plans had firmed up by the time JA wrote to SAAH in early May (see JA to JWA, 10 May 1885, n. 1, below).

18. JA had written SAAH in Nov. that "reports [of cholera] from Paris" indicated that they would not be able "to go there again" (16 Nov. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1646). JA and AHHA's itinerary had been determined by reports of cholera in various places on the Continent (see JA to JWA, 17 Aug 1884, n. 18, above). In Dec., JA had informed EGS that "were it not for the cholera scare, we would probably have spent this winter in the south of France and Spain." It was "hardly prudent to face all the inconveniences of quarantine and

suspicion" in order to venture further south, she wrote (see 7 Dec. 1884, above). Doubtless, the impetus to go to a warmer climate had to do with the "miserable" weather in Berlin. It was not "cold," JA reported to GBH in Dec., "but rains and drizzles so constantly" that she and AHHA were inclined to "fly southward some time in January" (19 Dec. 1884, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 1:1678).

19. "Cedar Cliff" was the name of the home where the JWA family lived in Cedarville, Ill.

From Ellen Gates Starr

Chicago, [Ill.]

Apr. 28th, 1885

My dear Jane:

Your dear little letter and card refreshed me very much. You have a happy faculty of getting a great deal into two pages. Thank <you> for <the> pence on Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday, and on all others Sundays, and week days when they occur.¹

I have been a little "under the weather" for two days, and have been occupying myself with rummaging among the relics of our teens. I found your paper on Macbeth,² and the first half of it still seems to me as fine as any thing I have ever read on the subject, you must have been about seventeen when you wrote that. I read it (the first part—I think you get a good deal tangled up in the last half) to the girls who are reading Macbeth with me. I tried to do justice to it in expression and they were a good deal impressed. I think I told you that I read your Florence letter to them.³ I also found "One Office of Nature."⁴ My dear, it is exquisite. I showed <it> to Miss K.⁵ and she requested me to read it to the class. She said it might be a good thing for the girls to see what another school girl could do. I guessed at your age, & gave it as nineteen. Lilly, (my girl) said to me afterward, "If your friend could write that at nineteen I should think she would write books now." I said to her, "If my friend's body had been equal to her mind, and if a great many demands on the strength of both hadn't come to her which do not come to most people, she would have done a good many remarkable things which the Lord doesn't seem to have intended her to do."

I can't tell you what a good time I had with these things. Very many of my own scribblings in bits which I thought had perished, reminded me of things which I shouldn't have thought of again. The winter at Mt. Morris, and the summer at Harlem when I used to go over to the seminary so often.⁶ Also a lovely visit at your house. One of the values attached to you is that you are the earliest of my friends who have remained anything to me. Of course I knew Miss A.⁷ at the same time, but never knew her intimately till after I left school. After all there is something in the age of a friendship which, all things being equal, deepens its value wonderfully. It has all association on its side, & then one has a secure sense of repose about it. Eight years gives a thing a pretty good

trial, and it's likely to last after that; You know that our sweet Sarah⁸ has a thing (which always makes me laugh coming from her, the most faithful of beings) that people must see each other often to retain any warmth of affection. It depends on the kind of relationship, of course. I haven't the least anxiety about ours. I am looking forward to seeing you this summer as one of my great blessings. I wish we could be together once, you and Sarah & I. Sarah is going to some lake, & has asked me to spend a few days there, & I presume I shall. It begins to seem really near, the seeing you.

You must excuse this personal letter. My mind is too rambling to be anything but personal, and I felt like being personal. George Eliot agrees with Sarah, by the way.⁹

I suppose Spain must be given up. Perhaps we shall go together sometime. One kind of air castle is as good as another.

I have a great treasure in one of the girls this year. She graduates, of course. I am always losing people as fast as I get them, but I hope she isn't going away. I think she will be to me something what you were to Sarah. She isn't as developed as you were at seventeen but her capacities are magnificent.

Don't feel obliged to write, dear, if you don't feel like it. I think I understand your weariness a little. The two little pages are very precious to me when you feel equal to it, and when you don't I can get along without them.

Remember me affectionately to your mother, and believe me always devotedly yours,

E. G S

ALI (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:50–53).

1. Although the card is not known to be extant, see JA to EGS, [30(29) Mar. 1885], above, for the letter.

2. See JA's college essay, "The Macbeth of Shakespeare," written in her junior year at RFS and published in *RSM*, Jan. 1880; *PJA*, 1:337–42.

3. JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, above.

4. A reference to JA's college essay, "One Office of Nature," on the power of nature as a source of Romantic literature and scientific inquiry, which she wrote in her sophomore year at RFS and published in *RSM*, June 1879. See *PJA*, 1:263–68.

5. Elizabeth Stansbury Kirkland was founder and director of Miss Kirkland's School for Girls in Chicago, where EGS was teaching literature, Latin, and art classes.

6. EGS taught Latin and French at Mt. Morris Seminary in Mt. Morris, Ill., in 1878–79 and during the summer of 1879 tutored children in Harlem, Ill., a small town near Rockford, from where she frequently visited RFS.

7. SA, their teacher and friend at RFS.

8. SA.

9. JA meant that novelist George Eliot and SA agreed on the need to see one another as a requirement for maintaining a warm relationship.

To John Weber Addams

35. Rue de Luback Paris. [France]

May 10, 1885

My dear Weber

We have engaged our passage on the Servia sailing the 30th of May.¹ She is the same good ship which brought us safely over, we were at first inclined to a German vessel, but they are very much crowded just now and as the prospect of war is subsiding we concluded to trust ourselves under an English flag after all.²

We leave here the 20th giving ourselves just time enough to get our various London trunks in order.³ Mr & Mrs Sanford have a stateroom next to us, we meet them in Liverpool the day before we sail. They expect to leave here tomorrow for a trip into Scotland. If we land in New York the 8th or 9th of June, and spend but a night or two in Philadelphia, it cannot be but a few weeks until I see you[,] as the time narrows down to a few days I find myself growing very anxious. Mr Worrall arrived from England this morning to stay until Tuesday night. He reports bussiness very dull and that he will be kept in Bradford until the 20th so that we will have cousin Mary with us until we leave here, for which we are very grateful as we have become very much attached to her and would miss her dreadfully. She is invited out a great deal by Mr Worralls friends—American bussiness men living in Paris.⁴ I have been with her once to an elegant dinner and several times to luncheon and have very much enjoyed the glimpse into Parisian homes or rather “apartments[.]” Last Sunday we went to Versailles to see the famous fountains play.⁵ They play only the first sunday during the summer months’ at a cost of 10,000 francs for each hour. It is said to be one of the finest spectacles in the world, and we had engaged a carriage with the Sanfords more than a week ago. It was raining in torrents when the carriage came to the door, but as the carriage was closed and our last chance to see the fountains, we concluded to go. We rode fourteen miles in the rain, stood for three quarters of an hour in pouring showers and finally saw the fountains or at least eighteen of them and then rode home again. The fountains were magnificent but we had already had such an abundance of water that we were hardly in a state to appreciate them. It continued to rain for the five days following, so most of our time has been in the galleries The Louvre & the Luxemburg.⁶ The Salon⁷ or annual exhibition of pictures painted during the year was opened the first of May, it attracts strangers from all parts of Europe, we spent one afternoon there but concluded to wait for further inspection, until the crowd lessened a little. Yesterday we heard Chiristini Nelson in an afternoon concert at the Trocadero.⁸ She sang with an immense success and the enthusiastic French audience knew no bounds in their applause. In a composition of Gounod’s⁹ lead by the composer himself, she was supported by an orchestra of 250 pieces a chorus of forty singers and the immense organ and we heard her voice distinctly carrying the air above it all. It was one of the most magnificent things I ever heard. We

had a very nice time one day last week at the museum Carnavalet an historical museum of the French Revolutions it is in a house of the 16th Cent. scattered through fourteen rooms and balconies, the house was once occupied by the Madame Sevigné¹⁰ and is very curious in itself. We enjoyed your last letter very much.¹¹ Cousin Mary & Mr Worrall as well as Ma send love and kind regards to Laura and Yourself. We are going this evening with Mr & Mrs Emerson & their daughters to a reception of Victor Hugo's¹² and as it is already approaching dinner time I will close here. As we are so hurried with dress making and every other thing under the sun, I will make this a circular letter.

With love to Laura & kisses to Sadie[.] Ever and always Your devoted Sister

Jane Addams.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:64–67).

1. JA and AHHA returned home earlier than originally planned. "A letter from Mary was the turning point of our plans," JA wrote SAAH on 7 May 1885 (MCAL's letter is not known to be extant). "We feel anxious of course, and as it is only a change of a month or six weeks, concluded to go earlier. It is not as if we were breaking up or changing a trip and in some respects the getting home before the very hot weather is an advantage." MCAL, who had been ill, was pregnant and due to deliver in June. JA and AHHA would have gone once more to Scotland before leaving Europe, but they were worried about MCAL. JA wrote SAAH that she had "apprehended very imperfectly, Mary's state of health but would certainly feel better to be on the other side, although I might not be actually with her at the event" (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:61–62).

2. See JA to JWA, 19 Apr. 1885, n. 16, above.

3. They actually left Paris on Saturday, 23 May (JA was seasick crossing the English Channel), arriving in London that night. They stayed at Miss Warner's boardinghouse, as they had in Oct. 1883 and in Aug. and Sept. 1884. JA and AHHA departed London for Liverpool on Friday, 29 May, and embarked on the *Servia* at 10 A.M. the next day, heading for New York.

4. "Last Saturday evening we partook of an exceedingly 'swell' dinner. . . . It was at the Café de Paris, and probably the cooking & serving were the finest to be found any where in the world. All the delicacies out of season were on hand such as melons and late vegetables, the cherries were served growing on a little tree set in the middle of the table" (JA to SAAH, 19 May 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:68–69).

5. JA had visited the Palace of Versailles with SH in June 1884 (see JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, n. 11, above).

6. Musée du Luxembourg.

7. JA had also attended the annual salon sponsored by the national Académie des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1884 with SH (see JA to EGS, 22 June 1884, n. 4, above).

8. Christine Nilsson (1843–1921) was a Swedish operatic soprano who had performed in France, England, and the United States. The Festival Hall in the Palais du Trocadéro seated 6,000 people.

9. Charles Gounod (1818–93), a major French composer of the late nineteenth century, composed several well-known operas, including *Faust* (1859) and *Roméo et Juliette* (1867).

10. The Musée Carnavalet had been the residence of the Marquise de Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal (1626–96), a French writer. She was known for her letters (more than fifteen hundred) to family members about life in French aristocratic society during the late seventeenth century.

11. SAAH's letter is not known to be extant.

12. They visited celebrated French author Victor Hugo (1802–85) at his “quiet unpretending home” that was “only four squares” from their lodging. AHHA found the 83-year-old writer, who died later that year, to be “hard of hearing and somewhat childish.” The “kindly shake of his hand” would be “a happy remembrance as long as I live,” she informed her son; she was most impressed by Hugo’s “income yearly two hundred and fifty thousand dollars,” his net worth “nearly three millions” (AHHA to HWH, 17 May 1885, JAPP, AHHA). Both Mme. P. Bonniol (on 28 May 1885) and one of her boarders, Luisa Nusso (on 27 May [1885]) wrote to JA describing preparations for the funeral of Hugo, who died on 22 May 1885. See SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:73–76, 71–72.

Part 3

SOCIAL LESSONS,

1885-86



Jane Addams, ca. 1887. (Bachrach and Bro.,
Baltimore; SCPC, JAC)

Introduction



Jane and Anna Addams left Europe on 30 May 1885 aboard the Cunard liner *Servia*. After reaching the United States early in June, they stopped briefly to see relatives in Philadelphia and hurried on to Cedarville to open and reclaim their home. Soon, Jane picked up the threads of her pre-European life—and yet there was a difference.

Jane Addams had matured. She had become healthier, more sophisticated and socially adept, more independent, and more sure of herself. She had acquired a taste for an energetic, intellectually challenging life. She had become accustomed to a world of travel and urban amenities. “Accomplished tourists,” George Haldeman called Jane and his mother,¹ and so they continued to be. As if they were caught in their European routine of sightseeing with an intellectual bent, reluctant to relinquish the stimulation of new people, places, and experiences and still eager to explore new vistas and cities, Jane and Anna Addams refused to settle comfortably and permanently in Cedarville. They simply exchanged the European continent, languages, and customs for those in an American city and continued their tourist ways. Now their travels were in part centered on the family responsibilities that claimed both women once again.

For Jane Addams, this year and a half was crucial in her progress toward personal independence and the focus on social welfare and social justice that would define most of her adult life. As she began to pay more attention to her siblings in the Midwest and to Weber and Addams relatives clustered in the Philadelphia area, Jane started to distance herself physically and emotionally from Anna and George Haldeman. She rejected the idea of marrying stepbrother George and making her permanent home with him and Anna Addams. She continued to develop her own intellectual and social life and to pursue interests separate from those of Anna and the Haldeman side of the family. For the first time, she had an opportunity to explore a large American city, meet a variety of American urban dwellers, and experience the benefits and the problems of

big-city life in America. In Europe, in addition to museums and tourist attractions, Jane had investigated the life and conditions of women and children—she had observed schools, hospitals, and missions and the work of various welfare organizations. In Baltimore, Maryland, Jane Addams discovered the importance of philanthropy in an American urban setting. She observed and experienced first hand the power of women working singly and in concert to use their wealth and influence to effect social change and she became an active participant in charity and mission work.

On 18 June 1885, Jane Addams attended the alumnae banquet at Rockford Female Seminary in conjunction with that year's commencement. Her sister Alice Haldeman, who had come from her home in Girard, Kansas, for a month's stay, was with her. Jane had already visited her other sister, Mary Linn, and her family in Harvard, Illinois. She delighted in becoming reacquainted with Mary's children: John, age twelve, Weber, nine, Esther, four, and Stanley, just two (born 21 May 1883 and just a few months old when she left for Europe) and in seeing the new baby, Mary Addams Linn, born 28 May 1885, called "Little Mary."

George Haldeman was at the Johns Hopkins University Chesapeake Zoological Laboratory in Beaufort, North Carolina, for the summer, gathering and investigating invertebrate marine animals from the sandy coastal marshes.² Though it would not have been surprising for Anna Addams to visit him immediately upon her return from Europe, there is no evidence that she did. Jane did not venture south either. Harry Haldeman came to Cedarville in July, primarily to attend his mother, just as his wife, Alice, returned to Girard. He left in mid-August to be replaced in the Cedarville Addams home by Ellen Gates Starr, who came to reestablish her friendship with Jane Addams, and by Laura A. Malburn of Freeport, who spent several days with Anna Addams. Of course, individual friends who lived nearby dropped in frequently to hear about their European adventure.

During September, Anna and Jane Addams visited Hostetter relatives in Mt. Carroll, Illinois, and Jane took her eight-year-old niece Sarah "Sadie" Addams with her for a week's visit to Rockford Female Seminary. Throughout October and early November, Jane continued to stay close to Cedarville. Her brother, Weber, was once again in the Northern Illinois State Hospital for the Insane at Elgin, and she felt duty-bound to be as supportive as possible of his wife and daughter. She and Laura Shoemaker Addams visited the Linn family in Harvard, Illinois, and shopped in Chicago. Jane saw Weber in Elgin and hoped that he would be well enough to return to his home before she had to join Anna and George Haldeman in Baltimore, Maryland.

In mid-October, Anna Addams left Cedarville for Terre Haute, Indiana, where she spent several days with her brother Noah Hostetter and his family.³ At month's end, she journeyed on to Baltimore to establish herself for the winter in support of her graduate student son George. By mid-November, Jane was preparing to join them. She visited her former teacher Sarah Blaisdell in Beloit,

Wisconsin, and, with another former teacher, her friend Sarah Blaisdell, she called on classmate Mattie Thomas Greene and her husband in Dubuque, Iowa. Returning to Cedarville, Jane packed her belongings for transport to Baltimore and spent the remainder of November with the Linn family in Harvard, Illinois. A few days before Christmas, Jane arrived in Baltimore to settle down with her stepmother at 144 Washington Place (actually a portion of North Charles Street) in the socially elegant section of the city referred to as Mount Vernon Place.⁴

In 1886, Baltimore was a gracious, cultured, growing city; it was also primarily a southern city that had escaped devastation during the Civil War. The industrial city was a trade center where sea and railroad transport converged. Thousands of textile workers labored in more than three hundred sweatshops. Railroad workers participated in the railroad strike of 1877 and were among the more than 15,000 workers who demonstrated in Baltimore on 1 May 1886 in support of an eight-hour day. Baltimore's population of 375,000 was diverse. Immigrants had arrived from Europe, and the African-American population had swelled with the dislocations caused by the Civil War and its aftermath. A



Washington Place, Baltimore, Maryland, ca. 1885–87. The neighborhood in which Jane and Anna Addams lived during their two winters in Baltimore presented a pleasant, park-like atmosphere with statuary, flowers, and trees and broad, well-kept streets. (MHS)

large Jewish community was taking root, too. Most long-time residents were of Northern European stock, and many of them claimed connection with the earliest settlers.

Baltimore was also an economically diverse place. The city's poor included widows from the Civil War, or newly arrived immigrants, and southern African Americans. It featured a growing middle class, some of whom were in the process of acquiring wealth. A few families had already amassed great wealth. Some of the latter chose this era to share their wealth in ways to benefit large segments of the population. America was beginning to acknowledge another branch of its democratic aristocracy. Philanthropists, generally successful titans of industry and commerce, were joining the ranks of government and military leaders, men of invention and exploration, writers, and artists as members of the nation's elite. In Baltimore, they included Johns Hopkins,⁵ founder of Johns Hopkins University, Johns Hopkins Hospital, and other philanthropic institutions; Enoch Pratt,⁶ who created a library; William T. Walters,⁷ art collector; and George Peabody,⁸ who helped devise and then built an educational institution. However, it may have been from among the women philanthropists of Baltimore that Jane Addams found role models. Such women as the King sisters (Mary Taber King Carey, Anna Taber King Carey, and Elizabeth Taber King Ellicott⁹), Mary Whitall Thomas¹⁰ and her daughter Martha Carey Thomas,¹¹ and Mary E. Garrett,¹² acting separately and with other women, led efforts to create educational and work opportunities for women and orphanages and homes, schools, and camps for women and children. Among the institutions they created were the Woman's Industrial Exchange,¹³ the Bryn Mawr School,¹⁴ and the Decorative Art Society.¹⁵ They provided major support for Bryn Mawr College¹⁶ and established an endowment that guaranteed women entrance to Johns Hopkins Medical School.¹⁷

Despite its southern sympathies, Baltimore survived the Civil War intact. Its position as a transportation hub guaranteed its continued development as a center of commerce. The wealth that commerce provided in turn brought cultural and educational amenities. By the 1880s, Baltimore was a city distinguished by its architecture and statuary—its churches, parks, and cultural institutions—most of which had been provided by the new philanthropists. There were frequent public lectures, exhibits of art, and musical events, and the city was beginning to gather an impressive array of scientists and medical personnel to assist in the development of Johns Hopkins Hospital and medical education center, which officially opened in 1889.

Jane Addams, accustomed to the excitement and assortment of the sights, sounds, and culture of urban Europe, found Baltimore quite acceptable. "[W]e are beginning now to feel part of the surroundings now and I think before the winter is over will become very much attached to Baltimore," she informed her sister five weeks after she had arrived.¹⁸ Already focused on continuing to educate herself by reading English and American literature, Jane Addams planned



Dress for the fashionable woman in the late 1880s as presented by *Godey's Lady Book*. Compare this illustration with the photograph of Jane Addams opposite the title page in this volume. (*Godey's Lady Book* 111 [August 1888])

to continue a regimen of study and cultural enrichment similar to the one she had followed in Paris.

Through stepbrother George Haldeman's landlady Cornelia Mayer (widow of Brantz Mayer, the first president of the Maryland Historical Society) and her family,¹⁹ who were socially prominent in the city, Jane and Anna Addams gained access to Baltimore society. Jane found the Mayers to be "a really superior family, the service and appointments of the house are as dainty as possible."²⁰ From her early experience in the city, Jane determined that Baltimore people were "universally kindly and open in their manners." She discovered that "[m]ost of the ladies here seem to have been educated in the old fashioned plan and know French as they do English."²¹ Jane engaged a French teacher, and she and her stepmother stayed at home on Wednesday afternoons to receive callers.²²

George Haldeman's associations at Johns Hopkins University also provided the two Addams women with opportunities for social and intellectual interaction. They became part of a circle that was composed of George's fellow students and his professors and their wives and families. All enjoyed lectures, study parties, dinners, and teas together. Jane's closest friends in the group seem to have been Amelia Brooks, the wife of William Keith Brooks,²³ George Haldeman's

major professor, as well as a fellow student or two. L. Bradley Dorr,²⁴ the nephew of Catherine Dorr, who taught mathematics at Rockford Female Seminary during the late 1870s, was a student at Hopkins and quite attentive to the Addams women. It was with Miss Dorr and her nephew that Jane made her first visit to Washington, D.C. Jane and Anna Addams also gave a reception in honor of Dorr and his cousin William Samuel Lemen²⁵ and invited both men to share Christmas evening with them in 1886.

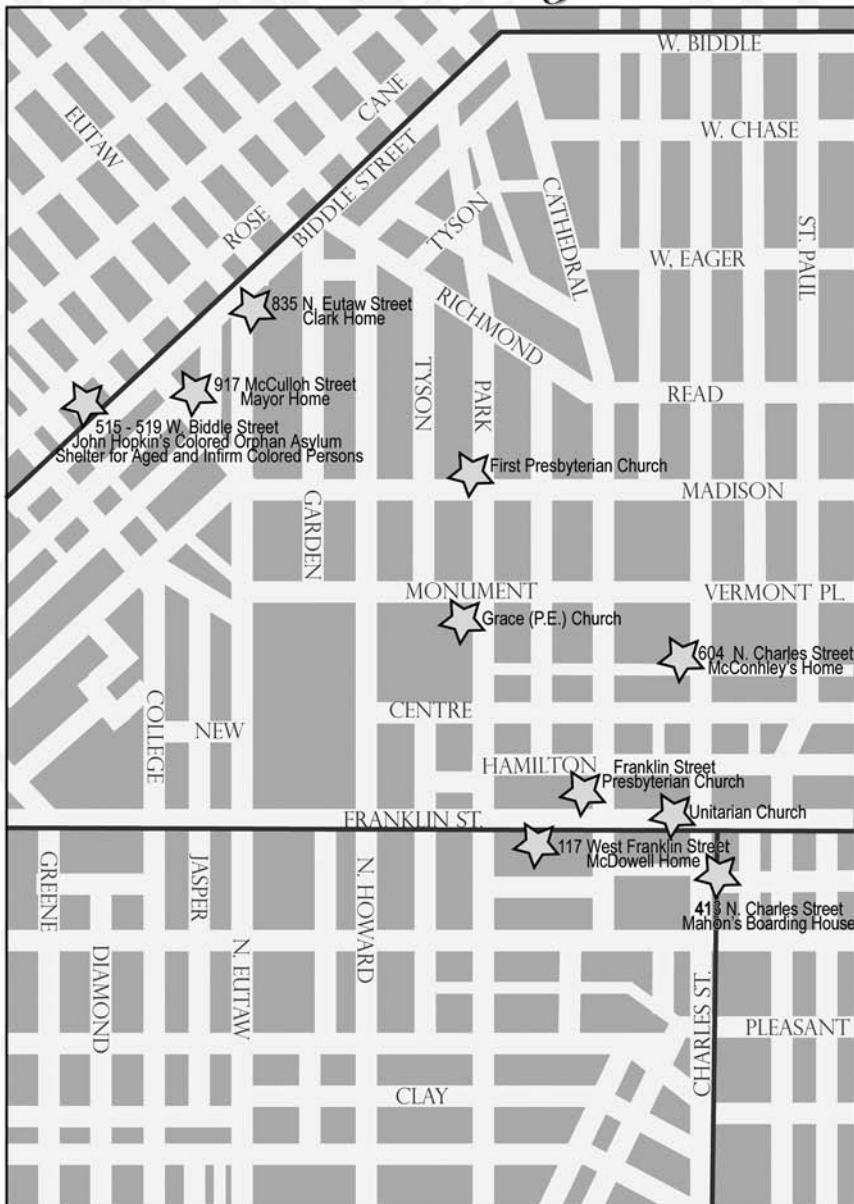
Jane continued to increase her knowledge of art. "I hope to study art a little more systematically this winter than I have ever done," she informed her artistically gifted sister, Alice Haldeman. She suggested that she might even join Alice's Girard art club "as a corresponding student."²⁶ Art clubs were much in style among Jane Addams's acquaintances. In addition to the one in Girard, Kansas, Jane was familiar with an art club in Rockford, Illinois. However, instead of joining her sister's club, she began her own art club in Baltimore. It was a small group that blended her friends and the wives of Johns Hopkins University professors with Baltimore society women. The club survived for the entire time Jane and her stepmother lived in Baltimore. The women studied works of art, the lives of artists, and schools of painting. They visited Baltimore galleries and collections and pored over prints. Jane also enrolled in a drawing class, which she maintained, somewhat surprised, that she enjoyed.

George Haldeman, already familiar with the musical and theatrical environment in Baltimore, introduced his mother and Jane to an assortment of plays, musicals, and concerts, much like those they had become familiar with in Europe. There were musical events in churches, at the Peabody Conservatory of Music, at the Academy of Music, and at the Grand Opera House.

"It is very easy to be drawn into the general lectures &c here. We have season tickets to the Peabody, for every Tuesday and Thursday evening, and the general ones at the University make about a lecture a day," Jane informed her Girard sister.²⁷ Topics ranged from French and German literature to science, religion, and the arts. Some evenings the Addams-Haldeman family group gathered around their stove, lit their oil lamps, and read aloud together; sometimes outsiders were included, creating a reading party.²⁸ By the fall of 1886, the Addams women had created a German reading club that included a Johns Hopkins professor and his wife.

In addition to her intellectual and social enterprises, Jane Addams attended church regularly. Though she was living in the birthplace of the New Jerusalem Church in America, there is no evidence that she or Anna Addams, who had been raised in a family who was among its members, sought out that organization.²⁹ She evidently had no connection with the Society of Friends, either. Searching for a comfortable religious home, as she had in Europe, she tried the First Independent Church (Unitarian)³⁰ and the Grace Protestant Episcopal Church³¹ and finally settled on regular attendance at the First Presbyterian Church.³² It may have been through one or more of these churches and through

Important Sites in Jane Addams's Life in Baltimore, Maryland



Sites Jane Addams frequented during her two winters in Baltimore. (Map sites provided by Francis O'Neill, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. Map design, Janet Cherry, graphic designer, Fayetteville, North Carolina)

some of the Baltimore society women who were her friends that Jane became actively engaged for the first time in what would become her life's work.

Baltimore had a long history of supporting those in need. The community's dedication to helping the less fortunate fluctuated through the years, but Jane Addams had an opportunity to experience Baltimore during one of its major periods of growth in charitable and philanthropic activity. "From 1880 to 1900 no fewer than 95 different organizations were founded. They embraced hospitals, charity organizations, orphanages, settlements, loan societies, free burial societies, and a multitude of other special charities or quasi-charitable associations," wrote Clyde C. Rohr in his brief but detailed history of charitable institutions in Baltimore.³³ These were added to the hundreds of programs that had been established in the community since the start of the nineteenth century. Most were the results of efforts by religious groups and wealthy private citizens. The Roman Catholic and Protestant churches founded urban missions, as did the Jewish community in Baltimore. A brief foray by the city government into charitable endeavor was costly and ultimately judged ineffective, so by 1870, the city of Baltimore was providing support for those in need by granting public subsidies to private organizations. The charity organization movement, which sought to make charity more effective and efficient, was developing in northern cities in the late nineteenth century. Baltimore philanthropic leaders created the city's Charity Organization Society (COS) in 1881. It was incorporated in 1885 and was beginning to be effective when Jane lived in the city.

Jane Addams had an opportunity to learn not only about the COS but also about the variety of individual charitable programs under way in Baltimore. She could also have learned about welfare fraud and that some philanthropic practices actually seemed to promote "begging and pauperism"³⁴ among the potentially destitute population. By the mid-1880s, like other large American urban centers in the East and Midwest (including Chicago), Baltimore boasted an assortment of philanthropic programs. Hospitals, infirmaries, and dispensaries served those who could not pay for health care. The city's large number of orphanages prepared abandoned children, through education and special training, to earn their own keep. Free schools and Sunday School missions focused on educating and "uplifting" children, and homes for "fallen women" sought to reform prostitutes. Special programs provided free home nursing service, an opportunity for children to have two weeks in the country in the summertime, free excursions on the city's harbor and rivers for mothers and their children in the summer, help with the purchase of fuel in the winter, and aid to women in purchasing sewing machines, not only to help them clothe their children but also to provide them with a means of earning money to support their families.

Jane Addams became especially interested in three charitable programs: a mission school where girls learned to sew, an orphanage for African-American children, and a home for elderly African-American women. Documents and her letters for this period indicate that she visited these programs, supported at

least one of them financially, and interacted with the residents of the orphanage and the home for elderly women.

It is difficult to know which mission or industrial school with sewing classes for girls Jane Addams visited. She left few clues. At the time, many of the churches in the community had such programs. For example, the Grace Episcopal Church, which Addams explored, had an industrial school with ten teachers and sixty students in 1885. The Presbyterian church in Baltimore ran an orphanage that may have given sewing instruction. The First Independent Church (Unitarian) had a well-established sewing education program for girls. And because one of the first women to befriend Jane Addams in Baltimore attended church there, that may have been the program she visited.

An Industrial School for Girls sponsored by the Women's Aid Society of the First Unitarian Church began in 1874 with a sewing school. It was located on Garden Street until the church chapel was completed in 1879 and the program moved to classrooms constructed for the school in the basement of the building. By the late 1880s, more than seventy girls met with teachers each Saturday for two hours of instruction in sewing accompanied by singing, Bible-reading, and prayer. The sewing school developed a three-year course in which participants learned to make basic stitches the first year; took up mending, darning, buttonholing, and embroidery stitches the second; and learned how to make garments the third. Promotion in the program was based on proficiency.

None of the garments the students made were given away. Students could earn the right to purchase them by earning points for cleanliness, good behavior, promptness, and excellent sewing. Church women made garments for young girls who made none. Members of the Woman's Aid Society visited the homes of their students and helped families with food and clothing if that was necessary. A household school and cooking school developed from the sewing school.³⁵

The Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum, founded in 1873, was located at 519 West Biddle Street. According to one account written before Johns Hopkins's death, not only did he plan for a university and hospital but he also "made liberal arrangements for the erection of an asylum for the education and maintenance of about four hundred colored orphan children, which will be under the supervision of the trustees of the 'Johns Hopkins Hospital.'" ³⁶ By 1892, facilities had been developed for only twenty-eight children, all girls. Girls between the ages of two and nine were accepted to be "trained in household work" and could be "bound out, remaining in all cases under the oversight of the Asylum until [age] 18." ³⁷ When the asylum found them homes, it gave each of them appropriate attire. The asylum was supported by money left by Johns Hopkins and managed by trustees of Johns Hopkins Hospital; a group of Baltimore women oversaw the operation. Begun during the Civil War as a shelter for African-American children, primarily supported at that time by the Society of Friends, it became a home for African-American orphans after the Johns Hopkins trustees assumed responsibility for it.

The Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City was located at 515–517 Biddle Street, next door to the Johns Hopkins Colored Orphans Asylum. The shelter was incorporated on 12 February 1881 and opened in 1883 to “well recommended” applicants who were sixty years old and could deposit \$100.³⁸ Three months’ probation was required before residency was permanent. If a probationer was dismissed as unsatisfactory, her deposit was returned, less \$2.50 per week. Approximately 125 white people maintained the shelter, donating nearly \$800 each year, and after 1891, the city of Baltimore contributed \$500 annually. Among the contributors in 1886 and 1887 was Jane Addams, who gave \$5 the first year and \$20 the second. In 1887, the association owned two houses, one of which was occupied by women and the other by men; the houses held a total of thirty-three occupants. In 1887, forty-five people were waiting to be admitted. By 1891, the association had an endowment of \$9,900.

Although Jane Addams created a busy, exciting, and full life for herself in Baltimore, shortly after George Haldeman left for Beaufort, North Carolina, in April 1886 for another summer of exploring invertebrate marine creatures, Jane and Anna Addams returned to the Midwest and family responsibility. Though the Addams women stopped in Cedarville and Jane visited briefly with the Linn

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The list of Annual Subscribers from the *Sixth Annual Report, 1887–88*, for the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City indicates that Jane Addams was one of the major donors to the organization in that year. (JHU, MEL, Spec. Coll.)

and Weber Addams families, she and her stepmother spent the bulk of their summer with Alice and Harry Haldeman in Girard, Kansas. At the end of July, Jane, accompanied by her sister Alice and perhaps by Anna Addams, trekked farther west to see Pikes Peak and the surrounding Colorado countryside. While Anna Addams returned east in August to meet son George for a brief vacation with relatives in Maryland, Jane remained behind to visit her brother, Weber, and to confer with her again-pregnant sister Mary Linn about arrangements for her upcoming confinement.

By October, Jane and Anna Addams had reestablished themselves in Baltimore. This time, they chose larger rooms and selected quarters in which George Haldeman could have a separate room in the same house.³⁹ They rekindled friendships from the early part of the year, and Jane quickly assumed her previous regimen of intellectual, cultural, and social pursuits. As she had earlier in 1886, Jane went to visit her Addams and Weber relatives in Pennsylvania. And while she enjoyed the trip, she missed the life she was establishing for herself in Baltimore. "I do not want to be gone longer than a week and am anxious to get settled into the winter's routine," she informed her sister Alice.⁴⁰ Continuing to develop a life distinct from those of her stepmother and stepbrother, she attended lectures and exhibits in the company of other women her age and was a guest at teas and luncheons without the rest of her Baltimore family. She became the personal shopper for her midwestern country relatives, especially at Christmastime, and she made the rounds of Baltimore shops for curtains, handkerchiefs, stationery, pillows, and furniture.

If Christmas was a time of nostalgia and longing for home and absent family, for Jane Addams it was also a time to share with others outside the family circle. "I spent the afternoon of Christmas day with the old colored women and gave them some little presents as well as an orphan asylum for colored little girls I have been quite interested in," she wrote to her sister-in-law in Cedarville.⁴¹ Perhaps that act took her closer to her Cedarville roots, for it was there that she had first learned about human suffering and need as she watched her father, sister, and community neighbors work to relieve it. Her Christmas Day visit to the orphanage and home is not so surprising. At Rockford Female Seminary, she was offered an intellectual and spiritual basis for mission work and was encouraged to make it a part of her life's work. Yet at the seminary, she was not faced with the reality of the needy. In Europe, she became conscious of the plight of large segments of the population—the child beggars in Ireland, the people who prized rotten produce from the East End market in London, the women who labored to carry the heavy casks of hot ale in Germany. Her interest in conditions in which women and children lived, in hospitals, in schools for working-class children, and in orphanages began to bloom there, too. In Baltimore, she finally had the time in an American urban environment to see the results of poverty on a daily basis and consider her own relationship to it. She saw churches, individuals, and groups of philanthropists and personal friends making commitments of time,

money, and energy to ameliorate the conditions, and she became part of that community effort. Perhaps Jane Addams was beginning to see a way she might take up “active labor,” as she put it in “Cassandra,” her graduation essay, and use her wealth, her intuition, and her education to fashion a different kind of life for herself. She had come a long way from the small village in northern Illinois where she had grown up, and she knew it. “I am afraid I do not understand any longer, the currents and counter currents of Cedarville, I imagine things too much as they used to be.”⁴²

Jane Addams continued to visit Cedarville over the next few years, but she was interested in a much larger world. Later in her life, as she reflected upon the period between graduation from Rockford Female Seminary and the creation of Hull-House, she remembered it as filled with “mistakes I made over <and over> again. . . . The Medical College, the Summer I did all the house work at Cedarville, my sheep farming, my studying languages and ‘art’ in Europe, my drawing lessons in Baltimore to use my hands”⁴³ disgusted her. Yet she was growing, maturing, eliminating options, and beginning to focus on larger issues.

She was confident, intelligent, socially adept, organized, self-directed, capable in business matters, and appealing to others, and she had sufficient wealth to live independently. She still considered Cedarville her home, but she began to reject the idea of putting down roots permanently there with George Haldeman and Anna Addams. She continued to be supportive of her siblings and their families, nurture her Rockford Female Seminary connections, and continue her education through dedicated study and travel. Though she may not have realized it at the time, her interest in philanthropy and in the powerful role models of Baltimore residents, especially its women, would have a lasting influence. The 26-year-old Jane Addams had become comfortable in a wider world, but she was still searching for a way to make her own special contribution to that world.

Notes

1. GBH to SAAH, 10 Aug. 1884, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

2. The Chesapeake Zoological Laboratory was a summer program that drew students and professors primarily from Johns Hopkins Univ. but also included scholars from other institutions. In the 1880s, the laboratory had no fixed venue. It moved to sites throughout the Chesapeake Bay region, the southeastern Atlantic coast, and even into the West Indies and Cuba at the direction of William Keith Brooks, the lead marine zoologist at Johns Hopkins Univ. See JA to SAAH, 7 Mar. 1886, n. 3, below.

3. Noah Hostetter (1824–1901), youngest brother of AHHA, was working in Peoria, Ill., and in poor health in the late 1840s. It may have been there that he met and married Anna Young. They had four children who lived to maturity. By 1885, the family had settled in Terra Haute, Ind., where, according to Hostetter family lore, Noah Hostetter was a friend of union leader Eugene V. Debs (1855–1926). Debs, later a candidate for the U.S. presidency, was a representative to the Indiana General Assembly when the Hostetters moved to town.

Never financially successful, this Hostetter family had fallen on hard times in 1885. AHHA reported to her son HWH that Noah’s “health has been worked away in machine shops—one

eye is almost useless from once have[ing] had steel in it close to the pupil and—the other eye sympathized so severely that—he did not use them for over a year” (Nov. [1885], UIC, JAMC, HJ). The family’s condition seemed desperate, especially considering the financial well-being of the other Hostetter siblings and their families: “Brother Noah is a broken down man physically, but—mentally he is a breast of all the thought of the times[.] But—his only dependence is a son [William] of twenty four years of age—who only urns 28 dollars a month, and he has had chills—for a week and can not work—now the next in age is a bright girl [Anna] of 18 years (yesterday) and is the maid of all work—for the house—has not been to school since she was sixteen because the mother has a swollen ankle and leg—that opens, and swells so that she can not do the work of the house—without Annas constant help—(she had a milk leg in her last confinement (when George was born a lovely boy of seven years old last week—wish you could see him he is one of the brightest boys I have ever met—then there is the third boy Noah Simpson Hostetter a lad of 14 years—fine looking—but loose jointed neith[er] a man nor a boy—for he is almost as tall as his father—but has an oval childish face like innocents itself—you see from what I have stated—how broken down the family are—and—no help or dependence except his eldest boy—and ten acres of land that—they cultivate over the river (which overflows often times and kills all their efforts to raise any thing. They live here in an out of the way street and have a small cottage with two rooms and a kitchen[,]) beds in both rooms and no loft of any kind; pay 9 dollars a month rent” (18 Oct. 1885, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

AHHA suggested to her son HWH that she buy a farm for the Noah Hostetters in the Terre Haute area, where HWH might eventually establish a hospital. HWH apparently talked her out of her plan. The family remained in Terre Haute even after the death of Noah Hostetter. AHHA provided financial support to help educate her brother’s children.

4. AHHA, who arrived in Baltimore before JA, in the fall of 1885, had selected their quarters. The house numbers on dwellings in Washington Place, the nineteenth-century name for what became the 600 and 700 blocks of North Charles St., changed in 1886, when Baltimore’s street-numbering system was revised. The structure at 144 became 604 Washington Place/North Charles St., also known as South Washington Place. By 1905, this structure and several others on either side of it had been demolished to make way for the Walters Art Gallery building, constructed between 1905 and 1909.

The house was built about 1850 as the town residence for Stephen S. Lee (1812–92), a wealthy iron and coal merchant. After he moved out in 1876, he leased the house to a succession of boardinghouse keepers. For ten years, beginning in 1884, Elizabeth S. McConkey was the proprietor.

5. Johns Hopkins (1795–1873), a businessman who never married and began his philanthropic ways before his death, left an estate of approximately \$7 million from which such institutions as Johns Hopkins Univ., begun during his lifetime, and Johns Hopkins Hospital were developed.

6. Enoch Pratt (1808–96), born in Middleborough, Mass., settled in Baltimore in 1831 and built the firm of E. Pratt and Brothers, selling iron and steel products and nails. He also amassed a fortune through banking, insurance, and transportation. When the Enoch Pratt Free Library was opened on 4 Jan. 1886, it contained twenty thousand volumes in the main building and 3,000 in each of the four branch libraries. JA was a patron of the library while she lived in Baltimore. Pratt also founded the House of Reformation and Instruction for Colored Children in Cheltenham, Md., and the Maryland School for the Deaf and Dumb in Frederick, Md.

7. William T. Walters (1820–94) erected an art gallery behind his home on Mt. Vernon Place in Baltimore. A merchant, Walters made numerous trips to Europe and began to collect European art during the 1860s, including paintings, sculpture, and artifacts. Of particular interest to him were works produced by the Barbizon School of painters. Among his collection were works by well-known painters of most European countries in various periods as well as a collection of miniature portraits, watches, snuffboxes, jewels, bronzes, and fine

Chinese and Japanese porcelain and pottery. Toward the end of his life, his son, Henry Walters (1848–1931), joined his father in developing the collection and gallery, for which he constructed a new and larger building in 1905.

8. George Peabody (1795–1869), born in South Danvers (renamed Peabody), Mass., became a partner in the wholesale dry goods business of Riggs and Peabody in Baltimore from 1815 to 1837, after which he lived in London, England, as a broker and banker and became wealthy. In 1857, he gave Baltimore \$1.4 million to create a library, art gallery, music academy, and permanent lecture series. Construction began during the Civil War, and the east wing of the building was dedicated at the war's end. By the mid-1880s, the Peabody Institute was a vibrant part of Baltimore's cultural life.

9. Mary Taber King Carey, wife of Thomas K. Carey, with her sister Anna Taber King Carey, wife of James Carey, Jr., lawyer and officer in Carey Machinery and Supply Co., helped organize the YMCA. Mary King Carey was also one of the founders of the Baltimore Woman's Industrial Exchange. Thomas and Mary Carey were also leaders in the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City.

Susan B. and James Carey, parents of Anna Taber King Carey's husband and relatives of James Carey Thomas, were wealthy philanthropists. Mrs. Carey served on the first board of the Baltimore Woman's Industrial Exchange, while James Carey was a director of two banks, the Union Bank and Central Savings Bank; the first president of the Provident Savings Bank; and a trustee of Johns Hopkins Hospital. These Careys were also active in the work of the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City.

Mary King and Anna King Carey's sister Elizabeth T. King Ellicott (1858–1914), wife of William T. Ellicott, heir to the flour mills of Ellicott City, Md., was a distinguished leader. During the 1880s, she helped found the Bryn Mawr School for Girls in Baltimore and was one of the small group of women instrumental in opening Johns Hopkins Medical School to women students. She was a founder of the Arundell Club in 1894, a powerful woman's civic and social organization that sought economical, efficient government. She was an organizer of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs and helped form the Equal Suffrage League in Baltimore, which ultimately expanded throughout Maryland.

Like JA, who had grown up accepting her family's philanthropic responsibilities as routine, the King sisters, who were Quakers, found wealth and philanthropic role models in their family. Francis T. King (1819–91), their father, who organized the Central Savings Bank in 1854, served as counselor for the board of the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City, was a director of the Provident Savings Bank and Safe Deposit and Trust Co., served as a member of the board of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and became president of the Bryn Mawr College board and the Johns Hopkins Univ. board (1870–87).

10. Mary Whitall Thomas, wife of James Carey Thomas, a physician and Quaker preacher, served as president of the WCTU and was a member of the first board of the Baltimore Woman's Industrial Exchange. She began a sewing school for girls in Federal Hill, Baltimore, about 1857, and she personally worked among the inmates in prisons and among the poor. A member of the distinguished Quaker Whitall family who came to New Jersey from England before 1688, Mary Whitall Thomas was a sister of Hannah Whitall Smith (1832–1911) noted author, evangelist, feminist, and temperance reformer. The Whitall family's wealth came largely from the glass manufacturing firm of Whitall Tatum and Co., headed by John Mickle Whitall, father of Mary and Hannah. Mary Whitall Thomas and James Carey Thomas had ten children.

11. Martha Carey Thomas (1857–1935), educator and feminist, the eldest of ten children of Mary Whitall Thomas and James Carey Thomas, grew up in Baltimore among a group of close-knit women friends that included Elizabeth T. King Ellicott and Mary E. Garrett. The Thomas family were Quakers. M. Carey Thomas's mother, Mary Whitall Thomas, who was prominent and respected in the Quaker community for her philanthropic endeavors, and

her more conservative physician father, James Carey Thomas, lived comfortably but were not wealthy. With the support of her mother, M. Carey Thomas, as she came to be known, pursued a formal education that included Cornell Univ., a year of Greek language study at Johns Hopkins Univ., three years of study at the Univ. of Leipzig, and a Ph.D. *summa cum laude* from the Univ. of Zurich in 1882. She returned to Baltimore and took up the education of women and the struggle for women's rights, primarily woman suffrage, as her life's work.

Although she did not have her own wealth, Thomas was beginning to successfully direct that of her Baltimore friends into organizations she helped form and lead. In 1885, the year Bryn Mawr College for women opened with Thomas as professor of English and dean of faculty, she encouraged her friends, including Mary E. Garrett and Mary M. Gwinn, to help her found the Bryn Mawr School for Girls in Baltimore. Thomas became president of Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania in 1894. She was also the driving force behind the group of women who raised a \$500,000 endowment, called the Women's Medical Fund, for Johns Hopkins Medical School from 1889 to 1892 to guarantee women's medical education there on the same basis as men.

12. Mary Elizabeth Garrett (1854–1915) was the only daughter of John Work Garrett and Rachel Ann Harrison Garrett, both from wealthy Baltimore mercantile families. John W. Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, served as a member of the board of trustees of Johns Hopkins Univ. and of Johns Hopkins Hospital. Miss Garrett, who never received more than a secondary school education, was an avid reader and educated herself with the help of her lifelong special friend, M. Carey Thomas. By 1892, she had provided \$354,764 of the \$500,000 in the Women's Medical Fund, by which Johns Hopkins Univ. Medical School was saved and opened permanently to women students. She was also instrumental, along with M. Carey Thomas, in organizing the Bryn Mawr School for Girls in 1885. She quickly became its principal financial supporter. Garrett's third major philanthropic endeavor was to provide support for Bryn Mawr College, beginning in earnest in 1894 when Thomas became president. Garrett eventually joined M. Carey Thomas to live out her life in Thomas's home, the "Deanery," on the Bryn Mawr campus.

13. The idea for the Woman's Industrial Exchange emerged from a gathering in the parlor of Mrs. J. Harmon Brown on Saratoga St. in Baltimore in 1880. Among its founders were Anne Tyson Kirk, Mary T. King Carey, Jane E. White, Elizabeth R. Hopkins, and Sophia G. Orem. Its first board of managers consisted of Susan B. Carey, Mary Corner, Mary Whitall Thomas, Mary Leiper Thomas, Sarah R. Tyson, Margaret Hopkins Janney Elliott, Elizabeth D. Woolsey Gilman, and Elizabeth T. King Ellicott.

The exchange emphasized plain and fancy needlework and homemade food products such as bread, preserves, cakes, and pickles. The exchange took a commission of 10 percent and the creator of the item got the remainder. In 1888, 1,220 individuals consigned items to the exchange; they received about \$12,300 in all. The exchange maintained a lunchroom that in 1888 produced \$3,900 in income.

The exchange was intended to provide a discreet means for destitute women to earn money to support their families. Many women were too proud to admit need publicly; others were simply unable to find employment. Some were prevented by responsibilities at home from going out to work and some had no market for the goods they made.

The exchange was incorporated in 1882, when it was located at 331 North Charles, on the southeast corner of Charles and Pleasant streets. It remained at that site until 1887, when it was moved to 333 North Charles, a short distance from JA's boardinghouse.

The idea for a woman's exchange was not unique to Baltimore. It developed with the leadership of Candace T. Wheeler (1827–1923) and Mary A. Choate in New York City in the late 1870s and spread to other cities. A large amount of the exquisite needlecraft exhibited in the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 came from women associated with exchanges.

14. The Bryn Mawr School for Girls was opened in Baltimore on 21 Sept. 1885 by five young women dedicated to preparing women to meet the entrance requirements for “the foremost colleges and universities.” They were M. Carey Thomas, Mary Mackall Gwinn, Mary E. Garrett, Elizabeth T. King Ellicott, and Julia R. Rogers. Initially, eight teachers taught a curriculum of Latin, French, German, Greek, mathematics, history, English, and science, for which the founders created a laboratory. Edmund B. Wilson (1856–1939), who spent the summer conducting marine biology research in Beaufort, N.C., in 1886 with GBH and who became a distinguished biologist, served the school as an examiner in 1885–86, while he was a faculty member at Bryn Mawr College.

Over the years, the school developed a particularly close relationship with Bryn Mawr College. Its first head mistress was Edith Hamilton (1867–1963), distinguished educator and author of *The Green Way* (1930), among others, and sibling of physician Alice and artist Nora Hamilton, Hull-House residents and close associates of JA.

In 1929, the school moved to new quarters on a 26-acre campus in the northern part of Baltimore. It continued as the Bryn Mawr School for Girls of Baltimore City, enrolling girls from kindergarten through twelfth grade.

15. The Decorative Art Society of Baltimore, located at 315 North Charles St., was organized to encourage the practice of decorative arts in homes, offer art instruction, and provide an opportunity to sell finished work. It also maintained a list of artists who took special-order contracts. Articles judged by the society to be of sufficient merit were sold at the society; a small portion of the proceeds were retained by the society for its services and the rest went to the artists.

Like the women's industrial exchanges that developed in part to fill a need but also to take advantage of the explosion of interest in home decoration that occurred in the last half of the nineteenth century in America, a decorative art organization movement began in earnest after the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876. It was initiated in New York City, apparently by Candace Wheeler, and spread quickly to other urban centers. Although they were similar to women's industrial exchanges in structure, decorative art societies focused strictly on fine and applied art.

16. Bryn Mawr College, opened in Bryn Mawr, Pa., on 23 Sept. 1885, with M. Carey Thomas in a leadership role (see n. 11), established a new level of excellence in education for women. It was the result of a legacy provided by Quaker physician and businessman Joseph W. Taylor in 1880. James Carey Thomas and other relatives of M. Carey Thomas served on its board. James E. Rhoads was selected as the first president, but it was the vision and drive of M. Carey Thomas that formed the college program and environment. She was named president when Rhoads retired in 1894.

Thomas maintained a highly structured curriculum that emphasized languages, science, history, and mathematics. The program was much like that of Johns Hopkins Univ. Students entering Bryn Mawr College were subjected to entrance examinations that were more difficult than those at men's colleges. From the beginning there was a graduate school; when the school opened, it offered five graduate fellowships. In addition to women teachers, the college was the first to employ bachelors as teachers. The students governed themselves. Thomas, who successfully raised money for institutional brick and mortar as well as for programs, gave the institution her personal attention until she died in 1935. She gloried in administrative challenge.

17. In 1889, when Johns Hopkins Hospital opened, Johns Hopkins Medical School, which was associated with Johns Hopkins Univ., was in dire straits. It had been established without financial support beyond that provided by the Johns Hopkins estate, and there was doubt that the school could open. A group of women that included Mary E. Garrett, Elizabeth T. King Ellicott, Julia R. Rogers, and Mary M. Gwinn and was led by M. Carey Thomas stepped into this breach. A well-organized national fund-raising campaign that engaged prominent women in promoting the idea of medical education for women gathered more than \$100,000. By 1892, due primarily to gifts by Mary E. Garrett, the \$500,000 endowment called the Women's

Medical Fund was complete. The campaign leaders presented the fund to Johns Hopkins Medical School with the proviso that women be given equal opportunity with men to enter and receive a medical degree. The medical school opened in 1893 to men and women.

18. JA to SAAH, 1 Feb. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:202.

19. Brantz Mayer (1809–79) was born in Baltimore, the son of Christian Mayer, a prominent merchant. He was educated at St. Mary's College in Baltimore and became a lawyer. In 1841, he served for two years as secretary of the U.S. legation in Mexico City, where he gathered information for several books on Mexico. On his return, he practiced law and served as editor of the *Baltimore American*. The author of numerous other historical studies, his anti-slave-trade narrative *Captain Canot; or, Twenty Years of the Life of an African Slaver* (1854) sold over 20,000 copies in America before being issued in London and Paris. Mayer was noted for his promotion of culture in Baltimore. He was a founder and the first president of the Maryland Historical Society.

Mayer, a Whig and staunch Union supporter, served in the army during and after the Civil War as a paymaster. He was married twice. With his first wife, Mary Griswold Mayer (d. 1845) of St. Mary's, Ga., he had five daughters: Catherine Mary (b. 1839); Ann Maria (b. 1841), who wed Stephen G. Roszel in 1865; Beata (1842?–1917), who wed Edward G. McDowell in 1862 (see also JA to SAAH, 10 Feb. 1885[1886], n. 2, below); Dora (1843–pre-1879), who wed Joseph Taylor Albert in 1864; and Mary (b. 1845). With his second wife, Cornelia Poor Mayer, he had three daughters. Cornelia was born in 1849 and Jane in 1851. A third was married by the mid-1880s and lived in Augusta, Ga.

20. JA to SAAH, 1 Feb. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:203.

21. JA to SAAH, 25 Jan. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:190–91.

22. The neighborhood in which AHHA had found lodging was home to an assortment of Baltimore's ruling elite. Among residents of the Mt. Vernon/Washington Place area were lawyers, physicians, dentists, newspaper editors, businessmen, and politicians. For example, neighbors of JA and AHHA included the Careys at 301 North Charles St., the Robert Work Garretts family just around the corner on East Mt. Vernon Place, and attorney Orville Horwitz and his wife, Maria, who lived one house away from the boardinghouse where JA and AHHA were staying. See also JA to SAAH, 3 Jan., and 10 Feb., 1886, both below.

23. Amelia Schultz Brooks (d. 1901) was the wife of William Keith Brooks (1848–1908), professor of zoology at Johns Hopkins Univ. Prof. Brooks was born in Cleveland, Ohio, graduated from Williams (1870) and Harvard (1875), where he was a student of Alexander Agassiz (1835–1910), and joined the faculty at Johns Hopkins Univ. in 1876, where he became a distinguished scientist. He did much of his research through the Chesapeake Zoological Laboratory and rose to head the biology department at Hopkins in 1894. A member of the National Academy of Science, he was the recipient of several honorary degrees and medals, including one from the Society d'Acclimation in Paris, and one at the International Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. Brooks, who, according to JA, was "the shyest man in Baltimore," was the author of several studies and books, among them *Handbook of Invertebrate Zoology* and *The Foundations of Zoology*. Among his students were four who created the base for much of modern cytology, embryology, and genetics.

GBH's work on the stomatopoda likely appeared in *Special Selected Morphological Monographs* (1886), which Brooks compiled. Brooks was also noted for his work on the oyster. JA and GBH were present one evening in Dec. 1886, when Brooks gave an illustrated lecture on the subject at the prestigious Peabody Institute. JA described the event in a letter to SAAH (see 15 Dec. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:387–91).

24. Catherine C. Dorr and her nephew Lucius Bradley Dorr lodged at 241 North Eustan St. in Baltimore during 1885–86, his first academic year at Hopkins. L. B. Dorr, as he signed his letters, was a student at Johns Hopkins Univ. until the 1887–88 academic year, when he went home to Buffalo, N.Y., where he attended medical school. He reentered Johns Hopkins Univ. for the next two years and received his M.D. there in 1890. He returned to Buffalo to

practice medicine and serve as adjunct professor of chemistry at Niagara Univ. Until at least 1889, he maintained a polite correspondence with AHHA, who consulted him about how she might obtain copies of the publication in which GBH's drawings appeared. Dorr mentions JA in each of his letters to AHHA. There is no known extant correspondence between Dorr and JA.

25. William Samuel Lemen, a cousin of L. Bradley Dorr, was a graduate student at Johns Hopkins Univ. in 1886–87 and 1888–89 for studies in chemistry. He received his A.B. (1883) and his A.M. (1886) from the Univ. of Rochester in Rochester, N.Y. He taught school in Kingston, N.Y., during the 1887–88 school year. From 1889 until 1892, when he died, he was instructor of biology at Indianapolis High School in Indiana.

26. JA to SAAH, 25 Jan. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:189. JA's interest in art is reflected in the following letters: JA to SAAH, 23 Oct., and 20 Nov. 1885; and 3 Jan., 10 Feb., 17 Feb., 11 Apr., and 4 Nov. 1886; and JA to EGS, 17 July 1886 and EGS to JA, [10 and 13] Mar. 1886, all below.

27. JA to SAAH, 25 Jan. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:190.

28. Soon after JA arrived in Baltimore, she and her stepmother were invited to attend a reading party. "Thursday evening we went with George to a reading at Prof Brook's. The Biologists are reading <The> Life of Agassiz. Dr Brooks was one of his pupils and gives some vivid reminiscences between the reading. They all sit in the dining room & smoke, the ladies, of whom there is usually a goodly number are in the next room, have their fancy work, listen, chat etc very delightfully" (JA to SAAH, 1 Feb. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:202–3).

29. GBH attended church there when his cousin Charles Linnaeus ("Linn") Hostetter came to visit him in Feb. 1884.

30. When JA lived in Baltimore there was only one Unitarian church in the city. It had been formed in 1817; the cornerstone for the structure was set in 1818 at the southwest corner of Charles and Franklin streets.

31. Grace (Protestant Episcopal) Church exists in the twenty-first century as Grace and St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church at the northeast corner of West Monument St. and Park Ave. See also JA to EGS, 7 Feb. 1886, n. 13, below.

32. The First Presbyterian Church occupied a structure that was begun in 1854 at Madison and Parks streets. The church was formally organized in 1804, but the congregation had started meeting during the late 1700s. Its membership came primarily from the neighborhood in which it was located, "one of the most desirable areas in which people of means chose to live" called Mt. Vernon (Gardner, *First Presbyterian Church*, 118). JA could easily walk to services.

33. Hall, *Baltimore*, 1:672–73.

34. Hall, *Baltimore*, 1:669.

35. By 1889, the Unitarian church had instituted programs for boys through its Boys' Guild. These included drawing classes, gymnasium play, illustrated lectures, and reading. Programs for girls and boys were maintained by the church until public schools assumed responsibility for the kind of vocational instruction the church was offering.

36. Howard, *The Monumental City*, 54.

37. Charity Organization Society, *Directory of Charitable and Beneficent Organizations*, 52.

38. Charity Organization Society, *Directory of Charitable and Beneficent Organizations*, 40. See also JA to SAAH, 10 Feb. 1885[1886], n. 8; and JA to LSA, 18 Oct. 1886, n. 9, both below.

39. For a description of their rooms, see JA to LSA, 18 Oct. 1886, especially n. 1, below.

40. JA to SAAH, 23 Oct. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:330–31.

41. JA to LSA, 28 Dec. 1886, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:396.

42. JA to LSA, 28 Dec. 1886, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:400.

43. JA to MRS, [22 July 1897], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 3:737–38.

From Helen Harrington

While attending the alumnae festivities at Rockford Female Seminary commencement on 18 June, Jane Addams made a commitment to be more active in helping her alma mater grow.¹ Shortly afterward, she began asking each of her classmates to make a four-year pledge of financial support to the Rockford Female Seminary Alumnae Fund. The goal of the Class of 1881 was to raise \$1,000 of the \$5,000 the seminary sought from its alumnae over the next four years. Replies to Jane from thirteen classmates netted a commitment of \$250 for the first year.²

Cedar Falls, Wisconsin.

July 26, 1885.

Dear Jane,

Your letter of the 18th was most gladly received.³ I feared the one I wrote you last did not reach you before you sailed for home and wondered when some word would come from you to me again.⁴ I am very impatient to see you, while I hardly hoped that you could come here this summer I look forward with certainty to seeing you at the Sem'y.

I am glad that you are glad that I am going. You can imagine with what pleasure I shall renew the old associations, how enthusiastically I shall begin my work and how gladly bring to its performance all the resources of mind and heart at my command.⁵

I will give the \$13.00 toward the Alumnae fund—would not like to pledge more now but if there is any deficiency at the end of the year will try and do my share toward making it up. Probably I shall be able to give the same for the following three years (\$13.00 I mean) but as it would have to be paid out of my salary, providing I earn any, am not sure enough to promise only for a year at a time. You wrote very briefly and perhaps I do not fully understand the scheme. When we can talk it over together I'm sure we shall see it in about the same light. Next week I go to the southern part of this State, perhaps will spend a few days with Nora at Morrison⁶ and come to R——⁷ the Saturday before school opens. Can you not come and spend that Sunday with me? With all the Bilding, that two years of Europe can give I'm sure my friend cannot be less or more to me than ever.

I hope to have gained enough from the companionship of the books that first began to be my friends at the Sem to verify my claim to friendship. I shall look

for the promised “longer letter.” My address after next week will be Brodhead, Wisconsin Care of N. N. Palmer. Always your loving

Helen Harrington.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:84–87).

1. JA had apparently suggested this fund-raising scheme at the meeting of the Alumnae Assn. on 20 June 1883 before she left for Europe. See Speech to the Annual Meeting of the RFS Alumnae Assn., [20 June] 1883, n. 6, above.

2. In addition to this response from Helen Harrington, there are extant letters from Emma Briggs, 18 Aug. 1885; Mary E[llwood] (Lewis), 31 Aug. 1885; and Annie Wilkinson Sidwell, Sept. 1885; all in SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:89–92, 98–101, 103–10. JA kept a list of the pledges her classmates made. Though Emma Briggs left RFS with “very unpleasant feelings” (Emma Briggs to JA, 18 Aug. 1885, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:90), she agreed to give \$13 for four years. Four-year commitments for \$13 each year also came from Mattie Greene, Kate Tanner, Ella Huey, Kate Huey, and Helen Harrington. Mary Ellwood pledged \$20 for the next four years, while Laura Ely and Ella Browning pledged \$10 each for four years. Nora Frothingham and Annie Sidwell pledged \$10 each for one year; Phila Pope agreed to \$5 for the next two years. Lizzie Smith pledged \$7.54, an odd sum, for the next four years. To make up the \$250 for the first year, JA added \$100 (SCHS; *JAPM*, 27:412).

3. JA's letter is not known to be extant.

4. Helen Harrington's letters to JA in Europe are not known to be extant.

5. Helen Harrington taught at RFS during the 1885–86 school year.

6. Nora Frothingham had been living in Morrison, Wis., where she taught school.

7. RFS.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Early in September, Jane and Anna Addams went to Mt. Carroll, where Anna had five teeth repaired by a young dentist who “had his eye sight.”¹ The two women were still sharing their European experiences with friends and relatives. The dinner party at which the former European travelers presented a table d’hôte took place on Jane’s twenty-fifth birthday.²

Mt Carroll Ill.

Sept 7th 1885

My dear Alice—

Ma and Sarah³ have just driven over to call on Uncle George and his wife.⁴ It has been a series of calls and teas ever since we have been here, and instead of a quiet time we have really had a very gay time. Mrs Barton⁵ came over with us on Monday⁶ and stayed until Wednesday. She enjoyed her visit exceedingly. I spent the last part of the week with Sue, she has one of the sweetest babies I ever saw, so bright and energetic.⁷ Yesterday Sarah and I gave a table d’hôte to the family, we had eleven courses served in the exact European manner, we acted as waiters, wore Normandy caps and talked French. It was really a very elegant dinner and they were all duly impressed. We served [very q]uickly without any break or jar and it took us one hour and a half. Ma was chief guest and showed

the others how to do it. I will inclose a copy of the "menu." I think, dear Alice, that you are surely doing your duty to the Girard boys, & I should like to see how you manage them.⁸

If it could be still brought about, would you want (really) Esther & Web, or would it be too many. I think that I will go to Harvard next week.⁹ No one is about or I am sure they would send messages. Cousin Mary¹⁰ is in the kitchen. You would be surprised to see how housewifely she has become. The two chairs you sent are very pretty, & effective on both sides of the fire place. With love
Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams

Enclosure¹¹

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:111–13).

1. AHHA to HWH, 21 Aug. 1885, IU, Lilly, SAAH.

2. See n. 11. See also JA to MCAL, 31 Aug. [and 1 Sept. 1884[1883], n. 17, above.

3. SH was about to leave for a new adventure in the West. She had accepted a position teaching music at the newly created Groton Collegiate Institute, Groton, Dak. Terr., where JML was president. In one of her early letters home to sister Susan Hostetter Mackay and her family on 11 Oct. 1885, SH reported: "The people that come to this country are not cultivated persons but have energy and a desire to become rich. . . . My conclusion after nearly a weeks stay here is that if any one has a comfortable home and a limited amount of means in Illinois they had better stay there" (JAPP, Schneider).

JA kept in touch with SH. Susan Hostetter Mackay wrote to JA on 18 Dec. 1885 that "[i]n our last letter from Sarah she spoke of your sweet remembrance of her in the Thanksgiving box. I think she dreads the long cold winter up there" (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:178).

SH taught at Groton two years, returning to Mt. Carroll during the 1885 Christmas and again in the summer, but remaining in the Dakota Territory during Christmas 1886. In Oct. 1886, she had only seven students and reported that "[t]he school is small and times hard" (SH to Susan Hostetter Mackay, 17 Oct. 1886, JAPP, Schneider). SH left Groton in July 1887, when the school ceased operation.

4. Susanna Hostetter Bowman and George Bowman.

5. Mary Ann Walker Barton was the wife of Addams family attorney Edward P. Barton. The couple were married on 13 Oct. 1864. See MCAL to JA, 4 Oct. 1881, n. 2, above.

6. 31 Aug. 1885.

7. Susan Hostetter Mackay gave birth to her first child, Sarah Davina Mackay (1884–1966), while JA was in Europe. Sarah Mackay grew to maturity in the Mt. Carroll home of the Mackays and married Clem C. Austin of Crocker, Mo., in 1914.

Keeping their intellectual companionship alive despite Susan Mackay's marriage and motherhood, Susan and JA were sharing reading material. In an 18 Dec. 1885 letter to JA, Susan recalled: "I have been novel reading[.] I think I was reading George Eliot's life when you were here. I was greatly pleased with it and have since read Adam Bede[.] Mill on Floss and am now at Middlemarch. I never really read her works before and am fascinated. Did you finish the Tempest we began that rainy day? I have read it twice and think it well! it is Shakespearean which is enough" (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:177).

8. Soon after SAAH and HWH moved to Girard, Kans., SAAH became involved in community activities. A biographical sketch of SAAH drafted by her daughter, Marcet Haldeman-Julius, and edited by JA revealed that "[h]er interest was particularly with young people, with whom she had an unusual capacity for friendship and her first organized work for the community was a large and successful boy's club" ("Haldeman, (Mrs.) Sarah Alice

(Addams)"]], 2). After SAAH's death, Girard Presbyterian Church member Emily H. Bruce recalled: "Immediately upon the arrival of Dr and Mrs Haldeman in Girard, Mrs Haldeman identified herself with the church and all its activities. She soon made a place for herself in the teaching force of the S.S. by gathering from the streets a class of boys. Before the day of boy's clubs she, in reality if not in name, organized one of these [for] boys, with her home, with its culture, curios and works of art as its center. She supplied them with games and went to the woods with them winning their confidence and affection" (Emily H. Bruce to Mrs. Culbertson, 8 Nov. 1915, UIC, JAMC, HJ).

9. MCAL was once again pregnant and left at home to manage her family, which consisted of children Weber, Esther, Stanley, and "Little Mary." JML and his oldest son, John Addams Linn, had gone to Groton and Ellendale, Dak. Terr., for the year, where JML had been hired to establish and lead Groton Collegiate Institute. JA seemed to have been attempting to get SAAH to assume responsibility during the winter for the care of the two oldest Linn children to make MCAL's life a little easier. The Linn children had gone to stay with MCAL's siblings on previous occasions when she was ill or about to be confined in childbirth.

10. Mary Peart and Charles Linnaeus ("Linn") Hostetter were married in Mar. 1885.

11. The editors have not presented the enclosure to this letter, a menu for the occasion written by JA in French. JA, SH, and AHHA served bouillon with cheese, fish, lamb, beef with potatoes and baby peas, celery, chicken, salad, croquettes of goose or duck liver, bread and butter, vanilla ice cream, pears, candy, and coffee (see *JAPM*, 2:113).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

After their Mt. Carroll visit, the Addams party returned to Freeport and Cedarville, where they were entertained by friends who had shared their European experience. "Mrs Rowell's house and Mrs Sanford's table are very elegant, and clever imitations of the elegancies of Europe. Mrs Barton gave us a very pleasant reception the evening before we left, but after all the dissipation we find the quiet of Cedarville very grateful," wrote Jane Addams.¹ She debated with herself about staying in Cedarville to support her sister-in-law Laura S. Addams, who Jane Addams indicated was "more broken than I have ever seen her before,"² presumably over the fact that her husband was once again a patient in the Northern Illinois Hospital for the Insane. Learning this prompted longtime family friend Laura Jane Forbes, who knew Weber and the problems he had experienced as a youth, to write Jane Addams an empathetic letter expressing her dismay that Jane was being called upon "to pass through the 'dark waters' early in life."³

While Anna Addams went to visit her brother Noah Hostetter and his family in Terre Haute, Ind., Jane Addams went to stay with Mary Linn and her family until Christmas. Concerned that her sister Alice and husband, Harry Haldeman, might misinterpret her decision, JA wrote reassuringly that "I have been a long time deciding, and think I am doing the right thing. Weber's case must certainly change in some way in the next three months. . . . Ma understands my motives in going to Harvard & approves I think. It is not a break or any thing of the sort."⁴

Harvard Ill

Oct 23" 1885

My dear Alice

I send by this mail a "wedding present" for the tenth anniversary. It is not of tin nor in any other respect especially appropriate—unless it be the affection and good wishes which accompany it. May you both live happily to see the golden epoch forty years hence. I think I have not written you since I have been in Harvard. We packed the effects at Cedarville more leisurely and better than ever before, and left on Thursday morning. I went with Ma as far as Chicago, saw her on the train for Terre Haute, and then crossed the city and took the evening train for Harvard. I have heard from her since and you probably have, that she arrived safely and was enjoying her visit. I think that she does not regret stopping. Laura was down to see us off, she felt badly and we did about leaving her. Write to her as often as you can, my dear, she said that you were two letters in her debt. She heard from Elgin since, and sent the letter here, the reports are more encouraging I think, but there is no marked nor definite improvement.

I am enjoying Mary and the children, we misjudged Weber during the summer, he has exaggerated but once to me in a weeks time and is a remarkably clever boy. I wish that you had Esther, she is the disturbing element of the household because she is so thoroughly spoiled, there is nothing innately disagreeable in the child and when she is having her own way she is often enthusiastic and charming. It is a supreme impatience of all direction or command. Only an exaggeration of our family spirit, I am afraid. Maggie⁵ has gone home for a three weeks visit, and Stanley sleeps with me, and suddenly transferred all his affections to me, to my great delight. He gains on me every day. The baby sits alone in her high chair and is a vigorous little girl, the weaning process has begun & will be consummated within a month I am happy to say.

I have received a great many calls from the Harvard ladies, and some of them have been very pleasant. I have the "study" fixed into a boudoir, and with my framed pictures and books it is a very cosy room, much handsomer than I ever had at school or in boarding houses while we were away. Mary and I read aloud some and I do hope the first part of the winter at least, can be made a restful time to her. She is so grateful to me for staying with her, that I am ashamed of the gratitude when I can do so little.

The <two> K gler came from Chicago, they are old edition & I sent the "Dutch Schools" back again, paying but for one volume, it was fair enough to take the one old edition of <the> Spanish & French Schools when I saw it in two volumes in London. I told them to write to me, so if there is any trouble I will see to it. The Vesari's are likewise at hand, please send me the bill for them, as well as for Sarah's K gler's, I heard from her to-day, she was delighted with them.⁶ I am afraid, dear, that I can't do much studying the first part of the winter, it is too selfish to shut myself off for hours at a time, & what reading I do down stairs I like to share with Mary. You know my experience in Philadelphia of

trying to fulfill too many objects at once. I am afraid trying to study here would leave me with the same uneasy consciousness, that I had not done what I came purposely to do, because I tried to do some thing else, failed in that. Do write me, though, what you are doing & I shall work tremendously as soon as get to Baltimore, to catch up with you. I am reading Geo Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*,⁷ was urged to it from reading her life, and am glad for what it gives me, her books give me more motive power than any other books I read. Miss Anderson is at Kenosha in an invalids home, she was threatened with nervous prostration, I am worried about her and anxious to see her again.⁸ I weigh 114 pounds, more than I have weighed since I was seventeen years old. I began to eat voraciously during the Mt Carroll visit & commenced to grow in strength & size ever since. I am better, I think, than I have been for five years.

I know you enjoyed Auntie's & Uncle's⁹ visit, & have been looking for a letter with a more detailed account. Mary sends her love and the children kisses. I have been rocking Mary Addams jr with one foot while I write, hence the return to this paper, which is hardly justifiable since I have grown so much stronger. Did you ever finish your red shoes? Jennie McKee¹⁰ is here, but leaves next week, she is wonderfully efficient, has been making comforts, doing over old quilts &c. I feel rather helpless when such work is going forward, but enjoy the busy cheerful atmosphere. Please give my love to Harry & present my congratulations on the 26th. Your devoted Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:124–35).

1. JA to SAAH, 7 Oct. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:120–21. Amelia Collins Rowell and Louise Sanford had crossed paths with the Addams party in Europe.

2. JA to SAAH, 7 Oct. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:121.

3. Laura Jane Forbes to JA, 20 Aug. 1885, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:93.

4. JA to SAAH, 7 Oct. 1885, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:121.

5. Unknown household help.

6. JA had asked her sister SAAH to purchase some art books for her and for SH. All three women were investigating European art together with SAAH as their leader. Franz Kugler, German art historian and poet, wrote studies of various schools of European painting. All were translated from his native German and appeared in several editions throughout the years. See JA to SAAH, 18 July 1883, n. 13, above.

Giorgio Vasari (1511–74), student of Michelangelo and Andrea del Sarto, was a painter, architect (Uffizi Palace in Florence), and biographer. His most important work on the art of Renaissance Italy, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, was originally published in Italian in 1550 and in a revised and enlarged edition in 1568. No doubt JA was reading a much later English translation.

7. George Eliot's last novel, *Daniel Deronda*, published in 1876, is the story of the self-discovery of the two main characters, Gwendolyn Harleth, a young English woman who resists genuine emotional involvement and advances socially through a disastrous marriage, and Daniel Deronda, who discovers and acknowledges his Jewish heritage in an anti-Semitic setting.

8. SA was a patient of homeopathic physician Nelson A. Pennoyer (1849–ca. 1920) at Pennoyer Sanitarium in Kenosha, Wis. (See also JA to SAAH, 18 July 1883, n. 12, above). In 1889, SA wrote to AHHA reflecting on her experience there: "If used up entirely, I shall flee

to Kenosha. Do you know of this wonderful place! The fount of perpetual youth. It is the only place of its kind that is near enough and cheap enough for me to gain access to and so I regard it in the light of an important discovery.

"It is a water cure, but I like it only for this, that once there every body takes it for granted that you are not very well, and leave you to yourself. Unable to sleep at home you take two naps a day and sleep pretty well at night" (16 Feb. 1889, UIC, JAMC, HJ Supp.).

9. Likely Harriet Addams Young and Nathan Young, who had probably stopped to see the Haldemans in Girard on a journey from Kansas City, Mo., where they saw their son Charles Young and his wife, Eliza Ann Gentry Young.

10. Likely Jane McKee, a cousin of JML. Sarah Linn, sister of JML's father, John Ross Linn, married John McKee. They had three children, one of whom was Jane McKee. JA commented to her stepmother, "Jennie is wonderfully efficient, has washed all the bedding, made new comforts &c &c[.] I am afraid that I will never be the typical old maid" (16 Oct. 1885, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:122). Through the 1880s, Jennie McKee provided support for the JML family in times of crisis.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Harvard Ill

Nov. 12" 1885

My dear Alice

Your silence has been long & anxious but now it has become absolutely mysterious. I received a pair of your drawers without a word of explanation. I know not if they are to be exchanged, new one bought, or to be thrown at some one's head (metaphorically speaking). Do write and explain.

Laura and I went to Chicago Monday, and I have my winter outfit quite complete, a mantle with feather trimming being the main purchase. Laura confined herself to a few house hold articles and we had time for the "Battle of Shiloh."¹ Yesterday we went to Elgin. Weber has been much better, and has written quite like himself. We had a long talk with Dr Kilbourne and Dr Church,² the physician in Dr Mill's place, they were very kind and the latter became interested in the operation, & I think will investigate it thoroughly[.] Dr Kilbourne rather hoots at what he calls "Dr McFarland's operation."³ They did not think it best for Laura to see him, but I saw him for about twenty minutes. He looks haggard and ill, and is thoroughly home sick. He begged to come home, and declares he cannot steady himself until he is away. They are fearing a relapse and it does not seem improbable to me, but I do not believe that he could endure another so violent as the first.

I am going to Dubuque to-day with Miss Blaisdell, and coming back Monday will go out to Cedarville until Wednesday. I am too hurried to write this morning. Do write Alice, I am not used to being without your letters. The children all send kisses—Laura and Mary love. With love to Harry. Ever your Sister

Jane Addams

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:137–38).

1. "The Battle of Shiloh" was a cyclorama, or panorama painting, that was being exhibited on Michigan Ave., opposite the Exposition Building located on the lakefront at the foot of Adams St. In 1885, Chicago was also the home for two other panorama paintings; "Siege of Paris," by Felix Philippoteaux, and "The Battle of Gettysburg," by Paul Philippoteaux. Each canvas was four hundred feet long and sixty feet tall and hung along the interior sides of the building in which each was located. Spectators viewed them from an elevated space in the center.

2. Dr. Archibald Church (1861–1952), was a graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Chicago and became attending physician and later assistant superintendent at Elgin between 1884 and 1888. For twenty-five years he was chairman of the Dept. of Nervous and Mental Diseases and professor of Mental Disease and Medical Jurisprudence for Northwestern Univ. Medical School. He also served as a consultant to numerous agencies, including the U.S. Public Health Service, and enjoyed a distinguished career as practitioner, writer, and teacher. By 1936 he had retired to Pasadena, Calif.

3. A reference to the private hospital called Oak Lawn Retreat that Dr. Andrew McFarland established in Jacksonville, Ill., in 1872 (see JA to SAAH, 24 Apr. 1883, n. 6, above).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Harvard Ill

Nov 20" 1885

My dear Alice

I am rocking Mary Addams, so please excuse the trifling "exterior of my thought," since the recontinuance of your letters I feel like writing to you every day. I think your topics on art are splendidly arranged, but your text books are not complete without Furgesson on Architecture.¹ I quite appreciate your enthusiasm over Byzantine History, my idea of a trip to Europe, was to go from Germany or Gothic Europe to Constantinople, & from there enter southern Europe by way of Greece & Venice & so to Rome, but our first plan of going from Vienna down the Danube to Constantinople was impracticable & so we failed, but I regretted <it> all the time we were in Venice, which is <much> more Byzantine than Italian. Keep me posted, Dear, as we go on for I enjoy it wonderfully well. I am afraid that I cannot come to Girard this winter, I promised Weber to make him a visit when he first comes home and I am due in Baltimore by Christmas, you see we had our visit the first part of the summer. Miss Blaisdell said the other day "Alice was so beautiful commencement"! & I responded "Wasn't she"! I think that is a good synopsis of our visit.

On Friday Laura, Sadie[,] little Web & <I> met Miss Blaisdell at Beloit & went on together to Freeport. We had two hours before the Dubuque train. Miss Blaisdell waited at Mrs Allen's & Laura & I called on Mrs Stewart's[,] Mrs Malbourne² & Mrs Barton. The Barton family have been planning to come here for Thanksgiving, but it is growing uncertain as Mrs Barton has a dreadful cold on her chest. Ellen Starr comes next Wednesday & will be here until Monday,³ we are counting much on so long a visit. Then Laura & Sadie will be here and altogether it will be an old fashioned affair.

Miss Blaisdell & I had a lovely visit in Dubuque, it was one of those times of free & happy intercourse which I am beginning to regard as rare as they are delightful. Mattie is very sweet in her own house, with all the modern, dainty wedding presents about her. Dr Greene is gay and animated & a delightful host. By riding, walking & describing we learned Dubuque very thoroughly, it is a very pretty city.⁴ On Monday morning we took an early train so that we had five hours at Galena.⁵ I have always wanted to go to Galena ever since Pa told me stories of “going down down with the lead miners.” It was a perfect Indian summer morning. Mary had given me a letter to Mr Smith who lives in the old Grant house, we drove there first saw the picture memorials &c then Mrs Smith drove with us, three miles out to “Pilot Knob” for the magnificent view, to the old lead mines, & up hill & down dale through the town.⁶ Laura met me at Freeport & I went out with her ~~until~~ from Monday until Wednesday. I packed a trunk full of bedding &c, another of books and bric a brac & took my desk to town to have it packed. Ma is so delighted with Baltimore that I am very sure we will be there steadily for some time.

Poor Uncle James looks very feeble. I got him a grey flannel “bed gown” in Chicago with which he was delighted. I asked him <(rather idiotically)> if he enjoyed Auntie’s & Uncle’s⁷ visit—and he said “Oh, Lord, Yes!” I was weighed in Cedarville & weigh 120 lbs. more than I ever have before. I have been wondering to what was due my increase of spirits & enjoyment & now discover it must be to increasing health. I never remember feeling so well, and I suppose am getting the benefit of the sea voyage now. Little Web & Sadie⁸ enjoyed their visit together so much, Web went to school with her one day & spelled the school down twice, Sadie came home perfectly beaming, ran over the house as I had never seen her & telling us how proud she felt. Mary sends her love the children kisses. The baby is much better since she is weaned. I wish you could come to see us. Love to Harry. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:139–46).

1. Among SAAH’s library were more than fifty volumes relating to art, including biographies of artists, catalogs of artists’ works, histories of art, and “how-to” texts. Among the authors were Franz K gler, Giorgio Vasari, Anna Brownell Jameson, Joshua Reynolds, John Ruskin, Philip Gilbert Hamerton (1834–94), and Wilhelm L bke. Her collection, which was identified by title in the shelf list she maintained, was representative of all eras, media, and genres and focused primarily on the European schools.

James Fergusson (1808–86) was a Scottish industrialist who gained a fortune in India from indigo and became an expert on architecture. His *History of Architecture* was issued in 1865–67.

2. Several families named Stewart and Allen resided in Freeport, according to the U.S. census of 1880. Mrs. Malbourne was Laura A. Malburn, whose name JA consistently spelled incorrectly.

3. 25–30 Nov. 1885. EGS returned to Chicago on 29 Nov. 1885.

4. JA’s RFS classmate Martha “Mattie” Thomas and Dr. Joel Henry Greene were married

on 21 Jan. 1885 at her home in Lansing, Iowa, and they established themselves in Dubuque, Iowa, a town on the Mississippi River across from Wisconsin and just above the northern boundary of Illinois. The Greenes lived in Dubuque for several years.

5. Galena is the Latin name for lead sulfide, which was found in some abundance near the site on which the town of Galena, Ill., was founded. Galena's first post office was established in 1826. Native Americans had mined lead in the area for years before the white settlers began using more systematic techniques to mine the ore. In 1828 and 1829, white-owned businesses mined approximately thirteen million pounds of lead ore at Galena. That wealth and the community's strategic position as a shipping point on the Mississippi River helped make Galena the most prosperous Illinois town during the 1840s. JHA had sold mill products in Galena to help meet the lead miners' food needs and get his grain to markets farther from northern Illinois via the Mississippi River. By the late 1850s, the lead mines had been worked out and railroads, which initially bypassed Galena, had taken over much of its river commerce. Galena settled into a quieter, slower pattern of development. By 1885, the miners were gone and only abandoned mine sites survived as a reminder of the past.

6. Ulysses S. Grant, whom JA's father had supported for president, died on 23 July 1885, so JA's visit to Galena was indeed clothed in memories of the past. When the Grant family moved to New York City in 1881, they left souvenirs of military and political life and their furnishings behind in their Galena home. Initially in the care of close friends, Mr. H. H. Houghton (editor of the *Galena Gazette* and onetime Galena postmaster) and his family, the house was thereafter rented to a succession of families. The first was the pastor of the South Presbyterian Church of Galena, Rev. Ambrose C. Smith and his family. Rev. Smith (1841–1919), educated at Jefferson College (1861) and Princeton (1864), served the South Church of Galena from Oct. 1866 until Aug. 1899. He received an honorary D.D. from Wake Forest College, N.C., in 1885 and served as president of the board of directors of the German Theological Seminary in Dubuque, Iowa. He and his wife, Hannah Louisa Slaymaker (d. 1892), were married in 1868. Three sons survived their parents.

7. Harriet Addams Young and Nathan Young had visited Harriet's brother James Addams in Cedarville.

8. JA had taken niece Sarah Weber Addams to visit her Linn cousins.

From Ellen Gates Starr

[Chicago, Ill.?)

Sunday, 9.30 P.M. [Nov. 29 and 30, 1885]

Dear Jeannie,

I feel positively forlorn without the "disconcerted person" tonight. We put so much into the few days, that I feel as if we had been together for weeks, and it was quite the natural thing that we should be together; and the unusual thing that we should not. I suppose, on the whole, it is better that I can't see you very often. You are the one person that has meant just as much to me in Europe as in America,—that I have seemed to possess, absent as present. I should get to depending on you, bodily, in a little while, and that would be quite sure to make me trouble in the end. I can't help wishing, however, that we could sometime be in the same place long enough to do some work together. I believe we should work well.

So much for expressing my "feelings." I will conclude tomorrow.¹

Monday—

Lizzie² was not at school today, so I went over to see her, (she lives near) and found her with a cold only. She said she had thought ever since about her call, and enjoyed it all over again. I knew at the time that she was admiring you as much as even I could wish. She said today “It would be so easy for me to love Miss Addams, I think her face is beautiful.” She said something about the way Miss Addams talked too, but I will not repeat the expressions of so deluded a person. I am afraid I didn’t do anything to scatter the delusions. I shall always like her better because she has seen you.

Give a great deal of love to Mrs. Linn and all the “Linnets”,³ and “make her understand” how much I enjoyed them all. It is a treat to me to see children once in a while. I wish I could have a purchased kiss from Stanley now, or even be told to “do way[.]”

I told Miss K.⁴ about Weber and “Speech and Manners”—“I wouldn’t be there for a good deal. Why, they don’t let you alone a minute!” She was awfully amused. He will make a remarkable man if he keeps on.

I hope I shall catch a glimpse of your face once more. Auf widerschin,

Ellen of the “Ile.”

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:147–49).

1. Before sending this letter to JA’s biographer nephew, James Weber Linn, EGS wrote the following comment across the left corner of the first page, “Early & very bursting devotion.”

2. Elizabeth Burbank Ayre (b. 1866) was a student of EGS at Miss Kirkland’s School for Girls. She was the only daughter of Edward Everett Ayre (1841–1921) and Emma Augusta Burbank Ayre (b. 1843), who wed in 1865. Her father had extensive lumber holdings throughout the South and Southwest in the era of railroad development in the United States. He served as president and director of the Texas Tie and Lumber Preserving Co. and the Tonty Lumber Co. He was also director of Ayre and Lord Tie Co. Ayre was very engaged in Chicago’s cultural development. He created one of the noted private libraries in the United States about Native Americans, a collection eventually presented to the Newberry Library in Chicago, where he served as director. Ayre was also a director of the Art Institute of Chicago and the Chicago Historical Society. He was director and president (1893–98) of the Field Museum, to which he left the numerous anthropological collections he had amassed during his travels. The Ayre family helped develop Lake Geneva, Wis., as a summer retreat for wealthy Chicago families.

Emma Augusta Burbank Ayre was also a social and cultural leader. She became a member of the two leading women’s clubs in Chicago: the Chicago Woman’s Club (1884) and the Fortnightly Club (1898).

On 3 Sept. 1900, Elizabeth Ayre married Dr. Frank Seward Johnson. They had two sons. Like her mother, Lizzie Ayre Johnson became a member of the Fortnightly Club (1901).

3. The nickname EGS and JA gave to the Linn family children as a group.

4. Elizabeth S. Kirkland, founder of Miss Kirkland’s School for Girls, wrote *Speech and Manners for Home and School* (1884); *What Shall We Write About* (1889), a composition textbook; and short histories of England, France, and Italy for young people. Her earliest publications were for little girls: *Six Little Cooks* (1877) and *Dora’s Housekeeping* (1878).

From Ellen Gates Starr

[Chicago, Ill.?)

Thursday, Dec 3rd, 1885

Dearest Jeannie;

I have been wretched in body for two days with a severe cold and other ills of the flesh in addition and being confined to the house have been reading over letters among other things. I feel it necessary, you see, to apologise for re-reading yours; I am in such deadly fear of being thought over-sentimental, or something of that nature.

Some of the earliest ones, of 1878, I have reluctantly decided to burn.¹ I hate to do it. I haven't anything left of myself younger than those old letters of yours. I had almost forgotten us. In reading them over I see us both. But the spelling and construction is of a degree of atrocity which decides it. I am fairly scared when I think what my own must have been. You always were careless, Jeannie. I am glad I have one or two of your early written papers which show that at seventeen you could do lovely things. The "Nature"² I always like just as much as I did at first. This makes you furious, and to placate you I will remark that your recent letters show a tendency, strongly developed, to spell possess "posess" which alarms me somewhat. What number of the Magazine will contain your "English Sundays"?³ I must have it, of course.

I have finished Bradley's "Recollections of Dean Stanley."⁴ It is charming;—sets the man before you in his lovely personality. The English isn't of the present. He uses such expressions as "It would have been beautiful to have stood etc." "Literature and Dogma"⁵ is a relief in its clearness and accuracy of style. I got a good deal from the preface. This, for instance: "—to read to good purpose we must read a great deal, and be content not to use a great deal of what we read." I have only read part of the first chapter. I do not know that it will be edifying, but it certainly is interesting.

I intended to advise you to read from Robertson "The Character of Eli", the sermon on Elijah, "The Lawful and Unlawful Use of Law", and, if you have any more time to spend on him, "The Israelite's Grave" and "Joseph's Forgiveness of his Brethren." O yes,—and "Sydenham Palace",—about the Sabbath. Do read that. Tell me how you like them. I am very fond of Robertson.⁶

Remember your promise to me about your photograph. I am growing dissatisfied with my old one, even, since my Harvard visit. There are nice things about it, but there isn't enough of it. You'll do this for me even if it is disagreeable, won't you? I desire it very much.

I am "fidgety" tonight, from staying in the house, I suppose, and one of my eyes is lame⁷ from reading in a horizontal position by lamplight; so I will spare you anything further.

The goodness of my visit with you stays yet. I wish you would give me an intellectual joke oftener. You give such good ones. Not that that is the best part of you [or] of my part in you. It isn't.———

In spite of the fact that it is now nearly twelve o'clock, that my lamp has gone out and my eye is "lame," and that I have once promised to spare you the rest; I feel somehow moved to talk to you a little more. You have a wrong impression about me, and I wish I could make you understand it. I find it all along your later letters, and it culminated in your saying that you wouldn't be surprised if I became a Catholic.⁸ That was rather a shock to me. Not in a narrow way, but I couldn't understand how you could possibly "hit so wide of the mark" at this day. Sometimes I am afraid I am a fraudulent person; that my uniting with the "Church of England" has given an untrue impression of me. I knew when I did it that it would do so to some; but I thought the chances of being misunderstood were less in the church than out, and for far more important reasons I decided to do so. You said to me that if you thought uniting with a church would in the least degree help you to be religious, you would do it immediately, but that you didn't think it would. I did. I think it does. That was my motive. The thing I like most about my church is that it doesn't consider union with it as an indication of anything accomplished; only of a desire for something. You wrote me a sweet, dear letter at the time, which I have now and which I have read with as much pleasure as I read it then, but it shows that you took my act as a sign of accomplishment of something, which I did not at all consider it.⁹ Again you wrote me from Paris, a year ago last summer, a beautiful letter in reply to one I had written, I think at Easter, when I happened to feel peaceful and lifted up in soul, as we all do occasionally. In this letter you speak of the "peace that passeth understanding", and of my possession of it, and say "I have not found it so surely, often not at all, but can see it not quite uncomprehendingly." (Excuse my quoting your own letter.)¹⁰ I presume at the time I received it no one could have felt more like a floating island than I did. A sort of hopeless feeling took possession of me when I thought how different I was from what you seemed to imagine. You, outside the church, I within it, are simply trying to find the same thing, and you are as much nearer it than I as the life of self-denial and of pleasing others and not ones' self brings one. When I cried in that unreasonable manner at Cedarville, it was as much as anything from mortification that I had succeeded in making one whom I consider so much above me in goodness believe me more religious than she.

This is what I wished to say. Goodnight, dear, and God bless you. Yours always,

Ellen.

My love to all the Linns.

If¹¹ there are two texts of Scripture which I believe from my heart, they are "The Kingdom of heaven is within you"¹² and "Do the will and ye shall know the doctrine."¹³ I am not worrying over what I believe. When I have lived as much as I do believe a good many things will be plain. Plain enough to live more on at all events. Religion consists in that, not in saying fine things or feeling them[.]

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:153-58).

1. "The other day I found two old letters of yours, & read them. I think they gave me even more pleasure than the first time, & I wished so much for more of them," wrote EGS to JA late in 1885 ([Dec. 1885], SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:151–52). There are no known extant letters from JA to EGS for 1878. However, at least two letters from EGS to JA in 1878 have survived. These are dated 11 Aug. and 18 Aug. (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:322–29, 330). A third undated letter from EGS to JA may have been written in 1878 (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 1:282–83).

2. JA's essay "One Office of Nature" appears in *PJA*, 1:263–68, and in *RSM* (June 1879): 154–56; *JAPM*, 46:20–23. There is also a manuscript version of this piece entitled "The Study of Nature" (UIC, JAMC, Detzer; *JAPM*, 46:24–29).

3. "Five Sunday Mornings in England" was never published. A manuscript version is extant (UIC, JAMC, Detzer; *JAPM*, 46:404–15). See also JA to JWA, 17 Aug. 1884, nn. 6, 17, above.

4. George Granville Bradley (1821–1903), half-brother of English literary critic Andrew Cecil Bradley (1851–1935) and philosopher Francis Herbert Bradley (1846–1924), became dean of Westminster in 1881, succeeding Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–81) in whose memory he wrote *Recollections of A. P. Stanley* (1883).

5. Matthew Arnold (1822–88), English critic and poet and graduate of Balliol, Oxford, in 1844, was professor of poetry there (1857–67). He undertook American lecture tours in 1883–84 and 1886. Among his works were a collection of critical essays, *Literature and Dogma*, first published in 1873 in America by Osgood of Boston. See also *PJA*, 1:390, nn. 7–8.

6. Frederick W. Robertson (1816–53) graduated from Oxford in 1841 and was ordained. From 1847 until his death he served Trinity Chapel in Brighton, England, and "preached the sermons that were to make him internationally famous after his death" (Webber, *History of Preaching*, 1:545). He seems to have been a quiet man who kept to himself and preferred preaching to an audience of workingmen. His sermons, to which EGS is referring, were apparently practical, based on scripture, and well organized by topic. He wrote them down after he preached them. According to one critic, Robertson felt that Christ had come into this world to establish moral behavior, approve marriage, and recommend honest labor. His sermons were published in *Sermons and Bible Subjects* (n.d.), likely the work EGS was reading, and *Sermons Preached at Trinity Chapel, Brighton*, 5 vols. (1855–74).

The discussions JA and EGS must have shared about the relationship of each to religion and Christ continued in their correspondence. In letters that came on the heels of this one, EGS pushed more religious reading matter toward JA to bolster her own religious position and hopefully move JA toward it. "I will not apologise for sending you Phillips Brooks's pamphlet (which you may have read) for you are quite above suspecting me of wishing to bias your opinions. My attempts at explaining my own position are so feeble that I like to buttress them with the very simple and clear explanations of a man, who always says what I wish said in a way much to my mind. . . . I will not pretend that I would not be glad if you thought as he does, but I think I mean the other, too." Starr was also reading the works of Frederic William Farrar, whom she described to JA in the same letter as "simply a wonderful man." Realizing that she may have been too enthusiastic, EGS wrote, "I hope you don't feel quite like one besieged, with all these letters, books and pamphlets" (EGS to JA, 8 Dec. 1888, SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:170–72).

Phillips Brooks (1835–93), author of the Christmas hymn "O Little Town of Bethlehem," was born and raised in Boston. He was a graduate of Harvard (1855) and the Episcopal Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va. In 1869, he became pastor of Trinity Church in Boston, a post he held for twenty-four years, during which he gained national fame as a preacher and lecturer. He was considered a liberal; his sermons were apparently vague when they came to explanations of church doctrine but eloquent with artful and poetic analogies of the events in the scriptures he wished to relate. It is difficult to know the exact publication EGS may have sent JA. His *The Influence of Jesus* was published in 1879.

Frederic William Farrar (1831–1903), writer and Anglican clergyman, was archdeacon of Westminster (1883–95) and later dean of Canterbury (1895–1903). Identified as "a remarkable

preacher, vivid, vehement, and with exceptional versatility in his wide range of subjects" (Webber, *History of Preaching*, 1:594), he was also a noted writer whose works included *Life of St. Paul* (1879), *Life of Christ* (1874), and *Early Days of Christianity* (1882), as well as books of sermons and several stories for schoolchildren. Within the Episcopal church, he was considered neither a conservative nor an advocate of church reform.

JA seems to have read at least some of his writings. Her sister SAAH considered his works old friends and collected many of them in her library.

7. EGS quickly followed this first letter announcing her "lame eye" with two more, one on 6 Dec. and one on 8 Dec. Feeling unwell and unable to return to her usual working routine and missing JA, the disconsolate EGS sought to retain through correspondence the warmth and certitude of JA's friendship, something she had just experienced so fully in person. She recognized her own distress, writing to JA: "Don't be too much alarmed; I don't have these attacks often. I think the present one must be in some degree dependent upon the condition of my eye, which from 'lameness' has reached a state of redness, swelling, and general disgusting appearance, and induced general irritability in the subject. I hope grace will be given me not to snap at the children tomorrow" (6 Dec. 1885, SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:166). In her 8 Dec. 1885 letter, EGS admitted to JA that "[t]he truth is I have been lonely this week, not being able to work very hard, and have felt like talking, and especially talking to you. My eye is better, so hope" (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:171).

8. EGS did become a Roman Catholic. She was confirmed in the Holy Name Cathedral in Chicago on 23 May 1920.

9. See JA to EGS, 8 June, and 22 June 1884, both above.

10. The letter EGS wrote to JA at Easter in 1884 is not known to be extant. EGS refers to the letter JA wrote to her on 22 June 1884 (see above).

11. Note on last page of the letter is written perpendicular to text of letter. At a later date, EGS wrote the following statement on the first page of the letter: "Explanation of Anglican position."

12. "Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you" (Luke 17:21).

13. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself" (John 7:17).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Harvard Ill.

Dec 4th 1885

My dear Alice

I have been trying to write to you ever since Thanksgiving, and after all my waiting am doing it with a pencil. Our first guests came Wednesday. Ellen Starr, and Laura who had been to Elgin to see Weber, took us by surprise. Ellen and I had a lovely visit together, we enjoy them each time more I think. She is deep in Browning just now, had copious notes of Farrar's lecture, and read and reread her favorites poems to me until I felt quite initiated.¹ We went to a party the first night she was here, and commenced the festivities rather gaily. Thursday at eight, Mrs Barton, Anna and Flora arrived.² Mr Barton & Alice³ had gone to Chicago to hear Farrar⁴ & take Thanksgiving dinner there. We had a very pleasant old fashioned day, played games in the evening, had home made candy &c. Mrs Barton and Anna left Friday morning, and Friday evening Miss Hillard⁵

and Miss Anderson came to stay until Saturday. They all helped entertain each other and I quite congratulated myself upon such a felicitous bringing together of people. I never saw Flora appear so well, she was as brilliant as in her best days with an added dignity and self reliance. Ellen went to Chicago Sunday evening, and I went with Laura as far as Rockford on Monday, to see a dressmaker, Miss Drew⁶ who is quite the mode in this part of the world.

Weber is coming home to-morrow, he has been quite sane for six weeks and growing stronger every day. I am going to Cedarville the next Saturday—a week after he comes home—to spend a week and will leave here so as to reach Baltimore before Christmas day. I had an enthusiastic letter from Ma about her Thanksgiving dinner, she enjoyed it very much I think.

We had a very sad letter from Clara Young to-day. Marie Worrall was buried Monday morning, having been sick since Thanksgiving day with malignant diphtheria. She was buried a few hours after her death. None of the other children were at home, & they hoped to save them from the disease. I feel very very sorry for poor Cousin Mary.⁷

I am growing very much attached to the children here and quite dread leaving them. They appeared very well during Thanksgiving—Ellen privately pronounced them “very ill mannered but uncommonly clever.” I am so glad that you have taken up the work in brass, I have felt from the very first I have seen of it, that you would make a success of it.

Do you remember your promise in regard to Christmas presents? I intend to keep to mine, the very simplest, Mary excepted to whom I have given a set of China. Please excuse so abridged an account of Thanksgiving. I wrote an article for the magazine this week, & it took up all my letter writing time. It comes in the Jan number.⁸ Mary sends her best love. The children are all in bed. I am rocking baby Mary whose sole bad habit is a desire to be rocked, she is growing more good natured every day. With love to Harry[.] I am always Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:159–62).

1. EGS was so enthralled with Robert Browning's poems that she sent JA a volume of them as a memento of their visit. She disliked the “flourishy looking cover” of the edition she chose and opined that “[s]o few people read Browning that they don't take the trouble to bind him well.” It is likely that EGS sent JA an edition of Browning's *Men and Women*, first issued in 1855. She marked her favorite poems in the index and recommended especially “Rabbi ben Ezra” and “Two in The Campagna.” EGS admitted to JA: “I don't understand all of the latter, but I am fond of what I do understand. I am so glad we read him together” (EGS to JA, 6 Dec. 1885, SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:166–67).

2. Mary Ann Walker Barton, Anna E. Barton, and Flora Guiteau.

3. Edward P. Barton and Alice M. Barton.

4. Frederic William Farrar.

5. Martha Hillard (MacLeish) (1856–1947) was then principal of RFS. She served in that capacity from 1884 until she left the school in 1888, the year she married Andrew MacLeish (b. 1875) on 22 Aug. and settled with him in Glencoe, Ill. As principal of RFS, Hillard relaxed

stringent social rules, sought to strengthen academic offerings, broadened the curriculum, encouraged more women to seek the bachelor's degree, added more physical education courses, and set higher standards.

Martha and Andrew MacLeish became social and cultural leaders in the Chicago area. Martha Hillard MacLeish was an active member of the Chicago Woman's Club, helped organize a West Side branch of the Visiting Nurses Assn., served as president of the Illinois Child Study Society, wrote articles on education, was active in the Baptist Church (particularly with the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of the West), and helped start the Chicago branch of the National Council of Christians and Jews. In addition to two stepchildren, she and her husband, who was an executive at Carson Pirie Scott and Co., had five children of their own.

6. During the late 1870s, Carrie Drew was one of two teachers in the Fourth Ward School of Rockford. By the mid-1880s, she had opened her own dressmaking establishment, Carrie Drew Fashionable Dress-Maker, on the west side of South Main St. in Rockford. According to a receipt in her papers in the SCPC (*JAPM*, 27:1097), on 18 Dec. 1885, JA paid Miss Drew \$23.72 for a garment made of four and a half yards of satin and bone, hoops, shields, lining, binding, and weights. Included in the total was \$15 for Drew's labor as a seamstress.

7. Neither the letter JA received from AHHA nor the one she received from Clara Young are known to be extant. Marie Worrall was seven years old when she was buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia. She joined her brother Ray Worrall, who was buried there at age three months on 21 Feb. 1881. Their parents were Mary C. Young Worrall, the daughter of JA's aunt Harriet Addams Young and uncle Nathan Young, and Peter B. Worrall (see also JA to SAAH, 18 Aug. 1883, n. 4, above).

8. "Three Days on the Mediterranean Subjectively Related," *RSM* (Jan. 1886): 11–17; *JAPM*, 46:441–46, is presented in Essay in the *RSM*, Jan. 1885[1886], below.

To Ellen Gates Starr

Harvard Ill

Dec 6" 1885

My dear Ellen

It is impossible to rock Mary Addams Linn and manage pen & ink, but I cannot allow the day to close without sending you some thing more tangible than the thoughts I sent flying towards you all day. Your letter¹ came yesterday morning and made me feel that friendship is a very precious thing in this world. I know my dear, that I have often misunderstood you; it is the most discouraging <view> we can take of ourselves—our limitations in comprehension. I am always blundering, when I deal with religious nomenclature or sensations simply because my religious life has been so small;—for many years it was my ambition to reach my father's moral requirements, & now when I am needing some thing more, I find myself approaching a crisis, & look rather wistfully to my friends for help. Your letter, dear friend, was such a help, & if we never refer to the subject again I think I shall always <hold> a [dear?].

Our old letters my dear were frightful, yours were never as bad as mine in execution, you were never so en rapport with Cedar Durand as I, with Cedarville. I wrote to a man yesterday gravely saying I was sorry that Mr Lease² had "backed out" from the bargain; he would not have understood any other

expression. I mean to write to you more fearlessly, my visits with you this summer have been much to me—I have decided not to send the “Sundays” to the magazine, it is too crude. I will wait & rewrite it. I will send the Mediterranean trip, it is clearer than when I read it to you, but I don’t know as it is worth your rereading; it comes out in January.³

Sister Mary is waiting for me to go to <evening> church & the children are distracting, Web has had his sled stolen & is railing against the entire human <race> with the most powerful invective I ever heard. Esther is driving me wild with questions about John the Baptist,⁴ I think the conditions are worse than w[e]aring out & a “lame” eye. Believe me forever your friend

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:163–65).

1. See EGS to JA, 3 Dec. 1885, above.

2. Among properties JA owned in Illinois in 1885 were a farm of approximately 250 acres in Lancaster Twp. (referred to by the Addams family as the Wheeland farm) midway between Cedarville and Freeport and perhaps sixty acres of timber in the southwest corner of Buckeye Twp. She had sold 80 acres in Dakota Twp., part of her inheritance, to Harrison Diemer in Mar. 1883, receiving \$4,000 for it. She held the mortgage on it, and on 25 June 1885, \$2,000 was still owed her and due on 20 June 1886; interest on the loan was 6 percent annually.

JA may have expected to sell farm land that she owned near Cedarville to John T. Lease, born in 1845 in Lycoming Co., Pa. He came to Stephenson Co. in 1854 and became associated with agricultural interests and aggressive land acquisition. On 23 Oct. 1878, he wed Addams family friend Ann Elizabeth “Lizzie” McKibben, born in Stephenson Co. in 1846 to James and Mary J. McKibben, who where married and moved to the county in 1845. She and Martha Addams attended RFS together.

3. For JA’s essay “Three Days on the Mediterranean Subjectively Related,” see Essay in the *RSM*, Jan. 1885[1886], below. On “Five Sunday Mornings in England,” see JA to JWA, 17 Aug. 1884, nn. 6, 17; and EGS to JA, 3 Dec. 1885, n. 3, both above.

4. In response to this comment from JA, EGS wrote, “I could quite hear Webers invective, and should have liked to hear the questions about John the Baptist. Also the answers” (EGS to JA, 8 Dec. 1885, SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:172).

To Ellen Gates Starr

Harvard Ill.

Dec 9" 1885

My dear Ellen

Your kindly memorabilia¹ of our visit came yesterday, and will do more than any thing else could to perpetuate it. I shall need the visible sign very often as the impossibility of seeing you increases. Mere thanks are rather weak after intercourse of the higher kind, but you know my dear I am thankful for the book itself—the [outward?] book to which you have already introduced me. I think the first poem shall <will> be the one I shall read oftenest as it was the one I read first—My Star “Mine has opened it’s soul to me; therefore I love it.”²



Mrs. McConkey's boarding house where Jane and Anna Addams lived during their first winter in Baltimore is the third structure from the left. It was located on the west side of South Washington Place. By 1905, it and the other structures pictured here in a 1904 newspaper photograph were razed to make way for the Walters Art Gallery, constructed between 1905 and 1909. (Photo from Dorsey, *Mount Vernon Place: An Anecdotal Essay with 66 Illustrations*, 34)

I am really alarmed about your eye, and hope it is better, if it has not proven serious, and an affliction of the other eye would procure me three <more> such letters, I will forthwith begin to pray for the same. It will be impossible for me to come to Chicago for any length of time, but when I pass I shall certainly inform you, but do not traverse half of the city for a few minutes flurry. I go to Rockford to-morrow, and then to Cedarville. I am dreadfully hurried to-day, but shall write you a Browning letter from Baltimore.³ Yours "til deth"

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:173-74).

1. A collection of poems by Robert Browning (see JA to SAAH, 4 Dec. 1885, n. 1, above). At a much later time in her life, when she had occasion to reread her correspondence with JA, EGS wrote near the bottom of the first page of this letter "Browning's Poems."

2. JA quotes the last line of Robert Browning's poem "My Star" from *Men and Women*, the book of poetry she received from EGS.

3. On the last day of Jan. 1886, EGS wrote to JA commenting "upon the length of time which has elapsed since my four letters a week to you, and since your letter from Baltimore. I have seasons of out pouring, when I feel like writing every day to the person with whom I am at the time in rapport" (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:192). The letter JA wrote to EGS from Baltimore is not known to be extant.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

144 <Washington Place> Baltimore Md

Dec 26" 1885

My dear Alice

The cards and the greetings came to-day and we enjoyed them very much.¹ But, my dear Sister, why have you ceased writing. On all sides are the most bitter complaints of your silence. I hope you received the little Greuze,² it was poorly framed, but I always liked her very much as she hung in the Louvre.

I left Harvard Tuesday at eleven, had three hours in Chicago which I spent with Ellen Starr³ and took the "limited" over the Baltimore and Ohio road. I had an upper berth over a grave old gentleman, made three or four very pleasant acquaintances, and arrived in Baltimore a eight the next evening. You know the scenery of the Baltimore & Ohio. I enjoyed it immensely, especially the view we had of Harpers Ferry about dusk. George met me at the station, and found Ma waiting for us at the house. We have had a merry old fashioned Christmas, doing every thing possible that we used to do at home. Christmas eve we went through the great out door markets, the shining faces of the negros over their wares was the most comfortable jolly sight in the world. I think I wrote you of my visit at Cedarville.⁴ I was there a week and had such as satisfactory visit with Weber. He was much more natural and like his old self than he was last summer. He is much thinner but is improved by it I think. On my way, I stopped at the Sem'y from Thursday until Saturday. I wish you could meet the present corps of teachers, they are as cultivated, energetic and pleasant as they can be. Excuse so short a letter, we have been hanging pictures &c all day and I am almost too tired to write.

My first impressions of Baltimore are very favorable, our rooms are large and pleasant. George and Ma send their love to Harry and yourself. Do write Sister[.] Ever yours

Jane.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:179–80).

1. These cards are not known to be extant.

2. Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805) became well known for his paintings of fresh-looking young women of good family in neat frilled dresses and caps. The head of his wife's girlish features was among the most famous.

3. On 6 Dec. 1885, EGS wrote to JA: "Couldn't you decide to spend the Sunday before Christmas with me? . . . I know you won't, you wretched girl, but I think you might" (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:169). JA wrote back on 9 Dec. to explain that she could not be in "Chicago for any length of time, but when I pass I shall certainly inform you, but do not traverse half of the city for a few minutes flurry" (JA to EGS, 9 Dec. 1885, above). JA left Cedarville for Baltimore on 22 Dec. 1885.

4. That letter is not known to be extant. JWA returned to Cedarville from the Northern Illinois Hospital for the Insane in Elgin on 2 Dec. 1885, in time to spend Christmas with his family.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

144 Washington Place Baltimore. [Md.]

Jan 3d, 1886

My dear Alice

The books came yesterday morning, and we are all very much obliged. You did not keep to your promise, though, my dear, to give no presents this year. I shall enjoy the Thackery¹ at odd times, for our book case contains very few novels, and I confess to a weakness for them occasionally. I am glad you like your art study so much, I hardly know what I will get into here. Next week I mean to hunt up a French teacher, so that I don't lose all that I gained in Paris. There is an immense amount of mental activity and research going on about one, but it is so intangible and so confined to the University that it is rather hard to come into contact with it. We have <met> some very pleasant people, our callers, those supposed to be formal with hat & gloves, inevitably stay for an hour and sit down with a certain purpose towards intercourse that I have never seen in strangers before.² Ma and I played progressive euchre Friday evening at Miss Caine's,³ the house where we take our meals, it was really quite an elegant party in all the appointments. Ma took the first prize for good playing and I took the booby prize for poor playing, it was the most absurd thing as we stood up to receive our laurels, but we had a great deal of pleasure out of the evening. The weather has been delightful since we have been here, I wish you and Harry could come for a while this winter, I very much hope that Harry is better. Your letter made me regret, my dear, more than ever that I could not see you in Girard this fall, but I think you see it was not the practicable thing to do. We shall have to make up by a great deal of writing so as not to lose the sense of companionship we gained again last summer. This is a short letter, but it is church time, and I will write again.

Did you ever receive the ivory I sent in Oct? You never wrote about it, and I was a little anxious lest it was lost. Ma sends her love to Harry and yourself and thanks for the Mrs Marcet's.⁴ Dear Alice, my whole heart wishes you "A Happy New Year." Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; JAPM, 2:182-88).

1. The editors do not know which novel by English writer William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-63) SAAH sent to JA and AHHA. Thackeray wrote a number of parodies and satires of romantic sentiment and about his disillusionment at the actions of human beings. Among his famous works are *Barry Lyndon* (1844), *Vanity Fair* (1848), *Henry Esmond* (1852), and *The Virginians* (1857-59).

2. See also introduction to part 3, n. 22, above.

3. Mrs. Sarah B. Crane's boardinghouse was located at 142 North Charles St. by the old numbering system and 602 North Charles St. by the new system instituted in 1886. Her husband, Robert K. Crane, was a bookkeeper. Among her boarders were a number of Johns Hopkins students.

4. HWH was especially dedicated to genealogical research about the ancestors of his father, William Haldeman. He established to his satisfaction and that of his descendants his family's connection to the distinguished Swiss-born family of Sir Frederick Haldimand (1718–91), governor and commander-in-chief in Canada (1778–85). With that link came a genetic relationship to his heroine, Jane Haldiman, known to her readers as “Mrs. Marcet.” HWH was so dedicated to preserving the Haldemand-Haldiman connection that he insisted upon calling his first-born daughter (his only known issue) Anna for his mother, AHHA, and Marcet for “Mrs. Marcet.” Anna Marcet, known in the family as Marcet, named her only daughter Alice for her mother, SAAH, and Alice Haldeman-Julius DeLoach named her only daughter Marcet, not only for her mother but also to preserve the family relationship to her grandfather's appreciation for the name “Mrs. Marcet.”

Jane Haldimand was born in 1769, the daughter of Jane Pickersgill Haldimand and Anthony Francis Haldiman (1741–1817), a wealthy Swiss merchant living in London who founded the banking house of Morris, Prevost and Co. In 1799, she married Alexander John Gaspard Marcet (1770–1822), a highly respected physician who served as a chemistry lecturer at Guy's Hospital in London. After a distinguished career that included publishing a number of papers, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1815. He retired to Switzerland in 1817 and died in 1822.

Meanwhile, his wife became a writer for the young, primarily on scientific topics, at a time when simple scientific textbooks were almost unknown. Her books were enormously popular and most went through several editions. For example, *Conversation on Chemistry*, originally published in 1806, was in its sixteenth edition by 1853; an estimated 160,000 had been sold in the United States alone before that year. *Conversation on Natural Philosophy* reached its thirteenth edition in 1858; a fourteenth edition was produced in 1874, after the author's death in 1858. Mrs. Marcet authored children's books on grammar, reading, railroads, and the history of England, to name but a few topics. Her most famous work, which was frequently reprinted, was *Conversations on Political Economy*, first issued in 1816. It was well received among her contemporaries. French political economist Jean-Baptiste Say (1767–1832) praised her as “the only woman who had written on political economy and shown herself equal even to men” (Taylor and Francis Group, *Historical Dictionary*, 297). In her autobiography, Harriet Martineau acknowledged that the view and purpose of her own *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1834) dated from a chance reading of this Marcet work.

That HWH presented a “Mrs. Marcet” to his mother is not surprising, for he collected her books. Twenty-five volumes, only three of which are second copies, have come down through three generations of Haldeman-Addams women: SAAH, Anna Marcet Haldeman-Julius, and Alice Haldeman-Julius DeLoach. All added “Mrs. Marcet” volumes to the collection, which is now part of the rare book collection at the Colman Library of Rockford College.

Essay in the *Rockford Seminary Magazine*

During the late fall of 1885, Jane Addams penned two articles about her recent European adventures. She intended to publish them in the Contributors' Department of the Rockford Seminary Magazine, as she had “A Village Decoration Day” in March 1883.¹ Disappointed in her essay entitled “Five Sunday Mornings in England,” she did not submit it for publication.² It was a description of where she went and what she saw during a journey through Wales and southern

England with stepmother Anna Addams and stepbrother George Haldeman in August and September 1884.

*The other article, which Jane Addams drafted and rewrote under various titles, appeared in the January 1886 issue of the magazine as "Three Days on the Mediterranean Subjectively Related."³ She used recollections contained in letters home and in diary entries, all written at the time or shortly after the events took place, to fashion a humorous but introspective and philosophical tale that offered a moral lesson. This essay is an early example of the technique that Jane Addams would use so successfully during her life as a writer: taking personal experiences and presenting them with a compelling moral. As she would later in *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, Jane Addams recalled the self-focus and inaction she associated with Thomas De Quincy⁴ in "Vision of Sudden Death," a theme that had fascinated her when she was a student at Rockford Female Seminary.*

[Rockford, Ill.]

January 1885[1886]

THREE DAYS ON THE MEDITERRANEAN SUBJECTIVELY RELATED

The good ship Egadi had left Piraens, the port of Athens, in the morning, and had sailed all day within sight of the hills of Angolis and Laconia. At sunset I sit on her deck in that conscious analytical mood, which every modern tourist experiences.⁵ This mood has been known to steal over the unwary man under the dome of St. Peters itself,⁶ inciting him to compare, to speculate and watch the effect upon himself so closely, that he goes away forgetting how the dome looked. It is self-consciousness incarnate. I thought I had choked the fiend in Rome, but here he is as self-assertive as ever, and bids me observe the wonderful combination of these distinct lights on the water, the soft rose color diffused by the sunset, the pale light of the rising moon and the red glare of a light-house on the coast of Arigo. Then he pedantically reminds me that it is a remarkable repetition of the three-lighted picture of Raphael's in the Vatican, the soft pitying light diffused by the angel who is liberating Peter, the moonlight shining through the prison bars, and the uncompromising red rays of the Roman soldier's torch.⁷ I am urged to carry out the comparison to the subtlest extent until I am so elated by the pretty conceit that the rolling Mediterranean and the palpable Italian sky are unheeded. I call myself stirred and preceptive when I am only self-complacent and filled with a shallow happiness. There is a young Greek on deck who is on his way to America, and is already very homesick. He is pouring his griefs into the sympathetic ear of our Chaperon,⁸ and I catch snatches of the conversation; he is going to Boston in a wholesale carpet establishment; his favorite poets are Sophocles and Pindar; he is leaving his

heart behind him in Smyrna; he quotes a line or two of rolling hexameter, and asks rather wistfully if he can hire a row boat in Boston every evening for two sous an hour. Even in my uplifted mood I am struck with the incongruity of a young man in a carpet store who loves Sophocles and Pindar, but I am glad he is going to Boston and not—Kansas City.

The talk becomes less audible, but the kindly human sentiment, always fostered in the limited space of a ship tends to increase. It extends to the Jesuit priest who is pacing the deck with his well-formed, white hands folded behind him, to the olive-faced cabin boy polishing his own brass buttons, to the Turkish light-house inspector gravely smoking an European pipe,⁹ and finally in a triumph of enthusiasm it includes the wife of a poor organ grinder, who gaily turns the crank somewhere in the depth of the steerage.¹⁰ The sounds at first had been rather distracting, but within the pale of this fine-spun human interest bred of moon-light and reflection, the organ grows absolutely pathetic.

About nine o'clock the ship sails less steadily,¹¹ and I remember uneasily that we are nearing Cape Matapan and Æolus may unbag his winds. A sensation of unrest grows upon me, until the deck becomes unendurable, and I go below. There is a violent squall during the night, and the dawn finds me stranded upon a sofa in the cabin, where I lie until evening, a rebellious victim of *mal de mer*.¹² In all the descriptions of sea-sickness, even in the famous ones, both medical and comical, justice has never yet been done to the acute mental suffering which underlies all the agony of nerve and viscera. It was not so much the motion of the ship which made me sick as it was the movements of the exasperating Italian steward who appeared before me again and again with oranges or olives or soft boiled eggs.¹³ If he had stayed away, or even if he had not had his swollen face tied up in a blue checked handkerchief, the pitching cabin would have been comparatively calm. My head ached and roared, but I knew the cause perfectly well, it was the thought of that black, impish cabin boy, that I could ever have considered him "olive!"—who jolted and rubbed the convolutions of my brain with more energy than he had rubbed his own buttons. If I could have expelled *him*, my head would have been clear and quiet in an instant, but an effort to tire him through the coronal suture was ineffectual and extremely painful. I was suffocating and gasping in the stifling air, not because the port holes were closed and the hatchway was down, the air would still have been good enough for simple mortals, but the atmosphere was filled with the plans and subtle thoughts of the Jesuit priest who was sitting in the cabin opposite. He was spinning them out of his head as a palpable substance, until I felt as if I were filling my lungs with fine cobwebs or a thin, sticky mist. These thoughts were part of a vast system, and they closed around me as the meshes of a fine net, or as the soft substance of a jelly fish smothers its victim. A fierce suspicion enters my bile beladen brain that the organ grinder has stolen my watch and letter of credit, which I left under the pillow in my state-room, and that the Turk is an evil magician who has raised the squall. I had endured a vigorous Atlantic storm, the materials for

which had accumulated in the cool ether above, I could have withstood all the thunder bolts of Zeus had he chosen to hurl them at our boat, but I could not survive a vile squall raised by a taciturn, malevolent Turk in the same ship that I was. An odor of camphor steals in the open door issuing from the state-room of my dear friend and comrade. She only uses camphor in extreme emergencies, she must be fainting—brought nigh unto death by the nausea. I ought to go to her rescue, but, as I cannot move, that is excusable, but what generous interpretation of law or mercy can pardon this diabolical apathy, even fiendish satisfaction which follows—"I don't care if she does faint; let her faint." Every human soul has its moment of supreme test, and in a flash was revealed to me the perfidy and black selfishness of mine, as little was required of me as possible, no action, simply the breathing of a sympathetic thought. The appeal was made unobtrusively through the gentle medium of a particle of camphor gum upon the least sensual of the senses, and I had unhesitatingly arrayed myself upon the side of evil. My soul is benumbed by the revelation of herself. As the shadowy lion of De Quincy's childish dreams, before which he supinely laid himself down, forecast defeat in all the coming struggles of his manhood, so the memory of this test will paralyze my powers forever and make moral attainment impossible.¹⁴ Of what use to dream of tasting the sweetness of fulfilled claims or experiencing the peace from self-immolation, when I carry murder and indifference at the bottom of my deceitful heart.¹⁵ I think that I myself fainted at this point. The wretched day comes to an end at last, although I believed that the brutal engineer accelerated his speed westward as much as possible, to prolong the agonized daylight twenty or thirty minutes. Even in the evening when we are better and weakly call for bread, we remember as we pronounce the word *pane*—remember with all the acuteness of a preparatory's mortification—that we once failed in a Latin grammar examination when called upon to decline *pane*, and when the *pane* comes we are obliged to decline it. If it had not been for the mortifying recollection, we might have eaten and been refreshed.

The second morn dawned calm and clear, with a wonderful object between the ship and the horizon—Mt. Ætna on the coast of Sicily. There is probably no sight on the earth more imposing than a shining, snow-capped mountain, but when once you have seen the glittering head-post capped by a rising cloud of smoke, stretching away with the impetuous sweep of a comet's tail, it is to make all other mountains appear incomplete and decapitated. The smoke of Mt. Ætna is sulphurous blue and comes in long, steady puffs, like a comfortable after-dinner pipe. On his sides the three zones of vegetation are easily distinguished, as if he were too large and impersonal to belong to any one clime. At Catania hundreds of ships were freighted with his sulphur, and all day we saw his white head and cloud of smoke, until we lay in the sheltered harbor of Messina in the evening.¹⁶

At Messina the perpetual rocking and chopping was stopped at last, and we ate through the nine courses of the table d'hôte with a reviving appetite.

The captain and our party were the sole diners, but a gallant seaman does not allow dinner conversation to flag. He had sailed to New York, and knew some English words chiefly connected with shipping. It requires some ingenuity to talk politely for two hours and use only such words as “tonnage” and “heavy freight.” “Le roi d’Italia” had been duly toasted with the dessert, and we waited a minute for the usual return to the U. S. President, when the captain electrified us with the sonorous proposition, “To the big Bunker Hill.” It flashed upon us with the certainty of an intuition that he had confused Bunker Hill monument with George Washington, but we are as powerless to explain as we are to drink the heavy Florio wine, and only smile faintly at the ridiculous position in which the father of his country is placed. The ship¹⁷ stops at Messina so long that it is midnight when we pass the terrible Scylla and Chayirbdis.¹⁸ I have tentatively turned into my berth before we reach them, in the cheap shame a tourist occasionally feels upon classic ground when you cannot remember your Virgil and your spirit fails to rise to the association of the spot.

Our third and last day we are skirting along the Italian coast, stopping each half hour at a little fishing village. The western coast of southern Italy is very picturesque. The old domineering olive trees—one of which is a fortune to a peasant family—occupy every fertile spot of the valleys and mountain slopes, and crowd the little houses and their sorry patches of artichokes into the most barren, uncomfortable places. The trees are so old and experienced that they assert their superiority over the miserable men who tend them. “We have watched men for five hundred years and know just what each generation will do; the foolish children will play hide and go seek in our trunks, and the grown people will dig about our roots and be afraid that we will starve them.”¹⁹ During the day I grow fairly to hate the olive trees, with their grinning trunks and misshapen, malevolent branches. It is a relief to come to the vineyards, lightly festooned from one mulberry tree to another, as if gay school girls had woven together fine leaves and decorated the country. It is eight o’clock when the ship enters the bay of Naples,²⁰ verily “a bit of heaven to earth vouchsafed.” But Vesuvius is smoking and burning against the darkening sky, not quietly like Mt. Ætna, but in irritable flames and puffs, as if he were but half satisfied with the tame condition of affairs and had a mind to change them. It was easy to interpret his mood, as inanimate objects talk very readily in romantic Italy. He cleared his throat with one mighty belch of flame, and puffed out, “I am not quite an old dotard yet. Ætna can manufacture sulphur and boil eggs for the old women as much as he wants to—I have other purposes in my crater.” Here comes a dozen bitter, sharp flames. “Haven’t I influenced history already? Didn’t I cover up Pompeii and keep its brilliant reds and yellows on purpose to take the conceit out of these modern Italian artists? Haven’t I exquisite bronzes now shut up in Herculaneum that every antiquarian in the world envies me? Don’t they all praise my wisdom in choosing just that epoch?” A few self-satisfied reflective puffs float into the moon-light, but he is too irritable to keep quiet long and

breaks out again: "And now men call themselves free thinkers, and pretend to have lost faith in the nether gods; to believe neither in Pluto as they used to, nor in the Devil as they ought to. I think I'll give them a taste of his fire and brimstone, and maybe they will respect his Satanic majesty a little more. Puff! Puff! Yes, and I'll do it this very night if I want to; this very night ! Puff! Puff!" We are genuinely frightened at his threatening aspect and turn for a reassuring look to the placid face of the moon. She is quite unmoved and says, soothingly, "Don't be frightened children; you are perfectly safe. He often grumbles like that, but these little tempers are harmless; he is seldom violent."

There is a sudden rattling of a chain, and we ride quietly at anchor not a hundred yards from the gleaming lights of Naples. The three days on the Mediterranean are ended. Never again will we sail between such deep blue waters and such a deep blue sky, where the mountains talk and flame and the sage olive trees talk together. Never again will we embark from a shore where Homer is still a household poet, to land at the gate of a buried city guarded by a soldier of the mighty Empire. Jane Addams, '81.

PD (RSM [Jan. 1886]: 11-17; *JAPM*, 46:441-46).

1. "A Village Decoration Day" appeared in *RSM* ([Mar. 1883]: 77-79). Another copy of the article has both H and A corrections. Both are from UIC, JAMC, Detzer; *JAPM*, 46:387-98.

2. UIC, JAMC, Detzer; *JAPM*, 46:404-15. See also JA to JWA, 17 Aug. 1884, nn. 6, 17, above.

3. Only a few unconnected pages of various versions of this essay survive in holographic form. All are from UIC, JAMC, Detzer; *JAPM*, 46:416-40. Their titles vary: "Mal de Mer—une étude," "Mal de Mer—Un Etude," and "Four Days on the Mediterranean (Subjectively Related)."

4. See *PJA*, 1:250, n. 1.

5. Compare the story JA tells in this essay with the letter she wrote to SAAH about the same events. See 7 May 1884, above, and the annotations.

6. JA had visited St. Peter's and the Vatican on several occasions. See especially JA to GBH, 21 Mar. 1884, JAPP; JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; and JA to JWA, 23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; all *JAPM*, 1:1447-49; 1464-69; and 1477-79.

7. To SAAH, JA reported: "I enjoyed the Raphaels in the Stanza della Signatura above any wall pictures we have seen" (6 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 1:1467). The fresco by Raphael (painted 1511-14) that she described was located on the left wall of the Stanza d'Eliodoro of the Vatican. Augustus J. C. Hare reported that "[t]his fresco is considered especially remarkable for its four lights, those from the double representation of the angel, from the torch of the soldier, and from the moon" (*Walks in Rome*, 2:305).

8. Both SH and AHHA, JA's "Chaperon," were also fascinated by the young and already-homesick Greek boy of nineteen. AHHA was impressed with his ability to read classical Greek and speak some French and English. When AHHA informed him that she "liked Greeks much better as a class of people than the Italians," he replied that it wasn't for him to indicate who was best since he was Greek. He did indicate that he "hated—the Turks with a dreadful hatred." AHHA added that "one does not wonder for the Turks are heathen in the worst sense" (AHHA to GBH, [4-7 May 1884], UIC, JAMC, HJ).

9. See JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884, n. 4, above.

10. Musician SH reported that among the second-class passengers were a couple with hand organs who played their instruments constantly. "Sea air don't agree with them," she

observed. "I think they are so much out of tune" (SH to Linn Hostetter, 3–7 May 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

11. The women had boarded the *Egadi*, said to be the largest ship sailing the Mediterranean, in the mid-morning of Friday, 2 May 1884. Both AHHA and SH likened their onboard treatment to that of princesses. The evening meal was apparently elegant. SH reported that "[i]f we had belonged to the royal family we could not have had more attention shown us" ("Diary," 2–6 May 1884).

12. A storm of at least twenty-four hours, unusual according to the captain, brought sea-sickness to all three women. SH recorded in her diary "Oh! but we were sick, all day. Jane got up and went as far as the Ladies Cabin and I did not see her all day. Aunt Ann with much determination managed to get on deck. I stayed in my berth. The servants are very kind indeed and brought us food at intervals which did not stay where it was put. About four o'clock we went on deck" (2–6 May 1884). For more details of the dynamics between AHHA and JA during their travail on the sea, see JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884, n. 9, above.

13. SH wrote to her brother Linn Hostetter that "[t]hey have a lot of live chickens on the deck and a hen laid an egg a most wonderful event they brought it to us to show it and when Jane was so sick the other morning the waiter brought the wonderful egg & wanted to know if he could cook it for her. She declined" (3–7 May 1884, JAPP, Schneider).

14. JA was recalling the following passage from De Quincy's "Vision of Sudden Death," published initially as "The English Mail Coach" in *Blackwood's Magazine* (Dec. 1849): "That dream, so familiar to childhood, of meeting a lion, and through languishing prostration in hope and the energies of hope, that constant sequel of lying down before the lion publishes the secret frailty of human nature—reveals its deep-seated falsehood to itself—records its abysmal treachery. Perhaps not one of us escapes that dream; perhaps, as by some sorrowful doom of man, that dream repeats for every one of us, through every generation, the original temptation in Eden. Every one of us, in this dream, has a bait offered to the infirm places of his own individual will; once again a snare is presented for tempting him into captivity to a luxury of ruin; once again, as in aboriginal Paradise, the man falls by his own choice" (De Quincy, "A Vision of Sudden Death," 105–6). In *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, JA's use of this passage appears in the chapter entitled, perhaps not so surprisingly, "The Snare of Preparation."

15. One of the pages associated with this essay reads in part: "[W]hen we have come home at night [rompled?] & tired, with a soiled torn apron, the weariness that dogs our steps is less physical, than it is the sense that we have failed again & that we have not been good. ~~we go to bed feeling sure we will be good to-morrow and~~ It is only after <years of> repeated failures that ~~we give up~~ the expectation gradually leaves us, just as our <intangible> intimations of immortality drop away from us. ¶ It is only ~~in the Spring~~ very occasionally, for a few days in the Spring may be, when the air is full of soft expectations & <earth's> promises, that we are filled with <a> bouyancy and an unreasoning hope that this year we will attain <make> it, this summer when the ~~flow~~ in verdure comes we <certainly> will be good, not along the <safe> lines of selfdistrust and forbearance, but on the highway of energetic action and beneficence. ¶ It seems to me that this perpetual disappointment of the human race, that of the ~~millions~~ <1000s> who have had the ambition & the [one?] who has attained it, is one of the most tragic [veins?] of life" (UIC, JAMC, Detzer; JAPM, 46:436).

16. It took the *Egadi* one day to steam from Catania to Messina. "It is a most interesting coast all day we have had the banks of Sicily before us mountainous but fertile and cultivated down to the edge of the sea." SH noted further: "When we are not sick we think a sea voyage very fine" (SH to Linn Hostetter, 3–7 May 1884, JAPP, Schneider). The women did not go ashore at Messina because it was so hot. They spent the night on board and were delivered the next afternoon by their captain to a smaller coastal steamer, the *Firenze*, which took them on to Naples in a day and a half.

17. They passed through the Straits of Messina during the evening. AHHA described their trip through the Straits "with a smooth sea and soft-tinted sky—and the balmyest of air, not

sultry nor very warm—only—luxurious. The mountain peaks are sublime and mountain streams dashing wilding into the sea and intervals of not a mile apart, makes it so grandly wild, one feels that what one can not describe.” She was particularly enchanted with the sea, which she compared to “an ultra Marine of the bluest dye” (AHHA to GBH, [4–7 May 1884], UIC, JAMC, HJ).

18. In Greek mythology, Scylla was a sea monster who lived in rocks and devoured ships. If Scylla missed a ship, Charybdis, a whirlpool just past Scylla, was waiting to destroy it.

19. JA had seen olive groves on her train ride from Rome to Brindisi. “For miles & miles the train past through immense olive groves. The trees are hundreds of years old and twisted and split, as I never imagined a tree could grow. The trunk will have great stones protruding from it, that it has lifted from the ground. Solid pillars of masonry are built up for the bigger branches to rest on, and the roots are all protected by stone work and wooden frames. They were very picturesque and quite a contrast to the fig trees which are about the ugliest tree I ever saw” (JA to JWA, 23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1477).

20. The women were not favorably impressed with Naples, which they reached on 6 May 1884 at 8 P.M. “The streets of Naples are very dirty and every man is trying to cheat you, we had been warned so often against the scoundrels of Southern Italy that we hardly dared trust our baggage to any one” (JA to JWA, 23 Apr. 1884, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 1:1478). See also JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884, n. 1, above.

To Ellen Gates Starr

144 Washington Place Baltimore, [Md.]

Feb 7th 1886.

My dear Ellen

I have been reading “Modern Painters” most of the afternoon, & have remembered your injunction you see “Read it, and don’t let the grass grow under your feet.” One is always impressed by Ruskin,¹ in addition to the fine things he says, the air of authority with which he asserts them would make his readers believe any-thing—much less fine, the assumption of superiority is always impressive, much more so when the superiority is real.

Your letter, my dear, did me much good. I was not waiting to be put in the position of a debtor but the desire to speak to you comes with increasing force after reading your words. You will never forget that wretched scolding I gave you at Cedarville last summer. You refer to it again in your “handicapping.”² Don’t you know, my dear, that you do as much work as I do, and more, in addition to all the time and vitality you give to your girls and that I am filled with shame that with all my apparent leisure I do nothing at all. I have had the strangest experiance since I have been in Baltimore, I have found my faculties, memory <receptive faculties> and all, perfectly inaccessible locked up away from me. It may have been the culmination of the dreadful disconcertion, or it may have been that I was bilious (the dreadful liver at the base of all our woes) at any rate I am only beginning to recover.

I have been taking two French lessons a week with Mademoiselle Rabillone,³ the air of pity and consideration with which she has treated my feeble faculties is only equalled by her air of surprise since I have begun to wake up. Her father

is the lecturer on French literature in the University. I attend a lecture every Saturday evening at five which I manage to translate and find very interesting. His view of Rabelais⁴ has been a perfect revelation to me. Beyond reading a little French I have done almost nothing, if you find Voltaire's *Life of Charles XII*, whether in English or French be sure to read it.⁵ It is one of the most fascinating little books I have ever read, the combination of gossip and philosophy, the subtle distinction between men who had brains & men who thought they had, is delicious. I have never seen Lewes *History of Philosophy*,⁶ I imagine that it would be entertaining and not much of an undertaking. If we are to meet next summer, we might try reading some thing before then and have opinions and sentiments ready to "exchange." I am impressed with the necessity of forming opinions, and amused by the southern people always assuming that Americans are so opinionated. I had a pleasant experience yesterday, took lunch with Mrs Dr Brooks,⁷ the little hostess, quite as cultivated as ladies I am accustomed to meet, said with great surprise "I thought northern people always talked about books, and I have been waiting to have you ask me about Henry James' last novel."⁸ This was said in all seriousness & is only <a> phase of the misconception they have of the severe and terrible northern young lady.

I am becoming very much attached to Browning, not quite as to a poet but as an essayist. I read ~~Carson's~~ Carson's pamphlet devoted an entire day to it on "The Idea of Personality as embodied in Browning's poetry,"⁹ it was a trifle obscure and mystical, it might have been written by a Pantheist, but it showed B.'s continuous effort to reveal again "the fair fine trace of what was written once", his veneration and hope in the power of personality which each man owes to the world. Do you know any thing of Russell Sturgis¹⁰ of New York? He gave a series of four lectures on Decorative Art at the Peabody,¹¹ which were very fine. He was full of matter and overflowing with his subject. I have never read Farrar's *Life of Christ* but have always felt drawn toward it. The finest minister in the city whom I have heard is a Unitarian,¹² the church is near us, and I am rather afraid that I shall settle down to it. The sermon is more to me than the service. Grace Church¹³ is near us to which I have gone oftener than any other but it is not quite what I want. My mother sends you her love. Write to me when you can, my dear, and please don't imply that your letters are stupid. I object to the term in connection with any thing of yours. I am always dear Ellen Your unchanging friend

Jane Addams.

George begs to me recalled to your memory[.]

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:204-7).

1. John Ruskin, English essayist and critic, published the first volume of *Modern Painters* in 1843. It is primarily a defense of the work of English landscape painter J. M. Turner (1775-1851). In four volumes that followed, which were published by 1860, Ruskin examined the theory that rational and individual integrity and morality is the foundation of art.

2. "Be a little good to me, Jane dear, I am a good deal 'handicapped' by a mere mass of drudgery in the way of huge piles of worthless compositions to correct weekly, consuming evening after evening; and my best material is a good deal drawn upon by the individual needs, ethical and others, of girls who seem to be my mission and whom I wouldn't dare to neglect for anything. I would be glad to give you my very best, and would still feel in your debt, but sometimes it isn't mine to give. It is astonishing how much is involved, which would seem to be outside it, in the mere honest pursuit of one's daily bread. The best things, really, in experience;—that is, in mine" (EGS to JA, 31 Jan. 1886, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:194–96).

3. JA's French teacher was Marguerite Rabillon (d. 1926). She was the daughter of Caroline and Léonce Rabillon (1814–86), sculptor and artist of note who arrived in Baltimore in May 1854 after being educated at the Univ. of France. He was a lecturer in French literature at Johns Hopkins Univ. (1876–86). Caroline Rabillon and her daughter and son, Léonce, Jr., were listed in the Baltimore Social Register of 1897.

4. François Rabelais (ca. 1490–1553), French writer and physician associated with the Benedictine order, is noted for his romances, *Gargantua* (ca. 1532) and *Pantagruel* (ca. 1534). These works and three others published later are characterized by ribald humor associated with serious discussions of politics, education, and philosophy.

5. François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire (1694–1778), French author and philosopher who was educated by the Jesuits, spent two crucial years in England, where he was influenced by the works of Isaac Newton and John Locke. One of the results of that sojourn was *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1732), which promoted English ideas and institutions over those of his French countrymen. He also wrote the first of his historical works, a biography of Charles XII of Sweden.

6. EGS inquired of JA, "Have you ever read G. H. Lewes' 'Biographical History of Philosophy'? If you have I wish you would tell me about it. I think I should like to undertake it if it is not too great an undertaking. Yesterday A.M. I spent in studying the 'School of Athens' and it was painfully 'borne in upon me' how little I knew of the History of Philosophy. I wish I could read it with you" (31 Jan. 1886, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:194). EGS was referring to *The Biographical History of Philosophy* of British philosopher and literary critic G. H. Lewes (1817–78), which was published in four volumes from 1845 to 1846.

7. Amelia Schultz Brooks.

8. Two Henry James novels were published in 1886: *The Bostonians*, a satirical treatment of New England philanthropists and reformers, and *The Princess Casamassima*, the tale of revolutionaries and working-class life in London.

9. "The Idea of Personality and of Art as an Agency of Personality, as Embodied in Robert Browning's Poetry" was a lecture presented by Browning scholar and professor of English at Cornell Univ. Hiram Corson (1828–1911) on 23 June 1882 at the eighth meeting of the London Browning Society. It was eventually published by the society and also appeared in Corson's *Introduction to the Study of Robert Browning's Poetry* (1886).

10. Russell Sturgis (1836–1909), an architect who designed several buildings at Yale, was born in Baltimore. Beginning in 1885, he focused on lecturing and writing. He wrote several books on art appreciation and was the art and archaeology editor for *Webster's International Dictionary*, *Century Dictionary*, and *Johnson's Universal Encyclopedia*. He was the chief editor of *A Dictionary of Architecture and Building* (3 vols., 1901–2) and *Outline of the History of Art* (2 vols., 1904). He also wrote the first two volumes of *A History of Architecture* (4 vols., 1906–15).

11. JA frequently attended lectures and was familiar with the collections of the Peabody Institute. GBH discovered that "Baltimore society is very intellectual and turns out in full force to everything at the Peabody Institute" (GBH to AHHA, 17 Feb. 1884, JAPP, DeLoach).

12. During the 1880s, and until 1898, Rev. Charles Richmond Weld (ca. 1849–1918) was pastor of the First Independent Church, as Baltimore's only Unitarian church in 1886 was

known. Toward the latter part of his ministry, his sermons were printed every Monday in the *Baltimore Sun*.

Weld, a graduate of Harvard Divinity School in 1873, believed in "practical religion" and led his congregation to institute a Sunday School and various self-help programs for boys and girls. The Edward McDowells, who became friends of JA, were active church members (see JA to SAAH, 10 Feb. 1885[1886], n. 2, below). This church sponsored the Industrial School for Girls, supported by the Women's Aid Society of the Church, which began in 1874 with a sewing school (see introduction to part 3, above).

13. Grace (Protestant Episcopal) Church (which changed its name in 1912 to Grace and St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church), located at the corner of Monument and Park streets, was founded in 1850 as an Anglo-Catholic parish. It was active in social reform in Baltimore and established several mission churches and welfare institutions. Among them were a church for the deaf (1859); the Church Home and Infirmary (1855), a home for women; and a dispensary for indigent and ill children (1885). In 1885, the church, whose members numbered 512, also operated an industrial school.

Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster (1848–1941), who earned his B.A. from Yale Univ. (1868) and was ordained as an Episcopal priest in 1873, served as pastor at Grace (Protestant Episcopal) Church in Baltimore (1885–88), after which he moved to Grace Church in Brooklyn Heights, N.Y. (1888–97). The assistant pastor, Rev. Jacob Asbury Register (1852–1916), attended Hobart Theological School and was ordained in 1885. He served at Grace Church in Baltimore from 1884 to 1887. He was dedicated to the Sunday School movement and to social service.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

144 Washington Place Baltimore, [Md.]

Feb 10" 1886

My dear Alice

I can write so much faster with pencil that I will beg your indulgence. We were very much surprised at the contemplated move. Although exactly why we should expect you to remain settled while we reserve the right to roam, is hard to say. I had formed quite a picture of Girard and grown attached to the people. I hope you won't get too far north; there is some thing dreadful in those severe winters, I dread to think of Mary's going into them.¹

Mrs McDowell² is the married daughter of Mrs Myers³—the lady with whom George has boarded since he has been in Baltimore. She is the "swell" member of the family. Her husband is an amateur artist of some standing in Baltimore, they live very handsomely, and meeting all <many of> her friends as we did at the reception day, we have had <a> number of calls since—as many or probably more than we can sustain, for we are hardly prepared for "society" living in two rooms. Every one on Washington Place or Charles St receives on Wednesday, & Mrs McDowell insisted that we must stay in that day. We laughed about it yesterday, but still we lit the alcohol lamp to the tea-kettle & sat in our best gowns. We did n't really expect any one but received five calls, four very pleasant ladies old and young. Mr Myers was a literary man, wrote two books on Mexico, was Pres of the Maryland Historical Ass. a known collector of autographs &c, so that the people the family know are really among the oldest & best of Baltim[ore].⁴

Last Saturday I took lunch with Mrs Brooks, she is a very sweet little woman, not any older than I am I think. Dr Brooks brought in a Prof Bessels⁵ the scientist on the Polaris arctic expedition. He had just lost all his records of the expedition by fire, and was perfectly disconsolate, and expressed himself like a true German. He has had a very remarkable career, & was quite interesting to meet. I have written you about Miss Roland, have n't I? The literary young lady who is in the boarding house. She and her sister⁶ are really very superior people, but perfectly rabid on the Souethern question. They do not call themselves Americans & claim to have no country save Virginia. I have been reading Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, but find I lack so much general information on art, that I am only waiting for your topics to begin a little systematically. Miss Anderson has an art class in the Sem'y this year you know. I have sent her some of my books, catalogues &c. I read a good deal of French in connection with my lessons, and then it takes a good deal of reading to keep up profitably with the various lectures we attend. There were two given in the Peabody this week on Camoens⁷ the Portugese poet, which were simply fascinating.

I almost forgot to tell you of our visit to the "shelter," a home for about 16 old colored women,⁸ who are so interesting I mean to go to see them often. I think in course of time we would get sincerely attatched to Baltimore, there is some thing very cordial in the people. Ma sends her love to Harry and yourself. As long as you are unsettled why not take a vacation & come to see us for a little while. Write often, my dear, for next to seeing you there is nothing better than your letters. With love to Harry, ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:208–11).

1. SAAH and HWH did not move from Girard, Kans. MCAL and her younger children did not live in Dakota Territory during 1886.

2. The town home of Beata Mayer McDowell and Edward G. McDowell was located at what is now 117 West Franklin St. Their country home was on Liberty Rd. They attended Baltimore's Unitarian church.

On 25 Jan. 1886, JA reported to SAAH, "We had quite a gay day yesterday, Mrs McDowell invited Ma and I to receive with her, from twelve to four being her reception hours. . . . We very much enjoyed the glimpse of Baltimore society" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:190). A week later and still describing the social outing, which must have loomed a memorable occasion, JA wrote: "Her parlors and house are very elegant, and so were her callers, of which they were at least from thirty to forty, it was a very nice opportunity for us and certainly very kind in Mrs McDowell. Her husband is an ameteur artist of some merit, his landscapes in water colors are beautifully done" (JA to SAAH, 1 Feb. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:202).

Beata Mayer McDowell was among the women J. Thomas Scharf listed in his *History of Baltimore City and County* as being interested in the work of the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City. Mrs. McDowell continued to provide financial support for the organization after its founding.

3. JA should have spelled the name *Mayer*.

Cornelia Poor Mayer, whose father was a Baltimore merchant, was the second wife and widow of Brantz Mayer. GBH roomed with the Mayer family during his first three years

as a student at Johns Hopkins Univ. Cornelia and Brantz Mayer had three daughters, one of whom, Jane (called "Jennie"), was married to Thomas Kell Bradford (1851–1906), son of former Maryland Governor Augustus W. Bradford (1806–81) and his wife, Elizabeth Kell Bradford (b. 1819). Mrs. Mayer corresponded with AHHA after GBH left the university.

4. Brantz Mayer (see introduction to part 3, n. 19, above).

5. In 1869, Prof. Emil Bessels (1847–88) was the scientific leader of one of the first German arctic expeditions. He served as surgeon and chief of scientific staff for the American arctic expedition aboard the *Polaris* in 1870–73.

According to at least one account, the leader of the expedition, Charles Francis Hall, may have died from arsenic poisoning, perhaps as a result of medical treatment. In the wake of the leader's death, discipline among the party disintegrated and when the *Polaris* was caught in ice, the party was separated, nineteen drifting on an ice floe and fourteen (Bessels among them) remaining with *Polaris*, which eventually sank in June 1873. Both parties were rescued. While some narratives mention that no records survived, at least one account indicates that "[d]espite the expedition's failure, it returned with scientific results, including meteorological and magnetic observations, astronomical determinations, and zoological and botanical collections" (Holland, *Arctic Exploration*, 286).

6. In all probability, JA had made the acquaintance of Miss Mary and Miss Ann Rolando, who were born in Maryland and whose father was from South Carolina. They made their home with their brother, Henry Rolando, who had married into a Baltimore family. They lived on Park Ave. in Bolton Hill, Baltimore. In 1885 and 1886, Mrs. A. E. Rolando contributed \$5 each year to the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City.

7. Luís de Camoens (1524?–80) was a famous Portuguese poet noted for his fiery love poems and his epic poem *The Lusads* (1592), which recounted significant events in Portuguese history, particularly the exploits of navigator Vasco da Gama (ca. 1460–1524) and the first European journey to India by sea.

8. By 1886, there were at least two homes in Baltimore for older African Americans.

The Aged Men and Women's Home for Colored People was opened at 214 and 216 West Lee St. in 1870. The two houses and the program were supported entirely by donations from individual African Americans and their societies. The admission fee was \$100, sufficient furniture for one room and clothing for one year. In 1891, there were twenty-two residents, primarily women.

The program JA became attracted to was the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City. It was located near Johns Hopkins Univ. and was within walking distance of JA's lodging (see introduction to part 3, above).

Although incorporated by a group of men, the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City was run by a Board of Lady Managers selected by annual subscribers and composed of thirty-two women, some of whom were officers. Men served as treasurers (although women served as assistant treasurers), physicians to the residents, and counselors. The board carried out its work through an assortment of committees, the most active of which was the House Com., which oversaw the daily operations of the shelter. In addition, the board had an Auxiliary Com. composed of younger unmarried women who acted as visitors and volunteers in the shelter.

Among the shelter's supporters were many of wealth and social position who were associated with other philanthropic enterprises in Baltimore. It is likely that the Carey family was a major force in the creation and operation of the shelter. James Carey, Jr., son of James and Susan Carey, was one of the incorporators. He served during the 1885–88 period as treasurer, doing double duty during 1885 and 1886 as one of the two counselors. His brother, Francis King Carey, took over from him as counselor in 1887. By 1885, Anna Taber King was the board's secretary, and after her marriage in 1887 to James Carey, Jr., she continued on the Board of Lady Managers. Martha Gray Leiper Carey, wife of Thomas I. Carey and aunt of James Carey,

Jr., was a member of the first Board of Lady Managers, while Susan Carey was identified as among those interested in the endeavor. Both continued to support the shelter's work.

Funding for the shelter came from annual subscriptions, special projects such as food and craft fairs, and special donation days in the spring, at Thanksgiving, and at Christmas. The endowment was built from gifts of stocks and bonds, testamentary gifts, and the entrance fees of residents. Gifts in kind came from organizations and individuals. For example, in 1887, Grace (Protestant Episcopal) Church and Flower Mission gave fresh flowers each week from Aug. through Nov. and provided the shelter with butter during the same period. Mr. and Mrs. Enoch Pratt donated oleo and cake in Jan., twelve bushels of potatoes in Aug., and eight bags of turnips in Nov.

In Nov. 1886, JA gave the shelter \$5, while her former landlord's daughter Miss McConkey made a gift of \$1. JA increased her gift to \$20 the next year, one of the largest individual gifts that year, while Miss McConkey's gift remained at \$1 (see illustration, p. 396). AHHA is not listed in the annual reports for 1886–88 as a contributor to the shelter. Each annual report provided separate lists for contributions from white and African-American donors.

The organization accepted responsibility for every aspect of the lives of its residents—living quarters, daily needs, recreation, health care, and funerals. President of the board Isabella Tyson indicated that “[t]he visitors who come from time to time to read, or talk, or sing to them, are ever welcome guests. A cordial invitation is extended to them to continue their good work” (Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City, *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Managers*, 7). The shelter was open to visitors from 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. every day except Sunday. Among the seventeen residents in 1886 were Matilda Ford, Betsey Mitchell, and Maria Backer. During 1887, Sarah France, Mary B. Wilson, Eliza Duffin, Phoebe Jones, Kitty Green, Rebecca Ayers, and Elizabeth James became residents. See also introduction to part 3, above; and JA to LSA, 18 Oct. 1886, n. 9, below.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

144 Washington Place Baltimore. [Md.]

Feb 17" 1886

My dear Alice

The Art topics came yesterday morning, I was perfectly amazed to find them a book, I had supposed they were written or at most a printed list, why did n't you send me the title of the book and I could have gotten it here.¹ I feel quite ashamed of the way I insisted upon your sending it. We have had four days of delightful weather, but it is growing colder again. On Saturday morning George and I went through the Johns Hopkins Hospital buildings, they are like a little city.² We followed the connecting rail road track and so were not lost, but without a guide I am afraid we were more impressed than instructed. On Sunday evening I went with Miss Dorr and her nephew³ to hear Dr **/left blank by author/** the most popular minister in the city. His sermon was very fine and striking “On the abuse of individualism.”⁴ The Presbyterian is said to be the strongest church in the city, notwithstanding your general impression that the majority are Catholics or Episcopalians.

Last evening we heard a concert by the Oratorio Society,⁵ of choruses, solos &c from different Oratorios. The audience was large and distinguished, and

<in> the general eclat the finest Baltimore audience we have seen. We have been returning some of our calls this week, a Mrs Clark and her daughters⁶ have been very kind and promise to be congenial people. One of them a girl about sixteen is preparing for Vassar in direct opposition to her father's idea of education and her prospects of going. There is a sentiment here, decidedly against college courses for women, Mrs Franklin (the famous Miss Ladd)⁷ is the sole Vassar graduate in the city and I think, Wellesley⁸ & Smith are unknown. On the other hand the pleasant ladies one meets, intelligent and thorough as far as they go, almost convince one against his own convictions. I am very much obliged, dear Sister, for the book. My faculties has been apparently paralyzed since I have been here, and I hav n't studied "worth a cent," I hope to improve. Give my love to Harry in which Ma joins. Write to us often. Always Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:214–16).

1. On 25 Jan. 1886, JA wrote to SAAH, "I will be very glad to receive the art topics. . . . Have you ever seen Mrs Perry's art topics which she made out for the Rockford club? They are considered very fine I believe, and as there were printed copies of them, she would undoubtedly send them to you if you wrote her" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:189–90).

JA seems to be referring to Marie Thompson Perry, who was a member of the RFS class of 1863 and taught at RFS in 1874. See also SA to JA, 16 Nov. 1881, n. 4, above.

2. Johns Hopkins Hospital, like Johns Hopkins Univ., was created from a portion of the \$7 million legacy left by businessman-philanthropist Johns Hopkins in his estate. The first building for the hospital was begun in 1877; twelve years and several buildings later the hospital was opened in 1889. In the meantime, staff and teachers for the hospital and the Univ. Medical Dept. began to gather. The Medical Dept. opened in 1893. See introduction to part 3, n 17, above.

3. Catherine C. Dorr and L. Bradley Dorr.

4. While JA was in Baltimore she regularly attended the First Presbyterian Church at the northeast corner of Park Ave. and West Madison St. From 1885 to 1887, Rev. James Turner Leftwich (1835–97) was pastor of the church. He received his education at Yale and Princeton and at Union Seminary in New York City. After preaching in Alexandria, Va., for twelve years, he was called to the Central Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, after which he came to the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, serving fourteen years, from 1879 until 1893. He seems to have been an extraordinary pulpit orator. "His unusual command of English, his lucid way of developing even the most difficult theological teachings, and his force of logic were long remembered" (Gardner, *First Presbyterian Church*, 127). Under his leadership the First Presbyterian Church started its mission, Hope Institute, in July 1887, after JA had left Baltimore. It included a sewing school, a free kindergarten, a free reading room for men and boys, and a Sunday School. It was run by the Men's Assn. for Christian Work, which in 1891 became the Society of Christian Workers. The society was dissolved by the early 1900s.

5. The development of musical culture in Baltimore received support with the establishment of the Peabody Conservatory of Music in 1882. All types of public concerts, including orchestral and chamber music, opera, and solo and choral music, were well attended. The Baltimore Oratorio Society was formed as a result of this heightened community interest in music. In a 30 Dec. 1883 letter to his mother in Europe, GBH reported: "I also went to Haydn's Oratorio of the 'Creation,' given by the Oratorio Society, they had a chorus of six or seven hundred voices—one of the grandest things I ever heard in my life, and a fine orches-

tra" (JAPP, DeLoach). Judging from his account book for 1881–87 (UIC, JAMC, HJ), GBH attended others of the society's concerts. It is likely that JA and AHHA did, too.

6. The Clark family that JA and AHHA befriended during their Baltimore years was that of James R. Clark (b. 1830), a flour merchant who incorporated and became president of the U.S. Electric Power and Light Co. His wife, Martha E. Logue Clark (b. 1832), was the daughter of James Logue of Baltimore. By 1886, the Clarks had seven children, three servants, and possibly Mrs. Clark's mother, Elizabeth Logue (b. 1820), living with them at 835 North Eutaw St. (post-1886 numbering). Their children were James G. (b. 1862); Bessy (or Bessie) (1864–1962), who never married; Rebecca F. (b. 1866); Martha R. "Daisy" (b. 1868); Laura (b. 1870); Louisa (b. 1872); and Jane (b. 1874).

In a letter to AHHA dated 12 Mar. 1889, L. Bradley Dorr mentioned that he had visited the Clark family and found Bessy and Daisy "changed considerably, they seem to have grown older and more dignified, Miss Bessy is even prettier than formerly" (IU, Lilly, SAAH).

7. Christine Ladd-Franklin (1847–1930), advocate of higher education for women, psychologist, and logician, was born in Windsor, Conn.; attended school in Portsmouth, N.H., where she grew up; and was an 1865 graduate of Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Mass. Christine Ladd received an A.B. degree from Vassar College in 1869, after which she taught science in a variety of schools and continued with independent study in mathematics. She published a number of articles on mathematics in the *Educational Times* of Great Britain. Ladd was admitted to Johns Hopkins Univ. as a special student in 1878 and completed all of the requirements for a Ph.D. by 1882 (which she belatedly received in 1926). She had an active social life in Baltimore, which she combined with ongoing scientific research and publications. After publishing "The Algebra of Logic" in 1883 in *Studies in Logic by Members of the Johns Hopkins University*, she turned her attention to theories of vision, with which she was associated for the remainder of her life. In 1886 she embarked on a study of the horopter effect. She lectured at Johns Hopkins from 1904 to 1909, and after she and her daughter Margaret Ladd moved to New York City, where her husband, Fabian Franklin (1853–1939), had become associate editor for the *New York Evening Post*, she lectured at Columbia and continued her research into theories of color vision and continued to publish.

8. Wellesley College for women at Wellesley, Mass., was chartered in 1870 and opened in 1875. It was the first woman's college to have laboratories for the study of scientific subjects.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

144 Washington Place Baltimore, [Md.]

Feb 28" 1886

My dear Alice

It seems to me that I write a great many letters and am still always remiss to my correspondents. I remembered your enthusiasm over Washington and thought of you often last Saturday. I spent the day there, went down with Miss Dorr and Mr Dorr. Ma and I mean to go for a week later,¹ but I thought it well to make a beginning. The round trip tickets are only two dollars and the trains are so convenient, that I have wondered why we do not go often. We went to the capital buildings first.² They are certainly imposing in regard to size and extent, but the little print stands, telegraph offices &c scattered through the corridors, do detract from the dignity, and I am afraid that I was more filled with amazement than actual admiration. We were in the Smithsonian and National museum³ for

about two hours, and after lunch went to the Treasury Department.⁴ It was very interesting, and I came out more impressed than ever before with the complexity and power of Money, it seemed almost like a living creature with so many people supplying it. The official gave me the \$100 000. bonds of the Freeport bank to hold,⁵ we had the usual offer in the Silver vault of \$10 000 if we could carry it away.

We only had a little while in <the> Corcoran Art Gallery,⁶ but we availed ourselves of the dressing room to put on our best kids⁷ and get ready for Miss Cleaveland's reception.⁸ There was a long line of people before the door extending out into the avenue, but we were fortunately near the front and did not need to wait more than fifteen minutes. It was a pleasing contrast from the cold and windy porch, to come into the warm house filled with blooming flowers, elegantly dressed people, and the music discoursed by the Marine band. Miss Cleaveland was not pretty she looked cold and thin in her party dress, and had an air of profound weariness.

As we were coming out of the Conservatory I met Mrs Freeman of Rockford. I knew that she and Mr Freeman⁹ were in Washington, she had written us when they first came and said they would be in Baltimore in a few weeks. The day was so windy and blustering that we did not see much of the exterior of the city, but it must be beautiful in the Spring.

We have met a very pleasant lady in Mrs Sternberg, whose husband is a physician in the U.S. navy sent here for special work.¹⁰ The acquaintance promises to ripen into a comradeship. We enjoy the symphony concerts at the Peabody very much. Mrs Brooks went with us to the rehearsal Friday afternoon, and last evening we invited Miss Kate & Miss Mary Mayer to the concert. We gave them tea in our rooms at six, and a very cosy little affair it was. We patronize the ~~American~~ Woman's Exchange,¹¹ and as all the fashionable people are patrons of it, no one dares criticize the results of it. We had chicken salad & current jelly with bread & butter, and tea with two elaborate cakes. The Bohemian manner of service rather enhanced the enjoyment. I am attending a course of German lectures at the University, on the 18th cent literature, they are very interesting and decidedly a good thing for my German. I should think your American literature club¹² would be very interesting. Miss Roland whom I sit next at table is doing some work in Colonial history. She surprises my ignorance on American literature every little while by some reference to the Dinwiddie Papers or Jefferson's correspondence.¹³ The southern people ignore all the American history which refers to the Slave agitations and seem very near the Colonial time in all their sympathies. We are going to hear Beecher¹⁴ next week.

Ma and George send their love. Please give my love to Harry & believe me, dear Alice, always Your devoted Sister

Jane.

1. L. Bradley Dorr recalled the occasion three years later: "I shall long remember my first trip there when Miss Addams accompanied Aunt and myself. When Aunt donated a blue flag to the Smithsonian park, and had her umbrella wrecked and other small pleasantries of a like nature" (Dorr to AHHA, 12 Mar. 1889, IU, Lilly, SAAH). JA and AHHA did not travel to Washington, D.C., until Apr. (see JA to SAAH, 11 Apr. 1886, below).

2. JA must have been referring to only the Capitol Building, which was constructed over many years in several phases by adding new structures to the original one. When she visited it, the structure had the configuration and general size of the Capitol Building of 1996 without the 1961 East Front extension of thirty-two and a half feet. It had an east and west wing for the House and Senate and the beginnings of a National Statuary Hall. It had steam heat, elevators, fireproofing, and electric lights, although a modern drainage system was not put in place until 1893. The House and Senate office buildings, the Library of Congress, and the present-day Supreme Court building had not yet been erected near the Capitol.

3. The Smithsonian Institution, also called the U.S. National Museum, was created by the U.S. Congress in 1846 as a result of a bequest by Londoner James Smithson (1765–1829). It was meant to preserve and promote the diffusion of knowledge. JA visited the red-brick crenellated Smithsonian Building, known as the Castle, which was designed by James Renwick, Jr. (1818–95), and built in 1855. It faces north across the mall between the Capitol and the Washington Monument on a line with 10th St.

4. The U.S. Treasury Building, a four-story Greek Revival structure of sandstone and granite located at the corner of 15th St. and Pennsylvania Ave., was built from 1838 to 1842 and blocks the White House view of the Capitol. It is likely that JA visited the two-story Cash Room entered from Pennsylvania Ave.

5. The Second National Bank of Freeport was organized May 1864. Its initial capital was \$50,000; however, by 1 Jan. 1866, that had been increased to \$100,000. The charter officers were JHA, president; A. H. Stone, cashier; and H. C. Burchard, Josiah Clingman, R. H. Gettemy, J. W. Shaffer, A. H. Stone, W. P. Naramore, JHA, W. P. Hunt, and Thompson Wilcox, directors. The bank opened for business at the corner of Stephenson and Van Buren streets.

6. William Wilson Corcoran (1798–1888), American financier, philanthropist, and art collector, retired from banking in 1854 and became involved in philanthropy. His primary legacy was the Corcoran Gallery of Art, which had as its core his own collection of paintings and statuary meant to honor and encourage American art.

From 1874 until the present structure, which was designed by Ernest Flagg (1857–1947), was completed in 1895 (situated on 17th St. between New York Ave. and E St., NW), the Corcoran collection was located for viewing in the building which became the U.S. Court of Claims at 17th St. and Pennsylvania Ave.

7. Leather gloves.

8. Rose Elizabeth Cleveland (1846–1918), sister of U.S. president Grover Cleveland, served as his White House hostess until his marriage on 2 June 1886 to his ward Frances Folsom. Miss Dorr and her nephew may have been known to the Cleveland family, because the Dorr family lived in Buffalo, N.Y., too. Miss Cleveland was a schoolteacher and the author of *George Eliot's Poetry, and Other Studies* (1883).

9. Several families named Freeman lived in Rockford during the 1880s. The editors do not know which it might have been. Among them were superintendent of public schools Henry Freeman, photographer H. H. Freeman, and printer James R. Freeman.

10. Martha Pattison married George Miller Sternberg (1838–1915) in 1869. Graduating from the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia Univ. in 1860, George Sternberg became a U.S. Army physician and eventually achieved the rank of brigadier general; he retired in 1903. He conducted research in bacteriology with a focus on tuberculosis, yellow fever, and pneumonia. He began special experiments in Washington, D.C., and in the laboratories of

Johns Hopkins Univ. in 1878. In 1886, he published *Disinfection and Individual Prophylaxis against Infectious Disease*. His studies *Bacteria* and *Malaria and Malarial Diseases* were issued in 1884. He published other works on bacteria and immunity during the 1890s.

11. Woman's Industrial Exchange (see introduction to part 3, n. 13, above).

12. SAAH was a member of several reading, or study, clubs in the Girard, Kans., area. The Ladies Reading Club of Girard was organized in 1883 by SAAH's good friend Anna M. Leonard. SAAH was among its earliest members. She was also a member of the Twentieth Century clubs of Girard and Walnut, Kans., which she helped organize, and the Pittsburg, Kans., Monday Club. Membership lists for these clubs for the 1910–11 period are extant.

SAAH's notes on literature for the months of Apr. and May 1885 are extant (see SAAH, ["Notebook"] 21 Apr.–10 May 1885).

13. Editions of the papers of Robert Dinwiddie (1693–1770), colonial governor of Virginia, and Thomas Jefferson had been published as *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751–1758*, 2 vols., ed. Robert Alonzo Beck (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1883–84); and *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson: Being His Autobiography, Correspondence, Reports, Messages, Addresses, and Other Writings, Official and Private*, ed. H. A. Washington (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Maury, 1853–54).

14. Henry Ward Beecher (1813–87) was an American Congregationalist preacher, orator, and lecturer and the brother of novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe. Educated at Amherst and Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, he gained fame as the pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church in Brooklyn, N.Y. From his pulpit there he discussed every important issue of his day. He was a leader in the anti-slavery movement, an advocate for woman suffrage, and a supporter of the theory of evolution. He served as editor of the *Independent* in 1861–63 and of the *Christian Union* from 1870 to 1878. Witty, enthusiastic, and eloquent, he was a noted speaker.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

144 Washington Place, Baltimore, [Md.]

March 7th 1886

My dear Alice—

Your letter came yesterday and you may rest assured that I will look on all sides for an appropriate dress.¹ There is not a great deal of dress in the street here, or rather everyone is still wearing her winter suit. The napkins I will get any time you want them, linen is very cheap here and the selection large.

We are going to Philadelphia next week or the week after, from there to Reading and Ambler, being away ten days probably. I can consult with the good cousins a little in regard to something new for your gown.

Last evening Dr McMerrick (the Prof of "Bones")² his wife and her sister spent the evening with us. The Dr & George talked a great deal over the probable location of the summer school, and as the question has been much discussed before it becomes plainer that no one knows where it is to be. We thought they were going to Wood's Hull³ near Nantucket Island, and Ma and I had planned to be in Mass. not just there but within available distance. Indeed on that assumption I had already partly accepted an invitation from Ellen Starr to visit her at her sister's in Mass. and from Miss Hillard to see her on Block Island.⁴

But if George goes back to Beaufort, we certainly don't want to go, nor be solitary in Mass. and all our plans are changing.

The favorablist consummation of all would be—if we could go west and be with you, say a trip to Denver with Clara & Miranda⁵ a jolly party all together. We talk about it every little while, and I hope more than I say.

We met Miss Seager⁶ last week, she has lost her father and is spending some weeks in Baltimore, so that we shall see her very often.

You remember we met her in Rome, and Lucerne again. We are feeling more permanently settled in Baltimore than I had imagined possible in so short a time. I have wasted time most shamefully this winter, whether it is a reaction from fast travelling and exertion, or simply the discovery of a natural indolence, I don't know. I have gained some insight into French literature and have improved various lectures, but have really studied to no definite purpose.

I think your art club must be quite a success, when you come to Andrea del Sarto, be sure to read Browning's poem on him. It is one of the finest things Browning has written I think, I read his poem on Fra Lippo Lippi and the account in Vesari,⁷ they curiously agree.

I think I was a little disappointed in "Ramona", it lacked a certain delicacy and finish that H.H. has in her poems.⁸ Last Saturday morning I went with Mrs Bradford⁹ to a sewing school for poor children, I found I could n't make button holes very well myself but the children were very interesting most of them patient and sick looking.

Has Mary written you of Mr Linn's resignation, she thinks that they may go at any rate for the summer. Mr Linn may take a church in Ellendale.¹⁰

Your letter with chess came this morning.¹¹ George had worked out the other on Friday, we will try Harry's joke when he comes this evening. I read Victor Hugo's "Hermani"¹² this morning with my French teacher and was almost entrapped into consenting to her eager question "He is more dramatic than Shakespeare is n't he?" Ma sends love to Harry. Write often[.] Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:221–25).

1. SAAH's letter is not known to be extant.

2. James Playfair McMurrich (1859–1939) was born in Toronto, Canada, the youngest of eight children. He received his A.B. (1879) and M.A. (1882) degrees from the Univ. of Toronto and was already beginning to write articles for scientific journals when he entered Johns Hopkins Univ., where he received his Ph.D. in zoology in 1885. From 1884 to 1886, he was an instructor in osteology, mammalian anatomy, and biology at Hopkins. After serving as professor of biology at Haverford College from 1886 to 1889, assistant professor of animal morphology at Clark Univ. from 1889 to 1892, he settled at the Univ. of Michigan as professor of anatomy, where he taught from 1894 to 1907. In 1907 he returned to the Univ. of Toronto as professor of anatomy and retired from that post emeritus in 1930. He served as the first dean of the School of Graduate Studies at Univ. of Toronto from 1922 to 1930. Subjects covered by his 107 publications were biology, fish, embryology, anatomy, and the history of anatomy. He was a leader in professional academic societies, among them the American Society of

Naturalists, the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science, and the Royal Society of Canada.

In 1882, he married Katie M. Vickers. They had two children, J. Ronald and Kathleen.

3. Summer school for biology students at Johns Hopkins Univ. meant gathering and investigating live material in situ. The Chesapeake Zoological Laboratory associated with Johns Hopkins Univ. had been established each summer since 1878 (and would continue until 1906) at various locations along the Atlantic Coast and in the West Indies. While it had been held at Hampton in the Chesapeake in the past, GBH worked in Beaufort, N.C., in 1885 and 1886. Also in 1886, a group of professors and students from Johns Hopkins sailed to Nassau to work. Woods Hole, Mass., also had a Marine Biological Laboratory, and GBH had spent the summer of 1883 in study there. See introduction to part 3, n. 2, above.

4. Block Island is an eleven-square-mile island located twelve miles off the coast of Rhode Island at the east entrance to Long Island Sound. With its low hills, small ponds, mild climate, and two harbors, it has long been a favorite resort and fishing area.

5. SAAH and JA traveled in the West during the summer of 1886; however, neither cousin Clara Young nor Miranda Addams were able to go (see JA to EGS, 17 July 1886, n. 4, below).

6. According to the Baltimore city directory, Miss Frances Kate Seegar lived at 397 Park Ave. and was a teacher in 1886. In her address book, JA spelled Kate's family name as Seager and listed her address as Ox and 28th streets, Georgetown Heights, Washington, D.C. (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 27:1202).

7. Poet Robert Browning (1812–89) wrote "Andrea del Sarto" (1854–55), a poem about the famous painter Andrea del Sarto (1486–1531) and his wife, Lucrezia del Fede. The dramatic monologue first appeared in *Men and Women*, issued in 1855. "Fra Lippo Lippi," a poem about the life of the Florentine painter Fra Lippo Lippi (1406?–69), whose works include frescoes and canvases, also appeared in *Men and Women*. Browning's treatment is said to closely follow that presented by Italian painter, architect, and art historian Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives of the Painters* (1550).

8. Helen Maria Fiske Hunt Jackson (1831–85), author of poetry and novels, contributed work to magazines as "H.H." Her most famous work, *Ramona* (1884), is a novel about the treatment of Native Americans through the tragic life of Temecula. In 1882, Jackson was appointed a special commissioner to investigate conditions among the mission Indians of Calif.

9. Jane ("Jennie") Mayer Bradford married into a family of staunch Episcopalians. Most of the churches in the area where JA lived, including Grace (Protestant Episcopal) Church, which the Bradfords attended, had sewing schools for young girls.

While Mrs. Bradford may have shown JA a sewing program associated with the Grace Episcopal Church Industrial School, it is just as likely that she took JA to the three-year sewing school developed by the First Independent Church (Unitarian) (see introduction to part 3, above). Mrs. Bradford's sister Beata Mayer McDowell and her husband were active in that church.

10. JML was forced to resign as president of the Groton Collegiate Institute in the Dakota Territory. He continued to serve the Presbyterian Church in Ellendale, Dak. Terr., as supply pastor until he returned home and became pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Geneseo, Ill., later in 1886.

11. The Addams and Haldeman families were playing chess long distance, sending their moves via postal service.

12. Victor Marie Hugo, who JA and AHHA met in Paris shortly before his death, wrote the drama *Hermani* (English translation 1830). Its presentation caused riots in Paris between classicists and romanticists.

From Ellen Gates Starr

[Chicago, Ill.]

Ash Wednesday. [March 10 and 13,] 1886.

Dear Jeannie:

I have just come in and found your letter.¹ It is very unsuitable that I should receive a letter from you today. It partakes quite too much of the nature of a luxury. (Stop and reflect that it is quite possible to Ellen Starr to become a Roman Catholic!)

Miss K——.² has just made a very fitting disclosure, in perfect keeping with the traditions of the day and I have retired to my chamber and wept for a few brief moments, so perhaps the enjoyment of hearing from you may be forgiven me. She tells me that I must seek another abode next year, as she is growing old and it was not her original intention to have any one in her family except her cousin, who is her housekeeper. My position here is so comfortable and so respectable that I dread to contemplate the trials of ordinary boarding. With her usual sense of justice she felt that it was right to tell me now, so that if I chose to accept any other position under the altered circumstances, I might do so. It may be quite as well for me in the end. It bores me intensely now. I suppose my amour propre is a little wounded also. I had perhaps fancied that I was not a draw back in a family. Certainly it is comfortable and convenient to live under the same roof with one's work.

So much of complaint. It is sweet of you to write again, I have felt moved several times. At R——³ especially I said to myself every morning in chapel, "I will write to Jane today." I had not been well for several weeks, owing to a cough, and perhaps felt less than my ordinary energy.

Lizzie Ayer is coming in a few minutes to go to church with me. Matilda,⁴ one of the girls, to whom I am much attached went with me last Lent. I miss her very much, and am glad to have Lizzie like to go. I thought of you this morning at early service as I always do.

Mar. 13th.

My damaged amour propre is restored. This morning Mrs. Sturges,⁵ my lovely Chicago winter and Geneva Summer friend has been talking to me. She asked me if my plans for the summer were made and I told her that they were not, definitely; that my sister wished me to go to her, but that I might not feel that I could afford to spend a summer at the east.⁶ Then she said that she and Lizzie Ayer had been talking it over, and that they thought it would be lovely to take me to Geneva Lake⁷ with them, and have some delightful reading in the mornings, and then in the afternoons do what we liked. Ethel and Marion Sturges⁸ will be there, and Helen Fairbank,⁹ one of the most charming girls I know. They all have lovely homes, and all the pleasures of country life among the

well endowed of this world's goods, & are the dearest, sweetest people besides, which doesn't often happen. I did not say whether I would go, unconditionally, but if nothing happens to disturb the plan I think I shall go. I should be sorry to give up going east, but that could be done when no such delightful prospects near home were presented. At all events, it was too lovely in dear Mrs. Sturges to want me.

Pray excuse all this personality. To pass to themes more interesting, Miss Harrington instigated me to read *Ethics of the Dust*; that is to read it now. I shall read every word Ruskin ever wrote in the course of my life, I hope. But she expressed an opinion about him in which I did not at all acquiesce, & quoted *Ethics*—to prove it. I can't see now any better than I could before why she thought he had changed his mind about Fra Angelico or the Bible, but I am deeply obliged to her for hastening my perusal of such a delightful book. I am also reading *Queen of the Air*. Isn't what he says about Modesty one of the best things you ever read?¹⁰

Another thing that perfectly bewitches me (I am afraid this will give you grounds for, not fears, but theories) is Cardinal Newman's *Apologia*.¹¹ I presume you have read it; if not, do. It simply cannot be described. The naive childlikeness of the man takes one by storm; and as a history of a human mind it is wonderful. I can hardly read it moderately.

We are studying the Dutch and German schools of painting. Of course I know little about them, and, with a few exceptions, am not much drawn to them. Lizzie remembered the "dropsical woman" with affection, as I did also. Of course I shall always associate it with you.

Rubens' *Elevation of the Cross* is to me simply brutal. I cannot feel that it would ever seem otherwise to me. With the exception of his portraits which are magnificent, and the *Descent*, about which one can of course judge nothing without seeing it, I feel like saying with Miss Hostetter "I loathe Rubens."¹²

As to the Dutch "cattle pieces and ruffian pieces" I have no patience with them.

My aunt¹³ is going to Rockford, I suppose, to give them art lectures at Easter time, and I am going too—I wish you were there.

Give my love to your Mother, and remember me cordially to Mr. Haldeman. Always devotedly yours

Ellen G. Starr

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:226–36).

1. JA's letter to EGS is not known to be extant.

2. Elizabeth S. Kirkland.

3. RFS.

4. Matilda "Tilly" Annis Peasley (1867–1943) was a graduate of Miss Kirkland's School for Girls. EGS accompanied her to Europe in 1888 at the request of her parents. She returned to marry railway official Frederic A. Delano (1863–1953) on 22 Nov. 1888. By 1905, he had become first vice-president of the Wabash Railroad Co. in Chicago. The Delanos had five daughters.

They attended the Unitarian church and were active in Chicago's social and cultural life. See also JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, n. 19, below.

5. Likely Mary Delafield Sturges (1842–1900), wife of George Sturges, president of the Northwestern National Bank of Chicago. His father, Solomon Sturges, who brought his family to Chicago in 1854 and entered the grain elevator business, opened a private banking operation with his sons in 1857. The Sturges family established the Northwestern National Bank in Aug. 1864 as the sixth national bank in Chicago. Stephen B. Sturges served as its first president and George Sturges was cashier. By 1880, George Sturges had become president.

The socially prominent George Sturges family had helped create popular preacher David Swing's Central Church of Chicago. A devotee of fine music, he was part of the group who organized the first Chicago May Music Festival in 1882. He was also a founder and director of the Illinois State Trust and Savings Bank. The Sturgeses and their nine children had homes in Chicago and Lake Geneva, Wis.

6. EGS's sister, Mary Starr Blaisdell, lived in Chicopee, Mass.

7. Lake Geneva, Wis., located approximately seventy-five miles northwest of Chicago and just above the northern Illinois border with Wisconsin, became a summer resort for wealthy Chicago families soon after the Chicago Fire of 1871. "They built their palatial homes on vast estates on the shores of Geneva lake, requiring great numbers of servants. The gardens were large and cultivated by experienced gardeners, one estate having in one year cut thirty thousand roses from its greenhouses and outdoor gardens" (*Friendly Fontana*, 14). Among the early estates was that of Edward E. Ayre (see EGS to JA, [29 and 30 Nov. 1885], n. 2, above), constructed in 1875. A number of camps for the wealthy were also established on the lake, such as the Harvard Club and College Camp.

The Nathaniel K. Fairbank (see n. 9) property of some 180 acres was not only the site of his family's summer home but was also an experimental fish hatchery. It is likely that JA became aware of the summer camps near Lake Geneva both through EGS and the associations she made while at Miss Kirkland's School for Girls and from friends she made after she arrived in Chicago to found Hull-House. Early Hull-House summer camp experiences were organized at Lake Geneva, where other prominent Chicagoans and members of their social circle summered.

8. Ethel and Marion Sturges were daughters of Mary and George Sturges. Ethel Sturges (1866–1954), the third of the family's nine children, became a philanthropist. She completed her education at Miss Kirkland's School for Girls in 1885. She wed William Francis Dummer (d. 1928), a vice-president in the Northwestern National Bank who, like her father, was civic minded. The Dummerts had four daughters and a son, who died in infancy. Tutors educated their children in the Michigan Ave. house and in vacation homes in Lake Geneva, Wis., and Coronado, Calif.

The public life of Ethel Sturges began in 1905 when she joined the National Child Labor Com. and the Chicago Juvenile Protection Assn. She became a member of the powerful Chicago Woman's Club in 1911 and in 1918 served as a member of the Trade Schools Com. of its Education Dept. During her philanthropic life her primary interest was in the education and development of children's minds and bodies. She provided financial support for numerous surveys, studies, and publications. Among recipients of her largess were William I. and Dorothy Swain Thomas for their study *The Child in America* (1928) and Miriam Van Waters for her study *Youth in Conflict* (1925). She provided the funds to establish the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute in Chicago and enlisted Neva L. Boyd (1876–1963) of Hull-House to teach elementary school teachers about her theories of education and play. She supported lecture series on child development at the Univ. of Chicago and at Northwestern Univ.

Marion Sturges (b. 1869) wed Samuel Dauchy in 1907. The couple lived in Chicago, where Dauchy became president of the Dauchy Iron Works in 1912. They adopted two children. Mrs. Dauchy became a member of the Chicago Woman's Club in 1892 and served on its Phi-

lanthropy Com. By 1918 she was serving as the club's delegate to the Immigrants Protective League.

9. Helen Graham Fairbank (1868–1945) was the daughter of Helen L. (1840–95) and Nathaniel K. Fairbank (1829–1903), who had homes in Chicago and Lake Geneva, Wis. The Fairbank family members were social and cultural leaders in Chicago. N. K. Fairbank, born in Sodus, N.Y., where he received a public school education and became a bookkeeper for a flour-mill operator, came to Chicago in 1855 and quickly established himself as a manufacturer of lard and soap. By the mid-1880s, his products were being distributed worldwide. Active in civic affairs, he built the 1876 home of the Chicago Club, successfully pushed the construction of the Central Music Hall, and raised sufficient support to establish the Chicago Newsboys Home debt free. He and his family attended Fourth Presbyterian Church, but when David Swing left to establish his own church, the Fairbank family went with him. He was a supporter of musical enterprises in Chicago, including the Chicago Festival Assn., which showcased the talents of musical director Theodore Thomas and chorus director William L. Tomlins (1844–1930). The new St. Luke's Hospital, an Episcopal church-sponsored enterprise for which Mr. and Mrs. Fairbank provided the land and primary financial support, opened in 1885. N. K. Fairbank served as treasurer for the trustees while his wife, Helen L. Fairbank, a founding member in 1873 of the prestigious Chicago Fortnightly Club, served as a member of the board of directors.

Helen Graham Fairbank, who wed Benjamin Carpenter (1868–1945) in 1893, a merchant and member of his father's firm George B. Carpenter & Co., manufacturers of supplies for railroads, mills, contractors, and vessels, became active in the civic life of her community. She was born in Chicago and attended Miss Kirkland's School for Girls. She served as the first commissioner of the Chicago Council of the Girl Scouts of America and was one of the organizers and presidents of the Birth Control League of Illinois, in which she took a very active role. A member of the Fortnightly Club from 1905 and of the Chicago Woman's Club from 1912, she was also active in the Equal Suffrage Association in Chicago. The Carpenters had four children and were Unitarians.

10. The editors do not know what Helen Harrington's comments were on reading *The Ethics of the Dust* (1866), lectures on crystallography given by John Ruskin. Ruskin's comments about modesty appear in the third piece entitled "Athena Ergane (Athena in the Heart.) Various notes relating to the Conception of Athena as the Directress of the Imagination and Will," in *The Queen of the Air—Being a Study of the Greek Myths of Cloud and Storm* (1882). He suggests that modesty is "'[t]he measuring of virtue,' the virtue of modes or limits. . . . If you have known yourself to have failed, you may trust, when it comes, the strange consciousness of success; if you have faithfully loved the noble work of others, you need not fear to speak with respect of things duly done, of your own" (Ruskin, *Queen of the Air*, 108–10).

11. English churchman John Henry Newman (1801–90) was founder of the Oxford movement to reestablish certain Roman Catholic rituals and doctrines as part of the Church of England and cardinal of the Roman Catholic church in 1845. Always a controversial figure, Newman wrote tracts, sermons, poems, and novels and was interested primarily in theology rather than social reform. His religious autobiography *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1864), usually seen as his greatest work, was a response to Charles Kingsley (1819–75), noted advocate of Christian socialism, who had charged that the Catholic clergy was not interested in truth for its own sake.

By Easter weekend, EGS was still ensnared by Newman's work. At Easter time in 1886, she spent considerable time in church. On Good Friday, the service in her church, St. James Protestant Episcopal Church, began at 10:00 A.M. and continued until 3:00 P.M. EGS explained that "the music was exquisite. . . . It was impossible not to cry." That evening she went to Holy Name Roman Catholic Church and pronounced that she was "disappointed," apparently in the music. "The 'Holy Name' was packed. For an occasional man or woman who looked

as if he or she belonged to 'us' there were dozens of them who did not. . . . It would have impressed me very much if the people themselves had seemed impressed, but they didn't." Leaving before the sermon, she went around the corner to St. James in time for the final hymn and prayer. "Everybody was devout. The respectability chilled me just a little, but . . . I felt quite at home again. I thought of Cardinal Newman as I sat in the midst of that sea of unimpressed, common faces, & said to myself 'what is it?' There must be something for a man like him besides what one sees" (EGS to JA, Easter[18] and 30 Apr. and 2 Apr.[May] 1886, SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:254–56). Again she urged JA to read Newman's *Apologia* if she had not already done so.

12. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), one of the most famous of the seventeenth-century Flemish painters, is noted for his highly emotional mythological and biblical scenes. He grew to maturity in Antwerp, where he studied languages and art before he went to Italy in 1600 to carry out diplomatic commissions for the Duke of Mantua and to study painting.

After eight years, he returned to Antwerp and became court painter to the regent. He painted *Raising of the Cross* and *The Descent from the Cross* in 1610 and 1611; they were placed in the cathedral at Antwerp. Commissions rolled in, and he established a workshop of students and apprentices to meet them. Perhaps his most significant commission was one for twenty-one paintings for Maria de' Medici, queen mother of France. From that time in 1622, he became an ambassador during the years of peace negotiations between England and Spain. In the mid-1630s he was released from his diplomatic duties and began to paint again.

13. Eliza Allen Starr.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

From 20 March to 1 April 1886, Jane and Anna Addams visited family relatives in Philadelphia and the surrounding area.¹ In addition to "the girls" (Clara Young and Miranda Addams) and an assortment of Addams and Weber relatives, JA renewed her acquaintance with Dr. Harriet M. Lewis,² in charge of 375 patients at the State Hospital for the Insane at Norristown, Pennsylvania, whom she and Alice Haldeman had known while they were at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. She attended a luncheon arranged by her cousin Anna Young Mohr, which included Dean Rachel Bodley of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania and Ella C. Williams.³ Miss Williams had been a teacher at Rockford Female Seminary and had become a fellow at Bryn Mawr College. She gave Jane and Clara Young a tour of the school "(the Johns Hopkins for Women they call it in Baltimore)."⁴ Jane predicted, "It will become undoubtedly the finest Woman's College in America."⁵

144 Washington Place, Baltimore Md.

April 11" 1886

My dear Alice

We have had such a delightful visit with the girls, that I want to write you about it while it is still fresh in all its details. George went to Beaufort on Wednesday so that it was fortunate for us that they were here just now to "bridge over" as Ma calls it. They came on Tuesday, in the afternoon George took them all through the University buildings and we took a run through the Peabody on our



The Walters Gallery, ca. 1885–86. The gallery pictured here is the 1885 addition to the back of the Walters home at 5 West Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore. (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland)

way to lunch. The evening was spent strictly “en famille” looking at the pictures &c at the multitude of which they seemed perfectly amazed. On Wednesday we went to the Walters Gallery,⁶ and saw everything he had I think save the “peach blow” vase which was not on exhibition. His collection of later French and English artists is very fine, he has his favorite men whom he repeats over and over again, Alma Tadema⁷ and Millet⁸ especially. In the afternoon we received two calls and had the farewell visit [w]ith George as he left for the seven o’clock boat. On Wednesday evening, Dr and Mrs Sternberg & Dr & Mrs Brooks were here, we served ice cream and had a festive time in general. Dr Brooks was detained at the University and Mrs Brooks by a case of measles in her little girl. The girls enjoyed the people so much, & were surprised that such learned men could be so agreeable. On Thursday we all went to Washington, it was Ma’s first trip to the nations head. We did not make a very hard day of it, left here at quarter before ten and went directly to the capitol. We had time to go over it before twelve, when we saw the formal opening of the Supreme Court,⁹ we were very much interested in a debate in the Senate and stayed until two o’clock when our famished stomach demanded food. I do not know why people talk so incessantly of the commonplace & undignified impression the Senate makes; it was certainly

imposing & conscientious the day we saw it. The question was whether or no a railway be allowed to pass through the Indian territory, the Conneticut Senator was willing to allow it with the stipulation that it be built for cash, that there be no watering of stock, no spurious bonds &c no "over capitalization." He said it wa[s] an opportunity for Congress to express itself against the present system of railroading, & that the ~~question~~ opportunity should not be allowed to pass. The Kansas man (by the way who was he, a dude looking man with a big voice & a good delivery) made a violent appeal for the road, that it be not hampered or shackled in any way against competing roads.¹⁰ A Mass. man backed him & a Michigan man backed the Conn. man & the pros & cons were bright and exciting. The House was un imposing, it smelt of liquor, an old man¹¹ was ranting against "John Sherman as the evil genius of American finance" & we were glad to get away. After lunch at Harvey's¹² we had an hour in the Corcoran gallery before we left for Baltimore. On Friday morning we returned all the calls on the girls five in number & in the afternoon took a drive through Druid Hill Park¹³ & the suburbs. In the evening we had invited informally the Mayer house hold to "come down" and they all came, Miss Kate & Miss Mary[,] Mr Moore¹⁴ & Mr Andrews[,]¹⁵ George's great friend. Miss Dorr happened to come in for the evening & between whist &c it was twelve when they all departed. On Saturday morning Mrs Brooks came to go with us over the hospital.¹⁶ It is an enormous affair and very handsome. It will not be opened until '89 but the pathological is being used & as Mrs Brooks knew the head of it in Dr Councilman¹⁷ we had the best of guides. When Mrs Brooks went to Philadelphia in the winter we had given her letters to the people at 536.¹⁸ Anna¹⁹ invited her to lunch and they were perfectly charmed with each other. The measles in Mrs Brooks family made it impossible for her to return the compliment much to her regret. Cousin James came Saturday on business & the girls went home with him in the evening. They seemed to have enjoyed their visit & we certainly did.

I wish Kansas were not so far away. Wouldn't it be nice if we could all go to Denver for a trip this summer, Clara, Miranda[,] Harry & yourself and Ma & I. Sue & Sarah are going to be at the Colorado Springs the summer you know.²⁰ I am trying to persuade Ma to go to Girard but she declares it is too far, and the distance does seem rather appalling when we remember that we are coming back in the fall. We are trying a little to plan for next year. I am in favor of a flat, George is enthusiastic over a flat and Ma thinks it portends too much work and servant trouble which is probaby the sensible view. However we are looking into the subject rather extensively. It is late and bed time. Ma sends love to Harry & yourself. Last week we answered our questions on the suit, they were certainly exhaustive. I hope we may be successful, but if we are not don't you reproach yourself my dear.²¹ Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

1. In addition to the Young, Worrall, Mohr, and Addams relatives in Philadelphia, JA and her stepmother visited Elizabeth Weber Reiff and her sons Joseph and Enos in Ambler, Pa. Joseph Reiff took JA to Norristown, Pa., to call on her aunt Mary Ann Heister Weber (1818–93), widow of her uncle Devault Weber, and great-aunt Mary Weber Bean (1793?–1889?), sister of her grandfather, Col. George Weber. AHHA, Harriet Addams Young, and JA also went to Womelsdorf, Pa., to visit Lydia Addams Albright and Daniel Albright and then proceeded to Reading for a visit with JA's aunt Jane Addams Mull, who had come approximately sixty miles from Sinking Spring, Pa., to see her in Philadelphia.

2. Dr. Harriet M. Lewis (1856–1948), a classmate of JA and SAAH, graduated from the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in Mar. 1884. After she completed her internship at the Woman's Hospital in Philadelphia, she became associated with the State Hospital for the Insane in Norristown, Pa., and told JA that she expected to make the care of the mentally ill her specialty. She soon returned to Portland, Maine, where she had been born. She retired from her medical practice there in 1928.

3. See also *PJA*, 1:393–94, n. 8.

4. Bryn Mawr College (see introduction to part 3, n. 16, above).

5. JA to SAAH, 20 Mar. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:238.

6. The gallery of William T. Walters (see introduction to part 3, n. 7, above).

7. Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912) studied painting in Belgium until 1869, when he moved permanently to England. He is especially noted for his paintings of Greek and Roman life.

8. Jean-François Millet.

9. The U.S. Supreme Court met in quarters in the east wing of the Capitol Building from 1860 to 1935.

10. JA and AHHA witnessed a debate in the U.S. Senate concerning Senate Bill 1484: A bill "to authorize the Kansas and Arkansas Valley Railway to construct and operate a railway through Indian Territory, and for other purposes." The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Co. had obtained a charter from Arkansas to construct approximately 240 miles of track that would connect two railroads already in existence. The bill was before Congress because it dealt with Indian affairs. The railroad required right-of-way through Indian Territory (now Oklahoma).

Not surprisingly, the senators from Arkansas and Kansas actively supported the bill. They were Arkansas Democrats James Henderson Berry (1841–1913), who introduced the bill, and James Kinbrough Jones (1839–1908) and Kansas Republicans Preston B. Plumb (1837–91) and John James Ingalls (1833–1900). All stressed the need for this particular railroad to support commerce and economic development in their states. In addition, Senator Henry Laurens Dawes (1816–1903) of Massachusetts, who was the chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Com., supported the railroad as another important link in fostering commercial development in the West and as a further element in his campaign to foster political and cultural assimilation among the Cherokee people and other members of the Five Civilized Tribes. There was, meanwhile, strong "opposition to this bill in the Indian Territory and among the Indians themselves" (*Congressional Record*, 8 Apr. 1886, vol. 17, pt. 3, 3248).

Republican senators Charles Henry Van Wyck (1824–95) of Nebraska and Orville Hitchcock Platt (1827–1905) of Connecticut used debate on the bill to argue that it was time for Congress to call a halt to the practice of overcapitalization in the development of railroads and to compel companies to develop their roads for cash or its equivalent. Senator Platt offered an amendment to the bill to that effect and argued: "I think we have made a great mistake heretofore in chartering of railroads in not putting some restraints and some limitations on them. . . . I think the example which has been set by Congress has been productive of great evils in this country, and I think the fact that we have been doing wrong is no excuse why we should continue to do wrong" (3244).

JA was likely referring to Kansas senator Plumb, who introduced several bills or joint resolutions regarding railroad development in Indian Territory. Plumb argued that the situation for railroad development in the West was different from that in the East. He claimed that western investors expected a higher rate of return for their risk; if they did not get it, they would not provide capital. He also claimed that the amendments suggested by Van Wyck and Platt would make this project financially unattractive and would discourage further development of rail lines in Indian Territory, an area that he saw was "a barrier to the commerce . . . of the whole country" unless it was developed by railroads (3245). He argued that the real issue was inflated rates for freight charged to millions of people, not the need to regulate capital investment. In addition, he reminded his colleagues that there were already three or four railroads chartered for the Indian Territory, of which two had been built. He stated that requiring different and less favorable rules for the development of this project would give the existing roads a monopoly over commerce in the Indian Territory and adjoining states.

Republican senator Dwight May Sabin (1843–1902) of Minnesota (not Michigan, as JA reported) felt that a strong company should be able to construct "an honest railway" without overcapitalization. He spoke of the social consequences of overcapitalization: "Farmers are suffering. . . . They are being over-taxed to pay rates to use railroads that were over-capitalized by corporations who over charge them in order to secure large revenues necessary to make good on the payment of dividends and bonds." He continued, "Look at the 'labor and labor strikes' already in the railroad industry, caused by over-bonding of the railroads in the first place. . . . Corporations paying reasonable dividends on a fair and honest construction account, instead of attempting to pay them on a large amount of fictitious and watered capitalization, would then be in a condition to pay reasonable and living wages to that large and deserving class of our fellow-citizens who are furnishing the bone and sinew of the land and earning their daily bread by the sweat of their brow" (3246).

Senator Platt defended his position, asserting that the cheaper a railway could be constructed, the more competitive it would be. Overcapitalization mortgaged the future and placed an undue burden on the people who had to pay higher fares, he argued.

Senator Joseph Emerson Brown (1821–94), Democrat of Georgia, reasoned that the only question Congress should consider at the present time was the issue of right-of-way and the fact that the railroad would be for the public good. He stated that it was the wrong time to apply new rules and new precedents in railroad construction funding. "[T]he Territory being inhabited only by a few Indians, there being no local freight to be expected for a long time to come, we can hardly suppose that the company would undertake to build upon any other than the usual terms" (3248).

Almost every senator who spoke in support of the bill agreed that legislation to provide standards for capitalization or rates was needed. The amendment presented by Platt lost; Platt, Sabin, and Van Wyck were among the fifteen who supported it. The bill passed on third reading with only eight dissenters, including Platt and Van Wyck.

JA probably missed the debate on woman suffrage that followed the Senate's consideration of the application by Washington Territory for admission as a state of the Union.

11. An unknown House member was speaking about John Sherman (1823–1900), a Republican senator from Ohio (1861–77, 1881–97), who was secretary of the treasury in the cabinet of President Rutherford B. Hayes and secretary of state for President William McKinley.

12. Harvey's Restaurant, famous for steamed oysters and other seafood, was located on the southeast corner of Pennsylvania Ave. and 11th St. from 1866 until the mid-1930s.

13. The city of Baltimore acquired Druid Hill Park from Lloyd N. Rogers in the 1860s and developed it as a major park. The Buchanan and Rogers families had owned it since colonial times. It contained specially designed and planted gardens, winding carriage lanes, statuary, lawns, hills with groves, and natural forests and stream-filled ravines. The park's water features included a large lake and fountains, and a botanical garden and a zoo opened in 1881 with

nearly three hundred specimens, including white rats, China geese, an alligator, an ostrich, a bear, and a three-legged duck. The park became the focal point for the homes of wealthy Baltimore citizens.

14. Possibly G. Neville Moore, identified in the 1886 and 1887 Baltimore city directories as a Johns Hopkins Univ. student. He was an instructor in Greek who received his Ph.D. in 1889.

15. Ethan Allen Andrews, who lived at 1011 McCulloch St. in 1886, was a fellow at Johns Hopkins Univ. He was a lecturer in osteology and oversaw the laboratory work for the first-year students in biology. He received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins Univ. in zoology in 1887 and remained to become a professor of biology there in 1908.

16. The Johns Hopkins Hospital complex.

17. William Thomas Councilman (1854–1933), a highly respected pathologist, was an associate and then an associate professor of pathology at Johns Hopkins Univ. from 1886 to 1891. He was a graduate of St. John's College in Annapolis, Md., and received his M.D. from the Univ. of Maryland in 1878, after which he studied in Vienna and Leipzig. He went to Harvard Univ. in 1892 and spent the remainder of his career there. Among other honors, Councilman was a fellow of the American Academy of Sciences in Philadelphia.

18. At that time, 536 North 4th St. in Philadelphia was the address of JA's aunt and uncle Young and cousins Clara Young and Miranda Addams.

19. JA's cousin Anna Young Mohr.

20. SH and Susan Hostetter Mackay, with her daughter Sarah Davina Mackay, who was almost two and a half, joined sister-in-law Harriet Irvine Hostetter and perhaps some of Henry Mackay's sisters on a trip to Denver and Colorado Springs, Colo., during June and early July 1886. The Addams-Haldeman party traveled in the same geographic area from late July to early Aug 1886. See JA to EGS, 17 July 1886, n. 4, below.

21. Several members of the Addams family jointly owned 1,800 acres of land in Iowa. SAAH, having purchased her brother JWA's share, owned one-third, AHHA owned one-third, and MCAL owned one-sixth, as did JA. A Mr. Green wished to buy the property and he claimed that SAAH (who had taken it upon herself to represent the family during negotiations that began while AHHA and JA were in Europe) had agreed to sell him 1,800 acres at \$10.50 an acre. She thought she was only selling him 1,200 acres. While SAAH claimed she did not have power of attorney for the other family members and that she had made an honest mistake, Mr. Green claimed that he had a contract for the purchase of the entire property, and he sued for performance of it. SAAH employed attorneys H. G. Hemenway and Alfred Grundy, who were also real estate agents in Cedar Falls, Iowa, to represent her interests. AHHA, who complained that SAAH should have offered it to her first, refused to sell her own one-third interest, and JML and HWH refused to sign the deed agreeing to the sale. Information about the suit is contained in two 1886 letters in IU, Lilly, SAAH (see also JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1887, n. 2, below).

To Ellen Gates Starr

Girard Kansas

July 17" 1886

My dear Ellen

I have had various impulses to write to you, some of them imperative, only the heat and consequent lassitude has prevented my obedience. In the first place I have been thinking much of you. Sister Alice was much taken with your idea of the three Michael Angelo's and with her usual felicity in framing has made a success of the idea beyond my wildest expectations. I tried some thing else which

did not succeed nearly so well, the Sibyl I did not care much for and substituted the “Melancholia,” you remember what Ruskins says of Dürer’s connection with the Reformation and the two kinds of religious despair.¹ <The idea of “despair” went further than I could go.> Then I have had a funny Browning experience. There is an old gentleman visiting in the city who is nearly blind and a Miss Plater (a charming woman who is unfortunately crippled)² read to him each morning. They had read an essay on Browning, and asked <me to read> him to them one morning. The effect of Andrea del Sarto upon the old gentleman was some-thing phenomenal, as if he had suddenly heard expressed some thing he had long experianced but imagined incapable of being put into words. He almost anticipated what Andrea would say next; and surprised <us> by Plato’s definition of the “Idea,”³ which he declared some souls incapable of grasping; to be near enough to appreciate it, without getting <it>, was agony. He took the book with him and made his grandson read the poem to him slowly four times (as the amused young man afterwards told me). The surprising part was the sequel, he came <here> one morning to have me read it again <to him> and made the most curious semi-confession I have ever been the recipient of. He had before seemed to me a irritable <blind> old gentleman of 77 whose mind was too active for a placid old age, and whose one object in life was to secure some one to read to him. He has all his life been a professor of Greek and Latin in little western colleges, when he was ten years old he had named each sheep in his father’s flock after a hero from the Iliad, and through life has applied the rules and beauties of classic literature to western life—Think of it—the tragedy. These facts were to be my preface, but it would take Browning himself to write the sequel and I won’t attempt it. He had not expected the inspiration from his wife like poor Andrea, but from Life itself, and was still expecting. I had a nervous feeling that he thought may be I would give him a new clue (he had observed a “fine personality” in my voice and he had confused me with Browning)[.] I sat before him thankful that he could n’t see my face, and how much I was below what he thought me. We have had a very pleasant visit here and leave for Cedarville next week.⁴ We will be in Illinois until Sept. I very much hope that I may see you before we go to Baltimore. I have an idea that I can’t afford to lose so much of you in these years of your life. Please remember me kindly to your Sister and your Aunt Miss Starr.⁵ The nervous indications in this letter clearly show it should not have been written. Yours forever,

Jane Addams.

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:274–76).

1. During her stay in Europe, JA had gathered and sent home a variety of art prints for SAAH and herself. She evidently secured at least three copies of works by Michelangelo and some examples of the work of Albrecht Dürer.

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), German painter, engraver, and theorist, helped bring the wonders of perspective to art and the Italian Renaissance to Germany. He is noted for his woodcuts, particularly the *Apocalypse* (1498) and *Great Passion and Life of the Virgin* (1510),

presented during the first several years of the sixteenth century. Among his more famous engravings are *Knight, Death, and the Devil* (1513), *St. Jerome in His Study* (1514), and *Melencolia I* (1514). He is also noted for his theories on human proportion and his meticulous craftsmanship.

JA may have been referring to a print of Michelangelo's Sibyls from the Sistine Chapel and to Albrecht Dürer's *Melencolia I*.

John Ruskin's comments on the Reformation and "religious despair" appears in "Dürer and Salvator," chap. VI of Part IX of *Modern Painters* in *The Works of John Ruskin*, edited by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn. There Ruskin wrote that before the Reformation, "it was possible to attain entire peace of mind, to live calmly, and die hopefully." The Reformation brought disquiet and despair. "Fifteen hundred years of spiritual teaching were called into fearful question, whether indeed it had been teaching by angels or devils?" (301). Ruskin continued, "All faith, hope, and fond belief were betrayed" (302). Ruskin identified two kinds of despair. Dürer's answer to the grave, Ruskin indicates, "was that of patient hope; and twofold, consisting of one design in praise of Fortitude" or "sorrowful patience under temptation" (312) [represented in Dürer's *Knight, Death, and the Devil*] and another in praise of labor or "the history of the sorrowful toil of the earth" (312) [represented in Dürer's *Melencolia I*] (310).

2. Although JA refers to her as "Miss Playter," the member of the Playter family that she meant was likely Agnes C. Playter, a widow, who lived with the George Hartsock family. She had been born in Canada and in 1886 was fifty-two years old.

3. JA's blind gentleman scholar was probably referring to Plato's (427?–347? B.C.) Idea of the Good, the supreme principle of order and truth. Plato believed that ideas, as independent realities, provide the only guarantee of ethical standards and led to objective scientific knowledge.

4. In fact, JA and SAAH, perhaps with AHHA, left on a trip to Colorado. They traveled for a two-week period during the last of July and the first days of Aug. They visited Pikes Peak, gathered Native American artifacts, and purchased mementos of the trip. JA bought a topaz pin. In addition, the women visited Eva and Joseph H. Playter in Leadville, Colo. The Playter family, friends of the Haldemans and JA, were pioneers in the development of Girard and Pittsburg, Kans. Joseph H. Playter opened a dry goods business on the south side of the Girard town square in 1870. By 1875, he had sold it and moved to Cherokee, Kans., to join his brother, Franklin, in opening a bank, F. Playter and Brother. When it closed, he became a director and assistant cashier for the Crawford Co. Bank in Girard, a position he continued to hold almost continuously until, after several reorganizations, the bank closed as the Bank of Girard in 1882. At that time, he may have moved his wife Eva and child to Leadville, Colo. Though all the Playter children had been raised Quakers, these Playters became committed to theosophy. The Playters took their guests to visit Twin Lakes and several mountains in their area.

The Joseph H. Playters were devotees of theosophy, and lengthy discussions on the subject must have ensued. Both Eva and Joseph H. Playter wrote JA expressing their pleasure at her visit. Joseph Playter encouraged JA to study theosophy. "I am glad to know of your intention to do some reading on Theosophical subjects, for if I am not mistaken in my judgment of your tastes, you will find it very interesting. . . . I have forgotten just what the list of books I gave you comprised, but if <you> get the 'Theosophist' magazine that contains quite a complete list." After recommending a few works of fiction he concluded, "I mailed you a copy of a little paper 'The Occult Word' a few days ago thinking you might find something new in that" (Joseph H. Playter to JA, 30 Aug. 1886, UIC, JAMC, Smith; *JAPM*, 2:313–14).

Theosophy, a synthesis of science, metaphysics, and moral philosophy, drew on several spiritual traditions, including classical study and mythology, spiritualism, Hinduism, and various forms of Oriental mysticism. Among its prominent symbols is the ankh, the Egyptian

symbol of life. The system of thought was popularized in part through the career of Helena (Helene) Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–91), who, with Henry Steel Olcott and William Q. Judge, founded the Theosophical Society in New York City in 1875. Blavatsky traveled and studied in India. She published her breakthrough book *Isis Unveiled* in 1878 and taught principles of the movement through her magazine, *The Theosophist*. Theosophical teachings include setting a high priority on the welfare of others; promoting understanding between people of different religions and cultures; taking responsibility for the stewardship of nature; supporting human rights, including women's rights; believing in reincarnation, or the evolution of consciousness through successive cycles of life; and living by the concept of karma, or moral justice. Blavatsky's *Theories about Reincarnation and Spirits* was published in 1886.

5. EGS and her aunt were visiting EGS's sister Mary Blaisdell in Chicopee, Mass.

From Helen Harrington

Cedar Falls, Wisconsin

July 25, 1886.

Dear Jane,

I was so sorry that you could not be at the Seminary for Commencement,¹ all the pleasantness of the time was incomplete without you. Never before, since we graduated have I felt myself under influences that made life seem so full of wonderful possibilities. The class day exercises made all the old tender associations very real and present, and were they not finely expressed in the poem?² They as well as we felt the potent charm of the place. All the addresses were very much better than ours—they seemed to hold the message that we waited for and did not receive. I liked the essays because they did not seem like one grand and final effort but each girl spoke easily as though she could say much more as well worth listening to if she wished.³ Miss Hillard⁴ presented the diplomas with a few sincere and helpful words in cheerful contrast to the slow formality of Prof. Emerson.⁵ Throughout it all was a spirit of whole-hearted sincerity that we so sadly felt the want of. Nora came the Saturday before and though tired with her year's work I was delighted to see her in much better health and spirits than she was a year ago. I think you will like her Toast:⁶ she seems to me to have grown broader and more earnest with the years and is just as bright and brave—the same dear friend as ever. Annie⁷ came on Monday and I think she has improved very much since I saw her before—has become as handsome and brilliant as we used to see her on rare occasions and her persistence in the study of Latin is really calculated to inspire admiration. I hope the cough she had was only the result of a cold. I was glad she came and seemed to enjoy being there so well, one feels that there is something sweet and true under all that is apparently unreliable. Laura Curtis⁸ was there and I really like her now, she was so cordial and had a spirit of cheer about her that really did one good. Matrimony has certainly brought out all her best qualities. The Alumnae banquet was pleasant in spite of the fact that we partook of it in the Westminster parlors instead of the usual place.⁹ I'm glad you will be able to read—the best of what

was said in the last Magazine.¹⁰ In the business meeting the matter of joining the Alumnae Association you spoke of was brought up and you and Mrs. Perry and myself were appointed a committee to take the necessary steps and make the connection if it is found possible.¹¹

I am very happy in the prospect of returning to the Seminary for another year under such favorable circumstances—I mean with my work better defined—less of it and the prestige that one year of not wholly-unsuccessful experience always gives.

I shall certainly hope, dear friend, to see you in the fall. This year's work has made me more sure of myself, sure that, in common with all others, I have a certain amount of energy that I can employ in doing what I have a certain conviction is a thing that needs to be done. I cannot tell you what a satisfaction it has been to feel it possible to bring to bear practically whatever power I am conscious of. Action has made apparent to me the results of the purposes that grew up within me in the days when we were students together as reflection never did.

I meant to write you while the impressions of the things you would wish to hear about were fresh in my mind, but after I left the Seminary I found myself too weary for any exertion, mental or physical. I have so far not gotten any inspiration for another years work, have simply rested in this quietest of places. I intend to go to the southern part of the state in about three weeks where my head-quarters will be Brodhead, Wis. until school opens at the Seminary. I hope you will write me when the spirit moves and believe me always, Jane, Your loving friend

Helen Harrington

Attachment^{t12}

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:277–84).

1. The RFS commencement was held on 23 June 1886. JA and AHHA were visiting SAAH and HWH in Girard during June 1886.

2. The "Class Poem [of 1886]," written by graduating senior Emily S. Barber, appears on pp. 199–202 of *RSM* (July 1886).

3. A description of most of the events that were a part of the RFS commencement appears in *RSM* (July 1886).

4. RFS principal Martha Hillard.

5. Prof. Joseph Emerson, president of the RFS board of trustees. See *PJA*, 1:179–80, n. 14.

6. Nora Frothingham. See *PJA*, 1:212–13, n. 9. For her remarks, see *RSM* (July 1886): 222–24. See also JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1887, below.

7. Annie Ellers. See *PJA*, 1:427, n. 4.

8. Laura Ely Curtis. See *PJA*, 1:295, n. 12.

9. Westminster Presbyterian Church was organized in 1856 by members of the First Congregational Society and a group of Presbyterians. Previous alumnae banquets had been held on the campus.

10. "Alumnae Reunion," *RSM* (July 1886): 213–24.

11. Marie Thompson Perry. See JA to SAAH, 17 Feb. 1886, n. 1, above. JA had suggested that the Alumnae Assn. of RFS join the "Inter Collegiate Alumnae Assn." Marie Perry (who

presented JA's idea at the 23 June 1886 gathering), Helen Harrington, and JA were appointed a committee with authority to apply to the organization. It is likely that the women were investigating membership in the Assn. of Collegiate Alumnae, organized in Jan. 1882 under the leadership of Marion Talbot (1858–1948). In Oct. 1886, the organization, which later became the American Assn. of Univ. Women, was holding its annual gathering at Bryn Mawr College.

12. The editors did not present the attachment that appears with the original document. It is an admission ticket to Pew No. 45, West Aisle, First Congregational Church[, Rockford, Ill.], for Anniversary Exercises, East High School, Thursday, June 24, 1880, at 10:00 A.M. (*JAPM*, 2:284).

From George Bowman Haldeman

George B. Haldeman's extant letters from Beaufort, North Carolina,¹ describe a simple village atmosphere. "A profound quiet is resting over our life at Beaufort we enjoy working as a relief from the vacuity which is felt in our surroundings."² Haldeman walked, swam, dug specimens for exercise, and read. His meals were made from combinations of fresh fish and vegetables, rice, oatmeal, dry toast, and milk toast. His mother warned him not to eat cornbread, so he gave it up. He worried that the skinny-looking cows in the area would have difficulty producing the two quarts of milk each day that he hoped to have to drink.

Beaufort, N.C.

Aug 6th 1886.

My Dear Jane:

My memories of the alps were revived by the glowing accounts of <your> letter received last Tuesday; coming to a place like this where the sand doon is the highest point on the horizon you can imagine that the comparison was in favor of Colorado. I hope for a fuller account of some of your excursions which were no doubt not lacking in curious incidents.³ What glorious air, and what expansive views you must have from Pikes Peaks!⁴ The lack of snow and glaciers is a drawback not easily counterbalanced by increased height. The Mer-de-Glace, and the Gömer Glacier at Zermatt⁵ are not equalled by any American glaciers, though I believe it has been shown that there are a few in the Rocky Mountains. Clarence King describes the sensations produced by high altitudes in <his> book on the Sierras, he says that the sky looks flatter and loses that vaulted appearance.⁶ I can imagine that beyond a certain distance one fails to realize how high above the earth he is, and so does not gain in the same ratio as he expends effort in ascending. To realize how flat it is here the following incident of a native may be of assistance. He said that they had mills in Florida which run by water, he had actually seen it himself or he would <not> have believed it. This month is opening with some new forms of animal life which are interesting for general study. I mean new to us of course not to the scientific world. I am preserving a few specimens of different sorts for sections next winter, and mean to put up

some more before I go away. Just think it will soon be four months since I left Baltimore. I do not feel quite as eager for working as when I first came, but am doing something most of the time, and consider my prolonged stay a very valuable opportunity. You have not voiced your opinion on my plan for spending a few weeks in the Blue Ridge somewhere as at Oakland in Garret County Md.⁷ Mother seems to like it and I am convinced that it is just the thing. Our descent upon Baltimore can be made in good shape and without hurrying. I should like to have you come about the first or second week in September if you can:⁸ The heat has not been oppressive so long as we do not go inland, a breeze is usually blowing from some quarter. This month has been actually cool at night. I took a row over to the beach the other day something unusual of late. I am so used to seeing the Fort⁹ and the sand doons that as I gazed on the boundless ocean I still fancied the Fort and the doons in the distance. I must have an indelible impression of the view from our porch stored somewhere in my brain, it will at any rate be a pleasant thing to have next winter when I am more circumscribed in surroundings. I am waiting to hear something about Cedarville. I should not think that it was very attractive any more, though I have forgotten how it looked when I was last there. Probably it has more life than this moribund place even sarsaparilla soda water is not always obtainable, a last resort when the monotony is too intense.

My love to Mother and kind remembrances to all the family and friends.
With love[.] Affectionately your brother

George.

ALS (UIC, JAMC, Smith; *JAPM*, 2:286–88).

1. Beaufort, perhaps the third-oldest town site in North Carolina and located on the coast between Town and Taylors creeks, was settled about 1708 by French Huguenots and other northern European immigrants. Initially called Fishtown (Native Americans had long used the site as a fishing ground), the town was platted in 1713 and named for Henry Somerset (1684–1714), the Duke of Beaufort and one of the lords proprietors.

Despite the fact that Beaufort had a good harbor and a railroad (which arrived in 1858) to connect it with the interior of the state, Beaufort grew slowly. It had a population of only 1,600 during the 1860s. During the 1870s and 1880s, Beaufort began to develop as a commercial port and summer resort. In 1885 and 1886, the Zoological Laboratory organized by Johns Hopkins professor William Keith Brooks was located on the waterfront in a house at the corner of what, in 2004, was Front and Live Oak streets.

2. GBH to AHHA, 29 May 1886, UIC, JAMC, HJ.

3. JA's letter to GBH is not known to be extant. There seems to be no known extant JA or SAAH correspondence about this trip, nor is there any diary describing the western adventure.

4. Pikes Peak, near Colorado Springs, Colo., drew much attention in the Haldeman, Hostetter, and Addams families. JA and SAAH visited it, as did Susan Hostetter Mackay's husband, Henry Mackay, and eventually GBH and HWH climbed its slopes. A major tourist attraction in the opening West, it stood on the rolling plains, a sentinel to the Rocky Mountains to its west. By the mid-1880s the summit was the site of a U.S. Signal Service

station, and newspapers found that the weather and natural phenomena on the peak and in the surrounding area (as well as the adventurers who sought it out) made good copy.

5. Glaciers and mountains the Addams party, including GBH, has visited in the European alps during the summer of 1884.

6. Clarence Rivers King (1842–1901) was a graduate of the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale Univ. in 1862. Among his closest friends were John Hay, Charles Francis Adams, and Clover Adams. A surveyor and explorer of the American West, he suggested and organized the U.S. Geological Survey, which he directed from 1878 to 1881. Among other works, he was the author of *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* (1886). GBH may have been referring to the following passage from King's book: "You look up into an infinite vault, unveiled by clouds, empty and dark, from which no brightness seems to ray, an expanse with no graded perspective, no tremble, no vapory, mobility, only the vast yawning of hollow space" (97).

7. The Hostetter family had relatives in Oakland, Md.

8. JA actually returned to the East in early Oct.

9. The construction of Ft. Macon, named in honor of North Carolinian Nathaniel Macon, who became the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and a member of the U.S. Senate, was completed in Dec. 1834. Meant to guard the Beaufort Inlet, the anchor of the south and west boundary of North Carolina's Outer Banks, the fort replaced Ft. Dobbs (constructed in 1756) and Ft. Hampton (built in the same location in 1808). It was seized by North Carolina volunteers on 14 Apr. 1861, and southern forces controlled the facility until it fell to Union forces in Apr. 1862. For the remainder of the Civil War the fort was used by the Union military as a coaling station and prison. With the development of America's larger and more modern navy in the last part of the nineteenth century, the need to rely on fixed coastal defense installations diminished, and Ft. Macon was closed as a military base on 18 Apr. 1877. The structure and acreage was given to the state of North Carolina in 1936.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill

Aug 19 1886

My dear Alice

The package came safely to hand, am much obliged, but how did the night gown come from Leadville to Girard?¹ Why don't you send me the magazine, I am very impatient to see the toasts &c all the girls are writing to me about them.² Ma and I had a pleasant visit in Freeport, we stayed all night with Mrs Guiteau who is all alone while Flora is visiting Luther in Iowa.³ We took dinner Saturday with the Barton's, and Mr Barton brought his books up to the house, so that we looked over the business more quietly and satisfactorily than usual. The Kampden note of \$6000.00 is paid next Feb. I have no special place for that money if you would like it then. Mr Barton thoroughly approved the new banking plan.⁴

I met Mr Siegfried⁵ down town in the afternoon apparently in some worry, he had just received a letter from Mary consummating the sale of her piece of Richland timber, and at the same time had received your letter asking him to sell yours. He was very anxious that you should understand that he had committed himself to buy Mary's before your letter came.

Leopold Smith⁶ was here the other morning and talked quite at length about the new barn. He had a little trouble with Springman during the erection of it. The place looks very nicely and much improved by it. We came out Saturday afternoon with Laura and brought Mrs Malbourne⁷ with us. She is so much brighter and more like her old self than she was last summer. We are enjoying her visit so much. Sunday we all took dinner up at Weber's and stayed to tea, I quite enjoyed hearing Mr Dillingham⁸ preach in the evening, he is very earnest and effectual. Tuesday afternoon the corner stone of the new Methodist Church was laid, the ceremonies were simple and very pleasant. I enjoyed meeting all the old people. Pa, Mr Josiah Clingman⁹ and Mr Thomas Wilcoxon¹⁰ were the building committee of the old church. The ladies gave a supper and ice cream festival afterward, both of which I attended with Weber and Laura, we brought home a quart of cream and had quite a jolly little feast afterward. Mr John Parr, his wife and sister in law¹¹ are still here, and help to make Cedarville gayer. Wm Clingman¹² hasn't sold any of last years crop off of the farm, he is holding it for better prices. The oats and wheat this year are very fine. Please remember me to the kindly society we met, with love to Harry in which Ma and Mrs Malbourne join, I am forever Your loving sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:289–91).

1. Late in Aug., while HWH was visiting his mother in Cedarville, SAAH wrote to JA: "The night dress is mine & you may let Harry bring it back with him. It came from Leadville. I thought it was yours and did not open it but sent it right on to you" ([26 Aug. 1886], UIC, JAMC, Smith; *JAPM*, 2:305–6). SAAH must have left her nightgown at the home of Joseph and Eva Playter.

2. See Helen Harrington to JA, 25 July 1886, above.

3. After Maria Guiteau died in Dec. 1894, Luther Guiteau returned to make his home in Freeport with his sister Flora.

4. In the fall of 1872, Franklin Playter constructed a two-story brick building on the south side of the square in Girard, Kans., and in Jan. 1873, his private bank, the Crawford County Savings Bank, moved into the building. Reorganized under Kansas banking laws in 1877, the renamed Crawford Co. Bank was reorganized in 1878 as the Merchants and Farmers Bank with Playter still in a leadership role. It was reorganized again as the Bank of Girard in 1879 and was closed in 1882. That same year, E. G. Chapman and H. Adams acquired the building and opened their own Bank of Girard in Oct. 1882, with H. Adams as president and Oscar Schaeffer as cashier. The 1885 state census for Girard, Kans., also lists Kitty Baldwin, a single 36-year-old woman who was probably born in Massachusetts, as a banker with H. Adams. Within a year after HWH and SAAH moved to Girard, they acquired a partial interest in this bank and HWH became vice-president. By 1886, 41-year-old Mr. Adams, who was born in Massachusetts and had other businesses that included banking interests in Pittsburg, Kans., agreed to sell his share of the bank to the Haldemans. In a letter to her stepmother/mother-in-law, SAAH reported:

Oscar [Schaeffer] will remain with us and after serious consideration I am sure it will prove a wise thing. The bussiness does not require three to run it and Mr Adams has a

great deal of outside bussiness. He was generous to sell to us, although he would prefer to keep it himself.

If we had the ready money we would buy out the first of September. But as it is we will gradually collect the out standing notes and reduce the Capital. There is now a bussiness of about \$40,000 we would like if possible to keep it about \$30000. We each have in 10,000 and our supliers 9000, there is an undivided interest of 6500 but expenses must come out of that and then Mr Adams and our individual accounts making at the very least 2000 surplus and more probably about \$3500 surplus bringing the Capital[.]

Capital	20,000
Surplus	9 000
New Surplus	<u>3 000</u>
	\$32,000

[T]his does not include Certificates of deposit or borrowed Capital. Harry will give you more accurate numbers I am giving round numbers and estimates. It is a splendid bussiness for one person, and has been a fair bussiness for two. I do not wonder though that Mr Adams with his bussiness activity wants to do more. He used to run three banks and one now seems too tame (SAAH to AHHA, 12 Aug. 1886, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

The Haldemans became devoted to banking. SAAH wrote to JA a little later, "Not a great deal of news or at least our attention has been so absorbed in the new enterprise we have not had much room for anything else" ([26 Aug. 1886], UIC, JAMC, Smith; *JAPM*, 2:305).

Oscar Weimer Schaeffer was born in 1860 in Lisbon, Linn Co., Iowa, the son of Dutch immigrants Josiah and Nancy B. Weimer Schaeffer. By 1870, widower Josiah Schaeffer had come to Girard as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. He had served other communities in the Midwest as a pastor and newspaper publisher. One of four children, Oscar Schaeffer was educated in Sharon, Wis., where he began helping in his father's newspaper office. He worked for his father and went to school in Whitehall, Mich., and Coffeyville, Kans. When he arrived in Girard, he became a store clerk, and by 1874 he was serving as a clerk and collector in the first bank Franklin Playter opened in Girard. Through several ownership changes he stayed with the bank, rising to cashier, a position he held when the Haldemans acquired the bank in 1886. Schaeffer continued in that position after SAAH assumed the bank presidency in 1906, and shortly after her death he became president of the bank; in 1915 Marcet Haldeman took over as vice-president. Schaeffer held the position of president until the bank was merged into another bank in 1925.

5. Ruben Siegfried (1828–1919) came to Cedarville in 1857 after trying his hand at prospecting for gold in California. Initially, he worked for JHA, whom he had known as a boy in Pennsylvania. He lived on a farm on the Red Oak Road not far from that of the James Addams family, and in 1889 moved into Cedarville, where he was president of the village board. He was a director of the Second National Bank of Freeport and an official of the Buckeye Insurance Co. He served as the agent for JA and SAAH in the Cedarville area. He and his wife, Maria Lausch Siegfried (1825–1902), were both born in Pennsylvania. They had three children, Daniel A.; Mary Ann, who wed William Clingman (see n. 10); and Ella.

When JHA's estate was settled, each Addams child received an allotment of timber and land. Richland Creek, the site of Buena Vista, Ill., flowed on the west side of Buckeye Twp., Stephenson Co., and gave its name to the tract of timber the Addams children inherited.

6. Leopold C. Smith (1855–1935) was the next burial in the Cedarville Cemetery after JA was buried there.

7. LSA and Laura A. Malburn.

8. Rev. Joseph Henry Dillingham (1830–98) was born in Oneonta, N.Y., and graduated

from Hamilton College, Clinton, N.Y., in 1857. Ordained in Barton, Wis., by the Milwaukee Presbytery on 20 June 1860, he had served in Manitowoc, Wis. (1860–63); Wenona, Ill. (1863–66); Belleville, Ill. (1866–69); St. Louis, Mo. (1869–73); Paola, Kans. (1873–74); Rossville, Ill. (1874–80); and South Saginaw, Mich., (1880–86) when he began his service in Cedarville, which lasted until 1889. In 1888, he admitted JA to membership in the Cedarville Presbyterian Church (see Baptism Certificate, 14 Oct. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 28:699. See also illustration on p. 630). He wed Mary L. White in Ellington, N.Y., in 1861.

9. See *PJA*, 1:59–60, n. 35.

10. JA probably meant Thompson Wilcoxon, born in 1800 in Georgia, who grew up on his father's farm near Portsmouth, Ohio, and came to the Cedarville area in 1837. He bought a farm and continued farming until 1854, when he moved permanently to Freeport. He became involved in real estate and building operations and in 1869 constructed the four-story, 800-seat Wilcoxon Opera House in downtown Freeport. He was one of the founding directors with JHA of the Second National Bank of Freeport. In 1830, Cynda Mitchell of Scioto, Ohio, became his wife. Their four children were Mary D., Thomas, Martha E., and Mitchell H.

11. JA's former teacher John H. Parr, his wife, Flora Pennell Parr, and his wife's sister (and also JA's former teacher), Eva Pennell, were probably visiting John Parr's farmer brother, Lewis B. Parr (b. 1854), who lived in Cedarville with his family, the former Emily L. Wright (m. 1879) and their three children. See *PJA*, 1:65–66, nn. 81, 83.

12. William Clingman (1845–1936) and his wife, Mary Ann Siegfried (1851–1889), had three children, Charles (1873–1945), Nellie (1876–1936), and Myrle (b. 1882). His wife was born in Pennsylvania, but he was born in Illinois. His parents, Josiah and Maria Simpson, had found their way from Ohio to Illinois and settled near Cedarville to farm. William was a member of Company A, 46th Regiment, Illinois Volunteers, during the Civil War. By 1880, William Clingman was operating the Clingman family farm.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Cedarville Ill.

Sept 23" 1886

My dear Alice

Your letter¹ has just come and I hasten to reply so that we can take it to Freeport with us.

I will certainly sign the note and as I do not leave here until Tuesday if you send it at once I can sign it with Mr Barton as attorney, it would save time to send it direct to him and he can notify me. I think you do Ma an injustice rather, although I do not understand, as when she left she seemed so glad to have the opportunity of helping Harry.²

Laura³ and I go in to make some calls, & meet Miss Hillard on the nine o'clock train, she has business in Freeport to-morrow and I asked her here for the night. I must give you a full account of my Rockford visit, when I have more time for writing.

We saw Uncle James' family yesterday afternoon, they all appeared better than I ever saw them, a great grief transfigures people.⁴

I am sorry for many reasons that I was not able to sell my farm this fall, I could certainly have given you some money, but I hope the notes will fix it all

right without any mortifying explanations to strangers. Don't allow yourself, dear Alice, to talk bitterly of Ma and George. I am sure the effect on Harry and yourself will be bad. I have felt from Ma's letters that George has been rundown & he is very trying when he is nervous, he may not have proposed any thing.⁵ Excuse haste but believe me always Yours unchangingly

Jane.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:316–17).

1. SAAH's letter is not known to be extant.
2. It is likely that the new banking venture required more financial support and that AHHA had refused to help.
3. LSA.
4. James Addams died on 20 Sept. 1886.
5. GBH and AHHA were already in the East visiting relatives before settling in Baltimore. None of the letters of AHHA or GBH for this period are known to be extant.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Baltimore Maryland 142 North Chas St.

Oct 6" 1886—

My dear Alice

We arrived here on Monday afternoon and came directly to the house at which we took our meals last year.¹ We have engaged our rooms for a week at the end of that time we hope to be located and are going through the weariness, the excitements and stray pleasures of house hunting. We are strongly inclined to a "flat" opposite, were it not for its height and the purchase of some necessary furniture which it lacks. Miss McConkey² our former land lady has all her rooms rented. It seemed quite homelike to get back again into the city, but we are a little late for the best rooms and localities. I left Chicago Friday evening on the limited and arrived at Harpers Ferry³ by half past six Saturday. I was sea sick almost all day Saturday as was every lady in our car, one of whom had crossed the ocean eight times without being sick. A kindly German and his wife shared my section, they had four horned toads in a box, and the good man tried his best to divert me with thier antics.

Harpers Ferry is a beautiful spot. George and I walked for about four hours Sunday morning and he showed me all its chief points of interest. The scenery was tame of course compared to Colorado, but the soft verdure and the confluence of the two rivers was very different from anything which we had seen west. I shall always retain the lovely view from the hotel porches.⁴ I left the "Linnetts" all very well, and kissed them all with a home sick feeling, Stanley's pathetic little voice repeated with a childs persistency "Aunt Jane whats you going for"? over and over again. Ellen Starr came out to spend Thursday night with me, we have had two pleasant visits this summer in spite of difficulties, as Ellen says we have got "visiting on the fly" reduced to a an art.

Ma and George are both looking quite well, and browned by the autumn sun. George has been very busy since he arrived, making his report of his summer's work, Mrs Brooks and the children has not returned to town yet. Dear Alice, the flying glimpse of you was very unsatisfactory, but I am thankful for that much, I hope that the business is arranging itself. Did you have a pleasant visit at Cedarville and did the sash curtains arrive before you left. With love to Harry in which Ma joins[.] Your loving Sister

Jane.

Direct here for the present.

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:319–21).

1. Mrs. Sarah B. Crane's boardinghouse.
2. Elizabeth S. McConkey.
3. JA left Chicago on 1 Oct. 1886 for Harper's Ferry, W. Va., where she met GBH and AHHA.
4. Harper's Ferry, W. Va., is set at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers in a dramatic gap in the Blue Ridge mountains. Its heights afford panoramic views of the landscape. Founded by Robert Harper, who established a ferry crossing there in 1734 when the area was part of the Virginia colony, the town grew in the early national period into a key industrial center. Thomas Jefferson visited there in 1783 and wrote in praise of the area's breathtaking beauty in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). Jefferson's Rock, a natural slab perched on the side of a ridge above the town, which was named for his visit, was no doubt one of the landmarks JA visited with GBH.

The town features sites significant to abolitionist John Brown's raid, which occurred on 16 Oct. 1859. The United States Armory and Arsenal was established in Harper's Ferry in 1799. By the eve of the Civil War, the town—which was also at the junction of important railroad lines and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal—was the nation's major manufacturing center for firearms and home to several types of mills and factories, a tannery, and a foundry. Brown and his fellow radical abolitionists, with financial aid from anti-slavery advocates elsewhere, attempted to seize the arsenal at Harper's Ferry with hope of inspiring widespread revolt against slavery. They were apprehended by a U.S. military unit headed by cavalry officer Robert E. Lee, and Brown was executed at nearby Charleston, W. Va. He was reported to comment on his way to the gallows about the beauty of the countryside around him. Whether Brown was seen as hero or madman, the raid spurred heated public debate on the slavery issue. Harper's Ferry was a strategic location over which both sides vied in the Civil War, and the war devastated its economy and scattered its population. The town began to rely increasingly on tourism and resort trade, and in the time that JA visited there, it was still a hub of transportation for visitors traveling through the region on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

To Laura Shoemaker Addams

413 North Charles St Baltimore [Md.]¹

Oct 18" 1886

My dear Laura—

Your kind letter came Saturday² and greatly relieved my mind. I had rashly concluded that the curtains either had not arrived or did not please you. I am glad that you liked the desk my dear, I tried to find the one, or one like it, that

you so much admired last fall, but although I went to Toby's³ it was not there. I have been fussing with curtains and accessories for the past week, but we are at last settled very comfortably and easily, and have received so many compliments on our quarters that we are really growing quite conceited. We have had a very cordial welcome from the friends we made last winter, although of course it is easy to estimate the southern effusiveness of manner for something more than it is.⁴ Last Thursday Ma and I were invited to lunch at the Clarks, at their country place on Lake Roland⁵ just outside the city. It is a beautiful place, so improved with winding drives, as to be "really quite English, you know." There were ten ladies at the table, the meal was served by the most stylish caterer in the city, and of course with all Mrs Clarks beautiful silver and china at his command, he made it tremendously imposing. It struck me two or three times that we were all making an effort to be easy, and carry it off, as if we had always been used to it. On Monday Saturday evening I was invited to Mrs Brooks to tea and for the evening, I always have a good time there owing to the very lack of formality I think.⁶ Some thing very funny occurred which is too long and circumstantial to write but do not forget to remind me of it, that I may tell it to you some time. I wrote you did n't I about our domestic arrangements, we have our breakfasts and dinners sent in from a restaurant, and get our own teas, by the help of an oil stove. It does n't take us more than from five to seven minutes to wash the dishes and we enjoy the privacy and absence from boarders immensely. Our little dining room is very pleasant, and makes an extra sitting room as well. George's room is on the same floor and as he is out of it all morning, it gives four rooms to circulate around in quite like an entire house.⁷

The Presbyterian minister's wife and daughter, (that is the minister's whose church I attended all last year) have announced their intention of calling upon me.⁸ I have already gotten into a mission school, and I find all sorts of good works appealing for help.⁹ Ma and George send love to Weber Sadie and yourself. I hope you will send me an extra picture of Sadie. I will see Clara Young next week, I am going to Ambler on Friday to visit Aunt Elizabeth <Reiff> for a few days, she is so anxious to take me to Bethlehem to see some of the Weber family.¹⁰ "You know nothing about your mother's family" she quote. With love to Web & a kiss to Sadie[.] Your loving Sister

Jane Addams

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:322-27).

1. The new apartment of the Addams women was located in a boardinghouse operated by Bettie and Mary Mahon. The house was constructed in the early 1840s by William H. Woodville (d. 1865), a stockbroker and officer of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, as his town residence. After his death the house changed hands frequently, and by 1875 it had become a boardinghouse. Until 1888, when his parents left for New York City, Upton Sinclair, who would become an American writer and Socialist politician, lived there, too. He considered 413 North Charles St. his boyhood home. Though JA, GBH, and AHHA may have known the Sinclair family, extant Addams documents do not indicate this.

2. The letter from SAAH is not known to be extant.

3. The Tobey Furniture Co., purveyors of furniture, curtains, draperies, mantels, grates, and other household fixtures, was "one of the most conspicuous concerns on the [Wabash] avenue" in Chicago (Flinn, *Chicago: The Marvelous City of the West*, 602).

4. To SAAH several days later JA wrote: "Our round of modest gaiety has begun, on Tuesday evening we were invited to tea at the Mayer's and afterward to a family progressive euchre party, where I again distinguished myself by taking the 'booby' prize. The tea was served on the long Mahogany table without a cloth, and was exceedingly quaint and taking. One of the gentleman Mr Moore, had had a very pleasant steamer acquaintanceship with Cousin Anna and James this summer. . . . Last evening Dr and Mrs Sternberg spent with us. I think of all the people we have met here, they are really the most congenial and friend like. They are so simple and sincere with a solid cultivation" (23 Oct. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:329–30).

A few days later JA reported: "Mr & Mrs Sternberg came in to read German with us the other evening. They have taught it to themselves, and although their pronunciation is some times grotesque it is surprising how much they know" (JA to LSA, 24 Oct. 1886, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:341). While LSA gathered a group of almost twenty friends in the Cedarville area to study German, JA formed her own German reading club in Baltimore. In Oct. 1886, JA provided her sister-in-law with suggestions for a simple German study text and recommended that she use a German version of "Hans Christian Anderson's Fairytale" as reading material. By the end of the year the Cedarville study group was disintegrating. "I am sorry the German class is lessening, but there is no doubt that a few people study better together than a good many. We have sort of a little German club which meets every ~~Saturday~~ <Monday> evening Dr & Mrs Sternberg, Miss Daisy Clark and Ma and I. George is so disgusted with us, because we insist upon reading novels that he does not come at all. I hope you will make a start, it is so much easier to go on afterward, when the ice is once broken" (JA to LSA, 1 Dec. 1886, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:378–79).

Anna and James Mohr spent seven weeks in Europe during July and Aug. 1886. According to JA, her cousin Anna recalled meeting G. Neville Moore. The two family names, Moore and Mohr, would have sounded the same when spoken.

5. Formerly called Swann Lake, Lake Roland was a part of the Baltimore water supply system. It was a man-made reservoir north of Baltimore that confined water from the Jones Falls River. Wealthy city dwellers built summer homes there.

6. JA described the Brooks tea that she attended without her stepmother or stepbrother: "[I]t was a very happy little affair, I met Dr Welsh the Pathologist, and discovered him to be a very entertaining man, he has spent the summer in Germany and is full of enthusiasm over German methods of study &c &c" (JA to SAAH, 23 Oct. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:329).

William Henry Welch (1850–1934) became an internationally distinguished pathologist. An 1870 graduate of Yale, he received his M.D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia in 1875. He also studied at universities in Strasburg, Leipzig, Breslau, and Berlin during the periods 1867–78 and 1884–85. His career began at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College, where he taught from 1879 to 1884, at which time he joined Johns Hopkins Univ. faculty medical department as professor of pathology, serving from 1884 to 1916. He was also dean of the medical faculty from 1893 to 1898 and pathologist at Johns Hopkins Hospital from 1889 to 1916. From 1916 to 1926, he served as director for the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health. He was the author of many works, including *General Pathology of Fever* (1888), *The Biology of Bacteria, Infection, and Immunity* (1894), and *Bacteriology of Surgical Infection* (1895). A renowned lecturer, he was the recipient of national and international honors, including being named a fellow of the American Academy of Science and an honorary fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine. The medical library at Johns Hopkins Univ. is named in his honor.

7. By Nov., their routine had altered slightly, but JA's delight in her homelike surroundings had not: "We get our own breakfasts now as well as suppers, hot milk with coffee rolls &

'preserves,' form the chief of our breakfast diet, I have it ready each morning exactly at eight. I am very fond of our little dining room in which I am now writing. We eat on a little round table, we have a huge wardrobe for our cooking apparatus & beside it a leaf table with the oil-stove. In addition we have a lounge, a little table for the service and another for the water caraff and glasses. A good many pictures & photographs pinned about make a cheerful wall. Our sitting room is pleasant & cosy, we have a great deal of curtainings & drapery about, (it is cheap here good plain heavy curtain for 75¢ a yard)" (JA to SAAH, 12 Nov. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:362–64).

8. Rev. James Turner Leftwich and Adelia Lake of Oswego, N.Y., were married 11 May 1859. They had one son and two daughters.

9. The mission school was probably the one JA described in an earlier letter to SAAH (see JA to SAAH, 7 Mar. 1886, n. 9; see also introduction to part 3, both above).

Shortly after JA was resettled in Baltimore, she sought out one of her favorite charities, the Shelter for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons of Baltimore City. "I visited the old women at the 'Shelter' on Monday, and really got them wildly excited and myself too, telling them of our ascent of Pike's Peak" (JA to SAAH, 23 Oct. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:328). See also introduction to part 3 and JA to SAAH, 10 Feb. 1885[1886], n. 8, both above.

10. JA left by train for Philadelphia on Oct. 22 and spent that evening in the household of her aunt Harriet Young and uncle Nathan Young with her cousin Clara Young. But first she took tea at the home of her cousin Anna Mohr and her husband James Mohr. JA and the Mohrs were sharing their European experiences with an assembly of relatives that included Clara Young, Miranda Addams, Mary Worrall, and Mary Allison McAllister Beaver.

On Saturday morning, 23 Oct., JA and cousin Clara took the train for Ambler, Pa., to be met by aunt Elizabeth Weber Reiff and her son, cousin Joseph Reiff, who JA said looked "rundown and suffers frightfully <from> neuralgia." They spent the day visiting family sites. JA told AHHA: "We came home about two-light filled with country sights and sounds, the men husking corn, chickens roosting in the trees and shouting children out chest-nutting." On 24 Oct., Joe Reiff took JA to visit her great-grandfather Weber's mill, where her great-aunt Bean and grandfather Weber were born. JA reported that "(the family lived above it) and a little sister who was drowned in a tub of water, was one cause of their moving away." JA, her aunt Elizabeth Reiff, and her cousin Joe Reiff then went to Bethlehem for the remainder of the week (JA to AHHA, 24 Oct. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:334–35).

James Addams Beaver (1837–1914) was JA's second cousin. He was the son of Ann Eliza Addams (b. ca. 1813; daughter of JA's grandfather's brother, Abraham Addams [1786–1847]) and Jacob Beaver (1805–40), born in Millerstown, Perry Co., Pa. His father died in 1840, and his mother remarried in 1845. Presbyterian minister Samuel H. MacDonald moved his new family to Belleville in Mifflin Co., Pa., in the next year and James attended school there and worked on various farms until he went to Pine Grove Academy. When he was seventeen, he entered Jefferson College at Cannonsburg as a junior and graduated in 1856. Beaver settled in Bellefonte, Pa., and began to read law with Hugh N. McAllister, with whom he entered into practice after he passed the bar.

A member of the Bellefonte Fencibles, Beaver went with the company when it was called to defend the Union in Apr. 1861, as Company H, 2nd Regiment of the Pennsylvania Volunteers. Beaver was also colonel of the 148th Pennsylvania Volunteers. He participated in most of the important battles of the Army of the Potomac. Wounded twice, he lost a leg at Chancellorsville and was brevetted as a brigadier general for service at Cold Harbor.

After being defeated once for governor of Pennsylvania, the war hero ran again on the Republican ticket and was elected in 1886, serving 1887–91. L. Bradley Dorr described Benjamin Harrison's inaugural parade to AHHA and proudly told her: "The only thing that was remarkable about the inaugural procession was the great ovation Gen. Beaver received. He was more cheered than the President and it was a common remark there goes our next

President" (L. B. Dorr to AHHA, 12 Mar. 1889, IU, Lilly, SAAH). In 1895, Beaver became a judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

On Christmas Day 1865, he wed Mary Allison McAllister (1842–1926), daughter of Beaver's law partner and his wife, Henrietta Orbison McAllister of Bellefonte. They had four sons, Nelson McAllister (b. 1866), Gilbert Addams (b. 1869), Hugh McAllister (b. 1873), and Thomas B. (b. 1875).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

413 North Charles St Baltimore, Md.

Nov 4" 1886

My dear Alice—

Will you excuse pencil so I can write while the girl is sweeping our sitting room? I came back from Penn. on Monday and found Ma and George both dreadfully depressed, but we are all in good spirits and happy again. George's condition arises solely from his solitude this summer I am sure, and he seems to be throwing it off each day, as he grows more accustomed again to meeting people & naturally less suspicious and sensitive of them.¹ Yesterday afternoon Ma & I drove five miles into the country to pay our party call on the Clark family, we invited Mrs Bradford to go with us and had a delightful afternoon. I had just come from the suburbs of Philadelphia, & was obliged to acknowledge that while they are handsomer than those of Baltimore, these are much more solid & English looking. We had the most delightful sun set & view of the city from the hill, when we came home we found that George had the family tea kettle boiling & supper almost ready & we ended up with a jolly evening. Tuesday afternoon we had a long call from Mrs Franklin & Miss Goddard,² presenting a serious study of the "higher educated woman," in its modern type. Mrs Franklin the only woman who has ever been admitted here & Miss Goddard who has studied for a long time in Cambridge England & who is teaching in the Bryn Mawr school here, they were easy to entertain and very interesting but some way after they had gone I found myself wondering of the advisability of the said education. It is dreadful to be tortured by doubts on a subjects you have been settled upon for years. We are invited to Mrs Brooks this evening to drink tea with the remnant of the art club and to start fresh.³ I hope we will have as pleasant a time as we did last year. I enjoyed my visit with Aunt Elizabeth exceedingly, she had a hemoerrhage Friday night as she has had before. They do not seem to be attended by serious consequences but they depress her very much, so that it seemed almost brutal to leave her at all. Did I write you of hearing Miss Parker?⁴ She is the young lady we knew so well in Paris. Cousin Joe took me down one evening to see her in "Josephine" a very bright little opera. Curiously enough the scence was laid in Paris & she seemed so natural, in all her little movements & graces that it affected me curiously. I met Gen'l Beaver⁵ at Uncle's Monday morning & was delighted to learn of his election Tuesday. Ma sends

her thanks for your kind letter which she received this morning. She says she does not think George will come this fall. He is certainly better, Harry's letter seemed to do him a great deal of good, he had grown so suspicious & doubtful of every-body. I will get you some stationery to day & send it. If you want any portieres or curtainings let me know, they have lovely [bolts?] of it here and very cheap—\$5. 00 will buy & beautiful pair.⁶

Ma sends her love to Harry & yourself in which I most cordially unite. I am feeling so well this fall in a vigorous happy way which I had imagined I should never feel again. It has all commenced from our trip to Colorado, what was it my dear? The mount[ain] air, the vigor & pleasure of yourself so near me, the few days of pure congeniality & happiness with the Playter's, whatever it was it gave me a new start & I am much indebted to you. Ever Your loving Sister

Jane Addams

ALS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:356–60).

1. AHHA wrote to HWH that she was anxious about GBH going to Beaufort, N.C., again for the summer. "[H]is life is a solitary one he makes no friends. He says to me often 'I am queer and everybody thinks so and usually avoid me because of my peculiarities'" (2 Apr. 1886, UIC, JAMC, HJ). GBH was not without company during the summer; however, he was without the support of his mother and stepsister JA that he seemed to require for stability. He set up housekeeping with a fellow researcher, Edmund Beecher Wilson (1856–1939), who became a distinguished biologist. Though both had planned to go with a larger group of professors and students to gather specimens in Nassau, they did not go and remained the entire four months, May–Aug., in Beaufort. They were engaged primarily in investigating seashore marine life and gathering samples to take back to the university for study in the 1886–87 academic year.

2. Alice Goddard, who received an A.B. degree from Cornell Univ. and studied at Zurich and Oxford universities in 1884 and 1885, served the Bryn Mawr School for Girls during its first two years as a teacher of Latin and Greek. She lived at or near the school, which was located at 193 North Eutaw St., near Monument St.

3. During her two years in Baltimore, JA continued her study of the art and artists of the past that she had begun in earnest in Europe. Along with several other women friends, she created an art club that was much like her sister SAAH's art club in Girard. JA secured from her sister a copy of the book the members of the Girard club were using to organize their study (likely *Art Topics*, published by Farrar in Milwaukee, Wis., a copy of which was #516 in the listing of SAAH's library) and formed her group. Begun in 1885, the club survived the summer without meetings to commence once again in the fall of 1886. "[T]he art club is flourishing," JA wrote to SAAH. "We have had two very pleasant Saturday mornings. Our members are Mrs Brooks & Mrs Sternberg of last year, Miss Macy—a friend of Mrs Brooks, Miss Clark, Mrs McDowell (occasionally) with Ma & myself." In the same 24 Nov. 1886 letter, JA asked to be remembered to the ladies of SAAH's art club and wrote, "I remember them as the pleasantest of all the Girard ladies" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:371, 375). JA must have seen her art club not only as educational but also as an opportunity to enhance her social friendships among women.

The club members visited collections of paintings, wrote papers on various artists and their work (their subject for Dec. 1886 was the work of Tommaso di Giovanni Masaccio [1401–28], whose work has been identified as the break point between medieval and Renaissance Florentine art), and offered personal reminiscences of works or collections they had

seen in other locations. Anticipating Martha Sternberg's presentation on the first Byzantium Madonna she ever saw, JA commented, "I regard it a little with fear and trembling for you cannot help associating a little of a Profs learnedness to his wife" (JA to SAAH, 12 Nov. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:363).

Baltimore provided considerable opportunities for art appreciation. In addition to the Walters Gallery and other private collections, there was the Peabody Institute Art Gallery. The Maryland Institute Art School and the Charcoal Club, formed in 1885, promoted art education and served as gathering places for artists. The Decorative Art Society offered art lessons and a place for amateurs to sell their work. At least one of the women of JA's club, Bessy Clark, had her own studio. JA wrote her artistically inclined sister SAAH that Bessy "really does beautiful work" (15 Dec. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:391).

In a move that surprised even herself, JA enrolled in a drawing class. "I have commenced drawing lessons, is n't that amazing! I like it much better then I imagined and it does not make me nervous as I had feared. I will send you a roll of vases, inverted cones &c when I have made a goodly number" (JA to SAAH, 12 Nov. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:363). None of JA's drawing efforts appear to be extant.

A mutual interest in art was one of the things that continued to draw JA and Christine Ladd-Franklin together. JA wrote to sister-in-law LSA that she was "alarmed . . . beyond measure" when Christine Ladd-Franklin asked for her company to review a collection of Rembrandt's works at the Peabody Gallery. JA, with perhaps a hint of pride, reported, "I find that I am unfortunately getting a reputation to know more about art than I do" (1 Dec. 1886, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:380).

JA and Christine Ladd-Franklin may have been gazing at a selection from the Garrett Collection of Prints. The core of the collection was purchased in 1885 and brought to Baltimore from the estate of James L. Claghorn of Philadelphia by Robert Garrett (father of Mary E. Garrett), who at the time was president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co. The collection contained many Rembrandt prints, including engravings, etchings, mezzotints, and aquatints. When the Library of Congress mounted a Rembrandt exhibit to celebrate the tercentenary of the artist's birth, almost half of the prints displayed came from the Garrett Collection.

JA later recalled that she "spent a very pleasant afternoon looking at it" (JA to SAAH, 8 Dec. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:384). Mrs. Ladd-Franklin also made arrangements for JA and the club to see the McCoy art collection on 11 Dec. 1886. After seeing the "magnificent" and "charming" collection, Christine Ladd-Franklin invited JA to join her for luncheon at her home. "[S]he is by all degrees, the most intellectual woman I have ever met, but some times there is just a suggestion of strain about it as if she was more intellectual than she really enjoyed. But her culture is so profound and reaching, her mathematics as it were, being but a preponderating solidity to the other interests, that it was like an education to get glimpses of it," wrote an impressed JA to her artist sister SAAH ([ca. 7] [Jan. 1887], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:409-10).

John W. McCoy (d. 1889), a Baltimore merchant, collector, and art patron, was the first president of the Charcoal Club. A major donor to the Peabody Institute Art Gallery, he presented the centerpiece of the Clytie Room, *Clytie*, by Maryland sculptor William Rhinehart, as well as many other pieces of sculpture in the room. He also provided most of the works in the Gallery of Pictures, which was comprised of the works of Baltimore painters and included paintings of many well-known Baltimore and Maryland citizens. He left his library of eight thousand volumes to Johns Hopkins Univ., along with \$500,000, which the trustees used to construct McCoy Hall in the early 1890s.

4. Louise Parker. See JA to EGS, 21 Feb. 1885, n. 16, above.

5. James Addams Beaver became governor of Pennsylvania.

6. JA apparently performed shopping chores for her siblings, who lived in small towns. Her address book carries the notation "Thos E. Lycette & Co., 65 N. Charles St., Baltimore, For cards & paper" (Addams, ["Address Book, 1883-98"]; *JAPM*, 27:1193). In a 24 Nov. 1886

letter, she asked SAAH: "How do you like the paper and cards, I am quite anxious to hear" (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:369). JA was most concerned that SAAH like the monogram she had selected and had printed for her on Irish linen paper. From the money her sister-in-law had sent for shopping, JA also purchased bookcase curtains of silk from Russia and investigated sideboards and carving boards for SAAH's dining room, suggesting that the oak ones were lovely and much newer than maple.

JA made the same offer to LSA with regard to portieres (material hung vertically in doorways between rooms to help moderate drafts, maintain room warmth in winter, and preserve privacy) as the one she made here to SAAH. LSA (for whom JA had already selected two pillows) must have indicated her interest in acquiring some but as inexpensively as possible, for JA responded, "I think the portieres will be even cheaper after Christmas so that there is no haste about them on that account, when you finally send for them, please give me the length and width of the doors" (1 Dec. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:377-78). JA also selected a smoking jacket, hat, and slippers for SAAH to give to HWH.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Once again Christmas and the end of the year had arrived. During December, the Baltimore Addams family began to send and receive gifts. Anna Addams sent a dressing gown to son Harry, and Jane presented both Alice and Harry Haldeman with an Indian-ware plate, indicating that to her "'Indian ware' dishes" have "always seemed to me the highest luxury."¹ All the gifts being sent from Baltimore had been purchased, wrapped, and sent by 21 December, yet Jane made time to continue her round of intellectual and social activities. In mid-December, she attended a Dante reading in Italian, an illustrated lecture on Rome on a Monday evening, a lecture on Greek art on a Tuesday afternoon, and a lecture on biology on a Tuesday evening. She entertained her whist club on Friday² and met with her art club on Monday afternoon. In between she visited missions, read, wrote letters, had a dress made, and called on friends. Despite the whirl of activity she still felt the tug of kinship ties and longed for a fuller holiday experience: "Xmas is certainly a home sick time all around, it is too bad that we cannot be together, 'absence cannot affect our love' can it my dear,"³ she wrote to her sister Sarah.

My dearest Alice

413 North Chas St Baltimore, [Md.]

Dec 28" 1886

The box with its dainty contents was greatly enjoyed and appreciated. It came Thursday evening, I had been out helping Mrs Brooks with her Christmas tree and was full of the Christmas spirit when we opened it. You were very kind, my dear, to give us what you made yourself. Mrs Brooks had invited us there for Christmas eve, but the weather was atrocious and as Mr Dorr & Mr Lemen⁴ came to spend the evening, we got up as much Christmas eve as we could with nuts & candy and staid at home.

We received some friendly calls Christmas morning and our dinner was increased by presents of plum pudding and mince pie. We had asked Miss Kate and Mary Mayer to take tea with us and go to the German opera, the Thalia

Company which is here now. We had a merry evening. In the afternoon I had been up with the old colored women with some little presents, and into a little colored orphan asylum I have grown quite interested in. They take little colored girls and keep them until they are fifteen, training them to be good servants, the children themselves expecting to be that and having an ambition for a good place. I heartily approve of the scheme.⁵

On Sunday I went home with the Clarks from church to their Sunday dinner, they have a big family and live elegantly & yet are not “philestines,” it was a great pleasure to me.

The art club met in full force yesterday afternoon, and in honor of the festive time we served a little collation, successfully.

Packages have been arriving from all directions, the last two days. Miss Anderson sent me a very pretty pin cushion. Ellen[,] Mattie & Flora⁶ little remembrances, Weber & Laura⁷ <sent a> very pretty silver filigree locket <to me & pin for Ma> and Mary’s⁸ box came this morning with cakes and presents. Dear Alice, you must take care of your rheumatism, why don’t you begin with a regular course of treatment before it becomes settled and chronic. I think you and Lizzie⁹ must be champion candy makers, I have an elaborate German recipe for “marzipan” which I want to try some time and hope I can try it with you. You have been much in my thoughts all this Christmas time. Please thank Miss Aggie Playter for the dear little greeting she sent us. I sent Mrs Play[ter]¹⁰ a card from the Decorative Art¹¹ & have been looking at “Black & White Magic” one of the books Mr Playter suggested, so that altogether my head has been full of Colo. <It> Was as delightful trip was n’t it dear? Ma & Geo send much love to you both. Always Your

Jane.

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:402–6).

1. JA to SAAH, 21 Dec. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:392.

2. “We entertained the whist club Friday evening, we had ices, cake and black coffee for sixteen people, the refreshments were a success but there were so many strangers among the guests that it was not easy as it might have been—however we enjoyed the evening” (JA to SAAH, 15 Dec. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:391).

3. JA to SAAH, 15 Dec. 1886, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:391.

4. William Samuel Lemen.

5. The Johns Hopkins Colored Orphan Asylum. See introduction to part 3, above.

6. EGS, Mattie Thomas Greene, and Flora Guiteau.

7. JWA and LSA.

8. MCAL.

9. Lizzie Blanch. See JA to SAAH, 24 Apr. 1883, n. 13, above.

10. Eva and Joseph H. Playter had recommended *Black and White Magic*, by William C. Hartmann (b. 1869).

11. JA refers to the Decorative Art Society in Baltimore (see introduction to part 3, n. 15, above).

Part 4

DISCOVERING
A USEFUL WAY,
1887–88



Jane Addams, ca. 1887–88. (Normal Photographic Studio, Geneseo, Illinois; JAPP, DeLoach)

Introduction



For Jane Addams, 1887 and 1888 were pivotal years, a transition between her life as a diligent daughter and maiden aunt in the Addams, Haldeman, and Linn families and the life she would begin to create for herself as a dedicated social reformer and champion for democracy. Although she was called to family duty in 1887 by the pregnancies of her sisters Mary Linn and Alice Haldeman, Jane remained steadfast in her continuing commitment to Rockford Female Seminary and strengthened her friendships with women outside her family. She separated herself from Anna Addams and George Haldeman and their plans and she continued her education through reading, study, and foreign travel. It was during these two years that her education and experiences, her personal development and interests, and her need to find a useful and fulfilling future resulted in a vision for a life's work. In her mind, the catalyst for that awakening was associated with her second trip to Europe, December 1887 through July 1888.

In January 1887, the Addams-Haldeman household was packing, bidding good-bye to assorted friends, and preparing to leave Baltimore. George Haldeman, determined to continue his education in Europe like his brother, Harry, before him, had given up Johns Hopkins University. Anna Addams, always concerned for George's health, decided that before he set out for study in Leipzig, he should rest and gather strength under her care in Melrose near Green Cove Springs, Florida, her favorite vacation destination. They expected Jane to go with them, but she hesitated.¹ Near the end of January 1887, as mother and son left for Florida, Jane traveled north to visit Weber and Addams relatives in the Philadelphia area and to investigate New York City with her aunt Elizabeth Weber Reiff.² Soon, Jane was back in the Midwest. She made an unexpectedly hurried trip to Lake Forest, Illinois, at the end of February, when she discovered that sister Mary Linn's new baby, Charles Hodge, had arrived at least a month early on 18 February 1887, while her sister was alone.³ Shortly after the birth and

with the help of Jane, the Linns moved from Lake Forest, thirty miles north of Chicago near Lake Michigan, to Geneseo, in west-central Illinois, where Rev. John M. Linn had become pastor of the Presbyterian church.⁴

Even before Jane left Baltimore, sister Alice Haldeman began imploring her to visit Girard, Kansas, during the summer. Jane demurred, reminding her sister that “[i]t is your year you know to come to Cedarville and for our visit there. I will be glad for a summer at Cedarville.”⁵ When Alice reported that she was expecting her first child in June (although she wanted to keep it a secret even from family),⁶ Jane agreed to go. After Anna Marcet Haldeman was born on 18 June 1887, Jane remained to assist the new family for at least a month. She continued to develop friendships begun in Girard on previous visits,⁷ spend time with her new niece, and plan for the European adventure she had proposed to her good friend Ellen Gates Starr in 1885. “I share your regard for Spain, and were it not for the cholera scare, we would probably have spent this winter in the south of France and Spain,” Jane wrote to Ellen from Europe. “It is hardly prudent to face all the inconveniences of quarantine and suspicion this winter, and hence Spain must wait for the ‘next trip.’ Is it among the utter impossibilities that we view the Alhambra and Escorial together?”⁸ By August 1887, stepbrother George Haldeman had finally set off for study in Europe, going without Anna or Jane.⁹ At the insistence of his mother, he had delayed his departure until after his niece was born. He left before Jane returned to Cedarville from Girard, and he returned home from Leipzig worn out and disheartened three months later¹⁰ while Jane was in the midst of firming up plans for her own European travel.



Ellen Gates Starr, ca. 1880s. (Melander Photographers, Chicago; SCPC, JAC)



Sarah F. Anderson had been Jane Addams's teacher at Rockford Female Seminary. After Jane Addams graduated from the seminary, Sarah Anderson, Jane Addams, and Ellen Gates Starr became close friends. They looked forward to experiencing Europe together. (RC)

Throughout 1887, Jane Addams deepened her already-close ties with Rockford Female Seminary.¹¹ She visited her alma mater several times and became a full-fledged trustee of the school at the 20 June 1887 meeting of the trustees, at which her special gift of \$1,000 to purchase scientific books for the seminary's library was recognized. After a Reunion Association gathering in Oak Park, Illinois,¹² she returned to Cedarville intent on initiating a similar organization locally. On 7 November 1887, in the midst of her preparations for Europe, she sent out a call to former seminary students and teachers living in the Stephenson County, Illinois, area, inviting them to the first meeting of the Rockford Seminary Reunion Association for Stephenson County on 12 November in Freeport.¹³

Jane had begun to plan her return to Europe before she left Baltimore. She would go with friends as a single, independent, 27-year-old woman and without Anna Addams or other family members as companions. "In case Ma goes [to Europe with George]," she told sister Alice, "I would spend the summer with Weber, most of it at least, probably go abroad in the fall with Ellen Starr, we would go directly to Spain and then to Rome and southern Italy for the winter."¹⁴ Correspondence and visits with close friends Ellen Gates Starr and Rockford Female Seminary faculty member Sarah Anderson finally confirmed the core party of three.¹⁵

Ellen Starr had decided to take off the entire academic year of 1887–88 from teaching at Miss Kirkland's School for Girls in Chicago. For the fall of 1887 she had been engaged to escort two young Chicago women to Europe. Frances and Annie Kales,¹⁶ students at Miss Kirkland's, were grandchildren of noted Chicago physician Nathan S. Davis and his wife Anna M. Parker Davis,¹⁷ who were friends and neighbors of Ellen's aunt Eliza Allen Starr.¹⁸ By October 1887, Ellen and her charges were in Germany.¹⁹ Jane had hoped to join her there as

early as November, but it was 14 December 1887 before Jane and Sarah Anderson, accompanied by Sarah Anderson's relative, John Bickel,²⁰ sailed from the Hoboken, New Jersey, harbor for Europe.

After bidding farewell to family and friends in Cedarville and Freeport,²¹ Jane spent Thanksgiving weekend with her sister Mary Linn and her family in Geneseo. "Mary had a sixteen pound turkey, the old home cut cakes and a Cedarville dinner in all the details."²² It was also a family gathering in honor of Jane's leave-taking, although only Sadie, daughter of John and Laura Addams, came. Laura Jane Forbes (for whom Jane was named) and her daughter visited, and Jane also had an opportunity to discuss travel plans with Sarah Anderson and John Bickel.

Jane Addams left Geneseo for Chicago on Monday, 5 December, accompanied by Rev. John M. Linn. Before she boarded her train for Philadelphia, where she would spend a few days with Addams and Weber relatives, she visited Ellen Gates Starr's aunt Eliza Allen Starr. "We called on Miss Starr in Chicago," Jane reported to Laura Addams, "she has gotten us letters to the Major Domo of the Vatican from Arch Bishop Fesham, who will doubtless draw us into the Mother Church with silken cords."²³ On 6 December, cousin Joseph L. Reiff met Jane and whisked her by the Young family home in Philadelphia before they boarded the train for her aunt Elizabeth Weber Reiff's home in Ambler, Pennsylvania, only thirty miles away. There she visited aunts and great-aunts in nearby Norristown and was in turn visited by cousins and aunts. On 9 December, she went into Philadelphia with her cousin Clara Young; did some errands; called on Rachel Bodley,²⁴ dean at the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania; and had tea and supper with cousin Anna Young and her husband James Mohr. Her Weber relatives treated her visit and anticipated departure for Europe as a very special occasion, almost as if they feared she would not return. "Saturday Auntie gave us one of her famous dinners which she announced was in my honor," explained Jane, "and all the clan were on hand but Charles & Dorothy and their two devoted nurses."²⁵ It was a hectic time with a flurry of farewells that kept her busy. "Just as well may be," JA thought, "to prevent too much reflection."²⁶ Anticipating the excitement of the adventure, probably dreading the seasickness that had plagued her last voyage across the Atlantic,²⁷ and feeling anxiety for those she was leaving behind, she wrote sister Alice, "[H]ow constantly you are in my thoughts & how dear you are to me when I find myself going so far from what I love most. Don't worry about me, I expect to [be] well and happy all of the time."²⁸ On Tuesday morning, 13 December, she met Sarah Anderson and John Bickel in Philadelphia and they left by train for New York City. After supper in New York, they boarded their ship, the *Trave*,²⁹ and departed the next morning, 14 December, at 6:00 A.M.

The Addams-Anderson party reached Southampton, England, on 22 December 1887, took a boat across the channel to Le Havre, France, and then the train into Paris. Arriving on Christmas Eve, they began immediately to enjoy

Paris in its holiday gaiety.³⁰ Ellen Gates Starr, who was already in Europe with the Kales girls, planned to spend the Christmas holiday week with a friend of her sister in Halle, Germany.³¹ Ellen and Jane expected to meet in Munich near New Year's Day. Sarah Anderson decided to explore the northern German cities of Cologne, Berlin, Dresden, and Nuremberg on her way to Munich,³² and since Jane had already seen those cities, she decided to go on to Stuttgart with John Bickel in order to meet his family and friends.³³ She traveled on her own by train through Ulm³⁴ to Munich, where she found Ellen and Annie Kales³⁵ on the last day of the year. Jane seemed delighted that "Ellen had engaged a double room" for the two of them, "very cheap and exceedingly comfortable,"³⁶ and the friends spent the first week in January in Munich waiting for Sarah Anderson to complete her tour of Germany. Their grand European adventure together was about to begin.

Besides John Bickel, nine women at different times composed the group that traveled with Jane Addams throughout her stay in Europe. In addition to Ellen Gates Starr and Sarah Anderson, they were Helen Harrington,³⁷ a member of the Rockford Female Seminary class of 1881; Amelia Maria Collins Rowell,³⁸ a recently widowed friend of Anna Addams from Freeport, Illinois; Flora Guiteau,³⁹ Jane's childhood friend from Cedarville, Illinois; and four young women whom Ellen Gates Starr was escorting around Europe: Fannie and Annie Kales, Matilda "Tilly" Peasley of Chicago,⁴⁰ and Mary D. Breckinridge of Louisville, Kentucky,⁴¹ all Ellen's students from Miss Kirkland's School for Girls.

At noon on 11 January 1888, Jane, Ellen, Sarah, and Annie Kales began their rapid journey through the cold winter of northern Europe, stopping at Chiemsee, Bavaria,⁴² and Brenner, Austria,⁴³ and then hurrying on south into the relative warmth of Italy through the Dolomite Mountains into Verona, Mantua, and Modena, with stops in Parma and Bologna.⁴⁴ They spent a day in Ravenna⁴⁵ and two weeks in Florence⁴⁶ with a brief stop in Orvieto⁴⁷ before settling in Rome on 3 February 1888 for an extended stay.⁴⁸ In early March, Annie Kales traveled north from Rome to join her sister Fannie in Paris. While Sarah Anderson and Ellen Starr went into southern Italy via Monte Casino to see Naples and Mt. Vesuvius,⁴⁹ Jane remained alone in Rome recovering from an incapacitating attack of sciatica but taking day trips into the countryside as she felt able.⁵⁰ As she waited for her two friends to return from southern Italy, Jane anticipated the arrival of Helen Harrington, who eventually joined the three women in Florence over Easter.⁵¹ As the travelers wended their way north, Jane, fearful of another attack of sciatica, moved on to Genoa to meet Amelia Rowell and seek the warmth of the Riviera⁵² while Ellen Starr, Sarah Anderson, and Helen Harrington investigated Venice. There Helen fell ill and remained for a time with Ellen and Sarah as nurses.⁵³ Shortly after Jane and Amelia Rowell entered Spain via Barcelona, Ellen Starr left Venice and met Jane in Barcelona so they could experience Spain together as they had intended. Sarah Anderson caught up with the two women and Mrs. Rowell in Madrid, but the reunited travelers



Map indicating the route the Addams party traveled in 1887–88, which begins in Southampton, England, and ends in Glasgow, Scotland.

did not see Helen Harrington again until they reached Paris. After a busy month in Spain, Morocco, and Gibraltar,⁵⁴ Ellen Starr left for Paris to meet her two new charges, Tilly Peasley and Mary Breckinridge, while Jane and Mrs. Rowell took a more leisurely pace through the Pyrenees Mountains and into Paris. There Amelia Rowell left the group, which now consisted of Jane, Sarah Anderson, and Ellen Starr with Tilly Peasley and Mary Breckinridge. After touring Gothic cathedrals in northern France at Rouen, Amiens, and Rheims,⁵⁵ Ellen Starr, Tilly, and Mary began their journey south into Italy, while Jane Addams and Sarah Anderson crossed the channel to spend several days at Canterbury before moving on to London.⁵⁶ After Sarah Anderson and Helen Harrington left London to journey back to the United States through Scotland, Jane and Mrs. Rowell, who had joined the party once again in London, went on to Southampton to meet Flora Guiteau, who expected a summer of sightseeing in Europe with Jane. The three women traveled back to London. When Jane decided to return home earlier than she had planned, she made arrangements for Flora to visit the European continent with another group of travelers, one of whom was from the Rockford area.⁵⁷ Mrs. Rowell set off on her own to view some of the cathedrals of England, and Jane traveled to Glasgow where she caught up once again with Sarah Anderson, Helen Harrington, and the Kales girls, one of whom, Fannie, decided to join Sarah, Helen, and Jane on their trip home. They left Glasgow on 19 July 1888.

In preparation for the various venues on their sometimes fast-paced itinerary, the women consulted guidebooks, travel literature, and critical essays on the art, architecture, and culture of the countries they visited. Throughout Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, Karl Baedeker's guides offered basic information about what to see and do.⁵⁸ Jane apparently found the travel writings of William Dean Howells on Italy especially enlightening.⁵⁹ Karl Baedeker had not yet crafted a guide for Spain, and it seems that the party relied heavily on *A Summer in Spain*, written by Claudia Hamilton Ramsay about her six-month journey through Spain in 1872 with a female friend.⁶⁰ For guidance on art and architecture, they continually consulted works by John Ruskin, whose opinions Ellen Starr valued highly.⁶¹

The party also tried to learn the rudiments of Italian and Spanish while they were in Italy. They began taking Italian lessons in Munich and continued with them during their lengthy stays in Florence and in Rome. In Florence, Jane and Ellen secured the services of two different teachers. "We have had a very amusing time with our Italian teachers, we engaged a Signor to come three times a week. He is a very good teacher but just a trifle expensive and ponderous. Ellen and I impressed him so favorably with our Latin the first lesson, that we occasionally grow tired to meeting his high expectations. So we have diversified by an animated Italian woman, old wicked and vivacious who spends most of the hour in abusing the methods and pronounciation of the 'other man', but as she does it Italian and as abusive <language> is one of the first thing[s] a traveller in

Italy requires, we are quite content, and get on famously.”⁶² Even though Ellen believed that they hadn’t “time to study seriously” before they left Florence, she was impressed with Jane’s prowess with the new language. “She already carries on animated conversations with the populace while I stand by in wonder and admiration,” she reported to Anna Addams.⁶³ Jane herself seems to have been proud but somewhat chagrined about her efforts to use her Italian language skills in public. “I covered myself with glory the other day in the cars by making a witty remark in Italian. The Italian trains move so slowly and deliberately that it is hard to tell when they start, someone asked if we had started, when I quoted Galileo’s famous sentence ‘it does move for all that’—*E si per muove*.⁶⁴ Several Italians in the train recognized the sentence and the appropo application, with delight, <but> immediately began with questions on the American trains &c which I was totally unable to understand or reply to—in my exceedingly limited vocabulary—illustrating the evil results of ‘showing off.’”⁶⁵ By late January, Jane indicated that they were “very impatient to learn to speak” Italian before arriving “among the country people of southern Italy.”⁶⁶ Two weeks later a frustrated Jane Addams was forced to admit: “We are having such dreadful struggles with Italian.”⁶⁷ Although the travelers attempted to learn Spanish beginning in Rome, while they were in Spain they were never in one place long enough to make a concerted attempt to learn and use the language.

“I am quite impressed with the difference in my age and dignity between this trip in Europe and the one before,” Jane Addams told her sister Alice. “Then I was Mademoiselle and Fraulein and I felt like a young girl. . . . Everywhere it was ‘Madame’ with <the> utmost respect and I felt perfectly at my ease and dignified all the time.”⁶⁸ She relished her newfound freedom as an independent woman of means. She was also pleased with her familiarity with the environment and customs that her former European experiences provided. It was exhilarating, especially at the start, to greet Paris acquaintances from her last visit and discover she could find her way around quite comfortably.⁶⁹ Italy proved no challenge either. “I enjoy Florence greatly and the freedom and ease of familiarity, which allows me to dispense with guide books and plans,” she noted to George.⁷⁰ To Alice, she proudly reported, “I quite enjoy the elegance of going about without a guide book and as an old habitué” of Florence.⁷¹

Throughout their journey, and often with Jane as their leader, the three women avidly explored the major sights of the towns and countryside they moved through. Jane seems to have been determined to travel at a more leisurely pace during this trip than she had during the first year of her first visit to Europe. “I am enjoying it all so much better than before,” she wrote to her sister Alice. “Have lost that morbid thirst for information and doing which simply consumes American travellers and certainly did me the last time.”⁷² Beginning at Ulm, her first solo visit to a cathedral, she seems to have been particularly interested in cathedral architecture and art, especially in the early Christians and their art.

She was fascinated by the Old Catholic movement and reported herself “totally unprepared” for the beauty and faithfulness exhibited in the “early Christian mosaics” at Ravenna.⁷³ She explored the major churches and cathedrals in each place she visited in Italy and Spain and made a special effort to investigate the Gothic structures in northern France. She wanted her friends to experience the Italian art, music, and culture she had already studied and to see it anew with them. From Florence, she wrote that Sarah’s “instincts in art are so fine.”⁷⁴ Of Ellen, Jane reported that she “has a method of her own of ignoring all the pictures she does not care for, and enthusiastically loving those she does, it is the best possible influence in the world for me and while Miss Anderson takes a half day, conscientious picture-seeing,” they would “go away to croon over and enjoy” those they found appealing.⁷⁵

From the time Jane and her party left Munich until they reached Rome, they were constantly together. They traveled, prepared for sightseeing, and then saw the major sights together in each place they stopped. They also attended church and opera and other musical events,⁷⁶ purchased photographs⁷⁷ and mementos,⁷⁸ mended and cleaned clothes, and wrote letters home. All of the travelers wanted to keep their families in the United States apprised of their progress and experiences. As she had during her first European trip in 1883–85, Jane Addams wrote “circular letters” to be shared among all of her siblings and their families, excepting Anna Addams and George Haldeman, to whom she wrote separate letters. She hoped that her sister Alice would once again gather her circular letters into a journal that would serve as a record of the trip. “Dear Alice,” Jane wrote on her way to Stuttgart from Paris, “[I]f you have time for the Journal I shall be much obliged, but never worry yourself in regard to it. I will begin the circular letters soon.”⁷⁹ With her first circular letter, written 20 January 1888, she decried the practice to her siblings. “It is so long since I have had time deliberately to write a descriptive letter that I shall have to ask you to send this one to three places, although I had thought that during this trip I could dispense with ‘circular letters.’”⁸⁰ Lack of time created some gaps in her circular letter system, for she did not write as many letters during this trip as she had during her first European venture. Instead, she tried to write to individual family members, who often shared their letters. Sometimes Jane wrote the same information in almost the same language to two different recipients.⁸¹ “I can scarcely remember what I have written to whom, and mean to be more systematic,” she told Alice late in January 1888.⁸²

While she completely discarded the circular letter system during her illness in Rome, she hoped to take it up once again as she journeyed into unfamiliar territory along the Riviera and through Spain. “We have seen so much [that is] interesting during the past week and hav[e seen] it so fast,” Jane wrote to sister Alice from the Riviera, “that I think I shall have to [make a] circular letter out of it, after the old pla[n. I] think that I shall keep it up, through Sp[ain as] it is

simply impossible to write much when [we] are travelling so rapidly. I will ask you to [send] them to Mary and her to send them [to Weber,] if they reach him last Laura may want [to use] parts of them in her Spanish class.”⁸³

Jane Addams also kept notebooks in which she recorded her daily activities and thoughts. Years later in 1910, when she wrote *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, she mentioned reactions jotted in a notebook in connection with her visit to Ulm Cathedral.⁸⁴ Sarah Anderson wrote that while the women were in Rome, Jane “wrote for a time in her note book.”⁸⁵ Unfortunately, these notebooks are no longer extant. Any letters that Sarah Anderson wrote to her family are also no longer extant,⁸⁶ but some of the circular letters that Ellen wrote home to parents and siblings have survived. “I hope you will all understand,” she explained to them, “that it isn’t because I consider my letters <of> so extraordinary value that I request them circulated, but because I want to reach you all & cannot do it otherwise.”⁸⁷

While this trip in Europe was to be educational, it was also to be a special time for the three friends to share an experience together. Sarah Anderson reported to Alice Haldeman: “We are having a good time.”⁸⁸ For Ellen it was a particularly precious experience; it was the first time since Rockford Seminary days that she and Jane had spent a long period of time together. For Jane it seemed to be the intellectual and visual stimulation she craved. “I have seldom in my life had a happier week than we have had together,” Jane reported from Munich. “We have spent the mornings in the galleries especially over the fine collections of Dürer & Holbein drawings, we have begun Italian enthusiastically. Ellen had lessons one winter & with what I knew before, it puts us about even; ~~and~~ We have simply talked & <visited> until we were exhausted. I have always loved Dürer but never got him so clearly as I have this time. Raphael himself positively pales beside him.”⁸⁹ While Ellen found Dürer her “best friend in Germany,” she also delighted in Jane’s “instinct in art,” which she found “something very special” and “a great help.”⁹⁰ Ellen shared her admiration for Jane with Anna Addams and indicated that she wished she could be more like her friend.⁹¹ In mid-February Ellen informed her mother and father that “Jane is so good, so dear & lovely in every way! I wish you knew her as I do. I don’t often remember that I am using her money, & when I do it is no trouble to me. I like to use it. There aren’t many people that one could say that of, are there? I love her so much that money makes no difference, & if I thought it wise & best, I could borrow money of her exactly as if she hadn’t given it me.” She continued enthusiastically: “Certainly the year has held a great deal of happiness for me. Jeannie & I have such beautiful days together! We see things in the same way, except that she always sees better than I do, & helps me very much, as she always has, ever since I knew her.”⁹² From Rome, Jane commented to Anna that Ellen was “a constant source of delight” and that they had “had such a pleasant winter together.”⁹³

For the duration of the trip, Ellen’s devotion to Jane never wavered. Ellen quickly found fault with their other traveling companions, especially those who

absorbed Jane's time, but never with Jane or with Sarah Anderson. "I know you" and Jane "will always love me, no matter how many faults & follies I have & you find out, & no matter how ugly & poky & stupid I get. I don't feel that I have to keep up anything with you. What a blessed thing that is, isn't it? After all the old friends have something for us that nobody else can take the place of. There are so many dear things in our years of knowing each other, dear Sally, & I think they grow dearer as time goes on. It's a blessing to feel that people care enough for me to 'weather' one's manifold weaknesses & wickednesses. Mine feel pretty heavy in my hands sometimes."⁹⁴ She found Annie Kales thoughtless and silly. "Poor Annie! I really am sorry for her. I needn't be. She is perfectly happy. We are all remarkably patient with her, & her perceptions are too blunt to see how trying she is. . . . She never sees anything. It never occurs to her to buy anything for the general use, but she always uses all our books & maps. I tell you all these things," she wrote her mother and father, "because I want you to see what a trying person she has been to me, & that it isn't my unreasonableness."⁹⁵

Although she anticipated the addition of Helen Harrington and Amelia Rowell to the group as "an advantage," Ellen was soon displeased with both of them. Of Amelia Rowell she said, "I don't think she is quite a lady, from some things she has said in her letters," but she did concede that Rowell was a "good traveler."⁹⁶ Later, she offered, "I fancy Mrs. Rowell is going to be more or less a trial. I fear poor Jeannie regrets letting her fasten to her. She is always doing that kind of thing from generosity."⁹⁷ From Seville, Ellen wrote bitingly of Mrs. Rowell that if she "had any grace of manner it would be better. As the old lady of her party, it looked very strange for her not to take the lead, & looks quite as peculiar if she does."⁹⁸ Ellen found it off-putting that Amelia traveled first class and not with them in second-class cars. From Venice, Ellen wrote that Helen Harrington was "rather wearing. (She has a dreadful, whiney voice)"⁹⁹ and that she had exchanged her winter clothes for lighter ones too quickly and become ill. Sarah and Ellen had to care for her in Venice when Ellen especially was anxious to join Jane in Spain.

When Ellen went with Sarah Anderson to Naples, she wrote emotion-filled letters to Jane in Rome and to Alice Haldeman that revealed her attachment to her friend.¹⁰⁰ Sarah Anderson, friend to both young women, saw their closeness and approved. "Ellen is a great help to Jane. She is so devoted to her and I think one can take so many things, so many kinds of assistance from one that they are fond of, when they could not from an ordinary person. . . . Ellen is invaluable & I am so glad that Jane has her."¹⁰¹ Sarah Anderson also loved and admired the woman Jane was becoming. "You are a dear, patient woman," she wrote to Jane, who was recovering from illness in Rome. "If I had been in your shoes, I would have acted very badly, and been uncomfortable myself & made every body else so. I hope I shall grow better, I am always hoping, but not doing." She continued, "I miss you and wish for you."¹⁰²

Besides Ellen's disappointment in the manners of her charge Annie Kales,¹⁰³ who left the party early in March 1888 to join her sister in Paris, and the extraordinarily cold weather in Europe,¹⁰⁴ the group encountered few problems during their first two months of travel. They settled comfortably in Rome and began to investigate the city. Ellen used letters of introduction from her aunt Eliza Allen Starr to assorted Catholic officials to obtain passes and tickets to various Vatican events. They explored St. Peter's,¹⁰⁵ planned to see the pope's priesthood jubilee gifts,¹⁰⁶ and attended a beatification ceremony.¹⁰⁷ Then, their world changed dramatically.

On 16 February 1888, Jane received letters that were dated approximately three weeks earlier that revealed that two-year-old Little Mary Linn, youngest child of sister Mary Catherine Addams and Rev. John M. Linn, had died of whooping cough. It was a shock. "I never dreamed I should not see her again," wrote Jane to her sister Alice.¹⁰⁸ About five days later, a second disaster struck. Jane was put to bed with a severe attack of sciatica. "[O]ur beloved Jeannie (she hasn't Roman fever. Offer your hymn of thanksgiving at this point.) is suffering from a 'nasty,' (we have an English physician) contemptible, afflicting visitation; namely, sciatica. She has been in bed for two days, this being the third, and seems to be quite well except when the abominable spasms of pain tie her in knots, which occurs whenever her leg has to be moved," Ellen reported to Alice Haldeman, continuing, "Jeannie is very bright & cheerful, & patient, as she is always, bless her!" Despite the fact that Jane hired a nurse to attend her, for, as Ellen put it, "she is very unwilling to have us stay in from doing our duty by Rome,"¹⁰⁹ her traveling companions were also required to help. Their adventure together was no longer a joyful lark.

As Jane improved, she was finally able to prevail upon her two friends to leave her behind to recuperate in Rome¹¹⁰ and undertake the travel into southern Italy that the group had planned. When Jane could manage to walk short distances and take care of herself, Ellen and Sarah left for Monte Cassino and Naples. Ellen was terribly disappointed and missed Jane. Of their planned visit to Monte Cassino, a dismayed Ellen wrote, "[I]t is very hard for me to be reconciled to not being able to give you the only thing I could give you that you couldn't get as well for yourself."¹¹¹ While Ellen's letters from southern Italy to Jane were effusive in revealing her devotion, they also indicate that Ellen chided Jane for being focused on her feeling of "uselessness."¹¹² Jane's self-examination may have been brought on in part by the despair she felt at being away and useless to family at the time of Little Mary's death, by her own incapacitating illness, and by her recognition that she was almost thirty years old and without a decided purpose in her life.

If Jane had missed her eagerly anticipated trip to southern Italy, she was determined not to give up her longed-for journey through Spain. That segment of her itinerary began in earnest at Barcelona with Amelia Rowell. By 22 April 1888, Ellen and Sarah had left Venice and joined Jane in Madrid, and the core

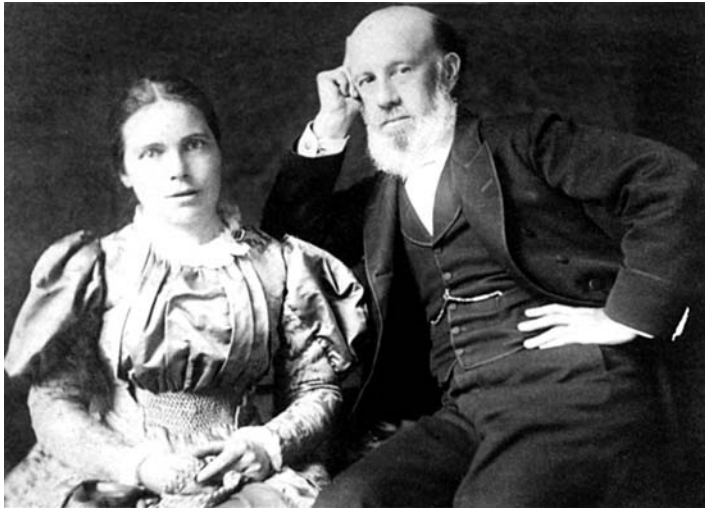
group of friends shared Spain together.¹¹³ For Jane Addams one of the most important events of her stay in Spain took place in Madrid. At the urging of Mrs. Harriet Brewster Vizcarrondo,¹¹⁴ an American woman who had lived for a number of years in Spain, Jane, Ellen, and Sarah attended a bullfight. Claudia Hamilton Ramsay, describing the spectacle in some detail in her travel memoir *A Summer in Spain*, declared that “[a]nything more utterly disgusting and brutal I never beheld, and hope never to see the like again.”¹¹⁵ Since Jane and her companions were using her volume as a guide, they must have been somewhat prepared for what they were to experience. Sarah and Ellen left the arena early, but Jane remained to the end. According to Jane, her reaction to the bloody, colorful, and exhilarating show caused her to further examine her purpose in life, something she had been ruminating about for some time. Although she reported in *Twenty Years at Hull-House* that for the next several days she began discussing a possible plan for securing a useful life, there seems to be no extant correspondence or diary for that period that permits verification.¹¹⁶ The travelers continued on their way, stopping in Toledo, Cordova, and Seville, where they visited a cigar manufactory that employed women.¹¹⁷ Next came a brief visit to Tangier, where they explored the culture of that North African area and investigated a mission hospital before journeying to the Alhambra in Granada,¹¹⁸ after which they traveled by train north to Burgos.¹¹⁹ There Ellen and Sarah left the group to reach Paris in time to meet Matilda Peasley and Mary Breckinridge. Jane and Mrs. Rowell visited San Sebastian, where Jane discovered a girls’ school established by missionary Alice W. Gordon Gulick, with whom she established a lifelong acquaintance.¹²⁰

William and Alice Gulick,¹²¹ members of a dedicated, illustrious, and far-flung Congregational missionary family, had settled in San Sebastian in 1881 and spent the remainder of their mission lives in Spain. It is likely that it was the Gulicks who encouraged Jane to attend the World Centennial of Foreign Missions conference in London, held on 9–19 June 1888. They certainly knew of the conference, as did many foreign missionaries. It was the first international gathering of representatives from the missions of different denominations that had ever been held. William’s brother, John T. Gulick,¹²² at the time a missionary in Japan, was to attend and would speak at the meeting. Before she returned once again in England, Jane had made plans to attend the event.¹²³

After two weeks in Paris to sightsee and make purchases to take home,¹²⁴ Jane gathered Sarah, Helen, Ellen, Matilda, and Mary and they set out for the cities of northern France. They went quickly and focused their visits on cathedrals.¹²⁵ After Ellen and her charges left for Switzerland and Italy on 4 June, Jane and her two friends went to Rheims before crossing the channel to explore the cathedral at Canterbury.

In Canterbury, quite by happenstance, it is possible that another meeting of significance for Jane Addams took place.¹²⁶ During her investigations of Canterbury Cathedral, Jane was befriended by Matilda Parry, the wife of Edward

Parry, the bishop suffragan of Dover,¹²⁷ who managed Canterbury Cathedral for the archbishop of Canterbury. Mrs. Parry invited Jane and her friends to a social gathering at which Jane had an opportunity to meet and speak informally with Canon William Henry Fremantle.¹²⁸ He was one of the leaders in the movement that spawned the development of Toynbee Hall, which was already becoming famous as the first social settlement experiment in England. Fremantle, who was associated with the Broad Church movement in England, “believed that Christians had a particular mission to preach not only the gospel but also civilization to the poor.”¹²⁹ He argued “that the church was organized in the state for civic purposes and through ecclesiastical institutions for religious worship.”¹³⁰ Fremantle was a mentor to Rev. Samuel A. Barnett,¹³¹ the persistent, organized, and dedicated vicar of St. Jude’s Parish in London who with his creative, caring, and determined wife Henrietta¹³² led the effort to found Toynbee Hall. Fremantle was well versed in the social settlement ideas and activities from which Toynbee Hall had evolved¹³³ and was familiar with the current settlement program. Meeting Jane Addams and perhaps hearing her reveal some of her own hopes and developing ideas, he may have taken the opportunity to describe the Toynbee Hall plan. He must have encouraged her to visit Toynbee Hall while she was in London because she recalled that he gave her a letter of introduction. “I found myself at Toynbee Hall equipped not only with a letter of introduction from Canon Fremantle, but with high expectations and a certain belief that whatever perplexities and discouragement concerning the life of the poor were in store for me, I should at least know something at first hand and have the solace of daily activity.”¹³⁴



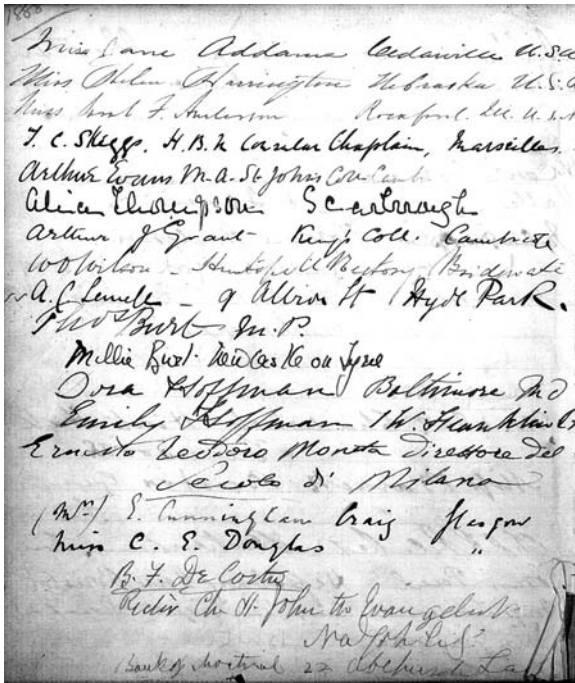
Henrietta O. Barnett and Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Warden, Toynbee Hall, London, ca. 1880s. (Barnett Research Centre, Toynbee Hall [Special Collections—Photographs], London, England)

The World Centennial of Foreign Missions conference was already under way when Jane, Sarah, and Helen arrived in London on 10 June 1888.¹³⁵ The women found lodgings and began to attend the open sessions of the conference, which they could go to without being registered as missionaries. These included three public presentations on Islam, Buddhism, and other religions associated with the Orient; missions of the Roman Catholic church; and three public sessions on aspects of the relationship between Protestant churches and their foreign missions. There were also a number of special public meetings on missions to Jews, missions by women for women, and medical missions. Most of the delegates were from England and the United States; the U.S. delegation included representatives from eight institutions headquartered in Chicago.¹³⁶

Although there was some sightseeing to be done to introduce Sarah Anderson and Helen Harrington to London, Jane was pleased to have time in the city without the responsibilities of acting as an experienced guide. She also continued to serve as a purchasing agent for friends and family. Alice wanted Jane to secure the services of a talented miniature portrait artist while she was in Europe to have a painting of Marcet executed. Jane spent time exploring painters in London, as she had in Paris. Yet it was the mission side of London in which Jane announced that she was “very much interested.”¹³⁷

Jane Addams and her friends began reading Walter Besant’s *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882) and *Children of Gibeon* (1886), novels about the miserable social conditions of the working poor in East London.¹³⁸ They visited the People’s Palace,¹³⁹ inspired not only by Besant’s outrage but also by bread riots in London that had taken place in 1885–86 and the sense of unease, and perhaps guilt, among the aristocracy that had been engendered by the publicity those conditions had lately received.¹⁴⁰ The spacious People’s Palace, which had opened in 1887 a short time before Jane’s visit, was located on Mile End Road in London’s East End. Its programs were meant to provide safe and healthy educational and recreational opportunities for the working-class inhabitants of the neighborhood.

But the highlight of Jane’s exploration of London mission life was her visit to Toynbee Hall, which she later called “a path-finder” that provided the idea for “a new line of approach to the age-old problems of poverty in which understanding and friendship are so essential.”¹⁴¹ When Jane arrived at its location on Commercial Street, near St. Jude’s vicarage, where the Barnetts lived, she saw the recently constructed Toynbee Hall building, a stylish dark-red brick structure partly covered with dark green ivy-like vine and defined by gabled roofs punctuated with multiple chimneys built in “a ‘nineteenth-century Elizabethan’ style” from a design by architect Elijah Hoole.¹⁴² It looked more like a building connected with a university than with the surrounding neighborhood tenement housing and poorly kept commercial structures. At the entrance, someone associated with the settlement met with Jane and her party, after which they probably entered their names in the visitors book and began a tour of the settlement and its programs.



The June–July 1888 page from the Toynbee Hall Address Book indicating that Jane Addams, Helen Harrington, and Sarah F. Anderson visited the social settlement. (Toynbee Hall Records, London Metropolitan Archives, England, scan provided by the Barnett Research Centre, Toynbee Hall, London, England)

After Jane, Sarah, and Helen crossed the paved courtyard, they entered the main building with its “charming drawing-room, with comfortable and cozy furniture and beautiful adornments.” There was a lecture hall “as beautiful a club-house as one would wish at the West End itself” that seated three hundred.¹⁴³ The settlement house complex also featured an art gallery area, a library, a nearby laboratory, and enough one- and two-room apartments to provide space for seventeen university men as residents. In addition, the complex had a new addition: a hostel called Wadham Hall for sixteen live-in students. But more than the buildings, Jane Addams was probably drawn to the university-like surroundings and atmosphere and the focus on providing education.

Although sixteen hundred children from the settlement’s neighborhood were away in the country that summer as part of the Children’s Country Holiday Fund program,¹⁴⁴ there was still a great swirl of activity at the settlement. C. R. Ashbee was launching his Guild and School of Handicraft.¹⁴⁵ Charles Booth was at work on his investigation of wages, employment, and living conditions in East London, which resulted in one of the first great studies of poverty and industrialization in a city and was published as *Life and Labor in London*.¹⁴⁶ The city’s match girls were on strike, and three settlement residents were investigating their complaints.¹⁴⁷ Posted in the settlement were lists of classes, lectures, and social clubs offered through Toynbee Hall and the times and places of their

meetings.¹⁴⁸ Jane would later recall that “the variety and success of the many undertakings was almost bewildering.”¹⁴⁹

By the summer of 1888, the settlement had been operating as Toynbee Hall officially for over three years, since 10 January 1885.¹⁵⁰ The first official event after the settlement opened was an evening of conversation and entertainment that included three speakers who presented views of the significance of Toynbee Hall, followed by refreshments and entertainment that consisted of electrical experiments, music, and an exhibit of Japanese art objects. Many of the programs the Barnetts had created at St. Jude’s Parish,¹⁵¹ beginning in 1872, had been transferred to Toynbee Hall and provided it with an auspicious beginning.

Jane learned that the goal of the settlement was to further expand “an educated and politically conscious working class and a socially conscious upper class”¹⁵² who could join together in trying to solve the primary social problems of the time as a bolster to ensure the power of democracy.¹⁵³ In his last public lecture, reform-minded economic historian and settlement advocate Arnold Toynbee,¹⁵⁴ for whom Toynbee Hall was named, proposed that university-trained men try to make amends for the past lack of concern for the poor. “We—the middle classes, I mean, not merely the very rich—we have neglected you,” he said. “[I]nstead of justice we have offered you charity, and instead of sympathy we have offered you hard and unreal advice; but I think we are changing.” To be of assistance in promoting beneficial change, university men were “willing to give up something much dearer than fame and social position.” They were “willing to give up the life we came from, the life with books and with those we love.”¹⁵⁵ Here was a purpose for university men that introduced a new means of attacking society’s problems—not charity but a new philanthropic vision, an option that blended middle-class education and working-class experience. “Many have been the schemes of reform I have known,” commented Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, “but, out of eleven years’ experience, I would say that none touches the root of the evil which does not bring helper and helped into friendly relations. Vain will be higher education, music, art, or even the Gospel, unless they come clothed in the life of brother men.”¹⁵⁶

Most of the activities and programs of the settlement fell into three categories: education, civic involvement and participation, and social life and entertainment. All were carried out by a small group of residents,¹⁵⁷ the heart of the settlement idea. University men came to live in the settlement for varying lengths of time, paying for room and board, and became involved in the daily life of the neighborhood. They were assisted by associates and volunteers who lived in the neighborhood or in other parts of London. Jane later remembered “the assurance which Canon Barnett had given to these university men in the beginning, that reciprocal benefits would accrue to them through a residence in an industrial neighborhood; that whether they were ultimately going into the Church, into journalism, into law, into government, they would find an understanding of the lives of working people indispensable. . . . The Toynbee

Hall men, so many of whom have become valuable in the public life of Great Britain, bear testimony to the worth of this experience.”¹⁵⁸

The primary purpose of the settlement in 1888 was to educate individuals broadly for citizenship. Barnett’s ultimate aim was to create a workingman’s university (which he hoped would be called the East London University) at the university settlement where the working poor could be educated not just for a vocation or a profession but for a better, richer life experience. “Many will discover,” he wrote, “that the stream on which they are floating is wider and deeper than they thought; they will learn that with them are students and workers quite other than themselves, and they will see that the movement of the stream of which they are part is toward the refreshment of the world.”¹⁵⁹ The Extension Lecture Society program was originally created in 1877 at the London Hospital and then was moved St. Jude’s and later to Toynbee Hall. The lectures were the core of the university plan. During the 1887–88 year, the Extension Lecture Society program was given in three sessions, autumn, spring, and summer. Each of the sessions was composed of four courses of lectures. The *Toynbee Hall Record* reported that the total number of admittance tickets sold was 1,130. Toynbee Hall “aims at being more than a mere lecturing agency,” pronounced the first issue. “It endeavors to unite the students into something of a common life. The Toynbee Hall library gives opportunities for further study. A Students’ Union organises conversazioni, at which students may meet in social intercourse. Various societies bring together those who have common intellectual pursuits. Last Easter sixty students formed a party to visit Florence.”¹⁶⁰ The students’ lodgings at Wadham House are the beginning of a collegiate life, which may grow in time into a residential university for East London.”¹⁶¹ Some of those students lived in the Wadham Hall hostel and some attended a special two week summer school that Barnett had arranged at Oxford in the hope of providing a special interactive learning environment for them; that is, the university experience. As it became clear that all of these opportunities were used primarily by schoolteachers and clerks rather than the working poor, Barnett also created classroom lessons outside the Extension Lecture program. These were many and varied: lectures on electricity, a reading party on Hume, and studies in Latin and Greek are examples.

Toynbee Hall hosted a number of clubs that drew membership from throughout London—rich and poor, old and young—and had developed from reading parties or a lecture series. Several began at St. Jude’s Parish and survived to flourish at Toynbee Hall. Among them when Jane, Sarah, and Helen visited were the Toynbee Shakespeare Society, the Elizabethan Society, and the Antiquarian Society.¹⁶² There was a boys’ club, a girls’ club, and a men’s club, but one of the most successful efforts among working men was the weekly Smoking Conference at which a visiting lecturer opened the gathering, followed by lively discussion.¹⁶³

Residents and neighbors were encouraged to participate in doing their duty as citizens by becoming members of the electorate and assuming civic respon-

sibility. Barnett hoped that the Toynbee experience would prepare residents and neighbors alike for political life outside the settlement.¹⁶⁴ Many went on to hold local and national public office and to serve in various philanthropic enterprises.¹⁶⁵ While Jane and her party were there, they might have been told about the Education Reform League,¹⁶⁶ a new organization created to work for much-needed improvement in education throughout England. They also could have learned about the neighborhood vigilance corps,¹⁶⁷ organized that summer at St. Jude's to patrol Whitechapel to stop the activities of "Jack the Ripper." They might have heard about the settlement's effort to get neighborhood support to create a public library in their area¹⁶⁸ or learned about the cooperative movement and the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which was offering classes at Toynbee Hall.¹⁶⁹

Jane and her friends would certainly have noticed the thoughtfulness with which they were entertained at Toynbee Hall and discovered that there were frequent dinners and teas. Residents were encouraged to invite neighbors and students to social events. "The host's hope is to provide a meeting-place where, simply or naturally, without undue conventional restraints and wearying etiquette, people may learn to know each others' characters, thoughts, and beliefs, and they will not have failed if it be true that 'the cultivation of social life and manners is equal to a moral impulse, for it works to the same end. . . . It brings men together, makes them feel the need of one another, be considerate to one another, understand one another,'" wrote Barnett in the October 1888 issue of the *Toynbee Hall Record*.¹⁷⁰ Most of the educational clubs had a social aspect, but some groups were entirely social. There was often music and entertainment. The Sunday evening lectures were well attended. When Addams and her party were shown the gallery area, they were likely told about the Easter exhibitions of borrowed paintings, which in 1888 drew more than 50,000 visitors from all over London, creating what the Barnetts believed was a healthy mix of classes and interests.¹⁷¹

Jane must have seen and heard much to fire her imagination. She was fascinated by Toynbee Hall. She arranged for Ellen to meet and speak with Canon Fremantle when she visited Canterbury, and she pushed her to visit Toynbee Hall. "I wish you & Jane had told me a little more about going to Toynbee Hall," Ellen complained to Sarah Anderson. "Jane says, 'Go some Sunday evening'—& I don't know whether I can go at any other time or not. I depended so much on seeing her here, & getting started at least, that I feel handicapped all the time, & as if I could not do anything. You know I haven't much of a talent for a great city."¹⁷²

"London from its missionary side is immensely interesting," Jane reported to her sister.¹⁷³ Her memories of the fulfilling and exciting days at Rockford, where she had been successful, found a measure of independence, and strengthened her ideals and her commitment to engage in "useful" enterprise in society, must have prepared her to see Toynbee Hall as a model for reaching a new level of

civic life. If it was working for university men, why should it not do the same for college-trained women?

As Sarah Anderson and Helen Harrington left for Scotland, Jane's childhood friend Flora Guiteau arrived for her summer in Europe as Jane's guest—and unfortunately with very disturbing news. She reported that George Haldeman was missing. He had simply walked away from the home he shared with his mother Anna Addams in Cedarville.¹⁷⁴ His brother Harry had come to Cedarville to support their distraught mother and begin a search for him. Though at first Jane felt certain that George would be found in good health, she was concerned enough about the outcome of the search to return to the United States early. After finding a suitable party for Flora to travel with during the summer, Jane left for home via Glasgow, Scotland.¹⁷⁵ Despite the fact that before she left Scotland she had received news that Harry had located George in Iowa and had both returned to Cedarville, she still boarded the *Furnessia*¹⁷⁶ on 19 July 1888 to return to the United States before summer's end.

When Jane Addams returned to Illinois after her seven and a half months in Europe, she felt once again the pull of family claim. She probably visited her sister Mary Linn and her family in Geneseo, Illinois, and brother John Weber Addams and his wife in Cedarville.¹⁷⁷ Anna Addams, George Haldeman, and Sadie Weber Addams, daughter of Laura and John Weber Addams, were away from Cedarville. Between 9 and 27 August, they were visiting Alice and Harry Haldeman and their daughter Marcet in Girard, Kansas. Jane was not reunited with her stepmother and stepbrother until early September.

For Jane, the fall must have been a whirlwind of visits with friends and family to discuss the idea that would become the social settlement Hull-House in Chicago by the fall of 1889. Sarah Anderson had returned to her position at Rockford Female Seminary, bringing with her the collection of prints and photographs she had gathered throughout Europe. Jane visited her at the seminary and tried unsuccessfully to convince her to join in the Chicago venture. She also asked Helen Harrington, who had seen Toynbee Hall, but she also declined. Ellen Gates Starr, who had not seen Toynbee Hall with her, agreed to give up her position at Miss Kirkland's School for Girls for the next academic year and join Jane's experiment. Ellen was relying on Jane's leadership and financial support, augmented by her own determination to establish herself as a tutor for young women.

In the fall of 1888, Jane wrote to her family about her plans to join the Presbyterian church. "A letter from Jane last evening said she intended joining the Presbyterian Church next Sunday, how I do wish I could be with her," Sarah Alice Haldeman wrote in her diary on 11 October 1888.¹⁷⁸ Jane joined the church in Cedarville on 14 October 1888.¹⁷⁹ By 15 November, Harry Haldeman had received a letter from his mother indicating that she was very worried about George and requesting that he come to Cedarville. He spent the next several days at the Addams home. When Harry arrived back in Girard on 29 November, he reported

to his mother that Jane and nephew James Weber Linn had arrived there one day before him. Jane and Weber spent a large part of December with the Haldeman family. She returned to the Linn family home in Geneseo just before the start of 1889 and remained there until late in January, primarily because of the serious illness of Stanley Linn. This was her last uninterrupted time with the families of her two sisters. Her excitement at the prospect of creating her settlement “scheme”¹⁸⁰ in Chicago was likely tempered by the challenge of confronting the mix of family reactions to the future she planned. Her own siblings gave her encouragement, but it seems that her in-laws and stepfamily did not. Rev. John M. Linn was “a little doubtful,” Harry Haldeman believed that Jane belonged in Cedarville with Anna and his brother George, and Anna, perhaps thinking of the loss she and George would suffer, refused to offer financial support for Jane’s plan.¹⁸¹ By end of January 1889, a mature, pragmatic, politically astute, determined, dedicated, and able 29-year-old Jane Addams was heading to Chicago to join with Ellen Starr to launch the “scheme” that would become the world-renowned social settlement Hull-House.

Notes

1. “I will probably go abroad within a year although I have almost stopped saying what I will do or will not,” JA wrote to SAAH just before she left Baltimore. “I may possibly come to Florida later or go directly to Illinois” ([ca. 9] [Feb. 1887], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:441). By 15 Feb. 1887, JA confided: “I have about given up going to Florida at all” (JA to SAAH, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:442).

2. See JA to SAAH, 9 Feb. 1887, n. 6, below.

3. “Mary was so brave and cool about the whole thing. I had no idea Mr Linn had been away from home so much” (JA to SAAH, 25 Feb. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:450). SAAH was caring for the older Linn boys, John and James Weber, in anticipation of the birth.

4. See JA to EGS, 3 Apr. 1887, below.

5. JA to SAAH, 10 Jan. 1887, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:414.

6. JA must have been excited by her sister’s news. “I told your secret at the very last to Aunt Harriet and Clara” in Philadelphia, JA reported to SAAH. “They were so pleased, and planned at once for blankets &c in a bewildering way. They will be careful not to write it” (25 Feb. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:451). After SAAH got this news, she must have chided JA for her slip. In Apr., when SAAH was at least seven months pregnant, JA wrote to her, “Dear Alice, what shall I do about ‘telling’ Weber and Laura, it would be very much easier for me to tell them why I am going west for just two months this summer, and I have an idea they will feel badly and shut off in some way, if they don’t know it until after the baby arrives. I am sure they could keep <it.> However do not be afraid of my telling again without permission” (24 Apr. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:483–84).

7. Shortly after JA arrived in Girard, Kans., she reported, “I have had several calls and one invitation to tea, but am thankful that circumstances will not permit the same social round we had last summer” (JA to LSA, 8 June 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:501). Preparing to leave in late July, JA wrote to LSA again. “I have various calls still to make and then will leave in proper social shape. I do think little towns are more exacting and trying than big ones” (23 July 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:518). See also JA to GBH, 5 July 1887, below.

8. 7 Dec. 1884, above. See also n. 1.

9. In Jan. 1887, JA reported to SAAH that AHHA had “not yet decided in regard to her going to Germany. George himself does not talk much about it.” JA concluded: “I, of course, say very little about it, leaving it for George and herself to decide” (10 Jan. 1887, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:413).

10. See JA to GBH, 5 July 1887, n. 8, below.

11. See headnote, Maria G. Nutting to JA, 17 Nov. 1887, below.

12. For the text of JA's remarks and a description of the occasion see Speech to the RFS Reunion Assn., 8 Oct. 1887, below.

13. “The object of the Association will be, first a renewal of our former interests; and second a dissemination of a more correct idea of the work and purpose of the Seminary than at present exists in the county,” wrote JA in her printed invitation of 7 Nov. 1887 (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 42:1141). It was addressed to “[a]ny lady living in the county who has ever been connected with Rockford Seminary, either as a teacher or a pupil.” The first meeting was held at the Brewster House in Freeport, Ill., and featured a tea with several RFS luminaries, including first principal Anna P. Sill, current principal Martha Hillard, retired teacher of ancient languages Sarah Blaisdell, and teacher SA. The annual membership fee was to be twenty-five cents.

14. 10 Jan. 1887, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:413.

15. While still in Girard, Kans., JA told LSA: “I have all sorts of letters from Ellen and Miss Anderson about ‘the party’ it certainly threatens to grow into a dozen or fifteen and our efforts to keep it ‘we three’ strike me as rather selfish and ridiculous” (30 June 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:509).

16. Anna “Annie” Kales (b. 1876?) and Frances “Fannie” E. Kales (b. 1879?) were the daughters of Ellen P. Davis Kales (1842?–82) and Francis H. Kales (1833–83). With both of their parents dead, the Kales girls and their four brothers were being reared by their grandparents, noted Chicago physician Nathan Smith Davis and his wife, Anna M. Parker Davis (see n. 17). The Kales daughters attended Miss Kirkland's School for Girls, where EGS was a teacher. When JA met Annie in Munich, JA found her “a very pleasant young lady” (JA to JWA, 11 Jan. 1887[1888], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:651).

Attorney Francis H. Kales came to Chicago in 1856 from New York and became associated with the law firm of Croydon Beckwith, where he practiced, specializing in cases involving real estate, banking, and business matters, until shortly before he died of kidney failure. He was a Republican, served as a commissioner of Lincoln Park from 1871 to 1874, and was a leading member of the Illinois State Bar Assn. He wed Ellen P. Davis in 1863. They were Episcopalians.

Frances E. Kales eventually wed J. Dorr Bradley, who entered the real estate business. They couple lived in Lake Forest, Ill., and had two daughters.

17. Nathan Smith Davis (1817–1904), a powerful and civic-minded Chicago physician, was born in Greene, N.Y., and graduated at age twenty after a four-month medical course from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Western N.Y. in Fairfield. During the ten years of supplementary training he sought in a physician's office in Binghamton, N.Y., he helped found Binghamton Academy, where he lectured in science; was active in the New York Medical Society; and played a decisive role in the meetings that led to the formation of the American Medical Assn. In 1839, he married Anna Maria Parker of Vienna, N. Y., and in 1847 the couple moved to New York City. There, after two years of active practice as a physician, lecturer, editor, and administrator for the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, he was called to Rush Medical College in Chicago, where he was soon selected as chair of medicine.

In Chicago, Davis became involved in the city's educational, scientific, and sanitary affairs and played a central role in the creation of Chicago's first hospital, Mercy Hospital. By 1883, he had become editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Assn.* With a group of like-minded colleagues, he formed Chicago Medical College in 1859. He served as president of its faculty (1866–87) and was dean of the school until 1898, when it affiliated with Northwestern Univ. as its medical college. He wrote several books and more than 1,300 articles.

Davis was a strong advocate of improved medical education and believed in general medical practice rather than specialization in medicine. He was a superb teacher and was popular with students, but his rejection of the germ theory of disease had a deleterious effect on the education and careers of those he taught. Davis was elected president of the American Medical Assn. in 1864 and of the Ninth International Medical Congress, held in Washington, D.C., in 1887. He was active in and a founder of the Illinois State Medical Society, the Chicago Historical Society, the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, the Chicago Academy of Science, Union College of Law in Chicago, and the Davis Free Dispensary, which he organized in 1873.

The Davises had two children. Their daughter Ellen Parker Davis married Francis H. Kales (see n. 16) and died in 1882. Their son, Nathan S. Davis, Jr. (1858–1920), followed in his father's footsteps as a physician in Chicago and was associated with the faculty of Northwestern Univ. Medical School.

18. Eliza Allen Starr's home, "St. Joseph's Cottage," located at 299 Huron St. (now 16 East Huron St.) in Chicago, was very near the Nathan Smith Davis home at 291 Huron St. (now 8 East Huron St.).

19. EGS wrote to her parents, Susan Childs and Caleb Starr, whom she addressed as "Dearest Persons," on 22[, 25, and 26] Oct. 1887 (SC, Starr). She described other residents at Frl. Clara Steiniger's pension in Berlin and indicated that she had received "the first acknowledgment of a letter" she had sent to the United States.

20. John Bickel (or Bickle; JA spelled the family name "Bickle," but members of the family indicate that the name should be spelled "Bickel") planned to visit relatives near Stuttgart, Germany, after he escorted JA and SA as far as Paris. JA reported that "he is a very pleasant gentleman and it will be an advantage to us to have him on board" (JA to SAAH, 28 Nov. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:561). With him in their party, the two women could go to restaurants and public places in Paris in the evening properly escorted. JA described John Bickel as "boyish and good natured and a delightful travelling companion" (see JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, below).

John Bickel was a relative of William Bickel, a dry goods merchant in Geneseo, Ill., who was married to SA's sister Emily Anderson. From 1892 until 1911, the William Bickel family lived in the house in Geneseo that JA and the Linn family knew as Maplewood Hall, a dormitory for young women attending Geneseo Collegiate Institute. Emily and William Bickel had six children. Karl (1882?–1972), who became president of United Press International and retired with his wife, Maderia, to Sarasota, Fla.; Mary, who married Frank White and lived in Rockford, Ill.; John; Basil, an investment banker in California; Frank, who lived with his wife, Florence, in East Moline, Ill.; and Sarah Payne, who lived in Lynchburg, Va.

21. JA reported to sister SAAH: "Ma and George seem settled for a very comfortable cosy winter. George is in better spirits than I have seen him for a long time" (28 Nov. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:562).

22. JA to SAAH, 28 Nov. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:560.

23. 10 Dec. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:591. JA must have misunderstood Archbishop Feehan's name. See JA to SAAH, 12 Feb. 1888, nn. 13, 15, below.

24. For information about JA's visit with Dean Bodley, see List of Financial Assets Owned by JA, 15 Nov. 1887, headnote, below.

25. JA to AHHA, 10 Dec. 1887, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:580. To sister-in-law LSA, JA offered, "I was feasted quite as much as was good for me" (10 Dec. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:587). Charles (b. 1875?), who had scarlet fever, and Dorothy (b. Aug. 1887) were first cousins, one time removed, of JA and children of cousins Mary C. Young Worrall and Peter B. Worrall.

26. JA to LSA, 10 Dec. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:593.

27. See headnote, JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, below.

28. JA to SAAH, 13 [and 14] Dec. [1887], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:601.

29. The *Trave* (construction completed in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1886) was a relatively new ship when JA and her party sailed. She had two funnels and four masts and could reach

a speed of seventeen knots with her single screw. JA and SA were in cabin number sixty-one as two of the 150 first-class passengers the ship could carry. John Bickel crossed as one of the 90 second-class passengers but with rights to visit his traveling companions in the first-class area. The vessel, which was scrapped in 1908, also had room for 1,000 third-class passengers.

30. See JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, below.

31. "Ellen spent her Xmas holidays in Halle in Prof Gosche's family, the Prof. of Arabic & 50 other learned dialects" (JA to SAAH, 6 Jan. 1887[1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:630). Richard Adolph Gosche (1824–89) was professor of Arabic and Oriental languages at Halle Univ. in Germany. EGS "had an ideal view of the social and domestic life of the Germans," JA wrote to AHHA. "She is quite charmed with thier profound learning combined with the utmost simplicity of manner, thier kindness to the poor and affection for each other. I often find myself contrasting her impression with the one George received of them, and suppose the true one is somewhere between" (7 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:634–35).

32. SA "has had a very successful trip." She stayed with JA's friend Frl. Clara Steiniger in Berlin and joined a friend of EGS in Dresden. EGS had met her in Nuremberg, "so that she has not been alone any of the time" (JA to AHHA, 7 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:635).

33. "I enjoyed meeting Mr Bickel's brother and a friend in the city upon whom we called. They are 'old Catholics,' that is they go back to the time of the primitive church before the abuses of the Papal authority &c crept in and I was wonderfully interested in them" (JA to SAAH, 6 Jan. 1887[1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:628).

34. JA wrote from "a very pleasant quiet little hotel on the main St." in Stuttgart to assure AHHA about her first stay in a hotel by herself (27 Dec. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:618). "I went to this hotel alone & ordered a room for the night [in Ulm] and was obliged to spend a night alone at an hotel in Munich," she reported with apparent pride in her independence and ability to function successfully as a single female and tourist on her own (JA to SAAH, 6 Jan. 1887[1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:628). On her visit in Ulm, see JA to Flora Guiteau, 7 Jan. 1888, below.

35. JA reported to AHHA that Annie Kales's brother "Dr Kales and his sister spent a day here this week, on thier way from Vienna to Paris, where Dr Kales studies until Spring" (7 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:636). Fannie Kales had become a student at a boarding school in Paris while Annie traveled with JA, EGS, and SA. John Davis Kales (b. 1864) was an 1883 graduate of Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H., and received his M.D. from Harvard Univ. in 1887. He then studied for a year in Vienna in 1888, returning to practice in Chicago by the fall of 1888. A specialist in internal medicine, Kales became a professor in the Northwestern Univ. Medical School and also maintained a private practice. He wed Gertrude Jones in 1896, and the couple had three children.

36. JA to SAAH, 6 Jan. 1887[1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:629. EGS met SA in Nuremberg on Thursday, 5 Jan. 1888. Although JA did not expect SA and EGS in Munich until Monday, 9 Jan. 1888, they arrived from Nuremberg on Saturday evening Jan. 7, thus giving SA two days to explore Munich.

37. For a biographical note on Helen Harrington, see *PJA*, 1:393, n. 7.

38. Amelia Maria Collins Rowell (1833–93) was born in Randolph, Portage Co., Ohio. When she was nineteen years old, she wed William Dwight "W. D." Rowell (1826–87) of Ravenna, Ohio, who had been born in New York. The couple lived in Ohio until 1860, when they came west. They lived in Watertown and Oshkosh, Wis., until after the Civil War, when they moved to Freeport, Ill. The Rowells had one daughter, Catherine "Kittie" (b. 1852?) in Ohio; she became Mrs. James I. Neff in 1879. W. D. Rowell, who was in the lumber business with his brother-in-law Oliver B. Sanford from 1871 as the firm of Sanford and Rowell, imported lumber from the Northwest. After the death of her husband on 8 Oct. 1887, Mrs. Rowell traveled extensively in Europe; worked in her church, Zion Episcopal; and devoted

herself to charities, especially those associated with small children. She was remembered in Freeport as “a lady of culture and refinement” who filled her “elegant home” with “rare books and works of art” (*Freeport* [Ill.] *Journal-Standard*, 1 July 1893).

Amelia Rowell had met AHHA and JA in Rome and in Paris during their first European trip of 1883–85 (see JA to SAAH, 2 July 1883, n. 7, above). Rowell admired JA. She requested JA’s help in forming her library: “Do you know I have vague dreams of fitting up an art library in my own house. . . . Perhaps I am presuming too much—but I thought you would do this for me” (Amelia Rowell to JA, 5 Feb. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:432). By the end of their time together in Europe, Amelia Rowell was concerned about JA’s welfare and perhaps about JA’s growing interest in mission work. When JA decided to leave Europe early, Amelia Rowell seemed relieved. “I am glad on many accounts she is going—for I really think she is weary and tired with such constant travelling and sight seeing,” she wrote to her friend AHHA. “She would never give her self rest—while there was so much to do and see. . . . How you must long for Jane—and how glad you will be to welcome her home—I can truly say from the depths of my heart I think her the most unselfish loveliest character I ever knew, but she needs to be cared for. I wrote you a long letter when she first left Paris—but did not send it; fearing some things I wrote might alarm you. She says she has had a good rest in London however and I hope she has” (17 July [18]88, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

39. For a biographical note on Flora Z. Guiteau, see introduction to part 1, n. 11, above.

40. For a biographical note on Matilda “Tilly” Annis Peasley, see JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, n. 19, below.

41. For a biographical note on Mary Dudley Breckinridge, see JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, n. 20, below.

42. “Chiemsee . . . is one of the loveliest places in the Bavarian highlands, a lake in the mountains about eleven miles square, with three islands in it. One of them is the Männer insel which has had a monastery on it for years until the last king built his magnificent palace there and wanted the island all to himself. It was his favorite residence and he played Loghingrin in the Lake, and improved it and imbellished it in every possible way. We spent the night upon the ‘Frauen Insel,’ which is almost covered by the large nunnery, and the quaint grave yard and walks of the nuns. The steam boats were not running in winter so we reached the island by a row boat through a canal cut in the ice. It was quite an adventure and the lake was certainly as beautiful as it could have been in summer, but we were disappointed in not being able to see the palace” (JA to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:655). See also JA to JWA, 11 Jan. 1887[1888], SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:647–52.

43. “[T]he little village of Brenner . . . was exceedingly Tyrolese and quaint. The farming people live in great tenement houses, and we saw three women spinning with old fashioned spinning wheels in one room while a fourth used an American sewing-machine! The scenery was very wild and picturesque, the sun arose on the Mountains about nine o’clock in the morning but did not light the little valley until eleven. We had a ride in the morning in an old fashioned sleigh, attended matins in the little church and left at noon” (JA to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:656).

44. “Our ride into Italy was along the Dolomites, magnificent red and green mountains, through the fashionable winter resort of Botzen. . . . [W]e almost froze in our beds at Verona that night. We went on as far as Parma on Saturday, stopping for two hours at Mantua to see the Roman frescoes and for two hours again at Modena to see the Cathedral. We had a pleasant Sunday at Parma, the Correggio frescoes in the dome of the Cathedral and in the abbess’ room in the convent are some of the most marvellous frescoes I ever saw. You are perfectly convinced that the wall is cut open and that you are looking through it into glimpses of angel filled sky and paradise. It seems more like a scenic effect than an actual flat painting” (JA to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:656–57). In Bologna there was deep snow and extreme cold.

45. See JA to Laura A. Malbourne[Malburn], 26 Jan. 1888, below.
46. See JA to Sarah Weber Addams, 28 Jan. 1888, below. See also JA to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; JA to JWA, 21 Jan. 1888, SCPC, JAC; JA to GBH, 21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; JA to SAAH, [21 Jan. 1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; JA to SAAH, 26 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; JA to AHHA, 28 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; and JA to SAAH, 29 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:654–60, 661–66, 667–72, 626, 673–77, 683–88, and 698–700. See also JA to Sarah Weber Addams, 28 Jan. 1888, below.
47. See JA to SAAH, 12 Feb. 1888, n. 1, below.
48. The four women expected to be in Rome for eight weeks with a side trip to Naples. On their stay in Rome, see JA to SAAH, 12 Feb. 1888; JA to SAAH, 16 Feb. 1888; EGS to AHHA, 23 Feb. 1888; JA to LSA, 11 [and 14] Mar. 1888; and JA to SAAH, 22 Mar. 1888, all below.
49. See EGS to JA, 17 [and 19] Mar. [1888], below; and EGS to JA 14 Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:857–65.
50. See EGS to AHHA, 23 Feb. 1888; JA to LSA, 11 [and 14] Mar. 1888; and JA to SAAH, 22 Mar. 1888, all below.
51. See JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1888, n. 3, below. That particular Easter, eighty-one tourists from the recently created social settlement Toynbee Hall in London, England, visited Florence to experience its art and history. There is no evidence that JA, SA, EGS, or Helen Harrington met any of the Toynbee Hall visitors while all were in Florence at the same time. See also n. 160.
52. See JA to SAAH, 14 Apr. 1888, below.
53. See n. 113.
54. See JA to LSA, 25 [and 28] Apr. 1888; JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888; and JA to Sarah Weber Addams, 21 May 1888, all below.
55. See JA to GBH, 9 June 1888, below.
56. See JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, below.
57. See JA to LSA, 4 July 1888, n. 18, below.
58. “The four of us are sitting by the table,” SA wrote to SAAH, “Jane reading Baedeker, the rest of us writing. Jane is all the time reading extracts and calling for responses. We expostulate that we cannot do justice to the height or depth of our emotions of this afternoon if she interrump[t]s in this way, but all to no purpose—we frequently stop and converse” (12 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH). By the time the group had reached Rome, EGS was complaining about the fact that Annie Kales had not acquired her own Baedeker guides. “I never use a Baedeker so she always kept mine. Sarah accordingly bought one for her own use, as A. never parted from mine a moment, & now A. leaves mine at home and says mildly (Sarah having had the trouble of carrying hers) ‘Miss A. may I take your Baedeker a minute?’ & keeps it the rest of the morning”(EGS to Papa and Mamma [Caleb Allen Starr and Susan Childs Starr], 19 Feb. 1888, SC, Starr). EGS may never have consulted a Baedeker guide because JA and SA used them and because her favored guides to Italy were the works of John Ruskin.
59. See JA to SAAH, 22 Mar. 1888, below.
60. The first Baedeker guide for Spain was issued in 1898. Mrs. Claudia Hamilton Ramsay, also author of *Dante’s Divina Commedia Translated into English* (1874), was an Englishwoman who lived in Rome. JA had read Ramsay’s memoir of her trip, *A Summer in Spain* (1874), in preparation for her journey through Spain (see JA to LSA, 11 [and 14] Mar. 1888, below). “Often had we wished to make a tour in Spain,” wrote Mrs. Ramsay, “but, unfortunately, it had never happened that the country was quiet when we could go” (*A Summer in Spain*, 1). She and her female friend, whom she identified only as “H,” began their six-month tour of Spain in Burgos on 15 May 1872 in the midst of a “Carlist insurrection.” The two women left the country about 1 Nov. 1872, making a daring escape from warring forces by going through Barcelona, then to Gerona, Figueres, and the French border by diligence at night. Although JA and her party were moving six times faster than Mrs. Ramsay, they elected to visit many of the cities and towns and seek out many of the sights she described.

61. From Florence, EGS declared, "I am somewhat addicted to Ruskin, having always found myself right when I listened to him on matters of art and, in deed, on most matters" (EGS to AHHA, 30 Jan. [and 5 Feb.] 1888, SC, Starr). Late in her trip, EGS offered similar sentiments to her artist sister, Mary Blaisdell. "I shall never hesitate again to believe in literally anything that Ruskin tells me about pictures" (11 Aug. 1888, SC, Starr). EGS must have had access to several volumes of Ruskin as she traveled, including *Modern Painters* (1843–60), *Stones of Venice* (1851–53), and the Amiens Bible, or *Our Fathers Have Told Us* (1885).

62. JA to SAAH, 26 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:675. JA may have meant to write "occasionally grow tired of meeting his high expectation." JA reported to AHHA that they were "having much jollity and some profit out of our Italian lessons" and that the "signora" whom they had engaged "to come every morning for an hour" was "quick, brilliant and I suspect malicious" (28 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:685). See also JA to Sarah Weber Adams, 28 Jan. 1888, n. 5, below.

63. EGS to AHHA, 30 Jan. [and 5 Feb.] 1888, SC, Starr.

64. JA should have written "E pur si muove."

65. JA to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:659–60.

66. JA to JWA, 21 Jan. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:665.

67. JA to LSA, 5 Feb. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:720.

68. 6 Jan. 1887[1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:628–29. See also n. 34.

69. See JA to AHHA, 27 Dec. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:614–19.

70. 21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:670.

71. [21 Jan. 1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:626.

72. 26 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:676. She expressed a similar attitude to GBH when she wrote: "I am enjoying each day in a fuller better way than I had anticipated. I am not insensible to your description of a quiet time, and have many moments of the best kind of quiet times" (21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:672).

73. JA to GBH, 21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:669.

74. JA to SAAH, [21 Jan. 1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:626.

75. JA to SAAH, 26 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:673–74.

76. In Paris they heard *Les Huguenots* at the Grand Opera (see JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, below). In Munich they heard *Tannhäuser*; in Florence they attended *The Barber of Seville* with American soprano Emma Nevada [Wixom] (1862–1940). Although she had a "very poor" supporting cast, JA declared that "[h]er voice was very fine and her acting animated" and that she was "prettier and smaller on the stage than almost any singer" JA had ever seen (JA to JWA, 21 Jan. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:663–64). The travelers also attended oratorios and concerts.

77. EGS and SA collected photographs of paintings, sculptures, and architecture. "Miss Anderson has a few hundred dollars to spend for the Sem'y, they have just come in and are surrounded by waves and billows of photographs" of Florence, JA wrote to AHHA (28 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:688).

78. In Paris, JA began to purchase items to send home. When John Bickel returned to the United States in Mar., he carried with him a baby rattle and a tiny gold-and-pearl pin for Marcet Haldeman's first birthday and a painting for SAAH (see JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, below). Once again JA acted as purchasing agent for SAAH, especially for jewelry and art (see JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1888, below). She also spent a great deal of time investigating miniature portrait painters for SAAH, who wanted to have a portrait of Marcet created. Among the items JA purchased for herself were a warm cloak and a plush waist, books, copies of Dürer works and other favorite paintings, and a copy of the statue of the Naples Psyche that she and AHHA had found so appealing during their visit to Naples in 1884. See also JA to Flora Guitteau, 7 Jan. 1888; JA to SAAH, 16 Feb. 1888; JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1888; JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, n. 3; and JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, all below.

79. JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:624. The 161-page journal that SAAH kept of the letters JA wrote home contains texts or partial texts of thirty-four letters. Most of them were letters JA wrote to SAAH, but here and there are letters JA received and then sent on to SAAH or letters JA's traveling partners sent to SAAH. The journal contains one letter JA addressed to her sisters and brothers, one she sent to Flora Guiteau, one she wrote to LSA, and one she sent to MCAL from Rome shortly after she arrived there. Letters JA addressed to JWA or to MCAL and JML do not appear in the journal of this trip kept by SAAH. Those she sent to the Linns concerning the death of their daughter Mary are not known to be extant. The letters begin 28 Nov. 1887 and end with JA's 12 May 1888 letter to SAAH. The letters that SAAH considered "circular" she marked with roman numerals I–XIX. Between 12 May and 19 July 1888, when JA began her return trip to the United States, there are only eleven extant letters from JA, and five of those were written to SAAH. SAAH may have added these letters and perhaps others to a second volume of the journal; however, if it existed, it is no longer extant.

80. JA to Sisters and Brothers, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:654.

81. For example, compare JA to AHHA, SCPC, JAC, and JA to SAAH, IU, Lilly, SAAH, both 27 Dec. 1887; *JAPM*, 2:614–19, 620–24. Also compare JA to AHHA, UIC, JAMC, and JA to JWA, SCPC, JAC, both 7 Apr. 1888; *JAPM*, 2:904–8, 909–16.

82. 26 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:676–77.

83. JA to SAAH, 14 Apr. 1888, below.

84. See headnote, JA to Flora Z. Guiteau, 7 Jan. 1888, below.

85. SA to SAAH, 26 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH.

86. Two letters from SA to SAAH are dated 12 Jan. and 26 Feb. 1888. There is also a letter dated 13 Mar. 1888 from SA to JA. SAAH copied it into the journal she was keeping for JA.

87. EGS to Dearest Persons [Caleb Allen Starr and Susan Childs Starr], 22[, 25, and 26] Oct. 1887, SC, Starr.

88. SA to SAAH, 12 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH.

89. JA to SAAH, 6 Jan. 1887[1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:629–30.

90. EGS to AHHA, 30 Jan. [and 5 Feb.] 1888, SC, Starr.

91. See JA to Sarah Weber Addams, 28 Jan. 1888, n. 4, below.

92. EGS to Papa and Mamma [Caleb Allen Starr and Susan Childs Starr], 19 Feb. 1888, SC, Starr. James Weber Linn reported in *Jane Addams: A Biography* that JA paid half of the expenses for SA and EGS during the trip (86).

93. 15 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:869.

94. EGS to SA, 29 July [1888], RC.

95. 19 Feb. 1888, SC, Starr. See also n. 58.

96. EGS to Papa and Mamma [Caleb Allen Starr and Susan Childs Starr], 19 Feb. 1888, SC, Starr.

97. EGS to Father and Mother [Caleb Allen Starr and Susan Childs Starr], 8 Apr. 1888, SC, Starr.

98. EGS to Mother [Susan Childs Starr], 2 May 1888, SC, Starr.

99. EGS to Father and Mother [Caleb Allen Starr and Susan Childs Starr], 8 Apr. 1888, SC, Starr. See also n. 113.

100. See EGS to SAAH, 4 [and 5] Mar. 1888, and EGS to JA, 17 [and 19] Mar. [1888], both below.

101. SA to SAAH, 26 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH.

102. SA to JA, 14 Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:856.

103. "We went to see the Pope's jubilee presents, which are in part of the museum, & there was a perfect jam of people. J. & I got separated from the others, & came home alone. When we next met S. we asked her where she left A. She said 'I didn't leave her.' 'Did you miss her?' 'Not in the least!' (EGS to Papa and Mamma [Caleb Allen Starr and Susan Childs Starr], 19 Feb. 1888, SC, Starr). See also nn. 58, 113.

104. "We have had ten days of hurried travelling, all the faster because it grew so 'beastly cold.' I never but once in America saw such high snow banks as we encountered in Bologna, the snow was higher than the cab in which we were riding so that in our ride from the station we saw nothing but white walls on both sides of us, and long narrow paths between high, white walls when we passed streets at right angles." JA also reported that along with two other members of the party she had "frosted feet" and that she did not take off her fur coat until she reached Ravenna, Italy (JA to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:654–56). To GBH she wrote that she was concerned about the cold in the United States that was reported in the *New York Herald* and said that "[i]t is the coldest winter they have had for years in Italy" (21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:671).

105. They visited St. Peter's Basilica on 4 Feb. and found that they agreed with John Ruskin's perspective that it was grand because it was big. See JA to AHHA, 12 Feb. 1888, headnote, below. For JA's reaction to St. Peter's during her previous European visit, see JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, n. 35, above.

106. On 17 Feb. the party of four saw the pope's jubilee gifts. "We have had all sorts of difficulties about getting permission only one thousand people are admitted a week and so many are registered in advance. It is like a great international exhibition, laces and jewels and manufactured articles of all kinds, from kings and rulers, religious bodies and business firms from Europe[,] Asia and Africa, and the smallest display of all, is from America, I am happy to say. The Jubilee has been the grand event of the times here, and Rome is still crowded with devout Catholics. I do not see how they can remain so in the midst of the chicanery they see in Rome" (JA to JWA, 17 Feb. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:753–54). See also n. 103.

107. See JA to SAAH, 12 Feb. 1888, below.

108. See JA to SAAH, 16 Feb. 1888, below.

109. EGS to SAAH, 23 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH and SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:779, 783, and 780. JA reported to SAAH on [3?] Mar. 1888 that "Sarah kept on a hot compress for about six hours yesterday afternoon and evening, and the inflammation is quite allayed" (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:809).

110. JA had anticipated spending the time while EGS and SA were away reading the New Testament and Mrs. Ramsay's *A Summer in Spain*, going to musicales, and taking short sight-seeing day trips here and there. "I do not feel in the least lonely here," she reported to AHHA (15 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:867). JA also read Miss G. S. Godkin's biography of Victor Emanuel II, first king of Italy, published in 1880. See also JA to LSA, 11 [and 14] Mar. 1888, and JA to SAAH, 22 Mar. 1888, both below.

111. EGS to JA, 14 Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:861. See also EGS to JA, 17 [and 19] Mar. [1888], n. 13, below.

112. See EGS to JA, 17 [and 19] Mar. [1888], below.

113. From EGS's perspective, the trip was not going smoothly. In a letter to her brother Albert Starr, EGS poured out her travel woes: "In the first place there was Miss A's illness which, of course, was the worst of all. Then came the beastly weather at Naples. Then Miss Harrington & Mrs. Rowell coming nobody knew just when, & parties telegraphing wildly about & not knowing where they were to meet, & Miss A. not knowing whether Mrs. R— would meet her in Nice, or whether she would be obliged to go with us to Venice (It's merciful that she wasn't for she would certainly have had another attack.) Then, the worst journey we ever had, between Pisa & Venice. . . . Then, in Venice, Miss Harrington finds it expedient to take off her winter flannels just as we get to a place a little cooler than we left. . . . She can't be left to get into Spain alone, sick, & not having as much sense as I have. . . . so poor Miss Anderson, who always has to do the disagreeable thing, stays with her, & has to go all the way to Granada by rail. Then I telegraph to Miss Addams in Nice to know when I can join her, but she, having departed the day before I thought, never gets it. . . . So I travel until 12 o'clock one night, have the omnibus to myself, get up at 6:30, work like a dog all day in Milan, take the eight o'clock train at night . . . travel till 12 o'clock again, take a carriage alone, . . . wake

up at 5:30 A.M. with general turbulence of hotel menials.” Starr then boarded the weekly boat from Genoa to Barcelona ([Apr. 1888], SC, Starr).

114. For a biographical note on Harriet Brewster Vizcarrondo, see JA to LSA, 25 [and 28] Apr. 1888, n. 1, below.

115. Ramsay, *A Summer in Spain*, 90.

116. See JA to LSA, 25 [and 28] Apr. 1888; and headnote, JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, both below.

117. See JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, n. 1, below.

118. See JA to LSA, 25 [and 28] Apr. 1888, nn. 27–29; and JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, nn. 5, 9–13, and 15, all below.

119. See JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, n. 18, below.

120. See JA to Sarah Weber Addams, 21 May 1888, below.

121. See JA to Sarah Weber Addams, 21 May 1888, n. 4, below.

122. John Thomas Gulick (1832–1923) was born in Kauai, Hawaii. He became a missionary scientist and an acquaintance of Charles Darwin, committed to both Darwin’s theory of evolution and Christianity. Leaving the United States for Japan in 1862, he took up residence near Yokohama, became an English teacher, and took the first known photographs of Tokyo. In 1864, he wed 30-year-old English missionary Emily de la Cour and, representing the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the couple settled in Kalgan, China. In 1873, they moved to a mission at Kobe, Japan. After Emily died in childbirth in 1875, John remained in Kobe and taught evolution at Doshisha Univ., Kyoto. He wed Frances Amelia Stevens (d. 1928), a graduate of Oberlin and a schoolteacher, in 1880, and the couple became missionaries in Osaka, Japan. John T. Gulick was on sabbatical in 1888 when he participated in the World Centennial Foreign Missions conference. In 1899, the Gulicks retired to Oberlin, where John wrote *Evolution, Racial and Habitual* (1905). In 1906 they settled in Hawaii, where he died.

123. After reporting to SAAH that they would leave the Continent for England on 7 June, JA indicated that they “would still get to London by the tenth in time for the great missionary meeting” (5 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:962).

124. There are no known extant letters that JA wrote from Paris. See JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1888, n. 25, below.

125. See JA to GBH, 9 June 1888, below.

126. See JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, below.

127. For a biographical note on Bishop and Mrs. Edward Parry, see JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, n. 9, below.

128. For a biographical note on Canon and Mrs. William Henry Fremantle, see JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, n. 10, below.

129. Meacham, *Toynbee Hall and Social Reform*, 26.

130. Green, “Fremantle, William Henry.”

131. Samuel Augustus Barnett (1844–1913), English Broad Church clergyman, social reformer, and founder and first warden of Toynbee Hall, was born in Bristol, England, the son of Mary Gilmore Barnett and her husband Francis Augustus Barnett, an iron manufacturer. After leaving Wadham College, Oxford, in 1866, he spent a year as a master at an independent boys’ school, St. Mary’s College, also called Winchester College, near Winchester and traveled to the United States. He was ordained deacon in 1867 in Bristol and became an Episcopal priest in 1868 after working for a year as curate of St. Mary’s, Bryanston Square, London. He continued to work there until 1873 under the guidance of Rev. W.H. Fremantle, who became his mentor and advocate (see JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, n. 10, below).

Almost coincident with his marriage on 28 Jan. 1873 to the 22-year-old Henrietta Octavia Rowland (see n. 132), he accepted the position as rector of St. Jude’s Church in one of the poorest and most dysfunctional parishes in London. Here, the new couple worked diligently

to improve the squalid living conditions of the working poor in their community and educate their impoverished parishioners while discouraging the flow of charity that fostered the rampant pauperism of the area.

At the heart of the Barnetts' reform agenda was their belief in the power of education as an agent of change, their certainty that the working poor deserved respect and friendship, and their determination that only from communication and understanding among the classes could beneficial change be affected. Rev. Barnett believed that the people in his parish only existed, and for him that was not enough. He hoped to investigate conditions, seek solutions to the fundamental problems of the area, and provide opportunities, primarily through education, for the working poor to escape from the "material poverty and intellectual apathy" with which they lived daily. He believed that his programs might help improve the condition of the mass of workers who he believed were "without knowledge, without hope, and often without health" (Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 7).

The Barnetts reopened schools, started adult classes, founded a penny bank, initiated a parish library, held oratorio concerts and organ recitals, provided music lessons, and organized a maternity society and a mothers' meeting group. As devotees of noted housing reformer Octavia Hill (1838–1912), they worked to demolish slum housing and replace it with model tenements. They helped organize the COS in 1869–70 and began the Children's Country Holiday Fund and the Univ. Extension Society in 1877, the workingmen's evening Smoking Conferences in 1879, and the Easter Exhibition of borrowed paintings in 1881. In the process, Rev. Barnett and his energetic wife re-created their parish church as a place of good will and hope.

In carrying out all of these programs, the Barnetts enlisted the help of Oxford Univ. students who ventured into their area to live and work for various lengths of time. One of those young men was Arnold Toynbee (see n. 154), for whom Toynbee Hall was named. Beginning in earnest in 1875, Rev. Barnett never tired of trying to attract university men to help in his parish. Having made numerous visits to Oxford and given lectures about the settlement idea there, he was ready to take swift advantage of the public outcry that burst into the popular press with the publication of the Congregational church pamphlet *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* in the fall of 1883, which demanded redress of the conditions in which the working poor existed.

By May 1884, Rev. Barnett was successful at convincing a group of Oxford university men to undertake the experiment that became the first social settlement, and Toynbee Hall was opened officially in January 1885. Although many of the programs that the Barnetts had started at St. Jude's Parish were transferred to the social settlement, there was no official link between the two organizations; however, a cooperative and often complementary relationship developed between the secular settlement and the religion-based St. Jude's Parish.

The programs and fame of Toynbee Hall continued to grow under the leadership of the Barnetts. American social reformer and author Robert A. Woods (1865–1925) pronounced that "[t]he progress of Toynbee Hall in its unique experiment must be in large degree traced to the influence of Mr. and Mrs. Barnett" (*English Social Movements*, 97). Rev. Barnett has been called "the ideal warden" (Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 45). He had knowledge of the district in which the settlement was located, was aware of the area's problems, and maintained numerous contacts with individuals, neighborhood agencies, employers, workers, and officials who could help solve its problems. Added to that special knowledge was his apparently extraordinary gift for inspiring and directing men by indirection and his ability to bond a diverse group of individuals into a team of workers. He encouraged those who came to work at Toynbee Hall to discover ways to help that appealed to them. He was able to maintain the respect and affection of talented, capable university men, many of whom became leaders in their own right, and he always had time to listen to those who sought his advice. Journalist Harold Spender (1862–1926), a former resident, recalled his "extraordinary personal mag-

netism," a man "half saint and half statesman, so simple yet so profound" (Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 46).

Samuel Barnett remained warden of Toynbee Hall until 1906. During that time, even though he continued to perform his duties as warden, he also served as curate of St. Jude's in Whitechapel (1895–98) and canon of Bristol (1893–1906). Beginning in 1906, his role and title at Toynbee Hall changed. When he became canon of Westminster Abbey, he left the day-to-day operations of the settlement to a newly appointed warden and he became president of the settlement. He served as canon of Westminster Abbey until 1913, when he was appointed sub-dean of Westminster shortly before his death.

Barnett wrote numerous articles that appeared in the popular press in England. In addition, he was the author of *The Service of God* (1897), *Religion and Progress* (1907), and *Religion and Politics* (1911). The Barnetts wrote two books together: *Practicable Socialism* (1888 and 1894) and *Towards Social Reform* (1909).

Samuel and Henrietta Barnett maintained a lifelong friendship with JA and followed the development of Hull-House with interest. On JA's early visit to Toynbee Hall, Henrietta Barnett reported: "We greeted her with the same patient or impatient civility with which we greeted the large number of unknown visitors, and soon forgot all about her. . . . How she went back to America, and started that most wonderful of all Settlements, Hull House, where men and women live and work together, is known to all the world, but the value of the gift of her friendship to us both is known only to us" (Barnett, *Canon Barnett, His Life, Work, and Friends*, 2:30). The Barnetts were featured and honored guests when JA officially opened Butler Art Gallery, the first building added to Hull-House. JA maintained a lively correspondence with Henrietta Barnett (UIC, JAMC, Barnett) and usually visited the Barnetts when she was in England.

132. Henrietta Octavia Rowland Barnett (1851–1936) was born to Henrietta Monica Margaretta Ditges Rowland and Alexander William Rowland, a wealthy businessman in Clapham, England. As a young woman she became involved in philanthropic enterprises through her friend Octavia Hill. She served as a district visitor for the COS that her future husband, Samuel A. Barnett, helped organize. It was at a meeting of that group held at St. Mary's Church in Bryanston Square, London, that she first met Rev. Barnett, whom she wed on 28 Jan. 1873. The couple took up residence in St. Jude's Parish, where Rev. Barnett became vicar. The Barnetts lived and worked in St. Jude's to alleviate the causes and results of poverty for thirty years, 1873–1902.

Henrietta was a true partner with her husband in all of his philanthropic endeavors, especially helping him initiate programs in St. Jude's Parish to educate his parishioners. "[T]he ideals and plans which glowed in the fervent imagination of the wife were clarified and defined and disciplined as they passed through the mind of the husband," was the opinion of Archbishop Cosmo Long (quoted in Briggs, *Toynbee Hall*, 26). She was the leading force behind the founding of the parish maternity society and the mothers' club and has been identified as the co-founder of the highly successful Children's Country Holiday Fund.

While Samuel Barnett took the lead in founding Toynbee Hall, Henrietta was a vital part of the effort. T. E. Harvey, Barnett's successor as warden of Toynbee Hall (1906–11), recalled that Henrietta's "insight and her will power harnessed men and women to tasks which would otherwise have been untouched, tasks that needed doing" (Briggs, *Toynbee Hall*, 27). Many of her innovative ideas eventually became programs at the settlement. With the success of the Toynbee Hall Easter Exhibition of borrowed paintings, she saw the importance of bringing art into the daily lives of everyone, especially her neighbors. She led the successful effort to create the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1901 and served as a trustee until her death.

Mrs. Barnett became the first female poor law guardian in 1875, and she served as manager of Forest Gate District School until 1897. She was also a member of the committee that investigated the condition of poor law schools. The report she helped generate led to the creation

of the State Children's Assoc. in 1896. She helped found the London Pupil Teachers' Assn. for girls, which she led as president from 1891 to 1907. It was organized to provide recreation and support for teachers, many of whom were only fourteen or fifteen years old and began teaching as soon as they reached the end of their schooling themselves.

Henrietta Barnett may be remembered best for envisioning and founding the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust in 1903. It led to a pioneering effort in urban planning that successfully integrated different social classes into a single community where there were houses of different sizes; public grounds for recreation, religion, and education; and green space. The Hampstead Garden Suburb was begun in 1907; the Barnetts had a home there.

Mrs. Barnett wrote several books: *Making of the Home* (1884), *Making of the Body* (1894), *Worship and Work* (1913), *Vision and Service* (1917), and, perhaps her most significant solo work, the two-volume biography *Canon Barnett, His Life, Work, and Friends* (1918). She authored chapters for several books and published numerous articles in periodicals. *Practicable Socialism* (1888), which she co-wrote with her husband, came out in a new and enlarged edition in 1894 and was reissued in 1915. Mrs. Barnett received many honors during her life. In 1922 she was selected the president of the first International Conf. of Social Settlements, which was held at Toynbee Hall. She was named honorary president of the American Federation of Settlements and became a dame of the British Empire in 1924.

Henrietta Barnett was a longtime friend of JA, who called on her when she was in Europe. In 1922, one of the last times JA was in Europe, JA took an airplane from Paris to London to visit Dame Barnett, who later recalled JA as the "noblest character I ever met" (Henrietta Barnett to Mrs. Dorothy Williams, 7 June 1935, UIC, JAMC, Barnett).

133. The impulse for the founding of Toynbee Hall grew out of the awareness of a few scholars, university men, and churchmen that the intellect and leadership developed in the university needed to be brought to bear on problems industry created in society. Those with the benefit of university training could apply scientific methods to the problems, devise solutions, and work to implement them. They believed that the class-stratified society of England required a setting and process where all, no matter what their position in society, could meet and interact on the same level and that people and society in general would benefit if everyone had a wider view of life that could best be found through education.

The foundation for these ideas was established much earlier than the 1880s through the writings of Carlyle, Ruskin, and Dickens; the writings of various Christian Socialists; the activities of John Richard Greene, English historian and vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney, who fostered the idea of bringing university men and their knowledge into urban settings to focus on problems of the working poor; and other enlightened clergy such as Rev. E. C. Hawkins of Hackney and Brooke Lambert of St. Mark's in Whitechapel. Layman and East Londoner Edward Denison had explored the idea of a settlement in 1868 with a group of like-minded men at John Ruskin's invitation.

Rev. Barnett began efforts to enlist the aid of university men at Oxford during the early 1870s, initially through Henrietta Barnett's good friend Gertrude Toynbee, whose brother Arnold (see n. 154) became one of Barnett's staunchest supporters. Through numerous presentations at Oxford, Barnett was able to attract a small but powerful and supportive following, some of whom worked in St. Jude's Parish during weekends and school vacations and in the summer.

134. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 87–88.

135. See JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, nn. 15, 17, below.

136. For a list of Chicago organizations represented, see JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, n. 15, below.

137. See JA to LSA, 4 July 1888, below.

138. See JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, n. 21, below.

139. See JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, n. 19, below.

140. See introduction to part 2, above.

141. Addams, "Toynbee Hall Jubilee: Trans-Atlantic Talk," 1.

142. English architect Elijah Hoole (d. 1912) worked for over forty years with housing reformer Octavia Hill. Among their more successful collaborations in London was Red Cross Hall, an early community center dedicated in June 1887 and surrounded by ten Red Cross Cottages that looked onto a public garden and children's playground that the pair also created. Hoole designed cottages for Hill in Southwark, Westminster, Lisson Grove, and Bow, and "[a]ll over the country people began to build country cottages" (Hill, *Octavia Hill*, 122). In 1884, he wrote "The Cost of Tenements. The Housing of the London Poor."

143. Bowker, "Toynbee Hall," 158.

144. The Barnetts began the Children's Country Holiday Fund in 1877. At the urging of Henrietta, the couple gathered sufficient funds to send nine parish children in poor health to the country away from London. With their leadership the fund grew to become a citywide institution that by 1916 sent 970,058 children to summer vacations in the country and became a model for similar programs in other urban centers in England and the United States.

145. English architect and craftsman Charles Robert Ashbee (1863–1942), who was educated at Cambridge, came to Toynbee Hall as a resident (Oct. 1886–Mar. 1887; May 1887–Mar. 1889). On 23 June 1888, he formally opened the Guild and School of Handicraft and associated it with Toynbee Hall. In a workshop atop a building near the settlement, he created an environment different from a factory where he hoped to show men and boys that there was pleasure in creating lovely and useful material objects. According to the *London Times*, "The plain walls of brick and the ceiling rafters have been painted in various tints by the pupils of the school, and on the transverse beams have been inscribed texts from various authors, such as Mr. Ruskin's 'Life without industry is guilt. Industry without art is nothing.' The walls are further decorated by old prints, pictures, plaques, and specimens of work done by members of the guild" (23 June 1888). The school had begun two years earlier, and seven hundred students experienced his teaching in the nine years it operated. In 1896 (and again in 1900 and 1908), Ashbee visited Hull-House, where the Chicago Society of Arts and Crafts was formed in 1897.

146. Charles Booth (1840–1916) grew up in a wealthy Unitarian family in Liverpool. In his twenties, he and his brother Alfred started a shipping business, Alfred Booth and Co., and became extremely successful. He wed Mary Macaulay (d. 1939), niece of historian Thomas Babington Macaulay, in 1871; the couple had six children. By the early 1880s, when Charles Booth opened a London office, he had become intrigued by the conditions and lifestyles of the poor of the city. He often walked the area around Toynbee Hall, sometimes participating in the settlement programs and debates, and he periodically rented a room from a neighborhood family to lodge with them for a while. His wife reported that "[h]e likes the life and the people and the evening roaming—and the food! which he says agrees with him in kind and time of taking better than that of our class" (quoted in Fried and Elman, *Charles Booth's London*, xvi). By 1885, with his wife's cousin Beatrice Potter (Webb), he had begun a scientific investigation of the poor of London, primarily to prove that they were not as downtrodden as the popular press and religious leaders were presenting them. This pathbreaking study of social conditions in a large urban center became a model for social surveys of cities in the United States, particularly for the survey Hull-House residents conducted from 1893 to 1895 of their neighborhood that became *Hull-House Maps and Papers* (1895) (see *PJA*, 3). He was assisted by some of the residents who lived at Toynbee Hall, most notably Hubert Llewellyn Smith (see n. 158) and Ernest Harry Aves (1857–1917). His first publication, based on merging statistics of the London School Board, poor law reports, police reports of rooming houses, and one-on-one interviews, was issued in 1889 as *Life and Labor of the People*, an account of his findings about the income and employment of the people who lived in East London, the area around Toynbee Hall. The data in this first of what ultimately became seventeen volumes on the poor of London (*Life and Labor of the People in London* issued by Macmillan in its

third edition, 1902–03), proved him wrong. He had believed that approximately 25 percent of the working class were poor, but his investigation revealed that of the 900,000 people in the area, 314,000 were poor, or nearer 35 percent. He also discovered that about 85 percent were poor due to lack of employment or low wages or because of their life circumstances, most often large families or illness. JA later recalled that “[i]n Charles Booth’s ‘Life and Labor of the People’ issued from Toynbee Hall, . . . we learned that a clear presentation of facts must be the basis of intelligent reform; that an emotional appeal results only in hasty and unconsidered action” (“Toynbee Hall Jubilee: Trans-Atlantic Talk,” 1).

Ultimately Booth came to believe that religion had failed to improve the quality of life for the poor and that society as a whole was responsible and could help achieve a better life for the poor through pensions. In 1893, Booth was a member of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, and in 1907 he served on the Royal Comm. on the Poor Law. He was a staunch advocate for the passage of the Old Age Pensions Act (1908). Toward the end of his life he became increasingly conservative in his outlook, concerned with the rise of trade union power, the development of the Labour Party, and the growing radicalism of the Liberal Party, and supported expansion rather than abolition of the poor laws. As a businessman, he was a major force in the development of the harbor at Manos in Brazil. He became a fellow of The Royal Society and received honorary degrees from the universities at Cambridge, Liverpool, and Oxford.

147. During the summer of 1888, young women called match girls went out on strike. They made matches in deplorable working conditions for low wages and were subject to phosphorus necrosis of the jaw, known as “phossy-jaw.” Three Toynbee Hall residents who decided to conduct an investigation of the issues associated with the strike determined to look carefully at both sides of the dispute. To announce their findings, Arthur P. Laurie (see n. 158), Arthur G. L. Rogers, and Hubert Llewellyn Smith, aided by associate A. S. Stevenson, sent three letters to the London *Times* and other newspapers. Their letter of 12 July 1888 presented the match girls’ grievances, primarily low pay and an excess of fines; their letter of 14 July presented the position of the employers. By the time their third letter was issued on 17 July, in which the Toynbee Hall investigators indicated their agreement with the match girls, the strike was ended in favor of the match girls because public opinion and the London Trades Council demanded this resolution.

According to JA’s biographer Winifred Wise, “With a Freeport friend who had just come to Europe, Jane attended meetings of the London match girls, who were striking that summer of 1888, and heard the boldest of them talk” (*Jane Addams of Hull-House*, 125–26.). It is entirely possible that when JA returned to London in July 1888 with childhood friend Flora Guiteau, she attended at least one meeting of the striking match girls; however, there is no other extant account to support this statement. That Winifred Wise had access to JA’s papers and records associated with this period in her life is certain, for Wise quotes liberally and accurately from extant letters that JA wrote home during the 1880s.

148. “The classes and reading-parties are organized into groups, each under the management of an Honorary (unpaid) Secretary. One group comprises one class studying the Old Testament, another studying moral philosophy, a course of Sunday afternoon lectures on the Ethics of the Ancient and Modern World, three classes in Victorian literature (one entirely of women), one in English history two in political economy. A second group includes reading-parties on Mazzini, Ruskin, and literature, to each of which admission is by election, and classes in French, German, and Latin. Another group covers the physical sciences and includes an ambulance class. A fourth comprises singing-classes, instruction and entertainment for deaf and dumb, drawing-classes, elementary evening classes for boys, lantern illustrations in geography for boys, musical drill for boys, and several classes in shorthand. A fifth provides instruction and practice in carpentering, in wood-carving and in modeling, both for boys and men” (Bowker, “Toynbee Hall,” 159).

149. Addams, "Toynbee Hall Jubilee: Trans-Atlantic Talk," 2. For information on news coverage about Toynbee Hall in *The Times* (London), see JA to LSA, 25 [and 28] Apr. 1888, n. 6, below.

150. "[O]n Christmas Eve H. D. Leigh of New College and C. H. Grinling of Hertford slept in Toynbee Hall, the first of a succession of several hundred residents and some thousands of visitors" to experience the settlement (Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 38).

151. Describing St. Jude's Parish in his work *Toynbee Hall*, historian A. J. R. Pimlott wrote: "The population of some six thousand persons, consisting largely of males, were herded in crowded and insanitary courts and alleys which formed a sort of rabbit warren on either side of the one large street which ran through the parish. There were a few respectable shopkeepers in the Whitechapel High Street and two or three streets contained fairly decent cottages occupied entirely by Jews, but otherwise conditions were unbelievably degraded. Many of the houses consisted of furnished rooms let for eightpence a night and were the resorts of prostitutes and criminals." The housing of approximately four thousand persons had been condemned; most who lived there earned their keep as casual laborers or stole or begged. "The women were as rough as the men" (15). In the midst of this stood St. Jude's, "with its schoolrooms empty and dilapidated and unused" and its congregation composed of a few old women (Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 16). The bishop who offered the post to the 28-year-old Barnett and his young wife described St. Jude's in Whitechapel as "'the worst parish in my diocese, inhabited mainly by a criminal population, and one which has, I fear, been much corrupted by doles'" (quoted in Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 15).

JA recognized that Toynbee Hall had been developed in a crowded industrial area "homogeneous in nationality and speech although there had often been a breakdown in the processes of local government" (Addams, "Toynbee Hall Jubilee: Trans-Atlantic Talk," 2). In his description of *East London*, Walter Besant indicated that "if we take the whole of London it is roughly estimated that 630 in the thousand of the population are natives of London, that 307 come from other parts of England and Wales, that 13 are Scotch, 21 Irish, 8 colonists, and 21 of foreign birth" (36). According to A. J. R. Pimlott, by 1888, when JA visited Toynbee Hall, Russian and Polish Jews had begun to settle in Whitechapel, altering the original mix of largely English-speaking residents. London in the 1880s has been described as "politically and administratively . . . scarcely advanced beyond the Middle Ages" (Fried and Elman, *Charles Booth's London*, xv). With four million people, London still lacked consistent and complete water and sanitation systems and there was little central government; the London Co. Council was not established until 1888. Its poor laws were oppressive. Wages were low and working conditions deplorable with long hours. Educational opportunities were almost nonexistent.

152. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 43.

153. With the Representation of the People Act of 1867, male artisans and other small landholders who comprised a large part of the English working class had the ballot for the first time. Rural county laborers got the vote in 1884. The needs of these two large and potentially powerful groups could no longer be ignored by the ruling and aristocratic class.

154. Arnold Toynbee (1852–83), the economic historian who is often identified as the scholar who popularized the expression "the Industrial Revolution," was a student and then don at Balliol College, Oxford. Accepting the doctrine of Christian Socialists, he held that "morality must be united with economics as a practical science" (quoted in Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 23). Shortly after the Barnetts made their first presentation about conditions in St. Jude's Parish and expressed their hopes of investigating, understanding, and eliminating them with the help of university men, Toynbee began to spend time as a resident of the East End, working to understand the problems and as a helper of the COS. He became ill and died as plans for what became the social settlement were developing. His legacy was a lecture series that became a platform for the social settlement idea that, combined with lectures by Rev. Barnett,

helped launch the agency that carried his name as a memorial to him. Arnold Toynbee's nephew Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889–1975) became a noted British historian famous for his multivolume work *A Study in History* (1934–61).

155. Quoted in Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 42–43.

156. “Settlements of University Men in Great Towns,” quoted in Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 272.

157. The following were residents of Toynbee Hall when JA visited. Many went on to achieve renown in their chosen professions and in civic and government service. Most were young and many had recently graduated from university. Thory Gage Gardiner (Dec. 1884–Aug. 1889), Bolton King (Sept. 1887–Feb. 1892), Richard Edmund Mitcheson (Oct. 1886–June 1888), Thomas Hancock Nunn (Dec. 1884–June 1891), Henry George Rawson (Mar. 1888–Apr. 1890), Cyril Jackson (Oct. 1885–Aug. 1891), Henry Ward (July 1886–Mar. 1916), Charles Robert Ashbee (May 1887–Mar. 1889), Ernest Harry Aves (Oct. 1886–July 1897), George Lewis Bruce (Oct. 1886–Nov. 1889), Arthur Pillans Laurie (Jan. 1887–May 1889), Malcolm Laurie (Oct. 1887–June 1888), Edgar Robson Tanner (Jan. 1887–June 1888), Richard Walter Kittle (July 1887–Jan 1900), Vaughn Nash (Dec. 1887–Oct. 1889), Ferdinand Nassau Schiller (Mar.–Oct. 1888), Arthur George Liddon Rogers (Apr. 1888–Apr. 1889), Walter Summers (Apr.–July 1888), John Sinclair (May–Oct. 1888), and Hubert Llewellyn Smith (May 1888–May 1889).

158. Addams, “Toynbee Hall Jubilee: Trans-Atlantic Talk,” 2. Many of the university men who were residents of the settlement when JA visited in 1888 bear witness to JA's claim. Among them were five residents who made contributions along widely divergent career paths.

Capt. John Sinclair of Lyth (1860–1925) was a soldier. Before he lived at Toynbee Hall between May and Oct. 1888, he acted as aide-de-camp and official secretary to Lord Aberdeen, John Campbell Gordon, in Ireland in 1886. He wed Lady Marjorie Gordon, one of the daughters of Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks and John Campbell Gordon, in 1904. He was elected as a liberal to the House of Commons from Dumbartonshire and Forfarshire. He served as secretary of state for Scotland from 1905 to 1912, when he became governor of Madras, India, where he and his wife served during World War I with quiet distinction. In 1909, he was created 1st Baron Pentland of Lyth.

Tory Gage Gardiner (1857–1941), who wed Dorothy Kempe sometime after 1889, was curate at St. Jude's Parish for Rev. Samuel A. Barnett when Toynbee Hall was established. He helped develop many of the programs that were afterward associated with Toynbee Hall, where he became a resident and was sub-warden from Dec. 1884 until Aug. 1889. He was a leading figure in the cooperative movement that was early (but briefly) associated with the settlement and was a vital member of the Royal Comm. on the Poor Laws. He served as rector of Ashby Parish (1897–98), founded Farnham Girls' Grammar School in 1901, and ended his career as canon of Canterbury Cathedral.

Arthur Pillans Laurie (1861–1949) lived at Toynbee Hall from Jan. 1887 until May 1889. He had attended Edinburgh Academy, the Univ. of Edinburgh, and Kings College, Cambridge, where he graduated with first-class honors in science in 1884. At Toynbee, he was one of the three residents identified with investigating the match girls' strike during the summer of 1888. He spent his life in academia doing research, especially on chemical analysis of paint in works of art, particularly those of William Holman Hunt (1827–1910). He also was called frequently to government service, especially on the Royal Comm. on Secondary Education and the Home Office Dept. Com. on Pottery Manufacture. In 1900, he became principal of Heriot-Watt College, Edinburgh. He was a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Royal Scottish Academy, and the Royal Academy of Arts.

Bachelor Henry Ward was a 30-year resident of Toynbee Hall who arrived in July 1886 and did not leave until Mar. 1916. He helped take the group of travelers from Toynbee Hall to Florence, Italy, during Easter in 1888. An engineer by training, he was elected to the newly formed London Co. Council in 1891 and served for a number of years, becoming vice-chair

in 1906. A lifelong supporter of Toynbee Hall and Samuel A. Barnett, he was also gave generously to other institutions. He made an anonymous gift of \$100,000 to London Hospital.

Hubert Llewellyn Smith (1864–1945), who became a knight civil servant, arrived at Toynbee Hall, May 1888 and remained for a year, after which he took a house in Stepney Green with three other former Toynbee residents in an effort to live closer to the working poor and their problems. While at Toynbee, he was a leader in investigating strikes of match girls and dockworkers. During World War I, he served with several other former Toynbee Hall residents in the Food Ministry. Smith became a scholar and chief economic advisor to the government. He was a member of and then permanent secretary to the Board of Trade and represented England in various international gatherings. He wrote histories of the Board of Trade and East London. Having been a member of Charles Booth's investigative crew, he was chosen to update Booth's work forty years later and produced *New Survey of London Life and Labor* in 1930.

159. From the first issue of the *Toynbee Hall Record* (Oct. 1888), 2.

160. Eighty-one travelers, sixty of them students in classes at Toynbee Hall, left London for Florence, Italy, on 27 Mar. 1888. Led by Toynbee Hall resident Bolton King (1860–1937), the party also included the Barnetts. The group was divided into three parties (to make sightseeing easier) and heard lectures on the history and art of Florence each evening. J. M. Dent (1849–1926), who became a successful publisher, recalled the importance of that occasion. "I can never make any one understand what the revelation of this wondrous old world meant to me. Here was a city built before industrialism had destroyed the spirit of beauty, where man lived by something other than money-making, luxury and power" (quoted from Dent's *Memoirs* in Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 156). This journey, which cost about ten pounds per traveler, and one to Siena and Florence the following year became the genesis of the Toynbee Travellers' Club. Its goals were to organize at least one trip to a foreign land each year, to arrange lectures on foreign cultures and politics, and to gather photographs of and books about foreign countries. Bolton King, secretary of the Balliol, Oxford, committee that created the settlement, was one of the first Toynbee Hall residents. He became an educational administrator as director of education for Warwickshire at a time when it was thought a career beneath his intellectual and social qualifications. Thomas Okey (1852–1935) was a basket maker in Spitalfields who was associated with St. Jude's Parish before Toynbee Hall was created in Whitechapel. With a gift for languages, he taught Italian at Toynbee Hall and eventually became a professor of Italian at Cambridge. He served as treasurer of the Toynbee Travellers' Club (1888–1902).

161. *Toynbee Hall Record* (Oct. 1888), 10.

162. The Elizabethan Society, later renamed the Elizabethan Literary Society, was formed in Mar. 1884 from a reading group led by Rev. William Bartlett, who lived at Toynbee Hall from Dec. 1884 to Aug. 1885. The society was instrumental in establishing a memorial to playwright Christopher Marlowe (1564–93), and it eventually became an organization of national note under the leadership of Sir Sidney Lee (1859–1926), president of the society (1890–1924).

The Toynbee Shakespeare Society began in 1881 as the East London Shakespeare Society after a series of lectures presented by Sidney Lee. It included as members Shakespeare enthusiasts from throughout London. Publisher J. M. Dent, secretary of the society, produced a pocket edition of Shakespeare to meet the need created through the enthusiasm of the membership. Each year, the society appeared in or presented one or two of Shakespeare's plays.

The Antiquarian Society was organized in 1884 after a series of lectures by Rev. William Bartlett.

163. The smoking conferences were started at St. Jude's Parish in 1879 by Rev. Samuel Barnett and James Bryce (1838–1922). They evolved into weekly public debates at Toynbee Hall that attracted a working-class male audience of several hundred participants. "The

Thursday discussions were ordinarily characterized by much rhetoric, much indignation, but little logic" (Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 153). Rev. Barnett believed them to be helpful. "In the smoking debates on Thursday evenings men have learned to listen patiently to arguments with which they disagree, coming often thus to regard political opponents in a less hostile spirit" (quoted in Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 152).

164. "Fundamental in the Settlement conception was the idea of citizenship. Barnett had always stressed the duty of active participation in civic life" (Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 49).

165. See n. 158.

166. Recognizing the great need to improve the education offered to the children of working poor, in 1885 the Barnetts and Toynbee Hall supported a reform candidate, J. Murray Macdonald (later a Member of Parliament from East Falkirk Burghs), for the London School Board. Although Toynbee Hall residents worked hard on his behalf, he was not elected. However, this defeat led to the creation of the Education Reform League at Toynbee Hall in 1885. The goals of the league were to interest parents in improving the education available to their children, create opportunities for primary-grade teachers to attend university and thus make secondary education more accessible, and improve the inspection and use of school buildings and grounds.

167. A series of murders in Whitechapel over the summer of 1888 by someone who was called "Jack the Ripper" (because of the manner in which he killed his female victims) terrorized East London. One of the victims was found "within a few yards of the rear of the Settlement" (Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall*, 82). Finally, in Aug. a vigilance association was formed at St. Jude's to patrol the parish in hope of providing the kind of safety to the neighborhood that the London police could not or would not offer. The perpetrator was never caught.

168. Toynbee Hall residents recognized that their settlement library, which began as the St. Jude's Parish library, was not adequate for the educational programs they wanted to offer. They must have been pleased in 1888 when a new law made it possible for local authorities to spend funds to build a public library if those living in the area wanted it. The Toynbee Hall residents polled the neighborhood in 1890 and found that residents near the settlement approved the expenditure of funds for a library. By 1892, the new structure was nestled near the Whitechapel Art Gallery within a block of the settlement.

169. In Feb. 1885, the London branch manager of the Co-operative Wholesale Society began teaching a class at Toynbee Hall about how to make cooperative enterprises work. Capt. John Sinclair helped to start the Co-operative Aid Assn. during the summer of 1888 and organized an exhibition of cooperative products at the London home of John Gordon Campbell, Lord Aberdeen.

170. *Toynbee Hall Record* (Oct. 1888), 6–7.

171. The Easter Exhibition of art in St. Jude's schools began in 1881. Nine thousand people saw the display of items the Barnetts had brought back from their trip to Egypt augmented by exhibits from friends and museums. When a similar exhibit was held at Easter the next year, over 20,000 people saw it. In what became an annual event, the Barnetts sought and received loans of paintings from the most recognized painters of the day, including William Holman Hunt, John Everett Millais (1829–96), and Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98). Each exhibit was accompanied by a catalog, and the sponsors took great care to appropriately display the art. Despite opposition from people who believed Easter Sunday an inappropriate time for such a display, the free program prospered, and by 1885 it was taken over by Toynbee Hall. Among the notable people who opened the exhibit was Archbishop of Canterbury Edward White Benson (1829–96), who by his public act of participation gave approval to the Easter event. Eventually, the Barnetts led a successful effort to secure £20,000 to build a separate Whitechapel Art Gallery structure, which opened in 1901. It was also used for concerts and lectures and other neighborhood performances.

172. EGS to SA, 29 July [1888], RC.

173. JA to SAAH, [July 1888], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:977. See also JA to LSA, 4 July 1888, headnote, below.

174. See JA to LSA, 4 July 1888, n. 10, below. See also a biographical profile of GBH in *PJA*, 1:494–507.

175. See JA to LSA, 4 July 1888, n. 18, below.

176. The *Furnessia* was launched from Barrow, Scotland, on 19 Oct. 1888. On her usual Glasgow–Moville, Ireland–New York run she could carry 242 first-class, 136 second-class, and 981 third-class passengers. Of iron hull construction, with two masts and two funnels, she could make fourteen knots an hour with her single screw. She carried passengers across the Atlantic for the Barrow Steamship Co. until 1893, when she was sold to the Anchor Line. She was taken from service and scrapped in 1911.

177. Few family letters for the six-month period between JA's return from Europe at the end of July and her arrival in Chicago in Jan. 1889 are known to be extant. No known dated letters from JA during this period are extant.

178. SAAH, "Diary, 1888," UIC, JAMC, HJ.

179. See illustration, JA Certificate of Baptism, p. 630.

180. JA and EGS called the social settlement plan they were working on the "scheme." The first time that term appears in writing seems to be in JA to EGS, 24 Jan. 1889, SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:1005–6. See *PJA*, 3.

181. Linn, *Jane Addams*, 91.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

*"Your letter this morning quite wrung my heart and leaves me thoroughly perplexed as well," Jane Addams wrote to her sister Alice Haldeman. "I did not understand that you were not as well as usual and as happy and thought your desire to see me this summer was for a simple visit. If you are sick and need me in any special way, of course I will come at once without a moments hesitation, and will plan now to be with you in June. Your letters have all been so gay in tone that I had no idea your rheumatism was so chronic and determined."*¹ Another letter² from Alice brought the news that she was at long last pregnant and wanted Jane to be with her to help care for her newborn child.

A[m]bler Penn

Feb. 9" 1887

My dear Alice

Your two letters have reached me here. The last filled me with conflicting emotions naturally, but one thing was always clear viz. that I would come to you for the months of June and July if the hopes are realized[.] I have not of course breathed a word or insinuation to a soul, but I do not see why you should feel chagrined even if you had told me and it does not come to pass. I fail some-way to believe it,³ but I hope with all my heart that it will prove true and a happy outcome. It came to be sort of a grief with me last summer that you had no children, no child and I congratulate you with all my heart. I have thought of you as being with Mary, and wished that I might be there at the same ti[m]e. I am rather w[a]iting to hear from her before I decide just what I will do.⁴ I had a letter from Ma this evening, they had arrived safely in Jacksonville and were expecting to go on to Melrose.⁵ I may join them the last of the month unless Mary would prefer me the month of March instead of April, in which case I would go directly west from here. Auntie & I expect to go to New York on Thursday to stay until the next Monday.⁶ I spent Sunday at Uncle Nathan's, they all sent their best to Harry & yourself. Gen'l Beaver⁷ & his family took dinner there on Sunday, he is a very attractive sort of a man & I enjoyed meeting him. Aunt Elizabeth has been rheumatic all winter but seems pretty well now and is as eager for the New York trip as a child.

Mary Worrall⁸ has been sick in bed for t[h]ree weeks with a threatened attack of inflammation of the stomach. It was whispered me that she expects a child next summer. Surely 1887 is a "baby year" as has been predicted.

Dear Alice you will write to me often, because of course I am anxious and any time that you do not feel so well you will send for me. It is curious how much more anxious I feel about you than I do about Mary, although I suppose there is no more danger, it shows how we judge what will be by what has been. I am sure you are cheerful and happy and I do hope that the hopes will be realized. I think it was natural in Harry to tell Ma and I have no doubt it seriously influenced her plans.⁹ George will probably build up in Florida and be all the more ready for his European plans. I am more sorry for him than I can express, he gets so utterly discouraged. If you have not yet gone to Mary's & put it off until March, be sure to let me know and I may possibly see you there—Cousin Joe¹⁰ thinks of escorting me to Florida, & I have received a very urgent invitation from Mrs Brooks to go down with the Dr & herself on the 28th on their way to Nassau¹¹ but my enthusiasm just now is low, probably owing to an old fashioned bilious attack such as I have not had since we were in Dresden, it <(the attack)> may be owing to the good cooking of Penn. or to the over exertion of packing in Baltimore. I am better to day & on the mend. Excuse pencil my lead is light, & the pens here poor. Auntie enjoys her oil painting so much.¹² Both she & Joe send much love to you both. Always dear Alice Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:436–39).

1. [ca. 27 Jan.] [1887], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:427.

2. None of SAAH's letters to JA during the months of Jan. and Feb. 1887 are known to be extant.

3. Haldeman family lore indicates that SAAH's hoped-for pregnancy was the result of artificial insemination, a technique newly available and probably known to SAAH's physician husband, HWH, who had studied at the Univ. of Pennsylvania Medical School and graduated with a specialty in gynecology. SAAH may have told JA about the procedure. See *PJA*, 1:521–22.

4. MCAL, living in Lake Forest, Ill., and about to move to Geneseo, Ill., was pregnant and not strong. In her letter of 15 Feb. 1887 to SAAH, JA wrote, "I am so glad you had a visit with Mary and know how much good it will do her. I was sure Stanley would win your heart if you only knew him, he has had the same charm for me ever since he was a little white baby six weeks old. I hope the nephews will be satisfactory guests and not tire or worry you" (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:442). Brothers John Addams Linn and James Weber Linn went to stay with SAAH and HWH in Girard to give their mother some needed rest as she waited for the birth of her new baby.

5. AHHA and GBH were on their way to Melrose, Fla., where they expected to spend the remainder of the winter.

6. From Thursday, 10 Feb., until Tuesday, 15 Feb. 1887, JA and her aunt Elizabeth Weber Reiff from Ambler, Pa., visited JA's uncle and Elizabeth's brother Harrison Weber and his family, which included wife Caroline and two sons, George and Edward, and were tourists in New York City. It was a whirlwind tour. On Friday morning, JA went to a watercolor exhibit. In the afternoon, they "made a few investments" at Macy's. JA reported that she "wished" she "was sure of a certain point, for the selection of tiny garments was bewildering." On Saturday, the visitors walked across the Brooklyn Bridge because Aunt Elizabeth "was very anxious to see" it. They found Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Congregational Church and met his

wife, Eugenia White Bullard Beecher; shopped on Broadway; had lunch; and “then went to the Metropolitan Art Museum & through the Lenox Library, & finished our adventures by walking home across Central Park.” In the evening, JA attended a symphony concert at the Metropolitan Opera House and had “oysters at the Opera Café.” On Sunday, she joined the Webers in poring over family records after church. Monday, after lunch, JA and Elizabeth visited the Temple Court building and the stock exchange and “finally sailed across the bay to the Bartholdi statue.” JA pronounced that the yet-to-be-named Statue of Liberty’s facial “expression is very fine” and her feet “tremendous.” After dinner, and in full formal dress, the two women attended a performance at the Madison Square Theater (JA to SAAH, 15 Feb. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:444–47).

7. JA’s second cousin was Gen. James Addams Beaver, who became the Republican governor of Pennsylvania in 1887. See also JA to LSA, 18 Oct. 1886, n. 10, above.

8. Mary Young Worrall, JA’s cousin and the daughter of her aunt Harriet and uncle Nathan Young, was pregnant with her daughter Dorothy, born in Aug. 1887.

9. When AHHA discovered that SAAH and HWH were expecting her first grandchild in June 1887, she determined that she and GBH would remain in the United States until after the birth.

10. Joseph L. Reiff, JA’s cousin, was the son of her aunt Elizabeth and uncle Enos L. Reiff. He lived and worked in Ambler. See also *PJA*, 1:154, n. 2. JA seemed reluctant to commit to joining GBH and AHHA in Florida. See introduction to part 4, n. 1, above.

11. “Mrs [Amelia] Brooks is very anxious to have me go to the Bahama Islands with Dr [William Keith] Brooks & herself,” wrote JA to SAAH. “If your mother goes to Germany you will spend the Spring with us. I, of course steadily decline, if for no other reason the presence of four or five students would make it rather delicate” (10 Jan. 1887, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:414–15).

12. Apparently, SAAH had sent one of the works she had painted to her aunt Elizabeth Weber Reiff.

To Laura Shoemaker Addams

Lake Forest Ill

March 3d 1887

My dear Laura

It was quite a treat to receive a letter¹ from you after so long a silence. The new baby here grows and flourishes each day;² Mary is looking so bright and well that we are all proud of her. Yesterday she sat up almost all day. The baby was but eight months old but the doctor insists it was a very good thing for his mother. It fairly makes me shiver to think of her taking it through all alone without either Mr Linn or a nurse, and am of course sorry that I did not get here in time, although if a baby insists upon coming before he is expected, his aunties will naturally not be on hand. The house or rather every thing in it, is very much torn up, but the kitchen and the beds are in order, and that is the essential after all. The children think it is a grand frolic and rather enjoy helping along the disorder. I came last Wednesday, I received Mrs McClure’s³ letter on Monday, too late for the through train, so had to wait until Tuesday. I came through very quickly and easily, without getting sea-sick as I have always done on the Baltimore and Ohio. Aunt Harriet, Uncle Nathan and the girls sent a

great deal of love to you all. Auntie and Uncle expect to go to Kansas City this summer and I think they will plan to stop one way.⁴ Aunt Harriet promised me faithfully that she would order some more pictures of herself and send you one with one of Uncles. Mary Worrall expects an increase to her family next summer, she has been very wretched, and she and Clara were on the point of starting for Old Point Comfort⁵ when I left, they will be there ten days or two weeks.

The weather was warm and spring like when I left, I have n't seen such storms all winter as we have had here this week. Mr Linn went to Geneseo Saturday morning.⁶ I went down town to do the errands later with Stanley and Esther, and we were caught in a perfect blizzard. The wind from the lake came in gusts of snow and sleet, until Stanley could not keep his feet. We finally reached the drugstore, from whence I sent a man for the livery sleigh to take us home, when a young lady who proved to be Miss Farwell⁷ kindly volunteered to take us in her sleigh, we arrived safely none the worse for the adventure but literally blown to pieces. Miss Herrick the French & German teacher in the Sem'y here has broken down in health and was obliged to <go> home on Monday. They offered me her classes for the rest of the term of three weeks. I declined but took them for one day until they found a substitute. I quite enjoyed my first day of teaching.⁸ Mary is doing so well that she will probably be able to be moved in two weeks, they are very sorry to leave Lake Forest as it comes to the end. It seems rather hard to plan as yet, but if we are obliged to wait a day or two some where until they can gets to Geneseo, I shall certainly come to Cedarville, and may possibly bring one or two of the Linnets with me. I had a happy letter from Ma yesterday, they are enjoying Florida very much. I am so glad that the German club was a success, we will have to try reading something together this summer. There is nothing like reading from the very first. Mary sends her love to Weber[,] Sadie and yourself. Esther and Stanley their kisses. Little Mary⁹ is asleep she has grown so pretty this winter. Write as often as you can, I always enjoy your letters. With love to Weber and kisses to Sadie. I am Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:457–66).

1. LSA's letter is not known to be extant.

2. Charles Hodge Linn was born in Lake Forest, Ill., on 18 Feb. 1887.

3. JA arrived in Lake Forest, Ill., on 23 Feb. 1887. Annie P. Dixon McClure (1852–1941), daughter of Governor Nathan P. Dixon of Rhode Island, was the wife of Presbyterian minister James G. K. McClure (1848–1932), pastor of the Lake Forest Presbyterian Church (1881–1905). A graduate of Phillips Andover, Yale (1870), and Princeton Theological Seminary (1873), Rev. McClure received his D.D. from Lake Forest Univ. (1888) and later served as its president (1897–1901). The McClures, who had five children, and the Linns had become friends while the Linn family lived in Lake Forest, where JML served as fiscal agent for Lake Forest Univ. (1885–86).

4. The Youngs' son Charles Addams Young (b. 1853?) had gone to Kansas City, Mo., to work in the milling trade. By 1882, he was living in a boardinghouse in the city and was employed

as the secretary and treasurer of the Zenith Milling Co., of which he eventually became vice-president. During the early 1900s, he served as secretary and treasurer of the Crescent Fuel and Hay Co. and became active in the insurance business. By 1885, he had married Eliza Ann Gentry and the couple was living at 1741 Jefferson St., where JA sometimes visited them. The Youngs had at least two children, Harriet Addams Young (b. 1886) and Nathan Young (b. 1888).

5. JA's cousins, the children of Harriet and Nathan Young, were going to Old Point Comfort, Va. It was the site of a famous meeting during the Civil War between President Abraham Lincoln and his generals and the site of the incarcerations of Chief Black Hawk and Confederate president Jefferson Davis.

6. The Linns were moving to Geneseo, Ill., where JML had become minister of the Geneseo Presbyterian Church.

7. Charles Benjamin ("C. B.") Farwell (1823–1903) and his wife, Mary Evelyn Smith Farwell (b. 1825?). Mary Farwell had studied the classics with the daughters of Mark Hopkins of Williams College and had been a schoolteacher in Chicago before her marriage. She and her husband had three daughters who survived to maturity, Anna, Rose, and Grace. With his brother John V. Farwell, "C.B." was a highly successful Chicago merchant. He is also recognized as the creator of Chicago's first political machine. He served in Congress (1881–87) and as U.S. senator (1887–91). The Farwell family was central to the development of Lake Forest Univ.

All three daughters became social and cultural leaders. In 1884, Anna (1861?–1953), a writer, wed composer Reginald de Koven (a cousin of Louise de Koven [later Bowen], who was a bridesmaid in their wedding). Grace (1867?–1943?) was a landscape painter and the founding president of Chicago's Arts Club (1916–18). With her second husband, Robert McGann, Grace rebuilt the family residence, "Fairlawn," after it burned in 1920. It is likely that JA and her charges were helped by the youngest Farwell daughter, Rose (1870?–1918), who graduated from Lake Forest Univ. in 1890, shortly before she wed Hobart Chatfield-Taylor (1865–1945) on 19 June 1890. Chatfield-Taylor was editor of *America*, a Chicago-based magazine, and the author of several biographies, a travel book, and novels, one of which, *Two Women & a Fool* (1895), features a heroine who lives in a social settlement apparently modeled on Hull-House. Rose became a Chicago social leader and had her own book-binding studio. She and her husband were often associated with the influential artists and writers who were part of Chicago's famous Little Room gatherings in the Fine Arts Building on Michigan Ave.

8. Elisa Linsley Herrick, who had spent five weeks recovering at home, sent Edmund Clarence Stedman's *The Poets of America* (1855) to JA with her thanks for helping teach her classes when she "so unexpectedly gave out" (Elisa Linsley Herrick to JA, 27 Apr. 1887, UIC, JAMC, Smith; *JAPM*, 2:486).

9. Mary Addams Linn was born 28 May 1885 and was twenty-one months old when Charles Hodge Linn was born.

To Ellen Gates Starr

Jane Addams arrived in Geneseo, Illinois, on 30 March 1887, with "a jolly party although very tired," composed of her sister Mary Linn; the housekeeper, Mrs. Keister; and children: Esther, Stanley, Little Mary, and the new baby, Charles Hodge.¹ The older Linn boys, John and James Weber, were staying with Alice and Harry Haldeman in Girard, Kansas.

Maplewood. Geneseo. Ill.

April 3d 1887

My dear Ellen.—

The sanction of success is such a powerful thing that without it a very noble action appears trivial, and a trivial affair is simply no where. If I had succeeded in securing the services of Miss Phelps I should have felt, (not repaid for losing the lecture by any means) but at least the narrow satisfaction of the ostentatiously virtuous man.² But I was denied even that, and reached the north-western Station at quarter to five in at³ state of mind not quite as serene as if I had been contemplating Fra Angelico's angels. I quite agreed with your estimate of my character and Howells⁴ tirade on the mania for self sacrifice. We had a pleasant journey on Wednesday, and found heated rooms and a pleasant hostess waiting for us here. Maplewood is the young ladies hall of the academy here and I quite enjoy the school girls in it.⁵ The car with the goods has not yet arrived so we may be here for a week longer—especially as the parsonage is so very small that my sister has almost decided to buy a house.⁶ We hope to secure the services of two Swede girls next week when my service as active nurse girl may be dispensed with, but I enjoy it. If you don't take charge of a child at night you can't feel a scared trembling little hand grow confiding and quiet as soon as it lies within your own. If you don't take little children out in the yard to spend the morning you simply can't see their unbounded delight and extravagant joy when they see a robin taking his bath. I had a lovely letter from Miss Anderson⁷ last evening. She thinks that she cannot go but has not fully decided. I hope your influence will do much. I have not yet seen her father and mother but shall call to-morrow.⁸ I have heard from four Steamship Cos in New York. It seems to me if we go direct to Spain or Italy the Florio line is the one we want, they sail Aug 4"[,] 25" or Sept 13"—I will have them send you circulars. We were on one of their ships on the Mediterranean and liked it very much.⁹ Of course, I will have my cousin in New York look up the record of the particular vessel we decide on.¹⁰

The fare to Gibraltar is only \$90. while we paid \$120. to Liverpool. Their list of passengers sailing last week included Rev Heber Newton¹¹ & family an Ann Arbor Prof &c.—so we will be eminently respectable, but I will write more later after I hear from Gaze¹² of Paris. Please excuse pencil & paper. I am dividing my attention between you & my youngest niece. With kindest regards to Miss Wilkinson[.]¹³ I am Yours as always

Jane Addams

ALS (SC, Starr; *JAPM*, 2:474–77).

1. JA to SAAH, 31 Mar. [1887], UI, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:467.

2. The two nurses that the Linns had anticipated would move with them to Geneseo left their employ without giving notice on Tuesday morning, 29 Mar., the day before the family was to leave Lake Forest, Ill. On that same day, JA had planned to meet EGS in Chicago to

hear Eliza Allen Starr present a lecture on Fra Angelico, so she agreed to try to locate replacement nurses in Chicago. JA purchased a cradle made of cherry wood for eight dollars but was unable to secure new nurses. She had apparently spent so much time nurse-hunting that she "missed the lecture all together much to Ellen[s] disgust" as well as her own. JA reported to her sister SAAH that the "wild goose chase was provoking, it was a venture the success of which depended upon the result" (31 Mar. [1887], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:470–71).

3. JA probably meant to write *a*.

4. What EGS wrote about her perception of JA's penchant for self-sacrifice is lost because that letter is not known to be extant. EGS may have been referring to William Dean Howells's position on self-sacrifice as presented in *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885). In chap. 18, during a discussion with Mr. and Mrs. Lapham, minister Sewell pronounces, "[W]e are all blinded, we are all weakened by a false ideal of self-sacrifice. It wraps us round with its meshes, and we can't fight our way out of it" (Norton Critical ed., ed. Don L. Cook [1982], 213).

5. "We have two rooms here at Maplewood, a large brick house on the edge of town, it is vacation & only two of the girls are here. Our rooms are small but we are quite comfortable. Mrs Keister, Mary & the baby have one, while I have the three children in the other" (JA to SAAH, 31 Mar. [1887], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:471). Maplewood Hall had been constructed for dry goods dealer Alfred Perry and his family in 1854. It had served as a station on the Underground Railroad and was acquired in 1886 by Geneseo Collegiate Institute for a girls' dormitory. The institute was chartered in Nov. 1883 and was organized in Sept. 1884 with substantial help from the Presbytery of Rock River. JML served as president of the board of trustees and John Addams Linn attended the school.

6. "The parsonage is small and cramped, and I do not see how we will get comfortably fixed in it. I am very strongly in favor of their renting another house but of course we can do nothing until Mr Linn arrives. Mary is resigned to the parsonage but says 'of course it will not be living' & hopes that Mr Linn will not insist" (JA to SAAH, 31 Mar. [1887], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:471). MCAL did purchase a house in Geneseo for the Linn family. JA described the house to LSA: "It is not a modern house is without bay windows, fireplaces &c but there is some thing very attractive & roomy about it" (11 Apr. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:479). The two-story frame structure was located at 111 W. South St., near Atkinson Hall (the lecture rooms) and Harding Place (the home for the principal) of Geneseo Collegiate Institute.

7. This letter is not known to be extant.

8. John and Mary Andrews Anderson, the parents of Sarah Anderson, lived in Geneseo. See also *PJA*, 1:490–91.

9. On JA's Mediterranean Sea experience, see JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884, and Essay in the *RSM*, Jan. 1885[1886], all above. *Navigazione Generale* Italian was an amalgam of two lines, Florio and Rubattino, that joined in 1882. Ships of the Florio line ran throughout the Mediterranean and from New York to Italy by way of Spain.

10. JA was referring to either Edward or George Weber, sons of her uncle Harrison and aunt Caroline Weber, who lived in New York City.

11. Rev. Richard Heber Newton (1840–1914), born in Philadelphia and educated at the Univ. of Pennsylvania and Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, was at the time rector of St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia, which he served from 1869 until 1903, when he became associated with Leland Stanford Univ. Author of several books, including *Right and Wrong Uses of the Bible* (1883), *The Book of the Beginnings* (1884), *Philistinism* (1885), and *Social Studies* (1886), he was noted for his liberal religious views.

12. H. Gaze and Son was a tour- and ticket-booking agency with offices and agents throughout Europe.

13. Likely Florence Wilkinson, living in Germantown, Pa., in the mid-1890s, a relative of Theodosia Burr Wilkinson Kirkland and a member of the Kirkland School Assn. in Chicago.

To George Bowman Haldeman

Jane Addams left sister Mary Linn and her newborn son Charles Hodge Linn toward the end of April and journeyed south to visit Laura Jane Forbes and her family in Union County, Illinois. On 29 April 1887, Mary wrote to Jane that "Charles Hodge has a very bad cold indeed: can hardly tell if he is much better or not. I cannot see how he took such a cold."¹ Five days later, on 4 May 1887, Charles Hodge died and was buried in the Addams family plot in the Cedarville Cemetery. That event brought Jane Addams home to her sister Mary and to Cedarville.

Soon, Jane was traveling again to satisfy family responsibility. On 3 June, she arrived in Girard, Kansas, to be with her sister Alice Haldeman. "Alice is looking very well indeed," she wrote sister-in-law Laura Addams, "and has not abated a jot of her activity. She rides and walks and bustles exactly as usual."² Less than two weeks later, on June 18, Alice, assisted by Jane, husband Harry Haldeman, and another Girard physician, delivered her first and only child. Jane offered advice about a name for the baby. "I am very sure that my first born son should be named John <Addams> no matter how many they were in the family. John Haldeman is a pretty name. Why don't you call the little girl after Ma as you first suggested with Nannie for home use."³ Alice and Harry named their daughter Anna Marcet Haldeman and called her Marcet.

After the baby had safely arrived, George, who had been living with Anna Addams in Cedarville while they awaited the baby's birth, once again prepared to journey to Europe to continue his education. Marcet's birth seems to have sparked correspondence between Jane and George.

Girard Kansas

July 5" 1887

My dear George

It was very pleasant to receive a letter⁴ from you once more and especially one so redolent of country experiences. My fancy painted a vivid picture of Fanny and "the calf" and for the nonce I was in Cedarville.

We had a pleasant day yesterday and quite believed Alice's declaration that it was the happiest "fourth" of her life. She took her first ride in the evening and enjoyed it with all her riding loving nature. Harry shot off a goodly number of rockets and wheels in the yard, all in honor of Anna Marcet's first <national> birthday, she was duly impressed and no doubt in full time will exhibit all the patriotism of her ancestors.

As Ma wrote you expected to sail on the North German Lloyd, I send you a list of their sailings⁵ which may prove useful to you. Harry and Alice will be very much disappointed if Ma does n't see the baby while she is little, still a genuine wee unconscious baby, why can't you bring Ma to St Louis when you are ready to go east and then go directly to New York. I have promised Alice to stay at least until the baby is a month old, that would bring Ma here just about the time



Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman and her two-month-old daughter Marcet, September 1887. (Howard and Bell, Girard, Kansas; SCPC, JAC)

I am leaving and stretch along the benefit of her society and companionship. It seems to me Ma would be willing to come, if she knew the great pleasure to⁶ would afford.

The baby is very good natured and grows dearer each day. Alice is still pale and looks more worn than I have ever seen her, of course, but she is very happy and improving rapidly. There is no doubt that motherhood is a becoming and goodly thing to her.

On Friday we moved the library up stairs, and the furniture of Alice's bed room down into the room occupied by the library, she means to keep it so all winter to avoid carrying the baby up and down stairs through a hall that is not heated. We became so much interested in Gibbon's account of the rise of Christianity that we digressed into Farrar's "Early days of Christianity" and kindred books, but have come back to Gibbon with renewed vigor, it is certainly a brilliant affair.⁷ I shall hope to see you before you go, but it does n't appear very probable if you go before the last week in July. You know of course that my best wishes for the success of the years are with you and that I have no doubt that you are doing the right thing.⁸ With much love to Ma in which Alice joins, I am Your loving Sister

Jane Addams

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:513–15).

1. UIC, JAMC, Smith; *JAPM*, 2:490.
2. 8 June 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:499.

3. JA to SAAH, 24 Apr. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:484. See also JA to SAAH, 3 Jan. 1886, n. 5, above.

4. That letter is not known to be extant.

5. The list is not known to be extant. The North German Lloyd steamship line, created in Bremen in 1857, was well known. Between 1881 and 1888, it built and ran four new express ships between New York and Europe.

6. JA probably meant to write *it*.

7. Edward Gibbon (1737–94) published the work for which he is known, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in six volumes (1776–88). His chapters on the development of Christianity were greeted with considerable criticism in England. It is likely that JA and her sister were reading an edition with notes by H. H. Milman, François Guizot, and William Smith published in 1854. The sisters interrupted their reading of Gibbon's work to consult works by teacher, Anglican clergyman, and author Frederic William Farrar, a favorite of SAAH.

8. GBH did not stay long in Europe. He returned to Cedarville in Oct. JA wrote to SAAH on 4 Nov. 1887 that “[i]t certainly was well that George came home. I think the chief reason was the state of his health and the fact that the life and living did not agree with him[.] He certainly had an unfortunate experience. He looked wretchedly when he first came home, as if he had fallen into confirmed ill-health, I think I never was more startled than when I saw him first—so perfectly unexpected and he looked as pale & thin as a ghost. He has been improving ever since and now looks quite like himself” (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:546–47).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

In July 1887, after George Haldeman left for Europe, Jane Addams returned to Cedarville to keep Anna Addams company for the remainder of the summer. This account of a week in Jane's life reflects her continuing strong ties to the Rockford Female Seminary community.¹

Cedarville Ill.

Sept 30 1887

My dear Alice

We have not heard from you this week and I hope that it does not mean that Marcet is sick. Mary sent her deed for the Iowa land and asks to be enlightened in regards to the law suit, I wrote that you would write her all about it.² I came back from Nora's wedding Wednesday afternoon,³ Ma came down with the man to meet me. I had a delightful time from the time I left home on Monday.⁴ Miss Blaisdell⁵ and I met in Beloit and went on together to Racine. We took supper there reaching Waukegan about eight o'clock in the evening. The house was full of guests but they had room for us and gave us a hearty welcome. Nora married a Mr Haworth and sails with him the 20th Oct for Japan.⁶ He is a very pleasant gentleman with no trace of the missionary cant about him and talks very intelligently upon Japanese prospects and affairs. He is considered a very promising young minister and <while> Nora frankly says that she prefers living in America, she goes with the bravest heart and spirit imaginable. We spent all morning trimming the house with the abundance of flowers the good people

brought in. The one o'clock train from Chicago brought about twenty guests, and the ceremony was performed at half past one. Dr Curtis & his wife Laura Ely of '81⁷ were there, Helen Harrington⁸ who has been with Nora for a week, Miss Blaisdell and myself were the only Sem'y people. The ladies of the church gave the reception immediately after the ceremony, about two hundred people were there in spite of the disagreeable weather, Mr Frothingham⁹ officiated, Nora's brother who is also a minister¹⁰ and Dr Curtis assisting. Nora looked very pretty, as bright and alert as ever. Mr Howorth looks and acts very much like Fred Greenleaf.¹¹ His sister was present who goes to Japan with them.¹² About fifteen of us went with the bride and groom as far as Chicago, and a very jolly party we were. Helen, Miss Blaisdell and myself, expected to go on to Rockford that evening, but found no train until eleven. Mr and Mrs Curtis insisted upon our spending the night with them. We spent a delightful evening, Dr Curtis is very much like his father, and expounded the atonement¹³ in a liberal scholarly fashion, that impressed me immensely. It was a curious association with a wedding, but we had discussed the doctrine of the atonement for two days. Mr Haworth was afraid that he was too hetrodox on that point to pass the board examination, and Mr Harold Frothingham rather thought the board did wrong to pass him. Nora defended his position with spirit, and constantly appealed for support from her friends.

Ma says that she dreamed of Anna Marcet all last night, she is planning just a little, I think, to see her this fall. Has she blue eyes or brown, you have never written.

On Friday evening I went down with Laura to hear Dr Vincent on the "Chatauqua Idea",¹⁴ he spoke well and there is no doubt that his idea was wonderful, but he was not quite fair in showing the practical workings of it.

Last evening "Augustus" drove Ma[,] Mrs Clingman¹⁵ & myself out to a Methodist Miss. tea at Mrs Ed Bell's.¹⁶ We enjoyed the evening very much. My two new horses are really very handsome in their new black mounted harness. The carriage was washed and brushed and we went off in fine style.

I do not care for the bottles, keep them until some one comes or goes from Girard to Cedarville. The gloves and thimble I could use.

We begun the outside chimney at the dining room Monday and it is almost completed. We mean to paper and paint as well.¹⁷

Ma joins in love to Harry and yourself[.] Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:525-30).

1. See introduction to part 4, above.

2. For information about the lawsuit concerning the Iowa property, see JA to SAAH, 11 Apr. 1886, n. 21, above. By Sept. 1887, AHHA had decided to purchase the entire 180 acres from the other family members and share it with her son HWH. SAAH sold her one-third interest to AHHA for \$10.50 per acre. On 24 Sept. 1887, JA informed SAAH that "Mr Barton

made out a deed for a third of the Iowa land, I signed it and sent it on to Mary and Mr Linn for signature, it has not come back yet but we expect it to ~~to-morr~~ Monday when the transaction will be complete" (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:523). In Nov., HWH wrote to his mother, who must have been considering selling the property, "My opinion is that you had better keep the land. As it is now neither of us can do any thing with it until one or the other of us dies—and if I die first it belongs to you any how." He continued, "We settled up Hemenway & Grundy's bill a nice little one of 150 dollars. Sic!! I am in the best of humor over this thing (11 Nov. 1887; IU, Lilly, SAAH).

3. Eleanor "Nora" Frothingham (1860–1949) wed Rev. Barnabas C. Haworth (b. 1855), a missionary with the Presbyterian church, in Waukegan, Ill., on Tuesday, 27 Sept. 1887. The couple had five children and lived in Tokyo, Japan. For a biographical note, see *PJA*, 1:212–13, n. 9.

4. 26 Sept. 1887.

5. Sarah F. Blaisdell, former RFS teacher of ancient languages whom JA admired, had retired to Beloit, Wis., in 1881.

6. The Haworths resigned as missionaries in Japan in 1906 and returned to the United States.

7. Laura Ely Curtis was a classmate of JA. She wed Edwin L. Curtis, who became a professor of theology at Yale Univ. For a biographical note, see *PJA*, 1:295, n. 12.

8. RFS classmate of JA and Nora Frothingham.

9. Rev. James Frothingham (1834–1920), from Johnstown, N.Y., was ordained a Presbyterian minister and wed Chloe D. Hazeltine in 1857. Until 1859, he was a missionary to the Choctaws in Indian Territory. He then became a pastor in Caledonia, Minn. (1860–64); Lansing, Iowa (1865–79); Manchester, Iowa (1879–81); Morrison, Ill. (1881–85); Waukegan, Ill. (1885–89); and Chicago (1889–92, for the Ninth Presbyterian Church). For a number of years, beginning in 1899, he served as city editor for *The Interior* (Chicago). The Frothinghams had five children.

10. Rev. Harold Frothingham, brother of Nora, became a preacher. Another brother, Herbert Harold Frothingham, became a physician who practiced in Chicago.

11. Frederick W. Greenleaf (1847–1903) was stepcousin by marriage to JA. For a biographical note, see *PJA*, 1:101–2, n. 6.

12. Alice R. Haworth (1858?–1944), like other members of the Haworth family, became a missionary. She served in Osaka and Kyoto, Japan, as a kindergarten teacher and mission secretary (1887–1907). She went to high school in Rockville, Ind., and attended the Chicago Free Kindergarten Training School; Westfield College, Westfield, Ill.; and the State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind.

13. One of the fundamental issues in Christian theology is resolving the sinful nature of man with the perfection of God. The doctrine of atonement holds that this is accomplished through Christ's death on the cross in atonement for the sins of humanity.

14. When she attended this presentation, JA did not know that she would eventually be one of the celebrity lecturers for the Chautauqua organization, which became "one of America's first successful ventures in mass adult education" (Anderson, "New York's Century Old Retreat"). Methodist minister and later bishop John H. Vincent (1832–1920) and Lewis Miller (1829–99), businessman-inventor and father-in-law of American inventor Thomas A. Edison, met in Akron, Ohio, in 1868 and recognized that they shared educational ideals. Six years later, in 1873, they planned their initial adult education project, a two-week camp in Aug. 1874 in Chautauqua, N.Y. It was aimed at improving the pedagogy of Sunday School teachers.

In 1887, the Chautauqua movement, which was destined to survive into the twenty-first century as an educational, cultural, and recreational program for adults that influenced other adult education efforts and college and university offerings, was relatively young. It boasted

curricula for Sunday School teachers as well as musicales and lectures during the special summer encampment at Chautauqua, N.Y., which eventually expanded to eight weeks. Before 1887, the movement had opened a language school, chartered Chautauqua Univ., and expanded its clientele beyond Sunday School teachers to ordinary schoolteachers who wanted to improve their teaching techniques. While Vincent saw to the development of the program and its curricula, Miller made logistical arrangements and worked to develop the New York site. The Chautauqua leaders “set up extension programs, correspondence courses” and “the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (CLSC), the first mail-order book club in America. At the turn of the century, the CLSC was sending books and study materials to fifteen thousand reading circles across the country” (Anderson, “New York’s Century Old Retreat”).

In 1886, Vincent published his book *The Chautauqua Movement* through the Chautauqua Press in Boston. When he stopped in Freeport, Ill., to lecture, he was in familiar territory. During the late 1850s and early 1860s, Vincent had served the Rock River Conf. in Illinois, holding churches in Joliet, Galena, Rockford, and Chicago. It is likely that JHA, an avid supporter of the Union Sunday School movement, was present at a Sunday School teachers’ meeting in Freeport in 1861, when Vincent suggested the idea of the Union Sunday School Institute for the Northwest. The institute, which offered an assortment of lesson plans and publications, thrived. During JHA’s life, institutes for Sunday School teachers were frequently held in Freeport and Cedarville, and MCAL and JHA often attended (see *PJA*, 1:85, n. 10; 1:86, n. 3; 1:473; and 1:538).

JA lectured at a social settlement conference held at Chautauqua, N.Y., in 1893. She also participated in the Chautauqua program in 1898, 1900, 1902, 1907, 1915, and 1918. Her *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907) and *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1911) became volumes in the Chautauqua Home Reading Series.

The Chautauqua idea expanded across America. James Redpath organized traveling Chautauquas to visit small towns and cities across the United States. Summer entertainment and educational encampments with lectures and musical presentations were held in large and small communities. In 1920, ninety-three Chautauqua circuits reached more than five hundred towns.

15. JA and AHHA were probably sharing their carriage with Maria Simpson Clingman (1809–1916), widow of Josiah Clingman (1808–65). For a biographical note, see *PJA*, 1:59–60, n. 35. The women were being driven by JA’s cousin Augustus Addams (1851–93), son of Lavina and James Addams.

16. James Edwin Bell (b. 1849?), the son of Jane and Thomas Bell, and his wife, Susan (b. 1851?), from Pennsylvania, lived near the elder Bells in Lancaster Twp., Stephenson Co., Ill. Thomas and Jane Bell’s daughter (and Ed Bell’s sister) Anna (1852–1920) was married to Ethol Clingman (1851–1920), son of Maria Simpson and Josiah Clingman. The Addams and Clingman families were close friends.

17. AHHA and JA were refurbishing the Addams homestead in Cedarville. JA reported to SAAH: “The old home has never looked more comfortable and pleasant, the window thrown into the hall makes it light & cheerful with its new paper. The toned paper and paint in the three lower rooms is very effective, & the great improvement of all is the deep fire place in the dining room, we have no grate but old fashioned hanirons and can pile any amount of ‘chunks’ into it. I sent to Clara Young for three pairs of very handsome lace curtains for the sitting room.” Cousin Clara Young lived in Philadelphia. Other changes included adding a fireplace in AHHA’s bedroom over the fireplace in the dining room and building a veranda at the front door with a second story that could be entered from a new door cut into the second story where a window had been. JA also proudly reported to her sister SAAH that she had a new surrey and that “[i]n short we are finally fixed for living” (4 Nov. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:547–48).

Speech to the Rockford Female Seminary Reunion Association

Jane Addams spoke at a gathering of the Rockford Female Seminary Reunion Association in Oak Park, Illinois, on 8 October 1887.¹ The program was presented as a series of lengthy toasts to the school's students, graduates, teachers, and mission.² "My toast was the first 'Our debts—and how shall we pay them,'" Jane informed Alice, also a graduate of the seminary. "[T]he subject had seemed to me trite and I am afraid I was very general."³

Oak Park, Illinois

8 October 1887

OUR DEBTS: AND HOW SHALL WE PAY THEM.

I once heard a German predict, that the American civilization, the experiment of the 19th cent. Was doomed to failure.

He had heard that the American women, die Frauen ünd die Frauleins,⁴ were gradually assuming the full responsibility of the nation's progress. That they were in a large majority in the Protestant church, and took full the greater charge of the philanthropic and social aspects of religious culture. That they played the leading role in society, and actually gave dinners and receptions to which the men were not invited.

That they gloried in their <superior> mental attainments <& perceptions> and openly ~~venerated~~ <boasted> of their advantages ~~opportunities and attainments~~ <advantages> <over European women. He had further heard (but this he did not credit) that> ~~they feared our European women.~~ <many of them seriously considered an authorized expression of this feminine perception, <absolutely> necessary to the safety of the republic.>

But my German friend assured me that when these women should come to feel the sole weight of this burden <they were <thus> assuming> when they alone should be ~~alone~~ responsible for the social and aesthetic development of a civilization, they would find themselves totally unequal to it, they would simply be crushed <under what men had been carrying for yrs> and <that they would> endanger the safety of the entire affair.

I made but a feeble protest against <either> his perverted facts or his ridiculous theory. I was alone, in a land of strange opinions, but now in the midst of my kindly sisters breathing the subtle air of mutual congratulation and esprit de corps, I sincerely put the question.

Whence comes this sweet delusion that has seized us, that we are equal to all ~~undertakings~~ <anything & everything>.

What spirit is it, which constantly impels us to broaden our field of usefulness, & increase our responsibilities.

Is it perhaps the sense of an enormous debt, and the conviction that we are upon the verge of insolvency?

Is our ~~high~~ education in some way responsible? Have we taken <our long with held> our classics and mathematics too seriously? ~~Are we drunk with the new wine of higher educat[ion?]~~ Are we like Melanthon and Erasmus <Sturm> with their newly recovered Greek manuscripts, ~~under a~~ <zealously> determined to extend the <ir> culture to each <every> human soul—and give <pay back> to <each> [~~two words illegible~~] <boy in Stras[s]burg> what they owed to the Greek philosophers⁵ <Was the fall of Constantinople to the Humanists what the opening of the College has been to American women <us?>⁶

In <other> short has the stress of philanthropic and beneficent action, the concern for the progress of the human race, formerly confined to reformers or <and had as> the result of a high religious fervor ~~and charity~~, at last become universal, and <is it> most clearly demonstrated in that keen barometer of social problems—the American woman, and in America the paradise of women,—their promised land ~~there is~~ <is there> still an inner circle—the <most> ~~inmost~~ <responsible> cult of all—the women who feel the peculiar responsibility of a college course?

~~In short that~~ <W>e have to inaugurate a <general> movement to pay

We are taught subtle theories of heredity, that our very nerve centres and muscular fibers have inherited tendencies, predispositions for benevolence. [~~aphindes?~~]⁷ for righteousness. That the progress in human affairs is due to far away people, who have striven & overcome evil. That we are not only indebted to some one else for the power and opportunity of doing good, but are in debt for the very desire, and are bound not only to the right action, but also to disseminate the impulse & to increase the tendency.

This view <of ourselves> is rather overwhelming. we are <so completely> the children of the Past, that the little ridge of <the> present, <upon wh we stand bewildered,> ~~upon is no more than~~⁸

We can all recall the virtuous, slightly self righteous air, the mother of ten <eight> or six <ten> children will assume, when speaking of her family. It is because she feels that she <at least> has paid her debt to the world, has done her duty to society. In reality she is satisfied because she has persuaded herself that she has a right to push her burden, her sense of indebtedness, ~~onto them~~ <upon her children>. She hopes that ~~they <her children>~~ they will accomplish the good and noble things that she failed to find time for. For after all it is “to do noble and true things, that the poorest son of Adam dimly longs” <& vindicate> & when he has failed to do them himself, he at once begins to long for their accomplishment thr his son.

Do we marvel that the American woman, fed on this sort of diet, has become a trifle morbid in her conscience—a little over zealous for action. “A misdated Puritan, seeking in good works for the peace a former age found in an austere creed.” Is⁹ she demanding from herself high purposes, active and beneficent conduct, because she has had opportunities denied to the women of all ages?

Is she trying to do in the future generations what these women ought to have been doing in many past generation, zealously keeping the old prerogatives & claims the while.

It is said that Goethe was the only modern who wielded his immense panoply of learning with ease. It¹⁰ may also require absolute genius by & by to satisfy the demands of the enlightened & cultivated conscience. We may at last be overwhelmed & paralyzed by the enormity of our debt, if we continue so to cultivate our sense of responsibility, our perception of duty. Imagine the chagrin of the knight who was defeated because his armor was too heavy.

AMs [fragments?] (UIC, JAMC, Detzer; *JAPM*, 46:104–12). The manuscript is composed of nine pages. In contrast to the first seven pages, JA wrote the last two on unlined paper. The last three paragraphs of the speech appear twice. We have presented the latest version identifying JA's changes from the earlier version in annotation.

1. JA seems to have been very comfortable in Chicago and with train travel at night. Accompanied by Flora Guiteau, she boarded the train in Freeport, Ill., for Chicago at 6:00 A.M. on 8 Oct. 1887. While Flora went into the city to see a matinee of *Rip Van Winkle*, JA stopped in Oak Park, Ill., to attend the RFS Reunion Assn. meeting. She then journeyed back into Chicago to select a mantel for her sister SAAH, to whom she reported, "A simple slate mantle of one color is not obtrusive but a built up architectural affair like the one he [James Linn, brother of JML] was going to send you—is simply awful" (9 Oct. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:533). JA met Flora at the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago at 6:00 P.M., and they went to see Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* with Edwin Booth and Lawrence Barrett. Then they boarded the 11:30 P.M. train from Chicago, arriving back in Freeport at 4:00 A.M. on 9 Oct.

Flora saw American actor Joseph Jefferson (1829–1905) in his most famous role in Dion Bouicault's (1820–90) play, *Rip Van Winkle*. From 1886 to 1891, Edwin Thomas Booth (1833–93), American actor and brother of Lincoln assassin John Wilkes Booth, and Lawrence Barrett (1838–91) excelled together in Shakespearean roles like those in *Julius Caesar*.

2. Thirty-five women—RFS teachers, former students, and school supporters—gathered at Ellen Shephard Dorsett's home for luncheon and an afternoon of presentations. Among those attending were Sarah Blaisdell, SA, Fanny Talcott, and Mary Talcott Pettibone, who presided. Laura Ely Curtis was the only member of JA's class of 1881 who was present.

Presenters included former RFS principal Anna P. Sill, who JA thought "looked very handsome and serene but is really quite broken in many respects"; Anne Howe, "a kindergarten teacher of the advanced kind" who "spoke splendidly on the psychological side" of "our debts to the children"; Adeline Potter Lathrop, who spoke on "Our debt to the Sem'y"; RFS principal Martha Hillard, who presented a paper on "Our debt to the girls"; and Harriette L. Sykes Humphrey, who "took tenable and sensible ground" on "Our debts to Missions" (JA to SAAH, 9 Oct. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:535–36).

Ellen R. Shephard Dorsett, class of 1868, became principal of Skyland Institute, a school in the mountains of North Carolina near Blowing Rock, after her husband Daniel Dorsett died. She also served one year as girls' manager in the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pa. (see also *PJA*, 1:349–50, n. 3).

Mary Talcott Pettibone (d. 1912), RFS class of 1865, was the daughter of the Wait Talcotts of Rockford. In 1866, she wed stationer-printer Philo Foster Pettibone (1841–1916), who graduated from Beloit College, Wis., in 1862. The couple lived in Chicago. Mrs. Pettibone was a member of the Chicago Woman's Club and the West End Woman's Club. In 1874, she helped organize the RFS Reunion Assn., which became the Rockford College Assn. of Chicago.

Harriette L. Sykes Humphrey (1832–1910), widow of Presbyterian minister Rev. Zephaniah

Moore Humphrey (1824–81), was a noted national lecturer on missionary matters and biblical study. In 1887, she made her home in Lake Forest, Ill. JA attended her lecture series “Divine Plan of Redemption as Fulfilled in the Old Testament” in Feb. 1889 at the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Chicago, shortly after she began her effort to found Hull-House. She pronounced one of Humphrey’s lectures “brilliant” (JA to MCAL, 12 Feb. 1889, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:1013). See also *PJA*, 3.

For biographical information about Anna P. Sill, Laura Ely Curtis, Fanny Talcott, and Sarah Blaisdell, see *PJA*, 1. For biographical information about Adeline Potter Lathrop, see SA to JA, 16 Nov. 1881, n. 3, above.

3. JA to SAAH, 9 Oct. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:535.

4. German phrase, *die Frauen und die Fraulein*, translates as “the married females and the maiden females.” JA spelled “ünd” incorrectly. It should have been spelled “und.”

5. Renaissance humanists used exacting standards to provide translations of classical works in Greek and Latin. These books were distributed through the new medium of print and gave leaders of the Protestant Reformation additional positions from which to question the law and practices of the Roman Catholic church. One of those scholar-humanists was Desiderius Erasmus of the Netherlands, who created a new edition of the New Testament from the original Greek (1516; rev. ed. 1519). Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), a German scholar and close associate of Martin Luther, was professor of Greek at the Univ. of Wittenberg. Often referred to as “the preceptor of Germany,” he had an influential role in helping create German schools. Jacob Sturm von Sturmeck (1489–1553) was a German reformer who became a member of the governing body of Strasburg in 1524 and founded a *Bibliothek* and a *Gymnasium* in Strasburg.

6. Church leaders in Constantinople played a major role in establishing Christian doctrine and law even before the final schism that resulted in the division of organized Christian believers into the Roman Catholic church and the Greek Orthodox church. When the Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, it became the capital of the Muslim Ottoman empire and its religious influence waned. In opposition to the church’s position that man’s life on earth was important only as it affected what happened to his soul after death, humanists proposed that man’s life had potential value before death.

7. JA may have been attempting to write the word *affinities*.

8. The sentence may have ended with “the crest of the wave.” This phrase appears as a fragment at the top of the page that begins the newest version of the last three paragraphs of the text. See *JAPM*, 46:112.

9. In the earlier version JA had written: “<Is she> Demanding from herself high purposes, active & beneficent conduct, because she has had opportunities denied: <to the women of all other ages? ¶ Is she trying to do in one generation what all those oppressed women ought to have been doing for many past generations>” (*JAPM*, 46:111).

10. In the earlier version JA had written: “Will it <also> require a <absolute> genius by and by, to satisfy the demands of the enlightened and cultivated conscience. ~~Will we <Shall we not at last> be overwhelmed and paralyzed by the enormity of our debt, to culture and progress—as the man insolvent for a home and dollars~~ <if we continue so to cultivate our sense of responsibility, our perception of duty. Imagine the chagrin of the knight who> [end of text]” (*JAPM*, 46:111).

List of Financial Assets Owned by Jane Addams

In mid-November 1887, Jane Addams engaged Edward P. Barton,¹ a family friend and lawyer who had served as executor of her father's estate, to hold and monitor her investments while she was in Europe. The securities, notes, mortgages, and crops he listed as a receipt and memorandum provides a record of Jane Addams's wealth shortly before she launched her social settlement scheme.² The value of her securities and notes in 1887 of nearly \$35,000 would be valued at approximately \$765,290 in year 2006 dollars.³ In addition to these holdings, Jane also owned real estate⁴ and cash. She had just sold her one-third interest in Iowa land she had inherited from her father,⁵ and she had sufficient cash to back the letter of credit she would rely on in Europe.⁶

While visiting her Weber relatives in and around Philadelphia early in December just before she left for Europe, Jane Addams called on Dean Rachel L. Bodley at the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania. "I had a delightful call as I always do, I love her sincerely & her affection for me I prize very highly."⁷ Through Dean Bodley, Jane had become interested in the Pandita Ramabai movement to bring education and hope for a livelihood to India's women, especially its widows.⁸ "I learned clearly & fully from Dean Bodley all about it," Jane informed sister Alice. "I send you one of the books, which I have seen before but never enjoyed so much."⁹

Dean Bodley was also apparently influential in securing Jane's support for a special student, and in doing so provided an occasion for her former student to consider the state of her financial affairs as she set out for Europe. "About the money, Alice, I think I will use some of it now. Will you send a draft of (\$25.00) twenty five dollars to Uncle George Weber¹⁰ for Christmas <with a little greeting for me>[.] He is sick, probably his last illness & they are very poor. Then will you send a draft for twenty dollars (\$20.00) to Dean Bodley for a Syrian girl, Sabot, who is trying to study at the college, but so overcome by her Eastern indolence that she has worn out every one's patience. That will leave a balance of \$348.00[.] Will you reinvest the \$300. please and send me \$50.00 in a foreign draft, as soon as enough interest is paid in to make up the fifty & exchange. I haven't a great deal in the bank at home just now & don't want to over draw my account, or my letter of credit. I can send you more money for reinvestment during the winter. I am sure of five hundred dollars [in] Feb—no failure this time I think if you are ready in¹¹ invest it for me."¹²

Freeport, Ill.

Nov 15th 1887

List of securities on my hands belonging to Jane Addams

Maker	date	Amount	When due	rate pr ct
R M Richmond	Jan 19/83	1800.00	Feb 1st 88.	7 ¹³
James Montague	Feb 10 '83	550.00	" " "	7
Maria L. Jacobs	" " "	2500.00	" " "	7 ¹⁴
Carl Elers Jr	Jan 5th 86	400.00	June 1st 91	7
Michael Redington	Mch 5/87	300.00	Mch 1.92 ¹⁵	6
Sarah A Middlebrook	Feb 15/87	800.00	June 1st 92	6
F. W. Greenleaf ¹⁶	Sept 21/87	500.00	Sept 1st 88	8
Simon Greenleaf				
Hend[er?]cus Campin	Feb 28/77	6000.00	Feb 21. 85	7 Int pd to Feb.28 87
Joseph Wagner	June 1 77	3000.00	June 1st 90	7 Int pd to Dec 1. 86
Robert G. Hutchison	April 16 84	1900.00	April 16. 87	7 pd to Oct 16/86
Samuel Reamer	Mch 12 83	1000.00	Mch 12 86	7 pd to Mch 12/87
S. T. Reamer <Samuel ¹⁷ Reamer> mother-in-law	Oct 1st 86	100.00	Oct 1st 87	7
Same Makers ¹⁸	Mch 24 87	200.00	Mch 24 88	7
John S. Baird	May 18 78	2172.77	May 18 82	6.5 pd to Jan 27/87
Peter Schmidt	Jan 12 81	1000.00	Jan 12 91	7 pd to Jan 12/87
Barton G. Cooper	Feb 6 86	2500.00	Feb 6 89	7 pd to Feb 6 87
Jacob S. Fisher	Aug 2 83	200.00	Aug 2 85	7 pd to Aug 2 86
Mary C.A. Linn ¹⁹	May 16 87	1200.00	May 16 89	6
J Weber Addams ²⁰	Oct 20 87	5500.00	Oct 20 88	6
Certificate	10 shares	2d Nat[ional] B[an]k Stock N[orthern] P[acific] R[ail] R[oad] Stock Preferred		
"	10 "			
Receipt dated Feb 14/87 of S A Haldeman that she holds to collect & remit to Jane Addams notes aggregating \$2000.00 ²¹		3000.00 12%		
		33622.77 ²²		
Total		34622.77 ²³		

E. P. Barton

(500 in Feb for stock²⁴

(200 " Feb " Mrs Talcott

1200 bu of oats at Williams elevator²⁵

Mr Wheeland \$400. wood—

ADS (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 27:1081).

1. This document was written on the letterhead E. P. Barton, County Judge, The County Court of Stephenson Co.

2. By Jan. 1889, a little more than thirteen months after this document was created, JA and EGS were in Chicago investigating how and where to launch their settlement "scheme" that became Hull-House. JA's nephew James Weber Linn reports in *Jane Addams: A Biography* that his aunt had an annual income at this time of about \$3,000 (84).

3. The editors arrived at this relationship using the Consumer Price Index and consulting Samuel H. Williamson, "The Purchasing Power of Money in the United States from 1774 to 2006," available at <http://www.measuringworth.com/ppowerus/result.php>.

4. JA had inherited 247 acres in Lancaster Twp. (just to the south of Cedarville), 80 acres in Dakota Twp., and 60 acres of timberland in Richland (north and west of Cedarville), all in Stephenson Co., valued in 1883 at approximately \$22,860 ([SAAH], [Account Book, 1881–83]; *JAPM*, 27:685). Using the Consumer Price Index as a factor, \$22,860 in 1883 is the equivalent of approximately \$465,043 in 2006 dollars (Williamson, "The Purchasing Power of Money in the United States from 1774 to 2006").

5. See JA to SAAH, 30 Sept. 1887, n. 2, above.

6. JA lost her letter of credit prior to her first European trip in Aug. 1883 and had to have it replaced. See JA to SAAH, 18 Aug., and 27 Aug., 1883, n. 15, both above.

7. JA to SAAH, 10 Dec. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:596.

8. Indian social reformer and missionary Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati (1858–1922) was well known to Dean Rachel Bodley, who invited her to the United States in Mar. 1886 to attend the graduation of Anandibai Joshee (1865–87), the first female Indian physician from the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania. Joshee, the first Indian to be trained as a physician in the United States, became physician-in-charge of the female ward at the Albert Edward Hospital in India.

At a time when Indian women were not educated and were usually considered chattel of their husbands, Ramabai, a Brahmin woman, was respected in India for her knowledge of Sanskrit and traditional Hindu culture and religion. In 1882, with the support of other Indian social reformers, Ramabai founded Arya Mahila Samaj, a women's association that promoted education and social change. Also in 1882, Ramabai published her first book, *Stree Dharma Neeti* (Morals for Women), in which she argued that Indian women needed access to Indian female physicians. She set out to be one, going to England in 1883 under the auspices of the Sisters of the Community of St. Mary the Virgin of the Church of England. She continued her education at Cheltenham Ladies' College, although not as a physician. She visited the newly opened Toynbee Hall in 1885.

Ramabai traveled in the United States for two and a half years to promote her campaign to establish a residential school in India for widows. In Dec. 1887, the American Ramabai Assn. was formed in Boston. As part of her fund-raising for the association, Ramabai wrote *The High-Caste Hindu Woman* in 1887, "her most famous book and virtually an Indian feminist manifesto" (Kosambi, "Multiple Contestations," 198). Dean Bodley wrote the introduction for the volume.

After she returned to India, Ramabai founded the Sharada Sadan, the first residential school in India for Brahmin women, primarily widows, to provide regular school education as well as vocational training, including teacher and nursing education.

9. JA to SAAH, 10 Dec. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:596. It was likely Ramabai's *The High-Caste Hindu Woman* that JA read and shared with SAAH and her friend Flora Guiteau of Freeport, Ill. A book title listed as "Ramaibi" appears as #709 in the Catalog of the Library of Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman. JA also encouraged her sister-in-law, LSA, to read it, writing to her, "You remember how much I was interested in Pandita Ramabai, Reiff Dean Bodley roused me more than ever" (10 Dec. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:585).

10. JA had learned in a letter from her aunt Elizabeth Reiff on 30 Oct. 1887, that George

Weber, Jr., who lived with his invalid wife, Maria, in Vinton, Iowa, was ill. See also *PJA*, 1:131, n. 1; and 1:494.

11. JA probably meant to write *to*.

12. JA to SAAH, 10 Dec. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:597–98. In a brief note to SAAH written from Ambler, Pa., JA revised her financial instructions, indicating that she wanted “a foreign draft for \$140[.]⁰⁰ leaving one hundred and forty dollars, leaving \$200.00 to reinvest after exchange &c is paid. Then I will not overdraw my a/c certainly and will feel more comfortable in regard to Christmas as the mo[n]ey will probably reach Paris almost as soon as I do. I have no income at Freeport paid in in Dec. & am not sure when the oats will be sold which will reach about four hundred dollars, for the two yrs crop” ([ca. 10 Dec.] [1887], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:599).

13. The entries from R. M. Richmond through Sarah A. Middlebrook are marked with a “fence” to connect them with the notation “N. E. L. & T. Co.,” apparently indicating that these notes were held through the New England Loan and Trust Co.

14. E. P. Barton drew a box around the entry for Maria L. Jacobs.

15. The entries for Michael Redington and Sarah A. Middlebrook are connected by a “fence” with the notation “Guaranteed by N E L & T Co.”

16. The entries for Frederick W. Greenleaf, husband of JA’s stepcousin Mamie Hostetter, and his father, Simon Greenleaf, are connected with a “fence,” indicating that they shared responsibility for the note.

17. The entry “S. T. Reamer <Samuel Reamer> mother-in-law” is fenced.

18. “Same Makers” seems to indicate that JA agreed to a second note from “S. T. Reamer <Samuel Reamer> mother-in-law.”

19. MCAL may have borrowed the money from JA in order to purchase her Geneseo, Ill., home.

20. JA’s brother, JWA.

21. This \$2,000 is not included in the total that Barton provided in the document.

22. This total seems to have been a trial total.

23. This total is an accurate accounting of the listed notes and the \$3,000 SAAH was managing in the Haldeman’s Bank of Girard, Kans. This does not include the value of the Second National Bank stock or for the Northern Pacific Railroad stock. It also does not include the \$2,000 Barton listed under SAAH’s name or the monies listed in the notation that appears perpendicular to the body of the text (n. 24).

24. These four lines are perpendicular to the main body of the text, between the columns designated “Date due” and “rate pr ct,” beginning at the entry for MCAL and ending at the Chapin entry.

25. E. P. Barton enclosed this statement in a drawn box.

From Maria G. Nutting

“There is something about the associations of R.F.S. that are peculiarly genuine[,] I don’t believe many schools have it,” mused Jane Addams in a letter to her sister Alice.¹ Maria G. “Nuttie” Nutting,² who had been one of Jane’s friends at the seminary, found herself in a strange country in a new and challenging role and longed to reach out to share feelings with someone who might understand her sentiments. She also proudly reported that as a female missionary teacher she was using her education to benefit others. Jane was pleased enough by the fact and tenor of Nuttie’s letter, which arrived in a bundle of letters while she was traveling in Europe, to

*share it with her sister Alice, who saved it. "Inclosed is rather a remarkable letter which reached [me] two days ago, which you may enjoy reading. . . . Of course I do not lay stress on the compliments in Nuttie's letter, the 'pure life' comes from herself. I know but too well."*³

American Mission, Mardin, Turkey

Thursday 9.00 P.M. Nov. 17, 1887.

Dear Janet;—

I dreamed about you last night; and you were so closely and vitally real to me that a tender remembrance of you has been in my heart all thro' this busy day.

It was in some great, beautiful world-palace, the Louvre perhaps, and yet there were vague, sweet certainties of school-life about it. The golden-red of the sunrise as the king of the orient arose above Mt. Ararat,⁴ flooding my room dispelled the lovely dream-life, and the persistent duties of the day left nothing with me excepting a shadowey, indescribably grand and beautiful place with lovely luxurious things all about; but the soul of it all was a consciousness of your presence. You were at a distance under the lofty arches, but in coming toward me your eyes were so luminous, with a refined and chastened soul-life and with a glad recognition that, even tho' I could not reach you for the anticipated word, yet it left a happy sense of comradeship with me. I had had no intention of writing you this week, and, indeed, do not know if I ought now to take the time for it and if you will be pleased to receive it. But it is one of the cases of an unexpected influence coming in to give a different color to one's day. And arising from that vision of the night so many sweet and stirring memories of the school days have come that I must steal a little time for a talk with you. I have been thinking of that first year, when you roomed in that little room in the connection alone, and what lovely earnest talks we used to have there or on our way back and forth to church. I have to smile now at some of our girlish enthusiasms & philosophizing; but then it was all dead in earnest. And really we did touch upon some pretty deep subjects. What a pity that no scribe was ever appointed to keep record! And Hattie Smith⁵ and Katie Hitchcock!⁶ But all those happy times were before I had the typhoid fever. Can you ever hear from Katie now? She seemed to slip out from our knowledge so effectivally soon after I left Hopkinton⁷ that I have not heard a word from or of her.

Dear little Janet, always cordial and unselfish, how I should love to see her again! After you moved to 2nd floor Linden⁸ and I was nearly opposite, I was too busy to even enjoy you much, and my chief memories of that year are of that prompt and wise little editor who used to bring in "copy" and help me look over proof. And again of one day when I had the pleasure of meeting your father in your room, the only time I ever saw him. And having imbibed something of your ideas of him, how I drank in every word that fell from his lips!

And I do so want to know, Jane my comrade, just how you are now. Are you better than when last I saw you? Are you in the old home? Are you able

to carry on any regular line of work in mind or matter or that which is in and above and through all? In fact I am hungry for news of you. All my knowledge is only a note now and then in my letters from Miss Sill⁹ and others. I rejoiced with you as I heard that you were to visit Europe with Miss Anderson. And I felt like saying a most hearty "bless you!" when hearing that you had given an important sum to the library which was my especial care and anxiety during the two years of my teacherhood there.¹⁰

I wonder what you would have made of our journey here! You know it all, I believe excepting the long horseback ride of fourteen days from the coast here. I am well and very happy in my new work—a kindergarten, at least as much of a one as I can work up with limited material <and> knowledge. I wish that you could have the pleasure of digging out Arabic—the language of our station—with me. It is exceedingly difficult, since the Semetic way of thinking and expressing itself is so directly <the> opposite of ours. Most of this past year has been spent in study, and helping along as much as I could in the girls' school which had been gathered under native teachers just before we came. This year Miss Dewey¹¹—my associate—has charge of this school while I am carrying out a cherished desire in caring for very little people. I sometimes smile at the remembrance of the fiction of my classmates that my future was to be an Matron of an orphan asylum; for none of us dreamed that I should ever be away over here in Mesopotamia with twenty-eight handsome, black-eyed little Arabs under my care. Last July when I urged my desire in our station meetings it was objected that there was no place ~~to~~ for such a school, no appropriation, no kindergarten songs or plays in Arabic, no sufficient knowledge of the people on my part and no attractive [forces?] which could draw children away out here to this end of the city where our buildings are; but I promised to meet expenses from my salary (\$27.50 per month!), I would utilize the materials I could find here, I would use the bedroom of the girls' school until a better could be found &c. &c. Sept 12. I opened, and it has been popular & successful even beyond my hopes, & all are enthusiastic now about its feasibility. There is great need of a suitable building now for it, and of all sorts of Kindergarten material. How I do wish that you could come in and see us! With your love for languages, you would doubtless enjoy hearing & studying this oriental tongue. And countless manners, customs & expressions in vogue here give a luminous explanation to hitherto vague or perplexing Bible verses. I am more deeply satisfied and happy in my work here than I can tell you, working for the dear Savior who said: "[May] joy no man taketh from you."¹² Dear-Heart, write to me, With love sincerely yours,

Maria G. Nutting.

If³ you know Hattie Smith _____'s address please tell her that I should be glad to hear from her.

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:551–54).

1. [ca. 7][Jan. 1887], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:408.
2. For a biographical note on Maria G. ("Nuttie" or "Natty") Nutting, see *PJA*, 1:232, n. 10.
3. JA to SAAH, 10 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:645–46.
4. Mt. Ararat, a noted geographical feature of eastern Turkey 17,000 feet above sea level, is located near the border with Iran.
5. For a biographical note on Harriet ("Hattie") Smith (Etnyre), see *PJA*, 1:212, n. 8.
6. For a biographical note on Kate ("Katie") Hitchcock, see *PJA*, 1:186, n. 51; 1:263, n. 19.
7. Lenox Collegiate College and Academy, Hopkinton, Iowa, began as Bowen Collegiate Institute in 1859. It was the first Presbyterian college in the state. In 1864, it changed its name to honor James Lenox, who had given \$1,000 to have the school named after him. Each year from 1884 to 1890 it awarded between two and eighteen A.B. or B.S. degrees.
8. Linden was a residence hall at RFS.
9. Anna P. Sill, principal of RFS when Nuttie and JA were students there.
10. Nuttie had heard about JA's gift of \$1,000 to purchase scientific books for the RFS library.
11. Helen Louise Dewey (Thom) (1858–1915) attended school in Rutland, Vt., where she was born, and in Washington, D.C. She left to be a missionary for the Congregational church in Mardin, Turkey, on 16 Sept., arriving there on 11 Nov. 1886. In 1889, she married physician Morrison Benoni Thom of Aberdeenshire, Scotland. They had no children who lived to maturity. Helen Thom died in the late summer of 1915 and her husband died in Dec. 1915.
12. John 16:22.
13. Remainder of text beginning with the word "If" appears in the left margin of the first page and perpendicular to the main body of the text. See n. 5 for Hattie Smith's married name.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

"We are fairly off, in smooth water & fair sunshine so far," wrote Jane to her sister Alice from the North German Lloyd line's Trave on 14 December 1887 just before the ship cleared Sandy Hook outward bound for Europe.¹ Eight days later the vessel arrived in Southampton, England, where Jane, Sarah Anderson, and John Bickel disembarked with considerable relief. Once again Jane and her party had been seasick. "The first two days of our passage were glorious, and I never enjoyed the ocean so much before. It was perfectly smooth, and as balmy and sunshiny as mid summer," Jane reported to Anna Addams. Then "the boat began to roll violently, and either pitched or rolled all the rest of the voyage but fortunately never both at once, save one night."² Jane reported no especially distinguished travelers on board.³

En Route Paris[, France]—Stuttgart, [Germany]

Dec. 27" 1887

My dear Alice

I expect a letter from you in Munich and to make my side of the story clear will go back to Southampton⁴ where I wrote last.⁵ Our boat left Wednesday night at twelve, we sailed as on a mill pond and reached Havre⁶ at nine in the morning. We could not get a train for Paris until after noon, so that it was six o'clock Christmas eve before we reached our rooms in the Hotel de l'Athénée.⁷

The ride through France was rather picturesque if it had been any other time we should have spent a night at Rouen—it was very grievous to be obliged to pass through the town with the magnificent spire fairly in sight.⁸

We took our supper in one of the Restaurants on the Grand Boulevard.⁹ I exposed the rustiness of my French by ordering mutton chops when I meant veal cutlets & several other small mistakes but we had quite a jolly little meal.

We walked through the Boulevards, the Rue de la Prie and the Rue de Rivoli enjoying the gay shops & the gayer people. About ten we reached the Palais Royal,¹⁰ where the people had congregated in gayest numbers & moods. <We had chocolate with the rest &> I bought a beautiful Fleur de lis pin, with six dollars of your money to commemorate the evening, the place and your affection my dear. Miss Hillard had sent me ten dollars from herself & the teachers for Miss Anderson's Xmas, we got a large adjustable field and opera glass. We had planned to hear mid night mass at the Madeleine,¹¹ we got there before half past eleven and joined a long row of people waiting to get in the minute the door was open. The vergers said the Church had been complet since half past nine, but we argued that <all> these people would not be standing there if that were true & stood there for an hour before we gave it up and went home; having had a very pleasant evening in spite of the last disappointment. The next morning Mr Bickle surprised me by handing me a package from Mary containing a Xmas present from each member of The Linn family. Miss Anderson had a packet of letters under my care from each teacher & many of the girls of the Sem'y giving her a Xmas greeting, we had bonbons for each other and altogether had quite a Xmas morning. It was late before we got out after our nights dissipation so had time for a drive, some music at the Madeleine & to find Miss Dickey¹² to ask her to dine with us. She is the former teacher of French and German at the Sem'y, such a bright brave little woman living in the students quarter, attending lectures at the Sarbonne & the College de France¹³ and holding her own way with economy & self reliance. We had our dinner at the famous Lyon d'Or¹⁴ <quaintly> fitted up as under Henry of Navarre,¹⁵ we gave it a genuine Xmas flavor and then to finish up the evening rode on top of the omnibus the full length of the Boulevards, from the Madeleine to the Bastille.¹⁶ It was a beautiful drive, we are making all use of Mr Bickle for we can do nothing of that kind after he leaves us. He is so boyish and good natured and a delightful travelling companion. Monday I did my Xmas shopping & in the evening we all went to hear Les Huguenots¹⁷ at the Grand Opera. It was one of the finest things I ever heard, the deep men's voices contending for their religion, the tragedy of St Bartholomews night & the conflict through it all was wonderfully stirring and fine. We had four seats in a box at two dollars each—indeed we prided ourselves on our financial management in Paris we paid 3 frs¹⁸ each for our room & got our meals where ever we happened to be, much cheaper than we dared hope. We were dreadfully imposed upon at the hotel at Southampton as well as the other steamer people—and we had grown wary. I will send the rattle home by

Mr Bickle, it will reach Marcet in March, I hope she wont be too old to love it by that time. Keep the little pin as her first birthday present from her Aunt Jane.¹⁹ The water color, I only hope you will like as much as I do. I wanted some thing as unlike the many pictures you have, and good as possible. It is after Israel,²⁰ a Dutch artist who lives in Paris and is quite popular at the Salon—I like the sturdiness of the boy so much—I sent a Madonna to Miss Playter²¹ which I hope she will enjoy, it is a carbon print so will not fade. We found letters from Ellen in Paris, she is spending Xmas with her sister's friend, a Prof in Halle²² and will not be in Munich until the last of the week. In looking up the tickets we found that Sarah could get a round trip ticket to Munich via Cologne, Berlin[,] Dresden & Nuremberg for \$15.00²³ than we would pay to go to Munich direct, so she decided to take the north German cities now, as we come up from Spain via Paris & go directly to England. I am now going with Mr Bickle to Stuttgart, <near> where his friends live. I will spend one or two nights there at the hotel of course, and then go on to Munich, reaching there Friday & Ellen will get there Sat. I will go directly to Fraulein Dahlweiner's²⁴ where we were before and Sarah will come next week. She will be with Fraulein Steiniger²⁵ in Berlin & Ellen's friends in Dresden so that she will only be alone for the actual travelling. I will write again from Munich.²⁶ Dear Alice if you have time for the Journal I shall be much obliged, but never worry yourself in regard to it.²⁷ I will begin the circular letters pretty soon. I have had no letters yet but hope to find some in Munich. Please give my love to the various friends interested—a mille kisses to Marcet[.] Always Yrs

Jane

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:620–24).

1. JA to SAAH, 13 [and 14] Dec. [1887], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:601.

2. JA to AHHA, 22 Dec. 1887, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:602–3. On JA's previous experiences with seasickness, see JA to SAAH, 27 Aug. 1883, n. 4; and Essay in the *RSM*, Jan. 1885[1886], both above.

3. For the two nights that JA could eat something other than cracked ice, she reported: "We had a table of eight Americans, Mr and Mrs Smith who were making the tour of the world, and were very accomplished people in spite of the obscure name. Dr Howe bent on some government mission to Egypt, Mrs Rand and her two daughters from Chicago, and ourselves" (JA to AHHA, 22 Dec. 1887, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:603). In a letter to SAAH, JA identified Dr. Lucien Howe (1848–1928), noted ophthalmic surgeon and director of the Howe Laboratory of Ophthalmology at Harvard Univ., as the most distinguished traveler with them.

4. Southampton, England, was an important steamship station. Its hotels included Hotel Royal. Approximately eighty miles from London by rail, it was also close to Salisbury and Stonehenge. While JA rested, SA and John Bickel investigated Stonehenge.

5. See 23 Dec. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:610–12.

6. Le Havre, France, once known as Havre de Grace, was one of the most important seaports in Europe.

7. Their hotel was located on Rue Scribe near the Grand Opera House, which had constructed between 1861 and 1874. It was later known as Opera de Paris Garnier.

8. Rouen, France, the ancient capital of Normandy, was rich in medieval structures. The

Gothic Cathedral of Notre Dame was constructed primarily in the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and was famed for its southern tower, La Tour de Beurre (the Tower of Butter, because it was built from the proceeds of indulgences paid by wealthy parishioners who wanted to eat butter during Lent), constructed between 1485 and 1507. JA probably saw the 465-foot central tower made of iron that was added after the original one burned in 1822 when it was struck by lightning. She visited the cathedral on her way from Paris to England in June 1888. See JA to GBH, 9 June 1888, nn. 3–4, below.

9. JA may have been referring to Boulevard des Italiens, which Baedeker described as “the most frequented and fashionable of boulevards” (*Paris and Its Environs*, 9th rev. ed., 75), or to Boulevard de Capucine, site of the Place de l’Opera, the elegant new opera house, and the Café de la Prix.

10. JA reported to AHHA: “I never imagined anything gayer than the Boulevards and the Palais Royal were Xmas” (27 Dec. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:614–15). JA’s previous Christmases in Europe were spent in Germany. Rue de la Prix, described by Baedeker as “[o]ne of the finest streets in Paris” (*Paris and Its Environs*, 9th rev. ed., 81), ran southwest from Boulevard de Capucine and Place de l’Opera near where Rue Scribe, site of JA’s hotel, met Boulevard de Capucine. The walkers continued from Rue de la Prix through Place Vendôme and down Rue de Castiglione to Rue de Rivoli, on which they headed northeast to the Palais Royal. The palace, which was built 1625–34 for Cardinal Richelieu, featured promenade galleries and shops.

11. The Madeleine, constructed beginning in 1764 and consecrated in 1845, was styled as a Greek temple with a portico of Corinthian columns. It is located at one end of the curve of Grands Boulevards. The large bronze doors feature the Ten Commandments and the interior is lavish with marble, sculpture, and gilt.

12. Mary E. Dickey taught French and German at RFS from 1881 to 1886.

13. Institutions of higher education. College de France, established in 1530 by François I (1494–1547), king of France (1515–47), was created as an alternative to the elitist, dogmatic approach to education associated with the Sorbonne, created in 1253.

14. “We had a very pleasant dinner,” JA reported to AHHA (27 Dec. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:616). The Worralls had taken JA and SAAH to dinner at the same restaurant in 1885. See JA to JWA, 19 Apr. 1885, n. 6, above.

15. Henri de Navarre (1553–1610) became Henri IV, king of France from 1589 until 1610, when he was assassinated. He is noted for his efforts to beautify Paris during his reign.

16. The Bastille fortress was completed in 1380 and became the prison for the kings of France. JA’s likely route from the Madeleine to the Bastille was via Boulevards de La Madeleine, des Capucines, des Italiens, Montmartre, Poissonniere, De Bonne Nouvelle, St. Denis, St. Martin, du Temple, des Filles du Calvaire, and Beaumarchais.

17. *Les Huguenots*, an opera in five acts, with music by Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864), one of the creators of French opera, features a love story set in the period of struggle between Catholics and Protestant Huguenots. It encompasses events associated with the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre, when Catholic noblemen attacked Huguenot leaders gathered in Paris for the wedding of Henri de Navarre. Killing spread throughout France and led to civil war.

18. Abbreviation for francs.

19. In a note to SAAH, JA reported that she had bought the rattle at the Palais Royal but could not mail it. “The pin is genuine as to pearls and gold and she can keep it always as a lace pin,” added JA ([ca. 25–26] [Dec. 1887], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:613).

20. Joseph Israels (1824–1911), who studied in Amsterdam and Paris, was one of the leading painters of the Hague School. He is known primarily for his renderings of fishermen and their surroundings.

21. Likely Agnes Playter. See JA to EGS, 17 July 1886, n. 2, above.

22. Mary Starr Blaisdell's friend was Prof. Richard Adolph Gosche. See introduction to part 4, n. 31, above.

23. JA may have meant to write the phrase "\$15.00 more than."

24. The pension of Frl. Dahlweiner [or Daulweiner, both according to JA] was located at 1 Karl Strasse. The women did not stay there. EGS had already engaged rooms for the party at 47 Brienner Strasse.

25. JA had met Clara Steiniger in Berlin in 1884 (see JA to MCAL, 10 Oct. 1884, n. 6, above). For a time, JA and Clara must have corresponded. See Clara Steiniger to JA, 15 May [and 17 June] 1886, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:260–67.

26. See JA to SAAH, 6 Jan. 1887[1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:627–33.

27. JA was hoping that SAAH would once again collect the "circular letters" to her siblings that she planned to write about her European adventure. SAAH agreed and copied them into a journal as a record for JA. A microfilm of that journal exists in UIC, JAMC. For more information on "circular letters," see introduction to vol. 2, and introductions to parts 2 and 4, above.

To Flora Z. Guiteau

"One winter's day I traveled from Munich to Ulm,"¹ Jane Addams wrote in Twenty Years at Hull-House, "because I imagined from what the art books said that the cathedral hoarded a medieval statement of the Positivists' final synthesis, prefiguring their conception of a 'Supreme Humanity.'"² Continuing to report her memories of the occasion, she recorded that she seemed to have written "half the night, in a fever of composition cast in ill-digested phrases from Comte."³ Addams recalled: "My smug notebook states that all this was an admission that 'the saints but embodied fine action,' and it proceeds at some length to set forth my hope for a 'cathedral of humanity,' which should be 'capacious enough to house a fellowship of common purpose,' and which should be 'beautiful enough to persuade men to hold fast to the vision of human solidarity.'"⁴ Unfortunately, the notebook in which Jane Addams recorded her reactions to the Ulm Cathedral is no longer extant. This letter to her childhood friend in Cedarville is the only surviving description of her immediate response to what she experienced there.

Munich Bavaria [Germany] 47. Briener Strasse.

Jan 7, 1888.

My dear Flora

I begun a letter to you at Ulm. I read it over today and concluded not to send it, it is exaggerated but I shouldnt even care for that if I could give you some idea of the Ulm Cathedral.⁵ I stopped on my way from Stuttgart to Munich at Ulm for twenty four hours. I had known in a general sort of a way that it was the largest Cathedral in Germany save Cologne,⁶ that it had for years boasted the largest organ in the world, but I was totally unprepared for the impression it made upon me. I had been talking in the morning with Mr Bickle's brother, who belongs to the "old Catholics", they reject the infallibility of the Pope and all the other errors which have crept into the Church, and go back to the primi-

tive Catholicity to the Church[.]⁷ The religion of Germany has always been a puzzle to me, the only German friend I have, Fl Steiniger, frankly calls herself a “<(heathen)> Heiden” while really filled with a sense of the goodness of the “lieber Gott.”⁸ One realizes that the number of churches is small in proportion to the population and that hundreds of people never go to church at all, while at the same time, they do not care for God personally they have a fine literary and artistic sense of him.⁹ The Ulm Cathedral was a simple and natural record of German Church history and of immense interest to me. It has no transepts, simply an immense nave with double isles leading up to the magnificent choir, everything pointing and drawing you towards the high altar. On the outside of the church against the nave are the fine flying buttresses and over the sacristy and a side chapel are two beautiful towers so that you have no chance to miss the transepts. I will enclose a picture of the back, you can see how singular and yet how beautiful and simple it is.¹⁰ The building is enormous, and the west tower upon which they are rapidly working repeats over and over again the symbol of the trinity, the three arches built within one arch and the cross filling the inner spaces. Of course that is nothing new in church building but here it was persistently repeated as if they would willingly assert it higher up each time to the very heavens. My guide explained it in her soft south German voice without a quaver of doubt in it and said it was being finished by the “Evangelicums,”¹¹ that they believed just what the Catholics did about that and would not change the original plan until they got to the top where they will put Christ instead of the Virgin. It was a pleasant thought to me that the mystery the hardest doctrine¹² of all was settled outside under the air of heaven, and firmly put in stone for all men to see, then one might go inside for the saint worship and all the representations of Christs humanity, with all the comfort there undoubtedly is about it, without forgetting the greater mystery over all. I do not know that my opinion of stone carving is worth anything but the beautiful ciborium¹³ of the 15th Century seemed as fine to me as the famous one at Nuremburg,¹⁴ and I am sure St Christopher¹⁵ at the base was as sincere and simple as anything the Century produced. The big, blundering man, with a fatherly solicitude for the tiny baby on his shoulder and a naïve wonder how so little a thing could be so heavy with no thought of giving up were he a thousand times heavier was finer than any St Anthony with the Christ child, that any Italian ever painted.¹⁶ The oak carvings in the choir were singularly free and bold with an entire absence of cramp and tradition which distinguishes the earliest of the Gothic art, so different from the southern. On the choir chairs¹⁷ were carved the heads of the Greek and Roman philosophers. Above the stalls the men—of the old Testament and still above the apostles and men of the new. The head of Cicero¹⁸ was exceptionally fine and Socrates¹⁹ with his poor nose, (how do you suppose a poor Swabian artist Syrlin,²⁰ knew about them and also knew that the meanest Christian disciple was so far above them.) On the other side were



Choir stalls, Ulm Cathedral, Germany. Martha is featured in the top row of figures, second from the left. (Photograph by Dieter Keifert, Ulm, Germany)



the women and it was something for the early Germans to give so much place to "die Frauen[.]"²¹ The Sibyl²² below looked rather mystical, for as my little guide remarked they never really knew what they were prophesying about, the women of the old testament were very fine, and the women of the new were charming[.] I could guess each one without failing which is more than I usually can do in art. I hesitated a moment over one with a wooden bowl and a spoon until a gentle hint from my guide "Wer hat so die Kock kunst geleibt?"²³ and upon my prompt reply of *Martha*²⁴ she clapped her hands at my cleverness.

I wish I could tell you of the thousand things that pleased me, the early stained glass windows of the 12th Century,²⁵ one of the resurrection and Christ's delight over the blue easter flowers, and his caressing attitude toward them as if he were so glad to see them again. The beautiful baptismal font in which Maximilian 1st was baptized,²⁶ and directly over it a large glass window put in at the time of the Luther anniversary—representing Luther offering his protest at Wittenberg[.]²⁷ It did not seem incongruous, it was part of the same church history. After all the saints are but the embodiment of fine action, the history so to speak of the inner church of the Holy Ghost, which we eagerly seize upon wherever it appears and perpetuate in stone and glass, anything that will last. There is no doubt that that is what we are all trying to do, and curiously enough Matthew Arnold's idea of culture²⁸ came to me so often, only that this criticism of life was contained in stone and wood rather than literature. The little guide and myself became famous friends and she only left me after extracting a promise that I would read Hauffs "Lichtenstein".²⁹ It is curious how one person may meet another in that way for one hour and by seeing and saying fine things together become intimate at once. I went up to the tower alone, where I found the dearest little old man watching for fire, he had been up there for five hours without seeing a soul and was wonderfully glad to see me. He regarded me as a very curious person to come to Ulm in the winter when the other "Englishers" always came in summer. They were always going to Italy he said and he wondered innocently enough what we all did there. It sounded very trite and unworthy when I told him we just wandered about and looked at things as I was looking at the roofs of Ulm from this tower. He pointed out his own little roof to me and everything else he thought would interest me. we gravely parted with much ceremony he hoping that I would have a "glückliche reise!"³⁰ and I hoping that he would find no fire in Ulm.

Ellen Starr and I have had a delightful week's visit here together in this comfortable house.³¹ Dear Flora I hope sometime you will know this friend of mine, not for her cleverness which is a constant source of pleasure to me, but for her persistent effort to get the best in the world; the highest and truest and her efforts for patience to work it out in her own character.

We have enjoyed the Dürer and Holbein³² drawings here very much, I think I will send you Durer's two knights that I like so much, better far than his apostles.³³ I believe that Tolstoi³⁴ is right, that the Right never accomplishes

itself spectacularly, that it was due to people like Dürer rather, than Luther, than the Reformation, that the turning back to the good came about. You know the German proverb that the good is the greatest enemy of the best. I think that Luther, Erasmus and the rest of them were good but that the best was being done quietly, and is always being done in that way, not often so clearly as Dürer makes it. His knights are not fighting and look as if they realized how useless it was—that it must come in another way, and they are ready to try it in some discouragement, but with an insight that they have the truth.

The photographs are not much without the color, there is a great deal of scarlet about the picture. I have two large ones which I mean to have mounted on scarlet boards and when you see them and my other Dürers I am sure I can show you what I mean.

Miss Starr and Miss Anderson have come back from Nuremberg this evening whether Miss Starr went on Thursday[.] It is the first time we have all been together. Ellen just this minute is regarding rather ruefully a pair of gloves and remarking “Well I am glad that I brushed the snow off of Albrecht Dürers inscription if it did ruin my last gloves.” They had a cold ride and a snowy view but come enthusiastic.³⁵ I have no time left to tell of Munich, I felt from the first that I should impose the Ulm Cathedral upon you sooner or later.

Will you send this letter to Alice when you are through with it. I will never write the Cathedral again and I think that she would enjoy it.

Please give my dearest love to your mother and write to me dear, when you have time, if you get into the habit of not writing to people when they are abroad it is then a great effort to begin. Always dear Flora Your loving friend

Jane Addams.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:639–44).

1. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 82. Actually, JA traveled from Stuttgart to Ulm and then on to Munich, arriving on 31 Dec. 1887. Ulm, located where the Blau River enters the Danube, is the site of one of the largest cathedrals in Germany (n. 5).

2. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 82. Positivism was an effort to apply the methods and concepts of the natural sciences to the study of human social phenomena in the belief that human relationships and actions, like physical phenomena, obey certain laws of nature that can be discovered by the empirical examination of successive events. JA recalled that she “was enormously interested in the Positivists during these European years; . . . [and] imagined that their philosophical conception of man’s religious development might include all expressions of that for which so many ages of men have struggled and aspired” (*Twenty Years*, 82).

3. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 83. French mathematician, philosopher, and founder of positivism Auguste Comte (1798–1857) believed that the history of human thought could be divided into three stages: theological, metaphysical, and positive. He held that before humankind could establish the ultimate positive stage, it required a new science of society, or what became known as sociology. Comte also postulated a new religion. He developed the Religion of Humanity, in which the worship of God would become the worship of humanity. The deeds and lives of great men would be featured and what was good and wise of the past would be held as examples for present and future conduct. In Comte’s positivist society, women were to have a special place. “When the mission of Woman is better understood, and is carried

out more fully, she will be regarded by Man as the most perfect impersonation of Humanity," wrote Comte in *A General View of Positivism*, quoted in Hallowell, *Main Currents*, 294.

4. *Twenty Years*, 83.

5. The Ulm Cathedral, constructed from 1377 to 1890, was nearing completion by the German Protestant church when JA visited it in 1887. Its huge sanctuary could seat 30,000, and when it was complete, the cathedral boasted the tallest ecclesiastical spire in Europe at 528 feet. Its internal measurements were 455 feet long and 391 feet wide, and it had the largest organ in Europe (its 100 stops were installed in 1856), fine stained-glass and painted glass windows, and extraordinary carvings and paintings by masters of the Swabian school.

6. JA had visited Cologne in 1884 during her previous European travel. Work on the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Mary, which was begun in 1248, continued through the sixteenth century. Restoration on this landmark Gothic structure, which measured 444 ft. x 282 ft. and had 512-foot spires, was done from 1842 to 1880. In addition to many relics and pieces of religious art, the cathedral also had a twelfth-century golden altar created to hold the bones of the Magi. Its expertly carved choir stalls and lovely stained-glass windows dated from the fourteenth century.

7. Throughout this European trip, JA continued to search for and remark on images and connections she discovered that were associated with the Old Catholic movement.

Taking their lead from German theologian and historian J. J. I. Dollinger (1799–1890), a group of professors who met at Nuremberg in 1870 separated themselves from the Roman Catholic church, rejecting the decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870, especially belief in the infallibility of the pope. By 1874, the movement had become a formal church with a bishop, rejected communion with the pope and other Roman practices, permitted its priests to marry, and held that formal confession was optional. Eventually recognized by the Roman Catholic church, the movement inspired churches in the Netherlands, Germany, Central Europe, and the United States. See also JA to Laura A. Malbourne[Malburn], 26 Jan. 1888, below.

In *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, JA explained her attraction to early Christianity. "The impulse to share the lives of the poor, the desire to make social service, irrespective of propaganda, express the spirit of Christ, is as old as Christianity itself. We have no proof from the records themselves that the early Roman Christians, who strained their simple art to the point of grotesqueness in their eagerness to record a 'good news' on the walls of the catacombs, considered this good news a religion," she wrote. She described "a new treasure . . . which the early Christians added to the sum of all treasures, a joy hitherto unknown in the world—the joy of finding the Christ which lieth in each man, but which no man can unfold save in fellowship" (122–23).

8. German, *Lieber Gott*, translates as "Good Lord."

9. Writing after her visit to Berlin in the mid-1880s, Minerva Brace Norton reported that "[i]n this city of about a million and a half inhabitants, there are only about seventy-five churches and chapels, all told; none very large, and some quite small. . . . Only about two per cent of the population attend church" (*In and Around Berlin*, 82).

10. The photograph is missing.

11. A reference to members of the Protestant church of Germany, the German Lutheran church, who, like members of the Roman Catholic church, continued to believe in the Trinity.

12. The mysteries that JA was referring to likely concerned the divinity of Jesus, including his birth, his place in the Trinity, and his death and resurrection.

13. A cinborium is an interior architectural element of a cathedral composed of four columns supporting a freestanding vaulted canopy over a high altar. The one at Ulm was ninety feet tall and was carved in 1469. It featured lace-like carved filigree with numerous niches for statuettes and figures.

14. JA saw the cinborium in the St. Lawrence Cathedral in Nuremberg, an intricately carved

structure that featured human figures, animals, and creatures of the sea that was created by Adam Kraft (ca. 1440–ca. 1508).

15. JA was referring to St. Christopher, one of the two figures (the other being St. Sebastian) at the base of the stairs to the cinborium at Ulm. She was familiar with the legend of this third-century martyr who devoted himself to carrying travelers across a river where there was no bridge. On one occasion he began to carry a small child across whose weight increased until he was almost unable to reach to opposite shore. Once there, the child revealed himself as Christ; thus, the name of the martyr became “Christophorus,” meaning Christ-bearer.

16. Numerous paintings depict St. Anthony of Padua and the appearance of the Christ child to him while he was praying near Camposanpiero in Italy. It is difficult to know which painting or paintings JA is referring to. St. Anthony of Padua (1195–1231) became a Franciscan friar and preacher. He was made a saint the year after his death.

17. “[O]n the [ef]. (N.) Side of the choir the 7 heathen sages, including Pythagoras, Pliny, Cicero (in a hat), and the artist himself in the corner, with name and date 1469. Behind them, against the wall, are 20 heads of saints and prophets of the Old Testament. Above these, smaller, are apostles and saints. The opposite or S. side of the choir has in the lowest row the Sibyls, and Syrlin’s wife; the middle row, celebrated women of the Bible; the upper row, holy women and virgins, flanked by two doctors, St. Cosma and St. Luke” ([Murray], *South Germany*, 22). In *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, JA recalled that “[t]he religious history carved on the choir stalls at Ulm contained Greek philosophers as well as Hebrew prophets, and among the disciples and saints stood the discoverer of music and a builder of pagan temples” (82–83).

18. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.) was a Roman statesman, orator, and philosopher.

19. Socrates (470?–399 B.C.) was a Greek philosopher.

20. Jörg Syrlin the Elder (1425?–91) was a master woodcarver, cabinetmaker, and sculptor.

21. German, *Die frauen*, translates as “the women.”

22. A sibyl is a female prophet.

23. German, *Wer hat so die Kock kunst geleibt?* translates as “Who has so loved Kock’s art?”

24. In the New Testament, Martha is the sister of Mary and Lazarus. She often symbolizes a woman who lives an active life and provides sustenance to others.

25. John Murray’s *Handbook for Travelers in South Germany and Austria* (1890) indicates that the painted glass windows that JA saw were probably created about 1480.

26. The baptismal font was created by an unknown sculptor in 1470. It rested on four lions and was surrounded by the busts of eight prophets of the Old Testament. JA was probably referring to Maximilian I (1459–1519), king of Germany (1486–1519) and Holy Roman emperor (1493–1519).

27. Anniversary celebrations of Martin Luther’s birth and the date of his famous protest at Wittenberg in 1517 were frequent. The window was added in celebration of the 400th anniversary of Martin Luther’s birth, an event celebrated in America and in Europe in 1883.

28. In *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), Matthew Arnold defined culture as “a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all the matters which most concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world; and through this knowledge, turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits, which we now follow staunchly but mechanically, vainly imagining that there is a virtue in following them staunchly which makes up for the mischief of following them mechanically” (6). “Culture, which is the study of perfection, leads us, . . . to conceive of true human perfection as a harmonious perfection, developing all sides of our humanity; and as a general perfection, developing all parts of our society” (11).

29. German novelist and poet Wilhelm Hauff (1802–27) wrote a three-volume historical romance, *Lichtenstein*, that took place during the troubled reign of Ulrich (1487–1550), Duke of Württemberg.

30. German, *Glückliche Reise!* translates as “Have a good trip,” or “Bon voyage.”

31. On the relationship of JA and EGS, see introduction to part 4, above.

32. Hans Holbein the Younger (1497?–1543), a painter and designer influenced by the Renaissance, is primarily noted for his portraits of famous figures of his time, including Erasmus, Henry VIII, and some of Henry’s wives. Perhaps his most famous work is a series of woodcuts he designed entitled *The Dance of Death* that was executed by Swiss craftsman Hans Lützelburger (d. 1526). Two sets of proof impressions for a Basel, Switzerland, edition were made, but the edition was never printed. Some of these woodcuts were being exhibited in Berlin when JA was there.

33. To AHHA, with whom she first traveled to Europe, JA wrote, “I have enjoyed with Ellen the fine collections of Dürer and Holbein drawings. Dürer is so fine in his religious instincts and beliefs that I have grown attached to his personality, as I never could to an Italian” (7 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:636). “I have always loved Dürer but never got him so clearly as I have this time. Raphael himself positively pales beside him. With the \$5. you sent for Sarah [Anderson] I got a set of ‘Licht drucke’ after Dürer, they are much finer than photographs and a beautiful present,” JA wrote to SAAH (6 Jan. 1887 [1888], IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:629–30). JA’s German, *Licht drucke*, translates as “collotype,” a photomechanical process for making prints of works of art directly from a hardened film of gelatin or other colloid or a lithographic-like technique sometimes referred to as photogelatin process. In one of only three extant letters written by SA during the trip, she thanked SAAH from the Brenner, Austria, Pass on 12 Jan. 1888 for her gift and reported on her visit with EGS to Dürer’s grave in Nuremberg. See also n. 35.

In *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, JA recalled that her admiration for Dürer was kindled during her first European trip in 1883–85: “I founded my admiration for Albrecht Dürer, taking his wonderful pictures, however, in the most unorthodox manner, merely as human documents. I was chiefly appealed to by his unwillingness to lend himself to a smooth and cultivated view of life, by his determination to record its frustrations and even the hideous forms which darken the day for our human imagination and to ignore no human complications. I believed that his canvases intimated the coming religious and social changes of the Reformation and the peasants’ wars, that they were surcharged with pity for the downtrodden, that his sad knights, gravely standing guard, were longing to avert that shedding of blood which is sure to occur when men forget how complicated life is and insist upon reducing it to logical dogmas” (75). It seems more likely, however, that it was during her second European venture that she discovered her affinity for his work.

She remembered that she spent a great deal of money for an engraving of “St. Hubert” by Dürer. This work, the largest single-leaf copper engraving by the artist, is actually titled *St. Eustace*. The two knights in scarlet tunics that JA purchased for herself and also sent to Flora Guiteau were probably reproductions of the two wings of the *Paumgartner Altarpiece*, created about 1503 in oil-on-lime panels. The apostles JA considered sending were created by Dürer in oil on board in 1526. Entitled *The Four Holy Men*, the painting depicted John, Peter, Mark, and Paul. JA would have seen both works in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.

34. This is the first evidence in JA’s extant correspondence or writings that she was reading the works of Count Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1828–1910), Russian novelist, poet, playwright, and social and religious philosopher, whom she would visit at his country estate Yasnaya Polyana during her Russian travel in 1896. Famous for such novels as *War and Peace* (1866) and *Anna Karenina* (1875–77), Tolstoy began to explore and advance a new Christianity whose central creed was nonviolent resistance to evil. He presented his position in a series of tracts during the 1880s and early 1890s. JA could easily have had access to *A Confession*, *What I Believe*, and *What Then Must We Do?* All three were available in English editions by 1887. In *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, JA remembered reading *My Religion* first, stating that “[t]he reading of that book had made clear that men’s poor little efforts to do right are put forth for the most part

in the chill of self-distrust" (261). Later in her life JA wrote several articles about *What Then Must We Do?* beginning with "A Book That Changed My Life" (*Christian Century* 44 [13 Oct. 1927]: 1196–98) and ending with an introduction for *What Then Must We Do?* translated by Tolstoy friend, biographer, and translator Aylmer Maude (1858–1938) and published by Oxford Univ. Press in 1934 for the Tolstoy Society. The following books by Tolstoy are among those in the portion of her personal library at UIC, JAMC: *What I Believe* (1885), *What to Do?* (1888), *The Christian Teaching* (1898), and *My Confession and The Spirit of Christ's Teaching* (1887). JA's copy of *Toil* (1890) and *Christianity and Patriotism* (1905) are at SCPC, JAC.

35. EGS and SA had visited Albrecht Dürer Platz in Nuremberg, the site of a bronze statue of the artist erected in 1840, and his home, which was "marked by a medallion" ([Murray], *South Germany*, 99). "Albrecht Durer is my best friend in Germany," remarked EGS to AHHA in a letter of 30 Jan. and 5 Feb. 1888. "I shall always be thankful for some things he has said to me, and which Jane helped me to understand. Her instinct in art is something very unusual, and is a great help to me" (SC, Starr). SA described her visit with EGS to Dürer's grave in Nuremberg. "We went to St. John's Cemetery and nearly froze our feet and hands in trying to reach Dürer's grave and in clearing the snow off the stone to read the inscription. We bought Longfellow's poem on Nuremberg and the photographs to illustrate it" (SA to AHHA, 12 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH).

To Laura A. Malbourne[Malburn]

Florence Italy

Jan 26" 1888

My dear Mrs Malbourne[Malburn]¹

I begun a letter to you one evening in Ravenna² but found myself too tired to finish it. You were in my mind so often during the time we were there.

I was totally unprepared for the grace and charm of the early Christian mosaics and symbols.³ I knew in a general way that the early church was simple and joyful, that the tombs expressed a certainty of the resurrection we seem to have lost since &c but had no idea the spirit and reflection of Christ himself could ever be so portrayed in archaic art, and the highest happiness indicated by simple flowers and impossible pastoral scenes.

One of the most interesting of the churches is St Apollonaria in Classe⁴ about two miles from the town standing in the midst of the rice marshes, with no human being near it save the old monk who has charge of it. The handsome pillars inside were brought from Constantinople, when Ravenna was still in the sea like Venice, and before the coast had receded six miles away from it, as it is now. We drove almost to the sea, to the beginning of the magnificent pine-forest which stretches along the coast for forty miles.⁵ Our first impression was that it was a forest of palms, the trunks are perfectly straight and bare for fifty or sixty feet, and the⁶ branch into a soft dark green umbrella top. The people say that the sighing of the wind in the pines, is the ghost of the waves and breakers which broke once on the same spot. The beauty of the place was some-thing was inscribable,⁷ it was easy to believe that Dante⁸ walked and mused for days there and innumerable poets since.

Dear Mrs Malbourne, I have wanted to tell you many times how much your Christian living has always been to me, that I have thought of it and your dear personality, so often when my own life has been so tangled and far from Christ.

The glad acceptance of the early Christians and their complete belief in the literal meaning of all Christ's words, has made an impression upon⁹ for which I hope I shall always be better. That there is an experience better than theirs I have no doubt and it was finding an expression of that experience this morning, which started me to write you this evening.

You know of course the many associations connected with the monastery of San Marco in Florence,¹⁰ the monastery of Savonarola where he preached and from whence he started his powerful movement toward regeneration and simplicity. It was Fra Angelica's¹¹ monastery as well, and he has painted one picture in each cell for the contemplation of the monk who occupied it. The one which made this peculiar impression upon me, was the scene of Christ's buffeting (usually so repulsive) the figure of Christ himself is blindfolded and seated upon a throne. The buffeting is merely indicated by hands, and mouths in the air about him with no visible men. At the foot of the throne are two figures who are both evidently seeing this scene in their minds, one by recollection, the other from reading it in a book. The first one is the Virgin, with the utmost sorrow and depression. Not merely a Mater Dolorosa,¹² but a Christian who has lost the glory of her Lord. The other is St Dominic,¹³ the founder of Fra Angelica's Order and whom he delighted to paint. The saint is young and reading in a bible which he holds simply open upon his knees. He has been reading the buffeting and his sensitive mouth trembles with sympathy, but he is filled with a tender triumph and joy that has n't a trace of sadness in it and is inexpressibly beautiful. I bought a photograph of it to send you, but it is taken so dimly that I am sure you would not enjoy it, and shall wait until we can see it together. Dear Mrs Malbourne, I do not know why I write you in this sentimental way, save that last summer you were so constantly an embodiment to me of what is gracious and Christian, and I should like now to acknowledge it and thank you for it.¹⁴

We are enjoying Florence very much, we leave here next week for Rome,¹⁵ coming back in May to go to Vallombrosa¹⁶ and some of the other country places, for which the weather is now too cold. I enjoy my friends Miss Starr and Miss Anderson every-day, Miss Kales makes a very pleasant fourth member of the party.

I think of you often and hope the winter is not too dull and trying. I know how difficult it is for you to use your eyes to write, but should prize very much a line or two from you—if it is possible. I hope some time we can read something about San Marco together. I have been much interested in a little book by Godwin.¹⁷ Please remember me kindly to Mr and Mrs Brown,¹⁸ and to Dr Jenkins¹⁹ when you see him. Mama's letters on the whole are cheerful in tone,

Sister Alice's are charming words of delight about Marcet. With unwavering affection, I am always Your loving Friend

Jane Addams.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:678–81).

1. JA misspelled Laura A. Malburn's family name. For a biographical note on Laura A. Malburn, see introduction to part 1, n. 2, above.

2. Ravenna, an ancient northern Italian town, is located on a plain between the Lamone and Ronco rivers, near the Adriatic Sea. JA wrote to stepbrother GBH: "Ellen says that we went to Ravenna . . . 'because we had planned to do it before it got cold, and did n't have presence of mind enough to change, when it did.'" When they got there they discovered that "the fine old city itself was warm and sunny, and entertaining and suggestive as few cities even in Italy are" (21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:668–69). JA must have begun her letter to Laura Malburn on Tuesday evening, 17 Jan., because the travelers arrived in Ravenna that day and left the next for Florence.

3. "I was totally unprepared for the gaity, grace and piety of the early Christian mosaics, before the Byzantine artists stiffened and set the 'types.' The inscriptions and emblems of the tombs were indescribably in accord with the early Christian idea of the quick coming," JA wrote to GBH (21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:669). In one of her first circular letters to her sisters and brothers, JA reported that "Ravenna has more of the early Christian Church history than any city in Europe, more undisturbed than even Rome itself. The early mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries are very quaint and beautiful, the first representation of the Latin cross ever made in Christian art is in the Church of St Appolionarius about three miles out of the city. It is a mosaic of jewels and gold upon a deep blue ground, in the rounded ceiling of the apse above the altar. The church itself stands perfectly desolate in the midst of this huge swamp divided off into little rice fields. Ravenna was in ancient times upon the sea but is now six miles from the coast, and this Church which was built upon the sea later is now three miles away—an enormous thing filled with these fine mosaics and early tombs, with no human soul within miles except the sacristan," JA wrote home (JA to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:657–58).

4. JA may have confused two churches. St. Apollinare Nuovo, erected about 500 as an early Christian cathedral and converted in 570 to a Roman Catholic church, had twenty-four marble columns brought from Constantinople and walls full of sixth-century mosaics. St. Apollinare in Classe, constructed in 534 on the site of a temple of Apollo and consecrated in 549, also had twenty-four columns and contained the portraits of bishops and archbishops of Ravenna in unbroken series beginning with St. Apollinare about 128. JA's interest in Ravenna may have been stirred by "Ravenna and Its Mosaics," an article by Sidney Lawrence that appeared in the *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for Aug. 1887, shortly before she left for Europe.

5. JA described the "famous pine" trees to her siblings, adding that "Dante wrote about them and Byron spent about two years in Ravenna chiefly attracted by them" (JA to Sisters and Brothers, 20 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:658). She also described the forest to GBH in her letter of 21 Jan. 1888 (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:669).

6. JA may have meant to write *then*.

7. JA probably meant to write *indescribable*.

8. Dante, who died in Ravenna in 1321, was buried in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia connected with the church of St. Francesco. JA and her party visited the site.

9. JA may have meant to write "has made an impression upon me."

10. For a description of San Marco, see JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, n. 5, above.

11. For JA's reaction to the work of Fra Angelico during her first trip to Europe, see JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, nn. 5–6, above.

12. Latin, *Mater Dolorosa*, translates as “sad woman,” meaning the mother of Christ sorrowing for her son.

13. St. Dominic (1170–1221), Spanish-born Roman Catholic priest and founder of the Dominican Order of preaching brothers.

14. The editors do not know what specific events JA may have been referring to. Laura A. Malburn was a great and supportive friend of AHHA. She may have been particularly thoughtful of AHHA and sympathetic during what might have been a very difficult summer in the Addams household. AHHA and GBH, who was disappointed at not being able to leave early in the summer to begin his planned studies in Europe, waited together in Cedarville for the birth of Marcet Haldeman in Girard, Kans., the event that would permit the delicate GBH to leave for Germany. The fact that GBH set off for Europe alone, leaving AHHA at home, might have offered considerable reason for discontent and worry on her part. His return after spending only a few weeks in Europe probably escalated her anxiety for his mental and physical health and for his future. The fact that JA was leaving for Europe was also probably dismaying to AHHA, who realized that she would no longer have the stepdaughter on whom she had learned to rely as companion and helper.

15. The Addams party was in Florence from 18 Jan. through 1 Feb. 1888, when they left for Rome, stopping in Orvieto on the way.

16. Vallombrosa, a village located 2,980 feet above sea level in the Monti Pratomagno of Tuscany, was the site of a monastery founded about 1050. Suppressed in 1869, the monastery, its structures dating from 1637, had become home to a school for studying the forests surrounding the site. JA and her party did not visit the town on their way north from Rome in May 1888.

17. JA may have been reading a work by English architect, designer, and critic Edward William Godwin (1833–86). Among his works was a seventeen-page volume entitled *A Handbook of Floral Decoration for Churches*, published in London in 1865 by J. Masters.

18. Several families named Brown lived in Freeport and could have been known to both Laura Malburn and JA. The most likely couple was M. V. Brown and his wife, Matilda S. Sherbondy Brown. M. V. was a dealer in coal, hides, wool, seeds, lime, and stucco who had been born in 1838 in Huron Co., Ohio, and had come to Freeport in 1853. He and Matilda were married in 1862.

19. Rev. Hermon D. Jenkins, D.D. (b. 1842), pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Freeport, was a graduate of Hamilton College in Clinton, N.Y., and served as a Union soldier for two years in 1861–63. After graduating from Union Theological Seminary in 1866, he joined the Chicago Presbytery and was called to the pastorate of the Central Presbyterian Church in Joliet, where he was ordained and installed and where he stayed until 1872, when he was called to Freeport. Shortly after he was ordained, he married Harriet Newell Burrill of Utica, N.Y. The couple had three children, Anna, Paul, and Ruth. They left Freeport for a church in Sioux City, Iowa, in 1889.

To Sarah Weber Addams

Jane Addams enjoyed the two weeks she spent with Ellen Starr, Sarah Anderson, and Annie Kales in Florence. “We have had ten days in Florence, as restful happy and satisfactory as possible. I have gotten much nearer the personality and history of the city than I did before, doubtless because I am less eager and the absorbing thirst for information, so fatal to enjoyment, was allayed during the former sojourn with Mrs Young’s insatiable desire for dates,” Jane explained to Anna Addams.¹

Jane and her stepmother had shared their first visit to Florence with stepcousin Sarah Hostetter and the Ellwood sisters, who were traveling with their aunt Alida Young.² "We had been quite anxious for an Italian family or at least an Italian pension," wrote JA to her sisters and brothers on 20 January 1888 from Florence, "but our experiance with stone floors &c cured us of that and we are comfortably located in the Pension Chapman with about fifty other Americans. . . . We have two bed rooms opening into a little room which boasts an open stove where in we keep a fire most of [the] time, determined to be warm at last."³ JA told her brother Weber that for meals, their table was composed "almost entirely of Californians save a Boston bachelor next to me and an English ditto next to Miss Kales." She continued, "It is rather funny to act as 'padding' between Californias money and Boston culture and I occasionaly grow a little tired of explaining the position of 'the interior.'"⁴

Jane and Ellen Starr continued with the Italian lessons they had begun while they were still in Germany, and Jane reported that they "had a great deal of pleasure and some profit out of our efforts at Italian, and have learned to express ourselves with some volubility if not elegance."⁵ She thought the Italians "handsome, no matter what they are doing" and was determined to learn their language.⁶

The travelers attended musical concerts and opera, went to church, and viewed paintings, sculpture, and architecture throughout the city. Sarah Anderson's response to the Medici Chapel prompted her former student to remark that "Sarah said some remarkably fine things of the Michael Angelos[.]"⁷ Jane recalled that the women "were rather oppressed by the fact that undoubtedly one of the greatest of men, had undeniably believed and put the belief into powerful expression, that endurance and determination are the sole recourses of life, and not hopefulness and beneficence."⁸

While Sarah was purchasing photographs of the art of Florence for Rockford Female Seminary, Jane was shopping for her sister Alice Haldeman and once again was exploring the possibility of having a marble bust of her father, John Addams, created. "[W]hen I see all the miracles in marble. . . . I want so much that best face of all," she wrote to Alice, asking her to send an assortment of photographs "without telling anyone, so that if I decide again not to have it done, I won't feel so conspicuously inconsistent."⁹

After reporting to Anna Addams that the streets in Florence were cleaner and less full of monks than when they were there before, she described revisiting Galileo's tower. "We drove to Galileo's tower yesterday afternoon, and then walked back into the city between the glorious Italian sunset, and the moon light. I was quite ready to endorse every extravagant thing ever sung or said of the Cathedral; as we saw it glowing and reflecting the magnificent light."¹⁰ Jane also described this highlight of her visit to Florence for her Cedarville niece, "Sadie" Sarah Weber Addams, daughter of Laura and Weber Addams.

Florence Italy

Jan. 28" 1888

My dear Sadie

I hope some time you will see this beautiful city which many poets have called "the fairest city of all the earth." It has had a great many remarkable men, they have built magnificent buildings all over the city, painted beautiful pictures and made some of the loveliest men and children in marble that could be dreamed of. But some of the men who did the most good to Florence, and to the world, were the very ones they treated the worst while they were living. Do you know any-thing about Galileo, the man who invented the first telescope and first said that the earth moved around the sun? They persecuted him in all sorts of ways, and finally banished him from Florence. So he lived in a villa just outside <one> of the city gates. This villa was on the top of a hill and had a square high tower, from which he could study.¹¹ While he was living in this tower the poet Milton came to make his visit. He was young then, rich and happy and had no idea that some time he would be old and persecuted and blind himself, but yet as great as Galileo.

Most of the other great men were persecuted too, but one or two were very happy. The man who built the bell-tower, beside the great cathedral in the middle of the city <was always happy.>¹² It is said to be one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, it is so light and graceful, that they call it a lily. It is made of white marble, inlaid with panels of black and pink marble and filled with statues of saints and good people, who all look up as if they were listening to the bells in the top. The little picture will give you some idea of it, and the good man who built it, his name was Goitto.¹³

The flowers are beginning to come out, and it is as warm and sunny here this week as it is in April at home. The first flowers we found were yellow jonquils but I never like any first flowers as well as I do the spring beauties at Cedarville. I hope that you will write to me some times and I will certainly reply. I had quite a long letter from Esther¹⁴ yesterday. Miss Anderson and Miss Starr both send you their love, and want you to give many kind regards to your papa and mama.

Please give them my love, and take a dozen kisses for yourself, from Your loving Auntie

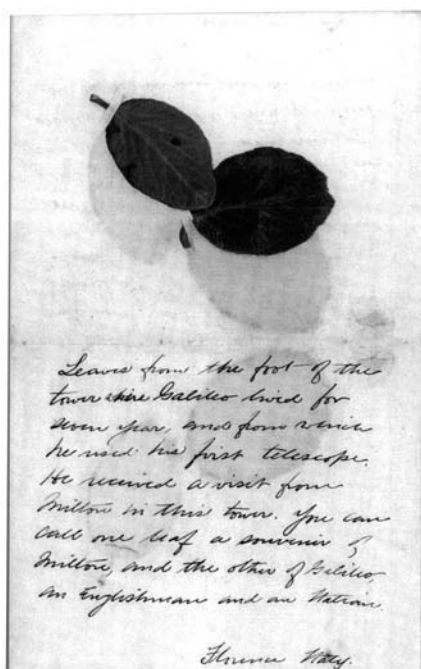
Jane

Enclosure¹⁵ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:689-97).

1. JA to AHHA, 28 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:683. JA was recalling that during their shared traveling experience in Europe in 1883-84, Alida Young had been overly interested in establishing the calendar dates associated with the events they learned about.

2. See JA to GBH, 8 Mar. 1884, and JA to EGS, 9 Mar. 1884, both above.

3. IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:659.



4. 21 Jan. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:662–63. EGS described their experience at table in Pension Chapman to AHHA. She took the occasion to share her feeling that JA had been too generous with her attention to someone EGS found unworthy, but she presented her remarks lovingly and with admiration for the qualities she saw in her friend that she wished to cultivate. “Jane devoted <the> most of her time at table to an absurd old Missourian, who wore a flannel shirt and a paper collar, speared his meat with his fork (once nearly piercing the hand of a young lady who was taking a piece from the plate in the ordinary manner) and picked his teeth at the table, and whom nobody else near him would take the trouble to talk to. I never admired her more. She talked to this man as she would have done to a man of the world. I don’t know what I would not give to have what prompts her and makes it possible for her to act in this way. I suppose what I would not give is the moral effort and self discipline, which is required to develop a character like hers. It seems more beautiful to me as I know it better, and would be worth more to me than all Europe if I could become only a little like her. All of which would fairly shrivel her if she could see it and I feel as if I had in some way been unfair to her to write it; but we are so very ready to express dissatisfaction, and complaints, and to talk of our unpleasantnesses, that I really do not see why, when we have something thoroughly lovely to contemplate, we should not mention it” (30 Jan. 1888, SC, Starr).

5. JA to GBH 21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:671. “Jane & I are taking Italian lessons together. Our progress ought to be extraordinary, as we have had two teachers. The first is a man, & has more sense than the second, who is a woman (Cela va sans dire? [Italian, translates as “It goes without saying?”]) but the woman has the better pronunciation. She spends most of the hour in abusing the other teacher, but as abusive language is the first thing one needs in Italian the time isn’t wasted. The man is not a gentleman and the woman is not a lady, but as Jane remarked in her bitterness, ‘If you are not a lady or a gentleman, and have to fall back on first principles, a man isn’t quite so mean as a woman.’ We haven’t time to study seriously, but Italian is very easy to <understand> and a scrap of Latin or French here and there puts one within guessing distance of almost anything. Jane has a sort of genius for guessing meanings.” (EGS to AHHA, 30 Jan. [and 5 Feb.] 1888, SC, Starr).

6. JA to JWA, 21 Jan. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:665.

7. JA to SAAH, [21 Jan. 1888] IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:626.

8. JA to GBH, 21 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:670.

9. 26 Jan. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:677.

10. JA to AHHA, 28 Jan. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:686.

11. JA and her friends likely went through the Porta Romana, the south gate of Florence, along the Viale dei Colli and onto Via del Pian Giullari to visit the Torre del Gallo, where Galileo “is said to have made several important astronomical observations” (Baedeker, *North-ern Italy*, 385).

12. The cathedral, or Il Duomo, was erected between 1296 and 1474. Giotto, who served for a time as chief architect of Il Duomo, began construction on the four-story bell tower,

OPPOSITE: Tourists often sent mementoes of the places they visited back to loved ones at home. Jane Addams enclosed a likeness of Galileo and the Duomo in Florence in her letter of 28 January 1888 to her niece, Sarah Weber Addams, who was about to turn eleven years old. Jane added the following statement with two leaves she also enclosed: “Leaves from the foot of the tower where Galileo lived for seven years, and from which he used his first telescope. He received a visit from Milton in this tower. You can call one leaf a souvenir of Milton, and the other of Galileo, an Englishman and an Italian. Florence, Italy.” (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2: 694–97, note from 697)

or campanile, associated with the cathedral in 1334. See also EGS to JA, 22 Oct. 1882, nn. 12–13, above.

13. JA misspelled Giotto's name.

14. Esther Margaret Linn's letter to JA is not known to be extant.

15. JA enclosed three items with this letter. They are two leaves with a description of where she found them, a photo card of Galileo, and a postcard showing the Duomo in Florence. These enclosures are illustrations on p. 560.

From John Addams Linn

"I have not heard from you for about ten days, but as letters from the boys have come in the mean time I conclude that all is well and that you are too busy to write," wrote Jane to her sister Mary on 5 February 1888.¹ Three days later, Jane indicated her worry about the Linns to sister Alice. "I am afraid that Mary has had a tiresome winter and hope she won't be all worn out by Spring. Little Mary must have been very sick, and Weber shut up in the house since December, would be various moods hard to imagine."²

Even before Jane Addams and her traveling companions arrived for their exciting days in Florence, a tragedy was beginning to unfold for the Linn family in Geneseo, Illinois. Three of the Linn children were seriously ill. "I am sick now," niece Esther Margaret Linn wrote to her "Aunt Jenny" on 26 January. "Mary has the whooping cough. And Stanly has it too. I have my bed in the sittroom. Mary is better but mamma hast to hold her all the time. The name of the sickness is yellow Jaundice that I have. I do not go to school now. Weber gave me a top."³ Three days later Esther's brother John Weber Linn wrote his Aunt Jane to announce the death of his sister "Little Mary." Mary and John Manning Linn wrote also. It took the Linn family's letters and those of other family and friends three weeks to reach Jane Addams in Rome.

Geneseo Ill.

Jan. 31st '88

Dear Aunt Jennie:

Little Mary has gone into the better world. She departed last night at five minutes before seven. The funeral will be this evening at half past seven. Papa and I will go to Cedarville with her.⁴ None of the others are able to go.

On Sunday the 22nd of Jan. Mamma was showing her the pictures in "Stories of the Gospel," and Mary would say "Me find 'Deda'"⁵ and she would find him in every picture. And she would say "Me love 'Deda'". Now she has really found "Deda." She could not see all day yesterday. In the morning mamma gave her her milk in a glass and she could not find it until mamma put her hands on it. Yesterday morning she said "Mamma carry me". Those were probably her last conscius words. She was unconscius all day and died peacefully. She did not cough much during the day until about two hours before her death. On Saturday and Sunday her hands and feet were cold and her head was hot



"Little Mary" Addams Linn, daughter of Mary Catherine Addams Linn and Rev. John Manning Linn, 1887. (Normal Photographic Studio, Geneseo, Illinois; JAPP, DeLoach)

but by Monday about four her hands & feet were ~~hot~~ warm and her head was cool. Papa believed she would live until She was dead. Mamma & I expected it though. All send love. Yr. affectionate nephew

J A Linn

Enclosure⁶

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:701-3).

1. IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:723.
2. 8 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:733.
3. Esther Margaret Linn to JA, 26 Jan. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:682.
4. She was buried in the Addams family plot in the Cedarville Cemetery. "Mr. Linn said every one was so very good and kind at Cedarville," MCAL wrote to JA. "[H]e says he never knew before how much there is in human sympathy. It is hardly possible to realize that our dear little Mary is gone. I can never be thankful enough that I could hold her on my lap those three weeks" (6 Feb. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:729).
5. Little Mary's word for "Jesus."
6. On the verso of John Weber Linn's letter is a note, presumably written to JA on the same day by a Mrs. Smith, a family friend from Geneseo, Ill. She wrote in part: "I am so sorry for you as I know how dear all of your sister's children are to you[.] I try and be here as much as I can[,] have been here nearly all day to day. Mary is so pretty I do not think I ever saw a child more sweet & pretty than she is now and I wish you could see her as she is now" (*JAPM*, 2:703).

From John Manning Linn and
Mary Catherine Addams Linn

Geneseo [Ill.]

Jan 31. 88

Dear Jane,

I can write you again briefly. I presume my other letter has reached you & prepared you.¹ We had to yeild up our little Mary to the rough hand of the disease. She coughed very hard—terribly hard for three weeks and then her strength failed her and for two days she sank gently but surely under the stuper. Her little mind worked true to the last. She knew her mama as long as she could see. But for the last day she seemed to grope with her hands. Her last really intelligbl words were “Mama carry me” & so sweetly she passed away. I could not give her up even at the last.

It seemed as though the steps of Jesus would turn and He would bring her back[.] But he took her until she vanished and sad, sad our sorrow she went out in what seems to us a cold Eternity. Surely Jesus has a warm bosom somewhere for her little tired head to rest upon. Surely up from her baby life will come a great strong life that shall greet us very soon.

She was so sweet. Sweetly she lies ready for the coffin. We bury at Cedarville. John² & I take the body.

We go tomorrow morning.

Baby died at 8 last evening. The people have been very kind. We have the service here this evening—at 7:30.

Mrs Linn is feeling pretty well. Stanley is better but still coughs hard but not so frequently.

Esther does not show signs of coming down. Yours lovingly

J M Linn

My dear Jane,

Please do not worry about me nor grieve unduly about Mary.

It will be terribly lonely, but she is safe and happy. She was so sweet & lovely all the time she was sick & talked so much about her Aunt Dane. She would say “me love my Aunt Jennie[.]” Last week she said “me want to put on my pity cloak & pity bonnet & do with Papa’s horse on big water see my Aunt Dane.” She was so go[od] & so patient. I held her three weeks, and it was a blessed privilege. But I had made so many plans for her for this summer, she was such a little love. She said so many times while she was sick “Me love my pity Mamma, Mamma loves her ittle Mary.” When she saw Stanley cough she would say “Give baby water[.]” & wanted to hand³ it to him. Do not worry my dear & make yourself sick; it would only add to your grief. Miss Keyser⁴ has been so kind. I will send you some money when I can to get her something from Europe it will not repay what she



Mary Catherine Addams Linn, ca. 1887–88. (Brund Portraits, Chicago; JAPP, Hulbert)

has done, but it will help to show we appreciate it. Stanley cannot go neither can Weber so I will stay with them. Pray for us & yourself, My dear sister

Mary C. A. Linn

Mary's Papa's heart is almost broken; nothing has ever used him up so; it seemed as if he could not give her up. He could not believe she would go, but I was so afraid of it for more than a week; she was so good & patient. Write to him please. With love

M. C. A. Linn

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:704–6).

1. John Manning Linn's initial letter is not known to be extant. The evidence that JA received it may be in her comment to SAAH about the illness of Little Mary and Stanley Linn. See headnote, John Addams Linn to JA, 31 Jan. 1888, above.

2. John Addams Linn.

3. Text beginning "hand it to him" through the signature is written perpendicular to the main body of text on the first page of the document.

4. Mary E. Keyser, was born in Henry Co., Ill., 9 Jan. 1861, to Henrietta Davis Keyser (1841?–1908) and James H. Keyser (1823–1909), who married in 1854 and moved to Geneseo, Ill., in 1883. Mary became a household helper for MCAL after the Linn family moved to Geneseo. Shortly after Little Mary's death, MCAL wrote to JA that "Miss Keyser still stays here at night and tends to Stanley. I do not know what we would have done without her, she is so efficient and sympathizing. The people have all been exceedingly kind" (6 Feb. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:730). Mary Keyser remained with the Linn family until JA and EGS

decided to attempt their settlement idea, and then, along with them, she became one of the three original Hull-House residents. JA recalled that “[d]uring all those days when things were so uncertain and when people did not know or understand us as they do now, Miss Keyser was the rock upon which Miss Starr and I could rest” ([Baumgartner], “Eulogy [for Mary Keyser]”; *JAPM*, 38:730). In addition to “general settlement work” and to serving as director of the Labor Bureau for Women, she also exhibited “faithfulness and good management” that was largely responsible for “the smooth running of the household *menage*” (“Mary Keyser,” 6). Her few months of study at the Illinois Training School for Nurses gave her sufficient knowledge to help when members of the household or neighbor friends were ill. A newspaper obituary recorded that “Miss Mary was the intimate friend and counselor of the poor neighbors for whose benefit the settlement was started. Hers was the neighborly work, the visiting of the sick, the daily ministration to the needy and heartsick and the despairing, who are found in the Nineteenth Ward.

“Every resident of the ward knew Miss Keyser. She visited them frequently in their homes and sought to arouse their pride and interest in their family life. They learned to feel she was their best friend, and would bring her their troubles and ask her advice. She made it her task to provide work for the unemployed and smoothed over rough places in the lives of hundreds. Not a day passed but she would be called for by a dozen or more people who wanted to ask her aid and sympathy” (“Miss Mary Keyser Dies”).

Mary belonged to the Ewing Street Congregational Mission Church in the Hull-House neighborhood and taught Sunday School there. For a year before she died at the age of thirty-six on 9 Jan. 1897, she had been in poor health. Of her eight siblings, five were living when she died. They were Frank, who became chief engineer at Hull-House in 1893 and served until his retirement in 1953; John L., who was a liveryman in Kewanee, Ill.; George, who also worked at Hull-House; Howard, who lived in Chicago; William, who lived in Baldwin, Mich.; and Alice Bardin of Stuart, Iowa.

After memorial services in her church and at Hull-House, she was buried in Geneseo, Ill. In his eulogy, Rev. B. C. Baumgartner noted that she would “be remembered as the good Miss Mary, a title which not only accorded well with her character, but which people generously gave her for what she had been to them and for what she had done for them” (“Eulogy,” [10 Jan. 1897]; *JAPM*, 38:729).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

*Leaving Florence on Wednesday, 1 February 1888, Jane Addams, Sarah Anderson, and Ellen Starr, with her charge Annie Kales, hurried to Rome, stopping one night on the way in Orvieto.*¹ “We arrived in Rome Friday afternoon, we had written to M^{de} Michel’s with whom we boarded before for rooms, but did not like the rooms she had vacant nor the generally ill-kept look of the house. Ellen and I took a cab to M^{de} Chapman and M^{de} Tellenbach’s to see what they could do for us,” Jane reported to Anna Addams, who had been her companion on her previous Rome visit. “The city was filled and crowded with people who had come for the carnival which begun yesterday,” Jane continued.² “We walked on the Corso in the afternoon among a mild sprinkling of masks, but nothing very gay has taken place as yet.”³ The women settled in the Tellenbach pension and began to investigate Rome.⁴ Jane meant “to take Rome coolly and have more time for writing.”⁵

The next day, after Jane and Sarah Anderson attended the Scottish Presbyterian church⁶ and Ellen and Annie Kales the American Church of St. Paul,⁷ the travelers set off for St. Peter's Basilica. Jane decided that "after the complete & beautiful little churches of Florence," she was "willing to endorse Ellen's quotation from Ruskin 'trying to be grande by bigness and pathetic by expense.' We went up to the roof and dome and knew it was huge by the amount of walking we had done but not by any overwhelming impression."⁸ However, the view from the dome of the cathedral was one she believed she would "never forget, it had just that touch of familiarity which is always needed to make the impression of a view quite complete."⁹

On the morning of 7 February, the women visited the Vatican and in the afternoon "drove outside the walls three miles to the three fountains the spot where St Paul was executed." Jane reported that the fountains were supposed to be "in proper distance of each other as the head bounded three times upon the earth." She continued, "The story is that the first is warm, the next one tepid and the third cold, as the sainted head gradually cooled.

"I came upon Ellen drinking from one of them, and she gravely remarked to me, 'This one is cold, we have begun at the wrong end.' I was greatly amused at the naiveté of the usually so wise Ellen, but we tried the other end only to find it equally cold and sparkling. She remarked as we came out that she felt sorry for her <Catholic> Aunt praying at home, for her Conversion was¹⁰ getting on at all."¹¹

72. Via Sistina. Rome [Italy]

Feb 12. 1888.

My dear Alice

Sarah and myself have just returned from a "beatification"¹² in the handsome chapel over the vestibule of St Peters, and while my eyes are yet dazzled by the glory, I think I will write it to you.

In the first place Ellen has at last put in motion some of the ecclesiastical wheels about her by presenting her letters to church dignitaries.¹³ She used her social letters first, and while they resulted in calls and an invitation to dinner they had nothing of the interest excited by the Latin documents. Thursday afternoon arrayed in our best I went with her to the American College to present her letter to the rector Dr O'Connell¹⁴ and ask in regard to the Vatican. We found the learned churchman exceedingly affable, very elegant and worldly in his manners and really had quite a brilliant call with no suggestion of the priest until the very last.

We were making our adieus and as he took my hand he asked, "Is Miss Addams a good Catholic too?" Ellen a little startled replied "Oh Dr O'Connell neither of us are Catholics, it is my aunt who is such a good Catholic[.]" "And she has written books and lectured for the Church in America, and has not converted her family" quoth the surprised doctor. But instantly recovered himself and bowed us over to the foot man, with as much suavity as if he had



Ellen Gates Starr's aunt Eliza Allen Starr was instrumental in obtaining passes for special Catholic church rites and preferential treatment for Ellen and her sister-travelers during their visit in Rome. This pass for Jane Addams permitted her to visit the Vatican during her stay in Rome in 1888. (Hector Toniatti; *JAPM*, 28:818)

converted us. When we were fairly rid of that functionary Ellen made the very appropriate quotation from the fairy tale "Can you emit sparks! asked the cat of the ugly Duckling, and the poor abashed creature was obliged to admit that it could not." We were just in the cab when Dr O'Connell came running down the steps like a boy to tell us not to ask for the Popes private mass, as he had suggested, supposing us Catholics, because we would be expected to receive communion from the holy hand, but he added a little sarcastically "You can still ask for the anniversary mass on the 4th of March as you will probably not object to the Pontifical blessing."

Yesterday afternoon we went to the Vatican according to his directions, Ellen being armed with the huge Latin letter from Arch Bishop Linn¹⁵ of Chicago, to Monsignor Macchi Major Domo¹⁶ to his Holiness.¹⁷ We waited for an hour may be in the ante room with a crowd of other applicants. We prepared in the most elaborate French to ask for a beatification and the anniversary service to be held in the Sistine Chapel March 4th[.] We were finally summoned and very much relieved to hear the lively, delicate little man before us say in English "You are from Chicago ne's pas?" His English was very poor but it was an attempt at our Mother tongue and he evidently enjoyed speaking it amazingly. He grew rather

fuzzy as he went on quite reckless of grammar or accent “Ze holy Fazzer” meant the Pope and “oozday apres midi” meant Thursday afternoon we discovered. He divined at once that we were not Catholics which saved much embarrassment, and assured us that if we stayed in Rome six weeks “Ze would be ze most good ones nes pas.”? [“][pent the?]” emphasizing all his statements by little pats upon our shoulders, or little playful shakes, flying about before us every minute, gesticulating, reassuring and blundering. The most foreign object to the reverend high bishop that he was, that could well be imagined[.] He took a hand of each of us as we left pressed them against his chest bowing over them almost to the ground, and we left him quite assured that we should have the things “You want so very ne’s pas”? The city has been full of pilgrims ever since December who have come to the Popes Jubilee.¹⁸ He came into St Peters himself during Christmas week, the first time the Pope has been there for fifteen years. It is very hard to see what they are standing upon now, and why since he has once set his foot upon King Humberts¹⁹ soil, he cannot go all over the city. The Chapel we went into today is a newly made magnificent affair, the entire width of St Peter’s over the Vestibule. The only way to get into it is through the Vatican and upon that plea the people of the Vatican condescend to use it. Ellen had two tickets sent her to this “beatification” at which the Pope does not appear but which is otherwise very magnificent. But Ellen’s dinner unfortunately did not agree with her last evening so she could not go out, while Miss Anderson and I fell heir to the tickets. A “beatification” as nearly as I can make it out, falls just short of a Canonization, a good son of the church who has lived a saintly life and been dead a suitable number of years is placed among the beatified just short of the saints. The ceremony this morning was very imposing. We were obliged in the first place to wear the Papal court dress, a black attire with black lace over our heads. The unusual sensation of going into the street without a hat was some thing of a preperation for the other unusual sensations which followed. The chapel was ablaze with candles thousands of them on all sides, so that the first suggestion was an opera house along the frieze and columns and hanging in glass chandeliers, while the picture of the “newly beatified[.]” was in a blaze of gilt and light rivaling the “high lights” of a theatre.

The chapel filled with priests and church dignitaries, with squads of nuns, of Franciscans friars in their homely coarse dress, with the aristocratic Benedictines and Dominicans in their black and white cowls every where.

The procession included thirteen gorgeously red cardinals, many archbishops and acolytes—marshalled and proceeded by the Swiss guard. The costume is very picturesque, their high helmets with horse hair plumes and the long lances they carry.

We could not understand the service at all, not even the name of the man thus honored save that he was a Capucin Monk.²⁰ But the music was very fine and the pageant certainly imposing.

Ellen remarked when we came home [“]Well Jan[sen]nant²¹ in all his glory



Jane Addams, Sarah Anderson, Annie Kales, and Ellen Gates Starr attended an exhibit of Pope Leo XIII's jubilee gifts in the Vatican. (Originally printed in *The Illustrated London News*, 21 April 1888)

has passed before you—did you feel like prostrating yourselves before him?” We could safely assure her that we did not for nothing ever seems more absurd to me than to connect all this pageant and pride with the religion which Christ himself taught.

The many pilgrims in Rome this winter seems to have given a new impulse to relic worship at least we are constantly shown relics that I never knew existed when I was here before. I think they are rather demoralizing myself and have made up my mind to look at no more. We were obliged to kneel and peer under a costly altar the other day to see St Lawrence's gridiron,²² and the state of our minds contrasted to the other people kneeling about praying to it was something horrible. We have been reading aloud *Northcotes Catacombs*²³ and have begun hunting up early mosaics and paintings, preparatory to our Catacomb expeditions this week.

The early church is as far as possible from any hint of this later depravity and I do not see how in the world sensible people ever got into it.

I have “gone on” at such length that I think I will ask you to send this letter to Mary & Weber, they may be interested to know our first dive into it and I am quite sure I never could write it out at such length the second time. Ellen told her experience of the “three fountains” to a priest the other evening he shrugged his shoulders and said he believed that there was a slight difference in temperature to be detected by a thermometer, but of course it could not be detected without.

Good night, dear Alice, I will write in a day or two of the cameo which I am hunting with avidity. Sarah and Ellen send their love to Marcet and Yourself. Your loving sister

Jane Addams

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:740–44).

1. JA found Orvieto, a past refuge for popes of the Roman Catholic Church, special for its cathedral. She described it for MCAL as “the most perfect example of reverent, pious work, and building for the glory of God that I have ever seen” (5 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:726).

2. JA to MCAL, 5 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:724. JA wrote similar descriptions of their travel from Florence to Rome and their first activities in Rome to AHHA and LSA (see 5 Feb. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach, and SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:710–15, 716–22).

3. JA to AHHA, 5 Feb. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:711.

4. The pension “does not look cleaner by time, nor as if it had been often swept since I saw it last, but we are going to try it for two weeks and by that time the city will certainly be somewhat emptied of the devout Catholics,” JA announced to LSA (5 Feb. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:719). For JA’s reactions to Rome during her first visit in 1884, see JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, nn. 3, 34–35; and JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, both above.

5. JA to LSA, 5 Feb. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:721.

6. JA reported to LSA that she “felt quite refreshed by the good knock down sermon against the Romish mass” (5 Feb. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:718).

7. In JA’s opinion, the “American ch.” was “such a high church affair that it might almost as well be Catholic” (JA to MCAL, 5 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:726). The Church of St. Paul had been completed in 1879 in Gothic style with interior decoration by Edward Burne-Jones.

8. JA to AHHA, 5 Feb. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:713. To MCAL, JA reported that the interior of the Cathedral “impressed us as sordid and tawdry” (5 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:724).

9. JA to MCAL, 5 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:724.

10. JA may have meant to insert the word *not* between “was” and “getting.”

11. JA to SAAH, 8 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:733–34.

12. Beatification in the Roman Catholic church is a process that results in a decree permitting but not requiring the public ecclesiastical veneration of a person as having entered heaven. It may be associated with a particular geographical region or with a religious order. Canonization, a similar process, usually binds the entire Roman Catholic church to such veneration.

13. “I have just sent off to Ellen two letters written by Archbishop Feehan for her and her party—one to Every body concerned; a traveling letter. The other to Monsignor Marchi, the Master of Ceremonies at the Vatican which will take you to all the great ceremonies and to the Vatican under all its aspects. I have told Ellen how to use it, and I hope it will be used to your great pleasure,” Eliza Allen Starr wrote to JA in a letter suggesting that JA visit her before leaving for Europe (30 Nov. 1887, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:565–66). JA reported to SAAH after her visit that Miss Starr was “arranging for an interview with The Holy Father and hopes I will persuade Ellen into it” (7 Dec. 1887, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:576).

14. The Rev. Denis Joseph O’Connell, D.D. (d. 1939), educated at St. Charles Seminary in Philadelphia and St. Mary’s College in Charleston, S.C., was head of the North American College of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome, a pontifical college that had opened in 1859. Later Rev. O’Connell served as rector of Catholic Univ. in Washington, D.C. (1903–9).

15. By the time that JA and EGS went to Europe, Patrick Augustine Feehan (1829–1902),

ordained in 1852, had become the first archbishop of Chicago. He served from 1880 until his death.

16. Luigi Macchi (1832–1907), ordained in 1859, was majordomo for Pope Leo XIII beginning in Aug. 1886. The majordomo was the chief steward of the household of the pope and until 1891 also assumed the role of prefect of the palace of the pope. As such, it was his duty to issue cards of admission to the galleries and museums of the Vatican. Father Macchi was created a cardinal on 11 Feb. 1889 and held several positions in the church in Rome until his death.

17. Pope Leo XIII (1810–1903) was the leader of the Roman Catholic church from 1878 until his death in 1903. Trained as a classical scholar, Gioacchino Vincenzo Pecci received a doctorate in theology in 1832 and was ordained a priest in Rome on 31 Dec. 1837. He held a number of important positions in the Roman Catholic church and became an archbishop in 1843, when he was sent to Belgium as nuncio of Brussels. From 1846 to 1878 he served as bishop of Perugia, becoming cardinal in 1853. Pope Leo XIII was concerned for the welfare of his parishioners and helped start such institutions as a savings bank for tradespeople. He also worked to improve educational methods of the church and create a learned and virtuous clergy. He opened the Vatican archives to scholars in 1883, and he wrote many important encyclicals on various church matters, including marriage, freemasonry, education, and modern socialism. He asserted papal temporal authority, was a noted statesman who dealt successfully with an assortment of nation-states, and continually promoted peace. See also JA to Sarah Blaisdell, 26 Apr. 1884, n. 34, above.

18. The fiftieth anniversary year of Pope Leo XIII's ordination began on 31 Dec. 1886.

19. In 1870, Rome was captured from the pope by King Victor Emmanuel II and became part of Italy. From that time until 1929, each pope presumed that he was the temporal ruler of Rome and, surrounded by the enemy, was unwilling to set foot on enemy territory. Victor Emmanuel II's son, Humbert I (1844–1900), became the second king of Italy (1878–1900).

20. Filippo Giacomo Amoroso (1715–87), an illiterate Italian Capuchin monk, was known in his time for his gifts of charity and humility. He seemed to be given the gift of healing physical and spiritual diseases and was pleased to attend the sick. He was also famous for his obedience and never did anything without requesting permission from his superior, who apparently spent more than thirty years subjecting him to humiliation after humiliation, which, it is said, he endured heroically. In 2005, he was canonized as lay brother Felix of Nicosia.

21. A Jansenist was a follower of the school in the Roman Catholic church that subscribed to the doctrines of Cornelius Jansen (1585–1638), Dutch Roman Catholic theologian and bishop of Ypres (1636), who argued that the teaching of St. Augustine on grace, free will, and predestination was opposed to the teaching of the Jesuit schools.

22. St. Lawrence (d. 10 Aug. 258) was ordered roasted slowly on a gridiron by Valerian, emperor of Rome (253–60), in retribution for displaying the beggars in his care when ordered to present the church's treasures.

23. James Spencer Northcote (1821–1907) took Anglican orders in 1844. When his wife, Susannah Spencer Ruscombe Poole Northcote, converted to the Roman Catholic church, he followed in 1846. After his wife's death in 1853, he became a priest and an expert on Christian antiquities. In addition to *Roman Catacombs* (issued in London in 1857), he is noted for *A Visit to the Roman Catacombs* (1877) and *Epitaphs of the Catacombs* (1878).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Upon receiving the first letters from home with the news of Little Mary Linn's death,¹ Jane Addams immediately began to write condolence letters. None of the letters she wrote to the Linns, which began arriving in Geneseo, Illinois, about 6 March 1888, have survived. On that date, Mary Linn wrote to thank Jane for her acknowledgment of Little Mary's death.² Some of the evidence of Jane's distress was revealed in her letters to Weber Addams, to his daughter, Sadie,³ and in the letter that follows.

Rome Italy

Feb. 16" 1888

My dear Alice,

I have just had the letters with the news of little Mary's death. Mr Linn's letter that came Monday was grave in its tone,⁴ and one from Mary on Saturday⁵ had filled me with sympathy and apprehension for her, but I was totally unprepared for the letters this afternoon.⁶

The time I was abroad before I worried so much about frail little Stanley, and of course we always felt insecure about Charles Hodge⁷—but Mary was always so sturdy and strong and happy, that I never dreamed I should not see her again.

I do so long to be with Sister Mary, and know of course that you can't go to her either now. She is so absorbed in the children, and always showed such a peculiar concern and worry for Mary, that it seems to me almost impossible that she can give her up—as brave and strong as she is. I shall always be glad that I was with the dear little girl as much as I was last spring, and have so distinct a picture of her baby hood.

It makes me feel very insecure about all of the children and I hope and pray very fervently that dear little Marcet will grow and thrive.

Your kind letter of yesterday⁸ was very cheering when I was feeling so forlorn about Mary. I am sorry Harry was worried about the Marshal note, even if it had been lost I could never have held him in the least responsible as they were sent to Baltimore by my own plan and request.⁹ Please give my love to Miss Playter¹⁰ and an assurance of my sympathy. I hope she will not try to write until she feels perfectly able, as I will understand her appreciation. I have been writing all afternoon to Mary and the children,¹¹ the letter was at the bank when I went out after dinner and I did not feel like the afternoon shopping we had planned. I have several things selected for you but have not have¹² the draft cashed until I select the water color. I hope you will not be disappointed in the cameo. I heart is full of love and sympathy for dear Mary, I have had a touch of genuine homesickness and longing for her, as I have not had for years—a little girl's feeling who is away from home at night. I hope you can see her next summer at least.

I hope very much that Ma will come to Kansas, I am afraid she has had a lonely winter. You do not write to her often, I am afraid my dear, she is so fond

of the letters about Marcet. Sarah has been invited to dinner with her cousin Mrs Kendig who turned up in Rome. Ellen has heard from her sister. Mr & Mrs Blaisdell¹³ have been obliged to give up the Spanish trip in the Spring, we are disappointed of course but will get into Spain earlier than we could plan with them. God bless you, dear, and keep you from all harm. Write often to Your loving Sister

Jane

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:749–51)

1. In addition to the initial letters from nephew John Addams Linn and from JML and MCAL (see John Addams Linn to JA and JML and MCAL to JA, both 31 Jan. 1888, both above), the following letters are extant from MCAL to JA about Little Mary's death: 6, 8, and 23 Feb. and 2 [and 3] and 6 [and 7] Mar. 1888 (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:728–31, 736–39, 763–68, 798–807, and 812–17).

2. See MCAL to JA, 6 [and 7] Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:812–17.

3. See JA to JWA, 17 Feb. 1888, and JA to Sarah Weber Addams, 21 Feb. 1888, both SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:752–57, 758–67.

4. JML's letter is not known to be extant. Perhaps it was the letter JML mentions in the second sentence of his and MCAL's letter to JA of 31 Jan. 1888, above.

5. MCAL's letter is not known to be extant.

6. Probably John Addams Linn to JA and JML and MCAL to JA, both 31 Jan. 1888, above.

7. MCAL and JML's children, Stanley Ross Linn and Charles Hodge Linn. In her letter of 2 [and 3] Mar. 1888, MCAL sought to alleviate any worry she knew JA might have about the remaining Linn children. "Stanley is very much better he does not cough now unless he takes a little cold. Weber also coughs when he takes cold: he is better but the Dr's think he must not go to school. Esther is much better she does not seem to be quite herself but she has got rid of the Jaundice. John is about as usual but he has a cold" (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:801).

8. SAAH's letter is not known to be extant.

9. By the end of 1887, JA had approximately \$2,500 invested in notes recommended by HWH through the Bank of Girard in Kansas.

10. Probably a reference to Agnes Playter. See JA to EGS, 17 July 1886, n. 2, above.

11. JA's letters to MCAL and the Linn children are not known to be extant.

12. JA probably meant to write *had*.

13. EGS's sister, Mary Houghton Starr Blaisdell (1849–1934), and brother-in-law, Charles Melville Blaisdell (d. 1918). The Blaisdells were married in Boston in 1884 and lived in Chicopee, Mass. They traveled extensively throughout the world, including the Near East, Egypt, Japan, and many trips to Europe. Charles Blaisdell served in the Union Army during the American Civil War and was a cotton broker. Like EGS, Mary Starr Blaisdell was born in Deerfield, Mass. In 1854 she went with her parents and siblings to Laona, Ill., but came east for schooling. She was a graduate of the Boston School of Fine Arts, studied art in Paris (1881–83), and became a charter member of the Copley Society of Boston. She was an active member of the Grace Episcopal Church in Chicopee and became one of the few women to serve on its vestry. During World War I, Mary Blaisdell was head of the Chicopee chapter of the Red Cross.

Ellen Gates Starr to
Anna Hostetter Haldeman Addams

"Your very kind sympathizing letters have been received," wrote Mary Linn to sister Jane. "I am so glad to get them,¹ I have worried so much about you before Mary's departure and since: I hope you will have strength to keep up."² Mary's concern about her sister may have been justified; by 20 February, Jane had become an invalid, unable to travel.

Rome. [Italy]

Feb. 23, '88.

My dear Mrs. Addams,

Jeannie is confined to her bed, not with Roman fever, (I give you an opportunity to offer your hymn of thanksgiving here, as I have just told Mrs. Haldeman.) but with sciatica.³

The weather has been, and is, the worst possible. It rains almost incessantly, and though we have a room which is very sunny when there is sunshine, and have been very cautious, it is almost impossible to keep from taking cold, and Jane has taken a severe one, ending in sciatica. The doctor⁴ doesn't seem to take a melancholy view of the probable duration of the disease, and was very hopeful this morning from the pain's having changed its place to a branch of the nerve. This is the third day she has been in bed.⁵ She is well otherwise, and has no fever. Is very comfortable except when her leg has to be moved, or when it is jarred.⁶ Then the pain is intense. I have never seen anyone suffer more intensely. She is patience itself, and very thoughtful & considerate for others. I don't think she could be so ill as to lose that trait. She wishes a nurse, that we need not give up going out, and the doctor seems to think it best. We are, of course, only glad to take care of her, and prefer doing so to resigning it to a nurse;⁷ but it may be well <to> do what we have to do here, so that we can go on to Naples as soon as Jane is well enough, if it is not raining there, as well. I hope it will be warm & sunny. The dear girl will need it, and she looks forward <with> so much pleasure to Naples & Amalfi, & Monte Cassino.⁸ I know the prior at Monte Cassino⁹ and we all expect a great deal of pleasure from our visit there.

I shall write again before long. Pray do not be anxious. Though the pain can hardly be worse than it is, it seems to me, there is really no reason for anxiety, except that it may return. I think Jane herself fears that a little.

Night before last Jane nearly fainted from pain, and last night she suffered very much. I hope the nurse will understand about moving the leg so that it can be done less painfully, though I could not see that the doctor did it much better this morning. She says I look like a funeral urn, but this morning I made her laugh and it hurt her so that I have concluded the funereal aspect is the safest.

Jane & Miss A. have been conversing rather freely while I have written this, and I must ask you to pardon any incoherency in my letter.

I hope Jane will not be in bed more than a week, but I shall inform you, in any case, of the rate of progress.¹⁰

Jane sends her love.

She is the dearest girl in all the world I firmly believe. Affectionately yours,

Ellen G. Starr.

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:769–77).

1. None of JA's condolence letters to the Linn family are known to be extant.
 2. 6 [and 7] Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:812.
 3. JA was experiencing more pain associated with her back. Sciatica can be broadly described as pain in the lower back, hips, or adjacent areas. It is characterized by sharp pain along the course of the sciatic nerve, especially in the back of the thigh.
 4. Dr. Charles was English.
 5. "She has been in bed for two days, this being the third, and seems to be quite well except when the abominable spasms of pain tie her in knots, which occurs whenever her leg has to be moved," EGS wrote to SAAH, 23 Feb. 1888, keeping her apprised of JA's situation (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:779–80).
 6. "Sarah does most of the moving. She always does the real helping, whatever is to be done, & I do the useful part of looking funereal. This morning I made the precious child laugh, & it hurt her so much that I concluded I would better continue my natural role" (EGS to SAAH, 23 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:781–82).
 7. JA lauded her nurse, Mary S. Gorton, in her 27 Feb. 1888 letter to SAAH: "My nurse, Miss Gorton leaves to morrow morning, I have grown quite attached to her and admire her very much[.] She is a graduate of the training school for nurses of the New York hospital and for a year had charges of the nurses in the Woman's infirmary. She is young and energetic, is studying French here in Rome, is a good musician &c. The American church here has this home for English and American nurses and is a flourishing institution" (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:785–87).
 8. JA was unable to travel to southern Italy. She remained in Rome while EGS and SA ventured south to Naples. On EGS and SA's trip to Naples, see EGS to JA, 17 [and 19] Mar. [1888], below. For the visit EGS and SA made to Monte Cassino, see EGS to JA, 14 Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:857–65. See also EGS to JA, 17 [and 19] Mar. [1888], n. 13, below.
 9. Father Bonifacio M. Krug, OSB (Order of St. Benedict), whom EGS had met at her aunt Eliza Allen Starr's house in Chicago, was host to EGS and SA at Monte Cassino Abbey, constructed beginning in the sixth century. Shortly after their visit, Krug was sent to the Abbey of St. Maria del Monte, Cesena, in Romagna, Italy, which he called "the hotbed of freemasonry and anarchism in Italy," to create a community (Bonifacio M. Krug to Miss Eliza Allen Starr, 4 Aug. 1888, in McGovern, *The Life and Letters of Eliza Allen Starr*, 416). His sister, called Mother Teresa, was a nun in Chicago and also a friend of Eliza Allen Starr.
- The initial home of the Benedictine order of the Roman Catholic church, the Abbey at Monte Cassino, is located on a hilltop about eighty miles south of Rome. Disappointed that JA could not share this experience, EGS wrote to her about Father Bonifacio, "If anything could be more heavenly than that heavenly place, it is Father Boniface. . . . His dear old face was a picture of hospitality. S[arah]—has simply lost her heart. I didnt know but she would kneel on one knee & kiss his hand, as we saw a little boy (a dear little fellow) & several young men do. . . . He is delightfully learned. I say that advisedly. Some learned people are not. By the way, he is a German, as I might have known from Krug, but his English is perfect except

for an occasional so & his Italian also, & I doubt not, his French" (14 Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:858–60). See also EGS to JA, 17 [and 19] Mar. [1888], n. 13, below).

10. Despite JA's pronouncement that she would get well quickly with "the toughness of my constitution" (JA to SAAH, 27 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:787), a week later she was still recovering from the sciatica attack that EGS had labeled "a contemptible, afflicting visitation" (EGS to SAAH, 23 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:779).

Ellen Gates Starr to Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Rome [Italy]

March 4th [and 5th] 1888

My dear Mrs Haldeman,

The spirit has been moving me to write to you again for a day or two more particularly to express my feelings to a sympathetic listener than because I had anything to say, as Jane was getting well so fast apparently & had written to you herself. She has been out to drive & I know did not take cold in that way, she was so enormously wrapped & the sun was so bright. I think it was in the change of rooms & change of weather. The wretched fact remains that she did take cold and tonight she has a good deal of the fierce pain back again: not at all equal to what she suffered at first, but enough to be very distressing. Jane laughs at my frantic clamor for the doctor the minute there is a commotion. She says my faith in the profession is positively touching.

I do firmly believe her to be (here come the feelin you observe) the dearest, sweetest precious girl the world contains. I have loved her dearly for eleven years, but I never knew how much she deserved to be loved till I saw her every day for weeks together & under all sorts of circumstances irritated & in pain. I wish I could paint her or write her or put her into music to do the whole world good, as she does me: but I can only keep her in my heart to try to be just a little like her, with my limited success. Yesterday I lost my temper. I have lost it frequently before, but it seemed wicked to me to lose it after being for two months so near her. Anything wicked seems wicked.

I never have known a Christian like her. She has nothing at all of formalism, but every thing seems of so little consequence to her except the exact right thing, the precise life Christ wishes me to live. I think she would be horribly shocked if she could see what I have written. She seems to shrink so from anything of that sort that I ever say in praise of her: but I feel like saying a great deal more and I know I can say it to you, who know her so well & love her so much.

Mar. 5th

Jeane is better tonight than last night but this succeeding growl of the nerve proves that there must be great care she gets to a warm place. The Riv[i]era will be warm & so will Spain. Naples would have been at an ordinary time, but people say that it is cold, & I think Jane has quite given up going. She wishes us to go

on & let her rest & get quite well here, but we shall, of course, not leave her until she is quite well enough to be left. She dear heart is always thinking about us & our not losing anything for her sake. She is of infinitely more consequence to me than all Europe if she only knew it. You see that one really couldn't "go on" like this about any body except to her sister or "sich" so you will not mind & if I have revealed anything that she wished to have concealed, don't tell her.

Love to Marcet & Marcets Mamma whom I love for being Marcets aunts sister. Affectionately Yours

Ellen G Starr.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm).

To Laura Shoemaker Addams

*Early in March, Jane, Sarah, Ellen, and Annie Kales left their fourth-floor accommodations in Rome for more convenient rooms for Jane two floors down. "I walked down upon the Doctor's arm with great dignity and in the midst of much praise from the admiring party," Jane reported to sister Alice, "but unfortunately took cold from the change and have not been so well since. However I am in my second convalescence, the girls would not allow the nurse to be sent for and have been very devoted." She added, "I shall be caution personified, and will attempt very little travel until I am ready for Spain."*¹

While her companions scurried about Rome seeing what they could,² Jane remained in their rooms, interested in the current events of Rome yet somewhat introspective. She also wrote letters³ and read. She recorded that she read biographies of Pope Pius IX and Victor Emmanuel II and had become "much interested in new Italy." To Alice she also offered that "[t]here have been several bread riots the last few days. I have been more anxious to go to see those than to see the Pope. By the law a starving man may take bread. The government has been building, & being obliged to stop has thrown many men out of employment."⁴ Continuing to dwell on Little Mary's death, Jane wrote that it "makes me feel very uncertain about the children, we know of course that death is always probable, but fortunately, only really realize <that it is> occasionally."⁵

"Dear Alice," she wrote, reaching out to her sister, "when you say you are indebted to me for good thoughts and motives, you make me feel very unworthy. I have been self absorbed and priggish in my life, and pray every day for redemption and beneficent goodness. You have that my dear, and are more of a help and incentive to me, from your very unconsciousness than you can even [know]." While Alice dutifully copied the letter in which this comment appeared into the journal she was keeping for Jane, she omitted the last sentence, leaving only Jane's assessment of herself.⁶

Jane's health began to improve toward the middle of March. "I can go out every day and even walk a short distance without discomfort, but I feel every change in the weather like a veritable old rheumatic patient," she reported to Anna Addams.⁷ She began to take short trips about the Roman countryside and urged her companions to undertake the travel they had planned for southern Italy without her.

Rome [Italy]

March 11" [and 14] 1888

My dear Laura

Your kind letters are always so welcome that it has struck me, that their unusual occurrence may be due to my own lack, and I hasten to keep up my end.⁸

After much persuasion and reasoning on my part, the girls has finally decided to go to Naples for a week or ten days, and leave to morrow.⁹ I am perfectly comfortable and able to take care of myself, the house is full of pleasant social people and there is no use in the others changing their plans for the sake of my lame leg. I can walk a limited distance, although I limp in a manner rather alarming to my pride, but the Doctor is so full of warning against a relapse and another attack, that I am determined to be quite cautious.¹⁰

Miss Kales left yesterday for Paris, her brother had gone home leaving her sister quite alone in Paris, so that Miss Kales rushed to her rescue travelling under the wing of an English clergyman and his family.¹¹

Our party will soon be reinforced however as Mrs Rowell and Miss Harrington sailed the seventh from New York. Miss Harrington intends to join us at once.¹² I will probably see her before the girls get back from Naples, I do not know Mrs Rowell's plans but probably will meet here somewhere in south France and wait while the girls travel in north Italy for a week or two. I am quite resolved to rest up for Spain, and start in minus sciatica which I have found to be no joking matter.

Flora¹³ wrote you thought of joining Miss [Haws?] class on Spain, I do hope you will and any-thing I can do for you in the way of photographs &c I shall be delighted. There is no doubt that people who stay at home and study, have an immense advantage over people who travel about so fast that they have no time for study, although the latter is doubtless more entertaining.

We drove out this morning to the magnificent St Pauls¹⁴ outside the walls, by the invitation of a Benedictine Father, one of Ellen friends who showed us through the monastery court, and into the gardens, that is we were obliged to stand at the gate and look in, as no woman's foot is allowed to step upon the soil.

He came to give the invitation yesterday afternoon, the girls had gone to Tivoli¹⁵ for the day and I was sitting in my room deep in Ramsey's Spain¹⁶ when the "buttons" showed the worthy Father right into the room before I had time to suggest the propriety of the public salon. He came in and remained for more than an hour, conversing in his queer little English in the most affable manner and we really became very companionable. He is a very learned man, but a true

monk as to lack of cleanliness, his cuffs were a marvel to behold and his general appearance suggested the sainted lack of bathing.

We have had some charming rides into the country, the Campagna about Rome with its old ruined tombs and castles is one of the most picturesque things in the world. It is totally uncultivated and one sees nothing but the flocks of sheep and the shepherds dressed in sheep-skin trousers and jackets with the wool out, so that one can scarcely distinguish them from the sheep save for the blue hat.¹⁷

Wed. [Mar.] 14"

I was interrupted Sunday afternoon by dinner. The girls did not leave until Tuesday morning, as Monday was a rainy day and they wanted sunshine for Monte Cassino where they stop on the way down. I moved into a single room where barring a stove that smokes I am very comfortable, I do wish you could see this stove! It is built of tiling in the deep window, just below the glass. The little round pipe runs right out of a hole in the wall, whence the smoke finds the open air when it does n't come into my room. It is a mystery to me how my neighbors on either side or above can have a fire their windows while I have a fire. To-day is King Humbert's birthday and I have just come back from seeing a Royal Review of the garrison of Rome. I went with an English lady who has taken a deep interest in the state of my leg. We got a good place for the carriage, where we had a good view of the king as the several thousand men passed before him and saluted. The officers were tall and handsome and the uniforms magnificent but the men in the ranks were small and do not compare with the English troops. The Queen was there in a carriage bowing most gracefully,¹⁸ the Prince has been sent to Germany to the Emperor's funeral,¹⁹ and his fine horse equipped and saddled was led by a groom. Altogether it was a very imposing affair and in spite of Republican principles it is easy to grow enthusiastic over it &c.

The government buildings are all in mourning for the Emperor and one hears little else but talk of Frederick III. There are a great many English people in the house who express all shades of opinion on the former Crown Princess and her unpopularity.²⁰

Will you please excuse these scraps of paper, this is the last unwritten piece I own, I have not shopped much of late, and since the girls are gone I cannot borrow. I was delighted with Sadie's letter,²¹ please give her my love and to her dear father.²² I hope you have not been uneasy about me, I have gotten well very rapidly considering the first severe attack, I feel in the absurd position of a traveller who cannot travel, but am otherwise very comfortable. The girls have been devotion itself and I had much ado to prevent their giving up Naples. Write to me often, I am always glad for Cedarville²³ but more than all of yourselves. Always Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

1. [3] Mar. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:808–9.
2. On 1 Mar., JA's companions went to see the Pantheon. Two days later, JA wrote to SAAH: "This morning is the time we were to see the Pope, having at last procured the tickets after our many visits to the Vatican. Ellen and Miss Kales have gone. Sarah who saw him last Sunday declared that she did not want to see him again, and she has just gone with Mrs Kendig to the Forum for a lecture with a good guide" ([3] Mar. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:809).
3. From the period of her convalescence in Rome the following letters are extant: JA to SAAH, 27 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; JA to JWA, 1 Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; JA to SAAH, [3] Mar. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; JA to AHHA, 9 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; JA to LSA, 11 [and 14] Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; JA to AHHA, 15 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; JA to SAAH, 15 Mar. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; and JA to SAAH, 18 Mar. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:785–91, 793–97, 808–11, 818–20, 821–31, 866–71, 872–76, and 886–89. See also JA to SAAH, 22 Mar. 1888, below.
4. [3] Mar. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:809. JA also reported her interest in the bread riots to AHHA: "The city has been disturbed for two weeks by bread riots said to be incited by the priests. The government has been building extensively and stopping suddenly has thrown many men out of employment. The discussion of Pope and King has been animated and exceedingly interesting" (9 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:820).
5. JA to SAAH, [3] Mar. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:810. In her 15 Mar. 1888 letter to her stepmother, JA commented: "You were very kind in your sympathy for me in regard to dear little Mary, I have felt very sad and so sorry for poor Mary who tries to write cheerfully but whose first letters were almost heart broken. Dear Stanley is much better, Esther's wonder what the Lord could want with so many little children was very characteristic and natural" (JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:870).
6. JA to SAAH, [3] Mar. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:810–11 (also in SAAH's Journal, UIC, JAMC, Microfilm).
7. 15 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:867.
8. None of the letters that LSA or JWA wrote to JA during this European travel are known to be extant.
9. They actually left on Tuesday, 13 Mar. 1888.
10. JA also assured her stepmother: "I am able to go to my meals and take care of myself in general, and Dr Charles insisted yesterday morning that I was growing fat upon his tonics" (9 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:818).
11. Annie M. Kales traveled north through Florence and Venice in rainy weather with an English clergyman and his wife, the Rev. and Mrs. Whittington. She left Rome en route to Paris on Monday, 12 Mar. 1888.
12. AHHA's Freeport friend Amelia Collins Rowell and JA's RFS classmate Helen Harrington did not join JA, EGS, and SA in Rome. They took a few days to recover from a very difficult Atlantic crossing during which both Rowell and Harrington were violently seasick. Helen Harrington joined the travelers over Easter in Florence on 29 Mar. 1888. Mrs. Rowell and JA did not meet until 4 Apr. 1888 in Genoa, Italy.
13. Flora Guiteau.
14. JA went to visit St. Paolo Fuori le Mura, originally founded in 388 by Roman general emperor Theodosius (379–95) and Emperor Valentinian II (375–92). It was restored after a devastating fire in 1823 in which many of the original ancient mosaics were destroyed. The monastery had belonged to the Benedictine Order since 1442.
15. Tivoli, a resort town for ancient Rome on a hill by the Anio River, contained the ruins of Roman emperor Hadrian's villa, lovely gardens, and a spectacular view of Rome.
16. Mrs. [Claudia Hamilton] Ramsay, *A Summer in Spain* (London: Tinsley Bros., 1874). JA used this work as a guide for Spain. See introduction to part 4, n. 60, above.
17. The countryside around Rome included mountains and "the wild and deserted plain, covered in every direction with imposing ruins, chiefly of ancient origin" which "present

attractions of the highest order," reported Baedeker (*Italy*, 6th ed., 339). JA also described it for her stepmother: "We have had several delightful drives out into the Campagna which is sunnier and pleasanter than any where else[.] We drove one afternoon almost to the Alban Hills and back to the city by the Via Appia. The deep blue shadows of the hills, the sharp black over cast by the aquaducts and the peaceful flocks of sheep, formed a picture of beauty and peace not easily to be forgotten" (9 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:819).

18. JA reminded AHHA that they had seen Queen Victoria three years before and said that "she has grown older and much stouter" (15 Mar. 1888, JAPP, DeLoach; *JAPM*, 2:868).

19. Frederick III, son of William I of Prussia, was ill with cancer when he assumed the titles of king and German emperor at his father's death. He ruled from 9 Mar. until 15 June 1888.

20. Frederick III had wed Queen Victoria's eldest daughter Victoria Adelaide Mary Louise in 1858.

21. The letter that Sarah Weber Addams wrote to JA is not known to be extant.

22. JWA.

23. JA may have meant to write "Cedarville news."

From Ellen Gates Starr

Pompeii [Italy]

Mar. 17th [and 19, 1888]

Dearie,

We debated so long about Capri this morning that we lost the morning train here, & couldnt go to C. after all because it was too windy for the grotto, so we came hither at noon & after some more wavering about ascending, spent the p.m. in the ruins, & were both very much "spent." We concluded it was just as well to have come at noon, as we couldn't have done that & any thing else the same day. If tomorrow is a good V.¹ day we shall ascend him tomorrow from here; If not we shall probably go to Paestum.²

We have a lovely room in a sort of over-flow house <of the inn>. The double bed is even wider than ours. I wonder if I am wicked to wish that you were on one edge of it, & I in the middle, comme toujours.³ I didn't know I was going to miss you so much. Yes, I knew it well enough, but knowing it isn't quite the same as experiencing it. I knew well enough in Munich that I was going to sacrifice our old relation & never get it back. It wasn't without a pang that I saw it going for it has been a great consolation to me for a good many years, but I'm too old now to say that I will never love any body again as much as I can. It's about all there is worth doing, & if it pulls you to pieces a good deal when you have to give up what you've had <& got dependent on>—why let it! After so much sentimental diversion allow me to observe that I am consumed with fleas as I never was, that it is so warm here that I have taken off my flannel band & legs, & that I am comfortable without a fire in the evening, & I don't believe you can say as much. We have a crucifix over our bed, & ou[r] room opens on to a broad loggia, which looks down on a court with trees, orange trees, I think. It was too dark to see when a boy with a lantern escorted us over after dinner.

Vesuvius is blazing away. We sat on a veranda before dinner & saw him throw up fire & stones, & reflect his blaze in to the vapor above. Sally⁴ meditates arising betimes tomorrow to see him do it, so I must go to bed. The wind is very high tonight. I fear it will not be a good day. I shall think of you, having an undisturbed day for your New Testament, while we are junketing about. I wish you would read it to me more.

Dear heart! If you only knew how much good you do me you would not feel so discouraged about your uselessness. I bless you every day of my life.

19th

This is my birthday, so I am the lawful possessor of the rococo [pin] & return thanks in due form though it isn't in my actual grasp. I also possess a new purse with the pope on it.

The sun didnt shine yesterday on the beautiful temples at Paestum, but it didn't rain. The temple of Neptune⁵ is the most beautiful ruin of my experience, even without the sun. On our return the train was 35 minutes late, & we missed, in consequence, a connection at Battipaglia,⁶ at which unnoteworthy place we remained from 4.30 till 7.15. We spent the interval in foraging for a dinner. Our attempts were crowned with success. I will relate the experience viva voce. We got back here at 9.15. This morning seemed a good V. day: the sun shone & the top of the mt. was visible. I was unwell, but engaged a chair-like saddle with a board for my feet & a man <or men> to carry me after we left the horses, & thought I could do it, (S.⁷ preferred going from here because it is much less expensive; 7 frcs. instead of 25. With the being carried, however, it is 27.) It rained soon after we started, & we waited in a cottage. Then the sun came out, & all seemed well, & we proceeded. When we were well up on the mt.-side the wind was some thing past description. I couldn't keep my bonnet on, my ulster & shawl would not stay about me, & the wind pierced my lacerated [so]lar plexus unendurably. Every step my beast of a horse (so far behind the others that continual solitude was my portion) took, two or three double edged knives danced up & down in my side. I said I would go home, & the guide refused. I wept & he obeyed. S. insisted on going too. I wept again & she proceeded. The weeping was due [to] the lacerated solar plexus, but it was really my only means of success. The return, after we got below the w[ind] was delightful. My horse walked decorou[sly—] the sky was radian[tly] blue (except over V. wh[ere] it was black as indig[o] undissolved.) The view of the bay & the moun[tains] was charming. I got back at about three & was given tea & one letter & much petted by a very vulgar little American woman who has a German husband with whom she fights incessantly & tigerishly. I will tell you about [th]em later. I had no idea how late it was & meant to go to the ruins after luncheon. The wind is terrific down here now, & V. continues black, so I fear S. will not have a good day. I hope it doesn't rain or snow up there. I am molto contento⁸ that I'm not there.

So the evening & this morning are the last day, & tomorrow A.M. we shall go somewhere, I suppose; to Castellemare⁹ or Salerno¹⁰ to begin [a?] drive, if the wind d[oes] not blow us out of [our?] carriage. That will g[ive] us only one chance f[or] Capri, & I fear we sh[all] not succeed in getting into the grotto. We have really lost a day, so f[ar,] unless this might be so described, & it will not be if S. has what she wants. I still think we shall go home on Thursday.¹¹ I hope to hear some thing about Miss H. & Mrs. R.¹² when we get back to Naples. I am grateful to learn that you are comfortable in Rome. I only wish you could have seen Monte Cassino.¹³ Yours always

Ellen.

Sarah has come home a total wreck. She nearly fainted two or three times, never got to the crater, & was half carried down by a guide. She is in bed, at present. She was perfectly pinched with cold, & hasn't seen a thing for the mist.

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; JAPM, 2:877-85).

1. Mt. Vesuvius. For JA's comments on her visit to this part of Italy in 1884, see JA to EGS, 8 June 1884, above.

2. Only ruins remained of Paestum, an ancient city in southern Italy founded before the Romans came to power. These included large portions of the city walls constructed of travertine, eight towers, four gateways, fragments of an aqueduct, and paved streets. John Murray called the three temple ruins and amphitheater "the most venerable examples of classical architecture in Italy" (*Southern Italy*, 297).

3. French, *comme toujours*, translates as "as always."

4. SA.

5. One of the spectacular ruins in Paestum was the Temple of Neptune, constructed of travertine "full of petrified reeds and other aquatic plants." It dated from the time of the Greek colonization of southern Italy and had "all the grand characteristics of that pre-eminent style of architecture," including "solidity, combined with simplicity and grace," and was largely intact ([Murray], *Southern Italy*, 297).

6. Battipaglia was a village on the Tusciano River.

7. SA.

8. Italian, *molto contento*, translates as "very glad."

9. Castellammare, a short distance from Naples, was located on the lower slopes of Monte d'Auro. It is the site of mineral springs that had drawn visitors, especially in the summer, from before the days of Pliny the Elder (23-79). It was constructed on the site of Stabiae, where Pliny the Elder died during the fabled eruption of Vesuvius in 79.

10. Salerno, a cathedral town located on the northern extremity of the Gulf of Salerno, was celebrated for its beauty of position on the slopes of a spur of Apennine Mountains.

11. SA and EGS expected to return to JA and Rome on 10 Mar. 1888.

12. EGS is referring to Amelia Rowell and Helen Harrington, who were to join the Addams party in Rome.

13. On their journey to Naples, EGS and SA visited Monte Cassino and spent the night there as the guests of Father Bonifacio M. Krug, OSB (See EGS to AHHA, 23 Feb. 1888, n. 9, above). The occasion had been arranged through EGS's aunt Eliza Allen Starr. "I would be heartbroken, absolutely over your not being with me at Monte Cassino, were I not convinced that it would have been absolutely fatal to the whole Spanish trip," EGS wrote to JA (14 Mar. [18]88; JAPM, 2:857. See also introduction to part 4, above). Of Father Bonifacio, EGS en-

thused, "I knew he was delightful, but until one has seen him at Monte Cassino one cannot know him." She reported that after placing their belongings in the hospice where they were to spend the night (in a cold room with no carpet or fire), they walked to the monastery, where he greeted them, shared the noon meal with them, and spent the afternoon showing them Benedictine treasures. EGS remarked on the "frescoes illustrating the life of St. B[enedict]," calling them "lovely. They are quite Fra Angelico in spirit, but better in drawing & monumentally severe." EGS was pleased with SA's response to their adventure, telling JA, "I never saw S[arah] enjoy anything so much. She says she shudders to think that we might have come & not had Father B[onifacio], & truly we should have lost half." After telling JA that she would describe the visit in detail when she saw her, EGS raved: "The view I never saw the like of, & the monastery courts, flooded with sunlight, & tame doves & ravens flying about (the dove is St. Scholastica's bird & the raven St Benedict's) & the beautiful wells in the centres, & the glimpses down the valley below—O dear! It's quite impossible to describe it." And yet she clearly missed JA: "I wish I knew whether you are stiff or limber, cheerful or woe begone, & 'up to snuff' or the reverse & I wish I could 'excite contempt' by kissing you about fifteen times this minute, bless you!" (EGS to JA, 14 Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:858–65).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Rome. [Italy]

March 22" /88

My dear Alice

Your long happy letter about Marcet pleased me mightily this morning.¹ I feel as if I had never lost my knowledge and acquaintance with her from the very first. I spent the morning in the Sistine Chapel, and feel stirred and uplifted as only a few things in this world have power to affect me. I spent a great deal of time looking at the "ancestresses", the expression and contented waiting of one of them I think I shall remember, when I can show you the photograph of her you will feel it too I am sure. It was a fine relief to put these merely "link" and true people <without individuality> between the mighty prophets and sibyls whose personality was so great. I am enjoying Rome very much and none the less for being alone in it a little while. Monday morning I had a very unique experience. I usually can easily ask some one to go with me on a long excursion, but I was shopping and suddenly saw the sun was so bright I concluded to go out to St Agnese fuori le mura,² and as well as the drive see the catacomb³ which the girls had done when I was in bed.

I found a driver who spoke French (<in> which I am more fluent than Italian in spite of my heroic efforts,) [(|)strange to say) and enjoyed the drive over the historic '72 ground very much. When I arrived at the catacomb and stated my intention to descend to the priest, he was perfectly horrified, said it was "tout impossible" for him to go down with a lone woman and refused to move.

I said that I would sit down and wait until some one else came, when my driver gallantly came to the rescue, putting it in the most delicate way possible. He said that he had long desired to see a catacomb and that if Mademoiselle

would permit he would like to go down with her at a respectful distance and intimated that he meant to "pay his own fee.[""] The priest consented to the arrangement but I said that I would still wait a few minutes to see if another party would arrive. Two English ladies arrived presently to whom I explained my plight, they were very much amused and we all went in the gayest spirits.

I remember that Howells in his "Tuscan Cities"⁴ is very laudatory of the Italian cabmen, of their breeding and delicacy. He mentions sending a child alone with one of them and expressing some solicitude. When the man replies "Have no fear, Sir, I am myself a father," Howells says all New York City has not a cabman like that, even the same sentiment would have been, "I have brats of my own[""] or some thing simillar. I am impressed with the good breeding of Italians as I am with the learning of the Germans, that the people generally have it, and have it as a matter of course without being vain of it or conscious. I really think my story rivals Howells'.

The catacomb of St Agnese's is one of the best preserved in Rome and although it has not paintings as St Calixtus⁵ has, it is one of the most interesting in Rome. The inscriptions⁶ are quite undisturbed and there are fewer graves of martyrs which have become shrine & hence chapels. The early Christian symbols are so beautiful and attractive, as if they could scarcely find anything joyous and pe[a]ceful enough to express their eagerness for death and belief in immortality. The quiet assurance of the "Bene Merita"⁷ the constant repetition of the ✠⁸ and the dove, give one an almost exact reproduction of their state of mind. When you have time read some thing of Northcote on the catacombs and early inscriptions.⁹ We went into the church of St Costanza¹⁰ near St Agnese. It was built by Constantine to his daughter and the mosaics of the 4th cent. were almost as fine as those we saw at Ravenna, the beautiful vintage scences with their double meanings one never forgets after once tracing them out.

Dear Alice, what you say of all of you enjoying my letters makes me very much ashamed. I see such beautiful and wonderful things day after day, that I ought to write you good long letters about them, but I always seems very selfishly to save letter writing until I am too tired to do any thing else. I have been reading up Spain for two weeks and that takes so much time, but the history is fascinating.

Mrs Rowell & Helen had a very stormy passage, Mrs R. was ill all of time & will stay a few days in Southampton to rest. Helen arrives this evening & the others come from Naples.¹¹

Please tell Lizzie¹² how glad I was to hear of what she had done, and give her my best hopes and wishes.

Dear Alice you do a great deal of good, it is a wonderful thing to help anyone even to start in the footstep of Christ. After I read Drummond¹³ I felt more even than before the vast difference between one who has once felt the inspiration and one who has not. I will enclose Ellen's last letter because it is so graphic.¹⁴ The demonstrative affection you will excuse, Ellen always overestimates my

influence. The crying amuses me, I have only seen her cry once since we have been in Europe and that was early in the morning in Ravenna I woke up and found her crying because she was cold. Upon my inviting her to share my fur cloak (in which I always slept) she stopped crying & the tears dried on her cheeks like a child. Please remember me to Mrs Perry¹⁵ in all kindness & the former members of the art club. With a kiss to dear Marcet.

Jane.

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; JAPM, 2:890–94).

1. SAAH's letter to JA is not known to be extant.

2. The Basilica of St. Agnese fuori le Mura, said to have been founded by Emperor Constantine (283–337), first Christian emperor of Rome, above the tomb of St. Agnes was full of early Christian associations. It had been restored many times, most recently by Pius IX, about whom JA had been reading during her enforced stay in Rome. It contained mosaics dating from the seventh century.

3. The Catacombs of St. Agnese under the church of St. Agnese fuori le Mura were judged to be in almost their original condition when JA visited them. Unlike the Catacombs of St. Calixtus, which boasted Byzantine paintings, traces of frescos, and several chapels large enough for public mass, the Catacombs of St. Agnese were without decoration.

4. JA was recalling William Dean Howells's description of his cab driver in Florence as

the little man whose high hat was worn down almost to its structural pasteboard, and whose vehicle limped over the stones with querulous complaints from its rheumatic joints . . .

He was, like all of his calling with whom he had to do in Florence, amiable and faithful, and he showed that personal interest in us from the beginning which is instant with most of them, and which found pretty expression when I was sending home a child to the hotel from a distance at nightfall. I was persistent in getting the driver's number, and he divined the cause of my anxiety.

"Oh, rest easy!" he said, leaning down toward me from his perch. "I, too, am a father!"

Possibly a Boston hackman might have gone so far as to tell me that he had young ones of his own, but he would have snubbed in reassuring me; and it is this union of grace with sympathy which, I think, forms the true expression of Italian civilization. (*Tuscan Cities*, 8–9)

5. See n. 3.

6. JA meant to write *inscriptions*.

7. Italian, *bene merita*, translates as "good death."

8. The Chi-Rho symbol, or Christogram, is thought to be composed of the first two letters of the word "Christ" in Greek. Among the earliest Christian symbols, it was first adopted by Constantine. Before the battle at Milvian Bridge against Maxentius on 28 Oct. 312, Constantine had a vision in response to his prayer to God for a victory. In his vision, the superimposed Greek letters for chi and rho appeared to him with the phrase "in this you shall conquer." As instructed, he placed the symbol on the shields of his soldiers, and victory was his. JA seemed to favor this early Christian symbol. It appears as her collar pin in a number of photographs during the 1890s.

9. See JA to SAAH, 12 Feb 1888, n. 23, above.

10. St. Costanza church, originally a monument created by Emperor Constantine to his daughter Constantia, was converted into a church in 1256.

11. JA informed LSA that their traveling “party will soon be reinforced . . . as Mrs Rowell and Miss Harrington sailed the seventh from New York. Miss Harrington intends to join us at once” (11 [and 14] Mar. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:822–23). Helen Harrington, SA, and EGS planned to converge in Rome on 22 Mar. 1888. Helen Harrington was unable to join the three women until 29 Mar. 1888 in Florence.

12. Lizzie Blanch, SAAH’s household helper, was planning to return to Iowa or Missouri to attend school.

13. JA was reading the works of Henry Drummond (1851–97), Scottish evangelical author and speaker and follower of American evangelists Dwight L. Moody (1837–99) and Ira D. Sankey (1840–1908). A professor of theology in the New Jerusalem Church, he tried to reconcile evangelical Christianity with evolution in *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883) and reported on explorations in tropical Africa in 1888. In 1894 he published *The Ascent of Man*, which stressed the altruistic actions of animals toward each other in the scheme of natural selection.

14. See EGS to JA, 17 [and 19] Mar. [1888], above.

15. SAAH’s friend Sarah Chapin Perry (1846–1912) was the wife of attorney, former agent for the Gulf Railroad Co., and real estate businessman Theodore T. Perry, who came to Girard, Kans., from Pennsylvania in 1869. She served with SAAH on the Crawford Co., Kans., school board. The Perrys had at least one child, Herbert. Sarah Perry’s niece Mary A. Chapin was traveling in Europe while JA was there. See also JA to SAAH, 14 Apr. 1888, n. 31; and 12 May 1888, both below.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Genoa—[Italy]

April 6" 1888

My dear Alice—

Your dear kind letter came yesterday¹—I am sorry you did not send Miss Starr hers, she admires you very much and would have enjoyed a letter like that above every thing. I miss the girls again but the temporary absences warns me that is a good thing to get used to it a little before we separate in America.² I hope you will learn Miss Starr and love her some time as much as I do and Miss Anderson does.

We spent our Easter together at Florence where Miss Harrington arrived Thursday evening.³ We were there together until Monday morning,⁴ in which time Ellen and I had four Spanish lessons from a stately Spanish “Cabellero” who spoke French beautifully but no English, and so really gave us double lessons. Good Friday was a marvel with the darkened churches and the thousands of sad kneeling people—for three hours. We certainl[y] [sh]irk a little that part of our Lord’s experiance, while we are all so ready to share the joy of Christmas. Saturday at the Cathedral we witnessed the marvellous descent of the fire dove from the high altar into the piazza and back again which all the country people watch with the greatest interest as it indicates the harvest. The fire works in the piazza are ignited by it and the little tabernacle in which they are placed is set on fire amid the greatest excitement. It was very very interesting [alt]hough no one seemed able to tell us of the origin of the custom.⁵ Queen Victoria, the Queen of Roumania⁶ & the Queen of Wurtemberg⁷ were in [the] balcony in the



Helen Harrington, seen here in the 1880s, joined Jane Addams in Europe in 1888. She visited Toynbee Hall in London's East End with Jane Addams and Sarah Anderson. (G. W. Barnes and Son, Rockford, Illinois; SCPC, JAC)

piazza, we saw the three bonnets ascend into the three carriage but the glimpse was very unsatisfactory and rather tantalizing. On Sunday afternoon we all rode to Fiesole & there came suddenly upon Queen Victoria's carriage, outriders and all, & were within six feet of her for so many minutes. She is neither beautiful nor graceful but not as red and homely as she is painted. Beatrice⁸ was rather attractive & the Lady Churchill⁹ the most stately of the three. Monday morning I took Helen to San Marco & then Sarah took her to the Medici Chapel and Ellen took her to the Pitti, each of us selecting our favorite place & doing the honors of it in fine style. We took the two o'clock train for Prato¹⁰ where we had two hours to admire the dear little Cathedral & the Donatello pulpit¹¹ perched like a bird's nest on the outside, & then we went on to Lucca.¹² I would like to have staid a week in quaint little Lucca, do read Ruskin's description of the woman's tomb in the Cathedral from his "Modern Painters."¹³

We spent Tuesday night in Lucca Pisa,¹⁴ from there the girls went to Venice & I came here. I was very sorry to give up beautiful Venice, we had just finished reading "St Mark's Rest"¹⁵ aloud, but the Spring is cold & backward, I had touch of sciatica at Assisi & do want to be in good condition for Spain.¹⁶ Mrs Rowell had been here a day or two¹⁷ & we are going on to the Riviera together & spend a week in Nice.¹⁸ I hope the rest and heat will effect a cure, I never knew what a provoking laming affair sciatica could be.

Did I write you of our two days at Assisi¹⁹ & the Christian pictures of the lower church,²⁰ I am sure that I have never seen so much of Christ's spirit in a picture, I have of course felt his beauty more in fine action & once or twice in

literary expression, but never so deeply in a picture—I could hardly tell whether it was of Goitto²¹ or of St Francis. The monastic expression of it narrowed it but it cannot be made too severe or true. The poverty is made so dignified & the chastity—the renunciation so much finer than any accomplishment could be.

Mrs Rowell is very kind, we have our seperate rooms and keep a certain dignified, reserved relation which I am sure is natural & can be sustained. I admire some things about her very much.²² She sends her regards to you & is kind enough to say that she considers herself fortunate to have a trip of a few days with me alone—that is her message to you & do not know why I give it. Flora²³ is in wretched health she says, if I could persuade her to come to England for a quiet summer with me I would be so glad to shorten & confine my own trip. If I should send \$500.00 to you, you could give it to her in foreign drafts could n't you so that the bank at Freeport need never know? When I [have] some interest paid in I would be glad to give twenty dollars of it to the new church—²⁴ I am alarmed some times at the way I am spending money & must certainly save next year.

Dear Alice, I do not understand about the porcelain, I thought you wanted one of Marcet, & I will see what I can do in Paris. Dresden is the place for them but I am too far away.²⁵ I invested your present for me, in a beautiful marble of the Naples Psyche which I had sent directly to Freeport.²⁶ I send you your account as far as it goes. I saved \$20.00 for Marcet's porcelain & the rest for Spanish lace & some thing from Africa. Then I have a good many little things which I will sell you or divide with you if you like them after I get²⁷ home. I may come back in August when the girls do. Always dear Your devoted Sister

Jane Addams

Sarah Xmas	5.00		
2 Florence pins	5.00		
1 Roman "	5.00		
Cameo	32.00		
			\$156.00
Water colors	18.00	self	20.
cap & sash for Marcet	3.00		\$136.00
bronze column	2.00		99.25
" Listz	20.00		\$ 36.75
antique lamp	1.00		
" tear-glass	.50		
shell cameos	3.00		
Corals (fine)	4.75		
	99.25		

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; JAPM, 2:898-903).

1. SAAH's letter is not known to be extant.

2. SH, EGS, and Helen Harrington left Florence, Italy, on Tuesday, 3 Apr. 1888, for Venice. JA and Amelia Rowell were now traveling companions.

3. Helen Harrington had planned to join JA and her party on Thursday, 22 Mar., in Rome, but due to the rough passage across the Atlantic ocean and the need to recover from severe seasickness, she was unable to reach Florence until a week later, on 29 Mar. 1888. JA reported to her stepmother that "Miss H. was rather pale and tired, but revived quickly under the combined influence of our hearty welcome and the beauties of dear Florence" (7 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:905). "Miss Anderson and Ellen reached Florence Thursday evening and Miss Harrington arrived from Paris at midnight, so that our party is again supplied with the fourth spinster," JA wrote to JWA (7 Apr. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:911).

JA, EGS, and SH left Rome on 26 Mar. 1888, the Monday after Palm Sunday, spent two days at Assisi, and drove to nearby Perugia, which JA described as "one of the old walled Etruscan cities and very interesting" (JA to JWA, 7 Apr. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:910). From there, JA moved on to Florence, while EGS and SH went to Siena, which JA had seen on her previous trip. JA told her brother, JWA, that her "lame leg was beginning to protest against too much exertion" (7 Apr. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:910–11).

4. 30 Mar. 1888.

5. JA was so intrigued with this event that she wrote at least three descriptions of it. To AHHA, she wrote: "The Duomo and piazza were packed with country people who watched with breathless interest the fiery dove which descended from the high altar to set on fire the car of sacred fire works in the piazza. The bell ringing, the booming and audible prayers were some thing absurd" (7 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:906). To her brother, JWA, she compared the occasion to what she had seen the day before: "Good Friday was celebrated in the darkened churches, for the three hours Christ was supposed to be on the cross, thousands of people kneel patiently on the cold stone floors listening to the Misirere. On Saturday we had a service as much in contrast to that as could well be devised. It is an old custom of which we could not learn the origin. A tabernacle covered with flowers and filled with fire works is placed [in] the piazza directly in front of the Cathedral door. A dove of fire descends from the high altar of the Cathedral exactly at twelve o'clock, sets on fire the little tabernacle which explodes with a great noise, and then returns to the altar. If it returns direct it means a good harvest, if not the harvest will be poor. It was pathetic to see the intense interest with which the crowds of poor country people watched its course and thier great relief when it flew directly back" (7 Apr. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:911–12). In *Tuscan Cities*, which JA seems to have been using in part as a guidebook, William Dean Howells described and explained the event. The car of the Pazzi "somehow celebrates the exploit of a crusading Pazzi, who broke off a piece of the Holy Sepulchre and brought it back to Florence with him; I could not learn just how or why" (116).

6. Elizabeth, born Pauline Elisabeth Ottilie Luise, Princess of Wied (1843–1916), married Prince Carol in 1867. The couple became the king and queen of Roumania (1881–1914). Under her pen name Carmen Sylsa, Queen Elisabeth wrote twenty books, mostly in German, and several novels.

7. Grand Duchess Olga Nikalaevna of Russia (1822–92) married King Charles I of Wurttemberg (1823–91) in 1864. The couple reigned from 1864 to 1891 and had no children.

8. Queen Victoria's youngest daughter, Princess Beatrice (1857–1944), known in the family as "Baby," was constantly at her mother's side even after she wed Prince Henry of Hesse (1858–96) in 1885. The couple lived and traveled with the queen. By 1888, when JA saw Beatrice with her mother, she had borne two of her four children, Alexander (1886–1960) and Victoria Eugenie (1887–1969).

9. Lady Jane Conyngham (1826–1900) wed Francis George Spencer, 2nd Baron Churchill of Whichwood, in 1849, and gained the title Baroness Churchill. As the wife of a peer, she

qualified to become one of the queen's attendants. One of the longest-serving of Queen Victoria's ladies of the bedchamber, Lady Churchill attended the queen at court and on public occasions.

10. In the fifteenth century, Prato, a small community near Florence, became the center of an artists' colony that included Donatello, Filippo and Filippino Lippi, and Botticelli.

11. The Tuscan Gothic-styled cathedral was begun in the twelfth century and completed after the fourteenth century (1396–1472). Donatello and Florentine architect, sculptor, and goldsmith Michelozzo (1396–1472) decorated the pulpit on the 1450 facade of the cathedral with dancing children presented in bas-relief.

12. Lucca, an old town that likely predated the Roman era, presented “well-preserved fortifications, and many interesting churches” (Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 312).

13. The famous passage to which JA refers is in *Modern Painters II*: “In the Cathedral of Lucca, near the entrance-door of the north transept, there is a monument by Jacopo della Quercia to Ilaria di Caretto, the wife of Paolo Guinigi. I name it not as more beautiful or perfect than other examples of the same period; but as furnishing an instance of the exact and right mean between the rigidity and rudeness of the earlier monumental effigies, and the morbid imitation of life, sleep, or death, of which the fashion has taken place in modern times” (122). For Ruskin, this work portrayed a marble image of death, exhibiting a spiritual reality. Throughout his life he remained intrigued with the sarcophagus of Ilaria del Carretto (d. 1405). In the epilogue to *Modern Painters II* that Ruskin wrote for an 1883 edition, he recalled that “[t]he statue of Ilaria became at once, and has ever since remained, my ideal Christian sculpture. It is, I will venture to say, after these forty years of study, the most beautiful extant marble-work of the middle ages” (347).

14. 3 Apr. 1888. Pisa, noted as a refuge for those suffering from upper respiratory complaints, especially in the winter, is located on the Arno River about six miles from the coast. It was also famous for its cathedral, which featured a campanile of eight stories (completed in 1350) that was at least thirteen feet out of plumb when JA saw it, leading to its popular name, the Leaning Tower of Pisa. In addition to a number of churches and a museum of paintings from the early Pisan and Florentine schools, Pisa was the site of the Camposanto, or burial ground. It was said to include earth brought from Mt. Calvary in the Holy Land and was surrounded by a structure with walls covered by frescoes created in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and by Roman, Etruscan, and medieval sculptures.

15. In 1994, George Allen of London published John Ruskin's *St. Mark's Rest. The History of Venice Written for the Help of the Few Travellers Who Still Care for Her Monuments* with two supplements (“*The Shrine of the Slaves*” *Being a Guide to the Principal Pictures by Victor Carpaccio in Venice* [1877] and James Reddie Anderson, “*The Place of Dragons*,” ed. John Ruskin [1879]).

16. “I am very much better,” JA informed AHHA, “although I am susceptible to each change in the weather and guard against over exertion” (27 Mar. 1888, SCHS; *JAPM*, 2:896).

17. JA reported that she had met Amelia Rowell in Genoa, Italy, on Wednesday, 4 Apr. 1888. The two women planned to travel the Riviera while their friends were investigating Venice.

18. By 7 Apr. they were in San Remo, which JA described as “a beautiful place, warm and sheltered and is like coming into mid summer. The lemon and orange groves are laden with fruit, hedges of roses perfume the air and the people look quite gay and happy gathering the olives” (JA to JWA, 7 Apr. 1888, SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:914–15). The two women planned to move along first to Mentone to spend Sunday, 8 Apr., there and then travel to Nice, which Baedeker described as nestled in the foothills of the Maritime Alps in a natural shelter with a “dry and warm winter climate, which aids digestion and is especially beneficial for convalescents.” Nice, one of the first winter havens on the Riviera, provided “all the usual entertainments of a first-class pleasure resort” (*Riviera, South-Eastern France and Corsica*, 299).

19. Assisi, where St. Francis (1184–1226), founder of the Franciscan Order in 1208, was born and buried, was located on a hillside some fifteen miles from Perugia. In addition to a large monastery that had been turned into a school, there were two churches constructed one above the other and a third below the lower church that included the crypt of St. Francis. The lower church was constructed in the years 1228 to 1232 and the upper in 1253. The crypt was rediscovered in 1818.

20. The lower church at Assisi was full of frescoes painted by a variety of artists. However, JA was in all likelihood referring to the four frescoes attributed to Giotto, located in triangular spaces on the groined vaulting over the high altar. They depicted the vows of the Order of St. Francis—poverty, chastity, and obedience. The fourth painting was an idealized image of St. Francis. JA described the setting for AHHA: “Three church[es], one over the other are built on the side of the hill. The successful one is the middle one, in the shape and vaulting of its roof it is very like the crypts of the Glasgow Cathedral, but the blue ground of the roof is covered with some of the [most] wonderful pictures I have ever seen. The early painters certainly had a piety and simplicity which the later ones lost with their delicate coloring” (27 Mar. 1888, SCHS; *JAPM*, 2:895–96).

21. JA misspelled Giotto's name.

22. JA also explained to AHHA and JWA that she and Mrs. Rowell were traveling well together. “Mrs Rowell is fast recovering from her sea sickness and we have enjoyed being together very much. She is such an efficient enthusiastic traveller” (JA to AHHA, 7 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:907).

23. Flora Guiteau may have been attempting to help AHHA and GBH with housekeeping duties in the Addams home in Cedarville. See JA to GBH, 9 June 1888, below.

The next day, 7 Apr. 1888, JA wrote more to SAAH about plans for Flora. “I wrote to John Taylor to-day and asked him to send \$250.00 to you. I would like you to keep it until the end of June without investing it until Flora decides about coming abroad. She is in wretched health and is all broken down by the hard winter. I do not see how she can live very long certainly she can't if she does n't have a change. Just think of teaching all day, getting up in the cold to make fires, carrying coal and practically keeping house. I have given up the Norway trip and shall travel very little after coming out of Spain. If she could come to Havre by the first of June I would meet her there, she could have north France & Paris <with all of us>, London with Miss Anderson, and Edinburgh and Scotland with me, and I would come home with her in time for school. She is so broken in spirit the last year or two and is really so miserable that I so want to do this for her. I am very much afraid she will not accept. If you feel like it, I would be glad to have you write to her, and tell her any time she sent to you, you would make out the draft for New York, that amount would bring her over and then I could make other arrangements after she landed. I am afraid you will think this is foolish dear, but it seems to me the thing to do” (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:918–19).

24. SAAH was a leader in securing funds to build the new Presbyterian church in Girard, Kans.

25. SAAH had apparently written JA indicating that she wanted JA to have a miniature of Marcet painted. JA explored the possibility of having a pastel portrait as well as a painting on porcelain of Marcet made for SAAH. “I went to see finally the very best pastel <porcelain> painter in Paris, it would have taken her a month for the running and all and as I could not see it finished concluded it would be just as well to send the picture later.” JA went to see the artist twice and reported that “her work is simply exquisite, no china look about it.” She would do the portrait “8 x 10 or 10 x 12” for fifty dollars and from a photograph, although she “much preferred seeing the child.” JA recommended that SAAH “wait until Marcet is older and then get an excellent photograph taken to send her” (JA to SAAH, 5 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:963–64). JA also continued to look for artists for SAAH when she arrived in London. See JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, below.

26. When JA, SH, and AHHA visited Naples in 1884, they discovered the beauty of a sculpture thought to be a rendition of Psyche. It was called *Psyche of Capua*. See JA to SAAH, 7 May 1884, n. 20, above. "Alice sent me a very generous Christmas present which I invested in a marble copy of the Psyche, and had it sent directly to Freeport. I will ask John Taylor to pay the charges from my account and I should be glad to have you send for it, open and enjoy it—any time when you are sending to Freeport for other things, if it is any trouble it can stay at the bank until my return," JA informed her stepmother (7 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:904–5).

27. In the original letter, the list of purchases begins at the top of the last page. JA completed the letter at the bottom of the list beginning with the word "home." The editors have presented the list after the closure of the letter.

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

Barcelona Spain

April 14" 1888

My dear Alice

We have seen so much [that is] interesting during the past week and hav[e seen] it so fast, that I think I shall have to [make a] circular letter out of it, after the old pla[n. I] think that I shall keep it up, through Sp[ain as] it is simply impossible to write much when [we] are travelling so rapidly. I will ask you to [send] them to Mary and her to send them [to Weber,] if they reach him last Laura may want [to use] parts of them in the Spanish class.

I think I wrote you last from Mentone,¹ where [we] had settled down after our beautiful drive to [spend S]unday.² The outside of the little English church³ [was c]overed with climbing heliotrope in full blossom, [so] that the fragrance was almost oppressive. I n[ever saw] such quantities of flowers and fruits as the[re are] along the coast from Genoa to Nice.⁴ The m[ountain]s shelter them from all the cold of the n[orth and] exposed to the sunny Mediterranean they [gr]ow into the most luxuriant perfection. The [chief] industry is the making of perfumes, s[yrups and c]onserve. The latter are delightful and [very much f]resher and better than any I ever saw e[ven in Paris] itself. Think of eating rose petals conserved [so delicate]ly that the sugar does not over power [the rose.]

[Su]nday afternoon we rode the nineteen [miles to Nice] over the celebrated Corniche⁵ road [which crosses] the Maritime Alps⁶ just where the[y were suppos]ed to be impassible. It was comme[n]ced under] Napoleon first, and completed a[t an enormous expen]se. At the highest point 2100 feet [above the sea] is the little village of la Turbia,⁷ [containing a] curious Roman ruin of the Trophy [raised to] Augustus by the Senate to commemorate [the fina]l subjugation of Gaul.⁸ It is a striking [barbarou]s thing from which the view is [magnif]icent, it was on the old limit between Italy [and G]aul and I do wish United Italy could win [back] Savoy that far.⁹ Monte Carlo and Monaco are [just b]elow, they looked very peaceful in the [Sunda]y sunshine with no suggestion of the [wicked]ness going on.¹⁰ The view of the coast was [unli]mited in both

directions with the spur of the [Alps] running directly into the sea, around <or over> which no [ruler] ever affected a road until the Railroad [tun]neled it. We found very comfortable quarters [at] a little Swiss hotel where we paid the modes[t sum] of seven francs a day. The good German [cook]ing was very comfortable after months of oily [Italy.] Nice is a handsome flourishing city with [fin]e shops and boulevards like Paris and qui[te as ha]ndsone equipages and dressing as I eve[r saw roy]alty itself display. The beach is encircled [by an] avenue of palm trees and is <kept> in a beau[tiful con]dition. The drives into the country are [very bea]utiful, the hills are covered with vil[las and han]dsome elaborate gardens and orchards. [We took the] drive to the ruins of Cimiez¹¹—the old [Roman cap]ital of the Maritime Alps, the amphe[theater has been] turned into a curious fountain [called the ba]th of the faries, the water falls from [the center o]f the theatre hundreds of feet into [the little valley below in front of the convent of Recollects which] is on the site of the old temple,¹² we[re two of the] handsomest trees I ever saw, immense [spreading illexes,]¹³ they are gnarled and twisted just as [our fine old] oaks are but were lighter with more stret[ch and life] in the branches.

Tuesday afternoon¹⁴ we took the train to M[onte Carlo].¹⁵ The celebrated Casino¹⁶ is a large handsome [building] half Moorish, half Romanesque in character[, it] contains a beautiful concert hall in which [a] classical concert was being given, a luxurious [reading] room, and the three great handsome drawing [rooms] where the gambling goes on. All that is nec[essary] for admission is to present a visiting card. T[he] place was filled with fine looking, elegantly dre[ssed] people, a good many English and Americans [but] most of them French I think, who seemed to [be l]osing and winning quantities of new gold pi[eces]. I could not see into the trente et quarente¹⁷ a[t all, but] the roulette¹⁸ was more simple and the [in]tentness with which two hundred people wa[tched the] turning of the wheel would have been gro[tesque and] funny, if one had n't known that it w[as a mat]ter of so much importance to them. Everyone[']s oblige[d] to play against the Duke of Monaco¹⁹ w[ho has fo]ur representatives at each table, the play [is believed] to be perfectly fair but he has grown [enormo]usly rich, and can do exactly as he p[leases in his] little principality. His people pay no [taxes and ar]e devoted to him and his tyranny it is [said]. I became quite interested in watching a fine-lo[oking Englishm]an who looked like a clergyman [and was losing] frightfully and in a very pretty yo[ung girl who was] dressed in full dinner costume [she wore fine fawn colore]d gloves, and merely pushed the gold [back and forth] with the tips of her fingers as if [utterly indiffer]ent to it. She had a great pile of it [in front] of her and was said to have been winning [all aft]ernoon. We went to the concert for an hour, [the hall] was filled with visitors from the [neighborin]g watering places many of whom had come [as we,] as mere spectators. The cliff at the back of [the Cas]ino is laid out in terraces overhanging the [sea it] is planted with aloes and palms and [covered] with blooming flowers in the highest degree of [culti]vation, like

a glimpse into fairy land. But I [was] quite glad to get into the train and back to [the] fresh sea-breezes of Nice and the kind-hearted [Germ]ans, and had <had> glimpse enough of depraved Vani[ty Fair].²⁰

... [W]e took the train to Avignon²¹ [which] we reached at one o'clock. Mrs. Rowell w[ent directly] to the Hotel where she rested all afte[rnoon. I took the] train for the fourteen miles [to Vaucluse²² the cur]ious little valley in which Petr[arch first saw Laura,²³ and] where he spent sixteen years of his [life dreaming] of her and cultivating his little gardens. [I did not m]ake the journey altogether from sentiment [as I know l]ittle of Petrarch and still less of Laura, [but to see] the very curious formation of the valley. [It is a] perfect cul de sac  surrounded on all [sides] by the high bare mountains of red lime stone [perfect]ly sheer and inaccessible. At the end of the [sac] the river Sorgues rises from an immense [fount]ain,²⁴ and starts out at once not a little [brook] but a great river through the little valley [whic]h it makes luxuriant and fertile. The [rema]ins of Petrarch's gardens are seen, and the ruin of [his] so called Villa in which he probably never lived [but i]n a much less pretentious mansion more befitting a poe[t. It is four miles from the station to the [beg]inning of the valley, there were three French ladie[s in] the coach besides myself. They were intelligent [and] vivacious and greatly interested in every thing [mys]elf included. When we reached the valley [they at o]nce took me into their party, and I reckles[sly conv]ersed in my bad French, secretly glad that [th]eir accent was not Parisian although doub[tless m]uch better than mine. One of the young [ladies wa]s quite sentimental and quoted Petrarch [in a sof]t Italian very charmingly. She said she [had n]o doubt that I spoke Italian well beca[use it wa]s so much like Spanish, and was very [sur]prised to find that we did not speak [Spanish in] America. It is not the first time I've [discover]ed the same misapprehension am[ong the Italians an]d French, almost all the [immigration from those] two countries is to South A[merica,] and they have no idea of any othe[r America.] They informed me that I was not [English if I] did speak it, but much more sympath[etic than] the English of whom they had seen many [but] never an American before. They had brough[t a] lunch which they spread out upon one [of the] little tables under the trees beside the [Sorgues] and ordered café from the little restaur[ant. I] insisted upon paying for the last but was [not] even allowed to pay for my own cup, and <for> w[hen] urged to accept for the sake of "la belle Fran[ce]" whose guest a²⁵ surely would not refuse to be [for] one luncheon. I could not refuse. The broth[er of] the youngest was a curé who wrote a little [poetry] and I suspected the lady herself of cultiva[ting] the muses. European women often have a good knowledge even unusual of literature or music [and in] general information such as America &c [may be ab]solutely untutored and childish.

[I r]eached Avignon about six o'clock in fine [spirits to] find Mrs Rowell equally jubilant over her [ex]periences. She does not know French, and no on[e in the] hotel, nor indeed in Avignon they asserted [could speak] English. They had (the host daughter an[d Mrs Rowell] al]ready established quite an elaborate

s[ystem of signs] which completely mystified me. The [entire] innkeepers family explained the situatio[n to me. Th]ey had had Americans and English [before but n]ever any one who did not speak Fr[ench and their s]urprise over finding some one who [did not reminded] me of the old Sinking-Sprin[gs story of the old] lady who believed the [Lor]d c[ould not unders]tand English. . . .²⁶

[We] wanted very much to stop at Arles²⁷ and [again at] Narbonne²⁸ from whence we could go to Car[cassonne²⁹ but] concluded we had seen enough of South [France if we] intended to have any strength left fo[r Spain so got] tickets direct from Nimes to Barcelo[na]. . . .³⁰

. . . With love to you [all I am] Always Your loving Sister

Jane A[ddams]

Don't you think that you and Mrs Perry have been just a trifle stupid never to send me Miss Chapin's address? I have never received a letter from her & had supposed that her plan of joining us had been quite given up. I would be only too glad to help her in any way I could, and know how forlorn it is to be ill over here. I have written her to Leipsic in care of the American Consul, as I had no idea how to address her, & hope she will get the letter. Please send me her address at once, as it may suit her to join us as we come out of Spain, and I could help her settle in Paris if she means to study French, the Kales girls are still there &c[.] Please assure Mrs Perry that I regret very much having missed the letter and not having her address, and will be very glad to be of any use to her. Her letter much have been among those sent to Munich, which I lost. I do hope the rheumatism is better, when we are old we will sit together on the two corners of the fire place & nurse our precious legs wont we! Bless you. Have just this minute got your letter with the address. Take it all back.³¹

ALS (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:921–29). Text added in brackets is from a copy of this letter made by SAAH in the journal she kept for JA. HLSr in the hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm, pp. 127–46).

1. The last known extant letter JA wrote to SAAH prior to this letter is dated 7 Apr. 1888, Mentone, France (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:917–20).

2. In her letter of 7 Apr. 1888, JA wrote enthusiastically to SAAH about the beauty of the Riviera she was beginning to experience on the drive from San Remo, where JA and Amelia Rowell spent the night of 6 Apr. 1888. “[W]e took a carriage this afternoon, and ~~took~~ came here [Mentone] fifteen miles through a perfectly luxurious country, olive groves, terraced down to the sea, fragrant hedges of roses and geraniums, orange orchards massed in yellow and a beautiful palm grove for a quarter of a mile near Brodighera, the mountains back of us and the beautiful Mediterranean at our feet. I never saw any thing more luxurious and beautiful. The hotel here is charming and my sciatica is fast disappearing under this genial climate which is certainly 30° warmer than South Italy” (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:917–18). Brodighera, a small resort town, was noted for its date palms, for centuries the source of palm branches for the Roman Catholic church for Palm Sunday and for Jewish communities for the Feast of Tabernacles.

3. St. John the Evangelist, near the public garden in Mentone, France.

4. Nice, a large city located on a sheltered bay and one of the oldest vacation sites on the Riviera, had been ceded by Piedmont as its leaders began to unify Italy. Nice was also a region

or an area defined by borders at that time. It boasted a dry and warm winter climate, resort lodgings, and entertainment.

5. JA and Mrs. Rowell were traveling on the Grand Corniche, a paved road that connected Mentone and Nice. It was begun by Napoleon I.

6. The Maritime Alps, mountains that rise and back the Riviera.

7. La Turbie, a small village located nearly 1,600 feet above sea level in a pass in the Maritime Alps on the Grand Corniche. It is situated on the boundary of Italy in Roman times.

8. The Roman Senate erected a monument, Tropaea Augusti, in 6 B.C., to commemorate the conquest (14–13 B.C.) of the hill tribes by Caesar Augustus, first emperor of Rome (27 B.C.–14). Eventually the large statue of the emperor disappeared, and sometime during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the monument area became a fort.

9. The kingdom of Sardinia ceded a large portion of Savoy, a region in southwestern Europe, to France in the Treaty of Turin in 1860. JA was apparently hoping that the Savoy region, where the movement to unite Italy began, would be added back into the growing Italian nation.

10. Monte Carlo, part of the principality of Monaco, was famous for providing an elegant venue for gambling.

11. Cimiez, a village near Nice, was established as Cemenelum in Roman times, and some of the ruins from that period survived. In Roman times, the amphitheater JA saw seated between six and seven thousand spectators. In her journal copy of this letter, SAAH thought JA had written “Cannes” rather than “Cimiez.”

12. The Capuchin convent in Cimiez “was built in 1543 above the foundations of a Roman temple” (Baedeker, *The Riviera, South-Eastern France and Corsica*, 304).

13. Holm oaks are evergreen trees of southern Europe that look similar to a holly tree.

14. 9 Apr. 1888.

15. Monaco, an old community originally founded by the Phoenicians, was created in 1338 by Charles I of the Grimaldi family of Genoa, Italy. In addition to the famous casino, its attractions were the palace and the cathedral.

16. The casino, which was constructed in 1878, was designed from plans by Charles Garnier (1857–98), architect for the Paris opera house.

17. French, *trente et quarante*, translates as “thirty and forty.” *Trente et quarante* or *rouge et noir* (red and black in French) is a French gambling game played with six packs of cards. Players may make four bets: red, black, color, or against color. “A croupier deals two rows of cards, the top row for *noir* and the lower row for *rouge*. In each row he stops dealing as soon as the aggregate number of pips is more than 30, each court card counting 10 and the ace 1 (the highest possible number thus being 40). When the aggregate number of pips in the top row is less than that in the lower row, black wins; if it is more, red wins. If the winning colour is the same as that of the first card dealt in the top row, *couleur* wins; if not *inverse* wins. If the total numbers of pips in the two rows are equal the deal goes for nothing (*nul*), unless the total is 31 (*refiat*), in which case the stakes are put in prison, their fate being decided by the next deal” (Baedeker, *The Riviera, South-Eastern France and Corsica*, 334).

18. Roulette is a gambling game played by a number of people at the same time on a table marked into sections with numbers from one to thirty-six, one or two zeros, and several sections that offer players different betting combinations. Players place their bets before a small ball is spun into a revolving wheel divided into thirty-seven or thirty-eight small compartments. The compartment in which the ball lands identifies the winning number and its characteristics as red or black, odd or even and between one and eighteen or nineteen and thirty-six.

19. At the time JA was in Monaco, the duke was Prince Charles III (1818–89), who began his reign in 1856.

20. The editors have omitted JA’s paragraph describing her train trip to Marseilles from

Nice on 10 Apr. 1888. Among the sites JA saw were the Isles of Lérins near Cannes and the monument marking Napoleon's landing from Elbe at Golfe-Juan. In Marseilles, the two women were buffeted by the last day of a mistral. "It was a strong winter bitter [blast and] my sciatica promptly responded." But JA's fur cloak, a good fire, and a hot water bag kept her warm and well. She saw the Notre Dame de la Garde; a "little fortified church in th[e garrison] on top of a high pinnacle in front of Marsail[les]"; a shrine for sailors on the Mediterranean, the rocky island with the fortress of If, which JA had read about in French author Alexander Dumas's *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844–45); and the museums of fine art and natural history associated with the Palais de Longchamps, erected 1862–69 (JA to SAAH, 14 Apr. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; JAPM, 2:924–25).

21. The travelers left for Avignon on 11 Apr. 1888. Avignon, famous as the residence of seven popes of the Roman Catholic church from 1300 to 1376, was an old city that predated Roman times. It was situated on the left bank of the Rhone River at the foot of a limestone rock on which the Palace of the Popes and their cathedral perched. The many artisans who came with the popes to create their residence in exile also left a rich artistic heritage in Avignon. "[Avignon was v]ery interesting," wrote JA to SAAH, "it has the finest and [best preserved w]alls and towers of any city I have ever [seen]" (14 Apr. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; JAPM, 2:928).

22. Vaucluse, a small village in a secluded valley of the Maritime Alps.

23. Italian poet Francesco Petrarch (1304–74) (sometimes spelled "Petrach" by JA) arrived in Avignon in 1311 and took minor vows in 1326. He first saw Laura de Noves, wife of Hugues de Sade, on 6 Apr. 1327 in a church. For the remainder of his life and even after her death in 1348, he wrote odes and sonnets in her honor.

24. "The Fontaine de Vaucluse, a subterranean watercourse emerging to form the source of the Sorgue," wrote Baedeker, "lies . . . in a cave 26–29 ft. wide, at the end of a corrie enclosed by limestone cliffs 656 ft. high. Its force is sufficient to drive paper-mills almost immediately" (*The Riviera, South-Eastern France, and Corsica*, 103).

25. JA probably meant to write *I*.

26. The editors deleted a paragraph about JA's visit to the Palace of the Popes, which JA described as "interesting [scarcely] less than the Vatican itself." She discovered that it had become a military barracks for 1,800 men and reported that she had "gained quite an idea of [soldier] life." She also visited the cathedral and Pont d'Avignon, a ruined chapel on a Roman-era broken bridge. In Nîmes, where JA and Mrs. Rowell stopped for an hour, they visited Roman ruins. "The [pr]ovincial Roman ruins are very interesting to m[e and] I am thankful for every bit of Gibbon I e[ver read] although I am still sufficiently ignora[nt. Good]ness only knows" (JA to SAAH, 14 Apr. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; JAPM, 2:928).

27. Arles, a French city dating from before Roman times, offered Roman and medieval buildings and ancient artifacts as well as a Roman amphitheater ruin. Rich in history, it was the site of the first Council of the Western Church, held in 314.

28. Narbonne, France, the site of the first colony of Roman citizens outside of Italy (118 B.C.) was famous for its white honey. JA would have seen a former archbishop's palace and a beautiful unfinished cathedral in the northern Gothic style.

29. At Carcassonne, about thirty-five miles from Narbonne, JA would have seen one of the best-preserved examples of medieval fortification in existence. The fortification had once been a stronghold of the Cathar religious sect. In the early thirteenth century, the Albigensians attacked the fort as part of the Catholic church's crusade to destroy Cathar influence. The double walls with their more than fifty towers date from the time of the Visigoth invasion. They were constructed on the remains of Roman walls, expanded and strengthened during medieval times, and, after falling into ruin, restored in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

30. The editors omitted the remainder of the paragraph and the next two paragraphs. JA indicated that the railroad trip to Barcelona required fourteen hours and a change of cars

because “the Spaniards insist upon a different [R.R. gauge] for fear of a French invasion.” She also indicated that they were “very comfortable in the hotel” and that they expected SA, EGS, and Helen Harrington to join them that afternoon, 14 Apr. 1888, from Genoa (JA to SAAH, 14 Apr. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:929). EGS arrived after a harrowing trip that she described in an Apr. 1888 letter to her brother, Albert, but Helen Harrington was ill in Venice and SA had stayed there with her as nurse (see introduction to part 4, n. 113, above).

31. JA and Mary A. Chapin, niece of SAAH’s Girard, Kans., friend Sarah Chapin Perry, were unable to meet while they were in Europe. On 26 Jan. 1888, JA wrote to SAAH: “I will be very glad to do any thing I can for Miss Chapin and hope that we may meet her. We will go to Rome next week and taking out the time for Naples will be there until May. There are good French teachers all over Italy and many opportunities for speaking French. I should be glad to [do] any thing for Miss Chapin for Mrs Perry’s sake, but shall doubtless soon be glad to do it for her own” (IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:674–75). JA later reported: “I have not heard from Miss Chapin and conclude that she has made other plans” (JA to SAAH, 8 Feb. 1888, IU, Lilly, SAAH; *JAPM*, 2:734). SAAH had received a letter dated 8 Feb. 1888 from Mary A. Chapin in Leipzig (IU, Lilly, SAAH), and SAAH evidently reported Miss Chapin’s address and travel plans to JA.

JA wrote this postscript paragraph about Miss Mary A. Chapin on two sheets of paper different from that on which she penned her circular letter. Perhaps JA expected that SAAH would not want to include it with the circular letter that she would send to their siblings. SAAH copied both the paragraph and the circular letter together into the journal that she was keeping for JA (see UIC, JAMC, Microfilm, 145–46).

To Laura Shoemaker Addams

Mrs. Harriet Brewster Vizcarrondo¹ of Madrid, to whom Ellen Starr had a letter of introduction, “persuaded us to go to a bull fight—regarding which my feelings are mixed,” wrote Jane Addams two days after the event, which took place on Sunday, 22 April 1888. “Shame for having yielded, admiration for its magnificence, and wonder at my own brutality in enduring it so well.”² Five days later, after she had left Madrid, Jane described her reaction to the bullfight for her stepmother: “Barcelona and Madrid³ were scarcely Spanish in character, although we were induced into the folly at the latter place, of attending a Festa del Toros—which certainly sounds better than bull fight. It was one of the finest of the season and the most brilliant affair spectacularly that I have ever seen. The excitement and interest were so great as to throw the cruelty and brutality quite into the back ground, and if it had [no]t been for the suffering of the horses, I am afraid the rest of it would scarcely have seemed reprehensible to me, so much does skill and parade go towards concealing a wrong thing.”⁴

In Twenty Years at Hull-House, Jane Addams told her readers that her reaction to the bullfight, described in the letter below to sister-in-law Laura Addams, was a watershed event in her life. She recalled that her delayed reaction to it served as the catalyst for action that resulted ultimately in the founding of the social settlement Hull-House in Chicago a year later.

It is hard to tell just when the very simple plan which afterward developed into the Settlement began to form itself in my mind. It may have been even before I went to Europe for the second time, but I gradually became convinced that it would be a good thing to rent a house in a part of the city where many primitive and actual needs are found, in which young women who had been given over too exclusively to study, might restore a balance of activity along traditional lines and learn of life from life itself; where they might try out some of the things they had been taught and put truth to 'the ultimate test of the conduct it dictates or inspires.' I do not remember to have mentioned this plan to any one until we reached Madrid in April, 1888.

We had been to see a bull fight rendered in the most magnificent Spanish style, where greatly to my surprise and horror, I found that I had seen, with comparative indifference, five bulls and many more horses killed. The sense that this was the last survival of all the glories of the amphitheater, the illusion that the riders on the caparisoned horses might have been knights of a tournament, or the matadore a slightly armed gladiator facing his martyrdom, and all the rest of the obscure yet vivid associations of an historic survival, had carried me beyond the endurance of any of the rest of the party. I finally met them in the foyer, stern and pale with disapproval of my brutal endurance, and but partially recovered from the faintness and disgust which the spectacle itself had produced upon them. I had no defense to offer to their reproaches save that I had not thought much about the bloodshed; but in the evening the natural and inevitable reaction came, and in deep chagrin I felt myself tried and condemned, not only by this disgusting experience but by the entire moral situation which it revealed. It was suddenly made quite clear to me that I was lulling my conscience by a dreamer's scheme, that a mere paper reform had become a defense for continued idleness, and that I was making it a *raison d'être* for going on indefinitely with study and travel. It is easy to become the dupe of a deferred purpose, of the promise the future can never keep, and I had fallen into the meanest type of self-deception in making myself believe that all this was in preparation for great things to come. Nothing less than the moral reaction following the experience at a bull-fight had been able to reveal to me that so far from following in the wake of a chariot of philanthropic fire, I had been tied to the tail of the veriest ox-cart of self-seeking.⁵

*Biographer Winifred Wise, in her children's biography Jane Addams of Hull-House, which she wrote with Jane's consent and with access to Jane's papers, stated that "[o]n an afternoon among the nightingales and rose thickets of Granada, Jane showed Ellen a magazine clipping she had saved for its account of London's Toynbee Hall, the first social settlement in the world."*⁶

None of Jane's extant letters at this time reveal her nascent plan or discussions with any of her traveling companions about a plan.

Madrid, [and Cordova], Spain.

April 25 [and 28]. 1888.

My dear Laura,

I sent some photographs of the gallery⁷ to your address today. The small Merrillo⁸ I took from your ten dollars, saving the most of it for Cathedral views and I am very much tempted to save half of it for some Carbon prints in Paris. I couldnt find anything of the exterior of the Barcelona Cathedral,⁹ and doubt if any are taken, as it is not interesting at least the view we had of it.

We came direct from Barcelona here being very much grieved to give up Mont Surat¹⁰ as it had been cold and variable on the summit so that I did not dare venture my Sciatic leg on horseback. Mrs Rowell dreaded the exertion and Ellen had very little enthusiasm for it. She came alone from Venice, taking a boat from Genoa and arriving rather spent from sea-sickness. Miss Harrington had a very sore throat in Venice, and Miss Anderson was unable to leave her. She was over the throat trouble in a few days but the Doctor forbid her traveling said she was liable to break down any minute, if she over tired herself. She did not need nursing, nor any special care, only that she had to be careful of her strength, she is in a comfortable boarding house and expected her cousin from Rome in about a week,¹¹ so Miss Anderson came on to Spain about the middle of the week. In the mean time we missed each others telegrams and we left Barcolona for Madrid on Wednesday.¹² We had intended to go by boat to Valencia and from there by boat to Malaga¹³ but found the boats so irregular, and that we would certainly have to wait for five days at Valencia, and we gave it up. We met a party of Americans who were coming out of Spain and who assured us that it was "all awful[.]" ["if you go by boat you wish you had gone by train, and if you go by train you wish you had gone by boat." We were quite undismayed and found the journey most comfortable, we had a car to ourselves and were able to sleep all night.

We had to have our luggage rechecked at Zaragoza,¹⁴ and were deeply impressed with the courtesy and gravity of the Spanish officials, who were surprised to see ladies doing things of that description, but never betrayed the fact by a smile. We reached here on Thursday¹⁵ and Miss Anderson came on Sunday morning,¹⁶ very glad we were to be reunited. Ellen had a letter to Mrs Vescarondo¹⁷ an American lady who has married a Spaniard and who has lived here for twenty years. She has been exceedingly devoted to us—and has done a great deal to give us a pleasant impression of Madrid. We were at her home to a five oclock tea on Monday, where we met most of the English colony in Madrid and the only other American lady resident in the city. The wife of an American dentist.¹⁸ Mr Vescarrando is a member of the Cortes and took to Miss Starr and myself with his wife, to one of the sessions.¹⁹ Castelar²⁰ was not there unfortunately[.] The Spaniards are perfectly extravagant over his eloquence and declare that

but one such a man is born in a thousand years. There is nothing characteristic about Madrid as a whole although it is attractive and handsome in its way. The large old palace and stables²¹ are more interesting than the trappings of royalty²² usually are because more pretentious & showy. The carriages were marvels of gold and lace and the horses are valued at a million dollars, although the man insisted upon showing us the English breeds instead of the Arab.

We went to the Escorial²³ one rainy day gloomy enough to suit the character of the place. The great stone building, neither monastery, church or palace, or rather the three combined in enormous proportions was very interesting because it was a complete expression of Phillip II mind and so carefully preserved as he left it. The tapestries were handsome and the library exceedingly interesting, but the effect of the building as a whole was so impressive that it was quite impossible to remember details[.]

We went to the gallery every day, and could have gone many more times with profit. The portraits by Valezquez are magnificent & he liberally exposed every thought in Phillip IV mind.²⁴ The great event of our stay in Madrid after all was the thing we are all rather ashamed of—and that was a bull fight or Testa del Toros as we rather prefer to call it. The ring or amphitheater itself was an immense affair with stone seats for eight or ten tiers, and the upper rows of wooden seats with a covering where we sat.²⁵ Mrs Rowell decided not to go finally, and we took as protector and guide, one of the men from the hotel, who wore a gorgeous Spanish cloak and regarded it all in a true Spanish light. We got there just as the first grand procession was in the ring,²⁶ and just as they went out the bull came rushing in. He was a beautiful creature, as lithe and active as a cat, and as fleet and graceful as a deer with nothing of the awkwardness one associates with a bull. The picadors are the two men mounted on horses who irritate the bull with long wooden lances until he rushes into them and kills the horses. The first bull killed four horses, two under each picador, he made a wild rush followed by a grand mileè of horse and rider, the rider invariably being pulled out unhurt and the horse lying dead. That was the worst part of it. The second act of six men tiring and bewildering the bull with their bright red cloaks was graceful and brilliant with no suggestion of danger. The bandelleros who struck the victim with the gaily decorated little swords were in apparently greater danger than the matador himself, who did not come in until the bull was so tired out that it was a comparatively easy matter to kill, by one clever stroke into his spinal cord. There were six bulls killed that afternoon, but we did not stay until the bitter end although we were rather ashamed and surprised to find that we were brutal enough to take a great interest in it. The immense audience was either wild with delight or uproarious with hisses every minute, even throwing hats and oranges at the head of an awkward matador. We were in Toledo²⁷ for two days (I am writing in Cordova²⁸ now.) and enjoyed it exceedingly. It is a dear old place Roman Gothic and Moorish in extricable confusion, the Cathedral is large and historic but neither beautiful or impressive.²⁹ We

have been here one day and are ashamed with what we have seen. I will write about the mosque later. Please give my best love to Weber and kisses to Sadie and believe me your loving sister

Jane Addams.

I will send my views of Toledo from here with the Cordova views. I will ask you to send this to Alice, it is fearfully stupid but it is about all I am able to write. I think I would rather not have the children of the family know of the bull fight.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:935–38).

1. JA reported to AHHA that the travelers had “four o’clock tea one afternoon” with Mrs. Vizcarrondo, whom JA described as “an American lady who is married to a Spaniard and who has lived in Madrid for twenty years” (27 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:939). JA also spelled the name “Viscarrando” and “Vescarando.”

Harriet F. Brewster, oldest daughter of Henry Brewster of New York City, wed Puerto Rican-born writer and journalist Julio L. de Vizcarrondo y Coronado (1829–89) in New York City on 11 July 1854. Julio Vizcarrondo had been educated in Spain and France and had returned to his home to be a journalist. He left Puerto Rico for the United States during the 1850s when the Spanish ruler of the country refused to let his work appear in print, fearing his abolitionist views. After their marriage, the Vizcarrondos settled in Puerto Rico, where both became active abolitionists. By 1862, they had established Casa de Caridad de San Idelfonso, a home for needy children in Puerto Rico. The Vizcarrondos moved to Madrid, Spain, in the early 1860s. There, Julio, an ardent Republican, became a member of the Cortes, or parliament, representing the district of Ponce. In Madrid, the couple began to work again for the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico and the Spanish colonies in America. Julio helped found the all-male Spanish Abolitionist Society, the initial gathering of which took place on 2 Apr. 1865, while Harriet established a woman’s group in support of the society. Between 1868 and 1874, slavery in Puerto Rico was eliminated, and it was abolished in Cuba in 1886. In 1869, Julio Vizcarrondo attempted to establish a Protestant Lutheran group in Spain, but his efforts were short lived, in part because religious liberty in Spain soon ended. As they had in Puerto Rico, the Vizcarrondos established help for needy, abandoned, and ill children with the Sociedad Protectora de los Niños in Madrid in 1879. Julio Vizcarrondo wrote *Elementos de Historia y Geografía de Puerto Rico* (1863) and other basic school texts and also translated French-language works about Puerto Rico into Spanish.

2. JA to SH, 24 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:933.

3. JA referred to Madrid as “a small Paris in its way” (JA to SH, 24 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:933). Mrs. Ramsay found Madrid “very brilliant, very gay” (*A Summer in Spain*, 44). According to Baedeker, Madrid was the “youngest of the great cities of Spain” (*Spain and Portugal*, 59). It was a political creation that with the advent of railroads had become a commercial and industrial center.

4. JA to AHHA, 27 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:941–42.

5. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 85–86.

6. 125–26. A number of articles about Toynbee Hall appeared in English periodicals from 1885 to 1888. Samuel A. Barnett published frequently in *The Nineteenth Century*. Among his articles were “Practicable Socialism” (Apr. 1883), “Town Councils and Social Reform” (Nov. 1883), “The Universities and the Poor” (Feb. 1884), “Great Cities and Social Reform” (Feb. 1885), “Sensationalism in Social Reform” (Feb. 1886), “Relief Funds and the Poor” (Nov. 1886), and “Training for the Unemployed” (Nov. 1888). During that same period, Henrietta Barnett wrote “Vox Clamantis” (*The Times* [London], Oct. 1885), “The Poverty of the Poor” (*National Review*, July 1886), “The Children of the Great City” (*Atlanta*, Apr. 1888), and “East London and Crime” (*National Review*, Dec. 1888).

From 5 Jan. 1887 to 24 Nov. 1888, *The Times* (London) carried at least fifteen articles referring to Toynbee Hall and programs associated with it. In a 22 Apr. 1887 London *Times* article entitled "Universities' Settlement in East London," Rev. Barnett asked "Why, if one Toynbee Hall was so practicable after three years, was there only one? If its workers could do so much why were they still only 20 in number?"

American periodicals were also beginning to feature articles about the Toynbee Hall experiment. In May 1887, an article by R. R. Bowker on Toynbee Hall appeared in *The Century Magazine*.

7. While there were private galleries in Madrid, it is likely that JA and her party had been visiting the Royal Picture Gallery, or Museo del Prado. Constructed in 1785 as a museum of natural history and science, it became an army barrack before it was converted to an art museum with three public galleries; it opened in 1819. In his *Guide to Spain & Portugal*, Henry O'Shea identified the gallery as "the finest in the world" and "a collection of splendid gems" (271). Lithographs and photographs of some of the paintings were available for purchase at the museum. "In one respect, it is superior to any collection in the world, namely, in portraits" (Ramsay, *A Summer in Spain*, 55).

8. The Royal Picture Gallery contained at least forty-six paintings by Spanish painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.

9. The Cathedral of Barcelona, constructed in the Catalan Gothic style, was begun in 1298 and completed in 1448. The author of one guidebook seemed to agree with JA. He described the cathedral as "sober, elegant, harmonious and simple" and declared that "[o]n the whole, there are here no great specimens of genius or especial taste" (O'Shea, *Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 47). Traveler Ramsay wished she could have stayed longer in Barcelona, which she described as "the handsomest town in Spain; wealthy and prosperous, gay and brilliant, yet quite Spanish, too." She found the cathedral "so dark, except at noon, literally nothing is visible but the glorious stained glass," which gave the impression "of looking through a gigantic kaleidoscope" (*A Summer in Spain*, 414).

10. North and west of Barcelona, Montserrat ("jagged mountain") was the site of one of the most celebrated shrines in Spain connected with the Virgin. The mountain features a number of pinnacles, some of which reach 3,800 feet, and is associated with wild and beautiful scenery. Visitors who reached the summit after a strenuous donkey ride saw a restored monastery with outbuildings and a series of grottos.

11. JA informed AHHA: "We are all very sorry but it scarcely seemed the thing for Miss Anderson to stay for mere companionship, and the fact of detaining her distressed Helen more than having her go on. She meets her cousin in a week and comes north to Paris with her. It is very much the same prostration she suffered from last Spring and the last year she was in school" (27 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:940). Helen Harrington and her cousin Mrs. Noyes met Mrs. Rowell and JA in Paris.

12. 18 Apr. 1888.

13. Instead of taking the railroad down the coast of Spain to Valencia, a port on the southeast coast, and traveling by ship through the Mediterranean Sea to Malaga, a port on the southern coast, the travelers chose to go to Madrid by rail through the interior of Spain.

14. Zaragoza is a city of the Aragon region in the interior of Spain. Located among olive groves and on the main rail line between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, it was an important transportation center where two main rail lines crossed.

15. 19 Apr. 1888.

16. 22 Apr. 1888.

17. See also n. 1. JA identified "Mr. Viscarrando" as "a strong Republican." During their visit to the Cortes, she reported that he "gave us a little insight into the exciting problem of Spanish politics" (JA to AHHA, 27 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:940).

18. JA may have met the wife of "M'Heehan, a first-rate American dentist, especially for plugging" (O'Shea, *Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 303).

19. The Cortes Generale, or legislature of Spain, which was located in Madrid in the Palacio de Congreso, was begun in 1842 and completed in 1850. The gathering that JA and her friends visited was the first Cortes elected after Bourbon king Alphonso XII died (1857–85; ruled 1874–85). It took place during the regency of Queen Christina (regent 1886–1902) for her son Alphonso XIII (1886–1941, born six months after his father Alphonso XII's death). The Long Parliament, as it became known, was created in a general election held in 1886. Of the two primary political parties that had evolved in Spain (the Conservatives led by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo [1828–97] and the Liberals guided by Práxedes Mateo Sagasta [1827–1903]), the Liberals held power and were pledged to protect Spanish institutions and the regency. The Republicans, revolutionaries who supported the separation of church and state and the development of Spain into a full democracy, made up a small portion of the Cortes. "In his progressive policy Sagasta was actively and usefully supported by the chief of the moderate Republicans, Emilio Castelar, who recommended his partisans to vote with the Liberal party, because he confessed that bitter experience had taught him that liberties and rights were better attained and made stable by pacific evolution than by revolution" (David Hannay, "Spain: History," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., S:562).

20. Emilio Castelar y Ripoll (1833–99), noted Spanish historian, writer, orator, and statesman who advocated a Spanish republic and separation of church and state, was the leader of the Republican movement and served as deputy prime minister (1876–93), including while Práxedes Mateo Sagasta was prime minister.

22. JA probably meant to write *royalty*. The palace, 471 feet square and three stories, or 100 feet, tall, was constructed beginning in 1737 on the site of an earlier palace destroyed by fire. The thirty rooms of the ground floor were said to be "magnificently furnished, and with fresco ceilings" and the grand staircase of white and black marble also "magnificent" (O'Shea, *Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 265). The stables and coach houses, located to the north of the palace, contained a wide variety of horses and mules.

Like JA and her party, Mrs. Ramsay and her friend H. had to be content with a visit to the royal stable and coach houses. She was impressed by the large mules with skins like "black velvet" and by what seemed like "miles of gilt and painted coaches, nodding ostrich-plumes, and gorgeous hammer-cloths" (*A Summer in Spain*, 71). In 1879, the coach houses held "124 vehicles of all sizes, dates, and uses; from the cumbrous old coach, to the spider-like Victoria and baby pony-chase; from the triumphal car, the triumph indeed of bad taste, down to the hearse, all gold and glitter, and fitted up to throw royal dust to the gaping multitude" (O'Shea, *Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 266).

23. Escorial, thirty-one miles by railroad from Madrid and the site of two small villages, is the location of the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial. It was built by defender of Roman Catholicism and champion of the Spanish Inquisition Philip II (1527–98) of Spain, who lost his armada to England's Elizabeth I in 1588. The massive granite structure, church, palace, library, and monastery was begun in 1559 and completed in 1584. It was built in the northern Italian late Renaissance style. JA did not write to her anti-Roman Catholic step-mother about her visit to the Escorial.

24. The Royal Picture Gallery of Madrid, or Museo del Prado, contained at least sixty-four paintings by Spanish painter Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velazquez (1599–1660). Born in Seville, he became court painter about 1622 and created several portraits of King Philip IV (1605–65) of Spain. JA may have seen Velazquez's portrait of Philip IV on horseback, which became a model for the bronze statue of the king placed in the Plaza de Oriente of Madrid.

25. JA may have written *Festa del Toros*, but SAAH copied the word as *Testa*. The Plaza de Toros, where JA attended the bullfight, was likely the one outside the Puerta de Alcalá that was built by Philip V (1683–1746) in 1749. Henry O'Shea reported that "[t]he huge building is ugly both in and out; but the best *corridas* in Spain are seen here to perfection" (*Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 302).

26. The first procession, or *paseo de la cuadrilla*, is the entrance of the bullfighters, who strut across the arena while the band plays military marching music. The superintendent of the fight throws a key to the *torilero*, who opens the gate to the bull's enclosure and permits the bull to race into the ring.

27. JA and her party arrived in Toledo, one of Spain's oldest cities, late on 25 Apr. and left during the afternoon of 27 Apr. 1888. Mrs. Ramsay described Toledo as "[s]trange, dreamy, magnificent, desolate, tawny Toledo!" (*A Summer in Spain*, 95). The center of Moorish culture in Spain (712–1085), Toledo later became the residence of the kings of Castile, especially Charles V (1500–58), and the center of religious power in the country. Perched on a high rock with almost perpendicular sides, picturesque but downtrodden Toledo had become "the Pompeii of Spain" when JA visited it (O'Shea, *Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 431). "We enjoyed Toledo very much, it is a curious combination of Roman, Moor[,] and Gothic but nothing modern about it," JA enthused to AHHA. "The old walls and bridges of the town are extremely picturesque and we consider our first old Spanish town, very affectionately" (27 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:940–41).

28. JA arrived in Cordova, ancient capital of Moorish Spain, on 28 Apr. 1888. The mosque was constructed between 786 and 796 on the site of a Christian cathedral and was preserved when it was converted to a cathedral beginning during the early 1200s. During the 1500s, King Philip V of Spain was instrumental in preserving the structure, which, with its elegant mosaics and Moorish decoration, has been called "the most perfect specimen extant, or ever erected, of the religious architecture of the Moors of Spain" (O'Shea, *Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 114). Mrs Ramsay found that "[t]he Mosque itself is not exactly beautiful; it is strange, and vast, and weird, and altogether unlike anything else" (*A Summer in Spain*, 250–51).

EGS reported to her mother, Susan Starr, that "[w]e wanted to see inside of a Spanish house, & a guide in Cordova deliberately asked admission for us at the house of a marquis. The marquis was uncommonly obliging. We were escorted about the house, in fact he escorted us, though library, dining room, even bed rooms. I suppose our coming from remote lands made him more disposed to favor us. It was awkward not being able to speak to him, & the guide was a self sufficient person in whose interpreting I had no confidence. The marquis gave us a large branch of oranges picked from his patio, & was in every way perfectly lovely. We didn't have our cards with us & could only express our sense of gratitude through the guide, as we could only say 'Thank you very much' which was rather bald under the circumstances" (2 May 1888, SC, Starr).

29. The Cathedral of Toledo, which was begun in 1227 and completed in 1493, was constructed on the site of an early Christian church and a mosque. Primarily Gothic in style, the cathedral was difficult to see because of the structures surrounding it. "The Cathedral which enjoys such a reputation and is said to be as interesting historically as St Peter's itself, was rather disappointing. The Covo [Spanish for "choir"] in the middle destroyed the effect of the immense size and the much tawdry ornamentation, made the fine building almost grotesque. The Mozarabic chapel was very interesting in which the old service is continued, however only because it is paid for by a legacy for there were no worshippers (or rather spectators) but ourselves. It is simpler and easier to follow [th]an the elaborated Roman [s]ervice, and the associations of the chapel itself were immensely interesting" (JA to AHHA, 27 Apr. 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:940–41). JA was referring to the oldest form of the Mass in Spain called Mostarabe, or Muszarabe, because it was used by the Muzarabes, a name given to the Goths who lived as Christians in Spain during Muslim rule. Mrs. Ramsay also attempted unsuccessfully to explain "the Mozarabic mass" (*A Summer in Spain*, 107). Of the cathedral, she enthused, "It is absolutely perfect, outside and in; there is nothing that one could wish otherwise; even the inevitable choir cannot spoil it. Its peculiarity is the combination of exceeding richness of detail with great unity of plan" (*A Summer in Spain*, 97).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

From Madrid, the party traveled to Toledo, Cordova, and Seville¹ and then on to Morocco and Gibraltar before reaching Granada. Even though Jane Addams would later recall "that by the time we had reached the enchantment of the Alhambra, the scheme [that would eventually become Hull-House] had become convincing and tangible although still most hazy in detail," the party traveled on, exploring Spain and France. There is no known extant correspondence from Jane or any of her traveling companions for the period between 27 April 1888 and 10 May 1888. Jane Addams later recalled that with "stumbling and uncertainty"² she was sharing her ideas with Ellen Gates Starr and Sarah Anderson and hoping they might join her in developing her "scheme." The letter she remembered writing to her sister Alice from Seville, which might have provided a hint of those conversations, has not survived. There are three extant letters from Granada, written 11, 12, and 13 May 1888.³ The one dated 12 May is presented below. None of these three letters offers a discussion of the "scheme."

Washington Irving Hotel Granada Spain

May 12, 1888.

My dear Alice

We have been for three days in this earthly Paradise, I think I will write at once before we submit to the fate of the lotus eaters. Imagine beautiful groves of elms with an undertangle of blooming roses and a choir of nightingales above[.] Imagine walking through this self same grove to a fairy palace surrounded by gardens in the full bloom of summer and sitting upon a stone bench to fill your head with the romance and kindly humor of Washington Irving.⁴ We have been in a state of quiet rapture ever since our arrival, as much over the delicious climate and natural charms of Andalusia as over the wonderful Moorish palace whose ornate ornament and beautiful Cufic inscriptions continually haunt one with a sense of a religious life and expression in which he has no part nor even a remote understanding[.]⁵ Of course it is not as fine and simple as the magnificent mosque at Cordova, but it is more beautiful, it is like the relation of the Corinthian to the Doric. This hotel is very pleasant, built just on the edge of the edge of the Alhambra gardens, half an hours walk from the town. We were down this morning to see the cathedral⁶ and the fine old convent of Cartuja,⁷ but none of us care to go back, while we all feel as if we never cared to leave here. We have had one walk in the Gipse^y⁸ quarter and a conglomeration of beauty and rice begging and pride it was!

I wrote you I think from Seville we went from there to Cadiz where we spent one night and took a boat for Tangier.⁹ The ocean had been rough and stormy for three days, but we did not know it, nor dream of it as the little boat danced to the steamer in the bright sunshine at nine oclock in the morning. The steamer was small and bounded about like a cork, we were all frightfully

seasick[.] Ellen was able to struggle to her feet and dash cold water into our faces occassionally, but the rest of us were perfectly prone. We stopped about three in the afternoon, and were obliged to land by little boats filled with black men in white clothes which (the boats and men) bobbed up and down on the breakers in a perfectly sickening way, all the passengers got off before we were able to stir, we finally struggled out to the edge of the boat, Mrs Rowell went first down the steps hung against the great black hulk when she got to the bottom she indiscreetly clung to the side of the ship instead of swinging off into the little boat and had to be violently pulled off by two men who popped her into the bottom of the boat like a bag of meal[.] Sarah crept next looking as pale as limp as a ghost and prostrate into the boat without the slightest attempt to prevent her head from hanging over the edge of the seat. I went over the edge of the ship hearing the captain saying something in a loud and reassuring voice about “*jeter dans l’embrace de moor*” and thinking that Shakespeare in French was not improved when a huge Othello seized me and laid me on top of Miss Anderson. Ellen came down very much better and adjusted all our heads and we started up wave and billow threatening to overturn every minute. We were all drenched by the waves but so grateful for water on our faces that we did not much care. About twenty feet from shore the men jumped into the water seized each one of us about the knees and bore us aloft to shore—such a shore, the quaintest queerest assemblage of people I ever saw. Three tall dignified Moor men sitting crossed-legged in the gate of the custom house dressed in white and as clean high bred and impressive as the elders of Jerusalem. Mrs Rowell had to be carried to the hotel in a chair, the rest of us walked with several pauses en route, but we were all much revived by a good nights sleep, and quite ready for Africa in the morning.

We went to the Market,¹⁰ of Jews, Spaniards Berbers and Moors in grotesqu[e] confusion through the house of a rich Jew¹¹ to the harem of the old govener¹² (ten old women and one young one eating their dinner off of a round board upon the floor and attended by a handsome black slave), to the American Consul for a soldier to take us to the New Governors palace¹³ (which was closed when we reached there) and to an English Missionary Hospital where we enjoyed Miss Jay and her hospital work very much she is a good Arabic Scholar and greatly interested in North Africa.

The second day Mrs Rowell was too tired for much exertion but the rest of us went on mule back to Cape Spartel a light house seven miles from Tangiers, of the beautiful downs in a perfect tangle of wild flowers and vegetation. We did not meet any camels or ostriches stalking about which was a disappointment, but we investigated a moorish village with its quaint eastern customs, each woman grinding her own grain &c, and found the light house keeper on Cape Spartel a wonderfully interesting naturalist, who showed us his porcupines and adders. We talked French to his daughter who acted as interpreter until we found that he was an Austrian although married to a Spanish woman and then we went on

swimmingly in German[.] Our guides & drivers were two Moors who spoke no tongue known to us, but were so intelligent that it made little difference. We were all much impressed with the dignity good looks and intelligence of the Moors. We were taken one night to a coffee house full of princes apparently[.] We left Tangier on Wednesday¹⁴ crossing to Gibralter¹⁵ in about three hours. It was not smooth but much better than the Cadiz trip. We were at Gibralter from three in the afternoon until twelve at night. We had time to explore the wonderful rock quite satisfactorily. The views are magnificent and the three miles of English soil filled with interest. The rock is tunnelled with long galleris filled with canon with their mouths pointed through openings. We rode on donkeys now out in the air, now in the rock, the English soldier was very proud of it and explained copiously. We saw no monkeys but were comforted in that we had seen camels our last morning at Tangier. We had a beautiful quiet run to Malaga¹⁶ which we reached at six in the morning and saw something of, before we left for Granada. It was rather a stupid place and we were glad to leave it. We will be here until Tuesday¹⁷ when we leave for Burgos.¹⁸ Miss Starr has undertaken the charge of two young ladies for the summer, Miss Peasley¹⁹ and Miss Breckenridge²⁰ who have just reached Paris under the wing of Mrs Palmer[.]²¹ They pay her expenses and as they came quite unsolicited she considers very fortunate.²² She is obliged to be in Paris by the 20th so she and Miss Anderson will go directly from Burgos[.] Mrs Rowell and I may spend a week in the Pyrannes, we hope to meet Miss Harrington and be together in North France before Miss Starr takes her young ladies back to Italy and the rest of us go to England. I am too tired to write more, but have still much more material[.] I have not yet heard from Miss Chapin. I think I will ask you to send this letter to Mary & her to send it to Weber. It would really be quite impossible for me to write the sea sick affair again[.] Kisses to Marcet. Always Your loving sister

Jane Addams.

[Co]ngratulate Miss Playter upon being able to ride out. Please give her my love & my regards to the other good people [who] may care to have them.

HLSr in hand of SAAH (UIC, JAMC, Microfilm; *JAPM*, 2:948–51).

1. Seville, capital of the province of Seville, grew as a trading center before Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.) captured it in 45 B.C. It was also a center of power for the Vandals and Goths. During the early 700s, it came under Moorish domination until 1248, when the Christians recovered it. Baedeker hailed it as “one of the gayest and brightest cities on the globe” despite the narrow Moorish streets (*Spain and Portugal*, 395).

There are no known extant letters from JA detailing the sights of Seville. However, EGS wrote to her mother, Susan Starr, on 2 May 1888 and recounted some of the travelers’ activities and reactions to Seville.

It is one garden, I am tempted to say, though I cannot truly say that, for it is a rather lively city after Toledo & Cordova. . . .

Most of the houses have courts, called patios; you enter them through a little door & hall, & they re open to the sky & filled with beautiful flowers. The rooms below open

upon these courts, & those above upon balconies overlooking them. Some of the courts have orange trees growing in them. The orange trees are all in bloom, & the air is perfectly filled with the fragrance of them, not to speak of roses absolutely without number & syringas. . . .

Today we visited the gardens of the Alcazar, or palace. They are filled with great palm trees, & in the midst of them all these beautiful roses. . . .

We went to the tobacco factory today to[o]. 7000 women are employed in it. Some of the young women are extremely pretty. A great many had babies. They keep them in cradles at their side, & rock the cradles with their feet while they roll the tobacco into cigars &c. Some of the women were very impudent & brazen looking. I imagine a large proportion were bad. Some were sweet & modest (SC, Starr).

2. Addams, *Twenty Years*, 87.

3. In JA's letter of 11 May 1888 from Granada to AHHA, she reminded her that she wrote her last from Seville and offered a description of landing at Tangier similar to the one she wrote for her siblings (see n. 9). JA did not detail their adventures in Tangier, but she described their visit to Gibraltar, shared her reaction to Malaga, and wrote about their surroundings in Granada. She reported that EGS would chaperone two young Chicago women through Europe for the remainder of the summer and mentioned Helen Harrington's health (see UIC, JAMC; JAPM, 2:944–47).

The first two paragraphs of the letter JA wrote to LSA from Granada on 13 May 1888 (see SCPC, JAC; JAPM, 2:952–53) concern views of various cathedrals she was purchasing for LSA. In the third paragraph, JA reported that the party was packing to leave on 14 May so they could reach Paris by 19 May and that EGS would chaperone two young women for the remainder of the summer in Europe. She discussed correspondence she had sent the JWA family and letters she had received from them (see SCPC, JAC; JAPM, 2:954–55). JA indicated that she had asked SAAH to send LSA her recent letter from Granada so that she would “learn of our beatified state of mind toward this spot” (JAPM, 2:955).

4. Washington Irving (1783–1859), American author often remembered for his short stories “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” and “Rip Van Winkle,” served on the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Madrid (1826–29) and as U.S. minister to Spain (1842–46). He also wrote a number of other works, including *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829) and *Alhambra* (1832). “The Washington Irving Hotel is not in the town but on the edge of the Alhambra gardens. We spent yesterday morning wandering about the fairy like palace and the afternoon reading Washington Irving,” JA reported to AHHA (11 May 1888, UIC, JAMC; JAPM, 2:946). JA was following in Mrs. Ramsay's footsteps. “Here also we read Washington Irving's delightful tales,” Ramsay wrote in *A Summer in Spain*. “Most of the legends he mentions are really believed in by the people to this day” (192).

5. The Alhambra, created during Moorish reign which began in Spain in the 800s, was the seat of the ruling caliphs. It was a walled fortress composed of highly decorated and ornate palaces and apartments and a mosque. When the Moors surrendered to Christian kings, the Moorish-style structures were defaced, partially destroyed, built over in Gothic style, and eventually used as a debtors' prison and a barrack. It was only in the mid-1800s that work supported by the Spanish monarchy began to restore the structures to their former magnificence. By the time JA visited, among the refurbished areas were the Hall of the Two Sisters as well as part of the Hall of Ambassadors, the Council Hall of Justice, and the Court of Lions. Mrs. Ramsay recalled that the Alhambra was “like a fairy tale.” She was also impressed by its size and believed that the gardens would be “always beautiful” (*A Summer in Spain*, 186–87).

6. The cathedral, built in Greco-Roman style on the site of the great mosque, was begun in 1529 and completed in 1639. Called “noble, simple, and grand,” the cathedral did not show to

advantage because it was surrounded by other structures (O'Shea, *Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 195). Mrs. Ramsay wrote that "the Cathedral, a large building supposed to be classical" was "not quite so ugly as" she "expected" (*A Summer in Spain*, 193).

7. La Cartuja, a once-wealthy convent and church founded by the Carthusian Order, was plundered by the French during their conquest of Spain. "There are plenty of horrible frescoes in the cloisters all representing the Carthusians tortured by the English under Henry the Eighth" and "no architectural beauty," wrote Mrs. Ramsay (*A Summer in Spain*, 199–200).

8. "The gipsy quarter, on the opposite side of the Darro [River] from the Alhambra, is wonderfully beautiful, and exceedingly old," wrote Mrs. Ramsay. "The gipsies live underground in caves covered with thickets of prickly pears. . . . We were told that at night those gipsy caves look absolutely demonical, with the red firelight coming out of the ground, and the swarthy figures of the inhabitants flitting about; but we never had courage to venture there after dark.

"We went into one of the gipsy caves, in spite of the remonstrances of our guide, who finally refused to come in with us. It was not so very dirty, being nicely white washed inside" (*A Summer in Spain*, 195–97). The gypsies, who had lived in the caves since at least the mid-1500s, were known beggars and were often identified as thieves.

9. When JA visited Tangier, political and diplomatic capital of Morocco and an ancient city site in northern Africa on the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, it was independent but was generally protected by the European powers of England, France, and Spain. Apparently one of the most memorable experiences of the visit for JA was the journey to Tangier and the landing. She also reported it to her stepmother: "The sea had been stirred for three days but we fortunately did not know it until we were fairly started on our little boat at nine in the morning. We did not reach Tangier until three in the afternoon, and we all [were] abominably sea sick[.] Miss Starr was able to move about at intervals and to dash water upon our faces when we seemed 'uncommon faint,' but the rest of us were simply prone and could not lift a finger. We remained on board for about half an hour after the boat stopped before we had courage to get into the little boats which were to take us ashore. When within about twenty feet of the beach a great Moor seized each of us (two for Mrs Rowell) and carried us ashore where the novelty of the situation (the three grave elders sitting in receipt of custom in their eastern dress and dignity) the clamor and necessity aroused the three of us sufficiently to walk to the hotel, Mrs. Rowell being carried in a chair" (11 May 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:944–45).

Mrs. Ramsay's description in *A Summer in Spain* was similar to JA's:

The time came, and so did the boats, full of wild, dusky Arabs, shouting and shrieking. I asked the captain if it was safe to land in such a sea. He replied, doubtfully, "I *think* so; if you don't slip in getting down, and if the boatmen keep well off the steamer." We got down the side somehow, amid cries of "Stop!" "Go on!" "Now!" "Not yet!" "Wait!" "Jump!" "Don't move!" and so on; all of which we disregarded, for the excellent reason that, even if our minds had been sufficiently clear to understand the instructions given us, our legs were totally beyond our control. Very glad we were to find ourselves on all fours in the bottom of the boat; then a great wave seized it and sent it against the steamer. A minute of fearful confusion followed; the captain swore, the boatmen yelled, the spray dashed over us, everybody called out, "Keep her off!" "Keep her off!" which was much easier said than done. I shut my eyes; and the next moment the long steady pull of the Moorish boatmen was taking us wonderfully easily through that wilderness of black water. Certainly, the Arab boatmen are capital; far better than the Gibraltar men. We soon got under the lee of the long low point that does duty for a breakwater; and now, as it grew shallow, wild-looking Arabs rushed into the water, seized us, and carried us to shore. We felt as if we were being carried off by pirates; but they were very careful, and

put us down safely on the slippery stones. A splendid, white-turbaned Moor, strongly resembling solyman the Magnificent, stepped forward, and in perfectly good English announced himself as Muhammed, the interpreter of the Victoria Hotel. But first we must go to the Custom-house. . . .

Grave, clean, turbaned Moors sat solemnly, cross-legged, surrounded by half-a dozen most beautiful cats, equally clean and equally solemn; and overhead waved the blood-red flag, the pirate banner once so dreaded on the sea (333–34).

10. In his comments about Tangier, Henry O'Shea reported that the scene that the *sok*, or market, presented with its diverse mix of people, activities, articles for sale, and costumes was "alone worth an excursion" to Tangier (*Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 418).

11. "[T]here are two or three [houses] belonging to wealthy Jews and Moors which may be visited," Henry O'Shea informed his readers (*Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 418).

12. JA and her party may have visited the palace of Sisi Mohammed, ruler of Morocco (1859–73). Mrs. Ramsay and her friend visited the harem of "Sidi Absalom Aharem, a magistrate, and a man of high position" and though they were treated graciously and with great decorum met only his young wife, a daughter, and servants (*A Summer in Spain*, 341).

13. Mulay El Hassan I was ruler of Morocco (1873–94) when JA visited the country.

14. 9 May 1888.

15. Gibraltar, a rock some 1,430 feet tall located on the northern and European side of the western entrance from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea, had been a place of fortification and power since the days of the Phoenicians. Great Britain obtained the powerful vantage point in 1704 and had defended it since that time. Visitors were usually shown up the zigzagged streets to the signal tower, where they viewed a spectacular vista that included two seas and two continents as well as the monkeys who inhabited the rock. The visitors moved through selected fortified tunnels and carved cannon ports and into the city, located on the western slopes of the structure.

16. Of Malaga, JA wrote to her stepmother, "It was rather a stupid place, my sole associations with it have been Mr Harris's small pox and Dr Madden's insistence upon your going there" (11 May 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2: 946). AHHA had met E. K. Harris of Boston in Green Cove Springs, Fla., during her winter vacation there in 1882–83 with her son GBH. Harris had also been in Europe in 1884 when JA and AHHA were there and had written AHHA from Malaga. See E. K. Harris to AHHA, 10 Mar. 1884, JAPP, AHHA.

17. 15 May 1888. However, in JA's letter of 13 May 1888 to LSA, she reported, "We are in the midst of packing and leave here to morrow" (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:954).

18. Burgos, said to be founded during the 800s, was located on the north shore of Spain and was the capital of the province of the same name. It was a two- or three-day journey by train from Granada. It is likely that the travelers arrived about 17 or perhaps 18 May 1888. "Burgos, with all its dreary desolation, its strange, bleak loneliness, exceeded my expectations," wrote Mrs. Ramsay. And of the cathedral, she raved, "that gorgeous Cathedral, too rich, too sumptuous, bewildering in its variety of ornament" (*A Summer in Spain*, 14–15). Henry O'Shea described the cathedral as a "grand and perfect specimen" that exhibited "great purity of style, harmony between the parts, great pomp and beauty of ornament." It contained few paintings but was "rich in chaste and elaborate sculpture," he reported (*Guide to Spain & Portugal*, 70–71). JA also probably discovered Spain's national hero, Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar (1026–99), known as El Cid (the lord), whose bones were kept in a walnut urn in a room resembling a chapel in the town hall.

19. Matilda "Tilly" Annis Peasley (1867–1943) was a daughter of Louise C. and James Carr Peasley (1840–1920), who married in 1866. The couple arrived in Chicago from Burlington, Iowa, in 1881, where he became treasurer and later vice-president of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad.

Tilly was a student at Miss Kirkland's School for Girls and a favorite of EGS. From Venice, EGS wrote to her parents, Susan and Caleb Starr, to report on her plans for escorting Tilly around Europe. "I have told her that if she chose to pay my expenses back to N. Italy I would take her to Florence, Milan & Venice . . . through Switzerland & up the Rhine. We shall all <go> to Rheims, Rouen & in France, first, together, as Jane wishes very much to do that with me. I have had a lovely letter from Mrs. Peasley, saying that she & Mr. P. both desire that I should be fully compensated for my care of Tilly & asking me to state frankly what I would consider compensation" (8 Apr. 1888, SC Starr).

"The girls are charming, well bred, well-educated city girls. Miss Peasley is very tall and handsome and one of the best dressed people I ever saw," wrote JA to SAAH. "She is engaged & to be married soon after her return, she is very fond of Ellen & protective and care taking of her" (5 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:961). On 22 Nov. 1888, Tilly wed Frederic A. Delano (1863–1953), a graduate of Harvard Univ. who became general manager of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. He also served as president of the Wheeling and Lake Erie, the Wabash, and the Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville [Monon] railroads. The uncle of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Frederic Delano spent most of his life after 1914 in government service under Presidents Wilson, Coolidge, Taft, and his nephew Franklin Roosevelt. From 1934 to 1943, he was chairman of the National Resources Planning Comm. and helped formulate plans to expand Social Security. As a pioneer city planner, he was a collaborator with Daniel H. Burnham (1846–1912) on developing a plan for Chicago and was also involved in planning activities in Washington, D.C. Among the many organizations with which he was connected were the Smithsonian Institution, for which he was a regent, and the Carnegie Institution for Science, for which he was a trustee.

Tilly Peasley was an early volunteer at Hull-House. She taught sewing on Monday afternoons to Italian girls (1891–92) and provided art for the early loan exhibitions that EGS and JA held in the Butler Art Gallery at the settlement. She became a member of the Fortnightly of Chicago in 1906 and was the mother of five daughters: Catherine (Mrs. James L. Houghteling, 1889–1951), Louise (1891–1923), Laura (b. 1893), Matilda (1899–1911), and Alice (1903–4). Tilly maintained a lifelong friendship with EGS.

20. Mary Dudley Breckinridge (b. 1869) was the daughter of Joseph Cabell Breckinridge (1842–1920) and his wife, Louise L. Dudley Breckinridge (1849–1911). Mary was one of the thirteen children born to them. She attended Miss Kirkland's School for Girls in Chicago. "Miss Breckenridge[s] father is an army officer and a Kntunkian, she is a pretty artisticatic little body of eighteen, speaks French beautifully and enjoys every thing with enthusiasm," JA reported to SAAH. "She was very devoted to me in an adoring way and of course I liked her immensely. 'Would you mind kissing me, Miss Addams, I am used to it you know, my father kissing me a thousand times a day, and I pine, I suffer'" (5 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:961–62). Mary Breckinridge became ill during their travels and on a doctor's order, EGS was obliged to send for her father to take her home. After Mary was ill in Venice for nine days, EGS and Tilly Peasley took Mary and left for a slow journey to Lucerne, Switzerland, where they were met by Mary's parents.

This may have been JA's introduction to the famous Breckinridge family from Kentucky. Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge (1866–1948), daughter of Mary's aunt Issa Desha (1844–92) and uncle William Campbell Preston Breckinridge (1837–1904), and therefore a cousin of Mary Dudley Breckinridge, became a lifelong friend of JA. She is especially noted for her contribution to the development of education for social workers.

JA was correct in her description of Mary Breckinridge's father. Joseph Cabell Breckinridge was a member of one of Kentucky's first families and served in the U.S. Army. He distinguished himself during the Civil War, especially as acting adjutant-general for Union general William Nelson. After the war, he continued his military service, primarily in Washington, D.C., where in 1890 he became a brigadier general and inspector general of the army. He was one of the

sons of Ann Sophonisba Preston (1803–44) and Robert Jefferson Breckinridge (1800–71), a newspaper publisher and political force in Kentucky. His cousin John Cabell Breckinridge (1821–75) had served as vice president of the United States (1857–60).

21. This may have been the first opportunity that JA had to meet Bertha Honoré Palmer (1849–1918), with whom she would later interact in matters of civic reform in Chicago and as a juror at the Paris Exposition of 1900. It is not surprising that Mrs. Potter Palmer would be accompanying the two young women to Paris. She was born into the Honoré family in Louisville, Ky., stronghold of the Breckinridge family, and it is likely that members of the two families were acquaintances. She would also have socialized with the Peasley family in Chicago.

When Bertha was six, her parents moved the family from Louisville to Chicago, where she was educated and grew to maturity. In 1870, she wed well-established businessman and hotelier Potter Palmer (1826–1902), twenty-three years her senior, and began an extraordinary reign as the social leader of Chicago, where she pursued her interests of women's club work, art collecting, and philanthropy. A member of both of the Fortnightly Club (1880) and the Chicago Woman's Club (1888), for which she was a member of the reform committee beginning in 1891, she took a leading role in developing the Chicago Society of Decorative Art into a major support group for the Art Institute of Chicago called the Antiquarian Society. She also began to build her famous collection of the artworks of contemporary French and American artists of her day, particularly the Impressionists, and she made frequent trips to Europe to keep up with the artists and their work. She gained international fame as the president of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 after the board successfully constructed the history-making and well-known Woman's Building at the exposition.

22. "Miss Starr takes charge of the two young ladies for three months, she has all her expenses paid and a salary of \$250.00, and is well worth it in my opinion" (JA to SAAH, 5 June 1888, UIC, JAMC, HJ; *JAPM*, 2:961).

To Sarah Weber Addams

San Sebastian Spain

May 21" 1888

My dear Sadie

I enjoyed your last letter¹ very much and think that you are a brave conscientious little girl to keep your promise so carefully. You may be sure that I will keep my side. I want to tell you about the little king of Spain,² he is only two years old this month, but has been king ever since he was born. He lives in the palace at Madrid and goes out riding every day. We never happened to see him, but his pictures are in all the shop windows, he is always taken in his mother's lap, she is queen-regent and rules for him, so the politicians don't want to separate the two even in their pictures. He is coming here next month to spend the summer. San Sebastian³ is a beautiful city between the mountains and the sea, the bay spreads out like a shell with two castles to guard the entrance. Yesterday afternoon we attended a Spanish Sunday School, and took supper with Mrs Gulick in whose house the Sunday School was held.⁴ Most of the children were Spanish whose parents Mr Gulick has converted to Prodestantism, but there were a few English children who have been put in Mrs Gulick's school for the



Alice Gordon Gulick, pictured with one of her children. (Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, Archives and Special Collections, RG 19 Faculty/Staff Biographical Files, MS 0792 Alice Gordon Gulick Papers)

sake of learning Spanish, they were all very glad to see us, as they scarcely ever have visitors. Thirty three of them board there all the time, they all sing and many of them play the violin or piano or flute, so you see they are quite jolly. The last place we saw was Burgos where there is a magnificent cathedral;⁵ the last really Spanish place we will see for to morrow we go to Paris in France,⁶ on the other side of the Pyrenees Mts. Give my love to dear Papa and Mama, and take many Spanish kisses for yourself. Always Your loving Auntie

Jane

ALS (SCPC, JAC; *JAPM*, 2:956–59).

1. None of Sarah Weber Addams's letters to JA for 1887 or 1888 are known to be extant. It seems likely that JA had promised to write Sadie a letter each time she received one from her.

2. Alphonso XIII and his mother, Queen Christina. See JA to LSA, 25 [and 28] Apr. 1888, n. 19, above.

3. San Sebastian, capital of Guipúzcoa, one of the three Basque provinces in the Spanish Pyrenees Mountains, developed on an isthmus at the foot of Mt. Urgull, which was crowned with the Castillo de la Mota. The community became a noted beach resort and a center where the Basque people and their culture could be seen. The English, accompanied by Spanish and

Portuguese troops, captured Castillo de la Mota from the French and sacked and burned San Sebastian in 1813 during the Spanish War of Liberation.

4. Alice W. Gordon Gulick (1847–1903) was a member of a famous Congregational missionary family. “Stationed in such disparate places as Hawaii, Spain, and Japan, the Gulicks . . . served as missionaries from 1827 to 1964,” representing their primary employer, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for “a total of 756 years” (Putney, “The Legacy of the Gulicks,” 28). Alice, whose father, James Gordon, served as treasurer for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was educated at Mt. Holyoke. After teaching music for a year in Boston, she returned to her alma mater in 1868 to teach philosophy. She wed William Gulick (1835–1922) on 12 Dec. 1871 in Auburndale, Mass., and a week later the couple sailed for mission work in Spain with William’s brother Luther and his wife, Louisa. The Spanish Revolution of 1868 had established some religious freedom, and as missionaries the two couples were taking advantage of the opportunity. The Gulicks settled initially in Santander, where, despite being subjected to all manner of insults, William created a small group of home churches and schools along Spain’s northern coast and Alice opened a small boarding school for Spanish girls in 1877.

By 1881, the Gulicks had moved to San Sebastian, a larger and more cosmopolitan community, where Alice established a mission school for young children and a school for girls. An article written for a Madrid newspaper by Señor Don Cipriano Tornos, identified as “one of the leading evangelical pastors of Madrid,” offered a description of the curriculum for Mrs. Gulick’s preparatory school for teachers, called Colegio Norte Americano, or the North American College: “[R]eading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, history of Spain, universal history, geography, reading music at sight, singing, exercises upon the piano and organ, Spanish literature, French, English grammar, English literature, Bible history, bookkeeping, theory of teaching, gymnastic exercises, drawing and embroidery, as well as plain sewing.” He reported that “without forgetting the theory, especial attention is given to the practical work” for the eighty-two pupils then at the school (quoted in Gordon, *Alice Gordon Gulick*, 100–101). Alice hoped that one day her school would become a Mt. Holyoke–like college for girls in Spain. To that end she lectured in America to create support from 1890 to 1892 and incorporated the school as the International Institute for Girls in Spain in 1892. During the time of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the school was moved to Biarritz, but in 1903 it was moved to Madrid and reopened in Oct. shortly after the death of its founder the previous month. Benigna Rodriguez, one of her students, remembered that Alice Gulick “was not only the angel of the street, but of her own fireside. She was indeed a mother to us. She had a gay character and used to play and laugh with us” (quoted in Gordon, *Alice Gordon Gulick*, 103).

Throughout the years that followed their 1888 meeting, JA apparently kept up with Alice Gulick and the International Institute for Girls. “Many years ago I had the pleasure of visiting the Girls’ School in San Sebastian in Spain, founded by Mrs. Gulick,” wrote JA. “The school in its promise and vigorous life already contained the prophecy of the splendid college for women which Mrs. Gulick afterward founded in Madrid, to which city she removed the school that it might meet an increasing demand for the higher education for Spanish women. Although the visit was made more than twenty-five years ago, I recall with great vividness the ability and enthusiasm with which Mrs. Gulick was approaching the question of education for Spanish girls. I afterward had long talks with Mrs. Gulick when she was in America, and have been fortunate enough to see members of the faculty or board of trustees almost every year since” (quoted in Gordon, *Alice Gordon Gulick*, 106).

5. On the cathedral at Burgos, Spain, see JA to SAAH, 12 May 1888, n. 18, above.

6. JA and Mrs. Rowell left for Paris on 22 May 1888 and arrived the next day to stay at the Hotel Percy.

To George Bowman Haldeman

Canterbury England

June 9" 1888

My dear George

May I congratulate you upon your birthday and wish you many happy returns of the happy day. I hope that Cedarville is looking as June-like and happy as Canterbury is this morning. We reached here Wednesday evening crossing via Boulogne and Folkstone¹ upon a calm sea. We were a party of six leaving Paris last Friday.² Miss Starr and the two young ladies Miss Anderson and Miss Harrington. We were at Rouen³ until Saturday evening and became greatly interested in the Normans and early Plantagenets, Richard's heart has been taken from the Cathedral and ignominiously put into a museum,⁴ Wm the Conqueror's beloved monestary has not been undisturbed,⁵ but in spite of "interfering changes" the old town is immensely interesting and Gothic in the finest sense.

We reached Amiens Saturday evening and spent Sunday there.⁶ It may have been the reflex of Ruskin—whom we read diligently—but I rather think it⁷ was the beautiful building itself which impressed me more deeply than any work of art I have ever seen. It did not represent so much the scenes from Christ's life nor even attempt to express the praise and worship of the Diety, as it gave the actual Presence of Christ and his work always and still among spiritually minded men. It was largely our enthusiasm over Amiens which determined us upon a day at Rheims,⁸ after Miss Starr and her charges had left for Italy. The Conversion of Clovis⁹ was quite as vivid in stone and association there, as Ethelbert and St Augustine¹⁰ are here in Canterbury and seemed not less important and interesting in the old French capital.

Our little inn <here> is comfortable modest and cheap, and we will stay our feet for some days.¹¹ We have been reading Stanley on the Cathedral and I am reminded of our rather eager reading of him on Westminster.¹² My attitude and spirit is certainly quieter than it was there and I trust better.¹³ I think I have learned some thing of you in that regard, certainly appreciate it in you and possibly try to follow it more when I am away from you than at any other time.

I hope Flora's place has been filled by some one more efficient and that the domestic wheels run smooth.¹⁴

I regret the imperfect hatching and most of all the sad fate of ungratified ambition—it is said to be the only absorbing passion which does not ennoble its victim. Please give my best love to Mama and believe me[.] Always Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

Miss Anderson and Miss Harrington send their kindest regards to you, and love to Mama[.]

ALS (UIC, JAMC, HJ; *JAPM*, 2:965–67).

1. JA, SA, and Helen Harrington left the French seaport of Boulogne for the ancient port of Folkstone, England, on 6 June 1888. Regular service by mail boat ran between the two communities.

2. They left Paris on 1 June 1888.

3. The travelers arrived on 2 June in Rouen, situated midway between Paris and Le Havre on the banks of the Seine River. Rouen was home to Britain's Norman conquerors and early Norman (1066–1154) and Angevin (1154–1399) kings, some of whom were of the Plantagenet family. JA had passed through Rouen on her way to Paris in Dec. 1887. See JA to SAAH, 27 Dec. 1887, n. 8, above.

4. Richard I, king of England (1157–99), known as Richard Coeur de Lion, was buried at Fontevrault sometime after his death on 6 Apr. 1199, but his heart, which he bequeathed to Rouen, was buried there in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. In the mid-1800s, his "lion heart" was discovered in its lead-lined casket and placed in the Musée des Antiquités, where JA apparently saw it.

5. JA was probably referring to St. Stephen, the church of L'Abbaye aux Hommes founded by William the Conqueror in 1066 at the same time that his wife Matilda founded La Trinité, church of L'Abbaye aux Dames, both of which are in Caen, located west of Rouen, about nine miles from the northern coast of France. Baedeker reported that St. Stephen's "unity of style was destroyed in the 12th cent., when the choir was rebuilt in the Pointed style." The church, "perhaps the noblest and most perfect work of its time" (Edward Augustus Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, 3:109, quoted in Baedeker, *Northern France*, 161), was "simple in its design, disdaining ornament, but never sinking into rudeness" and "worthy of its founder," who was buried there in 1087 under a black marble slab in front of the high altar (*Northern France*, 161).

6. Amiens, situated on the Somme River, was a manufacturing town and center of the French cotton industry. JA and her party arrived on 2 June and spent 3 June there. "Monday afternoon [4 June 1888] Miss Starr and the young ladies left for Florence via Geneva, Miss Anderson, Miss Harrington and myself staid until this morning [5 June 1881]" (JA to SAAH, 5 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:962). JA apparently spent a large part of 3 June exploring the Cathedral of Notre Dame, begun in 1220 and constructed through the sixteenth century. JA would have agreed with scientist, philosopher, and scholar William Whewell's (1794–1866) assessment of the structure: "The interior is one of the most magnificent spectacles that architectural skill can ever have produced. The mind is filled and elevated by its enormous height (140 ft.), its lofty clerestory, its grand proportions, its noble simplicity" (as quoted in [Murray], *Handbook for Travellers in France*, Part I, 22).

7. In preparation for viewing the pictures of the Cathedral de Notre Dame that she would send back, JA suggested to her sister SAAH that she read John Ruskin's "Bible of Amiens" from *Our Fathers Have Told Us: Sketches of the History of Christendom for Boys and Girls Who Have Been Held at Its Fonts*, issued in parts from 1880 to 1885 (see JA to SAAH, 5 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:962). In it, Ruskin offers early Christian history as a rationale for the "spirit which lit the lamps of Christian Architecture." Of Amiens, he wrote that "of all [the Gothic structures built by God and man] the simplest, completest, and most authoritative in its lessons to the active mind of North Europe, is this on the foundation stones of Amiens" (quoted in Cook, *The Life of Ruskin*, 447).

8. With her party, which was diminished by the departure of EGS, Tilly Peasley, and Mary Breckinridge, JA arrived on 5 June in Rheims, an old French city situated on the right bank of the Vesle River in wine country that was also noted for wool manufacturing and for its cathedral. Begun in 1212, the cathedral was not yet complete when JA visited it. The west front of the cathedral had three doors with elaborate carvings around them and on the facade. The bas-relief of the middle entrance represented the coronation of the Virgin, the right door featured the last judgment, and the left door featured the passion of Christ. Located over the rose window between the twin towers was a carving depicting the baptism of Clovis by St. Remy.

9. Rheims was the site of the conversion to Christianity of Clovis, king of the Franks (481–511) in 496. Most French kings during the period 1180 to 1824 were crowned in the Cathedral of Rheims. JA does not specifically mention the coronation of Charles VII on 17 July 1429. The ceremony took place after the victory at Rheims that was led by Joan of Arc, who watched with satisfaction near the altar as her king was crowned.

10. Ethelbert (552?–616), king of Kent (560), was baptized by St. Augustine, first archbishop of Canterbury in 597.

11. The party left Rheims on 7 June 1888 and crossed the channel to England to settle in Canterbury for five days before moving on to London.

12. English clergyman and author Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–81) served as canon of Canterbury from 1851 until 1856 and became dean of Westminster in 1864. He supported the adoption of Broad Church policies and permitted Christian ministers of all faiths to speak from his pulpit. Among his numerous writings are *Historical Memorials of Canterbury* (1855) and *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (1868).

13. JA visited Westminster Abbey at least twice during her previous European trip. See JA to GBH, 17 [and 18?] Oct. 1883; and JA to JWA, 17 Aug. 1884, both above.

14. Although JA never sent greetings to Flora Guiteau in extant letters to AHHA, Flora may have been attempting to serve as housekeeper/companion for AHHA and GBH. In a letter to sister SAAH, JA reported that Mrs. Rowell had brought news that “Flora is in wretched health” and suggested that JA “persuade her to come to England for a quiet summer” (JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1888, above).

To Sarah Alice Addams Haldeman

3 Woburn Place London [England]

June 14th 1888

My dear Alice

Your letter¹ was thrice welcome yesterday morning for I have never been so long without a word from you and your last letter had given me a doleful impression of the rheumatism. I am so glad dear, that it is better and do hope it will disappear for good and all. I wrote to Miss Chapin² but have never received a reply, we seem to be singularly unfortunate in regard to our correspondence. We have been in London since Monday.³ I wrote you I think of Amiens, Rouen and Rheims.⁴ We had a pleasant crossing from Boulogne to Folkstone and five days of delightful rest at Canterbury.⁵ We read Stanley's *Memoirs of Canterbury*⁶ and Smith's *History of the Cathedral*⁷ but after all our little social life was the pleasantest part of it. One morning at the Cathedral⁸ we met a Mrs Pery who invited us to go about with her & two friends to whom she was showing the Cathedral. We enjoyed them all very much and she asked us to come to her house for five o'clock tea. We found she lived in a charming old house, built in part of a former monastery & was the wife of the Bishop of Dover.⁹ We met various pleasant people there among them Canon Fremantle and his wife,¹⁰ & were surprised the next morning (Sunday) to receive an invitation to take supper with them at 8.30[.] They also lived within the Precincts¹¹ (I do wish I could describe the quiet & beauty of the place, Holmes tries it in His 100 days¹² when he writes of the Salisbury Cathedral.) The house was quaint and charm-

ing and simply filled with scholarly fine things. We found out before we left¹³ Canterbury that he was the second son of a lord, his wife the daughter of a baronet Sir Harry Craessy—a famous philanthropist.¹⁴ We didn't know it then, but were charmed with their simple hearted hospitality, their sympathy with all questions & people and their scholarly attainments. When an Englishman does admit you to his castle it is certainly worth the waiting.

We have found a cheap boarding place & comfortable withal altho not luxurious. I have been very much interested in the World Centennial of Foreign Missions held in Exeter Hall.¹⁵ Miss Anderson and I have been to a good many of the meetings and one evening on the Opium trade in China and the Liquor traffic on the Congo, was one of the most exciting meetings I ever attended. The questions were so political in character that they were defended on that ground, an old India office¹⁶ even quoting scripture in defense of the opium traffic.¹⁷ I have become quite learned on foreign missions and ashamed of my former ignorance. The most interesting thing that we have done in London was a visit to the Toynbee Hall in the East End.¹⁸ It is a community of University men who live there, have their recreating[,] <clubs> & society all among the poor people yet in the <same> style they would live in their own circle. It is so free from "professional doing good" so unaffectedly sincere and so productive of good results in its classes and libraries &c that it seems perfectly ideal. We are going to the People's Palace¹⁹ some evening. I don't know but that the Mission Side of London is the most interesting side it has.²⁰ We have been reading Walter Besant His "Children of Gideon" and "All Sorts & Conditions of Man," the latter suggested the People Palace since worked out.²¹

We went to the Royal Academy²² the other day and were much struck with the miniature painting. I went to see an artist to day. Her things are very beautiful but Marcet done on ivory the size of a broach would be \$42.00 I do not like to take the responsibility of so much.²³ If you want it you might write me at once and there would still be time before Flora and I left London. The artist had some beautiful things but of course they were done from the children themselves and not photographs.

Sarah sends you her best love & joins me in kisses to dear little Marcet. I am so sorry her picture "went lost" as the Germans say.

Miss Anderson & Helen sail the 19th of July, I will not engage passage until I see Flora but probably the 25 Aug when Miss Starr.²⁴ The two Kales girls have joined us here. The older one sails²⁵ with Miss Anderson & the younger later when Dr Davis²⁶ goes back from the Edinburg meeting. Miss Starr & "the infants"²⁷ are enjoying Florence very much, it is cool and delightful there. Always dear Alice, Yrs

Jane

Regards to my many friends[.]

ALS (UIC, JAMC, HJ; *JAPM*, 2:968-73).

1. SAAH's letter is not known to be extant.
2. Mary A. Chapin. See also 14 Apr. 1888, n. 31, above.
3. 11 June 1888.
4. JA to SAAH, 5 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:961–64. See also JA to GBH, 9 June 1888, nn. 3–11, above.
5. The party was in Canterbury from 6 through 10 June 1888.
6. See JA to GBH, 9 June 1888, n. 12, above.
7. G. S[mith], *A Chronological History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury: Smith, Elder and Co., 1883).
8. 9 June 1888.

9. JA was being entertained in the home of Matilda and Edward Parry (1830–90), bishop suffragan of Dover. Bishop Parry was born in Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. A graduate of Balliol College, Oxford, he was ordained an Episcopal priest in 1855 and by Feb. 1859 was serving at St. Mary's in Acton, England. When Campbell Tait (1811–82), Parry's mentor, became archbishop of Canterbury in 1869, he appointed Parry the first bishop suffragan of Dover (1870) since 1597. His duties included managing the cathedral and relieving the archbishop of most of his diocesan duties. "Parry was no doctrinaire or party man," wrote F. S. Parry. "The keynote of his visitation charges is catholic tolerance, fairness, and generous sympathy with good persons of all schools. . . . For many years he was librarian to the chapter, and any point of antiquarian or architectural interest was always sure of his attention" (Parry, "Parry, Edward (1830–1890), bishop-suffragan of Dover").

10. Canon William Henry Fremantle (1831–1916) was the second son of Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, 1st Baron Cottesloe, and Louisa Elizabeth Nugent. His first wife, Isabella Maria Eardley Fremantle, died in 1901 (see n. 14). Fremantle was canon of Canterbury (1882–95) when JA met him. He was a graduate of Balliol College of Oxford in 1853 and was influenced for the rest of his life by its brand of liberal theology. He became dean of Ripon in 1895 and served until his death. See also introduction to part 4, above.

For Fremantle, Christianity was the "faithful fulfilment of common duties best expressed in terms of service to society generally and its victims particularly" (Green, "Fremantle, William Henry (1831–1916), dean of Ripon"). During his seventeen years in St. Mary's Parish, north of Marble Arch in London, where he often worked with housing reformer Octavia Hill, Fremantle created social settlement-like programs to assist his parishioners. Samuel A. Barnett, who would later lead the effort to found Toynbee Hall, assisted Rev. Fremantle while serving as curate at St. Mary's. Fremantle placed him in charge of relief distribution and assigned him to teach school and help with a workingmen's club. The two men, both Broad Church advocates, helped establish the first Charity Organization Society Com. (1869–70) in London and remained friends after their years together in St. Mary's. Fremantle presided at the general meeting at Balliol College, Oxford, on 21 Jan. 1884 that determined to establish the social settlement in East London that became Toynbee Hall.

11. The precincts, consisting of the outer structures associated with the Cathedral of Canterbury, are located through the northeast transept of the cathedral. The Green Court and its surroundings, site of the former Benedictine monastery built on St. Augustine's foundation, was the locale of the dwellings of several church officials.

12. JA had been reading a series of articles by Oliver Wendell Holmes in *The Atlantic Monthly*. They appeared under the title "One Hundred Days in Europe" from Mar. to Dec. 1887. These articles were published under the same title in book form in 1895.

13. They may have left Canterbury on 11 June 1888.

14. William Henry Fremantle married Isabella Maria Eardley, the daughter of Sir Culling Eardley, in 1863. Eardley (formerly Smith) took the Eardley name officially in 1849 when he inherited the Eardley estates. Educated in Oxford, he went on to become an active and avowed evangelist and lay leader of interdenominational and international evangelicalism. Though he

continued his membership in the Church of England, he believed that all Christians should be united as one. One of the founders of the Evangelical Alliance, he continually presented a strong stance against religious persecution and became involved in promoting religious liberty abroad. From 1844 until 1863, he served as treasurer of the London Missionary Society and maintained close friendships among a variety of missionary, church, and political leaders throughout the world. He was a wealthy man who gave generously to the causes in which he believed.

15. The public meetings of the World Centennial of Foreign Missions were held in Exeter Hall of the YMCA in London during the afternoons and evenings of 9–19 June 1888. Sixteen hundred members attended representing 138 mission organizations from all Protestant Christian faiths. Most of the attendees were from England, the United States, Canada, and Europe. Several Chicago-based organizations were represented at the gathering, including the Chicago Training School for City, Home, and Foreign Missions; the General Missionary Board of the Free Methodist Church of North America; the Hebrew Christian Mission; the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior; the Woman's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of the West; the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Iowa Meeting of Friends; and the Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions of the North-West. This was the first time that representatives of so many different denominations had gathered to discuss significant issues of mutual concern and consider their accomplishments over almost one hundred years of mission work throughout the world.

The conference was divided into public and private meetings. Only those who were official representatives of mission organizations were permitted to attend the fifty private presentations. Six meetings were open to the public: (1) The Increase and Influence of Islam, 11 June; (2) Buddhism and Other Heathen Systems; Their Character and Influence Compared with Those of Christianity, "The Light of Asia" and "The Light of the World," 13 June; (3) The Missions of the Roman Catholic Church to Heathen Lands; Their Character, Extent, Influence, and Lessons, 14 June; (4) The Relations between Home and Foreign Missions; or, the Reaction of Foreign Missions on the Life and Unity of the Church, 15 June; (5) Commerce and Christian Missions, 13 June; and (6) The State of the World a Hundred Years Ago and Now as Regards the Prospects of Foreign Missions, 12 June. Some of the presentations on mission work in various parts of the world were also open. Special missionary subjects treated in public presentations included Missions to the Jews, 11 June; Medical Missions, 12 June; Women's Mission to Women, 14 June; and the Church's Duty and a New Departure in Missionary Enterprise, 18 June.

The meeting itself was mentioned among the "new departures," as was the idea of employing women as trained missionaries. Along with six men, three of whom were members of the executive committee that had planned the entire meeting, at least four women spoke of the value of having women missionaries during the Women's Mission to Women gathering. It was not, however, until the session on the Church's Duty and a New Departure in Missionary Enterprise that Congregational minister Rev. R. Bruce pronounced that "[t]here should be those who from the first are female Missionaries, who go out in their own name, not as half of a Missionary, and who shall work with Christ, especially in various parts of the world where women are not accessible by men Missionaries, as in India and China" (Johnson, *Report of the Centenary Conference*, 1:438).

16. JA probably meant to write the word *officer*.

17. JA and SA attended the open session on Commerce and Christian Missions that was held on Wednesday evening, June 13. They heard Rev. Professor John Cairns (1818–92), principal of United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh, address the gathering on "The Application of Christian Principle to Commercial Life." Taking his text in part from the New Testament text "Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks unto God and the Father by Him" (Col. 3:17), he argued that the standard of commerce needed

to be raised. "It is not in dealing with special grievances and scandals like the slave-trade, the opium-traffic, the rum-traffic, however needful, that the root of the evil is to be reached, but in lifting up our idea of what commerce may be and ought to be when prosecuted for the glory of God and the furtherance of the cause of Jesus Christ" (Johnson, *Report of the Centenary Conference*, 1:114). Rev. F. F. Ellinwood, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, U.S.A., spoke on "The Relations of Commerce and Missions, with Special Reference to the Liquor Traffic in Africa." Rev. W. Allan of the Christian Missionary Society, reporting on "The Liquor Trade in West Africa," decried the thousands of gallons of liquor and "hideous cargoes of ammunition" (Johnson, *Report of the Centenary Conference*, 1:127) being sent by merchants to Africa and identified himself as the representative of the recently organized United Com. for the Prevention of the Demoralisation of the Native Races by the Liquor Traffic that was composed of eleven English missionary societies, eight English and ten Scottish temperance organizations, and an assortment of foreign organizations. Rev. Silvester Whitehead of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, who came from Canton, China, addressed listeners with "The Opium Trade," indicating that in his judgment "the opium habit is to the Chinese an unmitigated curse; that they dislike and denounce the English for introducing it, and forcing upon them the trade" (Johnson, *Report of the Centenary Conference*, 1:130). Robert Needham Cust (1821–1909), an orientalist and African specialist who had retired as a civil servant in India after forty years of service, argued that there was no way to stop the export of opium from India or any other country to China and maintained that it was China's responsibility to prohibit the use of opium. He also reminded the audience full of mission personnel of "Prince Kung's policy: 'Take away your Indian opium and your Missionaries also'" (Johnson, *Report of the Centenary Conference*, 1:130).

18. It is uncertain just exactly which day JA saw Toynbee Hall on Commercial St. in London's East End. At the urging of boardinghouse proprietor Rebecca Warner, JA had visited that same area during her previous European travel (see JA to JWA, 27 Oct. 1883, above). It is likely that the 1888 visit took place during the traveling party's last weeks in June. Among signatures on page 6 of "The Toynbee Hall Address Book," dated 29 May 1888 (the top of the next page is dated 15 July 1888) are three signatures together but on separate lines: "Miss Jane Addams, Cedarville, U.S.A.; Miss Helen Harrington, Nebraska, U.S.A.; Miss Sarah F. Anderson, Rockford, Ill., U.S.A." This is the only time the signatures of any of the three appears in the address book for 1888. See illustration, p. 494. See also introduction to parts 2 and 4, above.

19. The People's Palace, funded through public subscription, was designed in 1887 by E. R. Robson, the noted London School Board architect. It was officially opened by Queen Victoria in 1887 and finally completed in 1892. It was to be a "recreation" center for the working people of the East End that was an alternative to pubs and gambling halls. In his *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882), Walter Besant envisioned the development of a people's university to which the workingmen of the East End would have access. When JA visited the palace, it had meeting rooms for educational presentations and social gatherings; a spacious hall for entertainments of all sorts, including musical events; and exhibit space. A library with reading rooms was open every day of the week including Sunday. A swimming pool also became part of the complex, operated by a Board of Governors, for which the Drapers' Co. provided substantial financial support. Located on Mile End Rd., Stepney, in London's East End, the People's Palace drew as many as one and a half million visitors in its early years. In 1896, the educational activities of the People's Palace became East London Technical College with three departments. The day and evening classes at the college, which emphasized engineering and chemistry and included trade and commercial subjects, were organized to prepare students for university and for civil service. The school became part of the Univ. of London in 1915. In 1931, a fire in the palace's Queen's Hall brought about the demise of the People's Palace, and East London Technical College, which in 1934 became Queen Mary's College, took over the space for its growing programs.

20. See also headnote, JA to LSA, 4 July 1888, below.

21. Walter Besant (1838–1901), who became a novelist, was educated at King's College in London and Christ's College, Cambridge. Resigning his senior professorship at Royal College of Mauritius, he returned to London in 1867 and began to write and publish. His first work, *Studies in Early French Poetry*, appeared in 1868, the year he became secretary to the Palestine Exploration Fund, a post he held until 1886. *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (not "Man" as JA wrote it) was issued in 1882, and *Children of Gibeon* (not "Gideon" as JA wrote it) in 1886. Both decry the social evils and state of the working poor in East London. In 1894, Besant began a social survey of London that was incomplete at his death. See also headnote, JA to LSA, 4 July 1888, below.

22. The Royal Academy of Arts, created in 1768, was an independent fine arts institution that promoted the work of contemporary artists and supported artistic enterprise in the United Kingdom. It featured exhibits and educational opportunities for artists.

23. SAAH had deputized JA to have a miniature painting of Marcet created. JA had explored the possibility in Paris and seemed to be continuing her search in London. See also JA to SAAH, 6 Apr. 1888, n. 25, above.

24. JA probably meant to complete the sentence with a word like *sails*.

25. Fannie Kales.

26. Annie Kales left her chaperone, EGS, and the Addams travelers in Rome in mid-Mar. 1888 to join her sister Fannie in Paris. She returned home with her grandfather Nathan Smith Davis, who had been attending an international conference in Scotland.

27. EGS and her charges Tilly Peasley and Mary Breckinridge.

To Laura Shoemaker Addams

Jane extolled the "Missionary Side" of London to her siblings and their mates. To sister Alice, she wrote: "We have read two of Walter Besant's novels—'Children of Gideon' & 'All sorts & Conditions of Men.' They are very interesting from the point of view they take of London."¹ When the missionary conference ended, Jane, Sarah Anderson, and Helen Harrington spent more days exploring the mission side of London. They also found time to travel into the English countryside to investigate cathedrals at Peterborough,² St. Albans,³ and Ely⁴ and at the university at Cambridge⁵ and to continue enjoying the music and theater of London.⁶

"I am glad to have had the two weeks here before Flora came," Jane Addams wrote her sister Alice after the missionary conference had ended.⁷ Jane had invited Flora Guiteau, her Cedarville friend from childhood, to join her for the summer in Europe, and she planned to meet her on Sunday, 1 July 1888, when Flora disembarked at Southampton. Explaining their itinerary, Jane reported: "We will go to Winchester and Salisbury and then come to London long enough for her to see the Babylon before we go north [to Scotland]"⁸

Winchester England

July 4" 1888

My dear Laura

I met Flora Sunday afternoon at Southampton on the deck of the "Fulda." I was marvellously glad to see her safe and well for I had grown a little nervous about her crossing alone and was afraid that she might be desperately sea sick.

While we were coming in on the "tender" before we had touched soil, she gave me your letter⁹ and told me the news of George.¹⁰ His going away is not hard to understand and may in the end be a good thing, but the touch of the melodramatic is wholly unlike him, and it is also strange that by this time he has not let his mother know that he is well and all right, for he would certainly know how anxious she would be. I am not in the least afraid of his doing any thing desperate, but he is so careless on the subject of food that he might easily run the risk of sickness or even prostration. Altogether I am very anxious to hear some thing definite and hope for a cable if there is any sad news, or if it is "all right" as it most probably will be—for as Weber says he is a man and not a reckless boy.

I rather hoped at the last that Flora would come by way of Liverpool and then we would have joined Miss Anderson and Helen for north England and Edinburgh <but as she did not I planned London first for us>. Mrs Rowell came to London on Thursday the day before we left,¹¹ and said she wanted to go with me to meet Flora. We all came Friday afternoon to Winchester (only twelve miles from Southampton) on a cheap ticket owing to the Eton and Winchester cricket match being held there Friday afternoon. "All" means Mrs R. the two Miss Kales, Sarah and Helen. None of us knew any thing about cricket but the "match" was very gay, pretty and exciting breaking up about half past six, Mrs R. and I went on to Southampton and the others stayed at Winchester for Sunday.¹² The tender left the wharf at 11 Sunday morning, I went out to the "Fulda" but Mrs Rowell was rather afraid of being sea sick as the ride was three or four miles out. Flora was not violently sick, only "squeamish" and rather rested on the voyage I think. We stayed in Southampton until Monday morning when we went to Salisbury where we met the rest of the party.¹³ We had the afternoon at the Cathedral which Flora enjoyed very much as her "first one" and Tuesday morning they all drove out to Stone henge but Miss Francis Kales¹⁴ and myself. I had seen it before and did not care for the long drive, Miss K is very fond of driving herself, she got a little dog cart and we took a short drive to the grounds of the Earl of Pembroke¹⁵ &c. We all came on here last evening, the other went through to London.¹⁶ Mrs Rowell[,] Flora and I stay until tonight so that Flora can see the Cathedral, St Cross¹⁷ &c. The only change the news has made in my "plans" is that we will take the northern trip first <& London last,>¹⁸ so that if I decide to go home earlier with Miss Anderson & Helen, I will have seen the things I wanted most to see, and Flora could do London better alone with Mrs Rowell than the country trips—and we will have the advantage of being with Miss A. and Helen most of the time, we will meet them at York as they will have a day or two ahead of us, they go to Oxford we will skip that & come out about even. I do not intend that Flora's trip shall be shortened whatever I do, I may go home with Miss Starr Aug 25"[.] Flora can stay longer and get in Paris in that case. Mrs Rowell is very glad indeed to have some one travel with her. She is going to Berriuth to the Wagner festival,¹⁹ the fares from London are very

much reduced and Flora would like that better than any thing Europe can offer I think. I do not care for the long trip back again to the continent and should simply wait in England for her.

You have been so kind Laura dear, through the whole thing, I feel that Weber and yourself have been both kind hearted and Christian. I do not of course see any necessity for my coming home—as long as Ma is not seriously ill, especially if she goes home with Harry. She may be happy there for the rest of the summer and I should not want to complicate matters by going there even if I came home. I should want to be home if I could do anything for George or if Ma reached a point when I could do more for her than any one else could do, but will wait for further news. All I have done is to turn the plan, Scotland first, (which I rather wanted before as we will have two more for delightful travelling companions & as we will thus meet Miss Starr in London the last of the month) and London later. The mighty Babylon grows on me and impresses me more every time I see it. I did not do much “sight seeing” this time but became very much interested in the city missionary work in the “East End” wh is too complicated to write about but of which I will have much to tell.

Poor Miss Starr has been having a dreadful time in Venice, Miss Breckenridge has been very ill there with a bowel trouble. The Doctor considered the case dangerous and advised her friends being sent for. Ellen sent two cables before Miss B. was better and now her father meets them in Lucerne the 10th of July where Ellen hopes to get her safely, going by easy stages.²⁰ Of course the responsibility has been tremendous, the girl is very delicate and ought never to have come. As Ellen says “Col Breckenridge will probably think that I was <well> paid for taking care of this daughter and ought to have <done it,> and <he> will be more or less vexed at being obliged to come over for her”, but of course she has the Doctor’s orders to back her, and simply could not run the risk, she and Miss Peasley will come down the Rhine from Switzerland and on to London.

I found three letters waiting me here from Alice but no news as late as your own.²¹ You were so good to write about it, instead of leaving it all for Flora. You will keep me informed won’t you? You know I take things quietly and would rather know exactly what is happening.²²

I was so glad to see Flora, and nothing would have been worse than for her to change her plans, at all events we will have Scotland together (even if I sail the 19th with Sarah) and she will have the rest with Mrs Rowell and a more extended trip than if I stayed. We mean to be careful and not over do, for she looks tired from school. I was so glad to hear so directly from you all, she said that she left you with her mother, I hear good things of you on all sides my dear. Please give my best love to Weber and many kisses to Sadie[.] I will write to Ma this afternoon.²³ Always Your loving Sister

Jane Addams.

1. [July 1888], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:978. See also JA to SAAH, 14 June 1888, above. JA misspelled the title of *Children of Gibeon*.

2. JA found the ancient town of Peterborough “curious and picturesque” (JA to SAAH, 27 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:974). Baedeker commented that “[t]he Cathedral is one of the most important Norman churches left in England, though the first glance at the exterior does not seem to bear out this assertion” (*Great Britain*, 362).

3. St. Albans, which developed about 800 near the site of the Roman town of Verulamium, was the site of a huge abbey, the church of which was given cathedral status in 1877. It is one of the largest churches in England, and in its earliest parts Roman tiles from Verulamium were used that dated from the eleventh century. JA wrote to sister SAAH that she would tell her of it when she saw her.

4. “The Cathedral at Ely is charming, so much of the Norman remaining and all of the later styles represented,” wrote JA (JA to SAAH, 27 June 1888, UIC, JAMC, HJ; *JAPM*, 2:974). The largely Norman structure located in the town of Ely, approximately fourteen miles from Cambridge, was begun in 1083 on the site of an abbey initially founded in the 600s. Baedeker reported that “[t]he most striking feature [of the exterior] is the castellated *W. Tower*, which is unlike any other cathedral-tower in England, and to some extent suggests military rather than ecclesiastical architecture” (*Great Britain*, 440).

5. JA wrote that she had “time enough at Cambridge to see Girton and Newnham Colleges and know some thing of their workings” (JA to SAAH, 27 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:974). Like Oxford, Cambridge was a famous university town with an assortment of colleges dating from at least 1284, when Peterhouse, the first college, was established. Among its newest colleges were Girton, started by Emily Davis (1830–1921) in 1869 with six students, and Newnham, created by philosopher and leading proponent of women’s education Henry Sidgwick (1838–1900) in 1871. Anne Jemima Clough (1820–92), a leader of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women, was Newnham College’s residential head. Both were opened so that women would have access to a college education. Davis battled to establish access for women to the same curricula and testing opportunities available to men. Yet by 1881, although they were admitted to the examinations, female students were still denied permission to attend university lectures with men and to receive the degrees they earned.

6. Returning to London, the women saw Henry Irving in *Faust*, and on 25 June they “heard Handel’s ‘Messiah’ given at the Crystal Palace with a chorus of 4,000 voices and M^{de} Albani as the soprano.” JA wrote enthusiastically, “It was a tremendous thing which I shall never forget” (JA to SAAH, 27 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:975).

The Crystal Palace, a masterpiece of engineering with over a million feet of glass walls and ceilings, was created in Hyde Park, London, for the Great Exhibition of 1851. Showcasing the might of England in more than thirteen thousand exhibits, it was designed by Sir Joseph Paxton (1801–65) at the behest of Prince Albert, consort to Queen Victoria. When the exhibition ended, the structure was dismantled and reconstructed at Sydenham Hill in South London as a garden and venue for all sorts of concerts, sporting events, and entertainments. It was there that JA heard *The Messiah*, George Frederick Handel’s (1685–1759) masterpiece oratorio. He wrote it in twenty-one days and debuted it in Dublin in 1842 with texts from the Old and New Testaments about the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ provided by librettist Charles Jennes.

Madame Albani was the stage name of Emma Lajeunesse (1847–1930), a Canadian opera and oratorio soprano who enjoyed considerable fame in London with her long association with Covent Garden, where she had made her English debut in 1872.

7. [July 1888], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:977.

8. 27 June 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:975.

9. The letter is not known to be extant.

10. On 8 June 1888, GBH walked away from the Addams home in Cedarville without telling anyone where he was going. His behavior was apparently precipitated by a disagreement with his mother. AHHA called on her son HWH to locate him and bring him home.

The first news of GBH's bolt from Cedarville reached JA via a letter from LSA that Flora Guiteau delivered to JA when JA met her in Southampton. On 3 July 1888, after receiving three letters from SAAH about GBH's disappearance, none of which are known to be extant, JA wrote to her sister SAAH:

I am dreadfully sorry for George and for his mother too. The touch of the melodramatic is so unlike George that the poor fellow must have suffered desperately before he would do it. I am not in the least afraid of suicide—he is too good a man for that—but he could easily yield to exposure and distress, and would consider himself justified in that before he would do any thing he considered dishonorable as stealing car rides or food.

As he went towards Dubuque [Iowa] I have thought it barely possible that he went to Home, a Welsh fellow in his class at Beloit whom he always liked very much, and who is in Dakota I think. I can think of no other reason for his going west, it would be so much more natural for him to go to a city where he could use his languages, in tutoring or translating German or drawing plates. I fairly weep when I think of his anguish and distress of mind, I have seen him depressed. The walking and moving about is good for him in a certain way I suppose, if he has food enough to endure it on. (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:979–80)

JA continued, “I am not especially planning to go home, but you see there would be no sacrifice in it if I did. If Ma is with you this summer of course there is nothing I could do for her and I fear that there will be no chance for me to do anything for George. The mere fact of his going away for awhile ‘for himself,’ may be a good thing, but it is so unlike him not to write or plan in some way to relieve her anxiety. . . . If Ma at any time would grow unhappy at Girard, I should be very glad to be in America and on hand to do what she likes. If she is happy there I could visit Mary and Weber and spend the summer as happily as here. I am very anxious until I know definitely, and you will cable me, dearie, won’t you even if it is the saddest news” (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:981–83). See also a biographical profile for GBH in *PJA*, 1:502–3.

In at least one of her letters, SAAH may have suggested that JA return home as soon as possible and reminded her that she always made the right and responsible choices, for JA's last sentence in her letter of 3 July 1888 to her sister implies as much: “Dear Alice we will pray will we not for each other, don’t say I always do right, it is only the narrowest escape from great wrong and weakness all the time with me” (UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:983).

GBH's friend from Beloit was likely Edward D. Home, also a member of the Beloit class of 1883. During 1883 and 1884, and perhaps longer, Home worked in a law office in Milwaukee, Wis. In 1891, *The (Beloit) Round Table* announced that he had moved from Bessemer, Mich., to West Duluth, Minn.

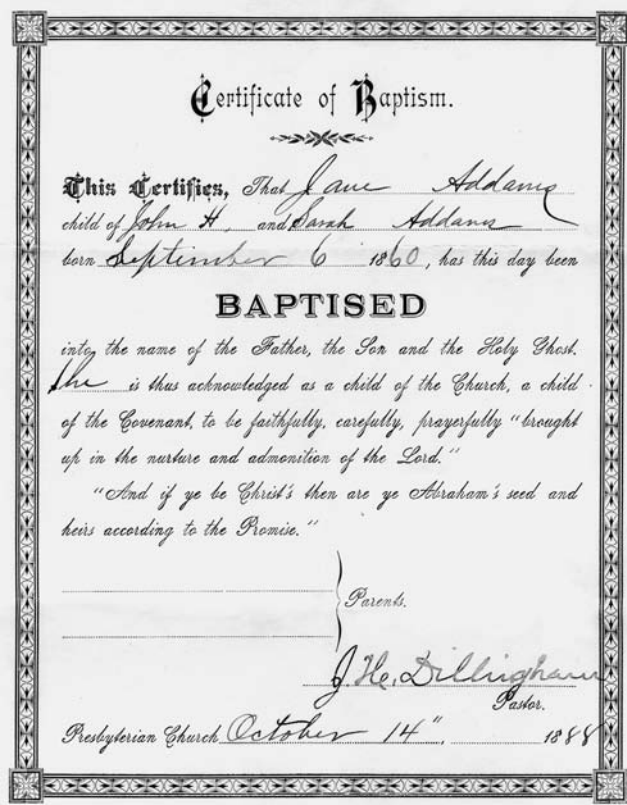
11. The travelers left London on Friday, 29 June 1888, and arrived in Winchester the same day.

12. Sunday was 1 July 1888.

13. The party, consisting of JA, SA, Helen Harrington, Flora Guiteau, Amelia Rowell, and Fannie and Annie Kales, came together again in Salisbury on 2 July 1888. JA reported to SAAH that “[w]e had a very jolly time in initiating Flora who is very happy and enthusiastic over what is in prospect” (3 July 1888, UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:982).

14. JA misspelled Frances Kales's given name.

15. George Robert Charles Herbert (1850–95), 13th Earl of Pembroke and 9th Earl of Montgomery, served as England's undersecretary of war (1874–75) and was co-author of *South Sea Bubbles* (1872).



After returning from Europe in 1888, Jane Addams became a member of the Presbyterian Church in Cedarville, Illinois. (UIC, JAMC; JAPM, 28:699)

16. SA and Helen Harrington were on their way to northern England and Scotland through London.

17. Winchester is an old town site from before the time of the Roman conquest. At the heart of the town is the cathedral, begun in the twelfth century, the site where Egbert (775?-839), the first Saxon king (802), and Richard I were crowned. The Hospital of St. Cross was founded in 1136 by Henry de Blois (d. 1171), younger brother of King Stephen, when he was bishop of Winchester (1129-71). At the time JA, Flora, and Mrs. Rowell visited, they could have received a horn of ale and slice of bread at the porter's lodge if they had asked. They may also have visited the Gothic-style St. Mary's College, which was constructed in the fourteenth century.

18. JA had planned to take Flora Guiteau with her to Scotland after they visited London. However, that itinerary was altered—perhaps before JA learned that GBH was safe—to accommodate JA's early return to the United States and Flora's promised European vacation. JA left London with Mrs. Rowell on Saturday afternoon, 14 July 1888, after she had delivered Flora into the hands of a group of travelers leaving that day for Paris via Canterbury. Flora's companions included 31-year-old Kate de Forest, the daughter of the former president of the First National Bank of Freeport, Ill., George F. de Forest (1812-83), and his wife, Caroline Sergeant de Forest (1822-63). JA and Mrs. Rowell took the train to Lincoln, where they remained on Sunday, 15 July, after which they moved on to Durham the next day. On 17 July,

when Mrs. Rowell took a train for Ripon, JA traveled to Glasgow. There she joined SA, Helen Harrington, and Fannie Kales and prepared to board the *Furnessia* on 19 July 1888. JA reported in a letter from London that the ship they had chosen was from “a slow line (10 days I think) but safe and much cheaper” (JA to SAAH, [10–14? July 1888], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:990).

19. The Bayreuth Festival in Germany, which celebrated the music of composer Richard Wagner, took place in July and Aug.

20. “Miss Starr handed over Miss B. to her father and mother last Monday with a great sigh of relief, she & Miss Peasley will be in England about the 22d but I will not see her, she has had a great deal of responsibility with Miss B’s illness,” JA wrote to SAAH ([10–14? July 1888], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:990). The Breckinridges met their daughter on 9 July 1888.

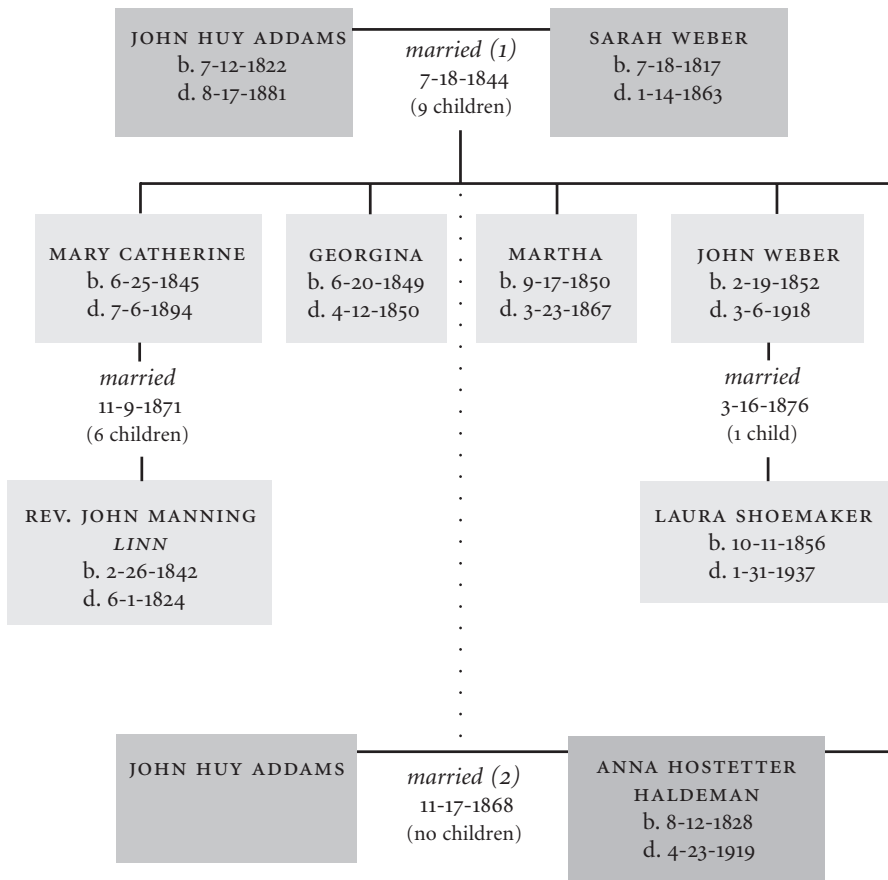
21. The letters from SAAH are not known to be extant.

22. “Weber wrote me that George had been heard of in Dubuque Co Iowa. I feel all right about him now, if he was ~~not~~ so woefully depressed he would not have gone as far as Dubuque. I hope Harry will soon see him,” JA wrote to SAAH ([10–14? July 1888], UIC, JAMC; *JAPM*, 2:990).

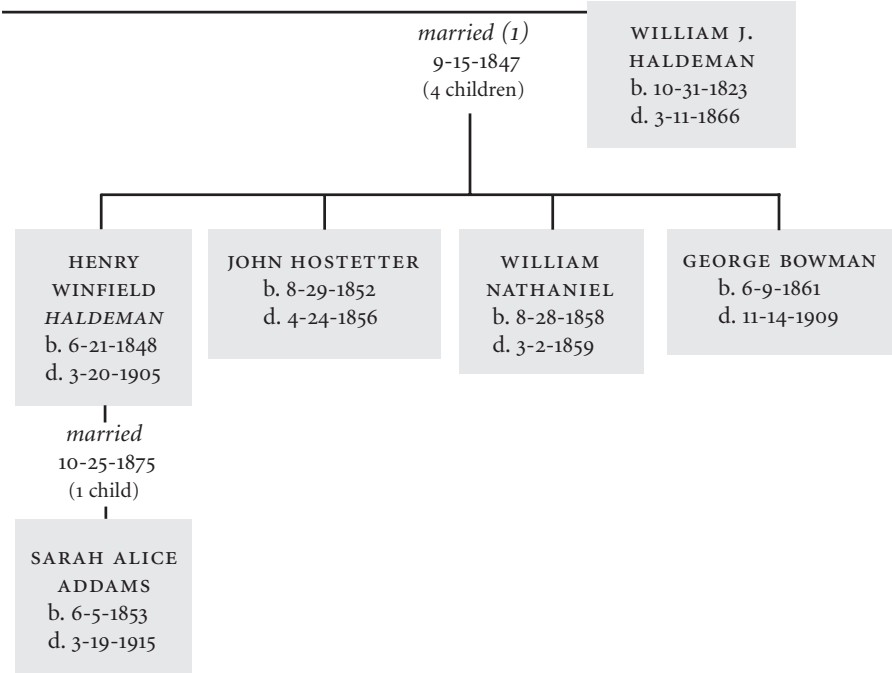
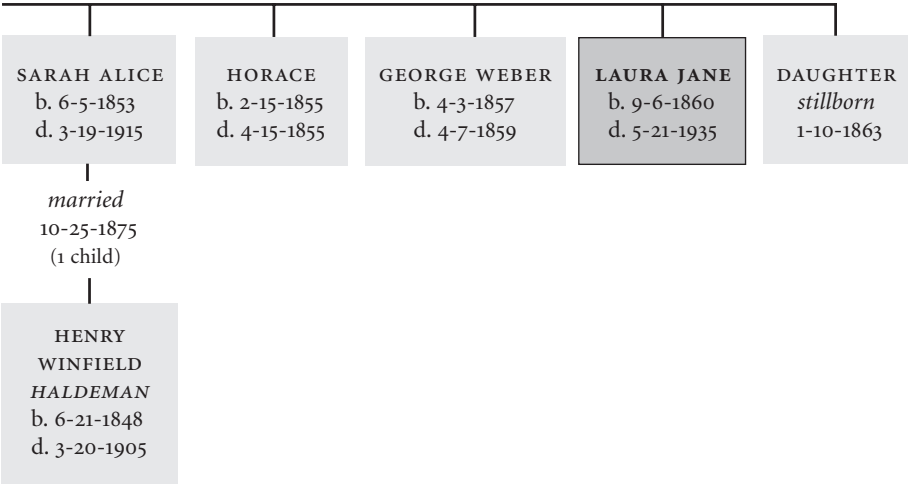
23. JA’s letter to AHHA is not known to be extant.

ADDAMS FAMILY
GENEALOGICAL CHART

Parents, Step-Parent, Siblings, and



Step-Siblings of Jane Addams



Bibliography

This bibliography is divided into ten categories: (1) Manuscripts and Archives Collections; (2) Unpublished Documents, Clippings, and Individual Manuscripts; (3) Printed and Manuscript Sources of Genealogy and Vital Statistics, Government Records, Reports, and Returns; (4) Rare Book Collections; (5) Photograph Collections; (6) Directories, Published Minutes and Reports, Annuals, Catalogs, and Announcements; (7) Newspapers and Magazines; (8) Newspaper, Journal, and Magazine Articles and Chapters from Books; (9) Books; and (10) Travel Literature and Guides. The most comprehensive presentation of the papers of Jane Addams is the 82-reel microfilm edition of *The Jane Addams Papers* (Mary Lynn McCree Bryan, Nancy Slote, et al., eds. [Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1985–86]). For a bibliography of the writings and speeches of Jane Addams, consult Mary Lynn McCree Bryan, Nancy Slote, and Maree de Angury, *The Jane Addams Papers: A Comprehensive Guide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). For a full list of symbols for manuscript collections and repositories, see pages xlviii–ix of this volume.

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Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore, Md., Archives
Cedarville Area Historical Society, Cedarville, Ill.
Chicago History Museum, Chicago, Ill.
Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Ill., Harold Washington Library Center, Special Collections
Congregational Library, Archives, Boston, Mass.
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