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**CIVIC DOMESTICITY: RHETORIC, WOMEN, AND SPACE AT HULL HOUSE,
1889-1910**

A Dissertation Presented

by

LIANE MALINOWSKI

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of English

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ABSTRACT

**CIVIC DOMESTICITY: RHETORIC, WOMEN, AND SPACE AT HULL HOUSE,
1889-1910**

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In the late 19th-century, when US women's authority was largely relegated to domestic spaces, there was a pressing question about how women might claim a place in cities dominated by men. How did women use rhetoric to change the city? And how did the city change women's rhetorical conventions and genres—especially when the 'cult of domesticity' endorsed women staying in the home and off the city street? My dissertation addresses these questions by focusing closely on one group of women sponsored by Hull House, a settlement house on Chicago's West Side. Proceeding from the idea that rhetoric is in part responsible for gendering space (Johnson; Enoch; Mountford), I explore how women composed the city, and in the process, new roles for themselves and others.

For exploring arguments about what the city should be and who had a right to decide, Chicago in the late 19th/early 20th century is an ideal site. In response to increased immigration and rapid industrialization, city planners such as Daniel Burnham sought to

keep economic and civic spaces (men's spaces) distinct from residential spaces (women's spaces), while Jane Addams and her Hull House colleagues argued for women and housing at the center of civic life. This dissertation shows that when women claim city space, they participate in boundary-making, redrawing their own roles in the city, and also those of other citizens across gender, class, ethnic, and racial lines. This study complicates an understanding of historical women's movements across domestic and public spheres by investigating the historically-specific ways women negotiated space and identity in a globalized context, helping us better understand the power of domestic discourses to authorize gender, class, national, and ethnic/racial identity formations into our present.

My dissertation draws on primary sources such as articles, bulletins, meeting minutes, maps, and photographs from university and public library archives and museums to bring into focus the specificity of women's arguments as they relate to home, city and world. My study includes both college-educated, middle-class women and working-class, immigrant women. Their perspectives and contexts guide my intersectional analysis of identity at the nexus of space, history, and rhetoric. Using theoretical frames from rhetorical theory, spatial theory, and feminist studies, I balance archived and published texts reflecting women's perspectives on space with secondary sources on Chicago's social relations, planning history, industrial history, and immigration patterns throughout.

My analysis shows Hull House women extended their authority within a discourse of cosmopolitan domesticity, especially as it related to consumption and taste-making in an international market, to the arena of international relations. They invented for

themselves a global citizenship in which they were authorized to participate in civic debates about immigration, labor laws, housing, and assimilation. By exploring rhetoric's role in producing spaces, I highlight the class and racial privilege undergirding Hull House women's claims to home, city, and nation. For example, in addition to claiming gendered authority over the domestic, Hull House women drew from their middle-class and white privilege to claim authority over the "foreign" space of Chicago's West Side—a neighborhood where immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe made garments in sweatshops. These claims to the "foreign" West Side created tensions amongst Hull House colleagues. In one instance, when Florence Kelley argued that all working-class women needed legal protection from industries that exploited them, Josefa Humpal Zeman disagreed, noting the local Bohemian women with whom she identified had specific economic strategies emerging from transnational contexts. Tensions escalated into the 20th century as Hull House colleagues and West Side immigrant women collaborated to portray women's home spaces in museum exhibits for a wider Chicago public. Ultimately, my study globalizes the point of view on US women's spaces of rhetorical engagement, broadening the scope of inquiry beyond how women negotiated authority in men's spaces to how women negotiated with other citizens across spaces inflected with national, gender, class, and ethnic/racial meanings.

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CHAPTER 1

LOCATING US WOMEN'S SPACES OF RHETORICAL ENGAGEMENT

Introduction

In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, when US women's authority was largely relegated to domestic spaces, there was a pressing question about how women might claim expanded roles in public and political life. At a time when all women were excluded from suffrage and most from the formal economy, clubs and organizations outside of official government and economic channels offered them places from which to network, gather resources, and mobilize political and economic reform. In their reform work, women used rhetoric to argue for change and for their place in politics.

Feminist rhetorical historiographers such as Anne Ruggles Gere, Wendy Sharer, Jacqueline Jones Royster, Carol Mattingly, and others have recovered women's rhetoric sponsored by clubs and organizations dedicated to women's rights, temperance, culture, and charity. This research, in addition to showing that women used rhetoric to participate in debates that changed the course of gender and race relations, as well as influenced law, public health, literacy, and international politics, also shows that reform rhetoric had the effect of solidifying the politics of identity in this era. Women's reform work in this era was often explicitly about gender, race, and class politics. In particular, women's reform work in this era weaved together gender and class identities as "inextricable" from one another (Ginzberg 8). At the same time, women's rhetoric differed based on the ways racial identities positioned women within political and economic life (Gere 1997; Royster 2000; Mattingly 2002).

This dissertation builds on this body of research by examining a previously unexplored organization, the settlement house, through which middle-class women reimagined space in order to invent new rhetorical positions from which to speak and write. A settlement house was, and is, a kind of social service organization that offers sanitation and health programs, English and citizenship classes, childcare, and other services to immigrants in inner cities. The settlement house as a research site offers an opportunity to learn about women's rhetoric in and about the city, which has been underexplored in previous research. This dissertation shows the city is a key site where women expanded their rhetorical authority beyond the private sphere and into the public arena; the city is also a site to learn more about how women gained the ability to physically move between private and public space. In this moment, in response to industrialization and immigration waves from southern and eastern Europe, America was confronted with questions about the ideal city: For what purposes should it be designed? For whom should it be designed? In the settlement house, women debated with everyday citizens, city officials, Progressive reformers, and the press over the rights of women, working people, and immigrants to the city. Furthermore, the contexts of settlement house and city provide an opportunity to place women's rhetorical construction of space and identity up against the physical reality of the city, and also against competing arguments about how others imagined life in the city. This relational view helps to make visible the class and racial privilege behind settlement house women's arguments, deployed at a time when domesticity endorsed women staying in the home and off the city street.

This study explores women's rhetoric in and about space at a single settlement house: Hull House. Located on Chicago's West Side, Hull House was the very first of the over 400 settlement houses open in the United States by 1910 (Woods vi). Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr opened Hull House in a private home in 1889; by 1900, they had added several buildings, and Hull House took up an entire city block. A settlement's distinguishing feature from other social welfare agencies in this era was that the middle-class people who worked there also lived there. Typically, 15-25 women and a few men lived and worked at Hull House at any given time. Women and men who lived at Hull House referred to themselves as "residents," and it is a word I use in this project to describe the collective group who lived there. Most, but not all, residents of Hull House were white and affluent; a requirement of residency was a source of income that paid living expenses while residents volunteered time to a neighborhood project. A core group of women served as leaders at Hull House between 1889-1910. In the 1890s, this group included founders Addams and Starr, as well as Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, Alzina P. Stevens, and Mary Kenney. In the twentieth century, Addams, Starr and Lathrop remained at Hull House. They were joined by residents Jessie Luther, Alice Hamilton, Sophonisba Breckenridge, and Edith and Grace Abbott, who all made a significant impact on the life of the settlement.

The history of the settlement house is part of a larger feminist history in which women and men reimagined domestic space. This spatial reimagining was especially taken up by white, middle-class women who embraced women's supposed moral authority in the home and used that authority as a basis to argue for wider influence in public life (Hayden 5; Spain 52; Kessler-Harris 26). The urban historian and architect

Dolores Hayden, tracing the white feminist movement from educator Catharine Beecher through Addams and her contemporaries, notes that these “material feminists” broadened the boundaries of the domestic through a variety of spatial experiments that included women’s colleges, socialist communities, public kitchens, and settlement houses. Hayden argues that material feminism represents an underexplored piece of feminist history that highlights a unique moment in which a select group of privileged women had significant resources to create new kinds of spaces. Exploring how women composed space at Hull House adds to this material feminist history.

In this dissertation, I focus on how women used rhetoric to create spaces from which to mobilize in the first place. I investigate how women speakers and writers designed spaces for rhetorical purposes, represented space discursively and visually, and practiced rhetoric in particular spaces. To find out how women used rhetoric to change the city, while at the same time the city changed women’s rhetorical conventions and genres, I ask the following questions throughout this project: 1) How did women use rhetoric to compose space in the city? 2) How did women use space as a rhetorical resource to construct roles for themselves and others to take up? In the following chapters, I consider these questions by weaving together conversations from feminist rhetorical historiography, rhetorical theory, critical and cultural geography, women’s history, and Chicago history in order to provide understanding of Hull House residents’ arguments. I begin from the premise that space and rhetoric are mutually constitutive: spaces “structure and limit the kinds of utterances that can be voiced within them with a reasonable expectation of uptake and 'choral support': an expectation of being heard, understood, taken seriously” (Code ix-x); at the same time, rhetoric participates in

changing spaces and their social dynamics. This premise, together with my research questions, guide me to toggle between exploring the history of spaces as they function to structure rhetors' abilities to speak, write, and be heard, and the stories of women who use rhetoric to participate in changing space.

In the next section of this chapter, I review scholarship on domesticity as a prevailing discourse structuring nineteenth-century gender relations. Then, I discuss existing literature on nineteenth-century women's rhetoric and gendered locations to better illuminate how my approach to examining women's arguments in and about space builds on previous approaches. Following this discussion, I move to a more in-depth exploration of how I understand space and rhetoric as interconnected. I end this chapter by giving a historical overview of social and economic conditions in late-nineteenth century US cities, and of Hull House's emergence in this historical context.

Domesticity in the Nineteenth Century United States

Several scholars trace the origins of domesticity, in which women and men ideally occupy separate spheres of life, to the reorganization of family roles within an industrializing economy (Beuchler 1990; Cott 1977; Harris 1978; Matthews 1987). Beginning in the eighteenth century and progressing throughout the nineteenth century, the US economy shifted from one based largely in agriculture and manual labor to one based in manufacturing and the rise of machine-made products (though this shift occurred unevenly throughout the US). Historian Barbara J. Harris argues the increase in industrial production throughout the nineteenth century separated paid work from the space of home, which served to make more visible the ways in which middle-class women were

excluded from the formal economy and the ownership of goods (38). As women were excluded from paid work, their labor became increasingly devalued.

In response to this unequal division of gendered labor, women's work in the home came to have an elevated status. The valuable nature of women's role in the home was referred to at times as "domesticity," the 'cult of true womanhood,' or an ideology of "separate spheres." In this dissertation, I refer to the societal beliefs, values, language conventions, and everyday practices that configured women's space as the home as domesticity. I find useful Nancy Cott's definition of domesticity as a discourse, which includes the following:

the ideological presumptions, institutional practices, and strongly held habits of mind insisting that the home must be guided by a calm, devoted, and self-abnegating wife and mother: that with her presence, the home would serve—and it had to serve, for social order and individual well-being—as a moral beacon, a restorative haven from the anxieties and adversities of public life and commerce, comforting the hardworking husband and provider for the family, and furnishing a nursery of spiritual and civic values for the children. (xvii)

In defining the roles of women as wives and mothers in the home, domesticity also reinforced the belief that men were primary wage-earners who worked outside the home.

Texts were crucial in disseminating the beliefs about women's place as the home (and men's place as everywhere else). According to Helen Damon-Moore and Carl F. Kaestle, the nineteenth century was a time when literacy rates rose (especially among women), technological advances in printing made texts more accessible, and the population's uses for reading broadened (247-48). Damon-Moore and Kaestle illustrate these trends in literacy through their examination of women's magazines. In the nineteenth century, women's magazines functioned to offer helpful hints to women managing increasingly complex households now filled with consumer goods and factory-

made appliances (248). For example, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, according to Damon-Moore, began as a column for domestic advice in the 1880s and “considered regularly and thoughtfully questions related to gender” for an audience of lower-middle and middle-class readers (*Magazines* 37).

Historians such as Cott, Matthews, and Welter have relied on a vast canon of literature to make their arguments about the pervasiveness of domesticity. Welter’s source materials exemplify the variety of texts available to historians. Welter argues for the power of the “cult of true womanhood” by reading “a survey of almost all of the women’s magazines published for more than three years during the period 1820-60 and a sampling of those published for less than three years; all the gift books cited in Ralph Thompson, *American Literary Annuals and Gift Books, 1825-1865*...hundreds of religious tracts and sermons...and the large collection of nineteenth-century cookbooks in the New York Public Library and the Academy of Medicine of New York” (151). Welter found supplementary evidence in “women’s diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, and personal papers, as well as in all the novels by women which sold over 75,000 copies during this period” (151). Through surveying these sources, Welter found womanhood was conflated with the family roles of mother, daughter, sister, and wife, and also that these sources advanced the idea that the right kind of woman—a true woman—was pious, virtuous and submissive (152).

Explanations of ideal womanhood in text and talk, of course, did not overdetermine individual lives. To the contrary, ideal and real womanhood could be very different. For example, white middle-class women’s actual lives, as explored in Cott’s research on women in New England and Mary P. Ryan’s history of women in Oneida

County, complicate the doctrine of separate spheres because these women worked in and outside the home and had social lives and responsibilities beyond the home throughout the nineteenth century.

Ideal womanhood within domesticity was often implicitly about white middle-class women. Women occupying other class and raced identities were positioned further from the ideal. At the same time that opportunities for paid work declined for middle-class women, industrialization expanded possibilities for working class women to earn money in mills and factories (Harris 39). Thus, working-class women often found themselves going against the ideals of domesticity every time they conducted paid work outside the home. Black feminist writers Angela Y. Davis and bell hooks, as well as the historians Deborah Gray-White, Jacqueline Jones, and Patricia Morton have recovered the histories of black women's lives in the nineteenth century, and have argued that the ideals of womanhood within in domestic discourse did not characterize black women's lives. Davis in particular highlights the US industrial economy structured black women's lives in that it endorsed slavery (12). Under slavery, Davis argues, the respected roles of mother and housewife were not available to black women. Davis argues that "judged by the evolving nineteenth-century ideology of femininity, which emphasized women's roles as nurturing mothers and gentle companions and housekeepers for their husbands, Black women were practically anomalies" (5).

Though ideal and real womanhood could look very different, domesticity nevertheless had real consequences for how all women were represented and perceived. As Cott argues, "ideology and experience were reciprocally influential or mutually constitutive" (xv). While domesticity explained ideal womanhood especially for middle-

class white women, women across class and racial categories were measured against its cluster of beliefs. For working-class and immigrant women living in the city, the societal belief that home should be separate from work meant their lives constantly violated the societal standard (Stansell 1986; Deutsch 2000). In *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930*, Joanne J. Meyerowitz argues unmarried wage earners who lived apart from their families were limited in their social mobility and ability to earn by the expectation they had fathers and husbands to support them (1988).

Domesticity also had unique influences on the lives of black women. Historian Phyllis Palmer argues that especially in the post-Civil war era, negative stereotypes about black women in the post-Civil War era were formed in opposition to ideals about white women. Palmer writes, “black women, even more than other women forced to labor outside their homes, came to symbolize sexuality, prowess, mysterious power (mysterious, certainly, since it was so at odds with their actual economic, political, and social deprivation); they came to embody the ‘myth of the superwoman’” (158). Furthermore, Palmer argues white women were complicit in perpetuating this dualism, especially because arguing for themselves as good mothers and wives depended on “maintaining the lines dividing white women from black women” (158).

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, domestic discourse increasingly characterized ideal womanhood in an international context. Historians Kristin Hoganson, Amy Kaplan, Glenna Matthews, and Mari Yoshihara have noted that the domestic always had a dual meaning in that it referred to the literal home, and also to the nation. When the domestic was opposed to foreign, it highlighted women’s role in training US citizens as distinct from citizens of other nations. Thus, knowledge of national distinctions became

part of women's sphere at this time. Hoganson further argues that the late nineteenth century was a time when bourgeois women designed their homes to reflect an "appreciation of other peoples"—particularly, but not exclusively Europeans—artistic production and cultural attainments, a valorization of ethnographic and other geographic knowledge, and varying degrees of identification with people outside the United States" (60-61). In other words, well-to-do American women used their authority over the home to take part in an international market, cultivate worldly taste, and participate in drawing the boundaries between what was domestic and what was foreign. Hoganson refers to women turning the literal home into a site of international consumption as "cosmopolitan domesticity." Hoganson argues that American women who curated cosmopolitan domestic spaces were participating in an imperialist project. Their consuming artisan goods implied a power relationship between themselves and foreign producers of goods. And, because an unequal power differential between the US and foreign markets rested on racial inequality, their appreciating and consuming foreign arts and crafts also asserted white privilege.

In sum, domesticity was a discourse that perpetuated ideals of womanhood. The primary tenet of domesticity was that a woman's authority was in the home, and her roles of good wife and mother were made meaningful in the geography of the home. In inscribing these ideals, domesticity also participated in emerging class identities. In prescribing that women were in charge of unpaid labor in the home, domesticity made visible differences between middle-class and working-class women who conducted paid work outside the home. Domesticity also participated in racial formation by setting ideals of white womanhood against negative stereotypes of black womanhood. As it placed

women in charge of training children to be good citizens and of consuming household goods in an international market, domesticity inscribed women in the project of US imperialism. All women were subject to domestic discourse; some women participated in reproducing ideals about where women could go, what they could do, and what they could say. Women—white women especially— could benefit from perpetuating domestic ideals that offered them authority over the household. Women and men also found that domestic discourse was a resource when arguing for gender equality because at its core was the premise that gender relations were socially and spatially separate and unequal.

Nineteenth-Century Histories of Rhetoric in and about Gendered Locations

Rhetoric has been one helpful lens through which to better understand how language reiterated and reflected the domestic ideologies that structured everyday life. In this project I understand rhetoric to mean communicating to affect an audience in some way. The purposes of communication vary, and include communicating to persuade, to move an audience to think or feel differently, to induce action or cooperation, or to otherwise have an impact on the social world. Historical research through a rhetorical lens helps to uncover the available means—the discourses, texts, situations and communities—that made up the social world in which acts of communication occurred.

Rhetoric also refers to a course of study in which people learn the art of communication. Sharon Crowley argues “the power of rhetoric lies in its discrimination of a conceptual vocabulary and set of discursive strategies that allow those who are familiar with it to intervene fruitfully in disputes and disagreements” (24). Feminist rhetorical scholarship on rhetoric as a course of study in nineteenth-century America has

shown that rhetorical theories and ideologies participated in inscribing separate spheres for women and men. Nan Johnson, for example, argues that texts that explained rhetoric contributed to regulating where women and men could speak and write and what they could say. Johnson's research shows that by linking the good, quiet women to the home, and the publicly vocal women to objectionable qualities, "conduct books participated in a widespread cultural project to police the borders between domestic space and public space and to keep the average woman in her home and off the podium" (52). Within the home, women could speak and write through genres that were conflated with the moral world of the domestic sphere such as parlor genres, i.e. conversation, reading aloud and letter writing (Johnson 2002; Buchanan 2005; Donawerth 2012). Everywhere else, women were limited in their rhetorical options, especially by a postbellum conservatism and anxiety about women gaining public influence.

The ability to gain familiarity with the art of communication is typically unevenly distributed within a given population. That rhetoric has been exclusive has motivated inquiry into how marginalized rhetors have responded to unequal access throughout history. Because domesticity was such a pervasive discourse, rhetoric scholarship on the nineteenth-century has explored how women's speaking and writing was enabled and constrained by it. Rhetoric scholarship shows the nineteenth-century maxim that the private home was women's rhetorical space was particularly powerful in disciplining women's rhetoric in traditionally public and masculine locations. Roxanne Mountford, for example, illustrates how the Protestant pulpit physically represented a tie between masculinity and authority that influenced nineteenth-century fiction writers to represent women preachers as limited by a gendered pulpit (2001). Several other feminist rhetorical

historiographers have explored what has happened when women took public platforms. Often, women began by arguing their gender did not disqualify their remarks (Campbell 1989). For example, facing objections to their taking the speaking platform, white women abolitionists in the early-nineteenth century gained the authority to speak by employing the “rhetoric of gendered morality that emphasized the special nature of female benevolence” (Zaeske 192). In the late-nineteenth century, women drew on their alleged moral superiority to expand their speaking repertoires to include issues such as temperance and suffrage (Campbell 1989). Women speakers also assured audiences they maintained their femininity and ties to the domestic sphere through wearing traditional dress, though some attempted the more dangerous option of aligning with the public sphere through cross-dressing (Mattingly 2002). And, while most of this research has focused on white, middle-class women speakers, Shirley Wilson Logan’s research accounts for the performances of black women on the speaker’s platform who accounted for both their race and their gender so neither identity would disqualify their remarks on the speaker’s platform (1999). For example, Logan explores how Frances Harper addressed converging and diverging interests of race, class and gender, shaping her message to establish common ground with her audience. This body of research shows that women’s authority to speak outside the home was limited and often required an explanation before women could be heard and taken seriously.

In addition to the speaker’s platform, feminist rhetorical historiographers have explored the school as a contested rhetorical space in which it was debated whether it was an extension of the domestic sphere or the public sphere. Over the course of the nineteenth century, women were gradually invited to speak and write within secondary

education classrooms as cultural values shifted the school from a masculine space, where combat and discipline were valued, to a feminine space, where students received encouragement and sympathy (Enoch 2008). In the US college rhetoric classroom, a parallel shift occurred as rhetoric moved from a combative spoken art to a written one in order to spare women and men from having to verbally confront each other (Connors 1997). Lindal Buchanan argues the shift from speaking to writing in the rhetoric classroom was a deliberate move by colleges to withhold formal training in oratory from women (2005). Even nineteenth-century US colleges that were committed to educating women were conservative when teaching oratory and debate. Antioch and Oberlin, two of the earliest schools to admit women, initially resisted teaching women rhetoric (Conway 1995; Connors 1997; Buchanan 2005). All Seven Sisters colleges offered rhetorical training to women, though how much each school encouraged women to practice rhetoric as a spoken art varied based on the politics of each school's faculty (Conway 1995). The gradual and uneven feminization of school offered some women a new place where they could speak with authority outside the home, though the boundaries and rules of this new rhetorical space for women remained fraught throughout the nineteenth century.

To these existing studies of home, pulpit, platform and school, this dissertation adds an examination of domesticity's effects on the rhetorical space of the city. The city as a research site offers a new scale on which to investigate women's rhetoric that previous studies have not offered. Scholars writing about women's rhetoric in contemporary cities make a compelling case for studying this geography by showing that, like the home, pulpit, platform and school, the city marginalizes women and, at the same time, is a space where women claim rhetorical agency in an unequal social hierarchy. In

Caroline Heller's *Until We Are Strong Together: Women Writers in the Tenderloin*, for example, homeless women writers in the Tenderloin District of San Francisco claim visibility and a public voice by holding their writing workshop in front of a hotel lobby window where people passing by on the street can see them. Another example is Ellen Cushman's research examining African American women's rhetorical tactics, ones that enable them to navigate through government agencies in an inner-city community with varying degrees of success (1996). More recently, Jill McCracken's study of women street sex workers in a southwestern US city explores the ways the media portrays prostitution as a personal choice rather than as a systemic issue. This construction of individual women's choices as a problem, McCracken argues, results in the creation of resources that serve the individual, but do not address systematic change (2010). These contemporary studies suggest that historical research on women's city rhetorics might help us to better understand how women's arguments were, and continue to be, enabled and constrained by city space. A historical lens offers the opportunity to uncover the effects of space that are not necessarily seen in the immediate moment, or by the individuals making the arguments.

Furthermore, the historical explorations into the gendered locations of home, pulpit, platform, and school have focused on particular questions about rhetoric and space. These questions have been 1) how do rhetorical theories and conventions participate in gendering space, and 2) how have women speaking and writing within space regendered it through their performances? A question that has been underexplored in the research on gender and rhetorical space is how individual rhetors have regendered space through speaking and writing about space. One piece of scholarship that shows the

potential of this line of inquiry is Jessica Enoch's history of the nineteenth-century classroom, "'A Woman's Place is in the School': Rhetorics of Gendered Space in Nineteenth-Century America." In this essay, Enoch tells the story of educational leaders William Alcott, Henry Barnard, and Horace Mann constructing the "school as home" and arguing for a rejection of the idea of "school as prison" as part of their belief school should provide a moral education from teachers who are encouraging, sympathetic and caring. By examining educational leaders' motives for planning the classroom, Enoch reveals that their primary motivation was pedagogical reform and not women's entrance into the teaching profession, although their reforms ultimately created classrooms friendly to women teachers. This view of why women gained entrance into the classroom would not be as easily glimpsed by studies focused on women's rhetorical performances within classrooms or studies that viewed the classroom as a cultural site alone.

What were women's arguments *about* space? How did women plan the layout of space, distinguish one place from another, or suggest what should go on inside a space? What were the effects of these arguments? As part of recovering the history of gender and rhetorical space, it is important to know how women engaged in debate about the places where they could claim authority to speak, write, and be heard. Examining women's rhetoric about space can offer a new perspective to what is already known about how men wrote about space and how women performed rhetoric in space. By considering women's rhetoric about space, it is possible to better understand how women distinguished between locations, further complicating the domestic/public binary that characterizes the story of women's rhetorical spaces.

Hull House is an ideal case for exploring women's rhetoric *in* space and also *about* space. Unlike the spaces of the pulpit, speaker's platform, and school that previous studies have examined, Hull House is a space over which women had considerable influence in building and arranging for rhetorical purposes, which was unusual at this time when few late-nineteenth century women owned and controlled property. Though the interior of the home was seen as women's place, few women owned their own home. Property laws in the US kept the numbers of home-owning women low. Though single women in the nineteenth century could inherit property, only in the 1840s did states begin to pass laws to protect married women's inherited property from automatically coming under the ownership of their husbands (Kessler-Harris 26). Hull House is one example of a home funded and owned by women. Addams initially funded the property through an inheritance of \$50-60,000 after her father's death in 1881. In addition to Addams' own funds, Hull House was supported throughout the years by the wealth of two other women, Mary Rozet Smith, who met Addams in 1890 and became her lifelong partner, and Louise deKoven Bowen, Addams' close friend (Sklar 95). Hull House's owner, a former social worker named Helen Culver, provided Addams and Starr rent-free space and land and allowed them to add new buildings to the house beginning in 1890. In 1906, Culver gifted her land and its buildings to the institution ("Site of Hull-House"). This history is unique not only in that women owned and controlled property, but that they did it collectively over decades.

In part because they owned and controlled property, Hull House residents could plan the institution's future. They planned what Hull House should look like, what should go on inside it, who should be invited into it. Their property on the West Side of Chicago

also gave them a stake in discussing the future development of their neighborhood and the city-at-large. Residents constantly spoke and wrote about how neighborhood space should be constructed for the good of all its citizens. They also had an unusual degree of authority for women at this time to implement spatial changes. Addams, for example, had the authority to mandate her neighborhood meet certain sanitary requirements when she served as the 19th wards' first female garbage inspector in 1895, and was able to ensure that the garbage collector for the ward fulfilled his contract (“Jane Addams Wears a Star” 6).

Women’s rhetoric sponsored by Hull House offers an opportunity to study not only women’s rhetoric in the city, but to unpack the ways women spoke and wrote about the city. While it is true that women have always lived, worked, and been rhetorical in the city, this project is one of the first to ask questions about how historical women used rhetoric to compose city space. Historical research on women’s arguments about space is particularly important so that we can uncover the role that women played in constructing the legacies of gendered, classed, and raced city spaces that still shape who women can be in the city today.

Theories of Space: Useful for Understanding Rhetoric’s Role in Spatial Reproduction

In order to better understand rhetoric’s role in reproducing spaces, I looked to theorists in critical/cultural geography, art and architecture, and urban philosophy throughout this dissertation. Theories of space from these disciplines have helped me to better articulate the limits of what we know about rhetoric’s role in investing space with

values. Henri Lefebvre's theory of spatial reproduction has offered a particularly useful framework and vocabulary for understanding the multiple dimensions within which space is reproduced. Lefebvre, a philosopher of the urban interested in making visible the city as a product of capitalist relations, argues that space is reproduced in three interrelated dimensions: *spatial practice*, *representations of space*, and *representational space*. His theorizing rejects the idea that space is merely a static setting, context, or backdrop to human activity. He argues instead that space is dynamically *produced by* social relations.

Lefebvre is particularly interested in the city as a product of social relations under capitalism; thus, while he discusses the city's role in producing class identities, he largely ignores the ways the city produces gender and racial identities; however, with care his spatial triad can be applied in discussions of US city space and the formation of gendered and raced identities. The public historian and architect Dolores Hayden, for example, suggests that his theorizing of space as a product of social relations is helpful for understanding the ways that gender and space are mutually productive:

“One of the consistent ways to limit the economic and political rights of groups has been to constrain social reproduction by limiting access to space. For women, the body, the home, and the street have all been arenas of conflict. Examining them as political territories—bounded spaces with some form of enforcement of the boundaries—helps us to analyze the spatial dimensions of ‘woman’s sphere’ at any given time.” (22-23)

In addition, the critical geographer Doreen Massey argues that studying space as a product of capitalist relations is important to the story of gender formation, as the division of labor between men and women spurred by the industrial revolution created separate, gendered spaces. Massey writes, the “gendering of space and place both reflects and *has effects back on* the ways in which gender is constructed on understood in the societies in which we live” (186). Lefebvre's theory of space can also illuminate racial

formations. The geographer Eugene J. McCann has argued that “Lefebvre’s analysis must be carefully contextualized with regard to the racial coding of the production and maintenance of abstract, exclusionary public spaces” (179). In his case study of public space in Lexington, Kentucky, for example, McCann uses Lefebvre’s spatial triad to analyze the way the built environment, imagery of the city, and everyday life influence each other to produce racialized geographies (1999).

As a productive lens through which to examine the reproduction of space and identity, Lefebvre’s spatial triad is useful for understanding social life beyond the scope of rhetoric. Nevertheless, communication that persuades is a factor in reproducing space in each of the three dimensions. In what follows, I explain *spatial practice*, *representations of space*, and *representational spaces*, and offer examples of rhetoric’s partial but important role in each reproducing each dimension.

The dimension of *spatial practice* draws attention to how people navigate urban space. According to Lefebvre, spatial practice refers to the intersection of people’s “daily reality (daily routine)” and an “urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, ‘private’ life and leisure)” (38). Within spatial practice, individuals have agency to make choices about how to move through space, always within the constraints of the built environment. Lefebvre suggests one might study spatial practice through a case study of the “daily life of a tenant in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project” (38). Such a case would make visible the “dialectical interaction” between individual choice and the structural constraints of institutions (38). Rhetorical acts can be seen as one way individuals assert agency within the spaces that structure experience. Within nineteenth-century rhetorical histories, women’s acts of

speaking, knowing, and thinking assert agency in the spaces of parlor, classroom or podium. For example, within her history of academic speakers, Lindal Buchanan describes the student Harriet Louise Keeler's graduation speech at Oberlin in 1870. Keeler challenged the rule that women should look down and read while on the speaker's platform by looking up at her audience, thus calling attention to the tacit rules that governed her gender performance (62). Moments like this one illustrate that rhetoric as a spatial practice can momentarily break with the conventions of gendered space. Examples such as this one also show that rhetorical historiography can help to make visible the ways that individuals reproduce space.

Rhetorical analysis is also helpful at making visible the ways that *representations of space* influence understanding. *Representations of space* is Lefebvre's term for the texts and symbols that objectify space and turn it into a kind of knowledge. Lefebvre argues the discourses of city planners, architects, and others who work in abstract space are important to analyze because they represent space as a system of signs in forms such as descriptions, definitions, maps, plans and pictures (38-39). These representations of space, he argues, "have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space. Their intervention occurs by way of construction – in other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for 'representations' that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms" (42). In other words, representations impose cohesive narratives onto space that have the power to order people's experiences of the built environment.

In this dimension of spatial reproduction, rhetoric plays a role because scholars can ask how the systems of signs and symbols create arguments about space, and also trace the effects of those arguments. Rhetoric scholarship includes analyses of representations of space within official planning discourses to uncover the power they have for those who live in urban landscapes (Fleming 2003; Walker 2012). It also includes examinations of how everyday people create counter-representations of space and make visible the power relations that position them in space (Hull and James 2007; Matheiu 2005; Reynolds 2004). Glynda Hull and Michelangelo James, for example, have documented their work with West Oakland youth who used digital media to create hopeful representations that countered depictions of their neighborhood as one of poverty and crime (2007).

The third dimension of spatial production, *representational space*, offers yet another lens on how social relations produce space. Representational space refers to the ways that we place symbolic meaning onto space itself. Lefebvre defines this dimension as follows:

Space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’, but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend toward more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs (39).

This dimension of representational space suggests that spaces themselves communicate messages to inhabitants of space. Nedra Reynolds’s research illustrates the ways that spaces themselves can convince when she sends her students to conduct fieldwork on the intersections of culture and geography. A group of her students visited Eccup, a rural village outside of Leeds, expecting culture in the village to center around a pub and town

square, as it did in a fictional television show about this town. When they find that in the actual town the pub is closed and there is no town square, one student remarks, “there is no culture here” (120). Influenced by the representation of the village on television, students found that the representational space of the actual town did not symbolize “culture” for them.

The theory that space is reproduced in the interrelated dimensions of *spatial practice*, *representations of space*, and *representational space* poses a challenge to those interested in rhetoric and space because rhetoric participates in each dimension. It is a challenge to make visible rhetoric’s role in each dimension and at the same time to keep in mind that all three dimensions are always co-productive. Furthermore, the reproduction of space is always about more than rhetoric and cannot be completely understood through rhetorical analysis. Toward an understanding of space as always more than rhetoric, I offer a broader picture of space and identity in Chicago before describing my case study that focuses on rhetoric. In particular, I offer an account of the history, culture and economics of industrialization and immigration, which had particular effects on Chicago’s space and social relations in the nineteenth-century.

Space and Identity in an Industrializing City

Industrialization dramatically changed the US landscape. Accompanying the shift from manually-made to machine-made production were significant changes in US infrastructure. Railroads and canals moved people and goods across a national network. Railroads in particular linked major US cities to small cities and rural towns. These changes to the landscape and to movement caused social upheaval not only on the scale

of the family, but also on the scale of the US population. Industrialization produced a mass immigration to the US. Working-age men and their families traveled to the US to find work. Immigrants were also motivated to leave agricultural work and move to cities, both in Europe and the United States, because of industrializing economies. Prior to the 1890s, Irish, German, and Scandinavian groups were the main non-English European immigrants, although French, French Canadians, Chinese, and German Russians also immigrated to the US (Dinnerstein & Reimers 30). While many immigrants in the nineteenth century were coming from rural areas with peasant backgrounds, those especially from Scandinavian and Russian backgrounds included skilled tradesmen who experienced downward mobility upon immigrating (Portes and Raumbaut 122). In the 1890s, large numbers of immigrants from Southern Italy, Russia, Poland, and other Slavic countries moved to US cities (56-58). At the same time the possibilities of industrial work inspired immigrants to move to the US, immigrants supported industries through causing more demand for commercial goods.

After the war, industry and workers moved west along canals and trains to cities such as Albany, Cleveland and Chicago. These cities processed the raw materials garnered from rural areas that arrived in cities by ship and by rail, and developed diverse economies of import/export, and of manufacturing products. Chicago's spatial layout and settlement patterns reflect the development patterns of American cities after the Civil War. Sam Bass Warner Jr. argues Chicago's spatial layout arose suddenly because of a rapidly developing industrial economy that created a "sector-and-ring pattern of settlement" (101). This pattern consisted of economic sectors, or "narrow pie-shaped wedges of commercial and industrial property stretching out from the downtown business

center toward farmland yet to be developed,” and rings of residential settlement that filled in around the industrial sectors (101). Walter Licht writes that postbellum Chicago became a large hub for gathering raw materials for manufacturing:

Iron reserves in nearby western Great Lake states and coal from downstate Illinois stimulated iron and steel production in the city; and by the turn of the twentieth century, Chicago’s massive steelworks rivaled those of Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and Cleveland. Manufacturers did not try to compete with eastern producers of textiles, but they could take advantage of a huge urban and rural market for ready-made clothes. A number of the largest and centralized clothing factories in the country would emerge in the city. (116)

This growth in manufacturing attracted people to the city for work, but it also carved out where people could live in the city, and in emerging suburbs and rural areas.

Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century, Chicago grew physically larger. As historian Robert Lewis notes, the city annexed previously suburban cities throughout the 1890s (36). Now, in addition to the city’s first industrial “loop” that included the West Side (where Hull House was located), the city now had another, larger industrial loop of iron and steel manufacturers and construction firms located in satellite cities such as Aurora, Joliet, and Elgin (Lewis 33). As the city expanded, it also grew in population. By 1900, approximately 1.7 million people lived in Chicago, an increase by about 50% from the previous decade.

To facilitate its growth as a hub of manufacturing, commerce and finance, Chicago was becoming a more networked city. People and goods more easily moved on the rail lines now connecting Chicago to other Midwestern and Eastern cities. The bicycle map in figure 1 offers a view of lake-adjacent downtown Chicago functioning as a hub for the roads and rails that branch out from it like the spokes on a tire. Chicago grew as a hub of distribution when in 1900 engineers reversed the flow of the Chicago River so that

it emptied into the Mississippi rather than into Lake Michigan, which helped in transporting cargo (and sewage). Expanding options in public transportation throughout the late-nineteenth century and early twentieth century made it possible for workers to live further away from where they worked, leading to new housing tracts and new locations for factories. For example, by 1900, according to historian Youngso Bae, West Siders were able to travel to work at clothing factories downtown by electric street car and elevated train (72).

In its spatial distribution of social relations, Chicago was typical for northern US cities. Industrialization caused spatial segregation along lines of class, gender, ethnicity and race across the US. As more people accumulated greater wealth, they moved away from where they worked, while working people lived near industry in the city centers. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Licht argues, those with means physically “moved away from alien neighborhoods to their own enclaves, found comfort in religion, and adopted new styles of behavior to mark themselves apart” (74). In Chicago, the middle-classes and working-classes participated in this spatial segregation. Because of Chicago’s sector-and-ring pattern, working-class and middle-class families were in general segregated from living near each other. The industrial sectors (which included railroad yards and lines, factories, warehouses, offices, stockyards, and stores) encouraged residential patterns of class segregation, with settlement moving from inner-city poverty to outer affluence; unskilled workers moved into the inner city to be near railroad and manufacturing jobs, while growing transportation networks allowed people

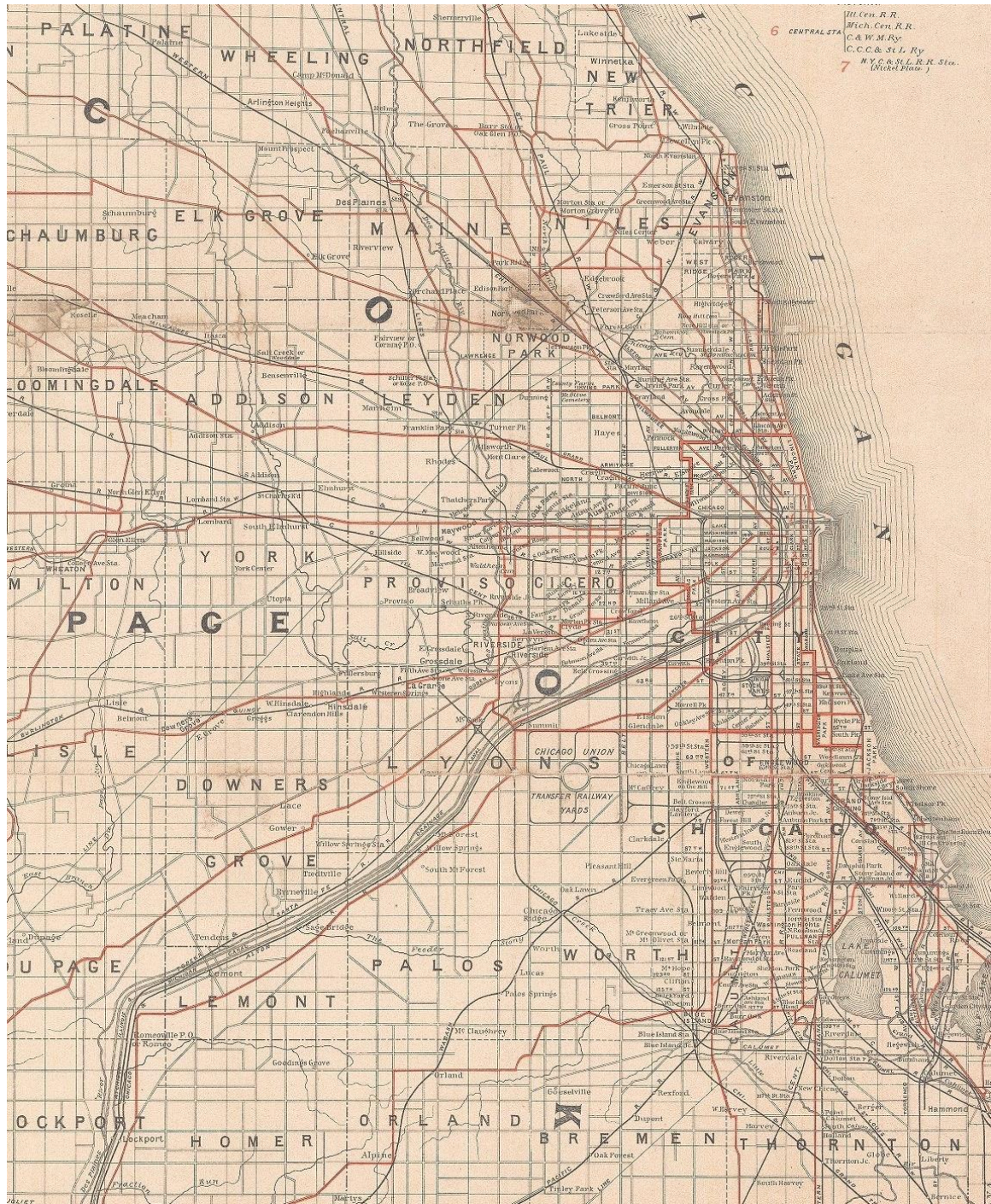


Figure 1. Map Showing Railroads, Junction Points, Stations, Post Offices & Villages, & also Carriage roads. 1898. University of Chicago Map Collection.

in the middle- and upper-classes to move outside the city to suburbs. Chicago's industrial sector and residential rings that separated work and home also created spatial distinctions for men's and women's lives. The urban theorist Daphne Spain argues that Chicago's centralized business district around which distinct spaces of industry and residences grew reflects a society where women are excluded from economic and political life and confined to domestic space (15).

Industrialization also influenced ethnic and racial patterns of settlement in Chicago. Chicago, like other large northern cities in the US, experienced an influx of immigrants from Southern Italy, Russia, Poland, and other Slavic countries beginning in the 1890s. These immigrants joined already-established groups from Ireland, Germany and Scandinavian countries. The industrial economy worked in symbiosis with familial and ethnic networks that facilitated immigration. Familial and ethnic networks, John Bodnar argues, functioned to "provide labor, train new members, and effectively offer status and consolation" (61). The family and kin networks facilitating immigration often led to groups with the same ethnic background living near each other on the same street or block. Neighborhoods or parts of neighborhoods remained ethnically segregated, as many immigrants had little motive to assimilate beyond their networks. Some remained segregated because they thought of their immigration as a temporary economic decision and ultimately planned to return to their country of origin (Portes and Rumbaut 124). In Chicago, these ethnic and kin networks manifested as ethnic enclaves that included German, Polish, Czech, Italian and Irish neighborhoods forming before 1900. African Americans migrating north to Chicago in this era also settled in segregated patterns of living. Drawn to the city for employment in industry and the possibility of an alternative

to the social hierarchy of the south and rural Midwest, many settled along what was known as the beginnings of the “Black Belt,” the term used to describe the segregated, predominantly African American community located on Chicago’s south side that started just south of the commercial downtown (Blair 5). The Black Belt followed the geography of rail lines on which many African American men worked (Philpott 21). These broad patterns of settlement influenced the social makeup on Chicago’s West Side, where Hull House was located. Hull House and its neighborhood were part of a residential inner ring located just west of the commercial downtown area, near rail yards and next to a river industrial sector used by manufacturing. Figure 2 zooms in on a view of the city to show Hull House’s location, indicated by a star at the intersection of Halsted and Polk Streets, just west of the downtown (fig. 2). Those familiar with the location of Hull House on the University of Illinois Chicago campus today might imagine its neighborhood in the 1890s was more interconnected with the downtown business district than it is today. Today, a major interstate highway is located where much of the neighborhood used to exist. The highway also bisects the commercial downtown from the current neighborhood where Hull House is located. The West Side described in this project is what is sometimes presently known as the Near West Side of Chicago. Because the city has expanded west in the 20th century, there is now a common understanding that the neighborhoods of Lawndale, Austin, and Garfield Park make up the West Side. These neighborhoods, though, are not included in this historical study.

As an inner ring neighborhood, the historical West Side served as a point of entry for new immigrants. Its population consisted of several ethnic groups who occupied their own distinct part of the ward. An 1898 *Chicago Tribune* article estimated the population



Figure 2. Map with Hull House's Location Indicated.

at 48,190 and noted Irish, Germans, Italians, Russian Jews, and Americans (used to describe US born white people, it excluded Irish and Italians) made up the majority of the neighborhood population (25). The ethnic makeup of the population changed over time as new immigrant groups arrived and old groups moved to other parts of the city and the suburbs. The West Side also reflected class patterns of segregation. As part of an inner ring, most people were unskilled or skilled workers who found employment in the nearby railroad and manufacturing industries.

To understand the West Side's housing conditions, it is necessary to know something about the effects of the 1871 Chicago fire that burned through much of the lower west side and the downtown district. Because so many houses were burned, entrepreneurs built temporary houses for homeless and poor people. These homes were typically frame cottages. While these homes were supposed to be temporary, they ultimately served as long-term residences for those who received them. Meanwhile, city leaders passed an ordinance that the homes in the city center needed to be made of a noncombustible material such as brick. This ordinance made the cost of having a home within the "fire limits" prohibitive for many new immigrants and migrants in the city (Philpott 12-13). The area directly around Hull House fell outside the "fire limits" and absorbed the population of people who lived in wooden, a-frame cottages. West-sider John Weckman described his family's journey to the West Side in a family history. He writes:

April 18th (?), 1891 Parents bought a small frame house on 923 West 17th Street near Robey Street. This old house stood before somewhere on Halsted Street. (Many times at night, they said, they had been disturbed when something heavy bumped it and shook it, but discovered that it was only one of the many cows that roamed around there. After the Chicago fire they moved the house to 17th and Robey. (Old house moved to rear, brick house built in front).

Weckman's story is helpful for illustrating how the West Side became a jumble of housing. Often, more than one house stood on property allocated for a single-family structure. The wooden cottages like the one Weckman describes often became tenement houses where multiple families lived together. These houses often lacked access to city services such as water and sewage.

The kinds of housing located on the West Side helps to explain gendered patterns of immigration and industry in the neighborhood. In general, more men than women immigrated during this time period in order to find work as unskilled laborers for railroads, stockyards, and factories, and many immigrant men lived in West Side tenements and worked in the nearby industries. Economic need also led West Side women to find employment in workplaces and some to find work they could carry out from within the home (Bodnar 78-79). Garment making was a popular occupation for women because it took place in sweatshops located within tenement homes. The clothing manufacturers located along the river industrial sector relied on women, men and child sweatshop workers to complete garments from home because they could be paid a fraction of what it cost to pay employees working in factories. Women also worked in the part of the West Side neighborhood known as the Levee District, also known as a slum (Mumford 1997; Blair 2010). This district provided women with further opportunities to provide money outside of the legitimate, formal economy. For example, white and black women sex workers worked in the district, though in segregated establishments (Blair 52). Sex districts such as the Levee expanded considerably in the early 1890s in anticipation of the World's Columbian Exposition that brought millions of visitors to Chicago (Blair 34).

It was into this industrializing city that founders Addams and Starr entered when they moved into Hull House in 1889. Addams rejected sites for Hull House located in the middle of ethnically segregated neighborhoods in favor of the West Side location that Addams described as having “corners on three or four distinct foreign colonies” and would place residents in personal contact with people of different class and ethnic backgrounds (“Hull House, Chicago” 226). Upon moving into Hull House, Addams and Starr stood out as some of the only middle-class white women in the neighborhood. Addams’ choice for where to locate Hull House was the first in an ongoing series of choices that made visible and distinct the identities of Hull House residents and neighborhood people.

Hull House: A Case Study of Rhetoric, Women, and Space

Like other middle-class women’s organizations at this time, Hull House was a response to women being relegated to the domestic sphere and excluded from public and economic life. While it is common to think of domesticity as a constraint imposed upon women’s lives, the invention of Hull House is part of a moment when white, middle-class and affluent women embraced the separation of gendered spheres as a political strategy to claim authority over the private realm of life and to enlarge it. Addams and Starr were motivated to found Hull House in order to establish a new kind of civility in Chicago. They sought to align their interests as educated, middle-class, white women with their immigrant, working-class neighbors across concerns related to industry, labor, housing, and immigration. Addams imagined Hull House as a space that expanded the family home and its associated domestic roles for women to include the wider social, political

and economic concerns of a “citizen of the world” (“Family Claim” 4). She and other residents initially pursued this interest in expanding their spaces and roles by inviting West Side neighbors to join them in receptions, clubs, and classes. Residents were also attracted to settlement living in order to use their knowledge of European languages and culture, learned in college and while traveling in Europe after college. They saw their cultural and linguistic knowledge as tools that could help them work across ethnic and class differences. Residents of Hull House used the metaphor of “interpretation” to describe their work. Addams, for example, described residents as needing to be “ready to arouse and interpret the public opinion of their neighborhood” (“Subjective Necessity” 26). This metaphor applied in a cultural sense as residents saw themselves interpreting US culture to immigrants and European culture to non-immigrants. It also worked in a linguistic sense because many residents knew European languages and acted as interpreters.

Hull House is an example of what feminist historian Estelle Freedman has termed “female institution building,” or a separatist strategy emerging from middle-class women’s culture and “a belief in women's unique identity which had roots in the private female sphere of the early nineteenth century” (521). This separatist strategy, Freedman explains, is an alternative to a strategy of integration for combating patriarchy. Rather than seek to enter the male worlds of the public and economic spheres, Hull House residents sought to privatize typically public functions, bringing them into the fold of the domestic. Resident Agnes Holbrook, writing for *The Wellesley Magazine*, described Hull House’s mission to add more roles and responsibilities to the private female world of the domestic: “The most cherished hope in the whole settlement idea is to amalgamate all

that is best in university culture, in broad social life, and in the work-a-day world, and by invigorating the whole, to inaugurate a higher and fuller civilization than has yet been known” (174). Hull House took up a variety of activities: from teaching college courses to garbage collection.

The geography of Hull House also demonstrates the ways its residents subsumed typically public functions into the private realm of life. In order to invent Hull House, residents reiterated spaces associated with the women’s sphere and beyond. Like Hull House historian Shannon Jackson, I consider Hull House an “interspatial” site, one where “the legacies of various spaces intersected and overlaid themselves... Like a complex text that contains allusions, suggestions, parodies and quotations from other texts, strains of many spaces may permeate selected spaces” (24). Hull House, for example, is interspatial in its initial mixing of the geographies of home, college, and English settlement house.

Hull House was first of all a space that evoked a traditional private home. Hull House began in a mansion that had been built when the West Side of the city was a suburb. Addams described the original Hull House as “an ample old residence, well built and somewhat ornately decorated after the manner of its time, 1856” (“Hull House, Chicago” 226). Addams and Starr continued to decorate Hull House ornately, especially with handmade, imported décor. In the process, they participated in what Hoganson calls cosmopolitan domesticity, or affluent, white women demonstrating an appreciation of the art and artifacts of other nations.

In addition to being a family home, Hull House was also a riff on college life. Residents remade the living spaces of college students, occupying the top floor of the house like a dormitory and eating their meals together in a dining hall. Throughout the

1890s and 1900s, several dorm-like living spaces were built onto the original mansion. A college setting would have been familiar to early residents; Addams and Starr attended the Rockford Female Seminary; Florence Kelley graduated from Cornell, and Alice Hamilton received a medical degree from the University of Michigan, for example. A college education, though, was not a requirement for residency at Hull House (leaving open the possibility that residents could be from any class or educational background was one way Hull House distinguished itself from the second US settlement, the College Settlement in New York, associated with the Seven Sisters Colleges). Hull House was also like a college in that residents taught classes to neighborhood people. For example, one of the Starr's earliest projects was offering college-extension classes on reading George Eliot's *Romola* and Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

Residents also drew from the model of the English settlement house. The idea of a settlement as a college-extension was already practiced at Toynbee Hall, a university men's settlement in East London. Addams, speaking to the Chicago Woman's Club in 1890, credited Toynbee Hall as an inspiration for Hull House, but also described some of the differences between Toynbee Hall and her own settlement. Addams noted that Toynbee Hall was set up to benefit university men, whereas she imagined Hull House as bringing mutual benefit to women residents and neighborhood people ("Subjective Necessity" 22).

This study of rhetoric and space at Hull House highlights the ways verbal and nonverbal communication enabled Hull House residents to combine and invent spaces from which they could take on new and hybrid roles and get work done. Studying the history of Hull House and the rhetoric it sponsored is an opportunity to better understand

a moment when separatist female institution building was a viable political option, as well as the ways that building separate institutions posed new questions about the relationships between women, men and their separate and unequal spaces. Rhetoric is also a helpful lens for exploring a central tension that emerges when residents generally embrace the premise that women and men should occupy separate spheres, all the while seeking to expand where women might claim authority to engage rhetorically. Tension especially emerges when Hull House residents fold into the private, domestic space of Hull House spaces that also have associations with the public realm of life (library, school, college, labor bureau, clinic), and effectively blur the distinctions between “separate spheres.” A related tension explored throughout this dissertation is Hull House residents’ claims to diverse foreign and international spaces. These claims to what some considered public spaces, and also to foreign spaces, required negotiation internally amongst residents and also between residents and a wider public.

Thus, throughout this dissertation I discuss different kinds of talk and text through which Hull House residents invent, protect, and memorialize space and identity. I especially focus on putting residents’ talk and text in the context of domestic discourse to show how their arguments reiterate prevailing ideologies about space, gender, class, ethnicity and race. I recover what residents and their neighbors said and wrote during the receptions, classes, clubs, and events that occurred within Hull House. I also describe in detail the spaces the Hull House residents curated for rhetorical purposes, including Hull House itself and the Hull House Labor Museum. For these descriptions, I rely not only on residents’ writing about space, but also blueprints, photographs, architects’ descriptions, and historical newspaper articles about the house from *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, *The*

Chicago Inter-Ocean, *The Chicago Times*, and *The Chicago Record*. Residents' arguments about space appear in various kinds of publications. Key writings, for example, appear in mass-circulation magazines such as *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Outlook*, and *Ladies Home Journal*. While residents did not write extensively for women's magazines, they gave interviews and tours of the house to reporters who told their story in *Godey's Magazine*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *Woman's Journal* and others (Woods 1911). Residents published in journals such as *Charities*, *Commons*, and *The Survey*. These journals featured writing on the constellation of concerns known as charity work, social work, settlement work, and social science. The influence of social science genres is apparent in a text I discuss at length in chapter four, the collaboratively-written 1895 publication *Hull House Maps & Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, Together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing Out of the Social Conditions*. *Hull House Maps & Papers* examines the wages and nationalities of each household in a third of a square mile near Hull House and presents essays that meditate on neighborhood problems.

Hull House residents' rhetoric also intersects with "official" talk and text about planning the city. John W. Reps argues Chicago became the site of the "rebirth of American urban planning" with Daniel Burnham's design of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition through his 1909 *Plan of Chicago* (497). The World's Columbian Exposition, alongside the suddenness of industrialization and immigration, provided the exigence for the rebirth of city planning, and by extension, a rebirth in the professional genres to mediate city space. Its rapidly industrializing economy, increased immigration,

and initial lack of infrastructure to support a larger population, were the circumstances that reformers saw as necessitating planning. As city planners and industrialists sought to develop the city's residential spaces as distinct from its commercial and public spaces, Hull House residents were part of the elite circles of Chicago citizens who debated how the city should be designed, how it should accommodate industry, immigration, and grow its infrastructure. They were particularly involved in these conversations through the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society (which met at Hull House), the City Club of Chicago, and the Chicago Homes Association.

In each chapter that follows, I explore how residents argued for expanding, protecting, and remembering women's spaces of rhetorical engagement.

Summary of Chapters

In chapter two, "Composing a Feminist Rhetorical Study: Methods and Methodology," I explain my intersectional feminist methodology and define the parameters of my study, texts and methods. I take up the metaphor of social circulation (Royster & Kirsch 2012) to guide my intersectional analysis of women's rhetoric across space and time. I argue that scholars who trace rhetoric as it circulates socially can benefit from moving recursively between points of engagement: recovering women and conducting gender critique; analyzing primary texts and contextualizing them in secondary historical scholarship; and investigating historical networks of circulation (mail, publication, lived interactions) and present-day ones (archives, Web). This movement can assist scholars in producing historically-specific and richly-textured studies.

Chapter three, “Claiming Cosmopolitan Geographies: Space and Ethos at Hull House, Chicago,” draws on letters, photographs, bulletins, and first-hand descriptions to give an account of Hull House and examine the rhetoric it engendered. The space of Hull House, I argue, reiterated domestic, academic, and foreign geographies, and communicated its founders’ femininity, wealth, and knowledge of the wider world. By recovering occasions that took place at Hull House, I show its cosmopolitan aesthetic offered women across identities varying rhetorical resources for constructing ethos. Through examples, I illustrate how ethos is constructed at the intersection of place and the ways speakers and writers make use of its available meanings.

In chapter four, “Protecting Cosmopolitan Domesticity: How the Hull House Maps Reimagine the Slum,” I offer a rhetorical analysis of the book *Hull House Maps & Papers*. I argue the two maps in this book, one visualizing weekly household earnings, and one visualizing the nationalities of persons in the neighborhood, turn neighborhood households into objects within a cosmopolitan domestic display for the viewer. Based on published and archival sources related to the data collection process for the book, I show the maps are inventive resources for Hull House women’s essays accompanying the maps, which register multiple perspectives on white, middle-class women’s authority to speak for working-class, immigrant and non-white women in the neighborhood.

In chapter five, “Engendering Civic Memory at the Hull House Labor Museum,” I offer a reading of the Hull House Labor Museum as a place of memory and invention. The museum disrupted its industrial surroundings and displayed immigrant women’s and men’s artisan labor. While it highlighted immigrant craftmaking traditions that had been largely rendered obsolete in the industrial economy, the museum also manifests Hull

House residents' nostalgia for an earlier era in which white, middle-class and affluent US women were seen as having knowledge and authority over foreign labor. The Labor Museum is also a place of invention in which residents, visitors, and neighborhood people who work as performers in the museum offer competing interpretations regarding the value of remembering a cosmopolitan version of domesticity.

In my conclusion, I highlight how bringing an intersectional lens to the study of rhetoric, women, and space reveals Hull House's complicated politics. At the same time that women at Hull House used rhetoric to expand the places over which they could claim authority, they also protected and defended the idea that women and men's spaces of engagement were separate. Their uptake of domesticity was not only about protecting gendered spaces, but also spaces inflected with classed, ethnic, racial, and national meanings. I conclude by arguing for a need to continue research into how rhetoric participates in formations of womanhood across spaces and times.

Each analysis chapter in this dissertation focuses on a different focal space: the spaces that receive attention in individual chapters are Hull House, the West Side neighborhood, and the Labor Museum. Chapters proceed mostly chronologically. Chapter three focuses on Hull House's founding and also several communicative events taking place there in the 1890s and early 1900s. Chapter four considers residents' rhetoric in the mid-1890s when Hull House was well established and the World's Columbian Exposition was taking place in the city. Chapter five focuses on the early twentieth century as residents turned to the museum as a mode of expression. Though in each chapter I discuss spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces as mutually informing, each of the three analysis chapters in this dissertation also highlights a specific

dimension of spatial reproduction. Chapter three emphasizes rhetoric as a spatial practice, chapter four presents a rhetorical analysis of representations of space, and chapter five focuses on the representational meanings of museum displays.

CHAPTER 2
COMPOSING A FEMINIST RHETORICAL STUDY: METHODS AND
METHODOLOGY

The Rhetorical and Archeological Activities of Feminist Historiography

This project is a historical inquiry into women's use of rhetoric to compose space and identity in the city. Specifically, I inquire into how women used rhetoric to compose city space, and also how women used space as a rhetorical resource to construct roles for themselves and others to take up. This inquiry reflects my commitment to writing a history that highlights women and gender. I am committed to writing such a history in order to advance longstanding political projects begun by feminist scholars working in the history of rhetoric and composition. One of these projects is recovering women's rhetorical history that has been ignored and/or lost, in part to build a parallel history for women to the one that already exists for men (Campbell 1989; Bizzell 1992). I advance the project of recovery though focusing on women rhetors largely ignored within the history of rhetoric. A related project is conducting gender critique, or noticing the gendered aspects of texts and/or the rhetorical situation. Gender, as I understand it, is the social and institutional construct of values and concepts associated with women and men. In this project, I advance the project of gender critique when I analyze women's arguments in and about space for the ways they associate spaces with feminine or masculine values. In other words, I focus on how rhetoric genders space.

Scholars debating the merits of feminist research methods have in the past noted the tensions between the projects of recovery and gender critique. In "Coming to Terms

with *Recent Attempts to Write Women into the History of Rhetoric*,” for example, Barbara Biesecker criticizes Karlyn Kohrs Campbell’s recovery project by arguing that recovery reifies the very idea of a rhetorical canon, while critiquing rhetoric through the lens of gender deconstructs the idea of a canon. Though recovery and gender critique can sometimes contradict each other as political projects, they can more often be recursive, inform one another, and expand the discipline of rhetoric (Ryan 2006; Tasker & Holt-Underwood 2008; Kerschbaum 2015). For example, recovering women rhetors and their works leads scholars to analyze these newly-recovered works; thus, recovery becomes a first step toward conducting gender analysis. Recursively, by conducting gender analyses of previously unknown works, scholars expand the definition of rhetoric, leading to more women being included in the definition of who counts as rhetorical. For my project, I proceeded under the assumption that my projects of recovery and gender critique would complement and come into productive tension with one another along the way.

Exploring women’s arguments about space and identity meant engaging in the processes of rhetorical and archeological discovery. In the first *Octalog* (an influential conversation between eight scholars about the historiography of rhetoric), Nan Johnson describes her approach to writing history as engaging in these processes. Johnson calls highlighting one’s disciplinary and political commitments the “rhetorical” activity of writing history in the sense that a researcher is motivated by and thus emphasizes certain aspects of a history over others. Meanwhile, Johnson calls the process of unearthing evidence and then explaining that evidence the “archeological” activity of historiography (*Octalog* 17). This dual rhetorical and archeological lens led to a recursive research process whereby I sought out a research site appropriate for studying women’s rhetorics

in and about the city, along with published and unpublished sources that spoke to my research questions, and also examined secondary sources on late-nineteenth century histories on immigration, industrialization, city planning, and gender formation. I then engaged in rhetorical analysis of sources, focusing broadly on arguments about space and identity, and on the gendered aspects of texts. Based on my early attempts at analysis, I then conducted a more thorough intersectional analysis, which led me to focus in on the aspects of texts that spoke to class, ethnicity/race, and nationality.

Social Circulation: A Useful Metaphor for Framing Research Questions

Prior to locating a research site and sources, I wondered how other feminist scholars working in the history of rhetoric and composition had chosen their research sites. Why did the city seem to be a mostly overlooked site in the existing literature? In searching for arguments to make the case that women's rhetoric in and about the city was a worthy topic of study, I noticed that much research in feminist rhetorical historiography engages with spatial metaphors that influence where researchers study and why they choose their sites.

The rhetorical tradition, for example, has long emphasized "public" discourse as distinguished from specialized genres and "private" speech. In their introduction to *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory*, John Louis Lucaites and Celeste Michelle Condit note that public discourse in the rhetorical tradition was historically distinguished from "technical discourse addressed to specialized or elite audiences (e.g., the discourses of astronomy or medicine) and private discourse addressed to more personal audiences that did not directly effect the social and political community-at-large (e.g., family

communication, master-slave interactions)” (3). This distinction between public/private discourse maps onto the gendered lines drawn within American domesticity, which inscribed the private family home as women’s space and everywhere else as men’s space. Feminist rhetorical historiographers studying women and gender, then, have often chosen research sites associated with the “private sphere” of the home (Donawerth 2011; Johnson 2002), or in the hybrid home and work sites of women professionals (Wells 2001; Skinner 2014), while other researchers have chosen to study women’s rhetoric in “public” sites, such as on the speaker’s platform (Mattingly 2002; Buchanan 2005; Sharer 2004) in the church (Mountford 2003). By situating my research in the city, I hoped to forgo having to choose between studying either private or public space. The city was first of all a space that would make it possible to look across women’s rhetoric at home, work, and in public, and also multiply the specific locations where women were rhetorical; I hoped I would find evidence of women using rhetoric in and about places such as the home, the street, the settlement, the park, and the public square. Furthermore, I hoped that, instead of my project reinscribing a binary between rhetorics in private and public space, it could offer some perspective on why these gendered spatial binaries arose in the first place. My effort to offer this perspective is through contextualizing the spaces of the city within the processes of capitalism, industrialization and immigration that contributed to gendered spatial distinctions around the public and the private in the nineteenth century.

In addition to noticing that the metaphors of public and private influence the sites of previous feminist rhetorical historiographies, I found Anne Ruggles Gere’s argument that the field should research the “extracurriculum” to be an interesting one for

motivating the recovery of women's rhetoric in particular places. Gere uses the term "extracurriculum" to describe the writing that occurs outside classroom walls and argues we should study the extracurriculum because "it reminds us of the value of access to writing instruction, the need to make writing instruction an inclusive practice rather than a barrier to education, and that writers have motives to write beyond professionalizing (88). Initially, I thought of this term as a useful concept because women's writing in the nineteenth century often took place outside of school, such as in the women's clubs that Gere documents in her research. I also noticed, however, that this metaphor set up a binary between school and everywhere else, rather than encouraging researchers to make visible the interconnections of school and other spaces. Taking up the metaphor of the extracurriculum to study women's rhetoric in and about the city would pose a problem because it would set the school apart from everywhere else.

In addition to the spatial metaphors of private/public and extracurriculum, the metaphor of social circulation was another useful idea that has guided recent work in feminist rhetorical historiography. Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa E Kirsch have offered feminist researchers the concept of "social circulation" as "a metaphor to indicate the social networks in which women connect and interact with others and use language with intention" (101). They suggest the idea of social circulation as a way to interrupt the public-private divide and encourage researchers to "flesh out the contours of social spaces (communities of various kinds, including professional communities, activist communities, and the like) so that we can see, hear and understand more ecologically the contours of both women's public lives and their private challenges" (24). The metaphor of social circulation as I understand it encourages researchers to trace women's rhetoric

and its spatial movement across contexts of space and time, and thus to situate women and their rhetorical practices as acting and moving through ever-changing spatial networks rather than situated in static locations. I appreciated the idea of social circulation for aligning with my understanding of space as multidimensional and constantly changing, as well as acknowledging that women move through space, and rhetoric travels across space and time.

Ultimately, taking up the idea of social circulation motivated me to ask my interrelated research questions: 1) How did women use rhetoric to compose city space 2) How did women use space as a rhetorical resource to construct roles for themselves and others to take up?

In my first question asking how women used rhetoric to compose space, I deliberately chose to leave it broad, rather than choose particular spaces, so that the spaces I ultimately focused on emerged from the research process itself. I also chose the verb “compose” over other options such as “argue about” because “compose” as a metaphor is typically associated with writing, but resonates with the idea that women created compositions in other modes as well. Toward the goal of making gender (and other identities) visible as spatial and social constructs, my second question complements the first in that it assumes space is both an ever-evolving constraint on and resource for constructing how one is recognized as having discursive authority to speak. In answering these questions, I assumed the need to contextualize women in “fully textured” social worlds that included the events, economies, and stakeholders that contributed to producing a city prior to and contemporaneous with individual women’s lives (Royster & Kirsch 24). I saw these questions as aligned with an understanding that women’s rhetoric

circulated socially across space and time, and as not constraining to my “archeological” activities of finding and describing evidence.

Choosing a Research Site

My choice of Hull House as research a site is one that is generally suited to answer my questions because it was an institution founded and led by women who were explicitly interested in asserting that women and immigrants should participate in civic conversations about how the city should develop at a time when US cities were changing as a result of industrialization and immigration. Hull House also provides an opportunity to inquire into how rhetoric circulates socially across space and time. It is an institution that contained within itself multiple kinds of spaces that women and men worked within. It was also a stable institution that supported rhetoric in and about space across decades. This stability, I hoped, would allow me to notice how Hull House women’s rhetoric changed across time. Hull House further held the distinction of being the very first settlement house in the US and therefore offered me an opportunity to notice how women reimagined the settlement tradition for a US context. In other words, I thought of Hull House as one of the spaces US women invented through making arguments about space.

While Hull House was the first settlement house and one that operated into the 20th century, making it an ideal choice, it was not the only possible research site I considered. I also considered the idea of taking up multiple different case studies of settlement houses in different cities by examining the cases of the College Settlement in New York City, Denison House in Boston, and the College Settlement of Philadelphia. I ultimately decided against having multiple sites because it worked against my goal of

deeply contextualizing women's rhetoric within local, social conditions. And, while more case studies would lead to me adding more women to rhetorical history, it would also lead to me telling shallow stories about several groups of women rather than a contextualized story about one group. This kind of shallow story-telling could lead to a project that collected diverse women together without historicizing the contexts that helped to explain their circumstances.

I also chose Hull House as a research site for practical reasons. Though I had not yet located my sources, I knew that choosing Hull House would make my archeological process of finding and explaining evidence possible in the sense that I knew evidence existed and was accessible to me in published and archival sources. Prior to choosing this site, I had visited the Jane Addams Memorial Museum and had read biographies on Jane Addams and Florence Kelley. From these sources, I knew that other researchers had drawn from widely available primary sources. I also knew that some sources were housed in the Smith College Library, near where I lived. As part of a graduate course, *Historicizing Women's Literacies*, my classmates and I toured Smith College's Women's History Archive, and I learned that this archive contained co-founder of Hull House Ellen Gates Starr's papers and also a collection on settlement houses in general. These resources served as a starting point for my process of unearthing evidence.

Locating Published and Archival Sources

I sought to locate primary texts by Hull House residents with rhetorical aims, or specifically texts with purposes of inducing others to think, feel or do something. In order to make decisions about which texts to include in analysis and which ones to leave aside,

I found it helpful to consider texts by individuals or collectives who held the status of Hull House “resident” at the time of writing. In a few select cases, I included writing by former residents who were reflectively writing about their Hull House experiences. I also considered texts written under the sponsorship of Hull House by nonresidents. My selection process was also limited by available sources and archives. Initially, I did not consider the gender of the speaker or writer as a guide to whose rhetoric I recovered. I found, however, that most texts that met my other selection criteria were by women. Once I began writing up my analyses, I was guided by my rhetorical commitment to highlight women rhetors, while acknowledging that men, too, composed space and identity at Hull House.

While initially it was difficult to select or reject texts based on spaces or identities discussed in the text, once I had read through a representative sample of texts, I ultimately found spaces and places that were of common interest amongst residents and that appeared with frequency in their speech and writing. Recurrently discussed spaces I began to look for were home; tenement; Hull House and its attendant spaces of coffeehouse, residences, reception rooms, library, art gallery, and museum; city; Chicago, its neighborhoods, streets, businesses, and the 19th ward; nations, including the US and mentions of foreign nations. These still-broad categories of space helped me to then narrow down the texts I ultimately considered for analysis. I did not limit my search to spaces that had particular gendered associations, though throughout the research process I was looking to secondary sources to better understand the gendered histories of these spaces—especially as the discourse of domesticity assigned feminine and masculine values to spaces.

I considered both verbal and nonverbal texts as potentially persuasive, which led me to collect both written texts, and also nonverbal texts as such as maps, photographs, and inscriptions within museum exhibits. Throughout the process of locating sources, I included in the corpus of texts I collected those in which the rhetor's intentions or designs were not immediately apparent to me. I did this based on the assumption that in conducting a rhetorical analysis I would uncover the persuasive dimension of certain texts. Because I saw myself as working to recover women's rhetoric that had been lost or unacknowledged in the rhetorical tradition, I also left open the possibility that there would not always be a primary source that provided evidence of rhetoric. Instead, I might locate secondary accounts of arguments. Or, I might find inscriptions of rhetorical occasions for which there was no primary record, i.e. the materials produced prior, during, or surrounding a rhetorical occasion that could describe what happened.

I collected both published and archival sources. Moving between published and archival sources was a recursive process, with the published sources leading me to archives and archives leading me to published sources. Throughout the process of locating sources, the distinction between published and archival sources often blurred as I saw the same sources in multiple locations: published sources appeared in archival collections, while archival sources were published in print journals and books, and in historical collections about Hull House and Jane Addams. Below I describe the process of moving between published and archival sources.

Published Sources: I found published sources in three ways—by searching for texts written by individual Hull House residents, by searching already-existing collections of Hull House documents, and by using historical bibliographies of works by

Hull House residents. First, I searched for published texts by individual Hull House residents by submitting their names to electronic databases through the UMass Amherst Libraries. This resource led me to published books as well as articles in historical journals such as *Charities*, *Commons*, and *Outlook*. Once I located a reference to a published source, the full text was usually available electronically through the UMass Amherst Libraries Worldcat resource, or as a printed resource held in the Five Colleges Catalogue. To find individual residents' published works, I also consulted the bibliographies in secondary sources about Hull House and its residents. For example, I consulted autobiographies and biographies for their bibliographies and to find out where researchers had found primary sources. A selection of autobiographies and biographies include Jane Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull House*, Addams' *My Friend, Julia Lathrop*; James Weber Linn's *Jane Addams*; Kathryn Joslin's *Jane Addams, a Writer's Life*; Louise Knight's *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy*; Victoria Bissell Brown's *The Education of Jane Addams*; Shannon Jackson's *Lines of Activity: Performance, Historiography, Hull House*; Florence Kelley's *The Autobiography of Florence Kelley*; Kathryn Kish Sklar's *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work*; Hilda Satt Polachek's *I Came a Stranger: Story of a Hull-House Girl*; and the encyclopedia entries in *Women Building Chicago, 1790-1990*.

The Jane Addams Papers Project (JAPP), a microfilm collection, was one of the most helpful sources for my study. In 1985, Mary Lynn Bryan, Nancy Slote, and Maree de Angury compiled 82 reels of documents related to Jane Addams in the *JAPP*. They also published a detailed guidebook explaining the reels, which I used to navigate them. I found that these reels included works by Addams and also any documents the editors

found that were in some way associated with Addams. The reels, for example, included Hull House's internal documents such as budgets, blueprints, yearbooks, meeting minutes, and more. Particularly helpful from this collection were the microfilm reels labeled Hull House Association Records, Hull House Activities and Events, and Hull House Investigations, Publications, and Documentation. Using the microfilm was an important supplement to searching for sources by individual name because it helped me to find documents for which there was no named author (a yearbook, for example). I gained access to these reels through the UMass Amherst Libraries interlibrary loan program.

Also helpful were curated collections of primary and secondary sources on the University of Illinois-Chicago affiliated website, "Urban Experience in Chicago: Hull House and its Neighborhoods, 1889-1963." This website contains a collection of primary documents and secondary research documents that were searchable by keyword as well as organized thematically, and was a site I visited once I had identified my own keywords and themes in order to compare what I was finding with what was curated on the site. Though the "Urban Experience" website, and also the *JAPP*, contained both previously published and archival materials, I considered all documents from these sources as "published" in the sense that the "Urban Experience" website and the *JAPP* were publishers that had curated, arranged and made widely available these documents.

I also referenced historical bibliographies of published sources by Hull House residents to triangulate my search of published texts. Robert Archey Woods' *Handbook of Settlements*, a reference guide that contained a bibliography of Hull House residents' publications (and all other settlements' publications) up to 1911, was a key resource.

Another helpful bibliography appears in Dorothea Moore's 1897 essay titled "A Day at Hull House" in the *American Journal of Sociology*. These bibliographies were especially useful because they named published articles that appeared in local and regional newspapers that did not always appear in my database searches through the UMass Amherst Libraries. I was able to read many of these local and regional articles in clippings files in the University of Illinois Chicago's Jane Addams Memorial Collection, or in the digitized historical collections for the Chicago newspapers the *Inter Ocean*, the *Chicago Daily News*, and the *Chicago Tribune*.

Because my sources were often curated by other parties with their own interests and purposes when arranging the documents, I kept in mind my own "rhetorical" commitments to highlighting women and gender when reading them. When looking for published sources, I paid particular attention to rhetorical accretion, or the "process of layering additional texts over and around the original text" (Collins 547). Rhetorical accretion is a historical methodology defined by Vickie Tolar Collins as one that "can help scholars avoid problems of appropriation, anachronism and decontextualization as we reclaim women's historical texts and support the epistemological worth of women's ordinary experience, particularly as revealed in their narratives" (546). Collins uses this methodology toward the goal of tracing the ways that a speaker is "respoken" through texts over time (547). When looking at a document from a published collection, I noted the author, original publication venue, original archive, and its current mode of circulation (microfilm, website, etc.) in order to keep track of how the document circulated and the contexts in which it appeared over time. I found the term "rhetorical accretion" useful for thinking about how the layers of accreted material both contained

and concealed the story of how an original text was produced, where it appeared, how readers interacted with it, and how it circulated at various historical moments.

I also conducted a broader search of published materials about Chicago and its West Side neighborhood to better understand Hull House's larger spatial and historical context. I consulted digitized historical newspapers for accounts of Hull House and its neighborhood from reporters' perspectives. In addition, I consulted another UIC-affiliated website, "In the Vicinity of the Maxwell Street Market," edited by historian Burton J. Bledstein, that focuses on historical Jewish life on the West Side. There were also secondary, published sources by neighborhood people and other visitors to Hull House. Detailed accounts of Hull House and its neighborhood appear, for example, in Hilda Satt Polachek's *I Came a Stranger: Story of a Hull House Girl*; William T. Stead's *If Christ Came to Chicago*; and *The Diaries of Beatrice Webb*. Beyond secondary sources that spoke to the local scene in Chicago, I contextualized my primary sources within secondary research on immigration, industrialization, and gender relations in the US. This collection of secondary, published research helped me to verify the claims I was making about the primary research and helped me to keep in perspective that Hull House was just one institution amongst many in the neighborhood and city.

Archival Sources: I approached archives as products of institutions and simultaneously as technologies that make the process of institution-building possible. This understanding of archives as institutional product and process helped me to read archival sources of Hull House "along the archival grain," or according to the logic and understanding of the stories an institution tells about itself (Stoller 100-01). Reading along the archival grain provided me with a lens through which I could understand

documents in the archive as the texts of authors who are sponsored by the institution and whose writing serves the purpose of institution building. I also read archival sources against the archival grain, or with an eye toward finding biases, omissions and silences. The questions that aided me in reading against the grain were these: What kind of data about the organization was not saved? Where was there conflict between the organization's goals and an individual's goals? Whose stories are not told in the archive?

Throughout my archival search, I was guided by my research questions and looked for materials that spoke to how Hull House residents composed space and roles for themselves and others. I was also guided by the metaphor of social circulation, which led me to search for archival materials that helped me understand rhetoric within the wider social, cultural and rhetorical conditions in the city across space and time.

The archival collections that were important for finding evidence about the context within which Hull House residents made arguments were the Sophia Smith Collection, the Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections, and the Chicago Public Library Archives. The Sophia Smith Collection, for example, held the archives for other settlement houses similar to Hull House, particularly the College Settlement in New York and Denison House in Boston. These archives helped me to gain awareness of the broader settlement house movement. Oral history collections in the Jane Addams Memorial Collection, the Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections, and the Chicago Public Library Archives helped me to better understand the ways everyday people who lived on the West Side saw their neighborhood. Their views offered a contrast to how Hull House residents represented it and helped me keep in mind that Hull House residents representations of their neighborhood were *arguments* that could be disputed.

Table 1: Archival Collections

Archive	Collections	Institution	Kinds of Texts
Sophia Smith Collection	Ellen Gates Starr Papers; Denison House Records; College Settlement Records	Smith College, Northampton MA	Texts & correspondence about Hull House; settlement-house genres
Jane Addams Memorial Collection	George Hooker Collection; Julia Lathrop Collection; Bohemian Women's Publishing Company; Hull House Collection, Hull House Oral History Collection; Hull House Photographs Collection	University of Illinois Chicago, Chicago IL	Texts about Hull House; Hull House residents' writing; texts about the neighborhood, city.
Richard J. Daley Library Special Collections	Italian American Collection; World's Columbian Exposition Collection	University of Illinois Chicago, Chicago IL	Oral histories from West Side neighbors; texts about city
Special Collections Research Center	Edith and Grace Abbott Papers, Sophonisba P. Breckenridge Papers 1905-1949; George Ellsworth Hooker City Planning, Transportation, and Housing Collection, 1882-1932	University of Chicago, Chicago IL	City planning research; Chicago Municipal Museum research; Chicago Industrial Exhibit research; Hull House investigations
Ryerson and Burnham Archives	Edward H. Bennett Collection; Daniel Burnham Collection	Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago IL	Speeches about the city; city planning documents; <i>Plan of Chicago</i> documents; polling of Halsted St. residents
Chicago Public Library Archives	Near West Side Community Collection	Chicago Public Library, Chicago IL	Examples of texts circulating in neighborhood; oral histories & written narratives

In the end, The Jane Addams Memorial Collection at UIC was the most useful of the archives for locating primary texts for rhetorical analysis because it included individually-authored texts as well as the individually- and collectively-authored yearbooks, annual reports, programs, photographs, and other documents internal to the institution. I made four, multiple-day research trips to Chicago to spend time in this collection. Much of this collection was also reproduced and reorganized on the reels of the *JAPP*, and it was helpful to see how two different institutional bodies (the UIC archives and the *JAPP* editors) had organized the material as I considered it for my own analysis. For example, the two institutional locations treated very differently documents related to the multi-authored book *Hull House Maps & Papers (HHM&P)* that I consider at length in chapter four. At UIC, in the vast archive of all of the printed ephemera from Hull House, 1889-1967, artifacts related to *HHM&P* were scattered, and included a Nationalities survey form saved in a scrapbook, a few column inches dedicated to explaining the study in a *Hull-House Bulletin*, and a few mentions in meeting minutes. In the UIC archive dedicated to preserving documents generated by an institution, *HHM&P* barely registered as significant. In the *JAPP*, *HHM&P* was given more context in a series titled “Investigation and Research.” While the *JAPP* had few additional documents to speak to the research and writing process of *HHM&P*, it was easier to understand *HHM&P* as a major work in a long tradition at Hull House of conducting surveys and studies of the neighborhood because it was put alongside other studies between the years of 1892 and 1933. It also made sense that the *JAPP*, a project dedicated to preserving any and all papers related to Jane Addams (rather than Hull House) would organize papers by genre and put “Investigation and Research” papers together; to creators of the *JAPP*, this

was an important kind of writing that Addams and her colleagues produced. Seeing documents in different collections and archives, then, helped me to denaturalize the organization of these materials and consider that documents are organized to tell stories that benefit institutions and sponsors.

Place as Source: Using Critical Imagination

I thought of present-day places as sources of social history that supplemented what I gained from published and archival texts. When viewing place as a source, I thought of critical imagination as a useful strategy for considering what place could tell me that traditional, textual sources could not. Royster defines “imagination as a term for a commitment to making connections and seeing possibility. So defined, imagination functions as a critical skill in questioning a viewpoint, an experience, an event, and so on, and in remaking interpretive frameworks based on that questioning” (83-84 *Traces*) (19-20 *Practices*). Viewing place as a source helped me to see possibilities alluded to in textual sources and confirm my understandings of how residents curated spaces for rhetorical purposes. Critical imagination was a particularly helpful strategy when I visited the Jane Addams Memorial Museum. The museum is located in Hull House’s original mansion and also in a dining hall built onto Hull House in 1907. Being in these spaces helped me to understand some of the built features of the environment that I had been reading about, such as dimension of rooms, the proximity of house to street, and the materials used for the floors, walls, wallpaper, and furniture. Because I was able to see these places and objects in person, I felt more confident when I argued, for example, that

residents curated a cosmopolitan, domestic space that offered women resources for constructing ethos during rhetorical occasions.

I also walked the near West Side neighborhood. Though much of the built environment of Hull House and its neighborhood has been replaced with the University of Illinois Chicago campus and a highway interchange, I was able to walk the local streets around Hull House to better understand Hull House's "plant," or its size from the perspective of a walker on the street, and how Hull House was positioned in relation to streets where different ethnic communities lived. Having an understanding of Hull House and its neighborhood from the perspective of a walker was not necessarily crucial to my analysis of rhetoric, but it increased my confidence in making basic assumptions about Hull House residents' interactions with neighborhood people based on their proximity to them.

Recovering Women as Subjects

As I began to recover women and their published and archival texts, I also reflected on how my project was both inclusive in terms of adding new voices previously unconsidered in the history of rhetoric, as well as exclusive in the sense that I would have to make choices about who to emphasize and who to leave out of this history. I found that my research site of Hull House served as an exclusionary constraint on whose rhetoric I could recover because published and archival sources preserved the voices of some women and not others. My sources, for example, told me much about the rhetorics of women who lived at Hull House, but little about rhetorics of women who lived in the neighborhood and visited Hull House. I was initially surprised that the archives did not include more texts by neighborhood women, such as essays written in Hull House college

extension courses, or minutes from the union meetings taking place in Hull House. I had at first wanted to make neighborhood women a focus of this study alongside Hull House women. Their omission in the archival record made more sense to me upon reading anthropologist and historian Ann Laura Stoller's argument that archives are traditionally technologies that institutions use to perpetuate themselves, and therefore they include the records that preserved and consolidate power (97). Though Stoller is specifically speaking about records of colonial states, her argument applied to Hull House in the sense that what was saved was the administrative ephemera, news clippings, and published papers that were authored by those invested in Hull House's continued existence. Student papers, union meeting minutes, and neighborhood people's accounts of the settlement were apparently not part of the valuable institutional record that consolidated power; rather, these records could have potentially subverted its power.

Though neighborhood women, then, are not a focus of this study, I was able to find some sources that spoke to neighborhood women's perspectives. Hilda Satt Polachek's autobiography *I Came a Stranger: Story of a Hull House Girl*, is a particularly rich source that I reference throughout this project. I also include the voices of neighborhood women and men who gave accounts of their experiences to others (newspaper reporters, investigators, residents). I do so especially when their stories reveal that Hull House residents' arguments had effects on the neighborhood and for neighborhood people, and to provide contrast or counterarguments to Hull House residents' perspectives.

Across the twenty-year time period during which I study Hull House, over 75 residents lived at Hull House at some point. This is my conservative estimate, as no

definitive list of residents was ever kept, though a list, written in 1930, and found in the Graham Taylor Papers, offers names of residents and nonresidents (“List of Hull House Residents”). Some were “unofficial” residents—living at Hull House was not synonymous with being a resident; “official” residency required an induction by vote. Some residents, both official and unofficial, spoke and wrote about and for Hull House more than others. Especially prolific were those who lived there over several years and held positions of power in the Hull House hierarchy (Addams, Starr, Lathrop, Kelley, and Hamilton).

The archeological activity of finding evidence about who lived at Hull House also meant that I would be recovering men’s rhetoric. Through the majority of Hull House’s residents were women and its leadership was made up of a group of women, from the beginning Hull House included men who taught classes, led clubs, and participated fully in the life of the settlement. Neighborhood men also visited and made use of space in the library, gymnasium, coffeehouse and living quarters. At first, I wondered whether including men in my project would take the focus away from women and gender; however, I found that their presence helped me to complicate my understanding of what it meant to conduct a gender analysis of texts. The gender identity of the speaker or writer, I found, was only one piece of a rhetorical situation when noticing the gendered aspects of texts and spaces. In my analyses of men’s rhetoric that appear in this project, I describe how their arguments were shaped both by individual gender identity, as well as context, genre, audiences, and the spaces in which they speak in and about.

As part of taking into account individual identities that included gender as part of the rhetorical situation, I found it important to know biographical information about

individuals who made arguments. Here I introduce some of the individual residents I focus on in this dissertation.

Jane Addams: Addams was the co-founder of Hull House and served as its figurehead and leader until her death in 1935. She was also a nationally famous speaker and writer on subjects such as democracy, city politics, and women's rights. In the 1890s, she developed her ideas on women's and immigrants' civic responsibilities in speeches and short essays. In the first decade of the 1900s, Addams wrote several books on these ideas: *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907), *The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets* (1909), and *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910). When in my research process I attended to many women and men whose rhetorics in and about space were sponsored by Hull House, I found that Addams was the most prolific rhetor amongst residents, and her arguments circulated widely across audiences over time. Further, I found that Addams was in some way personally responsible for the many initiatives at Hull House I focus on in this dissertation; Addams used her connections, resources, and rhetorical abilities to make it possible for the larger collective at Hull House to hold receptions and lectures, publish books and articles, and open museums and exhibits. Even during her lifetime, residents felt that Addams and the institution of Hull House were inseparable. The writer and critic Francis Hackett, reflecting on his time as a Hull House resident in 1906, noted that "Hull House, as one clearly felt at the time, was not an institution over which Miss Addams presided, it was Miss Addams, around whom an institution insisted on clustering" (277). Because Addams' rhetoric was instrumental to the work at Hull House, I attend to her arguments about home, city, and nation throughout this dissertation.

In part because she was a famous and adept speaker and writer, rhetorical history already includes scholarship on Addams. For example, Gloria McMillan has published an article analyzing Addams' approach to conflict resolution during the 1892 Pullman Strike (2009), and William Duffy considers Addams' 1916 book, *The Long Road of Women's Memory*, as a treatise on how women's memory is a site of rhetorical invention (2011). In the edited collection *Women and Rhetoric Between the Wars*, Hephzibah Roskelly analyzes Addams' 1915 speech titled "The Revolt Against War," arguing that Addams created a rhetoric of pragmatism, encouraging rationality instead of emotion, and in so doing, became deeply unpopular with audiences hoping to hear more patriotic and impassioned arguments about the war. Another book that focuses on Addams' later career is Wendy Sharer's *Vote & Voice: Women's Organizations and Political Literacy, 1915-1930*, in which Sharer discusses Addams' rhetorical tactics in the context of her membership in the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, a group that attempted to implement rhetorical reform within international politics in the 1920s. This previous scholarship skews to a focus on Addams' rhetoric in the twentieth century when she was already one of the most famous women in America. This dissertation project adds to what is already known about Addams' rhetoric by analyzing her arguments in the 1890s and beyond. It also focuses on Addams in the context of Hull House, a significant site where Addams developed an understanding of citizenship, feminism, and politics that enabled her to become a national figure later in life. Because I focus on a twenty-year span of Hull House's history, I also begin the work of tracing changes and developments in Addams's arguments about space and identity across time.

Because this is a project situated in the discipline of rhetoric, it led me to trace Addams' arguments about space and identity across time and texts in a way that had not been previously done. American literature scholar Katherine Joslin's *Jane Addams, A Writer's Life*, also traces the development of Addams' writing across time. Joslin highlights Addams' writing process by showing that Addams crafted polished pieces by talking to friends, trying out arguments in other forums, writing in her diary, and writing drafts. Joslin's analysis, though, is focused on an intertextual reading of the ten books that Addams wrote in her lifetime. While Addams' books deserve attention, Joslin's focus ultimately leads her to overlook the ways Addams' arguments developed across various kinds of texts that she wrote. Joslin's focus on Addams as a writer also forecloses opportunities to trace Addams' arguments across modes. In this dissertation, my rhetorical lens leads me to look across Addams' writing and speech. In addition to looking across Addams' texts across modes, my project is also unique in focusing on Addams' arguments about space and identity, and in highlighting Addams as someone for whom gender roles were foundational to how she thought the city should develop spatially.

In designing the study, I also considered the trajectory of Addams' career and relationship with Hull House. Doing so was one reason this study ends in 1910. This was the year that Addams published *Twenty Years at Hull House*, a book in which she uses the 20th anniversary of Hull House's opening as an opportunity to look back and offer her own interpretations of work with residents and immigrants. For Addams and for the institution of Hull House itself, 1910 marked an end of an era. After 1910, Addams became more of an international figure: she campaigned for Theodore Roosevelt, became

more deeply involved in the suffrage movement at the national level, and joined the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom during World War 1. In choosing to end my study in 1910, I also considered that it was at this point that a major shift in talk about Chicago's future occurred with a broader public with the publication of Daniel Burnham's *Plan of Chicago* in 1909. This was a text in which Burnham gave his own interpretation of Chicago's history, highlighting the idea that like other great cities, Chicago had a history as a place of strategic positioning for defense and as a trading post. In so doing, Burnham laid out an ambitious plan to reimagine Chicago's infrastructure in order to make it one of the leading commercial hubs in the world. Between 1909-10, then, Addams and Burnham published very different interpretations of Chicago's history as a city, and what this history meant for its future and its citizens. The publication of these texts informed my decision to end the study in 1910.

This project also considers Addams as one member within a group. The women and few men who made up the inner circle at Hull House, to my knowledge, have not received extended attention in the field of rhetoric, and this project argues they should be included. Attending to Hull House's other residents also helps to contextualize Addams' rhetoric as motivated by interactions with her colleagues and thus enriches her story and includes new rhetors to history at the same time.

Ellen Gates Starr: Starr was the co-founder of Hull House and led the effort to theorize the relationship between art and labor through curating the Hull House art gallery, leading an art-in-schools program, teaching classes, and practicing and teaching bookbinding.

Mary Kenney: Kenney was a bookbinder, labor organizer, and “unofficial” resident. She collaborated with Addams on making Hull House a space where unions could meet. Kenney, along with her mother Mary Kelley Kenney, founded the Jane Club—the boarding house for working women affiliated with Hull House. She particularly organized Irish working women, with whom she shared an ethnic background. Kenney moved permanently to Boston in 1894 where she continued labor organizing (Nutter 625).

Florence Kelley: Kelley joined the Hull House community in 1891, and was a leader in Hull House’s labor organizing efforts. When she first arrived, Kelley opened a labor bureau where neighborhood people could learn about available work. She also led the effort amongst residents to create and publish *Hull House Maps & Papers*, a work I discuss at length in chapter four. In 1892-93 Kelley served as lead investigator in Chicago for a government study on slums, and as the factory inspector for the state of Illinois between 1893-95. Kelley left Hull House for New York in 1899 to become secretary of the National Consumers League.

Julia Lathrop: Lathrop, along with Addams, Starr, and Kelley, formed the inner circle at Hull House in the 1890s. In 1893, she was appointed to the Illinois State Board of Charities. Between 1912-1921, Lathrop held the federal position of Chief of the Children’s Bureau.

Agnes Sinclair Holbrook: Holbrook joined Hull House in 1893. She brought with her a variety of talents in arts and sciences that she put to use by playing piano and entertaining residents and guests, writing about Hull House for publications, and painting the Hull House maps by hand (Dillon, “Agnes Sinclair Holbrook”).

Alzina Stevens: Stevens joined Hull House in 1893. She was a typesetter and labor organizer, and served as Kelley's assistant when she worked as the state factory inspector. Stevens also served as the first probation officer in the Juvenile Court of Cook County. She died suddenly at Hull House in 1900.

Isabel Eaton: Eaton lived at Hull House on a fellowship from the College Settlements Association based in New York. She contributed a chapter to *Hull House Maps & Papers* that compared cloakmakers' wages and living conditions in Chicago and New York. Eaton later drew from her experience working on *Hull House Maps & Papers* when she moved to Philadelphia and worked with WEB Du Bois on *The Philadelphia Negro*.

Josefa Humpal Zeman: Zeman was a journalist and founder of the Bohemian Women's Publishing Company and the Czech newspaper *Zensky Listy*. In 1893, she helped to organize the Bohemian women's exhibit for the World's Columbian Exposition, and moved into Hull House. Zeman's essay, "The Bohemian People in Chicago," appears in *Hull House Maps & Papers*.

Charles Zeublin: Zeublin was an early resident who also founded the Northwestern University Settlement. He taught university extension courses for the University of Chicago at Hull House. Zeublin wrote about the Jewish community in his essay "The Chicago Ghetto," which appeared in *Hull House Maps & Papers*. He was also a member of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, and collaborated with Addams on the Chicago Municipal Museum.

Allesandro Mastro Valerio: Valerio was an early ally and broker between Addams and Starr and the Italian Community in the neighborhood. He was a publisher and editor of an

Italian newspaper and contributed "Remarks Upon the Italian Colony in Chicago" to *Hull House Maps & Papers*.

The artist and curator Jessie Luther, dance and theater director Edith de Nancrede, and painter Enella Benedict helped to turn Hull House into a center for the arts in the first decade of the 20th century. George M. Twose, George Ellsworth Hooker, and the artist Frank Hazenplug participated in popularizing the arts and crafts aesthetic at Hull House, in part through creating museums exhibits. These were the individuals among the larger collective that made significant arguments in and about space in public and private forums.

Some prominent residents did not receive individual attention based on the historical dates I chose as constraints for my project. These residents are medical doctor Alice Hamilton, and sociologists Sophonisba Breckenridge, Edith Abbot, and Grace Abbott. Though they were present at Hull House in the 1900s, I found that they were most influential as part of a "second wave" of leaders at Hull House in the 1910s, which was beyond the scope of my project. I also decided that to tell the stories of Breckenridge and the Abbots would have taken the focus off of Hull House—all three were also employed by the University of Chicago and helped to invent the discipline of sociology.

Prior to recovering individual women as subjects, I worried that my project would be additive, but not expansive, because it focuses on middle-class and mostly white women, a group for whom we already have historiographies of rhetoric. When viewed as a collective, it is true that the majority of residents were mostly middle-class and white; however, recovering individuals led me to see that not all were wealthy and white. For example, Kenney and Eaton were working-class and identified with working women in

the neighborhood based on their class status. Meanwhile, I learned more about how whiteness in this era, as now, was a contested identity and shifted in relation to ethnic and racial formations, which meant that individual white residents were racialized differently. I learned about whiteness in this era from secondary scholarship; especially helpful sources included Michael Omi and Howard Winant's *Racial Formation in the United States*, Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimer's *Ethnic Americans: a History of Immigration*, and Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut's *Immigrant America: a Portrait*. As I began to analyze arguments with a better understanding of ethnicity and race in this era, it became apparent to me that whiteness was a significant identity that some residents leveraged when making arguments. Furthermore, the visibility of class, ethnicity, and race changed as residents moved across spaces.

As this project progressed, I learned more about the politics of Hull House residents. I realized that my project included recovering women whose politics were sometimes conservative in the sense of “upholding dominant and patriarchal cultural norms,” even when the historical women I was recovering would have thought of themselves as progressive (Hogg 393). I saw, for example, that Hull House residents' arguments about women, men, and their spaces often relied on and reinscribed gender (and class and race) separatism, which I thought of as upholding of dominant and patriarchal norms. I wondered what it meant to recover Hull House women's arguments that I thought of as conservative and exclusionary while at the same time trying to stay true to my goal of writing a feminist and inclusive history. I looked to other scholars working on conservative women to find out more about how they had approached recovering them. Specifically, I looked to Carol Mattingly's publications about the

Women's Christian Temperance Union, Kimberly Harrison's *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women: Civil War Diaries and Confederate Persuasion*, and Charlotte Hogg's recent work on the rhetoric of sororities. I found these scholars argued that the discipline needs more accounts of conservative women in order to gain a more complete picture of the history of women and their politics, and that it is helpful to approach recovery with the understanding that conservative views and feminist views are co-constructed in any given historical moment. Hogg, drawing from Royster and Kirsch, argues that "our scholarly purview isn't restricted to subjects seen most clearly through a feminist lens but allows for, and even invites, tensions that may exist between researcher and subject. Ideological differences are not a stumbling block but an opportunity (398)." I thought of recovering Hull House women's apparently conservative and separatist views as a project that needed contextualization within "the contours of social spaces" (Royster and Kirsch 24). I came to think of recovering conservative views as a layered process; I could note both how Hull House residents understood their own rhetoric as progressive and even feminist, and also note how I understood their rhetoric as conservative when I looked at their arguments in larger contexts. In the end, this layering of their views of themselves and of my views of their arguments led me to think of their rhetorics as both progressive and conservative *at the same time*. In my analyses, I aimed to show how arguments were progressive in their most immediate contexts, while I also highlighted the tensions and exclusions those arguments perpetuated, especially in cases when their rhetoric relied on class privilege and whiteness. In order to accomplish this layering activity, I took an intersectional approach to gender analysis.

An Intersectional Approach to Gender Analysis

At the broadest level of analysis, I looked for how rhetoric, gender, and space emerged from the sources themselves. I did so by engaging in a recursive process, moving between the archaeological activity of proceeding based on what I learned from the sources and the rhetorical activity of proceeding based on my research questions. I also looked recursively between primary source material and secondary sources. To more closely analyze my sources, I conducted gender analysis toward to the goal of illuminating the ways rhetoric engendered spaces with values. I understand gender to be a social and institutional construct based on perceived differences signified through “culturally available symbols” and “normative concepts” associated with men and women (Scott 43). Conducting a “gender analysis,” as Joan Wallach Scott explains, includes exploring “how the meanings of ‘women’ and men’ are discursively established, what contradictions inhere in these meanings, what the terms exclude, what variations of subjectively experienced “womanhood’ have been evident in diverse ‘regimes of truth’” (xii). In order to conduct a gender analysis of Hull House residents’ arguments in and about space, I sought to identify spaces within Hull House residents’ discourse that were rhetorically interesting for their gendered associations, to examine how these spaces were gendered historically, and to consider how individual arguments reiterated the gendered values of spaces. In order to identify rhetorically interesting spaces in terms of gender, I developed a system for coding texts according to their broad rhetorical features. I first organized by title, date, publication, author, archival source, audience description, purposes and broad arguments, in order to sort texts by their rhetorical interestingness and to keep track of the variety of contexts in which sources appeared. I decided on these

broad coding categories because I was persuaded by Tarez Samra Graban's argument that developing such an organizational taxonomy allows findings to "emerge from the texts themselves," as opposed to taxonomizing collections by imposing an outside organizational scheme (208).

In addition to noting basic rhetorical features such as author, purpose, audience, and arguments, I noted the spaces mentioned within each text, and then pulled quotes in which authors were associating spaces with qualities and values to use as later evidence for how space was being engendered. Examples of the spaces I identified as rhetorically interesting for their gendered associations were Hull House, the tenement home, the neighborhood, and the museum. I also noted the subjects (as in gendered, classed, and raced subjects) that were described in said spaces and transcribed any lengthy descriptions I thought would aid future understanding of how space was gendered. This was the first step toward identifying focal spaces.

This coding scheme also helped me to begin to identify rhetorical strategies that Hull House residents were using to make their arguments. For example, my coding of Addams' "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," not only helped me to identify Hull House as a focal space, it also helped me to see that Addams described residents and neighbors through contrasting terms such as "rich" and "poor", "favored" and "unfavored," in order to show the divisions that the city creates and to argue for the mutual benefit of the settlement for residents and neighbors. This strategy of creating contrasts between residents and neighbors was one I then noticed across texts.

As I read sources for the ways that Hull House residents were describing themselves and other people within space, I realized that there was yet another tension

between my rhetorical activity of gender analysis and my archeological process of finding evidence; my focus on gender seemed too narrow for capturing the range of identities that I was noting as meaningful within any given text. For example, Addams' use of "rich" and "poor" named identities of class, not gender. I also found that race, ethnicity, and nationality were important identity categories for understanding a rhetor's motivation and how she was characterizing herself and others. I decided that gender was too narrow a lens for analyzing space and identity; my analysis needed to be intersectional. Scholars who make use of intersectional analysis understand the social construction of gender as made meaningful within a matrix of identities. Patricia Hill Collins argues, for example, that "intersectional paradigms remind us that oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type, and that oppressions work together in producing injustice" (18). Situating subjects at the nexus of identities would help me to read specific rhetorical practices and occasions with the larger systems of power and privilege that shaped relationships between space, rhetors and audiences.

Secondary scholarship that historicized identity formation in the late-19th century helped me to put individual arguments in conversation with a broader understanding of identity formation. Though I valued letting spaces and subjects emerge from my sources, I simultaneously took a more top-down approach of looking to secondary scholarship on history to identify spaces that had patterns of gendered, raced, and classed associations. For example, after noting that residents described how neighborhood homes should be, who should live in them, and how those people should act, I looked to secondary research to put my sources into conversation with a larger body of literature on the nineteenth-century discourse of domesticity.

Table 2. Example of Coding Scheme

Title	The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements
Date	1892
Publication	<i>Philanthropy and Social Progress</i>
Author	Jane Addams
Audience Description	People who work in settlements, charities, and other philanthropic organizations.
Purposes	To analyze the motives for settlement work
Broad Arguments	<p>The motives for settlement work are the desire for social democracy, to share the race life, which means something like share life with people different from you, and to add to a renaissance of the humanitarian aspects of Christianity.</p> <p>Even though “neighbors” live in close quarters, they don’t have the ability to organize social life because of the chaos of “working in huge factories without foreman or superintendent”</p> <p>Mutually beneficial for residents and neighbors: Young girls are graduating college with training in language and culture, but have nothing to do, while “neighbors are held apart by differences of race and language which the residents can more easily overcome” (26).</p> <p>No one else is stepping up: “the people who might do it, who have the social tact and training, the large houses, and the traditions and custom of hospitality, live in other parts of the city. The club-houses, libraries, galleries, and semi-public conveniences for social life are also blocks away” (16).</p>
How does the author characterize other women/neighbors?	immigrant, poor, Negro, unfavored, the masses, neighbors
Spaces associated with women/neighbors	Colonies, city wards, crowded tenement houses, saloon, east London, south European peasantry
How does the author construct self/settlement workers?	Friends, educated young people, rich, favored, teachers, residents, owner, volunteers
Spaces associated with author/Hull House residents	University extension, new England village, village lyceum, settlement as a classroom, Hull House as a business enterprise

An intersectional lens, alongside a more top-down approach based on secondary scholarship, allowed me to see better what was unspoken or invisible within the primary sources. This was crucial because only reading my sources for gender would have reproduced the blind spots in my research subjects' arguments. For example, I would not have known that Hull House was in close proximity to an African American community by reading the corpus of Hull House residents' writing from the 1890s; residents rarely mention this community. Reading secondary scholarship about the West Side better illuminated the spatial relationship between Hull House and an African American community and helped me to understand residents' silence on their proximity as a product of settlement leaders' racist beliefs about African American culture in which they located the problems of poverty, housing and work within African American culture, a culture they thought could not be changed through their efforts (Lasch-Quinn 11). At Hull House, this understanding of African American culture differed from residents' celebration and idealization of European immigrants' culture that led them to think of their problems of poverty, housing and work as situational. Ultimately, I was able to understand this silence in residents' discourse as a feature of an intersection of race, class and gender systematized within the ideology of domesticity, in which affluent white women were positioned as authorities in determining the ways various cultures aligned with American values.

Rhetorical Analysis of Sources

After I identified a corpus of texts and their broad rhetorical issues (text, context, audience, author, purpose, genre), I selected texts that were illustrative of larger trends

within the volume of sources I had accumulated and moved to rhetorical analysis at a more micro level. I looked for features of the text that seemed particularly important to its message and noted these features by describing them and what they were doing to further the argument. For example, I noted timing, tone, register, issues of style, conventions, and the larger contexts that seemed most informative to the occasion. Jeanne Fahnestock's *Rhetorical Style: Issues of Language in Persuasion* was a useful resource for providing me with a vocabulary to draw from in examining features of a text.

I formatted my writing describing the rhetorical features of particular texts as research memos and kept them on a private blog. I wrote these memos toward the goals of prompting discussion, working through questions, making connections, and inventing chapter topics. In total I wrote 57 research memo/blog posts of varying lengths. From these blog posts emerged topics for each of my chapters.

While my sources did not necessarily change my definition of rhetoric or rhetorical analysis, they did push me to consider rhetoric as multimodal in a way I had not before. I felt out of my comfort zone when analyzing maps, drawings, photographs, museum exhibits and even wallpaper and furniture that became rhetorically meaningful during given occasions. For many working in the discipline of rhetoric, however, considering the nonverbal as rhetorical is not new. According to Jeanne Fahnestock and Marie Secor, rhetorical analysis is a method suited to uncovering nonverbal means of inducement, and rhetoricians can draw broadly from the same ancient and contemporary rhetorical theories and apply them to the nonverbal (178-79). In addition to drawing on the same rhetorical toolbox I used to analyze verbal arguments, I found helpful Cara Finnegan's approach to studying visual modes of public address. Finnegan suggests that

rhetorical histories of the visual image might begin with an accounting of their production (who was behind making the images), their composition (the rhetorical grammar that makes visual images meaningful), their reproduction (the contexts in which they appear), their circulation (how the image moves), and their reception (audience response to an image). I accounted for these factors when I coded visual images.

Over the course of this project, I began to understand place as a source of public history. I also thought of place as subject of rhetorical analysis. In order to better understand how to recover and analyze place, I looked to models by scholars in communication such as Carole Blair and Greg Dickinson, who analyze memorials, museums, and the spaces of everyday life. Blair argues that rhetoricians have always considered the materiality of rhetoric as context or situation, but they should also consider the material as “the text itself” (“Contemporary U.S” 16). From this scholarship, I better grasped how to think about place and space as the subjects of rhetorical analysis, and pay attention to issues of dimension, design, time, the senses, and embodiment. Though I could not know for certain what messages a historical place communicated because I could not travel back in time, I recovered what was possible to recover from viewing present-day spaces as sources of public history, and from considering texts that described historical places that helped me understand the messages that space communicated.

Balancing the Rhetorical and Archeological Activities of Historiography

Ultimately, I found moving between the rhetorical and archeological activities of writing history to be recursive and mutually informative. Writing was a rhetorical activity

as I sought to recover women's rhetoric and conduct a gender analysis; it was an archeological activity as I found evidence and moved forward based on that evidence. By moving between these activities, I sought to write a history that "imposes formal shape on the probable, or on relative truth, while simultaneously seeking acceptance as a logical explanation of reality" (Octalog, Johnson 18). I valued moving between activities at all points in the process. For example, to invent a research topic, I moved between considering how to join a conversation amongst feminist rhetoricians about space and history, and seeking out a research site for which there would be available primary and secondary sources from which to draw. This process led me to choose Hull House. Once I decided on a research site, I continued to move between the feminist political projects of recovering women and gender critique, and analyzing texts as rhetorical issues emerged. Over the course of this process, my rhetorical activities changed based on what I was finding; I found that I needed to recover men's rhetorics in addition to women's, and my gender critique became more intersectional. My archeological activity also shifted to include sources that spoke to context as much as text, as I found that wider frames were important for analysis. I also focused on collecting more nonverbal sources as I came to see that composing space occurred across modes.

This back-and-forth movement between rhetorical and archeological activity helped me to arrive at the topics and analyses that appear in the chapters that follow. The texts that I focus on in the following the chapters are only a fraction of the corpus that I came across in my research process, but they receive attention here because I see them as representative of the archeological process and also as rhetorically interesting for how they forward my interests in recovering women and conducting a gender critique.

CHAPTER 3
CLAIMING COSMOPOLITAN GEOGRAPHIES: SPACE AND ETHOS AT
HULL HOUSE

Introduction

In the late-nineteenth century, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr founded the Hull House Settlement in Chicago as a new kind of space that offered women expanded roles beyond those defined by the “family claim,” or those of daughter, mother, sister, and wife (“The College” 4). Addams argued that a woman who fulfilled her family duties “finds herself, in addition, under an impulse to act her part as a citizen of the world” (4). At Hull House, Addams, Starr, and other residents—a rotating group of educated, middle-class and affluent women and men—attempted to enact a worldly citizenship by aligning their interests with those of their immigrant, working-class neighbors across the matters of industry, labor, housing, and immigration. In this chapter, I explore both Hull House residents’ attempts to communicate a worldly ethos to their neighbors *through* Hull House’s aesthetic itself, and also while *in* the space of Hull House during rhetorical occasions.

I first explain how founders Addams and Starr curated Hull House with a cosmopolitan, or nationally-diverse, aesthetic. I argue their diverse foreign art, décor, and architecture was not mere decoration, but central to their project of expanding the places where women might claim the authority to speak to include both domestic and foreign geographies. By describing Hull House residents’ claims to diverse and foreign spaces, this essay complicates the understanding of women’s spaces of rhetorical engagement in the late nineteenth-century. Rhetorical scholarship on gender and space in this era has

focused on how rhetoric shaped, and was shaped by, domestic space and its opposition with public space. Nan Johnson and Jane Donawerth, for example, have argued that rhetorical theories and pedagogies reinforced private, domestic space as women's rhetorical space and discouraged women from claiming public speaking platforms. Meanwhile, Lindal Buchanan, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Shirley Wilson Logan, Carol Mattingly, and others have shown that women's association with the domestic sphere served as an obstacle for individual women rhetors seeking to establish the authority to speak in public forums. Less attention has been paid to the rhetorical implications of domestic space and its additional opposition with foreign space. Through considering the case of Hull House, I show how middle-class and affluent women claimed knowledge and authority over both domestic and foreign space as a way to establish ethos amongst audiences. As the historian Kristin Hoganson has argued, bourgeois women in the late-nineteenth century were particularly interested in displaying cosmopolitan tastes through consuming handcrafted foreign goods and celebrating foreign language, culture, and art, which implied a "geographically expansive outlook that demonstrated a familiarity with the wider world" (14). Displaying cosmopolitan tastes also implied women's anti-industrial stance toward mass-produced domestic goods—food, fabric, furniture, clothing—manufactured in cities such as Chicago at this time. Hull House's founders were among the women who participated in expanding women's authority over international relations and industrial labor politics through cosmopolitan display.

Did claiming cosmopolitan geographies enable Hull House residents to establish their good character with neighbors? To answer this question, I turn my focus in the second half of this essay to exploring what happened when residents and neighbors

actually spoke amongst each other in Hull House. In the early 1890s, Hull House became a site where residents hosted neighborhood people for receptions, clubs, classes and lectures. To illustrate how Hull House's cosmopolitanism enabled and also constrained possibilities for speakers' ethos, I describe in depth kinds of recurring rhetorical occasions—receptions and classes—and how they unfolded. Based on evidence of what was said and done during these occasions, I argue that Hull House residents' claims to nationally-diverse spaces, rather than induce identification, reinscribed imperialist relations between themselves and their foreign-born neighbors, and at times highlighted their differences from the neighbors with whom they were trying to connect.

The Cosmopolitan Geography of Hull House: An Ethical Appeal to Neighbors

In inventing Hull House, Addams and Starr drew from their experiences in domestic roles, and also as college students and world travelers. Starr wrote in a letter prior to moving into Hull House that she and Addams hoped to invite college-educated “girls” like themselves to interact with local people in a Chicago neighborhood with “a good many German and French immigrants so as to utilize the French and German which girls learn in school and have little or no opportunity to practice” (Starr, 23 February 1889). Starr reported that Addams, in addition, hoped to live amongst Italians in Chicago. Once they secured a house, Starr wrote, she and Addams were going to “have classes, lectures, or whatever we may wish and to receive people” (Starr, 23 February 1889). The idea of engaging German, French, and Italian immigrants in classes, lectures, and other occasions is one that derived from Addams and Starr's experiences at college and abroad that prepared them to value knowledge of diverse foreign languages, cultures, and art. At

the Rockford Female Seminary in the 1880s, for example, Addams and Starr received liberal arts training that included studying German, Greek and French (“Catalogue”). They also continued their studies after college by joining traveling parties in Europe—visiting England, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, and Switzerland—to learn more about art, language and literature. Hull House was an attempt to bring their cosmopolitan knowledge home.

The space they chose to locate their settlement house was an Italianate, Victorian-era mansion on Halsted Street, known as Hull House. Hull House was located in a nationally-diverse neighborhood on Chicago’s west side, which was key to founders’ interest in engaging immigrants. Italian, Polish, Russian-Jewish, Bohemian, Canadian-French, Irish, African American and Chinese communities all lived within a third of a mile from Hull House (“Twenty Years” 82-83). Hull House’s exterior was ornate: its façade included verandas on three sides of the house, an octagonal shaped parlor visible from the street, chimneys, and bay windows (Pond 178). The octagonal-shaped parlor, chimneys, and bay windows are still visible when viewing the original mansion as it stands on Halsted Street today. Inside, it had the typical “drawing-room, library, dining-room and the other usual apartments of a northern house of the period” (Pond 178). Upon moving into Hull House, Addams furnished the interior with expensive, imported furniture, including art that she and Starr had purchased the year before when traveling in Europe (“The Art-Work” 614-15). A few reporters, visiting Hull House in its early years, attempted to give readers a sense of the interior décor. The reporter pseudonymously named reporter Nora Marks, visiting to attend a reception for Italian neighbors, wrote, “the walls were made of ivory and gold like the Auditorium [Theater]; there were

Venuses with broken arms, Apollos, heads of Madonnas, art rugs, oak tables, china, silver, porcelain-lined baths, and the latest improved range” (2). A reporter for the *Chicago Times*, too, offered a description of their expensive objects, some of foreign origin:

The halls were done in delicate terra cotta tints and the rooms in ivory and gold. The floors were polished and laid with rugs from the orient. There was the music room with its classic simplicity, the dainty piano, and soft etchings and water colors on the walls. The library blossomed forth with rows of books in scented leather bindings and in dusky niches flashed the snowy marble of bits of rare statuary. (“Work of Two Women”)

Addams and Starr, then, situated themselves within cosmopolitan geographies on a variety of scales. They worked on a city-wide scale by locating themselves in a diverse immigrant neighborhood, and curated their cosmopolitan geography down to the scale of the objects in the “dusky niches” of their home.

A common definition for ethos is the character of the speaker, though how a speaker’s ethos is established with an audience is complicated. In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle recognized ethos as provided by either preexisting evidence (witnesses, contracts), or as invented by the speaker within a given situation (*Rhetoric* 1.2 1356a). Feminist rhetoricians have argued that women can struggle to establish ethos through either means when audiences think of their gender as disqualifying their remarks. Noting that social categories such as gender factor into a speaker’s ethos, Nedra Reynolds has argued that ethos is additionally constructed by the “social context surrounding the solitary rhetor” (327). Understanding ethos, Reynolds argues, includes accounting for “the location or position from which that person speaks or writes” (326). Recognizing that social context plays a role in ethos, other feminist rhetoricians have argued that individual rhetors may sometimes assert control over the location from which they speak to invent ethos.

Johanna Shmertz, for example, has argued that identity and location are constantly shifting variables in ethos construction, and rhetors might employ a “pragmatics of naming” in which they name themselves and their locations in a given moment as a strategy for taking political action (88). In addition, Risa Applegarth, through her case study of Mary Austin’s nature writing, argues that writers may strategically represent their location to invent ethos (43). Ethos for these scholars is constructed at the intersection of ethical proof and the social locations where a rhetor might locate herself.

Yet, situating the self physically and discursively within a location is not always an option for women seeking to be strategic about ethos. Kathleen J. Ryan, Nancy Myers, and Rebecca Jones note that women rhetors often find themselves in positions in which “there is no comfortable ethos to employ if they want to shift the dominant discourse on a particular topic” (2). Domestic discourse, which brought together “the ideological presumptions, institutional practices, and strongly held habits of mind insisting that the home must be guided by a calm, devoted, and self-abnegating wife and mother,” was powerful in shaping a conventional ethos for women in the nineteenth century (Cott xvii). Addams’ argument that available roles for women within the family claim disqualified them from roles in the wider world reflects the power of domestic discourse to tie a conventional ethos for women to the home. When Addams and Starr founded Hull House, they invented a new kind of place from which to speak.

On one hand, Addams’ and Starr’s use of imported artifacts to establish a cosmopolitan ethos was typical for women of their socioeconomic class. Affluent women in this moment were displaying nationally-diverse items that implied their “appreciation of other peoples’—particularly, but not exclusively Europeans’—artistic production and

cultural attainments, a valorization of ethnographic and other geographic knowledge” (Hoganson 60-61). A similar aesthetic could be seen on a larger scale in the display of arts and handcrafts related to the household in the Woman’s Building at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago. On the other hand, Hull House’s décor was selective in that it represented knowledge of the foreign geographies familiar to their neighbors. For example, the founders displayed art that invoked Italian referents during a reception for Italians, including the “Venuses with broken arms” that suggested ancient Roman culture, while the “heads of Madonnas” were associated with a Roman Catholic tradition (Marks 2). In displaying their Italian art, Addams and Starr hoped Italian neighbors would recognize a shared mutual familiarity with Italian art and culture.

Communicating their wealth and worldliness to their neighbors was of utmost importance to the Hull House founders’ project. Hull House displayed its founders’ wealth (and whiteness) to neighborhood people especially as it stood out as an affluent, single family home in the context of the surrounding tenement houses. Built in 1856 when the West Side of Chicago was a suburb of the city, Hull House was by the 1890s surrounded by tenements, or wooden frame cottages built for single families, but occupied by several. Hull House’s founders were in part motivated to establish a worldly ethos with neighbors because of their serious study of art and architecture theorists John Ruskin and William Morris, who argued a home and its décor should communicate the identities of its owners. That a home should express the character of its occupants was commonplace at this time. Writers of domestic literature in mass circulation periodicals and house-design books, for example, drew extensively from Ruskin and Morris to support the idea that a home reflected “the owner’s occupation and background, as well

as values held in common with other citizens” (Wright 12-13). Domestic literature, according to the historian Gwendolyn Wright, particularly advised women to curate the home with “personalized interiors and handmade décor” to reflect their own tastes and abilities (21). By finding a traditional home in a nationally-diverse neighborhood and decorating it with eclectic foreign decor, Addams and Starr were creating a home that symbolized their identities as affluent, white women who had experiences learning about and traveling the world.

In addition, Addams and Starr’s plan for Hull House aligned with a Progressive reform ideology that held a settlement house’s appearance of wealth would entice local neighbors to make use of its resources; the settlement house was, according to settlement movement leader Graham Taylor, supposed to function as “an addition to every little tenement home. Its books and pictures, the nursery and play spaces, the lobby and the living room, the music and flowers, the cheery fireplaces and lamps, the auditorium for assemblies or social occasions and dancing, are an extension of the all too scant home equipment of most of the neighbors” (qtd. in Philpott 62). Addams echoed this sentiment when she described a reception for German neighbors as a “good illustration of the social feeling too often wasted in a cramped neighborhood for lack of space and encouragement” (“Appendix” 163). Hull House, like other settlement houses, was supposed to serve as a supplement to the tenement houses.

Addams and Starr were also interested in communicating their solidarity in the class interests of local, working people. For example, the books in “scented leather bindings” noticed by a reporter visiting Hull House were Starr’s. They were ones she had made or collected while serving as an apprentice to a bookbinder in Europe (“Work of

Two Women”). Her display of hand-bound books was part of a strategy to identify with her neighbors across experience with labor. Starr in particular thought of neighborhood people as part of a peasant class who, in Europe, produced handcrafted goods, whereas in the US they were alienated from their labor within the industrial economy. This was a view of neighborhood people she explains in detail in “Art & Labor,” her essay that appears in the book, *Hull-House Maps & Papers*. This view was in many respects Starr projecting her own narrative onto neighborhood people about their relationship to their work before immigrating, though in reality neighborhood people on Chicago’s West Side had varying histories with work. Garment workers’ histories, as I will discuss later in this essay, illustrate the varying occupations they held prior to immigrating. Some were skilled tradespeople, some unskilled. Nevertheless, Starr displayed hand-bound books and other artifacts to communicate experiences she apparently shared with neighborhood artisans.

The foreign and artisan décor that was intended to reflect the neighbors’ identities also functioned as an invitation to neighborhood people to recognize themselves in Hull House. Even if neighborhood people did not see their own national and classed identities reflected in the cosmopolitan interior, the founders hoped their neighbors would learn to appreciate handcrafted items through first enjoying art “for its own sake” (Starr, “What the Artist”). Extending Ruskin’s argument that beautiful art should be shared and circulated beyond the privileged classes, Starr theorized that everyone from the neighborhood should be able to form a personal, emotional response to anything that was beautiful, regardless of their education or background. This personal connection could then lead to understanding the “social function of art,” which for Starr meant recognizing

that art objects communicated an artist's identity and the labor conditions under which the object was produced (Starr, "What the Artist"). Thus, through displaying arts and crafts, the founders hoped to educate the public to appreciate artisan goods. Addams, for example, explained to neighbors and visitors that the Hull House "nursery is like others in most respects, differing chiefly, perhaps, in the attention paid to the matter of pictures and casts. The Madonnas of Raphael, in the best and largest photographs, are hung low, that the children may see them, as well as casts from Donatello and Della Robbia ("Appendix" 165). Addams explained the nursery in the hopes that the "questions daily asked by neighbors and visitors may be succinctly answered" ("Appendix" 151). Perhaps neighbors and visitors asked questions about the décor because the aesthetic was unexpected in a nursery (fig. 3). But the art in all spaces of Hull House was central to the way Addams, Starr, and other residents hoped to teach their neighbors to appreciate arts and crafts as expressive of nationality and social class, which residents saw as fairly fixed identities. In Addams' example, children demonstrated that anyone could enjoy art by forming a personal connection when they would "talk in a familiar way to the babies on the wall, and sometimes climb upon the chairs to kiss them" ("Appendix" 165). This familiar, personal connection children made to the art was then supposed to lead them toward gaining a deeper understanding of the paintings as valuable for expressing a foreign and anti-industrial worldview.

Throughout the 1890s, Addams was also collaborating with the architects, brothers Irving and Allen Pond, to design and build new additions to Hull House, which only enhanced Hull House's display of wealth in contrast to the surrounding tenements. By 1906, Hull House took up an entire city block and included an art gallery, reading



Figure 3. Hull-House Nursery. “Outline Sketch Descriptive of Hull-House.” *Hull-House Maps and Papers*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1895. HathiTrust Digital Library. Web. 15 June 2017.

room/lecture room, coffee house, gymnasium, apartments for residents, and more. These spaces not only signified Hull House residents' wealth; they also communicated residents' anti-industrial ideology through their Arts and Crafts style designs that struck a contrast to the surrounding industrial landscape.

Through exterior and interior design choices, Hull House's founders engendered a new kind of space to communicate an affluent, worldly ethos they hoped would convince the local, neighborhood people to become guests in their settlement and expand rhetorical engagement for both residents and neighbors. In order to illustrate the ways Hull House became a site where its residents hosted neighborhood people for receptions, clubs, classes, and lectures, and also how its cosmopolitanism offered speakers means for inventing ethos, I turn now to describing recurring rhetorical occasions taking place in Hull House. These examples provide glimpses into a more performative dimension of rhetorical engagement and further insight into how Hull House's cosmopolitan aesthetic provided interlocutors resources for expanding ethos.

Cosmopolitan Domestic Space: A Resource and Constraint for Inventing Ethos

To find out whether the cosmopolitan domestic décor influenced ethos invention at Hull House, I looked to published and archived sources such as Hull House yearbooks and bulletins, and newspaper articles written about the settlement, to find out which rhetorical occasions brought together residents and neighbors at Hull House. In addition to the location from which one speaks, ethos is further shaped by occasions, which

Jeanne Fahnestock calls “more formal” than a situation and “determined by a society in an explicitly and self-conscious way. Recurring occasions bring genres into being: om the funeral eulogy, the Fourth of July speech, the conference keynote, the French prime minister’s New Year’s Day address” (Fahnestock 330). I thought of rhetorical occasions, together with the space of Hull House, as interrelated aspects of the social context that made available certain kinds of ethos. The rhetorical occasions functioned like a map that instructed rhetors how to behave, what to say, and when to say it. At the same time, neither space nor occasion over-determined how a person might establish character when speaking. Speaking is a kind of spatial practice: it is bounded by its occurrence in space and social expectations that give it meaning, but not completely predictable based on where, when, and amongst whom it occurs.

From bulletins, yearbooks, meeting minutes, and newspaper stories that described the kinds of occasions at in Hull House, I found that receptions were one kind of recurring occasion that brought together residents and neighbors. These receptions took place in Hull House’s parlors, where interlocutors made use of parlor rhetoric genres. In addition to a large reception room with two fireplaces, Hull House also had three smaller parlors on the first floor. The parlors, the formal space where one transitioned from public, street space to private, home space, offered residents the opportunity to take up the role of host and neighborhood people the role of guest. There, residents and their guests enacted rhetorics associated with the parlor tradition in these receptions.

Parlor rhetorics documented in elocution manuals and conduct books for an audience of women who learned at home, included the genres of recitations, readings, poetry, dramatic performances and formalized conversation. Nan Johnson argues that

while parlor rhetorics promoted rhetorical opportunities for women, they also “reinscribed a conservative definition of rhetorical options for women by constructing a clear distinction between a domestic rhetorical sphere for women and a public rhetorical sphere for men” (33). In other words, parlor rhetoric genres encouraged women’s rhetoric in the home, but did not support expanding women’s rhetorical engagement into the public and economic realms of life.

At Hull House, however, residents used parlor rhetorics to widen the domestic rhetorical sphere to include conversing with neighbors with foreign identities about foreign language and culture. The receptions, for example, emphasized talk about foreign place and identity as the reason for convening. Residents generally invited ethnic communities to Hull House as separate groups. In 1891, the French club met on Monday evenings, a reception to Germans met on Friday nights, and the reception for Italians took place on Saturday evening (“Weekly Programme”). In 1895, a reception for Bohemians appeared advertised in the Hull House Bulletin, and, in 1901, a “Greek party,” also described as a reception, was held. These receptions were advertised regularly in the Hull House Bulletins between 1896 and 1901. The neighborhood people from specific ethnic backgrounds invited to Hull House reflects who lived near the house. That French, Germans and Italians were invited in the early 1890s and Bohemians and Greeks later on reflects the changing populations of the neighborhood. Residents inviting neighborhood people from specific ethnic backgrounds also reflects their version of cosmopolitanism. They were selectively interested in immigrants from European countries they had either visited or learned about in school. The immigrant communities they invited to Hull House were also white or in the process of becoming white. Receptions for Italians,

French, Bohemians, and Greeks, for example, become selective in contrast to Hull House residents holding no specific events for the African American or Chinese communities who lived nearby to Hull House in the 1890s.

Within these receptions, residents attempted to establish an ethos based on knowledge of the foreign. One way residents established their ethos was by enlisting members of neighborhood ethnic communities to advocate for their good character. For one of their first receptions, Addams and Starr enlisted their friend Allesandro Mastro Valerio, a local resident and the editor of Italian newspaper *D'Italia*, to invite Italian neighbors to Hull House. In an invitation Valerio sent, he wrote that “the Misses Addams and Starr were of a distinguished family and that they had come to live among these children of Italy and desired their friendship” (Marks 1). Establishing a friendship with Valerio did not necessarily change Addams and Starrs’ understanding of foreign culture as exotic and static. Valerio, rather than provide Hull House founders with a more nuanced understanding of Italian neighbors, reinforced their understanding of Italian peasants as unprepared for city life. Valerio and Addams both held the condescending belief that Italian immigrants were people suited for agricultural work. This belief was reflected in their attempt to convince Italian immigrants to relocate to Daphne, Alabama to start a farming community where they could replicate the peasant culture they had practiced in Italy (“Weekly Programme” 1891). That Addams and Valerio jointly came up with this plan based on their understanding of Italian peasants also reflects their shared identities as members of the middle-class with little experience with working-class neighbors.

During receptions, foreign language and culture were the topics of conversation and performances. For example, Valerio's invitation to the Italian reception states that the evening would include "conversazione" and a "concerto musicale, at which various distinguished maestros and dilettanti would entertain the company" (Marks 1). Other receptions were described similarly: an 1892 German reception was promoted as "entirely social in character, music and the reading of German literature, or history, occupying a part of the time" ("Reception to Germans" 8). Reading in German was supported by the surroundings: residents advertised that "a small German library is at the disposal of the guests" (8). French club on Monday evenings included "music, conversation, and an occasional lecture. The French language is, of course, adhered to throughout" ("Work of Two Women"). Music, conversation, and lecture reflect the genres of a parlor rhetoric tradition in which women might display their skills of elocution and recitation. Implied in these description is that residents are the ones performing readings and music in foreign languages. Within a given reception, residents established their knowledge of one particular foreign language and culture. Over the course of several receptions given for different ethnic communities, they demonstrated their familiarity with multiple European language and cultures.

Though "conversation" sounds informal today, rhetorical theorists of the nineteenth century prescribed formal rules for the kinds of conversation that women hosts should promote amongst their guests. For example, the writer Lydia Sigourney advised hosts in her 1835 conduct book *Letters to Young Ladies* to "lead others to such subjects as are most congenial to their taste, or on which they possess the most extensive information. From this will arise a double benefit. They will be satisfied, and you will

reap the fruits of their knowledge” (121-22). Skill in directing conversation then reflected back on a host as possessing the manners and tastes of a well-to-do woman. Hull House residents enacted the rules of conduct book writers when they led their guests to discuss foreign language and culture. For example, when the reporter Marks observed the Italian reception described in Valerio’s invitation, she reported that “a photograph of Humbert and Marguerite,” the king and queen of Italy, was positioned over a fireplace mantel and sparked discussion between herself and a guest, with the guest offering the opinion that Humbert was not a great man, though Washington, whom he learned about from one of the founders, was a great man (1). Her reporting suggests that, as Addams and Starr had hoped, the art above the mantle gave an Italian man and Marks a basis of conversation for displaying their knowledge and positioning themselves politically. In critiquing Humbert and praising Washington, the neighborhood man aligned himself with an American symbol rather than an Italian one. Another guest, too, according to a letter Starr wrote about this same reception, aligned herself with national identity through rhetorical performance. Starr wrote that an Italian woman “recited a patriotic poem with great spirit. I missed it, being engaged in struggle with Nora Marks, on the other side of the house, but Jane says it was very spirited, & some of the people were quite moved” (Starr, May 20, 1890). Starr, though, does not say whether the patriotic allegiances of this performer were with Italy or with the United States.

Hull House’s parlors were key to supporting parlor rhetorics through which residents and neighbors demonstrated to each other knowledge of foreign language and culture. The parlors offered a space big enough for parties to congregate, and offered a home-like setting where residents and could perform music and readings and engage in

conversation with neighbors. Furthermore, residents relied on the parlors' cosmopolitan aesthetic, with their diverse foreign art and books, to accommodate the several communities they invited to the settlement and reflect their character. Décor in the parlors also offered neighborhood people topics for conversation, and thus opportunities to establish their own authority over foreign language and culture. In this way, Hull House provided resources for not only residents, but also neighborhood people to construct an ethos, especially one based in a foreign identity. Guests who displayed knowledge of the foreign art and décor at Hull House offered residents proof they were good hosts.

Inventing Ethos in a Cloakmaker's Reception

To further illustrate the resources and constraints of Hull House's cosmopolitanism for inventing ethos, I turn now to examining a particular kind of reception taking place within Hull House in the 1890s and beyond—a reception for garment workers. Drawing from textual artifacts from these receptions such as invitations and programs, as well as Jane Addams' extended account of the first Hull House reception for cloakmakers (a subset of garment workers) from her essay "The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement," I describe how cosmopolitan domestic space served as both resource and constraint for residents and neighbors seeking to construct an ethos.

Foreign place and identity were not always the overt reasons for meeting or topic of conversation. When, for instance, residents increasingly found that class was also a salient identity around which neighborhood people organized, Hull House became a space for unionizing workers. Addams noted that she, Starr, and the approximately dozen other residents who lived at Hull House by 1893 had not expected to facilitate unionizing

activity because they had come to live at Hull House without any firsthand knowledge of the economic struggles of working people (“The Settlement” 139). Other residents at this time included the social reformer Julia Lathrop, labor activist Florence Kelley, painter Enella Benedict, music educator Helen Goodrich, and other middle-class women and a few men who could pay their own living expenses and volunteer their time to neighborhood causes. Once living at Hull House, these residents witnessed firsthand ongoing labor conflicts, especially amongst workers and shop owners in the garment industry. These conflicts were part of a long history of class struggle on Chicago’s West Side. It was the location, in 1886, of the Haymarket Riot, in which someone threw a bomb at police during a labor rally, leading to several deaths and mass injuries. Soon after Hull House was established, it became a site to discuss ongoing labor disputes.

Because an additional aspect of residents’ cosmopolitanism was idealizing the foreign and artisan worker, they also began using Hull House’s space and resources to construct themselves as allies to neighborhood people seeking to organize their labor and combat exploitation by industrialists. Residents’ support of unions was not necessarily benign. As consumers whose purchases perpetuated unfair labor conditions, residents’ support of unions could make their roles in creating conditions of exploitation seem less fraught. Indeed, the historian Hoganson argues that examples of bourgeois women working to improve labor conditions at this time should not be taken as evidence of an interest in promoting social equality; rather, their interest in labor was often an attempt to “forestall critiques of imperialism based on evidence of exploitation” (70).

Yet, the story of residents offering Hull House as a meeting space for workers is also more complicated than one about residents attempting to forestall neighbors from

critiquing their class privilege. Of central importance to Hull House's work with labor unions was Mary Kenney, a local bookbinder and labor organizer who had become friends with Addams, and who helped to broker a relationship between residents and neighbors across class lines. Kenney was particularly adept at using the resources of Hull House to construct a trustworthy ethos and persuade local workers to use Hull House in their efforts to unionize.

Convincing cloakmakers to organize was no easy task because of existing gender and ethnic hierarchies within the cloakmaking trade itself. On Chicago's West Side, women and girls from primarily Irish-American backgrounds performed the unskilled cloakmaking work of making button holes, sewing buttons, and pressing garments, while Russian-Jewish men performed the skilled tailoring (Addams "The Settlement" 141). Women and men workers in the cloakmaking trade were also spatially segregated, with many women working by themselves or with a few other women in home sweatshops or sex-segregated factories where they had little opportunity to connect with other women or men to unionize. Men, meanwhile, worked amongst themselves and had already established unions. Women and men workers, then, did not share a common space in which they could easily meet face-to-face. Men cloakmakers, furthermore, had held their union meetings in a space hostile to women; they had previously met in neighborhood saloons. On one occasion, according to Addams, several women cloakmakers went to a meeting held in a saloon, and their attendance angered and embarrassed their families, and the women cloakmakers never went back ("The Settlement" 141). Nevertheless, men cloakmakers, according to Addams, were increasingly motivated to help women cloakmakers join the union because women "the skilled workers were being rapidly

supplanted by untrained women, who had no conscience in regard to the wages they accepted” (“The Settlement” 141). Kenney announced herself as a trustworthy ally to both men and women cloakmakers, who had had an ambivalent relationship to one another previously.

By holding receptions for garment workers at Hull House, Kenney made the space where unionizing activity took place more inviting to both parties. By the early 1890s Hull House had several large meeting spaces—an art gallery, lecture room, coffee house, and gymnasium—that both women and men used daily. Kenney’s 1892 reception for cloakmakers, for example, took place in the lecture room. The lecture room had previously functioned as a reading room and neighborhood library (the Chicago Public Library opened its own official branch nearby, making the Hull House library redundant). Located on the first floor of the first building to be added to the original mansion, the Butler Studio Building, the lecture room had an entrance on the street, which did not require neighborhood people to walk into the original Hull House mansion and its many more formal parlors (fig. 4). Though the lecture room was separate from the original Hull House mansion, it still had an expensive, cosmopolitan aesthetic; its furniture, including book cases, tables and chairs, had been “specially designed for the room” (“In the Butler” 38). A photograph of the lecture room featured in resident Florence Kelley’s *New England Magazine* essay about Hull House displays this furniture and also shows the room was decorated with paintings, pottery, statuary, and candlesticks (fig. 5). When it was used as a reading room, its reading materials were particularly cosmopolitan. The periodicals were “from different sections of the globe” and “printed in as many different languages, so that every visitor, no matter what may be his nationality, may be supplied



Figure 4. Hull-House with Reading Room and Studio Building. “Outline Sketch Descriptive of Hull-House.” *Hull-House Maps and Papers*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1895. HathiTrust Digital Library. Web. 30 Aug 2016.



Figure 5. Lecture Room in Hull House. Kelley, Florence. “Hull-House.” *New England Magazine*. Volume 18. New England Magazine Company, 1898. Google Books. 30 August 2016.

with interesting reading matter” (“A Local” 4). Because of its history of use by neighborhood people and its accessible location, the lecture room was an inviting space for both men and women workers to meet with residents for a cloakmakers’ reception.

Kenney’s refiguring the union meeting as a reception was also significant. In one of her invitations to cloakmakers, Kenney described the event as a “musical entertainment with addresses,” which would be followed by a “general discussion on the subject of forming a cloakmakers association” (fig. 6). As Kenney noted in a speech she gave at the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893, inviting workers to an “entertainment with addresses” was a tactic that was somewhat successful in helping Kenney to persuade women to unionize because she had observed that women thought of themselves as only temporary workers until marriage, and unionizing implied their work was not temporary. Women workers, Kenney argued, “do not feel that they have a permanent place in the industrial world” and therefore “go into it for the time being only, and do not study its interests” (871). By inviting them to receptions instead of union meetings, Kenney offered women cloakmakers a conventionally-gendered occasion to attend.

Kenney was also able to offer women cloakmakers a conventionally-gendered ethos to take up. Kenney explicitly hails women cloakmakers by using the pronoun “she” as throughout her invitation. She also appeals directly to women cloakmakers by describing unionizing activity as attractive to their interests in friendship and community; the union’s aims are “the welfare of all, thereby infusing a spirit of dignified independence.” Unionizing, Kenney argues, will serve to “elevate” a woman’s “moral character as an individual, and stimulate her to a more conscientious discharge of her



Figure 6. Musical Entertainment with Addresses. Microfilm. *The Jane Addams Papers Project* (1984): Reel 52.

duties as an employe[e].” Kenney’s invitation offers women cloakmakers a conventionally-gendered ethos through the roles of family and community caretakers.

During receptions of all kinds at Hull House, residents attempted to communicate their cosmopolitan character to their guests through displaying knowledge of the foreign languages and cultures with which workers would be familiar through parlor rhetoric genres— recitations, readings, poetry, dramatic performances and lectures. Their attempts to establish ethos in cloakmakers’ receptions were no different. During one cloakmakers’ reception, for example, residents played piano, sang, and gave addresses (fig. 7). The residents Agnes Sinclair Holbrook, who played piano, and Helen Goodrich, who sang, chose musical selections that highlighted their familiarity with Russian (Rubinstein), German (Mendelssohn, Schubert), and Polish composers (Paderewski), some of whom were Jewish (Mendelssohn, Rubinstein). Their selections were likely an attempt to display a shared knowledge of music with Russian-Jewish men cloakmakers. Yet, despite their efforts to display a shared knowledge across nationality, Hull House residents maintained class distinctions. Their musical selections also had a classed dimension, as they displayed residents’ familiarity with high-classical music (rather than “people’s music, for example). By performing high classical music, residents reinscribed class distinctions between themselves and the cloakmakers (Fig. 7). In other words, residents were not also interested in claiming classed geographies of the workplace. Their maintenance of class distinctions reflects a cosmopolitanism was grounded in identities as middle-class and affluent women who were able to understand and know about diverse nations through their status as consumers of goods, culture, and experiences.

You are cordially invited to attend the

Cloakmakers' Entertainment

TO BE GIVEN

SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 1ST, AT 8 O'CLOCK,
AT HULL HOUSE, 335 SOUTH HALSTED STREET

THE FOLLOWING PROGRAMME WILL BE GIVEN:

Piano Solo	Miss Holbrook	Minuet	Paderewski
Spring Song	Mendelsohn	Vocal Solo	Miss Goodrich
"At Parting"	Rogers	"Awake"	Adams
Address	Mr. Henry D. Lloyd	Piano Solo	Miss Holbrook
Kamenoi-Ostrow	Rubenstein	Impromptu	Schubert
Address	Mr. Britzoi	Vocal Solo	Miss Goodrich
Lullaby	Maicrone	Frühlingslied	Rubenstein

ENTRANCE FREE.

Figure 7. Cloakmakers' Entertainment. Microfilm. *The Jane Addams Papers Project* (1984): Reel 52.

Residents' attempts to establish ethos based on common knowledge of foreign language and culture displayed through parlor rhetorics was very different from how men cloakmakers had established ethos in their previous union meetings. The historian Wilfred Carsel cites an account of a young cloakmaker participating in an 1888 union debate that illustrates that "precedence and respect" was awarded to speakers "on the basis of their speed as operators" (22). In other words, discursive authority amongst the men cloakmakers was typically based on how quickly they made garments. The Hull House reception, in contrast, followed a gendered and classed progression, with residents speaking first through musical performances and lectures, and men and women workers speaking second in what Kenney referred to as a "general discussion" about forming a cloakmakers' association.

Addams wrote that residents' attempt to establish ethos based on claims to cosmopolitan geographies was not successful with men cloakmakers during the first cloakmakers' reception. The men thought of Hull House as a "spy in the service of the capitalists," or shop owners employing the cloakmakers ("The Settlement" 141). For the men cloakmakers, the differing class status of the residents was more apparent than their familiarity with foreign language and music. Residents' attempts to display cosmopolitan knowledge had indeed been shallow, and in fact reinscribed class differences between themselves and workers. Furthermore, residents did not know the prior conventions of a cloakmakers' meeting, nor did they attempt to communicate or learn about the Russian-Jewish cloakmakers and their histories. It is not surprising they did not inspire the men cloakmakers to trust them.

Meanwhile, residents' attempts to establish trust with the women workers Addams identified as "American Irish" were somewhat more successful. According to Addams, the women and "girl" cloakmakers felt "chaperoned by the presence of residents ("The Settlement" 141). That women and girl cloakmakers thought of the residents as chaperones speaks to the probable age difference between cloakmakers, who may have been as young as 13 or 14 years old, and residents, who were in their twenties and thirties. Their understanding of residents as chaperones also reflects their history of attempting to meet with men in the saloon and having those experiences deemed socially unacceptable by their families.

During their first meeting, men cloakmakers also failed to establish a respected ethos with residents and with women workers. Addams noted that they were "ill-dressed and grimy," and "shamefaced and constrained" when meeting with the women workers ("The Settlement" 141). In noting their dress, Addams reveals assumptions she makes about a reception as a middle-class occasion in which character is displayed through style. Meanwhile, Addams thought the "American-Irish girls were well-dressed, and comparatively at ease" (141). The men cloakmakers' dress upends Addams' sense of dress as a marker of middle-class respectability. Addams' also remarked that the men cloakmakers "could command not even broken English," which revealed her assumptions about how ethos is established through language during a reception (141). While residents Holbrook and Goodrich displayed some knowledge of Russian and German language during their musical performances, Addams expected discussion to take place in English. The men, in her account, are at a linguistic disadvantage during discussion.

Women cloakmakers succeeded in constructing an ethos with residents, though largely through nonverbal means. Addams read their dress as appropriate for the occasion. In noting that men did not have a command of English, she implies that the Irish-American women did have a common language with residents. Addams notes that “there was much less difference of any sort between the residents and the working-girls than between the men and girls of the same trade” (“The Settlement” 142). Yet, in performing the roles of guests at a reception, women workers were not given any formal speaking roles. In Addams’ extended account, she makes no mention even of Kenney, who brokered the meeting between Hull House residents and workers, as having a formal speaking role during the reception.

As the first cloakmakers’ reception unfolds, residents and women cloakmakers continue to have difficulty communicating with men cloakmakers about forming a union. Addams recounts how a man who spoke both Russian and English led the unionizing discussion by standing between the men and women cloakmakers, who occupied different sides of the room. Addams writes that this interpreter was “somewhat helpless. He was clear upon the economic necessity for combination; he realized the mutual interdependence; but he was baffled by the social aspect of the situation” (“The Settlement” 142). This reception, in theory, seems to be a case that tests Hull House’s cosmopolitan aesthetic to support speakers across differences of language, class, and ethnicity. Yet, the interpreter, who knows multiple languages and physically stands between groups of people occupying different gender, class, and ethnic identities, fails to translate. At least to Addams, the interpreter appears “somewhat helpless,” the opposite of an authoritative speaker.

His failure, at least in part, is a failure of the rhetorical space of Hull House to provide him with the necessary resources to construct a trustworthy ethos amongst all parties. The history and geography of the room is salient here. As a lecture room, it gave Hull House residents speaking roles of authority as they performed rehearsed, pre-planned musical entertainment and gave lectures, while men workers such as the interpreter did not have the benefit of drawing on rhetorical precedents when asked to spontaneously translate amongst all parties. While residents enacted the conventionally-gendered parlor rhetorics of musical performances and lectures, the lecture room positioned workers as listeners without formal speaking roles. Even in the room's previous iteration as a library reading room, men and women neighbors came with an expectation they would be silent.

Cosmopolitan Hull House, in these first cloakmakers' receptions, hindered most speakers' attempts to convey a trustworthy character necessary for communication. Instead, Hull House residents' performances highlighted differences, especially across lines of gender, nationality, and class. Furthermore, their attempts to invent a cosmopolitan ethos for themselves only magnified a power imbalance between themselves and the workers, especially as they implicitly claimed knowledge of workers' geographies through musical performances. At the same time, the cloakmakers' reception did not offer opportunities for workers to construct ethos. Not surprisingly, a mixed-sex cloakmakers union did not gain traction at Hull House. Instead, organizing work developed as a sex-segregated activity. Hull House programs and bulletins from 1891-1904 list at least eight different women's unions, mostly related to the garment trade, that met at Hull House.

Inventing Ethos in ‘Lectures, Clubs, Classes, ETC’

In addition to mixing with the occasion of the union meeting, parlor rhetorics also intersected with the occasions of academic lectures, clubs, and classes. The occasions of “Lectures, Clubs, Classes, ETC” had their own gendered spatial history (“Weekly Programme”). These were the kinds of occasions that were offered at the Rockford Seminary and other women’s colleges that residents attended. At the Rockford Seminary, for example, the lines between the classes in the curriculum and the lectures and clubs of the extracurriculum blurred. While Addams and Starr were students there, instructors and students worked together in both the core liberal arts classes and also in the school’s literary societies, scientific clubs, and on the school’s magazine (Knight 86; Farrell 37). Their experience at the Rockford Seminary illustrates historian Frederick Rudolph’s observation that the student-led extracurriculum in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with its debating clubs and literary societies, was in some ways more academically rigorous than the official curriculum (138).

The clubs, classes and lectures taking place in Hull House expanded women’s authority to engage rhetorically in ways that had not occurred at the all-female Rockford Seminary. Clubs, classes, and lectures were technically coeducational, and thus expanded women’s ability to speak and write with men. Most clubs, however, had gendered distinctions. Boys, girls, men and women had their own clubs, for example. Other clubs were less explicitly gendered, but were nevertheless composed of mostly women or men. College-level classes were also technically coeducational. To offer classes, Hull House partnered with the University of Chicago, which was a coeducational institution at this time, though the school’s president William Rainey Harper continued to promote separate

courses for men and women (Spain 154). Clubs and classes at Hull House created the possibility that men and women would speak and write with each other in the same space.

Whereas the women students at the Rockford Female Seminary were middle-class, the students at Hull House were working-class. Nathan Butler, the head of the university extension program at the University of Chicago, described Hull House students who attended one of his courses as “young men and women, most of whom possessed a high degree of general intelligence, but whose studies had not proceeded to college work. Employed during the day and desiring to use the evening to advantage, they brought to this work the best qualifications for its satisfactory performance” (Butler, “Lecturer’s Report”). To accommodate the workday, Butler and other lecturers and residents held lectures, clubs and classes in the evening.

The topics of lectures, clubs, and classes emphasized residents’ and lecturers’ knowledge of foreign languages, culture and identity. A popular kind of lecture, for example, was about a place that a resident had knowledge of or had visited. In these lectures, residents took the speaker’s platform authorized by their experiences in Europe. The Bulletin of January 1896, for example, advertised “Stereopticon Lectures” (lectures that included slides projecting realistic photographs) titled “Views from the Scottish Border,” “Paris,” “Ireland” and “Florence.”

In an autobiography that describes growing up at Hull House around the turn of the twentieth century, Hilda Satt Polachek gives an extended account of taking a composition course at Hull House in 1904. Polachek’s autobiography offers insight into how Hull House’s cosmopolitanism continued to be both a resource and a constrain as she, Addams, and her teacher Henry Porter Chandler invented ethos during a course in

Hull House's parlors. Polachek, who lived with her family in the neighborhood and worked in a nearby garment factory, was a frequent visitor to Hull House. In her writing, she describes how Hull House served as the hub of her social life in the evenings: Polachek took part in the theater program, the college extension courses, and describes herself as Hull House's first paid employee hired to greet visitors at the door.

The composition course that Polachek describes was a regular offering at Hull House through the college extension program. Courses titled "Rhetoric," "English Composition," "English Composition and Rhetoric," and "Composition and Theme Work," were advertised in Hull House's bulletins throughout the 1890s and 1900s. Though Polachek's account is for a "composition" class, the class in the fall/winter of 1904 she says she takes is listed in the *Hull-House Bulletin* as a "Rhetoric" class. The various names for the composition/rhetoric courses around the turn of the twentieth century reflect broader shifts taking place within the discipline of rhetoric as US colleges moved from teaching a combative spoken art to a written one, a shift that paralleled women's entrance into the rhetoric classroom (Connors 1997; Buchanan 2005).

Polachek recalls the composition course taking place in Hull House's dining room in the evening. Polachek had not anticipated that she would be taking such a course when she arrived at Hull House:

One evening, as I entered the reception room, Miss Addams called me into the residents' sitting room and asked me to join a class in English composition. The class was just being organized and the instructor was to be Henry Porter Chandler, of the University of Chicago. Not many students had applied, and Miss Addams asked me to register for the class as she did not want Mr. Chandler to feel that people were not interested in such a class. I told Miss Addams that I had never written anything. But she insisted, and so I went into the dining room where four or five people were gathered. She introduced me to Mr. Chandler. (77)

In this account, Hull House parlors and the associated parlor rhetoric traditions continue to influence how Addams is able to direct a complex spatial interaction in which she and Polachek make use of three different rooms on the first floor of the original Hull mansion. First, Addams constructs herself as the authorized figure for managing Polachek's visit by drawing on her role as Hull House's founder in the reception room. In this interaction, Addams receives Polachek when she arrives and constructs herself as the host and Polachek's as the guest. In the next parlor, the "residents' sitting room," Addams enlist Polachek in duties of attending to other guests (in this case, the instructor Chandler) that usually the host performs (77). By bringing her into the "residents' sitting room," and also asking her to register for the class for the benefit of Chandler, Addams enlists Polachek as a resident/host for the occasion of the class. Addams continues to draw from her roles of host as she leads Polachek to the dining room composition class and introduces her to the instructor. Polachek then enters the dining room where the course takes place with the goals of helping Chandler feel that people care about his class.

In general, the dining room, according to home historian Edwin Heathcote, was a middle-class construction and "central to an idea of hospitality" (54). The dining room as a space was supposed to facilitate conversation. And it was a place for "gender contact," meaning that men and women used it together (Spain 123). As a classroom space, the dining room also served to facilitate class contact between middle-class and affluent teachers and residents, and working-class students. This particular dining room was set up to facilitate both dining and learning. A photograph from Kelley's "Hull House" article in 1898 gives a view of the room as arranged for both dining and learning: in

contrast to a traditional dining space, the Hull House room includes more chairs than will fit around the table—it also includes a cupboard filled with books (fig. 8). Hull House Bulletins from 1904-06 indicate that the dining room was used for humanities classes that required some conversation and some reading of texts, classes such as the History of Art, English, Dante Club, Browning Class, German, and Readings on Ruskin and Morris. Overall, this dining room was a hybrid space that brought together people across identities for the purposes of hospitality and learning.

In her autobiography, Polachek reproduces the text of the essay she wrote for this rhetoric/composition class. Her essay, “The “Ghetto Market,” is about the unsanitary conditions in the outdoor market established in the 1880s by the Jewish community living on the West Side, roughly located at Jefferson and Twelfth Street. Polacheck opens her essay with the following sentences:

Sociologists who are studying and seeking to remedy conditions among the wretchedly poor have done vast good. The poor may now be clothed; they receive medical attention and surgical care which none but the very rich could afford to pay for. They need not be ignorant, for schools are free and there are many devoted women in the social settlements who are laboring night and day to make up for whatever deficiency may exist in the capacity of the city institutions. But there is one injustice untouched; one wrong which is crying for immediate remedy. This is the unsanitary, filthy food which the poor in certain quarters are forced to eat. Not until the city takes the matter in hand and orders all vegetables, meat and fish to be sold only in adequate and sanitary rooms will this condition be entirely overcome; for as long as the old market of the Ghetto district exists, so long will the inhabitants of the district patronize it.

Few people whose work does not take them into the neighborhood have any idea what the Ghetto market is like. I took a trip through it the other night for the purpose of observation. (78)

In this essay, Polachek constructs for herself the kind of ethos that Hull House encourages neighborhood people to take up: one that is grounded in knowledge of a



Figure 8. Hull House Dining Room, Kelley, Florence. "Hull-House." *New England Magazine*, 1898.

particular foreign and ethnic community. Polachek also takes an anti-industrial stance and critiques a city that perpetuates unsanitary conditions, and of the “capacity of the city institutions” to remedy the situation (78). Polachek invents herself as a participant observer in her neighborhood who can claim knowledge of the market that few others have. As an insider, she notices the unsanitary conditions that no reformer has yet to address. In recording the details of her visit to the market, Polachek emphasizes poverty and dirt. The fish traders, for example, have stands made of “tin” and floors covered in “mud.” They are covered in “slimy drippings,” using a “dirty scale” and wrapping fish in “dilapidated newspaper” (79). This essay produces the geography of poverty in contrast to the geography of wealth that reporters visiting Hull House documented. As Polachek acknowledges in the opening of her essay, her view is different from the view of “sociologists” and “women in the social settlements” who are working on a larger scale to “remedy conditions among the wretchedly poor,” across ethnic enclaves (78).

At Hull House, Polachek is rewarded for claiming knowledge of the Jewish community’s geography; it earns her a degree of class mobility. For example, she describes the moment that Chandler returns her paper after having read and responded to it: rather than receive feedback on her essay from Chandler, Polachek receives it from Addams. Addams “talked for a few minutes with Mr. Chandler, then she took me into the octagon and said these magic words: “How would you like to go to the University of Chicago?” She was very calm, as if she had asked me to have a cup of tea” (86). Addams arranges, through Chandler, a scholarship for Polachek to the University of Chicago. Addams also gives Polachek a loan in the amount that Polachek would have earned while working to support her family so that she could instead attend the university (87).

That Addams takes over as the composition instructor is made possible through her authority over the domestic, academic, and cosmopolitan spaces that Hull House offers to her. Hull House changes the occasion of the composition class. The conventions usually associated with such a class, writing an essay, receiving feedback, as well as the roles of teacher and student, are mixed here with parlor rhetoric conventions and the roles of host and guest. This mixing of spaces and roles positions Addams as the authority figure and host in Hull House. For example, Addams praises Polachek's essay in the octagon, which was a small, octagonal shaped-parlor on the first floor. The octagon was both one of several parlors, and it was also a kind of academic space where Addams held office hours during the day and invited residents to meet with her regarding any topic they wished to discuss ("Minutes of Meetings"). Residents' meeting minutes taken from 1893-96 also reveal the octagon was also a writing space—residents came into the space of the octagon for rituals of writing. They paid their bills, met for meetings that were preserved by minutes, and wrote letters in the octagon ("Minutes of Meetings"). As a room shape, the octagon was an unusual attempt to innovate the typical parlors of the Victorian era. The octagon as a shape for homebuilding was popularized by O.S.Fowler's *A Home for All, or The Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building*. Fowler was attempting with his octagon design to improve upon the usual square shape of homes and rooms within them and create smaller, more intimate spaces for talking that contrasted with the formality of a reception room. Addams draws on the affordances of the octagon as a space that supports new kinds of interaction, while maintaining the role of host in the parlor.

Addams' ethos, for Polachek, is also supported by an octagon that is quintessentially cosmopolitan in its décor. Polachek remembers that it was decorated with the photographs of the "great humanitarians of the world: Leo Tolstoy, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Demarest Lloyd, John Peter Altgeld, Susan B. Anthony, Peter Kropotkin, Eugene V. Debs, and a host of others" (87). The octagon is literally decorated with the faces of world leaders. At the same time, these faces are also associated with the domestic in the sense that they are familiar and associated with family and the private realm. Though Polachek thinks of the people as well-known on a worldly level, to residents, the people in the photographs were also firsthand acquaintances. Kropotkin and Anthony had been visitors at Hull House; Altgeld hired one of the residents, Florence Kelley, as the first female factory inspector; Henry Demarest Lloyd took in and cared for Kelley's children while she lived at Hull House; Kelley corresponded with Debs; Addams corresponded with Tolstoy; even Lincoln seemed like a close figure to a young Jane Addams whose father was part of the Illinois legislature. In Polachek's account, Addams embodies a cosmopolitan domestic ethos: she is at once like the "great humanitarians of the world" pictured on the walls, and also a familiar presence, offering Polachek a scholarship "as if she had asked me to have a cup of tea" (86).

Hull House's cosmopolitanism, in this interaction between Addams and Polachek, is a resource for Addams, who is able to claim authority in the middle-class domestic spaces of dining room and parlor, and also over the worldly spaces signaled by Hull House's aesthetic. Hull House is both a resource and a constraint for Polachek—she is rewarded not for claiming knowledge of cosmopolitan geographies, but for claiming knowledge of a specifically Jewish and Polish/Russian geography of the Ghetto Market.

In so doing, Polachek is also claiming knowledge of a geography of poverty. By highlighting her knowledge of geographies that are vastly different from the ones Hull House residents claim, she is rewarded and gains some degree of class mobility. While taking up Addams' offers to join a composition class and a scholarship to the University of Chicago offers Polachek a place in the cosmopolitan and middle-class spaces of parlor and college classroom, her movement into these spaces also highlights the considerable amount of underwriting that Addams must do to so that Polachek might occupy these spaces.

American Women's Cosmopolitan Geographies: A Powerful, Imperialist

Claim

Hull House's founders and residents participated in a wider phenomenon of American women claiming knowledge of cosmopolitan geographies. Their claims to these geographies reiterated imperialist relations between American women consumers and foreign workers. Hull House residents specifically claimed knowledge of cosmopolitan art and artifacts as a way to identify with their immigrant neighbors and expand their sphere of rhetorical engagement. Hull House's founders offer a striking example of cosmopolitan display through their settlement because few other women at the time owned and controlled property on the same scale at this time. Because they controlled the space of Hull House, the founders and residents were able to be selective in how they arranged it. Indeed, Hull House's founders Addams and Starr attempted to curate Hull House to reflect their wealthy and worldly ethos. Its décor, location, and

architecture reproduced domestic and foreign spaces with which the founders and their middle-class and affluent colleagues were familiar.

Their arrangement of Hull House then influenced who had authority to speak and what could be said. Hull House particularly supported occasions through which residents demonstrated knowledge of foreign language and culture to their neighbors, and also encouraged neighborhood people to demonstrate their foreign identities to residents. While the aesthetic of Hull House supported residents' claims to knowledge of a vast expanse of geography, it offered neighborhood people limited resources to claim a complicated ethos, as they were encouraged to identify with their geographic location prior to immigrating. This is apparent in the cloakmakers' reception, when Russian-Jewish men are invited to listen to a series of songs by Russian-Jewish composers, while they are not invited to bring to the meeting their own music or meeting practices that arose out of histories of U.S. immigration or working-class life. Irish-American women cloakmakers, though Hull House provided them with an opportunity to meet with men about forming a union, did not offer them resources for inventing ethos and constructing themselves as authoritative speakers. Polachek, too, highlights her knowledge of neighborhood Jewish life to gain access to the resources of Hull House. The story of Hull House and the occasions taking place within it, then, highlight that establishing ethos by claiming knowledge of cosmopolitan geographies was a strategy only available to middle-class and affluent women. When deployed, this ethos strategy realigned power along imperialist lines.

CHAPTER 4

PROTECTING COSMOPOLITAN DOMESTICITY: HOW THE HULL HOUSE MAPS REIMAGINE THE SLUM

Hull House and the World's Fair

This chapter focuses in on Hull House residents' representations of space and identity during and around the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, or World's Fair, held in Chicago in 1893. By this time, Hull House had a reputation as a well-regarded institution both amongst local neighbors and a network of Progressive reformers and philanthropists. This reputation grew further as residents hosted a series of well-known feminists, sociologists, writers, and politicians who gathered in Chicago for the World's Fair. John Dewey, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, British journalist William T. Stead, and others visited and gave lectures at Hull House during the summer of 1893 (*Hull-House Maps* 160). Residents were also highly regarded speakers at World's Fair events and meetings. Addams and Charles Zeublin co-chaired the Settlement Congress, a national meeting of settlement and charities workers. Lathrop, Kelley, and Starr served as featured speakers at this event. On a bigger stage, Addams, Kenney and Josefa Humpal Zeman spoke about women and domestic labor at the World's Congress of Representative Women. In so doing, they joined some of the most prominent women speakers of the era, such as Hallie Quinn Brown, Susan B Anthony, and Lucy Stone.

As speakers, Hull House residents explained the seeming paradox of women claiming wider participation in public and economic life as a way to reaffirm their commitment to domestic life. For example, Addams gave a speech titled “Domestic Service and the Family Claim” that addressed why working-class women preferred factory work over domestic service. Addams argued factory work offered women shorter hours and higher wages than did domestic service; thus, it allowed women workers more time to attend to their own families rather than to their “employer’s family claims” (629). On the speaker’s platform, Addams and other Hull House residents embodied this seeming paradox—they spoke in public to reaffirm they valued domesticity.

Women participated in the World’s Fair by claiming authority over domestic space more broadly. On the World’s Fairgrounds, women curated displays of their achievements in the Women’s Building, while men put up displays to their achievements during the 400 years since Columbus’s so-called discovery of the Americas everywhere else. While the fairgrounds preserved a kind of gender separatism, it also gave women their own space, which they had not enjoyed at the previous World’s Fair in Paris in 1889. In the Women’s Building, women representatives from select nations curated display spaces as household interiors filled with arts and handicrafts to demonstrate their expertise over artistic and technological advances in domestic life. As these displays were managed by a Board of Lady Managers, led by the socialite and philanthropist Bertha Honoré Palmer, they also were an example of wealthy, white women demonstrating authority over a cosmopolitan—nationally diverse—display of arts, craft, architecture and technology. The Women’s Building was also affiliated with geographic display by proximity, as it served as the transition point from the main fairgrounds to the entrance to

the Midway Plaisance. On the Midway, national and cultural differences were commercialized as ethnic exhibits of people and goods. The World's Fair was in many ways a peak display of cosmopolitan domesticity; the material world was ordered around gender separatism and national diversity. The fairgrounds offered the over 27 million visitors a well-curated space with explicit and unmistakable boundaries from May to October of 1893 (Gilbert 121). It is not surprising that Hull House residents found audiences there sympathetic to their expansive but separatist version of domestic ideology. Yet, the World's Fair as an event also created tensions for Hull-House residents because it put the rest of the city on display as well. Specifically, it caused an influx of attention to Hull House's West Side neighborhood. The public perceived the West Side of the city as a slum, a densely populated area of amusements that included dance halls, saloons, restaurants, lodging houses, and brothels. A slum offered a spatial contrast to the fairgrounds, a place in which the conventional rules of space and social relations were suspended. After spending the day at the fairgrounds, tourists visited the West Side slum at night. If conventions within cosmopolitan domesticity held that the household was where gender, class, and ethnic/raced identities were isolated, contained, and valued, then the slum was where people mixed across differences and negotiated new kinds of identities for themselves and others.

This popular understanding of their neighborhood as a slum posed a problem for Hull House residents because it undermined the "separate spheres" ideology of domesticity that preserved and protected women's authority. As women who lived on the West Side, the idea of their neighborhood as a slum undermined their authority. Thus, residents had an interest in showing a wider public a different version of their

neighborhood. In particular, Hull House resident Florence Kelley, a labor activist, began a survey and mapping project that highlighted the West Side as a neighborhood of homes where immigrant and working families lived. As part of countering the public's understanding of the West Side as a slum, Kelley devised two maps that oriented visitors, tourists, and distant readers to the neighborhood's vast expanse of domestic space—in part, to preserve the West Side as a neighborhood of private homes, the spaces over which Hull House residents claimed domestic authority. In addition to displaying the neighborhood's houses, one map documented the wages families on the West Side earned each week, and one map documented their nationalities. By countering notions of the West Side as a slum, the maps illustrate the power of a rhetorical representation of space to assert how a space should be understood and used. These maps served as an inventive resource for Hull House residents, who made nuanced and sometimes conflicting arguments about what the maps meant for the kinds of action they were authorized to pursue in their neighborhood.

The Slum: A Threat to Domesticity

Most texts circulating because of the World's Fair—printed speeches, pamphlets, guidebooks, advertisements, and maps — hailed a public sympathetic to women's expanding domestic authority. Yet, when these texts described amusements of the slum, they objectified women—especially poor, working-class and nonwhite women— as part of the commodified tourist experience of walking the street. For example, in *Chicago and its Environs: A Handbook for the Traveler*, author Louis Schick encouraged tourists to visit streets on the West Side just east of Hull House on Sunday afternoons when “almost

all the inhabitants are to be seen out of doors and the variety of costumes and the diversity and brilliancy of color fully make the scene worth witnessing.” Schick singled out Italian women as particularly visible in their traditional dress (106). *Chicago by Day and Night: The Pleasure Seekers Guide to the Paris of America* described African American women’s bodies as objects of public spectacle on the West Side (146-48). Rand McNally’s *Handy Guide to Chicago and its Environs* spoke to a visitor interested in a “nocturnal ramble” in which women are depicted on the street, in brothels, and in dancehalls (204). These were spaces that undermined women’s domestic authority.

The sociologists, journalists, government officials, and other settlement workers writing about the slum at this time also highlighted the private/public hybrid spaces of the slum in which prevailing domestic conventions and moral codes were suspended. For example, Stead’s *If Christ Came to Chicago*, which he wrote in part based on his observations while visiting Hull House in 1893, focused on places of vice, such as the police station, the saloon, and brothels. In New York, Jacob Riis highlighted the tenement house district as a landscape where domestic and work spaces mixed in his 1890 book, *How the Other Half Lives*. This volume included photographs of tenement homes doubling as sweatshops where men, women, and children worked for pay. While Progressive writers such as Stead and Riis shared Hull House residents’ interest in reform, their representations ultimately reinforced an image of slum as a place where domestic space was already corrupted.

The representation of the slum in texts reinforced, and was reinforced by, the practice of slumming. The historian Chad Heap argues that “slumming” was a practice in which a white, affluent public visited densely-populated urban neighborhoods to

encounter otherness, and in the process participated in negotiating the politics of identity. The practice of slumming in Chicago is represented in figure 9, a drawing by H.G. Maratta (fig. 9). Slumming, according to Heap, originated in Chicago and New York in the early 1890s. While slumming did not necessarily promote equality across differences, and in many cases reified differences, it was a practice that brought people who were typically segregated together. Slumming threatened a cosmopolitan-inflected domesticity that depended on spatial segregation along gender, class and ethnic/racial lines.

Living in what some considered a slum had the potential to undermine Hull House residents' domestic authority. The slum had undermined the authority of women before them who attempted to speak from within it. "Nora Marks," the reporter visiting Hull House for the Italian reception, had used a pseudonym when writing about Hull House and its neighborhood. In a more famous case of a white, middle-class woman using a pseudonym to write about slum conditions, reporter Nel Nelson wrote an 1888 series titled "City Slave Girls" in which she went undercover as a garment worker to document women's working conditions in garment factories for the *Chicago Times*. Throughout the 1890s, Hull House residents participated in at least nine research investigations related to neighborhood conditions, though they attached their names to only one of these studies: *Hull House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, Together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing Out of the Social Conditions (HHM&P)* (*Jane Addams Papers* 115). This was the book that resulted from Kelley's study and mapping of the neighborhood. It included two neighborhood maps, as well as eleven essays by ten Hull House residents that describe the neighborhood and Hull House's place in it for a wider public.

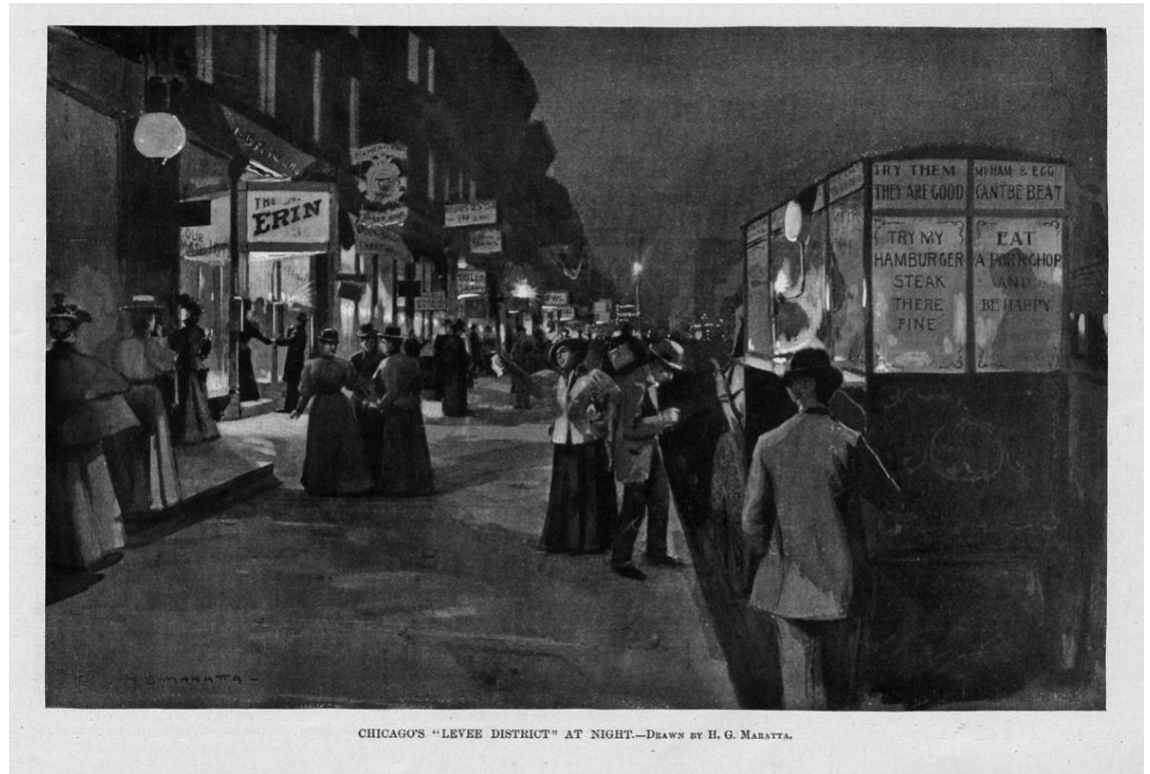


Figure 9. Maratta, H.G. *Chicago's Levee District at Night*. 1898. *HathiTrust Digital Library*.

The Hull House Maps Make Domestic Space Visible

In contrast to other textual representations of slums, the Hull House maps emphasize the neighborhood households, which were considered within the discourse of domesticity the space over which women had authority. To reimagine the public image of Chicago's West Side, Kelley, along with Hull House residents/research assistants Alzina P. Stevens and Agnes Sinclair Holbrook, created the wages map and the nationalities map. Kelley, the chief architect of the maps, had had unique experiences that she brought with her to this project. Prior to her residency at Hull House, she had been Frederick Engels' translator. Kelley had translated Engels's *The Conditions of the Working Class in England in 1844* into English and had hoped it would catch on as a popular text in the US amongst middle-class consumers and attune them to the ways their consumption perpetuated class inequality. Once she became a Hull House resident in 1891, Kelley gained status from her new home, a cosmopolitan domestic rhetorical space that offered her a respected ethos over globally-produced consumer goods. Her status as a resident also offered Kelley access to professional positions. With Addams' help, Kelley secured two positions in government: the first position was as an investigator of slum conditions for the US Department of Labor. The area depicted in the Hull House maps is the center of the "slum population" that the US Department of Labor hired Kelley to investigate (Wright 12). Kelley was also hired as the chief factory inspector of Illinois. Her position as factory inspector gave her insight into her neighbors' uses of tenement homes as sweatshops. Her experiences, as Engels' translator, as a slum investigator, and as a factory inspector, helped Kelley to understand publication as a way to circulate ideas

about space and social relations to a wider public. She brought this understanding of publication to Hull House.

To produce the Hull House maps, Kelley drew from her variety of resources. Kelley and a team of Hull House residents and government employees collected the data that was used to make the maps from April to August of 1893 when they were employed by the US Department of Labor for the slum study. Kelley received special permission to use Department of Labor data for *HHM&P*. Holbrook explains in the “Map Notes and Comments” that accompany the maps that she and Kelley copied the government schedules by hand after each day of canvassing the neighborhood in order to save the data for their own purposes (55). Holbrook also painted the original maps. In her biography of Holbrook, librarian Diane Dillon notes that Holbrook’s painting of the maps was an event memorialized in painter Alice Kellogg’s *Miss Holbrook Painting the Hull-House Maps*, and displayed it in the Butler Art Gallery in 1895 (“Agnes Sinclair Holbrook”). The maps remained a kind of art object even after they were prepared by the mapmaker Samuel Greely for publication (55). For the first edition of *HHM&P*, Kelley insisted in a letter to the publisher, economist Richard Ely, that the maps appear as “two linen-backed maps or charts, folding in pockets in the cover of the book” (Kelley). In figure 10, the Wage Map appears in its entirety, while Figure 11 is the Nationalities Map. This history of production illustrates that while Kelley directed the map’s publication, making the maps required a team of census takers, a mapmaker, a publisher, and the sponsorship of both the government and Hull House.

Whereas writers of World’s Fair guidebooks represented the slum from the perspective of a walker on a tour of the main thoroughfares, Kelley’s maps were larger in



Figure 10. Wage Map No. 1-4. The New York Public Library Digital Collections. 1895.

scale and zoomed out from the street view. Each map depicts the same third of a square mile east of Hull House on Halsted Street, and west of the commercial downtown of Chicago. The major thoroughfares Twelfth Street on the south and Congress Parkway on the north also frame the area depicted in the map. Kelley accomplished this view by using mapmaking firm Greeley and Carlsen's fire insurance maps as the base of her maps over which she and Holbrook added color codes. The fire insurance maps portrayed the neighborhood on a scale in which the outlines of each house and lot were visible because their original purpose was to account for space in the neighborhood that could be privately owned and insured. These maps already displayed the property around which a discourse of domesticity was based: the single-family home on a private lot. This prior purpose aligned with a project of making visible domestic space.

The scale, together with the bird's eye view of the neighborhood, reveals the scope of the neighborhood's domestic space that was not apparent from the perspective of a walker on the street. Most households were not visible from the street because they were located on alleys behind the houses and other buildings that fronted the street. Holbrook argues that from the street, visitors would see the "larger, higher, and to the casual eye the better tenements of more pretentious aspect" (54). She warns that "the smart frontage is a mere screen, not only for the individual houses, but for the street as a whole. Rear tenements and alleys form the core of the district" (54). The maps' color codes also help to distinguish the outlines of lots and houses that would not be visible from a streetview. These color codes emphasize private, household space, while street and commercial space remains uncoded. These codes that make households distinct from public and paid work spaces—the streets, factories, railroad, and ports that are left

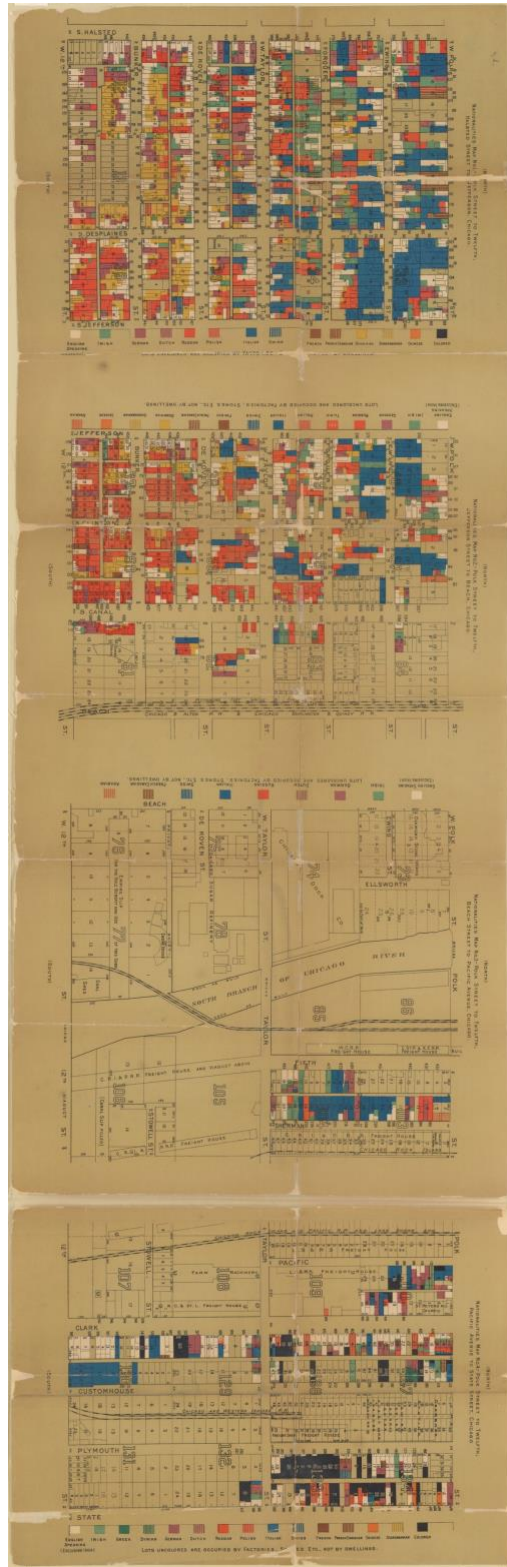


Figure 11. Nationalities Map No. 1-4. The New York Public Library Digital Collections. 1895.

uncoded—further distinguish Kelley’s representations of the slum from previous representations that actively blur home and work distinctions.

In addition to highlighting domestic space as separate from paid work space, the wages map reasserts a separatist logic along class lines through its framing. By showing class status in terms of wages tied to the home, residents reveal that the people who live in this neighborhood are working-class. The map portrays this neighborhood as unconnected to the rest of the city, which allows a middle-class and affluent public to understand this working-class space as distinct from the spaces they occupy. The map, for example, does not depict Hull House, which is located just outside the maps’ northwestern (upper left) corner on Halsted Street. Figure 12 offers a close-up view of the Wages Map in which its upper left corner is where Hull House was located (fig. 12). The map’s logic that suggests families earn weekly wages would not have held up when applied to Hull House and its residents. Residents lived off the wealth of their families or held professional positions and did not earn weekly wages. In displaying working-class space as contained and distinct from middle-class and affluent space, the wages map resists an understanding of space as a slum that promotes class mixing.

A separatist logic characterizes the nationalities map as well. In this map, households are color coded, too. The color codes in this map represent family nationality. To understand this display of nationality, it is helpful to consider that within the discourse of domesticity, it was a commonplace that it was a woman’s role within the home to cultivate children as good citizens for the nation. As Nancy Cott argues, woman’s vocation within “domesticity ultimately was intended to implant, in the family, social control of a kind that seemed necessary and appropriate in a democratic republic” (94).

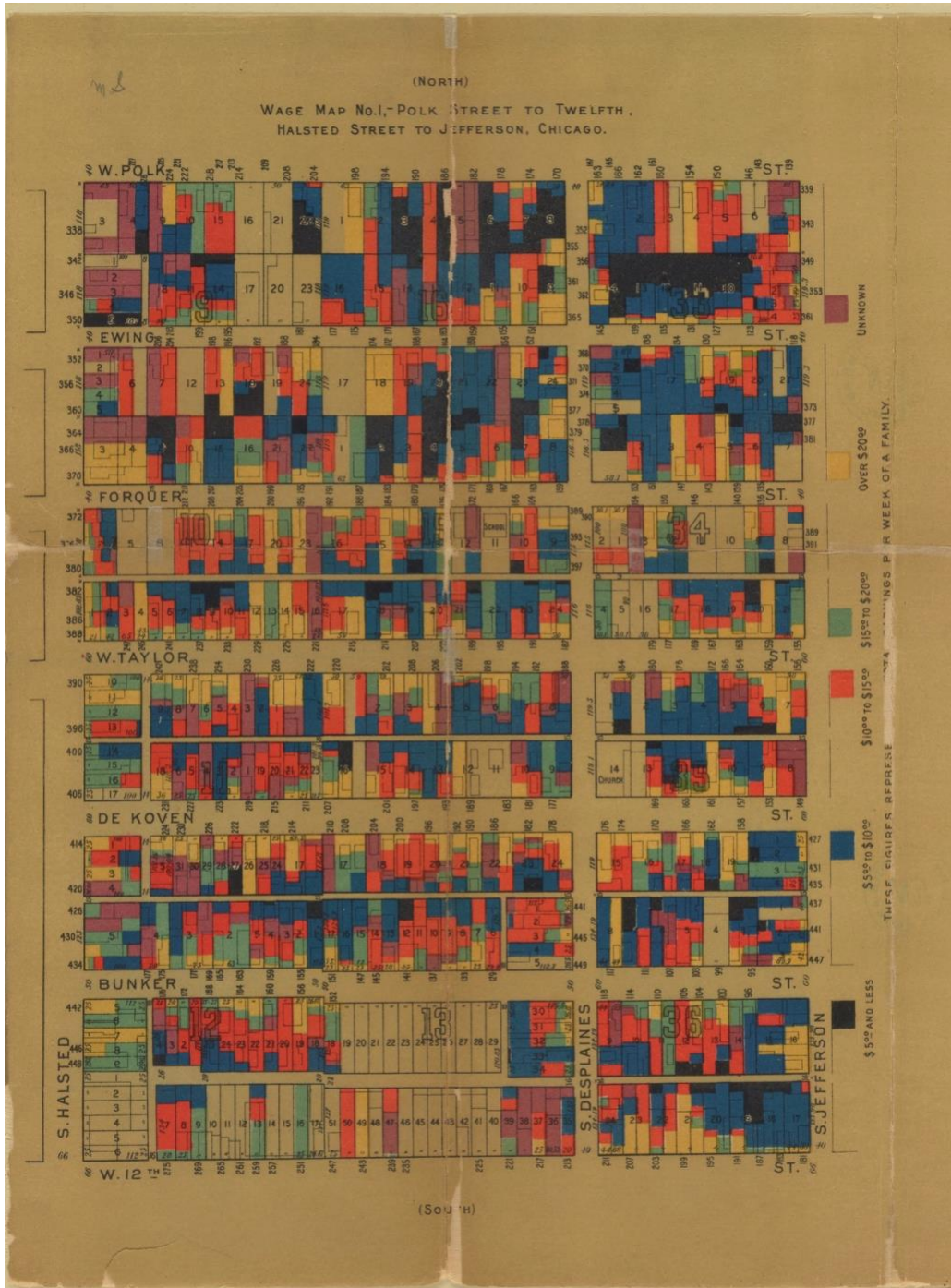


Figure 12. Wages Map from Halsted to Jefferson. This image is one-fourth of the entire Wages Map. Hull House itself would have been located in the top left-hand corner on the left side of Halsted Street.

By reasserting the primacy of domestic space and showing its inhabitants' myriad national affiliations, Kelley reaffirms the household as the place where national identity is formed, preserved and protected. However, this map affiliates women and families occupying these households with the national culture, language, and values of foreign nations. The homes on the map are at once domestic and foreign space. Kelley displays the homes as occupied by Italians, Bohemians, Irish Russians, and others in the neighborhood. Because of the scale of the map and its birds-eye view, viewers understand this neighborhood as not only foreign, but cosmopolitan. Kelley's map enlists its viewer into seeing the neighborhood as she sees it; the homes on the map are a display of cosmopolitan domesticity that highlight what is exotic and foreign. This display reflects what Hoganson refers to as the imperialist dimension of women's cosmopolitanism; one that "celebrated empire" by promoting the US's expansion to include the wider world (14). In making these maps, Kelley was not only doing the job of an investigator or labor activist, she was also protecting the authority granted to her as a white, professional woman within the discourse of domesticity. Historian Kristin Hoganson argues cosmopolitan domesticity extended privileged women's authority over class and nationality as it related to their apparent expertise over the global production of American households, especially as it related to their knowledge as consumers of household goods from European and East Asian markets (15). Kelley's maps reassert that the West Side is not a slum, but a family neighborhood, while demonstrating her knowledge of the foreign and working-class identities of her neighbors. As documents that display Kelley's expertise over a cosmopolitan neighborhood, the maps also stand as evidence of her class and racial privilege that she did not problematize.

The nationalities map protected Hull House residents' domestic authority within the neighborhood, which was based on their expertise over diverse foreign goods, arts, languages, and cultures. The cosmopolitanism of the neighborhood was threatened by depictions of it as a slum, a space of social mixing. The Hull House Maps offer the public a view of the West Side as a space in which it is easy to make and appreciate distinctions. By reasserting the neighborhood's cosmopolitan domestic spaces where neighborhood people are identifiably foreign, the map speaks back to the idea of the slum as a space of social mixing where identity is negotiated in public places. The map does this by making use of the meaning of domestic as not only referring to the literal home, but also to the idea of a domestic national identity in opposition to a foreign one. The nationalities map, in other words, reasserts clear boundaries between what is American space (public space, including street and paid work space) and what is foreign space (households). And, because the map does not include the city beyond the neighborhood, it allows members of a distant public to think of themselves as American and implicitly white consumers in relation to foreign and racialized producers of goods who live on the West Side.

Residents also perceived the cosmopolitanism of the neighborhood as threatened by the industrial workplace and the schools that trained future workers. The workplace and school were especially threatening to foreign identity because the workplace encouraged immigrants to abandon handcraft skills, while the schools privileged speaking English over foreign languages. The workplace and the school recast neighborhood women's traditional domestic role of reproducing national culture and language as "uncouth and un-American" (Addams "First Report" 1). The nationalities

map aligns with a larger project to reinforce the argument that home is where immigrant women should be seen as teachers of national values and character.

The nationalities map, then, together with the wages map, display neighborhood homes as cosmopolitan objects over which Hull House residents claimed special knowledge. Displaying the neighborhood's cosmopolitan character appealed to a wider public called together for the World's Fair, a public who could see and know this neighborhood in similar ways to how it understood the World's fairgrounds: as a display space for appreciating and consuming foreign goods and culture; where what is private space and public space is clear, and what is foreign and working-class space is contained and controlled within the larger city. Through the wages map, Kelley reasserts a view of home as separate from paid work space, and through the nationalities map she redraws boundaries of what is American and what is foreign. By making these boundaries clear, Kelley's wages and nationalities maps defend and protect domesticity from the threat of a public understanding this neighborhood as a slum. The maps illustrate Lefebvre's point that representations of space display social relations "in a state of coexistence and cohesion" (32). Yet, representations of space achieve this cohesiveness by concealing the everyday practices that contradict what they display.

The Hull House Maps Obscure Everyday Household Practices

The Hull House maps serve as countertexts that speak back to both representations of (and uses of) their neighborhood as a slum, a rhetorical space that potentially marginalized Hull House residents and other women. An analysis of the maps, however, would be incomplete if read as countertexts alone. At the same time that the

Hull House maps make cosmopolitan domestic space visible, they also reduce the complexity of the social relations within space in order to present a cohesive narrative. As Ralph Cintron has pointed out, “numerous locales are washed of their reality, and what is left is their abstractness held in relationship to each other” in a map (17). In other words, maps cover over the messiness of lived experience in favor of displaying relationships amongst buildings, landmarks, and people. When the Hull-House maps reassert the primacy of domestic space, they also obscure the ways West Siders used and moved through space over time.

Upon close inspection, the maps reveal contradictions between Kelley’s interest in highlighting domestic space and people’s uses of space that mix home and work, private and public. The wages map, for example, asserts the primacy of home over work not only through emphasizing home, but also through obscuring that paid labor happens in these homes. The wages map, while aggregating the wages a family earns, does not indicate where wages are earned, nor does it indicate who in the family is earning wages. This is a surprising choice given that many of the homes in the neighborhood doubled as sweatshops. In her paper, “The Sweating System,” Kelley is clear that home and work space mixed:

The shops are, without exception, in tenement houses or in the rear of tenement houses, in two-story buildings facing alleys that are usually unpaved and always noxious with the garbage and refuse of a tenement-house district. If the sweater’s shop is in a tenement house, it is sometimes—but very rarely—in the ground floor front room, built for a store and lighted by large store windows. But far more commonly it is a basement, or an attic, or the flat over a saloon, or the shed over a stable. (66)

It is unclear where paid labor is happening by looking at the maps alone because Kelley aggregated data on individuals’ wages into a family unit. In the process of adding

together the wages of family members, Kelley discards data on an individuals' trade that would have implied a place of work.

The family wage suggests the locus of consumption is the home, which is in contrast to representations of the slum in which the street is the place where purchases are made. By coding each household for weekly wage, the map implies that women might claim the conventional domestic role as consumers. The wages map also reveals a problem facing women as household consumers: the majority of families are earning less than \$10.00 a week (which would amount to about \$250/week today). Kelley and Holbrook explained that "a wife and children are sources of income as well as avenues of expense" (61). Low wages were undermining conventional family roles. Men were not the sole breadwinners. Women (and children) were earning money in addition to spending it.

Kelley also defined who was supposed to be included in a family unit and obscured the wages of people who lived outside her definition of the family. Holbrook admits that defining the family unit was not easy. Their definition included "the tie of kinship" and the "more or less irregular occupancy of the same tenement, at least at night" (61). Those who did not fit into this broad definition of family remained invisible on the maps. For example, Kelley and Holbrook did not calculate wages for women working in brothels in part because women who lived there did not have kinship ties. They also had objections to "estimating their incomes in the same way" as people who worked in the legitimate economy (62).

Kelley and Holbrook obscure how many families live in a home by counting single boarders as their own family unit. Holbrook writes, "every boarder, and each

member of the family who pays board, ranks as a self-supporting individual, and is therefore classed as a separate wage-earner. East of the river almost everybody boards, and a large proportion of the families on the west side keep boarders and lodgers; while there are also frequent boarding and lodging houses containing large numbers of people (61). To suggest that individual boarders are a family is misleading in the sense that family usually suggests more than one person. This accounting leaves invisible the ways that people who lived together outside of kinship ties pooled funds and functioned as an economic unit. It also obscures the reality that many boarders were single women who lived with families and contributed a significant portion of income to households.

The maps also obscure how many families live in a home—on the wages and nationalities maps, the multiple families who live in a single home are depicted by one continuous color code if they earn the same wage amounts or are of the same nationality. Though several lots have more than one color code over them and thus suggest that homes on a lot were occupied by more than one family, it is only apparent that more than one family lived on the lots if those families earned different wage amounts. If families living in a home were earning the same wages, they would receive the same color code. These choices have the effect of giving the appearance of a neighborhood populated by fewer families than are actually living there.

The nationalities map manifests tensions between the codes for national identity and the reality of people's identities in the neighborhood. Kelley asserts the foreignness of people living in the neighborhood in part by obscuring the identities of neighborhood people who do not fit into her categories that privilege foreignness. Kelley's methodology for determining a family's nationality is generally unclear. The US

Department of Labor's survey that she and other government officials were using solicited information on race, place of birth, and languages that an individual was able to read, write, and speak. The US Department of Labor did not account for nationality in their survey forms. Kelley's map nevertheless displays the foreign identities of neighborhood families, and as a consequence obscures other identity categories salient to neighborhood people. For example, she obscures an ethnic, racialized, and religious identity for the Jewish population in the neighborhood by instead categorizing Jewish-identifying people as Russian, and Polish and German, categories that prioritize their national affiliations. Her selective lens on nationality reflects Kelley's privileged perspective in which she claims the right to name others. Figure 13 offers a close-up view of the Nationalities Map and Kelley's key to national identity (fig. 13).

The reality of people's identities comes into additional tension with Kelley's interest in prioritizing foreignness. Rather than offer an American identity, she codes an African American community in the neighborhood as "colored" and what are in part American-born white households as "English Speaking, Excluding Irish." She excludes Irish excluded in part because it was an ethnic/racialized identity, and also because it was another foreign identity that could be highlighted. The lens of the family unit also obscures the complicated identities of US born children of immigrants. On Kelley's map, children are not offered a national identity different from the one their parents are assigned.

The maps, as they fix data points to locations, obscure the story behind the process of data collection that unfolded over time and required in-person interaction. For example, the wages map shows several households marked "unknown" in terms of the

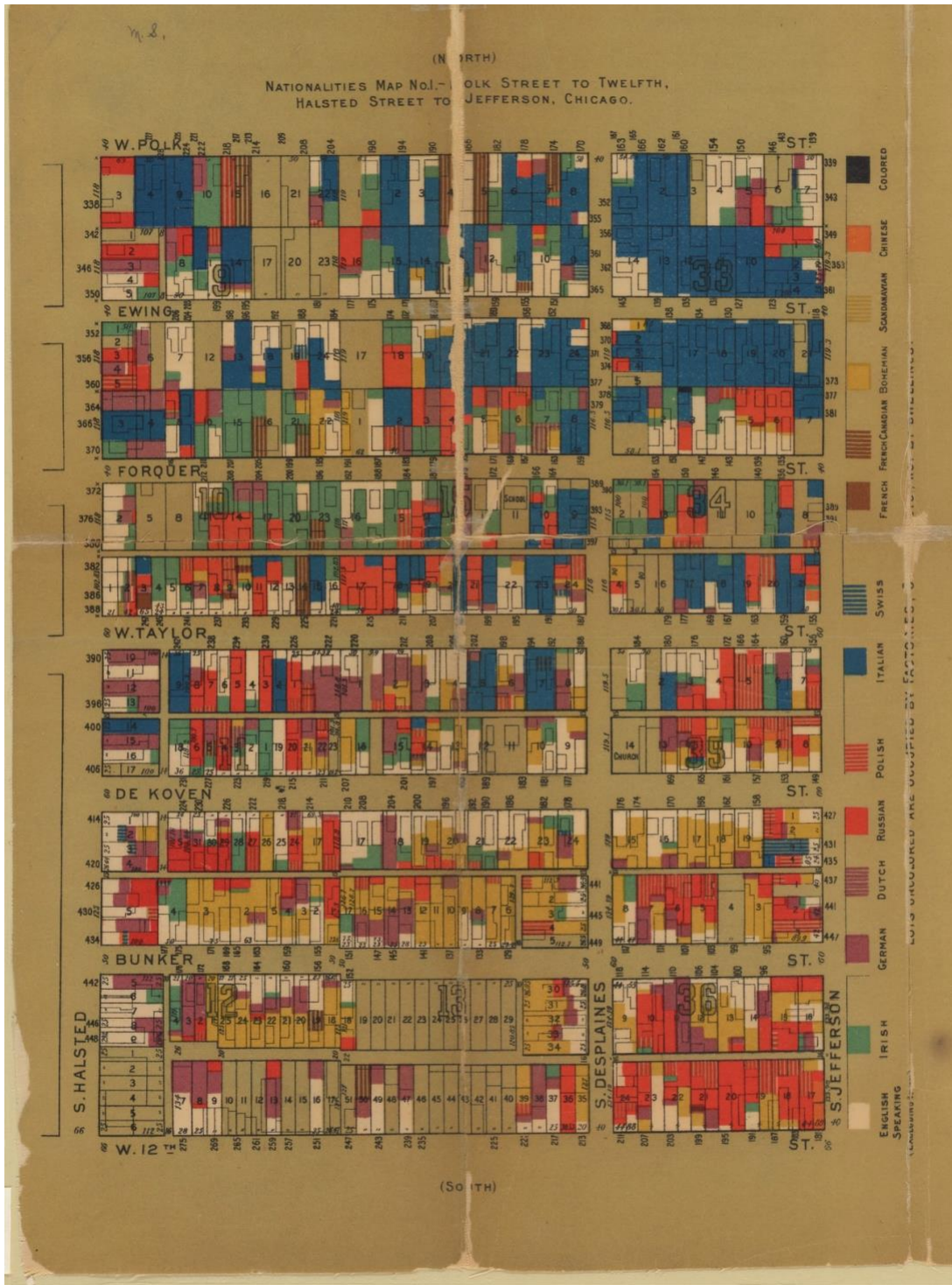


Figure 13. Nationalities Map, Halsted to Jefferson.

family wage, though the map itself does not reveal why this data was unavailable. If neighborhood people feared that their addresses and the amount of money their families earned would become public knowledge, their fears were confirmed by the maps' publication. Of the data collection process, Holbrook admits to "the painful nature of minute investigation, and the personal impertinence of many of the questions asked," but does not record examples that illustrate the nature of investigation (58). It was also the case that as the factory inspector for the State of Illinois, Kelley that the legal authority to shut down any sweatshops that defied the law that stated no paid work could take place in rooms intended for eating and sleeping (kitchen and bedrooms). Neighbors may have feared that speaking to Kelley and other canvassers could lead to shop closures. Kelley reported tense interactions when she conducted a similar survey of sweatshops during the smallpox epidemic of 1894, an epidemic that reportedly originated at the World's Fair. Kelley wrote that neighborhood people evaded her inquiries about smallpox cases by ignoring her visits when she knocked on the door. Parents lied about children's ages, refused to produce birth certificates, and attempted to conceal small children who had smallpox. Parents took these measures because Kelley, as a government official, had the authority to determine whether smallpox patients should be removed from the home and sent to a hospital where "70 per cent. of all patients die" (*First Special Report* 40). "Parents," Kelley writes, "resort to extraordinary measures, such as hiding sick children in coffee sacks, locking them in water-closets, or smuggling them away to remote suburbs wrapped as bundles of coats and transported in streetcars filled with unsuspecting passengers" (40). Kelley's apparent callousness when interacting with neighborhood people highlights that she privileged the safety of a "purchasing public" over supporting

the families making garments (these garments supposedly had the potential to carry smallpox from place to place) (*HHM&P* 65). Kelley leveraging her gendered and classed expertise over consumership and domestic life, and her government-granted power to separate work from home, is a complex instance of how women used domestic and public health discourses to participate in producing ethnic and racial difference in this era, a phenomenon historian Nyan Shah documents in his case study of public health discourses and representations of Chinese immigrants in this era (2001). On Kelley's maps, the homes that are marked "unknown" for nationalities and wages are likely spaces in which neighborhood people declined to become subject to Kelley's scrutiny.

The maps also obscure the reality that people, and also houses, frequently moved. Addams was concerned that the maps, once published within *HHM&P*, would misrepresent current neighborhood people. In October 1894, Addams wrote to the book's publisher Ely in an attempt to hasten publication:

We feel that the matter will be so old and out of date if we wait much longer. Mrs. Kelly's office is already making great changes in the condition of the sweater shops in the neighborhood, the Jewish population is rapidly moving Northward, and all the conditions are of course, more or less, unlike what they were July 1st, 1893, when the data for the maps was finished. (qtd. in Sklar 146)

Yet, it was not only the relationships of people to the space that would be out of date; the houses of the neighborhood were also changing, as they moved easily from place to place. It was common for homeowners to fill up their lot with buildings and then rent those spaces to multiple families. In her essay explaining the maps, Holbrook describes for readers the ways tenements moved in Chicago:

West of the river the great majority of the dwellings are wooden structures of temporary aspect and uncertain moorings; and almost any day in walking through a halfdozen blocks one will see a frame building, perhaps two or three, being

carried away on rollers to make room for some factory to be erected on the old site. Suburban cottages of remote date, with neither foundations nor plumbing, travel from place to place, and even three-story tenements make voyages toward the setting sun. (58)

Addams would often recall for audiences how this practice of filling up the lot with wooden tenements at first signaled to her an absent landlord. She was then surprised to learn that the landlord frequently lived on the property and was only able to afford it by filling it with tenements and charging rent (*Housing Problem* 9-10). This backstory contradicts the logic of the Hull House maps/fire-insurance maps that assume the structures on the lot are valuable. Landlords, through their tenement-moving strategies, valued owning the land itself rather than any particular building on the land.

This history of spatial practices contextualizes the choices that Kelley and Holbrook make to highlight neighborhood homes. Their maps obscure the use of home space for work. They also obscured any complicated or changing identities that contradicted a contained way of thinking about class and nationality.

The Hull House Maps Establish a Commonplace

Kelley created these maps at a time when Hull House residents were in the process of articulating a broader philosophy regarding women's place in the city: What spaces, identities, and practices constituted the domestic sphere? The maps asserted the city neighborhood should be seen as primarily domestic space. Within Hull House, residents debated what it meant to include the wider neighborhood within their realm of authority, and how to communicate their claim to neighborhood to the public. Residents' thinking on these questions is apparent within the larger work of *HHM&P*.

The maps preceded and inspired the idea for the book. Hull House residents' meeting minutes from August 27, 1893 state, for example, "Map - Publication - What is to go with the maps?" The variety of essays that residents wrote to support the maps illustrate the ways that visual representations of space serve as an inventive resource for verbal arguments about space. Jeff Rice observes that the mapping genre establishes a "commonality of space for city residents" (16). They create a common understanding of place. At Hull House, the maps served as a source of invention for residents with disparate views on what women's domestic authority and practice should look like in the city. Residents articulate these positions around place as it is established in the maps. At the same time, the arguments that "go with the maps" illustrate Kristie Fleckenstein's theory of double mapping, or "the process by which we deliberately juxtapose the corporeal logic of image and the discursive logic of word so that at some level they are always contending with each other" (136). The nonverbal symbolic dimension of the maps allows residents to interpret them in a variety of ways, while at the same time the maps always exceed and in some ways defy residents' attempts to verbally explain or debate what the maps mean.

For Kelley, the maps were part of a larger effort to convince a wider public to gain awareness of their power as consumers, and to make purchasing choices that protected and defended the separation of home and paid work space. Kelley argued that consumers disturbed the domestic lives of working people and perpetuated wage inequality when they purchased sweatshop-made goods (clothing, candy, cigars, and other items). She also had unusual power to enforce traditional notions of domestic space as separate from work space through her position as the State of Illinois Factory

Inspector. As the first woman in any state to hold the appointment, Kelley oversaw the drafting and implementation of the 1893 Factory and Workshop Inspection Law that prohibited the manufacture of garments in spaces traditionally designated for eating and sleeping. The law also limited the daily employment of women to eight hours and outlawed the employment of children under 14. In Kelley's view, regulating home/work space, limiting women's work hours, and outlawing child labor improved factory conditions. In the garment trade, the law encouraged employers to shift work into factories, which were in theory more spacious and better lit and ventilated. The law also functioned to create more work for unemployed men. Within Kelley's worldview, the maps and the eight-hour law both reasserted traditional notions of domesticity onto neighborhood people's practices. Kelley embarked on a public relations campaign for support for this law because it was broadly unpopular with workers, employers and the press. The eight-hour law was overturned in 1895, with the Supreme Court of Illinois arguing "no person shall be precluded or debarred from any occupation, profession or employment (except military) on account of her sex" (*Third Annual Report*).

The maps also provided evidence for Kelley's argument that "differences of religion, nationality, language and location" were the very problem that made sweatshop conditions unchangeable at the local level by workers and employers (65). In her *HMM&P* essay "The Sweating System," Kelley explains that employers within the sweatshop industry benefited from a workforce who could not communicate across differences because these communicative difficulties impeded labor organizing. Employers also actively kept ethnic groups separate from one another. Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut argue that because immigrant workers from southern and eastern

Europe were generally coming from rural areas and were peasants or unskilled laborers, they lacked experience with labor organizing. Employers used this lack of experience against workers by dividing them along ethnic lines and assigning them different work and pay in order to limit their opportunities for identifying along class lines and unionizing (124). The maps as public documents that reveal foreign diversity in the neighborhood help Kelley justify why she is appealing to a public to stop purchasing sweatshop-made goods in order to change labor inequality (rather than appeal to shop owners or shop workers directly).

In contrast to Kelley's efforts to use the maps to display difference as it relates to neighborhood households, other residents used the commonplace of the maps to articulate what remained invisible. In "The Bohemian People in Chicago," for example, Josefa Humpal Zeman highlights the partial view the maps have on the trans-neighborhood and transnational connections that characterize Bohemian women's lives in Chicago. Zeman, the only Hull House woman resident and member of an ethnic community in the neighborhood to contribute a chapter to *HHM&P*, was a journalist who represented Bohemian women at the World's Fair and had been the secretary of the Bohemian Columbian Exposition Committee (*Women Building* 417). In her paper, Zeman complicates the neighborhood scale of the maps and argues for making sense of Bohemian women's lives on a bigger scale, both spatially and historically. For example, Zeman renames the Bohemian "colony" depicted on the map the "Prague of the Bohemian people in Chicago" (107). By renaming it Prague, the biggest city in Bohemia before 1870, Zeman draws attention to the ways Bohemian immigrants brought spatial understandings with them to Chicago. After the Chicago fire in 1871 made available

more land, Zeman writes that the Bohemian people moved again to Pilsen, an area in Chicago named after the second largest city in Bohemia (107). This history Zeman gives also makes visible the way that the Hull-House maps are partial in that they represent space at a specific moment in time.

Describing the transnational, and then trans-neighborhood movement of Bohemian people, Zeman resists the idea that the Bohemian people live in a slum. She rereads the idea of “slums” as both a spatial and personal identifier, and says it does not apply to a group of people who move: “Bohemia has never sent her ‘slums,’ as some politicians assert, because her slums, like the slums of other nations, never like to ‘move on’; they are too contented in their indolence and filth to be willing to go to work, or take the trouble of sea-voyage” (108). Zeman’s personification of “slums” collapses space and identity overtly. If a slum is a place characterized by its people’s stasis, Zeman argues that Bohemians (or anyone who moves) resists this definition.

Zeman’s transnational perspective makes visible influences in Bohemian women’s domestic practices beyond American domesticity. Zeman suggests, for example, that Bohemian women have control over purchasing power as part of a Slavic custom that “the father and children should give all their wages to the wife and mother” (110). Zeman understands women’s authority over consumption as a cultural logic in addition to a gendered or classed logic. What Zeman does not make explicit in her paper is that Bohemian women’s domestic values largely aligned with American ones. In addition, Bohemian women’s whiteness afforded them relative privilege over other immigrant women in their neighborhood. The papers following Zeman’s make some of her privilege visible with their focus on the Italian and Jewish communities, two

racialized populations in the neighborhood. Allesandro Mastro-Valerio writes about the logics underlying the practices of the Italian community, defending them against the “charge of filthiness” (118). Regarding the Italian community, Valerio writes, “on arriving in this country they swear to impose upon themselves all sorts of sacrifices, by limiting their personal expenses to the minimum, in order to hasten the realization of the dream of a happy and moneyed return. Therefore, if their way of living in the crowded tenement houses of the American cities has been found objectionable, it is to be ascribed to this proposed economy” (114). Valerio, here, is arguing that the Italian community has accepted poor living conditions because they believe their stay in the US is temporary while they make money, and will be returning to Italy. Zeublin, meanwhile, describes the West Side institutions that sustained the Jewish community—charities, synagogues, the Maxwell Street Settlement, and the Jewish Training School. Zeublin also takes up the metaphor of the “ghetto” to describe the Jewish district on the West Side, a word connoting forced segregation, which strikes a contrast to the maps’ depiction of a pluralistic neighborhood in which people of differing ethnicities and races live near one another (“ghetto”).

Whereas Zeman, Valerio, and Zeublin explore the larger themes of immigration, culture, and institutional life that characterize specific sections of the West Side, the writers whose papers appear at the end of *HHM&P* go smaller; they zoom in to the scale of individual home life. Lathrop (“The Cook County Charities”), Starr (“Art and Labor”), and Addams (“The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement,” “Appendix: Outline Sketch Descriptive of Hull-House”) make the home the focal geography that explains women’s place in the wider world. Lathrop, for example, argues that women and

settlements such as Hull House are needed in the neighborhood to connect the logics of family and charity. All too often, she argues, neighborhood charities are unprepared to support the needs of neighborhood people and contribute to the breakup of the household rather than sustain it. In “Art and Labor,” Starr critiques industry for flattening neighborhood people’s identities and describes an ideal scenario in which a home communicates its owner’s identity as an Italian artisan. She writes:

In the house of an Italian peasant immigrant in our own neighborhood, I have seen wall and ceiling decoration of his own design, and done by his own hand in colors. The designs were very rude, the colors coarse; but there was nothing of the vulgar in it, and there was something of hope. The peasant immigrant’s surroundings begin to be vulgar precisely at the point where he begins to buy and adorn his dwelling with the products of American manufacture. What he brings with him in the way of carven bed, wrought kerchief, enamel inlaid picture of saint or angel, has its charm of human touch, and is graceful, however childish. (169-70)

In this home, Starr represents a neighborhood man designing a home and artifacts that would signify “what he brings with him” or reminders of his previous ties to Italy and to work as craft, which serve as alternatives to identifying as a factory worker involved in American manufacture. This alignment of a worker and his space comes undone for Starr “precisely and the point” where he consumes American manufactured goods by buying and adorning his home with them (169). Starr’s is both a gendered and classed observation that implies a working-class man does not have the knowledge or taste to discern the differences in quality between what is handmade, and what is manufactured. His home, to use Starr’s word, becomes “vulgar” (169). In arguing that a man should not embrace industry-made consumer goods and instead express his true identity through arts and crafts, Starr, like Kelley, was attempting to regulate neighborhood homes.

Addams makes sense of neighborhood social relations through the domestic geography of Hull House. Her “Outline Sketch,” for example, is an annotated list of Hull House’s clubs, classes, lectures and events. Throughout the list, Addams strategically places photographs of Hull House interiors, including images of a parlor, the art studio, a music stage, the library, the men’s club, and a nursery. Spaces depicted in the photographs include artwork, books, a piano, furniture, and décor that offer another version of cosmopolitan domestic display. Many of these spaces depicted suggest a particular use, especially as they are labeled; for example, the image depicting the “Library in Hull House,” which depicts several bookshelves surrounding table and chairs suggests it was used for sitting and reading (fig. 14). Other photographs offer views of spaces apparently used by particular groups, such as the working women who lived at the Jane Club, and the men who used the pool hall as a men’s clubhouse.

These photographs, as representations of space, also obscure as much as they reveal. They especially obscure that Hull House’s spaces were typically multi-use. For example, while the library in Hull House was a place to read, it was also used as a parlor for receiving guests, and as a classroom. While obscuring the library’s uses seems benign, it also obscures a larger understanding of the way people worked and moved through Hull House. The room-level scale of the photographs avoids a display of Hull House as a whole; no bedrooms or kitchens appear in these photographs, spaces that would suggest the unconventional living arrangements at Hull House. While neighborhood people appear in some of the photographs, residents do not appear in any of them. The photographs, by obscuring a sense of the whole and how residents appeared in these spaces, do not reveal the ways that residents subverted traditional domesticity.



Figure 14. Library in Hull House. One of the interior photographs that appear in Addams' "Appendix: Outline Sketch Descriptive of Hull-House. "

For example, Hull House residents' project of neighborhood reform necessitated (and justified) their living outside the traditional family home and taking up roles outside traditional family structures. Other institutions with a stake in the neighborhood noticed. A Catholic newspaper expressed opposition to the public praise Hull House received for its neighborhood work by reiterating that one of the "great dailies of the city" had accused Hull House of being "an institution that is boldly charged with being socialistic, anarchistic, free-lovistic and we know not what else" (17). The photographs appearing throughout Addams' "Appendix: Outline Sketch" refute these kinds of charges by revealing Hull House as composed of traditional spaces of domesticity.

Though their positioning at the end of *HHM&P* suggests the interior photographs are visuals of secondary importance to the maps, these photographs do the work of establishing residents' expertise over the cosmopolitan as it related to the domestic. They establish that residents such as Kelley and Starr have cosmopolitan taste and knowledge to draw from when they claim authority to represent other people's homes. Hull House is the geography that makes Kelley's authority to reimagine the neighborhood space possible.

Evaluating the Rhetorical Work of *Hull House Maps & Papers*

According to Lefebvre, representations of space are powerful because they create knowledge about space. On the surface, the two maps seem to make known space as a product of class (the wages map) and national (the nationalities map) relations. But in the bigger picture, what brings class and nationality together is the logic of domestic discourse in which the household produces not only gender, but also class and national identities.

The Hull-House maps make an argument: they protect and defend the primacy of domestic space as it is threatened by the slum, a space that offers people opportunities to mix across differences. The maps work to obscure spatial practices that contradict their logic, but they ultimately manifest tensions as they have some connection to a social and political reality. They illustrate Lefebvre's point that "established relations between objects and people in represented space are subordinate to a logic which will sooner or later break them up because of their lack of consistency" (41). Residents productively point to some of these tensions in their papers. Once the maps establish a common understanding of place, they serve as an inventive resource for Hull House residents, who speak about the neighborhood from lived experience. As residents write with authority about the contradictions of everyday life, they do so in reference to the geographic commonplace of the neighborhood. Even papers that do not comment directly on the maps are juxtaposed against the maps by proximity in the publication.

These maps, by serving as a resource for the papers, enable residents to make arguments that neighborhood women should be seen as wives, mothers and artisans, and men also as artisans, whereas representations of the slum enabled portrayals of women as brothel workers and garment workers exploited by industry. The maps, furthermore, support Kelley and other residents in reimagining their own authority to protect domesticity in the neighborhood. Their papers reveal their diversity of opinions. Should they use the law to protect domesticity (Kelley), should they lead by example through Hull House (Addams), or should they find points of connection and disconnection between American and immigrant domestic practices (Zeman)?

Ultimately, the book's collection of diversity—of genres, of authors, and of opinions— performs a kind of cosmopolitanism. The maps, papers, and photographs do not in the end come together to form a cohesive message, but their placement together highlights the range of resources and influences that residents draw from in order to create this publication, with each genre making domestic space visible on a new scale. The chapters by Zeman, Valerio, and Zeublin, ones that seem to resist cosmopolitanism, or valuing diverse foreignness, in favor of a focus on individual immigrant groups, are arranged together in the middle of the book. This ordering replicates the idea that each group in the neighborhood is treated individually and then placed side by side. The book itself collects authors with diverse identities. What holds *HHM&P* together is the idea that domesticity should be protected in the first place, and it performs the seeming paradox that domesticity can include the spaces, roles, and ideas of the wider world.

CHAPTER 5

ENGENDERING CIVIC MEMORY AT THE HULL HOUSE LABOR MUSEUM

The Changing Sites of Women's Work

In the early twentieth century, Hull House residents confronted changes in women's relationship to labor as the economy shifted where women's work took place. In Chicago, as in other US cities, women's places of work continued to move outside the home. This movement, historian Alice Kessler-Harris notes, was driven in part by the technological changes allowing industry to produce more goods in factories and fewer in the private home; the previously domestic tasks of food production, laundry, garment making, and household cleaning supply manufacture now also took place in factories (110). These workplace changes affected women across class identities. Kessler-Harris finds, for example, that wage-earning women continued to work in domestic service and manufacturing and also found new work in retail and business management (128). Middle-class women, freed from some degree of housework by new technologies, were able to seek out education and expand the previously domestic labor of teaching children and caring for the sick to the paid roles of teacher, nurse, social worker, and doctor (115-16).

Hull House residents' individual lives reflected the changing nature of women's work. More residents than ever before supported themselves through professions. In 1897, medical doctor Alice Hamilton and theatre and dance teacher Edith de Nancrede joined Addams, Starr and Lathrop at Hull House (Kelley departed in 1899 to become secretary of the National Consumers' League in New York). In the late 1910s,

Sophonisba Breckenridge and Edith and Grace Abbott, sociologists affiliated with the University of Chicago, took up residency at Hull House. Throughout this period, Hull House's concerns continued to center around issues of labor, housing, and immigration. The professional women residents increasingly made interconnections between Hull House and other institutions in the city to address these issues.

Residents also addressed the changing nature of women's work as a collective. As more women across social locations worked outside the home and participated in rhetoric in new places, there was a growing sentiment at Hull House that domesticity as the basis of gendered spatial and rhetorical practices was losing value. This was a problem for Hull House's institutional identity— Addams and Starr had founded Hull House as a place where a woman could expand her domestic roles to include “citizen of the world” (“College Woman” 4). A worldly citizenship had included claiming authority over international spaces (and goods, language and culture), but had not initially included a vision of women claiming authority over public and professional spaces shared with men. In claiming a worldly citizenship, residents throughout the 1890s had respected, and even protected, a gendered division of space and labor. Now, in the 20th century, women across social locations were moving between private, public and professional spheres. Was there a continued need for Hull House and its support of an expansive domestic sphere?

One of Hull House residents' collective efforts to reassert the value of domestic spaces and practices in the 20th century occurred through the Labor Museum. This museum displayed historical foreign, handmade art and artifacts from a variety of time periods and nations. It also featured neighborhood people performing manual labor in

woodworking, textile manufacture, metalwork, cooking, and bookbinding. Through these displays, the museum offered symbolic representations of the history of foreign labor and foreign-made art and artifacts. The Labor Museum also did something else: it offered residents an opportunity to reassert their knowledge and authority over artisan and foreign labor practices at a time when their sources of authority were shifting and unclear. Residents' efforts to memorialize foreign, artisan labor practices led to tensions with their neighbors over the meaning and value of represented artifacts. Rhetorical spatial practices among neighborhood women, specifically the performers in the living "exhibits," challenged Hull House residents' attempts to use the museum to reinvent a cosmopolitan past. In doing so, neighborhood performers called attention to the ways in which rhetorical authority over cosmopolitan geographies was classed.

Museums: Memory and Invention Places

Museums are ripe for inquiry into the relationship between rhetoric and space. While all spaces can evoke symbolic meanings for individuals and collectives, museums are spaces curated to communicate messages, and people visit prepared to receive the symbolic messages the spaces invoke. As Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott have recently argued, a museum is important to attend to because of its "self-nomination as a site of significant memory of and for a collective" (25). The very idea of a museum calls attention to itself as a representational space, which Lefebvre defines as a physical space that is symbolically meaningful to people with a shared past. Lefebvre writes, "redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, [representational spaces] have their source in history—in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual

belonging to that people” (41). Because people visit museums prepared to take in their symbolic meanings, museums also foster certain kinds of rhetorical spatial practices. Museum performers, workers, and visitors talk about the museum, the exhibits, and their own relationships to the past as they move through it.

The museum as a mode of rhetorical expression made sense for Hull House residents because it called attention to itself as a memory space. Fearing that a wider public was losing respect for women’s authority over the domestic, residents preserved in the Labor Museum memories apparently in danger of being forgotten. The museum, in other words, was a *lieux de memoire*, defined by historian Pierre Nora as a site where memory work is externalized to a place. Nora points out that memory takes on a material form when a collective no longer has a will to practice or experience what is being remembered. Nora argues, “*lieux de memoire* arise out of a sense that there is no such thing as spontaneous memory, hence that we must create archives, mark anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and authenticate documents because such things no longer happen as a matter of course” (7). The Labor Museum was a place in which a version of labor history apparently in danger of being forgotten manifested in physical form.

A museum was also appropriate at Hull House because it is a place that offers resources for people seeking to invent arguments about the relationship between past and present. Such memory and invention work are not only core to the five canons of ancient rhetoric, but also, in both ancient and contemporary rhetorical theory, memory and invention are interconnected. According to Sharon Crowley, memory in ancient rhetoric was considered a “system of recollection” upon which rhetors drew to invent arguments

that mattered in the present; the commonplaces and topics, for example, served as ancient memory systems that were available to any interested parties wishing to speak from them (“Modern Rhetoric” 35). Though memory systems were often an invisible art, in some instances memory systems took a physical form. Mary Carruthers and Frances Yates have recovered a history of memory systems externalized in the form of art or written systems, and especially in multimodal forms linking word with image, or word with physical place. Frances Yates, for example, has shown that ancient memory systems beginning in the fifteenth century were recorded treatises that helped rhetors associate lines of argument with images of objects or places. Museums, as selective storehouses of symbolically-charged artifacts, can also function as memory systems for those who wish to invent arguments about the past.

In the museum, the Hull House residents found a kind of memory space that invited women to practice invention. Historian Tony Bennett argues that in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, museums were spaces friendly to women—they were invited into the museum because of its association with the cultural sphere as an extension of domesticity’s civilizing function (28-29). The word “museum” has also been used to refer to a wholly discursive space for women to learn about the past. For example, Charlotte Ramsey Lenox published a monthly periodical between 1760-61 titled *The Lady’s Museum* in which she offered historical essays (Dorn 7). Between 1798 and 1832, *The Lady’s Monthly Museum* was another magazine that featured historical essays, biographies, and novels between. This usage of the word “museum” in the titles of magazines reflects its connotation as a discursive space about the past friendly to women.

The museum was also a kind of place that offered inventive resources to a wider public. While museums are places arranged by an individual or a group, they memorialize a collective history. Philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs argues that memory is not individual, but exists within a social framework and shared past. Halbwachs writes, “in the same way that recent memories are common to a group, localizing older memories make them common to a group” (52). As collective memory places, museums localize older memories and invite visitors to consider the relationship between themselves and the collective. Hull House residents hoped that visitors would remember the role domesticity had played in carving out space and social relations in the US.

Museums were, and still are, places where people go to learn. They arrive open to learning about aspects of the past they had not previously considered. The Oxford English Dictionary defines an older usage of the word “museum” dating back to the ancient Hellenic world, though still in use in the 19th century, as a learning space, “a building, or part of a building, dedicated to the pursuit of learning or the arts; a scholar's study” (1.a & 1.b). Gregory Clark, drawing from the experiential theories of John Dewey and Kenneth Burke, argues the learning museums encourage can be seen as a rhetorical experience, one that gets someone to do something or change her thoughts. Clark argues that museums are spaces arranged to guide “experiences that have been composed for us to experience, that have been designed to influence and even direct the outcome of our own composition process” (116). Residents were initially motivated to open the Hull House Labor Museum as a teaching tool for young people in the neighborhood who did not share the same relationship to labor as their parents. Addams explicitly turned to the

museum as a kind of learning space to supplement schools that were not teaching the history of labor. The museum supplemented the work of “educators,” Addams argued, who “have failed to adjust themselves to the fact that cities have become great centers of production and manufacture, and manual labor has been left without historic interpretation or imaginative uplift” (2). In her *First Report of the Labor Museum at Hull House, Chicago*, Addams wrote that one exigence for the museum was to teach young people in the neighborhood to appreciate older people’s skills. She writes, “the older people, who are habitually at such a disadvantage because they lack certain superficial qualities which are too highly prized, would have an opportunity, at least for the moment, to assert a position in the community to which their previous life and training entitles them, and would be judged with something of an historic background” (1-3).

By externalizing memory to a place and inviting viewers to use the space to invent arguments about the past and present, the museum was useful to Hull House residents concerned about a devalued status for domesticity. In what follows, I explore the Labor Museum as a spatial resource for residents, neighbors, and visitors who invented arguments about the relationships between home, work, and women’s place in civic memory.

Hull House Residents Invent a Cosmopolitan Past

Hull House residents created the Labor Museum in order to make visible and preserve the history of artisan, manual labor and the history of women who produced goods (clothes, food, baskets, textiles) in their own homes. In five departments dedicated to wood, metal, grain (cooking), bookbinding, and textiles, residents displayed a variety

of manually-made art and artifacts (Luther 2). They made these displays visible to a public on Saturday evenings beginning in 1900 (*First Report* 2). In 1902, Hull House dedicated a three-story brick building with 40,000 square feet to these displays. When visitors entered the museum building, located behind the original Hull House mansion, they found local, neighborhood people using the space to make crafts. A 1902 *Hull-House Bulletin*, which provided information about Hull House's offerings, noted that neighborhood women working in the textile department regularly displayed "Syrian, Greek, Italian, Russian, and Irish" spinning techniques (12). Visitors were also invited to attend additional performances tangential to the ones in the five main departments, such as listening to the Hull House music school chorus sing historical "labor songs of various nations," or listening to a guest lecture that historicized labor practices ("Hull House Opens" 13).

Residents invented the past through the museum, both by curating it and by explaining it in print to wider audiences. Addams was personally involved in creating the museum, though at first resident Mary Dayton Hill was the official director of the museum, followed by the artist Jessie Luther in 1902. When Luther left Hull House in 1903, Addams took over as director. Starr was also personally involved in the museum as the director of the bookbinding department. Addams, Luther, and Starr wrote lengthy explanations of the museum for the magazine *The Commons*, a monthly magazine about philanthropy and education where Hull House residents often contributed articles. Luther's article was illustrated with twelve photographs of the museum that depicted neighborhood people performing craft (Fig. 15).

In their explanations of the museum, Addams, Luther and Starr made known that



Figure 15. Woman Spinning on Wool Wheel and Woman Using Hand Spindle in Labor Museum. Seven Settlement Houses-Database of Photos, University of Illinois at Chicago Library Special Collections. This photograph also appeared in Jessie Luther's "The Labor Museum at Hull House," published in *The Commons* in 1902.

they were motivated to make artisan labor visible because they believed that this history was invisible and devalued, and its low status had consequences in the present. In addition to hoping younger neighborhood people would learn about older people's experiences with labor, residents hoped young people would begin to see interconnections between manual labor and industrial labor, thus revaluing their own work. In order to encourage younger visitors to make interconnections between kinds of labor, texts in and surrounding the museum encouraged viewers to locate themselves in a progress narrative in which manual labor was chronologically antecedent to industrial labor. Addams noted that the museum communicated a progress narrative through verbal and visual graphics explaining how exhibits were related "with the growth and history of Chicago and the development of its industries" (Addams 3). For example, a framed chart in the textile department, reproduced in a photograph in Luther's article, depicted a chronology in which the hand spindle, spinning wheel and steam machinery were used in producing textiles (Fig. 16). Featured speakers also gave a course of industrial lectures connected to Labor Museum. The titles of many of these lectures featured the word "evolution," suggesting they furthered a progress narrative regarding labor. In the winter of 1902, for example, *The Hull-House Bulletin* advertised lectures on "The Evolution of Industry," "The Theory of Evolution," the "Industrial Life of Primitive Man," "The Evolution of Tools," and "The Evolution of Textiles" (1). Luther explained in *The Commons* that her hope was young people would find their own work more interesting when the museum illuminated how their industrial work was connected to manual labor processes (2). In describing the aims of the museum, Luther and Addams never went beyond hoping that young workers would find their work more interesting to hoping that

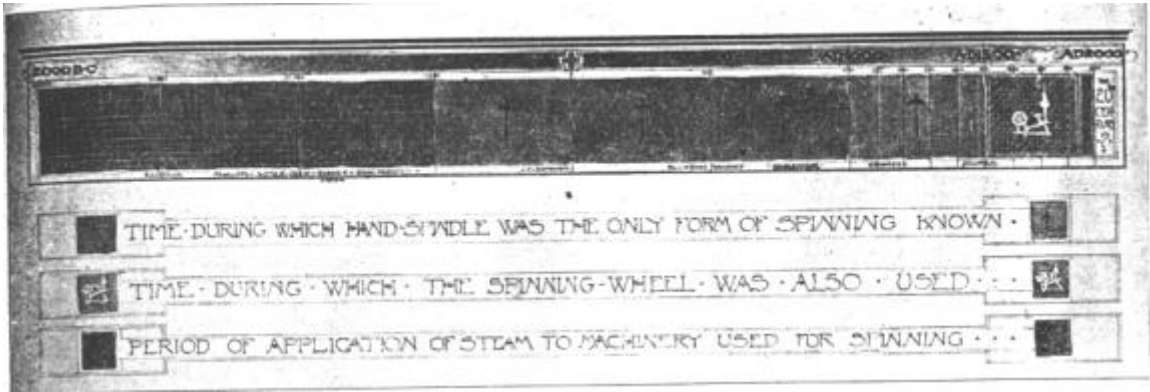


Figure 16. Evolution of Spinning, from Handwheel to Spinning Wheel to Application of Steam to Machinery, Displayed in the Labor Museum. This photograph appeared in Jessie Luther's "The Labor Museum at Hull House," published in *The Commons* in 1902.

young workers would begin to question the conditions under which they performed labor. To encourage visitors to develop a critique of their own working conditions might have also led them to question Hull House residents' middle-class and affluent status, and inquire into why Hull House was motivated to display and elevate manual labor.

Inventing a narrative about the past was also important in the bigger picture for arguments about women's place in the present city. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Addams publicly spoke and wrote about society devaluing domesticity. Society, she argued, was forgetting the implicit deal men and women made to keep gendered notions of work separate. They were also forgetting the social code of manners that kept this deal in place. In "The Wrecked Foundations of Domesticity," a chapter in her book *Spirit of Youth in the City Streets*, Addams observed that society no longer prepared young people to value the social institution of the family and home. She writes, "although we declare the home to be the foundation of society, we do nothing to direct the force upon which the continuity of the home depends" (31). The Labor Museum served as a physical manifestation of this argument; it reminded people that the home had served as the central social and economic unit around which people understood their roles in society.

Re-emphasizing the historical importance of the home also helped Addams to reimagine women's place in the present city. The Labor Museum physically manifested Addams' argument that women had historically served as civic housekeepers, a role taken away from them in the industrialized city. In her 1906 essay "The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women," Addams argued that "most of the departments in a modern city can be traced to woman's traditional activity; but, in spite of this, so soon as

these old affairs were turned over to the care of the city, they slipped from woman's hands, apparently because they then became matters for collective action and implied the use of the franchise" (6). She argued men in charge of the city were "carelessly indifferent to much of its civic house-keeping, as they have always been indifferent to the details of the household" (4). As the city offered more services to its citizens, Addams noted the public forgot that most of these services were traditionally women's work (and women continued to perform them without the benefit of citizenship). The museum supported this argument. Arranged by raw material, the departments of wood, metal, grain, textiles, and paper served as reminders that current women working at the American Biscuit Company were part of a "long procession of women who have furnished the breadstuffs from time immemorial" (9). Curators attempted to display these interconnections between work in the past and in the present through the museum. Within each department, artifacts and performances illustrated the progress from "primitive methods" to contemporary factory methods, including, according to Addams, "copper in the Western Electric, wood in the Box Factory, bread in the Bremner Bakery, textiles in the sweat shop, rug weaving, etc." ("Labor Museum" 3).

The past, as described in Addams' metaphor of civic-housekeeping and also in physical form in the Labor Museum, was not specific in terms of the time periods it highlighted. Instead, the past was a generalized one. Despite residents' interest in using the displays to link the past with women's continued relevance in the present city, exhibits themselves were arranged haphazardly in terms of chronology. Indeed, one can imagine easier ways to order time than arranging departments by material (wood, grain, etc.) in order to show a progression of time. Departments could have been arranged by

time period. They also could have been arranged by nation, and then within each national exhibit, artifacts could have been arranged chronologically. Instead, individual departments were arranged without regard to chronology; artifacts from a variety of time periods and places sat side by side.

The Labor Museum was also not specific in the places of labor it commemorated. Instead, it highlighted cosmopolitan, i.e. nationally diverse, labor. The editor and author Marion Foster Washburne, who visited the museum in 1904, wrote a detailed account of her visit for the art and architecture magazine *The Craftsman*. In this account, she described the diverse, foreign display in the textile department. Her account illustrates the ways that artifacts from varying time periods and places were set next to each other. She recalled the following:

embroideries in gold and silk from Germany of the seventeenth century, beautiful Norwegian embroideries and fringes, Nuremberg and Italian embroideries, all manner of modern weaves, Mexican serapes, Venetian velvets from the fifteenth century. Resplendent in gold, red, green and yellow, upon a cloth-of-gold background, and even a framed fragment of mummy-wrapping. (577)

The provenance of the spinning wheels and looms also varied. At least one loom was donated from a neighborhood woman who imported it from Syria. The museum also exhibited a Navajo loom, a Turkish loom, and two colonial looms (Luther 6). A large textiles collection was donated from the Field Columbian Museum (Washburne 577). In accepting the donation from the Field Columbian Museum, which was a collection made up of items first displayed at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, Hull House was literally reviving the cosmopolitan display that had been a powerful source of authority for women 10 year earlier. Overall, the Labor Museum's display of artifacts favored

diversity over attention to individual nations' histories. It was also selective in privileging national affiliation over ethnic, racial, or religious affiliation.

The selective, yet generalized nature of the exhibits supported the idea of a cosmopolitan past, one in which immigrants from various nations had made handcrafted goods prior to arriving in the US. Making visible a supposed cosmopolitan past was the project not of immigrants, but of well-to-do, US-born women at Hull House who used their authority over the import of cosmopolitan goods, cultures, languages and people to claim a place in politics. By inventing this cosmopolitan past, Hull House participated in a form of what Kristin Hoganson calls imperialist nostalgia. Hoganson, borrowing the term "imperialist nostalgia" from anthropologist Renato Rosaldo to connote 'the yearning feeling that agents of colonialism have displayed toward 'the very forms of life they intentionally altered or destroyed,' argues that the Progressive interest in commemorating a diverse, cosmopolitan America often reflected the needs of proponents of cosmopolitanism than it did those of immigrants whose cultures were supposedly being celebrated (249). The nostalgia at Hull House reflected residents' uncertainty about sources of gendered authority.

Though less discussed in writing by Addams, Luther, and Starr, "society women" made up another audience for the museum ("The Whirl of Society" 6). Neighborhood woman and Hull House employee Hilda Satt Polachek interprets the meaning of the museum as realized when neighborhood children saw society women and men viewing their parents performing craft. Polachek reads the museum as especially significant to children who were ashamed of their parents for lacking knowledge in English. She writes, when [children] "saw crowds of well-dressed Americans standing around

admiring what Italian, Irish, German, and Scandinavian mothers could do, their disdain for their mothers often vanished” (66). The design of the museum itself was panoptic in that it made typically private labor public to the rest of society. Addams describes that “the large windows on the street and alley were purposely planned for the convenience of spectator who might be attracted by the ‘show’ elements of the museum and the casual passerby has proved a most enthusiastic advertiser” (*First Report* 8).

The Labor Museum also reflected nostalgia for a time when Hull House was an obvious place where educated women might go to expand their roles beyond traditional domestic ones, yet remain outside of official government and economic channels. Now, though, residents, and educated women more broadly, had other institutions willing to support them. The museum, by representing the past, allowed Addams to argue that the museum represented a past and the rest of Hull House represented the end of an evolutionary narrative in which affluent women and men still had a role to play as discerning consumers who championed artisan skill in the present. Addams positioned Hull House as the endpoint of the progress narrative, writing, “the department of wood will terminate in the shop for the carpentry and wood carving of Hull House Guild. The history of bookmaking will terminate in Miss Starr’s own bindery, to which will be added a printing shop. The history of textiles will correlate with the Hull House sewing, dressmaking and embroidery classes. The grains will lead up to the Hull House bakery and cooking classes” (Addams “Social Education” 3). In other words, the museum helped to justify Hull House’s continued existence.

The Labor Museum also helped to justify the roles that residents performed at Hull House as curators and teachers. Except for the two hours on Saturday nights, the

museum was actually a manual training school. Though neighborhood people performed and taught craftwork while the museum was open, it was Hull House residents who taught the manual training classes to children and adults most of the time. Luther, while museum director in 1902, taught woodworking, pottery, and weaving (Rompkey xxix). That same year, resident George M. Twose taught mechanical drawing and design, artists Enella Benedict and Nancrede taught arts and crafts classes, Norah Hamilton taught basketweaving, and Starr ran the bookbindery (*Hull House Bulletin* 1902).

Students in these courses produced artisan crafts that were then sold:

The classes are in progress almost every afternoon and evening and several mornings of the week, and the products of the shop are turned out by adult workers, more or less experienced, who are at liberty to come in whenever they have leisure, using the tools and paying only for material consumed. The product is sold, either by the craftsman himself or by the shop directors, some very creditable work has already been sold in copper and brass, silver filigree of Russian workmanship, in pottery, in carved wood, in homespun and rugs, the latter dyed and woven most skillfully. Already the demand for pottery, metal work, wood work and textiles far exceeds the capacity of the various workers to fill the orders. (Luther 8)

That artisan wares made by the industrial training school became valued commodities reflects the imperialist nostalgia of the residents, and also the visitors/consumers who came to the museum/training school.

Though residents put forth some effort to connect an artisan past to an industrial present, the museum largely obscured immigrants' present conditions of labor. So, while Addams used the museum to argue that historical women were civic housekeepers, and all women should continue in that role in the present, this argument relied on making visible a history of immigrant women's labor prior to immigrating, but not their present labor in the US. In the museum, neighborhood people who performed craft were

represented as prior to the present time and highlighted work they mostly performed in foreign countries from which they immigrated. The museum displaced their history outside the US and implied, but did not show, their relationship to the present. The museum, for example, did not physically represent present labor practices alongside past labor practices. The museum failed to offer a complicated narrative about immigrant people's relationship to work, and instead favored simplistic and idealistic representations of their artisan labor. Luther's article that includes photographs illustrates how residents represented neighborhood women. Several of these photographs are of individual women performing spinning techniques. These photographs are narrowly cropped to reveal women in a setting with textiles and looms. The backgrounds of these photos do not suggest a modern context. Women in the photographs are also posed in traditional dress (Fig. 17 & Fig. 18). The captions to these photographs highlight ethnicity rather than offer the women depicted individual names. Captions read, "Russian Woman Spinning," "Italian Woman Spinning," "Irish Woman Spinning," and "Syrian Woman Spinning." The museum and its representations largely denied working women what anthropologist Johannes Fabian calls "coevalness," the sharing of time, or the presumption that participants share the same time (30). Fabian notes that the sharing of time is the basis of communication. If sharing time is the basis of communication, then Labor Museum directors did not necessarily see neighborhood women and men who performed in the museum as having an equal voice in present debates about the city.



Figure 17. Russian Woman Spinning. Photograph appears in Jessie Luther's "Labor Museum at Hull House," published in *The Commons*, 1902.



Figure 18. Irish Woman Spinning. This is likely a photograph of Honora Brosnahan. The textile on the wall is the same one featured in "Russian Woman Spinning" and "Italian Woman Spinning," and is a visual example of Hull House's disinterest in historical specificity in favor of creating a generalized, cosmopolitan past.

The Labor Museum as Heterotopic Rhetorical Space

Despite residents' efforts to connect manual, artisan labor to present industrial conditions through texts that explained these connections, the museum itself did not necessarily make the chronological move from artisan labor to industrial labor apparent to all. In placing in close proximity seemingly incongruous departments and their artifacts, its primary strategy was juxtaposition, which asked the viewer to consider what relationship departments might have to one another. While juxtaposition could imply an evolutionary narrative of work by giving the impression that museum exhibits represented historical periods different from the present day, it was also a strategy that did not make explicit a timeline. Crucially, juxtaposition left open to interpretation the element of time, asking the viewer or visitor to consider whether objects placed tangentially were set in an evolutionary narrative to one another or were contemporaneous. Juxtaposition was a strategy in which space and objects represented condensed, symbolic versions of arguments that could seem clear, but the relationship between them was never spelled out. The narrative implied by the Labor Museum was open to interpretation.

Performers in the museum were not only objects of display, but were also subjects who intervened with their own arguments about their work. Washburne, writing about her visit to the museum, quoted the performer Honora Brosnahan's discussion of her work as she demonstrated Irish spinning techniques. Brosnahan's appearance overturned Washburne's expectations of what a peasant artisan should look like because Brosnahan was "too respectable and too modern to look her part" (577). Brosnahan told Washburne this narrative about spinning:

Yes, we all spun and wove in the old country. It is not many of them that keeps it up now, except perhaps an old granny in a tucked away corner that does it for the love of it; but when I was young, we dressed in flannel and linen from the skin out, and grew it all and made it all ourselves. (579)

Brosnahan also discusses her relationship to work with Washburne, noting that “there in the old country we had our comforts, our own bit of land, my man making a dollar and a quarter the day, Irish money” (579). When Washburne asks Brosnahan what she did when she arrived in the US, Brosnahan replies, “I begged on the streets, dear” (579). In this exchange, Brosnahan’s narrative aligns with the general narrative that the museum’s directors sought to tell: immigrants’ artisan labor was devalued as they moved into the US industrial economy. Brosnahan’s skilled work pre-immigration becomes valueless upon immigrating. Yet, Brosnahan complicates nostalgia for a cosmopolitan past because she tells a complicated and specific narrative that includes her history pre- and post-immigration. In addition to begging on the streets, Brosnahan mentions struggling with her husband’s alcoholism, and coping with two of her ten children contracting spinal meningitis, for example. This specificity in her narrative post-immigration is in contrast to the museum’s general indifference to immigrants’ lives and labor post-immigration. Brosnahan’s performance at the museum further complicates the narrative she tells because the museum makes her spinning skills relevant in the moment. Though she describes spinning as largely obsolete, she is performing it to large audiences every Saturday night. In Washburne’s account, Brosnahan is also teaching a young woman sitting alongside her spinning techniques (580).

Washburne also spoke to Mrs. Sweeney, who was not an official performer, but an actual employee of the museum who served as an unofficial tour guide. In Washburne’s exchange with Mrs. Sweeney, “a neighborhood woman, employed in

keeping the museum clean,” Sweeney complicates the idea that cosmopolitanism is what is elevated and valued in this space. Sweeney, looking at displayed artwork, remarked that she recognized the “Irish lady spinning” in a picture on the wall: “I’d know her, big or little, in all the world,” Sweeney remarks (576). Washburne thinks of Sweeney’s description of the exhibit as narrow, writing that “perhaps she overlooks a little the Kentucky spinners, whose picture hangs next, and disregards their blue and white quilt, which makes a background for the pictures” (576-577). While Washburne thinks Sweeney is missing the interconnections between spinners across national boundaries, another way to read this moment is Sweeney identifying with someone from her country of origin rather than identifying with work across nations. Both Brosnahan’s and Sweeney’s exchanges with Washburne align with, but also complicate, the narrative about work that residents hoped to tell. Both Brosnahan and Sweeney identify with and value national identity and work prior to immigrating, but they also are interested in specific and located versions of their narratives that contrast pre- and post- immigration working conditions. Furthermore, they are interested in their own specific Irish national identities and the work of spinners in Ireland, rather than the value of spinning as a cosmopolitan art form.

Visitors also contested the value of the museum’s cosmopolitanism. Washburne recorded these moments of challenge in her account of visiting the museum. For example, when she came upon the old loom imported from Syria, she heard two neighbors learning that Hull House had paid forty-five dollars to import it (and that it had arrived damaged from shipping). Washburne recalls hearing the neighbors agree that it was worthless: an Irish neighbor said of the loom, “I’d burn it up for kindling if I had it”

(577). Addams told an audience at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy that when she asked a Greek boy if watching a Greek woman spinning reminded him of his mother, he answered, “Yes, I don’t like to look at a stick spindle; she always beat me with it” (“The Hull-House Labor” 414). In these comments, neighbors devalued the supposedly valuable objects. These comments illustrate that neighbors used the museum as a resource for invention; nevertheless, neighbors invented arguments about labor based on the rhetorical experience of moving through the museum that Hull House provided for them. In visiting the museum, neighbors engaged with the premise that diverse, foreign, and artisan labor should be valued and discussed. That neighbors were using the space of the museum for their own inventive purposes is perhaps why Addams was willing to tell an audience that a spinning exhibit called up memories of physical punishment for a Greek boy—this memory is not what Addams expected him to recall, but nevertheless the museum inspired this neighbor to offer his own interpretation of labor artifacts.

As a visitor, Washburne also called into question the difference between the museum and the school. She states she and her friends “do not see what it is that makes this a museum” because it seemed more like “a series of manual training shops” (572). Her remarks highlight that other than Addams’ rhetorical designation of the space as a museum, there was little to distinguish it from the manual training school. Washburne’s comment she and her friends “do not see what makes this a museum” also highlights that the museum was not that different from Hull House proper (572). Residents had been displaying cosmopolitan art objects in homelike settings to provide evidence of their knowledge of the wider world since Hull House opened. Furthermore, the space of Hull House had always encouraged neighborhood people to value their European and peasant

identities, while it encouraged residents to perform the roles of hosts, teachers, and curators of cosmopolitan domestic space. In addition, Hull House had historically been a teaching space, instructing neighborhood people through clubs and classes. In many ways the museum simply carried on Hull House's traditional functions. Washburne's perspective, in addition to other visitors' and museum performers' perspectives, challenge Hull House residents' intent to create a past in which diverse immigrants carried out artisan craftwork.

A Workers' Strike at the Chicago Industrial Exhibit, 1907

Tensions between Hull House residents, neighborhood workers, and a group of the city's elite citizens were even more pronounced at the Chicago Industrial Exhibit in 1907, where Hull House residents contributed Labor Museum exhibits to this larger event. Spearheaded by Chicago Woman's Club members, the Chicago Industrial Exhibit juxtaposed historical manual labor with present industrial labor. The Hull House Labor Museum exhibits illustrated a history of preindustrial, artisan labor. In addition, the Chicago Industrial Exhibit featured exhibits of tenement houses and sweatshop labor, which represented a midpoint of labor history between labor museum exhibits and exhibits of modern factories that used electricity. During the Industrial Exhibit, Hull House neighborhood performers complicated this progress narrative by rearranging exhibits and using the tactics of the strike to disrupt the event.

The Chicago Industrial Exhibit was held at Brooke's Casino, a public theater house in downtown. From March 11 to the 17th, 15,000 people came to see a variety of exhibits curated by a large collaborative of organizations, including many of the city's leading settlement houses, women's clubs, and labor organizations. The committee arranging the

Exhibit met at Hull House, and they agreed to focus the exhibit on women's labor ("Plan for Industrial Exhibit"). In addition to Hull House's labor displays, exhibits included tenement sweatshops, an insanitary and sanitary bakeshop, displays on women's wages, industrial labor and hygiene, and child labor. Several of Hull House's prominent residents were involved in the Industrial Exhibit. According to the exhibit's handbook explaining the event, Addams chaired the conference committee and also wrote an interpretation of the event that appeared in the handbook. Resident and medical doctor Alice Hamilton was in charge of the Industrial Hygiene Department. Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, a new resident and University of Chicago professor chaired the Women in Industry committee. Nancrede, alongside typographer and artist Frank Hazenplug, directed the labor exhibits.

Hull House's labor display mostly replicated Labor Museum exhibits. Under the title "Process Exhibits of Women at Work," Hull House neighbors "illustrated the grinding and preparing of food by the Indians, the manufacturing of cloth—processes from sheep shearing to the finished fabric—by Greeks; pottery by Japanese; tool making in stone, bone and wood, by Esquimaux; barter in an Arab market place, and character writing—the forerunner of printing—by Egyptians" (*Handbook of the Chicago* 44). Nancrede and Hazenplug directed these process exhibits, which included "tableaux and songs," three nights during the week (*Handbook* 8).

Residents also played a direct role in creating the tenement exhibits. They recruited performers for the tenement house exhibits, featuring three tenements. Not only were performers recruited from the Hull House neighborhood, the displays replicated their actual places of living. One was "an exact reproduction of the basement home of an old Italian man and woman, who earn their living by finishing pants," another was a

“reproduction of an Italian home in Chicago where a mother and four children pick nuts for a living,” and a third was an “insanitary tenement sweatshop—old fashioned foot-power shop” (*Handbook* 10) (Fig. 19). The people whose homes were replicated in the exhibit brought actual items from their homes to decorate the display. A *Chicago Daily Tribune* reporter at the event noted that “with the families had come most of their furniture and bric-a-brac” (“Labor Troubles”). The labor laws that Kelley and others had created required that Exhibit’s representation of tenement working was not quite true to reality—because of child labor laws, according to the *Chicago Inter Ocean*, children in the exhibit were not allowed to help with the work they were accustomed to doing at home (“Society Women”) (fig. 20). The Industrial Exhibit also featured displays of modern industry. For example, the insanitary, foot-powered tenement sweatshop was “shown in opposition to the sanitary clothing shop with mechanical power” (*Handbook* 10). A factory near Hull House had recruited workers to illustrate factory conditions (*Hull-House Yearbook* 53).

Though the tenement displays were reproductions of actual living quarters, in the narrative of the exhibits, they represented industry’s midpoint. Beginning in the mid-1890s, the garment industry had slowly begun moving away from the sweating system—a system of shops and home workers with each piece of clothing made by multiple workers, and workers divided by sex, ethnicity, and skill—to the factory system in which sewing machines were powered by electricity. This change was spurred by an interest in the market in better clothing and a need to supervise workers more closely (Bae 66). By the 20th century, according to historian Youngsoo Bae, it was fashionable to argue that tenement labor was passé, while clean, bright, electric-powered factory work was the best

"Sweatshops" Reproduced "from Life" at Industrial Exhibit.

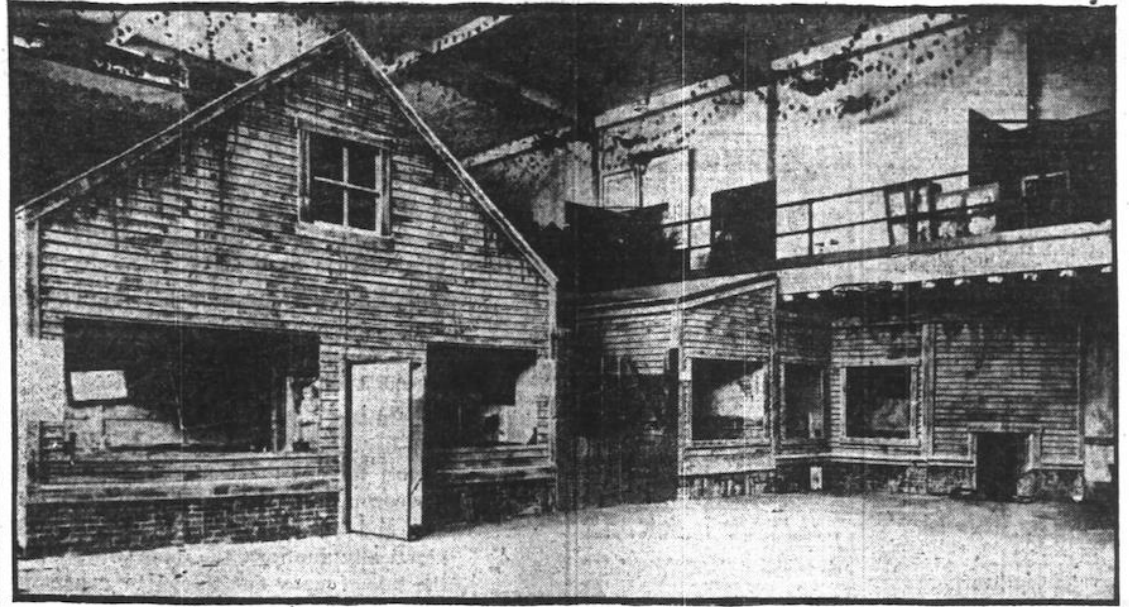


Figure 19. Tenement Sweatshop Reproductions at the Chicago Industrial Exhibit.
The Chicago Daily Tribune. March 11, 1907.

way to manufacture (70). This “progress” toward making garments in factories and electrical power was furthered by restrictive laws limiting the use of homes as sweatshops, such as the ones Hull House resident Florence Kelley had helped to pass. By displaying tenement conditions, Hull House residents joined manufacturers and union organizations in making the argument that factories were more hygienic and more technically advanced than home sweatshops (Hapke 43-44). Using a display of tenement conditions to illustrate a progress narrative was not really unique. Historian Lee Jackson notes the display of “insanitary” and “sanitary” tenement conditions had been juxtaposed at the International Health Exhibition in Kensington, England in 1884 in order to demonstrate to visitors “the march of progress” (17). In the early 20th century, conditions in factories were not necessarily more sanitary or safe. In fact, workers encountered new hazards in factories. In 1911, for example, 146 seamstresses working in the state-of-the-art Triangle Shirtwaist Factory in New York City perished in a fire, in part because the doors to the factory had been locked (Hapke 51).

In the Industrial Exhibit, and in the context of Hull House’s involvement, it becomes more clear that the factory-based clothing shop illustrating a future of women’s labor is also a future in which the unpaid labor of home and the paid labor of work could be separate once again. Though Hull House’s original interest was in elevating the status of manual labor, residents were ultimately willing to elevate the modern factory system over tenement labor because the factory system actually protected the home as a space of unpaid labor, whereas tenement-based labor threatened it. Their curating a tenement display as a representation of unsanitary and backward conditions at the Chicago

Sweatshops Are Shown in Full Operation at the Chicago Industrial Exhibit.

[From photographs made for THE TRIBUNE.]



Family of Italians earn a living by shelling nuts.

Figure 20. Family of Italians Earn a Living by Shelling Nuts. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 12, 1907. Children were not allowed to perform labor in the Exhibit because of child labor laws outlawing their participation.

Industrial Exhibit was a natural extension of their previous stance against tenement labor as antithetical to domesticity.

In reality, tenement living and working, like artisan craftmaking, were not practices confined to the past, but part of people's present lives. Performers in the tenement exhibit began to protest the ways they were represented by the exhibit. The *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that women recruited from the Hull House neighborhood met with each other and decided they would "not submit themselves to any condition of surroundings that has an element of humor and that will excite amusement" ("An Unexpected Protest"). When they saw the way museum directors had arranged the display, the woman recruited to shell nuts and the woman recruited to sew pants "began to tidy up" ("Labor Troubles"). When they had completed rearranging the exhibit, "a bed, a broken down oil stove, several mattresses and blankets, and an indefinite amount of broken china and rubbish had been removed from the booths and deposited in the passageway" (Labor Troubles"). Industrial Exhibit directors Ellen Henrotin and Mary McDowell objected to their tidying up, but ultimately the women working in the displays were successful in arranging the tenements as "hopelessly neat" ("Labor Troubles").

Throughout the Industrial Exhibit, workers challenged middle-class and affluent women's attempts to claim knowledge over and represent their work. Workers also challenged clubwomen's presumption that they could perform work themselves. What the *Chicago Daily Tribune* called an "unexpected protest" carried over into other displays, where another worker disrupted attempts by middle-class women to claim roles as experts over performing labor. The worker who ran the model bakeshop refused to allow women members of the University of Chicago settlement league to serve tea, after

members of the Chicago Women's club had been "too much bother" when they had taken a turn serving tea ("Sheep on Strike" 6). Whereas at Hull House, residents were able to claim authority over labor by teaching handicraft skills, here workers disrupted these attempts. A workers' strike perhaps inadvertently disrupted the modern exhibits, too. When the Industrial Exhibit opened, the electrical workers' union was on strike, and so when the Industrial Exhibit opened, electrical workers refused to connect electrical power to the machinery on display ("Labor Troubles").

Through their protests and the tactics of the strike, workers changed the public narrative of the Industrial Exhibit from a progress narrative to one in which workers had agency to intervene in their conditions of labor. This was especially true for audiences who understood the Industrial Exhibit through the press's coverage, although in-person visitors likely received a similar message.

Hull House's Imperialist Nostalgia

At a time when the sites of women's work were shifting, the Hull House Labor Museum represented a history in which artisan labor had taken place in the home. Cooking, weaving, bookbinding, metalwork, and woodwork were displayed as kinds of work that had been done in the homes of immigrant peasants. The Labor Museum juxtaposed a generalized past of manual, artisan labor against an industrial present in which more kinds of women's work was becoming paid labor performed outside the home. The Labor Museum, by revaluing immigrants' handmade art and artifacts, reflected Hull House residents' ideology of cosmopolitan domesticity, or celebration of a diversity of foreign, artisan goods. This celebration had a rhetorical effect: it created a

place that memorialized and thus made newly visible white, middle-class and affluent women's authority over the foreign, especially as it had to do with their expert consumership of foreign-made goods. Commemorating cosmopolitan domesticity was especially important in the 20th century, when there was fear that if domesticity was devalued by society, the spaces over which middle-class and affluent women might claim authority would become unclear.

The Labor Museum was also a place of rhetorical invention. As it made newly visible the traditions of West Side neighborhood people, residents, neighbors, visitors, and performers discussed their perspective on work and its relationship to history. Residents tended to flatten neighborhood people's individual traditions in favor of highlighting diverse times and places, and also obscure neighborhood people's relationships to the present industrial city. Despite residents' using the Labor Museum to invent a cosmopolitan past, performers, museum employees, and visitors also used of the museum to invent more timely and located pasts. Brosnahan, Sweeney, and Washburne, for example, added historical specificity to their stories when they spontaneously engaged in conversation, and they questioned and even ignored the value that residents placed on artifacts. These instances of talk could challenge the value of a cosmopolitan past, as well as challenge the idea that it ever really existed except as a classed construction useful to affluent women.

At the Chicago Industrial Exhibit, West Side neighbors challenged their place in a progress narrative by physically altering the displays. When Hull House residents participated in setting up tenement displays as representative of a backward, unhygienic past, performers cleaned up. They also used the tactics of the strike, arising out of modern

industrial labor practices, to resist the overall progress narrative of the Industrial Exhibit. Through these challenges, performers made the representational space of the Exhibit reflect a present in which workers had a voice in public conversations about labor practices and conditions.

CHAPTER 6

LOCATING HULL HOUSE WOMEN'S RHETORICAL LEGACY

Hull House's Complicated Spatial Politics

It can be difficult to know where to locate politically Hull House residents' rhetoric in and about space. For instance, the Hull House enterprise can be seen as radical in the sense that college-educated women and men lived and worked together outside the normative family structure. In addition, they expanded the spaces of women's rhetorical engagement to include international spaces. This claim to international space included taking up roles in political debates over immigration, labor, and citizenship. Hull House residents also claimed for the private, domestic sphere certain spaces with contested gendered associations that they folded into Hull House. These spaces included those of the library, college, meeting hall, art gallery, and labor bureau. They especially claimed international space as subject to women's domestic authority. In order to claim spaces beyond traditionally domestic ones, Hull House residents used rhetoric to redefine women's spaces of rhetorical engagement. They did so with careful attention to multiple audiences, including local neighbors, Chicago's elite citizens, a wider purchasing public, magazine readers, and professional settlement folk. Hull House residents are in one sense ideal material feminists, a term Dolores Hayden coined to denote women who discursively and physically remade domestic spaces in order to expand women's roles.

At the same time, Hull House was an intensely conservative enterprise. In the 1890s, Hull House residents embraced an ideology of gendered "separate spheres," and defended and protected the distinctions between gendered spaces over the course of two

decades. Unpacking the history of Hull House sheds light on a moment when the idea of maintaining “separate spheres” was not imposed upon women but actively pursued by women as part of a feminist agenda to carve out their own spaces and roles instead of attempting to foster gender integration. This separatism was also conservative in the sense that Hull House residents embraced antimodernism and claimed authority as expert consumers over domestic goods—their claims over the domestic entailed roles as discerning experts over cosmopolitan, handmade goods. As part of their elevation of handmade artisan wares, Hull House residents were critical of industrialization. Another aspect of their antimodernism was that Hull House residents fixated on their neighbors’ ethnic and peasant identities. Residents were conservative in the sense that their politics implied as reassertion of their whiteness and affluence as powerful identities, and highlighted their whiteness against their neighbors’ racialized, peasant, and working-class identities. In the worldview of many Hull House residents, society was most stable when everyone embraced the idea that identities were knowable and unchanging across time. In characterizing the antimodernist aspects of American culture in this era, historian TJ Jackson Lears notes that “the most profound radicalism is often the most profound conservatism” (xvii). Hull House residents’ politics embody this statement.

My intersectional feminist lens in which I valued looking across dimensions of identity helped me to illuminate Hull House residents’ complicated spatial politics. When I began this dissertation, I knew something of the way that domesticity engendered separate spheres for men and women, and hypothesized that Hull House women would argue for wider engagement by using rhetoric to maneuver the boundaries of private and public space. As I researched, I found out that in general, the ideology of gendered,

separate spheres was a response to economic shifts in the American economy that restructured the family in the 18th and 19th centuries, and shifted paid work away from the home. Because the discourse of domesticity arose out of a changing and industrializing US economy, I thought class was a salient lens to bring to this project. As I coded sources, I began to notice that Hull House residents were able to maintain separate spheres while at the same time they were able to expand their spaces of rhetorical engagement by claiming authority over foreign spaces. In chapter three, for example, I argued that Hull House reiterated the domestic and foreign geographies its founders imagined women engaging in more broadly. Then, during rhetorical occasions, Hull House's cosmopolitan aesthetic served as a resource for both Hull House women, and West Side neighborhood women and men, to construct ethos, albeit with varying degrees of success. In chapters 3, 4, and 5, residents' talk and text about domestic and foreign affairs was inflected by national, ethnic, and racial politics, as I saw residents' authority over consumership and purchasing internationally-made goods reasserted an imperialist agenda. Within domestic discourse, then, gender, class, nationality, and ethnicity/race were all salient identities that I attempted to highlight as factors in Hull House's spatial rhetorics. The ways in which my project shed light on domesticity as an intersectional construction complicated a story about domesticity as about the gendering of the private and public spheres.

Hull House's complicated politics is visible in today's feminism in which privileged American women still attempt to promote social change through consumer philanthropy. Feminist critics, both academic (Mooney-Nickel & Eikenberry 2009) and popular (Schiller 2014; Amor 2016), have argued consumption philanthropy reinscribes

relationships between oppressor and oppressed, as well as between consumer and producer. The case of Hull House, I believe, demonstrates that consumption philanthropy is a first-wave feminist strategy, and also that claiming authority as a savvy consumer of international goods does not necessarily realign power imbalances—it is a limited strategy that mostly makes visible differences and reinscribes those differences.

This project also complicates individuals' place in feminist history. I attempted to highlight individuals as part of complicating their politics and also offering a textured examination of how individuals were positioned within a social location. For example, Florence Kelley, a woman, did not have the right to vote or participate as a full citizen. In response, Kelley leveraged her power as an expert consumer and as a social surveyor to gain a government position in which she could regulate production and consumption in the sweatshops. Kelley is an impressive figure—she was Engels' translator, the first ever female factory inspector, and a writer who drafted the first 8-hour labor law for women and children. Yet, she was not a well-liked figure in her time. By her own accounts, working women and families, shop owners, and the press especially disliked her for her attempts to regulate when and where people could work. While it is true that Kelley's neighborhood maps made visible the household spaces and the diverse families of the 19th ward that were largely invisible to a wider public, I argue in chapter 4 that her making visible diverse national and class identities was not a good in itself. Instead, Kelley's maps were part of an agenda to contain and control the part of the city in which people with diverse identities were socially mixing; they were also mixing spatial practices associated with home and work. Kelley sought to re-separate the unpaid work conducted at home from the paid work conducted in shops and factories.

While I approached this project through an intersectional lens, which helped to unpack the complicated politics of Hull House and its residents, I ultimately led with and gave the most focus to gender identity. In an analysis that led with class, for example, I believe could have drawn out more nuance and tensions in the class status of individual Hull House residents. In this project, I understand residents on the whole as middle-class and affluent. A primarily class-based analysis would have made more apparent the ways in which residents never truly interrogated their own affluence in their efforts to support workers. As I moved forward with this project, I also thought about how I could have led with race, and in so doing would have been able to present individual residents' racial identities as more nuanced. I believe I somewhat flattened residents' racial identities to a generalized category of white throughout this project. Leading with race also would have led me to shed more light on how, in addition to defending and protecting domesticity, residents were also defending and protecting whiteness. They claimed the authority in their neighborhood to manage which immigrant groups could become white, and which groups maintained nonwhite identities. Finally, missing from this project is a full accounting of the ways that Hull House residents' rhetoric invented sexual identities in the city. My research process led me to note rhetorics in and about space and the roles or identities that were made available in space. This process led me to notice Addams and colleagues were invested in the discourse of domesticity, and valued the roles of mother, daughter, sister and wife. These roles were made meaningful in what Addams called the "family claim." Addams and colleagues were also interested in reimagining family and expanding their roles beyond the family claim, yet I found few primary texts that named these new reconfigurations of family roles and beyond, in part because Hull House

residents did not leave behind texts that spoke to sexual identity. Addams, for example, at the end of her life, had an awareness of herself as a public figure and as someone who was going to be remembered, and upon finding her partner Mary Smith's letters, was selective in which ones she burned and which ones she sent on to her nephew and biographer, James Weber Linn (2 February 1935). As I looked to secondary research on the history of sexuality, especially to John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman's history of sexuality, I found that I would be historically inaccurate to apply modern language to describing how Addams and others at Hull House would have understood their own sexual identities as politically meaningful. What I was able to explore to some degree, and would like to explore further, is the ways that Hull House residents reconfigured heteronormative family space. Space is a lens that is helpful for seeing how Hull House residents reimagined the geography of the home, the geography that made sense of heteronormative relations. The historian Shannon Jackson productively investigates the reconfiguration of Hull House to assert that residents of Hull House practiced queer domesticity. According to Nyan Shah, the analysis of "queer domesticity" emphasizes the following:

The variety of erotic ties and social affiliations that counters normative expectations. Rather than viewing the term queer as a synonym for homosexual identity, I use it to question the formation of exclusionary norms of respectable middle-class, heterosexual marriage. The analytical category of queer upsets the strict gender roles, the firm divisions between public and private, and the implicit presumptions of self-sufficient economics and intimacy in the respectable domestic household. (13-14)

Rhetoric could be a helpful lens for furthering an analysis of Hull House as cultivating queer domesticity because it can help to illuminate differences between what is said in and about space, how spaces themselves communicate messages about living patterns,

and also how spatial practices communicate messages about identity. In an extension of this study, I would also find ways to conduct rhetorical analysis on primary texts that led me to better account for absences, and go back into the secondary literature and engage more with normative discourses of sexuality in order to read Hull House's rhetoric in relation to those discourses.

Exploring the Implications of Civic Domesticity

This project took seriously that rhetoric and space are interconnected in various ways. Rhetoric, first of all, happens in space, which I explored at length in chapter 3 as I uncovered evidence of how rhetorical occasions unfolded at Hull House. Rhetoric is also about space. In chapter 4, I analyzed the ways the Hull House maps represent space and the implications of that representation. Finally, spaces themselves are rhetorical. In chapter 5, I explored how the Labor Museum exhibits communicated messages and also served as inventive resources for individuals to create their own arguments. Within chapters 3, 4, and 5, I attempted to show that the dimensions of spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces are mutually constitutive in producing a given space.

My project also expanded understanding of women's rhetoric in and about the American city, and took seriously women's attempts to rhetorically construct themselves as citizens. I found that the term "civic domesticity" was useful in capturing Hull House residents' practice of citizenship. I thought of "civic domesticity" as a somewhat elevated version of Addams' own term "civic housekeeping," by which she means thinking of the entire city as a household. In the city household, women's domestic tasks are not only for

the benefit of immediate family, but for everyone. Addams' biographer Louise Knight's argues we should firstly understand Addams as a citizen, and as someone who dedicated her life to learning what it meant to live in a democracy. The same could be said for many of the residents at Hull House.

I also thought that "civic domesticity" captured the limited version of citizenship practiced by Hull House residents. I found that Hull House residents were initially interested in a worldly citizenship in which a US citizenship defined by rights, including the right to vote or hold office, was not available. This worldly citizenship was an alternative to a US citizenship. It maintained gendered, separate spheres. I wondered: what kind of civic future is available to women when they argue that household work has always been the center of city life? Household civility is not always a model that helps prepare people to talk across differences. Citizenship based in domesticity is limited in how much authority it offered even the most privileged women. And, it offered even fewer resources to working-class and poor women who could not claim the same authority through savvy consumerism. It was working-class women, for example, who showed the tactics of the workers' strike were effective in realigning power, at least for a moment, at the Chicago Industrial Exhibit in 1907.

While my focus in this dissertation has been on residents' attempt to cultivate a citizenship for themselves, Hull House was also a site that cultivated the sensibilities of other citizens through rhetorical education and through teaching civic literacy. Robert Danisch, who has written on Hull House as a site of rhetorical citizenship, has also pointed out the idea of citizenship as rights, or "securing equality for masses of citizens with plural backgrounds and interests," obscures the importance of people learning to

discuss and then speak up about state affairs (38). Danisch argues Hull House was one such place that successfully supported the cultivation of identity as a political tool through which citizens could feel belonging to others and then engage (45-46). In addition, Van. E. Hillard argues convincingly that Hull House's architecture communicated a middle-class sensibility of civility to those who engaged with it in person. Hillard argues that "Hull-House's program of civic education highlights the ways in which the built environment of the city prompted deliberate but often overdetermined efforts at forming Americans as appropriate public persons in a space deemed suitable to carrying out the practices of civil society" (113). Hillard's evaluation of Hull House is mixed, as he acknowledges that "Hull House was able to offer certain possibilities for social arrangements that were unavailable elsewhere in the nineteenth ward," while noting at the same time that these new social arrangements were ones designated appropriate within the realm of middle-class politeness and normative social rules (121). While Danisch and Hillard point to the value of Hull House as a space that cultivated citizens, and Hillard notes that Hull House's support of civility was classed, neither author explains why middle-class and affluent women were motivated to support their neighbors in cultivating citizenship in the first place. The discourse of domesticity, in which women were understood as charged with cultivating good citizens in the home, helps to explain why residents invited their neighbors to talk across differences. To extend my study, I would investigate how the discourse of domesticity shaped rhetoric and writing instruction within Hull House in order to better understand how gender influenced the kinds of citizens neighbors could expect to become in Hull House. To do so, I would read syllabi and assignments, as well as accounts of classes. Such an

extension of this study would include inquiring into the community/university partnership that Hull House formed with the University of Chicago, a sponsor that imposed its own values and ideologies onto students.

Valuing Historical Women's Multimodal Rhetoric

As I began this project, I knew that Addams, Starr, Kenney, Kelley, Lathrop, and other residents were lecturers and writers. Yet, I did not know the extent to which residents composed in nonverbal, and especially visual, modes prior to beginning this project. In this dissertation, I considered verbal and nonverbal modes as rhetorical. Including the nonverbal allowed me to consider the messages communicated by house décor, maps, photographs, paintings, museum spaces, and performances. Hull House and the Labor Museum were both spaces in which verbal texts appeared alongside nonverbal texts. *Hull House Maps & Papers* was a text that included verbal and visual texts. More often than not, residents composed by combining modes of communication.

Hull House residents' multimodality make valuing their contributions to rhetoric challenging. Though the historians Kathryn Kish Sklar ("Hull House Maps") and Mary Jo Deegan have praised *Hull House Maps & Papers* as a key text in social science, few scholars have attempted to analyze it. One reason I believe *HHM&P* has not been more thoroughly discussed is its multimodality makes it difficult to understand as a coherent text with an internal logic. Even residents in 1893 referred to it as a "jumblebook" (Minutes of Meetings). I argue in chapter 4 that *HHM&P* embodies the value of cosmopolitanism, or the collecting and putting side by side diverse perspectives based in national identity. In further exploring Hull House residents' multimodality, I would want

to appreciate more how different modes do different work, and inquire into how the modes speak to each other. For example, I often thought that residents' use of photographs to illustrate their texts contradicted the messages of the texts. The photographs often portrayed quiet, empty scenes, while the prose depicted life at Hull House as frenetic and ever-changing. I hope in the future to consider more thoroughly the logics behind putting verbal and visual modes together, and how modes complement and contradict each other.

Extending Social Circulation

In this project, I was guided by the metaphor of social circulation, which helps researchers to investigate the “social networks in which women connect and interact with others and use language with intention” (Royster & Kirsch 101). The metaphor of social circulation especially helped me to be open to noticing the ways in which Hull House residents moved and interacted across different kinds of spaces, and also how arguments had effects across different groups of people. I did not explore how Hull House residents' rhetoric socially circulated across time, especially into the present. Taking seriously the metaphor of social circulation, I believe, would include an accounting of how Hull House spatial rhetorics influence current debates about womanhood, citizenship, and the city today. One route of inquiry would be to question how Hull House has transformed over time and into its current iteration as the Jane Addams Memorial Museum. Much of Hull House was demolished to make room for the University of Illinois Chicago. What remains of Hull House is the original mansion and a dining hall. My questions to extend social circulation would be the following: What collective memories about women's

roles in the city are preserved in a place such as the original Hull House Mansion and a dining hall? What was sifted from collective public memory about Hull House and its residents, and also women in the city, when most of the city block of Hull House was demolished?

In this project, I attempted to show how rhetoric socially circulated across groups of women by valuing the perspectives of neighborhood women in each chapter (in addition to the perspectives of Hull House women). I looked to women who attended clubs and classes, women who were skeptical of Florence Kelley's sweatshop reforms, and women who resisted Hull House's representations in museum exhibits, to show that Hull House residents' arguments were in conversation with other conceptions of space and womanhood; however, neighborhood women's perspectives were not fully explored in this project. To recover and contextualize neighborhood women's perspectives, I would extend this project by researching city institutions that primarily sponsored immigrant women's rhetorics—churches, unions, immigrant newspapers—in order to learn more about immigrant women's perspectives on space and identity. Specifically, I would look at how formations of womanhood change as they travel across spaces, especially across national spaces as women move domestic practices with them. Such an extension would move forward the projects of recovery and gender critique so that we might know more about the historical interrelationships between women, space and identity formation.

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