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Entitled

MEANINGS AND PRACTICES OF LITERACY IN URBAN SETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES: CHICAGO'S HULL HOUSE, 1890-1940

Complies with University regulations and meets the standards of the Graduate School for originality and quality

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Signed by the final examining committee:

Patricia Harkin, chair

Janice Lauer

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Approved by: Thomas P. Adler July 22, 1998

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☐ is

This thesis ☑ is not to be regarded as confidential. Patricia Harkin

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MEANINGS AND PRACTICES OF LITERACY
IN URBAN SETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES:
CHICAGO'S HULL HOUSE, 1890-1940

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty

of

Purdue University

by

Bridget Kathleen O'Rourke

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 1998

UMI Number: 9914531

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In memory of

Bridget Ahern O'Rourke,

Rose Contrino Fauzio,

and all our foremothers

who came as strangers

to this land

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the generous assistance of many people. It has been a pleasure to work with my adviser, Patricia Harkin, whose enthusiasm for my project inspired and motivated me. Her perceptive advice and rare capacity for letting me find me own voice in the writing process enabled me to grow as a writer and scholar. I am also grateful to the other members of my dissertation committee–Janice Lauer, Shirley Rose, and Irwin "Bud" Weiser. I could not have hoped for a group of readers less intimidating and more conducive to fulfilling work.

For research assistance and permission to use photographs from the Jane Addams Memorial Collection, I thank Mary Ann Bamberger, Special Collections Librarian of the University of Illinois at Chicago. Lucy Knight was very generous in sharing with me her extensive knowledge and several articles on the settlement that I might not otherwise have found.

I am fortunate to have found a supportive network of fellow researchers in the UIC women's studies dissertation group. My thanks go to Cathy Colton, Julie Bokser, Jennifer Rexroat, Kim Ruffin, and especially Lisa Cochran for their thoughtful reading and responses to drafts of chapters II and IV. Sharon James McGee saved my life when I was writing the prospectus for this research, and she has shared with me the struggle of completing a long-distance dissertation.

I am especially grateful to Edeline Lombardo for her willingness to share her family's fascinating history with me. The details of our conversation that remain clear in my mind–the heat of the afternoon, the emotion in her voice, the zucchini bread I baked for our visit, the tea she prepared–remind me that lived experience is not simply a romantic ideal, but the way in which everyday life touches and transforms. I am also indebted to Tom Lombardo for introducing me to his grandmother and for the design and production of Con Promesso, the compact disc version of the interview.

Among my mother's enduring habits is her daily practice of writing and reading, and from her example I learned that literacy is one of life's most cherished and glamorous privileges (along with really good shoes). I owe a debt of gratitude to both my parents, Janice O'Rourke and Timothy O'Rourke, for their support and encouragement and faith in the value of education which have lasted well into my adulthood. Largely self-educated after high school, they have been my first and most important examples of intellectual curiosity and practical wisdom. Their respect for my academic accomplishment both flatters and humbles me.

My husband, Stephen Flisk, has been an exceptional partner and coach in my graduate school career from start to finish. His patience and unwavering confidence endured through endless long-distance phone calls, bouts of insecurity and procrastination, and a preoccupation with this project that bordered on obsession. Throughout the writing of this dissertation, he has listened to my ideas, read drafts, and offered encouragement and perceptive advice. I continue to be amazed by the fruitfulness of our collaboration.

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ABSTRACT

O'Rourke, Bridget Kathleen. Ph.D., Purdue University, August 1998. Meanings and Practices of Literacy in Urban Settlement Communities: Chicago's Hull House Neighborhood, 1890-1940. Major Professor: Patricia Harkin.

This dissertation analyzes oral and written literacy narratives of immigrant and working-class men and women who resided in the neighborhood served by Chicago's Hull House settlement during the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth century. Narrative analysis of individual stories about the meanings and uses of English literacy within families and communities is intertwined with an investigation of Hull House as an institutional context for literacy development as well as large-scale economic and political conditions that impacted the settlement and the neighborhood. Together, these strands of inquiry contribute to better understanding of the ways in which literate practices were experienced by individuals and constructed by social and institutional relations and historical codes of class, ethnicity and gender.

CHAPTER I

INVESTIGATING LITERACY IN CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

> There seems to be a belief among educators that. . . if a neighborhood is to receive valuable ideas at all, they must be brought in from the outside, and almost exclusively in the form of books. Such skepticism regarding the possibilities of human nature. . . results in equipping even the youngest children with the tools of reading and writing, but gives them no real participation in the industrial and social life with which they come in contact.
>
> Jane Addams, "A Function of the Social Settlement," 1899.

Jane Addams' speeches and writings helped to define the urban social settlement in America, and designated Hull House as a unique site for literacy development in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century. Addams described the variety of lectures, literary clubs, and classes in English and citizenship sponsored by Chicago's Hull House as "but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the existence of the settlement itself" ("Subjective Necessity" 10). This attempt to "socialize democracy" brought forth a novel conception of literacy education–the idea that reading

and writing could signify a community enterprise that involved all people in all aspects of life.

The pervasive influence of the settlement model in contemporary sites of literacy instruction–such as schools, universities, and community-based institutions–has recently begun to be uncovered by scholars in rhetoric and composition. Linda Flower and her colleagues at Pittsburgh's Community Literacy Center (CLC) explicitly cite the settlement as a historical model for literacy instruction as preparation for democratic community life. The CLC seeks to reinvent the tradition of the turn-of-the-century settlement as a "social model that emphasized relationship and interdependence among people and community institutions" (202). Such contemporary community-based literacy organizations descend from the settlement house tradition in their rejection of the bureaucratic model of community relations in favor of what Cooper and Holzman call an "ideal type:" ". . . one that seeks to utilize funding from government and private sources in order to further what in its interpretation are the goals of the community, of which it considers itself an organic part" (170). Sarah Robbins's 1993 dissertation explores the historical influence of the settlement as a feminine pedagogical model, and calls on scholars in rhetoric and composition to rethink and rediscover the "conversational, nurturing, sociomorally-focused pedagogy" of the settlement in less gender-restricted, contemporary contexts.

My study shares key assumptions with these investigations–for example, that the unacknowledged historical roots of the settlement model underlie contemporary literacy practices, and that Hull House's pedagogy is properly considered in its historical and

cultural context. However, this dissertation also adds a necessary revision to earlier studies in its attention to the stories and viewpoints of immigrant and working-class men and women who lived in the settlement neighborhood. By adding these missing perspectives to the inquiry, this study emphasizes the dialectical interaction of Hull House's pedagogy with the needs, purposes, and desires of the men and women it sought to serve.

The investigation centers around two key questions: First, what principles and practices guided Jane Addams's pedagogy and Hull House's efforts to promote English literacy in the ethnic communities surrounding the settlement? Second, how were these meanings and practices of literacy negotiated in interaction with the immigrant and working-class men and women of these communities? These questions shape my investigation of how "literacy" assumed various meanings in the concrete historical context of the Chicago's Hull House neighborhood from 1890 to 1930. In order to highlight the complex experience of historical persons, I have sought out personal narratives of literacy development, both spoken and written, that reconstruct the specific historical contexts for reading and writing. My research assumes that the historical meanings of "literacy" promoted by institutions such as Hull House were shaped by ideologies of class, race, ethnicity and gender which have in turn influenced other progressive education efforts of the twentieth century.

I. Literacy and the Hull House Idea of Community

Hull House was founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr on Chicago's Near West Side. Following the model of the first settlement, London's Toynbee Hall, the two women aimed to "settle" among the poor in an urban tenement district and establish a reciprocal relation with their immigrant and working-class "neighbors." From its beginning in the rented upper floor of the former Hull mansion, Hull House had by 1910 grown to a thirteen-building complex encompassing a city block. At its height in the 1920's, nearly 9000 people visited the settlement each week and partook of its activities and services, which "ranged from the mundane to the radical" (11). These included numerous clubs and classes for men, women, and children; lectures on topics from socialism to suffrage; infant day-care and visiting nurse services; plays in the Hull House Theater; libraries and art exhibits; as well as a public gymnasium and baths. Jane Addams envisioned Hull House as a model community, in which middle-class settlement workers or "residents," as they were called, would share with neighbors "their choicest possessions and the ripest results of their intellectual training" (Woods and Kennedy 47). In turn, settlement residents, generally volunteers who paid for their room and board at the settlement through outside work, would discover "the sense of humanity. . . [which] is not philanthropy nor benevolence, but a thing fuller and wider than either of these" (Addams, Twenty Years 95). In sacrificing the "luxury of personal preference," middle-class residents gained the "companionship of mutual interests" (115).

As Morris Berger has observed, settlement residents were educators, by instinct and by training (15). Teaching and learning at Hull House embodied the settlement workers' conviction that the benefits of education should be accessible to all regardless of economic or social position: "those 'best results' of civilization upon which depend the finer and freer aspects of living must be incorporated into our common life and have free mobility through all elements of society if we would have democracy endure" (Twenty Years 310). Addams characterized the settlement as a "protest against a restricted view of education," and she intended that the lessons learned from the settlement's "experiment" in cooperative living and social democracy would eventually be transferred to more permanent institutions of civil society, such as the public schools ("Subjective Necessity" 10). A vast portion of the programs initiated at Hull House and other settlements were in fact absorbed into the public education system–including kindergartens, adult education, vocational training and guidance, medical services, and community-center programs–and helped to transform the nineteenth-century schoolhouse into the contemporary school as social center (Berger 19). By extending the settlement's educational efforts, Addams asserted the need to promote an increased community of experience which would be open to all.

The settlement's educational programs were informed by a particular concept of community. As Cooper and Holzman have pointed out, "attitudes toward literacy–and what is not at all the same thing, attitudes toward schooling–are central to the ideological core of community" (108). Eleanor Stebner has characterized Addams's ideal as that of

"a truly democratic society where differences would remain but cooperation would be the functioning criteria for human interaction" (Stebner 186). However, the unresolved tension between "difference" and "cooperation," between unity and diversity, complicated Hull House's progressive efforts to sponsor literacy among ethnic working-class people. Conflicts with immigrant groups over the meanings and purposes of literacy and schooling, which resulted in the political clash over the teaching of English in immigrant parochial schools outlined in chapter III, may be traced to inconsistencies in the settlement's ideal of democratic community.

Addams's pedagogy of the current event illustrates the tension of unity and diversity in the settlement's idea of community. In Twenty Years at Hull House, Addams claimed that the current event is the most effective tool in teaching citizenship:

> Every Settlement has classes in citizenship in which the principles of American institutions are expounded, and of these the community, as a whole, approves. But the Settlements know better than anyone else that while these classes and lectures are useful, nothing can possibly give lessons in citizenship so effectively and make so clear the constitutional basis of a self-governing community as the current event itself (286).

Addams's 1930 article, "Education by the Current Event," further detailed the teaching opportunity inherent in a contemporary event which provoked sudden interest in "some outworn theme which had been kicked about for years as mere controversial material" (213). The Tennessee v. Scopes trial of 1925, for example, breathed new life into the

public discussion of fundamentalism versus evolution in political as well as religious theory, and brought people of the settlement neighborhood into discursive contact with "a large number of people who had hitherto been quite outside their zone of interest" (216). Addams characterized public opinion as aligned against the "group of remote mountaineers," and asserted that "there was no doubt that the overwhelming public opinion concerning the Tennessee trial was on the side of liberality, both in politics and religion" (214). The pedagogy of the current event highlighted the notion of community education as a discursive experience that invited wide civic participation, making it possible "to educate the entire community by a wonderful unification of effort" (213). Community was thus defined by shared interests, which did not necessarily imply consensus of opinion. The public discussions prompted awareness of difference, while at the same time promoting a sense of shared discursive experience that decreased the "effects of isolation whether the group were encompassed by mountains or by the invisible boundaries of a ghetto" (216).

Addams's notion of democratic community demanded not only shared interests, but also the full and free interplay of various types of association. "Education through the discussion of current social developments" aimed to accomplish both objectives, through discursive interaction of the entire community and the free expression of individuals. The controversy concerning the "problem of race relations" and expansion of Chicago's notorious Black Belt due to African-American migration from 1910 to 1930 tested these objectives. Addams claimed that "we have no exact knowledge of what has been and is

being lost by the denial of free expression on the part of the Negro, it is difficult even to estimate it" ("Education by Current Event" 218). Addams stipulated an economic dimension to free expression, stating that it demanded "first of all a modicum of leisure and freedom from grinding poverty" (220). A founding member of the NAACP, Addams asserted that the economic and social segregation of African-Americans threatened democracy: "To continually suspect, suppress or fear any large group in a community must finally result in a loss of enthusiasm for that type of government which gives free play to the self-development of a majority of its citizens" (221). In contrast, she believed that varied types of association would lead to the elimination of difference through communication and sharing.

Rivka Shpak Lissak has characterized the settlement's ideology of community as "segregation within integration:" while the Hull House residents embraced the idea of diversity, they believed that free association would strengthen the common bonds of humanity and eventually overcome difference (see chapter 2, Pluralism and Progressives). Underlying Addams's ideal of desegregated community was an understanding of social sanction as an essential and benign aspect of community. Addams argued that the "complete segregation of the Negro in definite parts of the city" leads to isolation from the community of shared interests and tends "to put him outside the immediate action of that imperceptible but powerful social control that influences the rest of the population" (218). This view of social control underestimates the coercive force of dominant discourses, which, like physical power and coercion, "were more

dominant and accepted parts of society than [Addams] thought" (Deegan 325). One might say that Addams had the above cause-and-effect relation reversed: it was in fact the coercive social power of the dominant Anglo-Protestant and white ethnic groups that led to the isolation and segregation of Chicago's African-American community in the first place.

The ideal of cooperation further complicated the notion of the free association of communities of shared interest. Jane Addams understood the processes of social change as dependent on gradual and cooperative efforts "to accumulate facts and exalt the human will" (223). However, cooperative social arrangements could also perpetuate prejudice and discrimination. As Thomas Philpott has pointed out, the Jane Club, a housing cooperative for working women sponsored by the settlement, was for whites only, in spite of Addams's pragmatic assurance that "boarding homes were among the institutions that could afford not to discriminate, because boarders in separate apartments had minimal contact with each other" (Philpott 317). However, since the Jane Club was a cooperative, Addams wanted to leave as much of the management as possible to the young women themselves. According to Philpott, the boarding house members "determined the admissions policy, and they kept the Jane Club segregated from its beginning in 1891 until it closed nearly fifty years later" (317). Thus, Addams's faith in the essential goodness of the human will and the cooperative process of social organization had the unintended effect of perpetuating injustice. Thus, Philpott claims that "neighborhood workers, whether they were anti-Negro like Rev. Norman Barr or pro-Negro like Jane

Addams, were deeply implicated in making and maintaining the black ghetto in Chicago" (345).

Scholars have advanced a necessary critique of the ways in which class, race, and gender constructed the experience of community at Hull House. Philpott has called attention to the exclusion of working-class African-Americans and white ethnics from the day-to-day governance of the settlement and the paternalistic assumptions that led settlement residents to engage in the regulation of the lifestyles of the poor. When governance *was* shared across classes (as in the settlement's coalition-building in support of protective labor legislation), the cross-class alliance was highly selective: middle-class residents were likely to be highly educated and familiar with American political processes, while working-class associates were often members of "occupational and organizational elites," such as leaders of women's trade unions (Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890's" 669). Lissak has argued that the settlement's avowed pluralism obscured its drive to assimilate and Americanize ethnic groups, as illustrated by Hull House's conflicts with leaders of immigrant Jewish communities who sought to maintain segregated ethnic and religious communities. Sheila Rothman has further emphasized the ways in which such efforts at enculturation were aimed at transforming immigrants into a force for Progressive change thus advancing the settlement workers' own political agenda (117). In addition, Sarah Robbins has noted the absence of working-class women's voices from accounts of the settlement, and has critiqued Jane Addams's "willingness to speak for the unnamed heroines of her Hull House program rather than helping them to

achieve authorship themselves" (257). Moreover, scholars have called attention to the condescension which characterized Hull House's relations with immigrant and working-class groups, arguments which I examine in Chapter III.

My study supports and qualifies such arguments regarding the settlement's exclusion of the interests of working-class ethnics from political and social power. The literacy narratives of immigrant and working-class men and women highlight the ways in which the settlement's attempts to regulate literate practices in the neighborhood were both resisted and accommodated, restoring a sense of the agency of individuals within the institutional constraints of Hull House. The first-person accounts of Edeline Lombardo, Hilda Satt Polacheck, Oscar Luddman and Phillip Davis demonstrate that the ideology of education, literacy, and upward mobility was not strictly imposed on immigrants, but sometimes converged with individuals' own interests. As Ruth Hutchison Crocker observed in her account of the complexities of settlement work, residents did advance an agenda of creating from diverse ethnic groups a class of productive and loyal American citizens; however, "[t]here is no evidence that this was not also the goal of the immigrants themselves" (67). My aim in collecting and analyzing literacy narratives in this dissertation has been to consider textual evidence of the goals and intentions of individual immigrant men and women with regard to the acquisition of literacy.

II. Literacy and Ideology

This study contributes to cross-disciplinary efforts to historicize and contextualize "literacy" as a set of social practices embedded in *culture*. Qualitative studies by scholars across disciplines have explored the various cultural meanings of literacy in non-academic contexts, including homes, neighborhoods, community organizations and workplaces (e.g., Heath; Keller-Cohen). Historical studies of non-academic literacies include Ann Ruggles Gere's discussion of nineteenth-century women's clubs; Jacqueline Jones Royster's analysis of nineteenth-century African-American women's literacy and social action; Carol Mattingly's inquiry into rhetorical education in the Women's Christian Temperance Union; Deborah Brandt's case studies of the role of institutional sponsorship in the historical development of literacy in the U.S.; and Harvey Graff's international studies of working-class literacy, jobs and industrialization. Like these studies, my research delves into specific historical materials and social contexts–because literacy is practiced within such contexts and is largely determined by them.

In rhetoric and composition studies in particular, attention has shifted away from literacy as discrete, individualized skill to reading and writing as "instrumentalities for participation in, and critique of, the culture" (Lauer and Lunsford 106). Several recent discussions highlight this distinction. Cooper and Holzman distinguish between *nominal* or alphabetic literacy and *active literacy*, constructing an analogy between the experience of cultural assimilation and the cultivation of active, critical literacy: "Activating passive literacy skills turns out to be a highly complex process, almost a process of emigration to

a new culture" (171). Similarly, James Gee's conception of *powerful literacy* calls attention to the subject's experience of his or her ability to effect social or cultural change through the use of one discourse to challenge or critique another, dominant one. Such studies have informed my conception of the contextual meanings of literate practices: in my research, "literacy" refers to the uses of reading, writing, and public speaking by individuals and groups to effect change within a system of pre-existing discursive relations, specific historical conditions, and institutional constraints.

The emphasis on literacy as a set of practices embedded in culture has informed contemporary critiques of the role of literacy instruction in maintaining or resisting unequal social relations. For example, J. Elspeth Stuckey, in her Marxist analysis of "the violence of literacy," argues that individual literacy status functions within systematic structures of inequality that maintain existing class structures. Similarly, Donaldo Macedo draws on the tradition of Freire's liberatory pedagogy to argue that functional, state-supported literacy robs students of their ability to appropriate language, culture, and history to their own ends. Such critiques emphasize the role of literacy in promoting a cultural ideology that serves particular class interests: "the dominant elites continue to inculcate in us myths and beliefs about our 'common culture,' all the while creating mechanisms that prevent us from fully participating in it" (Macedo 95). To counter such "dominant elites," Macedo recommends that reformers utilize the "language of democracy that points to the organic relationship between schooling and community" (95)–a language that would have been familiar to progressive educators like Jane Addams

and John Dewey.[1] The idea that a functioning democracy required an educated, literate public that included previously marginalized groups such as working-class and immigrant men and women was a key warrant for Hull House's project.

The ideology of literacy as a necessary prerequisite for participation in a democratic society draws on the notion "that a free, self-governing people must be educated; and one must be able to read and write and be trained in critical skills in order to make the critical choices which democracy requires and in order to perform the duties of responsible citizenship" (Graff, Labryinths 58). This ideal of civic literacy permeated Jane Addams's writings, and was expressed in terms remarkably consistent with contemporary pedagogies like Macedo's. However, as James Donald's "Literacy and the Limits of Democracy" suggests, proponents of democratic education also may share an inflated notion of the liberatory potential of literacy:

> If only we could get literacy right, they imply, that will produce . . citizens who would exercise their talents and innate creative abilities to the full. It would also ensure the full flowering of a democratic culture. At that point, the debate usually congeals into stale oppositions between 'individuation' and 'socialization;' 'progressivism' and traditionalism; 'liberal education' and 'vocationalism; 'emancipation' and 'social control' (129-130).

Such oppositions rely on an ideal of "simple equality" which does not take into account the real differences in power and aspiration that divide social groups. Instead, Donald recommends that institutional practices reflect "complex equality:" "the distribution of

different social goods according to different criteria reflecting the specificity of these goods, their social significance, and the variety of their recipients" (124).

In this study, I have tried to judge the institutional practices of Hull House against the demands of such a "complex equality." The study proposed here will, therefore, not ask whether literacy education at Hull House tended to empower *or* oppress immigrants and working-class men and women; clearly, it did both. What is instead central to this study is analysis of the context in which relations of power and exclusion were constructed, the local and contingent circumstances in which literacy was distributed or diffused, especially among middle- and working-class women, and the symbolic differences that resulted from conditions of literacy among individuals and communities. As Harvey Graff and others have argued, better literacy does not ensure social empowerment and democratic participation; in order to achieve its democratic potential, the power of schooling and literacy for social control and political repression must be fully recognized. For contemporary sponsors of literacy, the questions remain: what principles of association, what patterns of literacy acquisition and use, are compatible with the demands of a post-industrial democracy? How should we respond to the real differences in power and aspiration that divide social groups? I return to these questions in the concluding chapter.

III. Reading Literacy Narratives

My inquiry into narrative representations of the acquisition and uses of literacy complements demographic descriptions of literate practices among American immigrant and working classes. Historical studies of literacy, particularly those relying on quantitative methods, may employ such incomplete and imprecise measures of basic reading and writing skills as the ability to write one's signature on marriage or naturalization records. While the compilation of such data is useful for quantifying trends in rudimentary reading and writing skills over time or among groups and regions, statistical descriptions tell us little about the what literacy meant in a given historical and social context--other than the value placed on the ability to write one's name (Cornelius 8). For example, Rose Fauzio's signature on U.S. naturalization documents (Appendix B) would indicate to a demographer some level of basic literacy; however, it would reveal none of the richness and complexity of the relationship between literacy, citizenship, and family life that is conveyed by Edeline Lombardo's oral history of her mother's naturalization. (This history is explored in the context of historical debates regarding literacy and immigration in chapter IV.)

Literacy narratives, or "stories that foreground issues of language acquisition and literacy" provide a rich interpretive framework for understanding the meanings and practices of literacy (Richardson; Eldred and Mortensen 513). Narrative analysis "displays the goals and intentions of human actors; makes individuals, cultures, societies, and historical epochs comprehensible as wholes; humanizes time; allows us to

contemplate the effects of our actions and to alter the directions of our lives" (Richardson 20). Literacy narratives in particular emphasize the ways in which the experience of reading and writing is embedded in a specific historical and cultural context: "Because they are self-reflexive, autobiographical narratives about literacy experience transform contextual elements of learning to read and write into textual elements. In autobiography writers represent their societies' shared cultural myths–those images that give philosophical meaning to the facts of ordinary life–because they use these myths to explain their experience and interpret their lives" (Rose 245). One of the challenges of reading historical literacy narratives has been to uncover those shared myths while still doing justice to the lived experience of historical persons.

As Sidonie Smith observes in A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation, experience achieves coherence through the act of representation: the autobiographer invests the past and the self with a meaning that may not have been evident before the act of writing itself. The autobiographer cannot evade tension with past discourses: she "has to rely on a trace of something from the past, a memory; yet memory is ultimately a story about, and thus a discourse on, original experience" (45). Jane Addams shared this sense of experience as both shaped by and shaping culture; as she wrote in The Long Road of Woman's Memory, "our chief concern with the past is not [with] what we have done . . . but [with] the moral reaction of bygone events within ourselves" (101). Chapter II presents my reading of two Hull House autobiographies in both senses: as "discourses on original experience"–i.e., textual

evidence of lived reality and culture–and as imaginative reconstructions of events that may not have taken place exactly as narrated. This dual sense of narrative informs later chapters as well; for example, Edeline Lombardo's is as valuable in its revelation of her own reflection on the cultural myths of literacy, ethnicity, and citizenship as in its historical representation of the corresponding reality of lived events.

James Berlin in "Revisionary History: The Dialectic Method" emphasized that writing history is a process of interpretation, and as such is necessarily partial and interested. Despite the "partisan character of all texts that attempt to understand history," rhetoric scholars must nevertheless attempt to write histories of rhetoric that attempt to view the individual from the perspective of the whole (Berlin, "Politics" 172). The historian of rhetoric must be a committed social actor, aware of the impossibility of comprehensive understanding, yet making choices among ideological positions as a dialectically engaged subject. Nowhere have I more carefully considered these precepts than in chapter IV of this dissertation, which incorporates Edeline Lombardo's oral history. Mrs. Lombardo's pride in her family's story, her pleasure in sharing it, and her trust in me to convey accurately her experience have given me a deeper sense of my responsibility to the concrete historical subjects who are the focus of this study. I have sought to interpret all the narratives in this story with respect for the agency of historical persons as well as critical understanding of their positions within a system of discursive relations. Mrs. Lombardo's oral history is used with her permission and that of her living

relatives, and I have followed her request that her name and the names of her parents and immediate family, rather than pseudonyms, be used in this document. [2]

IV. Dissertation Overview

Chapter II begins the inquiry into self-representations of literacy development with analyses of autobiographies written by Jane Addams and Hilda Satt Polacheck. Comparison of Addams's popular *Twenty Years at Hull-House* with Polacheck_s *I Came a Stranger: The Story of a Hull-House Girl* highlights important contradictions as well as continuities in the construction of the literate subject, and her reception within a discursive framework. Polacheck's memoir was refused publication during her lifetime, due to the perceived lack of interest in "a Jewish immigrant, by turn a working girl, a suburban housewife, a widow" (Weiner x). Though publishers in the 1950's had little interest in Polacheck's story, the memoir was finally reassembled and published during the 1980's, a time of increased interest in recovering the writings of "obscure women." Thus, the two narratives not only provide significant insights into the Addams' and Polacheck's self-construction as literate subjects, they also highlight the cultural ideologies of class and gender which shape subject formation. While Addams's autobiographical ethos assumed the illusion of transparent class identity, Polacheck's memoir called attention to the ways in which association with Hull House provided access to middle-class identity and cultural practices. Twenty Years at Hull House and I Came a Stranger highlight the different rhetorical possibilities and levels of access to

public discourse available to Addams and Polacheck, due to their various positions in the social structure.

Chapter III further explores the ideology of literacy and citizenship as it was revealed in accounts of Hull House's teaching practices and narratives of settlement life. This chapter highlights the complexity of the settlement's interaction with its immigrant neighbors, calling attention to the conflicts involved in negotiating meanings of literacy among groups of unequal social power and position. Despite this inequality, the ways in which immigrant and working-class men and women negotiated the demands which the settlement placed on their literate abilities highlights their agency as historical persons.

Chapter IV intertwines historical observations on immigration and literacy with the narrative of Edeline Fauzio Lombardo, a child of Italian immigrants whose family resided in the Hull House neighborhood from 1918 to 1944. Language differences were among the elements which were thought to hinder efforts to assimilate immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe; while earlier immigrants from Britain, Germany and Scandanavia shared a language that was, the "same or similar" to English, most of the so-called "new immigrants" could not speak or write English upon entry to the U.S. (Fairchild). When I interviewed Mrs. Lombardo in the summer of 1997, she emphasized the importance of literacy in her family and community. Such detailed stories reveal the particular value of specific literacy practices at a given historical moment. Through the analysis of this narrative, my project aims to represent and interpret the history of one

ethnic working-class family of the thousands served by Hull House–whose first-hand accounts are often absent from histories of the neighborhood by settlement residents.

Notes

1. See also James Berlin on the Progressive origins of social-democratic ideologies of literacy in English departments (Rhetorics, Poetics, Cultures 33-35).

2. A full transcript of my interview with Edeline Lombardo is included as Appendix B. Tom Lombardo prepared a version for audio compact disc, entitled Con Promesso (With Your Permission) which is available through Virtual Resources, Inc., Elmhurst, IL. Tom Lombardo and I jointly hold the copyright for the text/audio of the interview, in recognition that it belongs both to the Lombardo family and to interested scholars.

CHAPTER II

WRITING AND EXPERIENCE IN TWO HULL HOUSE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

ADDAMS'S TWENTY YEARS AT HULL HOUSE AND

POLACHECK'S I CAME A STRANGER: THE STORY OF A HULL-HOUSE GIRL

In January of 1912, William Polacheck recounted in a letter to his fiancee Hilda Satt the following story, which Jane Addams had told during a lecture in Milwaukee. Some Hull House boys had written a patriotic play. In the first act, one Revolutionary war officer lamented to another, "Gee, aint [sic] it fierce that this here Revolution aint got a flag." The other responded, "Gee it sure is fierce." The curtain falls. Act two repeats the scenario, with George Washington as one of the officers. Act three shows George Washington with Betsy Ross, who is holding a baby in her arms:

> He says: "Gee, aint it fierce that this here Revolution aint got a flag." She says: "It sure is, George, you hold the baby & I'll make you one" (qtd in Polacheck 217n11).

Like many of the stories in Jane Addams's writings, this unpublished anecdote illustrates what Addams conceived as the relationship between experience and action. For Addams, the critical assessment of social reality–here, the officers identifying the problem that the Revolution lacks a flag–is never adequate. Social democracy demands the critical

reconstruction of experience, which always entails action. And of course, in this clever drama, the one who acts is a woman and mother. In Twenty Years at Hull House and elsewhere, Jane Addams represents gender as an essential category of experience that shapes women's democratic social action.

As with many of the concepts that appeared frequently in Addams's writing, "experience" is narrated (or dramatized, as in the above example), rather than defined analytically. This approach is consistent with her philosophical position that abstractions are best defined by daily actions–and in writing, the representation of action, event and character is best suited to the narrative or dramatic mode. The legitimate function of drama, Addams wrote, is to "warm us with a sense of companionship with the experience of others" (Addams, Twenty Years 265).[1] Similarly, the narrative mode of Addams's autobiography depicted action and demonstrated consequences in a way that was always grounded in subjective experience, rather than objective analysis: "as individuals and societies we can come to know ourselves, Addams suggests, *only* to the extent that we realize the experience of others" (Elshtain 9). By situating the personal experiences and anecdotes recounted in Twenty Years at Hull House in a social framework (i.e., in "companionship with the experience of others"), Addams was able to "shift the focus of her thought and energy from self-analysis to the analysis of the society in which she lived" (Lagemann 21).

In this chapter, I will consider how the relations among personal experience, knowledge, and social reality were figured in the autobiographies of Addams and Hilda

Satt Polacheck, a Jewish woman whose family emigrated from Poland to the Hull House neighborhood when she was ten years old. In this discussion, I shall foreground an inquiry into the conception of "experience" as depicted in Twenty Years at Hull House and analyzed by John Dewey, a close friend and colleague of Jane Addams. Finally, I shall inquire into the ways in which Addams's Twenty Years at Hull House and Polacheck's I Came a Stranger: The Story of a Hull House Girl incorporate or resist dominant constructions of class and gender to formulate women's experience in autobiographical form. As Julia Swindells has argued, when they harness literary genres in the construction of subjectivity, women autobiographers tend to operate within dominant class and sexual ideologies "which are nonetheless revealing in their slippages, their fraught relations" (141). These "slippages" are often expressed in the narratives as contradictions or ethical conflicts; for example, the perception of "marriage and satisfying labour as mutually exclusive competing ideals, competing possibilities, for women" (145). Throughout this chapter, I read historical texts as imaginative constructions of such gaps or contradictions–that is, I observe not only what is present in the text but also what is absent.

The strategic silences in both Addams's and Polacheck's autobiographies reveal the historical conditions for women's literate practices at Hull House as well as "the systematic designation of who [historically] can speak, when and where they can speak, and how they can and must speak" (Berlin, "Revisionary History" 53). Calling attention to absence or contradiction in the texts may reveal the conditions of subject formation.

For example, Jane Addams's practice of epideictic rhetoric in Twenty Years at Hull House constructed an illusion of timelessness and universality, while it was intimately tied to the expectations and values of a middle-class audience and the historical context in which she wrote. As Mary Jo Deegan has pointed out,

> Although [Jane Addams] decried rampant inequalities in society, her power resulted from her being accepted by the elite. She thought this acceptance arose from the intrinsically human bonds that crossed lines of differences, but her role as an intellectual and public leader was more tied to the historical context than she thought (325).

A woman on a pedestal, Jane Addams exemplified certain class and gender ideologies–which both supported her accomplishments and were a source of tension in her writing. Hilda Satt Polacheck's memoir provides a valuable perspective on the ideological conditions of subject formation about which Addams was silent. Unlike Addams's best-selling autobiography, Polacheck's account of how an immigrant girl from Poland became an American at Hull House was refused publication in the 1950's due to a perceived lack of public interest in her story. Polacheck's story, which was finally published in the 1980's as part of a broader feminist recovery of the writings of "obscure women," underscores the practical and ideological constraints on the literate subject, highlighting important contradictions and gaps in the construction of the public, autobiographical self.

I. Experience and Autobiography: Twenty Years at Hull House

> We always live at the time we live and not at some other time, and only by extracting at each present time the full meaning of each present experience are we prepared for doing the same thing in the future.
>
> John Dewey, Experience and Education (1938), p. 49

Jane Addams was at the height of her public esteem when her autobiography, Twenty Years at Hull House, was published in 1910. Readers of the Ladies' Home Journal had voted Addams the most respected woman in America, and 80,000 copies of the autobiography were sold during her lifetime. At age 50, Addams was the public persona of the settlement movement: Hull House, only the third U.S. settlement at its founding in 1889, was by 1910 preeminent among more than four hundred. Aware of her own status as representative personality, Addams stated that by writing Twenty Years at Hull House, she hoped to aid in the public's interpretation of the burgeoning settlement movement, by "giving a simple statement of an earlier effort, including the stress and storm" (xvii). By recounting her own struggles and failures, as well as those of the settlement she had founded with Ellen Gates Starr, Addams sought to correct what she perceived as the public's misunderstandings about her own character as well as that of the settlement movement. In the preface to Twenty Years at Hull House, Addams specified the nature of these corrections: she aimed to start a "backfire" that she hoped would extinguish two unauthorized biographies that "made life in a Settlement all too smooth

and charming," and clear all settlements of "a certain charge of superficiality" (xviii). At the end of two decades during which Hull House had been transformed from an institution that seemed to Addams "destined to alienate almost everybody" from working-class radicals to industrialists, to one that was perceived as genteel, benevolent, and offensive to almost no one, Addams characteristically sought a middle ground. As Sarah Robbins has observed, Addams in Twenty Years at Hull House "manages to associate her radical (and thus potentially frightening) settlement movement with the conservative (and therefore reassuring) values of nineteenth-century feminized education" (220).

Only the first four of the autobiography's 18 chapters address Addams's life before 1889, when, at the age of 29, she co-founded Hull House.[2] The first two chapters focus on the two men who were central to shaping her early moral character–her father John Huy Addams and Abraham Lincoln, a former colleague of the senior Addams in the Illinois Senate who was elected sixteenth President of the United States in 1860, the year of Jane Addams's birth. While mother figures are central to Addams's account of settlement life, they are absent from her account of childhood, except for a brief mention of her mother and stepmother in reference to her close relationship with her father:

> . . . doubtless at that time I centered upon him all that careful imitation which a little girl ordinarily gives to her mother's ways and habits. My mother had died when I was a baby and my father's second marriage did not occur until my eighth year (25).

Thus, Addams simultaneously affirms the ideal of feminine identification with the mother, but transfers it to the figure of her father, the "single cord. . . which not only held fast my supreme affection, but also first drew me into the moral concerns of life" (19). As Sarah Robbins points out, contemporary readers would have been sensitive to the feminine connotation of Addams's father having "held fast" her "*affection*" and having provided her with "*moral*" guidance (215). In the figure of her father, Addams invests maternal virtues with paternal authority–just as her naming of Hull House attached the authority of a benevolent patriarch, Charles Hull, the influential Chicagoan who donated the settlement's first building, to the domestic, feminine connotations of "house."

The third and fourth chapters of Twenty Years at Hull House center around the "boarding school ideals" Addams developed at Rockford Female Seminary and her moral struggle in the years of travel and study before founding Hull House to put those ideals into practice. Like her 1892 analysis of "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," these early chapters emphasized the moral experience of a generation of college-educated, middle-class young men and women seeking an outlet for a "sense of universal brotherhood. . . which the best spirit of our times is forcing from an emotion into a motive" ("Subjective Necessity" 6). Addams claimed that this ideal was subsequently frustrated by inaction, particularly for young women who were discouraged from entering public service. The cultivation of these "so-called educated young people. . . into unnourished oversensitive lives. . . shut off from the common labor by which they live" inhibited their desire to translate altruistic feeling into action (6). Unlike the 1892

account, however. Twenty Years at Hull House narrated rather than explicated the "lack of coordination between thought and action" of the educated middle class woman: it was Addams herself who pursued the college education, embarked on the bourgeois European tours, and amidst it all felt the "paralyzing sense of the futility of all artistic and intellectual effort when disconnected from the ultimate test of the conduct it inspired" (67).

In the preface to the autobiography, Addams wrote that her earlier books, speeches, and articles were "an attempt to set forth a thesis supported by experience, whereas this volume endeavors to trace the experiences through which various conclusions were forced upon me" (xvii). In the first four chapters of the book, the relationship between past experience and future action is characterized as passive: on a study tour of Europe, Addams suddenly became aware that "I was lulling my conscience by a dreamer's scheme, that a mere paper reform had become a defense for continued idleness, and that I was making it a *raison d'être* for going on indefinitely with study and travel" (73). "The Snare of Preparation" serves as both the title of this chapter, which closes the narrative of Addams's pre-Hull House days, and the theme of an emerging social analysis: "we spread [the snare of preparation] before the feet of young people, hopelessly entangling them in a curious inactivity at the very period of life when they are longing to construct the world anew and conform it to their own ideals" (74).[3] In chapter four, the narrative begins to shift from self-analysis to social analysis, and from a passive to a more intentional pattern of action. As Addams announced in the closing phrases of

chapter four, leading up to her account of the early days of Hull House, "whatever perplexities and discouragement concerning the life of the poor were in store for me, I should at least know something first hand and have the solace of daily activity. . . the period of mere passive receptivity had come to an end" (74).

Addams's implied notion of experience here can be usefully compared to that of John Dewey. A frequent visitor and occasional lecturer at Hull-House who served on the settlement's Board of Trustees, Dewey's conception of experience both informed, and was informed by, Jane Addams's work. John Dewey's daughter, Jane (named after Addams), claimed that her father's "faith in democracy as a guiding force in education took on both a sharper and deeper meaning because of Hull House and Jane Addams" (30). Addams in turn claimed that Dewey had provided her with philosophic insight into the relationship between inquiry and action, experience and knowledge.[4] The transition in Addams's narrative from a passive to an intentional pattern of experience corresponds to John Dewey's conception of the continuum of experience, from "undergoing," in which events merely occur, to "trying," which characterizes an intentional relationship between past human activities and an individual's future action. David Carr has interpreted Dewey's distinction between education as event ("undergoing") and as action ("trying") as a counter to arguments that schooling must continually reproduce hegemonic social relations: when education involves active intention, potential exists for reflection and "deliberate restorying" of dominant narratives (Carr; Clandinin and Connelly).

Addams's rationale for the Hull House Labor Museum as an attempt to counter the dominant narratives of industrial life drew on Dewey's concept of the "continuing reconstruction of experience." In Twenty Years at Hull House, Addams used the phrase to articulate the educational function of the Labor Museum:

> Could we not interest the young people working in the neighborhood factories in these older forms of industry, so that, through their own parents and grandparents, they would find a dramatic representation of the inherited resources of their daily occupation? If these young people could actually see that the complicated machinery of the factory had been evolved from simple tools, they might at least make a beginning toward that education which defines as "a continuing reconstruction of experience." They might also lay a foundation of reverence for the past which Goethe declares to be the basis of all sound progress (Twenty Years 172)

The reconstruction of experience as a basis for progress reflected a sense of individual identity as both shaped by and shaping culture. Through the Labor Museum and other efforts at "comprehensive education," Addams sought to enable immigrant men and women to reconstruct the continuity of their experience from the Old World culture to the new one (Deegan 251). However, in Twenty Years at Hull House, the process is characterized as more akin to the more conservative notion of adjustment to industrial life than the more radical "reconstruction." In the autobiography, Addams stopped short of claiming that the process of education at Hull House enabled immigrants to go beyond a

conservative reverence for the past to the radical transformation of future action by working-class intervention in the material conditions of "industrial advance."[5]

The criteria of continuity–that is, the quality of an experience that lives "fruitfully and creatively in subsequent experiences"–was a key term in Dewey's conception of "genuine experience" (Education and Experience 28). Complementing this theme of continuity–the relationship of experiences over time–was the relationship between objective conditions (the external factors that control experience) and internal preparation for experience, which Dewey referred to as "interaction" (42). These two principles, Dewey wrote, "intercept and unite":

> They are, so to speak, the longitudinal and lateral aspects of experience. Different situations succeed one another. But because of the principle of continuity something is carried over from the earlier to the later ones. As an individual passes from one situation to another, his world, his environment, expands or contracts. What he has learned in the way of knowledge and skill in one situation becomes an instrument of understanding and dealing with the situations that follow (Experience and Education 44).

Experience, however, does not only go on inside a person. Every genuine experience has an active side which in some measure changes objective conditions: "In a word, we live from birth to death in a world of persons and things which in large measure is what it is because of what has been done and transmitted from previous human activities" (Dewey 39). For Dewey, experience is the relationship between the past (i.e., what has been

transmitted from past human activities) and the potentiality of an individual's future action. Continuity links the notions of time and experience, while interaction characterizes the relationship between the individual and her environment–the social and material conditions that interact with personal needs, desires and purposes.

In Addams's autobiography, the tension between individual and social agency is evinced through a narrative shift from the early chapters on Addams's individual experience to later chapters that recount "cooperative efforts" at Hull House. While Addams emphasized the effects of experience on her response to the problems of daily life at the settlement, she downplayed her own role as an individual agent of change–for example, by using the passive voice or collective nouns to narrate events in which Addams herself by all accounts played a decisive role. As Sarah Robbins has observed, Addams's account of the founding of the Jane Club, a housing cooperative for working-class women, downplays her crucial role in providing support for the "spontaneous" enterprise, including purchasing furniture for the living quarters and paying the first month's rent (Robbins 216-217; Twenty Years 105). Addams attributed the idea for founding the club to a suggestion from one of its members, and made no mention of the fact that she was the club's namesake (Twenty Years 105). She characteristically used the plural "we" to describe the planning and discussion which she no doubt directed ("We read aloud together Beatrix Potter's little book on 'Cooperation,' and discussed all the difficulties of such an undertaking" [105]), and put action in the passive voice to obscure agency ("events moved quickly," "apartments near Hull House were rented and

furnished," "the undertaking 'marched'" [101-102]). Robbins has argued that such textual strategies sublimate Addams's female authorship and individual agency, as part of her attempt to construct an identity "which could operate effectively within the dominant culture while working to reshape that very culture" (10). However, Addams's apparent self-effacement may be seen not only as an accommodation to the dominant cultural ideal of female domesticity, but as a representation or model of experience as socially constructed through the cooperation of individuals.

As the characteristic of interaction provides a model for understanding social relations in Addams's narrative, the quality of continuity may provide a model for the narrative perception of time. Time, in Dewey's thought, is characterized not only by continuity–i.e., an endless sequence of experiences–but is also experienced cyclically and rhythmically. Cyclic repetition is one of the bases for rhythm (in narrative as well as experience), and it is in rhythm that "there is that sudden magic that gives us a sense of an inner revelation brought to us about something we have supposed to be known through and through" (Dewey, Art and Experience 170-171). In Addams's narrative, this experiential notion of time supplants the strictly chronological one: as she explained in the introduction to Twenty Years at Hull House, it was necessary to "abandon the chronological order in favor of the topical, for during the early years at Hull-House, time seemed to afford a mere framework for certain lines of activity and I have found in writing this book, that after these activities have been recorded, I can scarcely recall the scaffolding"(18). Similarly, the text itself may be seen as intervening between past and

future narratives (or topics) in an attempt to reconstruct the "magic" of inner revelation in her readers. Thus, Addams Twenty Years at Hull House transformed the theoretical explication of experience offered by Dewey into discursive action, much as the Labor Museum and other educational projects at Hull House gave practical application to his educational theories.

As I will argue in the following section, Addams's ethos in Twenty Years at Hull House (which I will characterize as that of the epideictic rhetor) constructed experience as a bridge between past standards of morality which she perceived as inadequate to new social realities and a reconstructed social ethic which she believed had the potential to shape individuals' future action, thus changing the course of human activity. As with the account of the Labor Museum, Addams's narrative came to the brink of a revolutionary course of action, but ultimately her class bias worked against this potential, casting immigrant and working-class men and women as in need of the protection and guidance of middle-class settlement residents.

II. "You inhabit reality:" Twenty Years at Hull House as Epideictic Encounter

Throughout the thirteen topical chapters of her autobiography that characterize Hull House's activities–from "Problems of Poverty" and "Pioneer Labor Legislation" to "Civic Coöperation" and "The Value of Social Clubs"–Addams traced the production of civic virtue. Much as Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria instructed citizens of the late Roman Empire in the skills and virtues that created the public person, Addams's

autobiography instructed citizens of early twentieth-century industrial America in the skills and virtues of democratic citizenship.[6] According to Sullivan, this is precisely the educational function of epideictic rhetoric: to convey to citizens the practical knowledge needed to be a good citizen and worker, while also teaching the values and sentiments appropriate to a given cultural and historical context ("A Closer Look"). Because the speaker must be able to understand the audience's view of experience in order to discover the *communis locus* of an argument, Sullivan asserts that Quintilian's pedagogy was grounded in narrative logic:

> By working with narrative models in a variety of ways–from memorizing to paraphrasing to translating. . . students learn to see the way society at large sees and are therefore able to discover the middle term or link between the major and minor premise. . . . Quintilian's middle term is tied to the 'common sense' of the audience, for it is a commonplace which students learn through experience with narrative (78).

Similarly, Addams's Twenty Years at Hull House provided a narrative model of "social democracy" as a middle term linking an established moral claim on the individual with a new social obligation of citizenship. Through the narrative representation of experience, Addams conveyed to readers practical knowledge (*logos*) through the model of the settlement as social institution as well as sentiments and values appropriate to new social realities.

The narrative progression of Twenty Years at Hull House reflected Jane Addams's belief that the experiences that shaped her private world were of interest to the extent that they also shaped a public *ethos* of social justice, the "personality upon whom various social and industrial movements in Chicago reacted during a period of twenty years" (18). Like John Bunyan's hero in Pilgrim's Progress, one of the significant texts of her childhood, Addams guides readers through the moral journey of her early years and her college education; readers suffer with the protagonist in her time of despair and rejoice when she resists the seduction of worldliness and liberates herself from the "snare of preparation" (cf. Bunyan's "slough of despond"); and they share in the collective struggle to enact a new ideal of community in the bustling, corrupt, and energetic city of Chicago. Like a pilgrim of urban industrial society, the narrator of Twenty Years at Hull House enjoined readers to share in the experiences through which she, as a woman, developed practical knowledge and cultivated habits of virtue appropriate to a new social gospel. The text's rhetorical reconstruction of civic virtue for an urban industrial society–her vision of a charitable and just nation, democratic in all aspects of communal life–illustrates the potential of epideictic rhetoric to promote social change. This potential, however, exists in tension with the very cultural and historical conditions that limited women's discursive action.

Since Aristotle, epideictic rhetoric has traditionally been associated with praise and blame–often interpreted as "mere rhetoric," ritual words with little relation to decision and action, or as a "rhetoric of orthodoxies"–because in teaching and reinforcing

dominant cultural values, epideictic rhetoric seemed to function to maintain the status quo. Cynthia Miecznikowski Sheard, however, has urged scholars to go beyond such traditional conceptions in order to understand epideictic rhetoric's role in presenting an alternative vision of reality within the public sphere. Dale Sullivan echoes Sheard's call for a more expansive notion of the genre that centers on audience:

> We should not define epideictic rhetoric primarily as the rhetoric of praise and blame or as the rhetoric that attempts to reinforce traditional values, for both of those definitions are dependent on the speaker's intentions. Instead, we can define it as the experience of members of an audience who find that the speaker is saying exactly what needs to be said, who find that they are being caught up in a celebration of their vision of reality (128).

Such a celebration of the epideictic rhetor's vision is evident in William James' letter to Jane Addams in response to The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets (1909), published the year before her autobiography: "Madam, you are not like the rest of us, who *seek* the truth and *try* to express it. You *inhabit* reality, and when you open your mouth, truth can't help being uttered." Hilda Satt Polacheck affirmed the visionary quality of Jane Addams's public persona: "The world began to regard Jane Addams as the prophets of old were regarded. She was honored wherever she went" (103). The *ethos* of social visionary or prophet sustained Addams's moral authority and supported the social vision that she constructed in Twenty Years at Hull House (Conway; Deegan; Davis). Furthermore, the sense that Addams "inhabited" a moral tradition shared by her readers

created a sense of communion with her audience that "subsumed individual desires and personalities within the larger story of society's shared needs" (Robbins 296).

William James's comment that Addams "inhabited" reality calls attention to an essential quality of the epideictic writer's *ethos*–the writer's vision. Vision, according to Sullivan, refers precisely to the ability of a writer to represent a shared reality convincingly to an audience. For example, Jane Addams claimed, in Twenty Years at Hull House and elsewhere, that the economic changes of industrialism ushered in an era of solidarity and interdependence in society; thus, the settlement sought "to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society" (Twenty Years 76). However, as Catherine Hobbs has pointed out, ample evidence existed to the contrary: it was quite evident in the early twentieth-century that industrialism had in fact widened the social and economic distance between classes. However, Addams's affirmation of the interdependence of classes was less a social observation than an ideal, an imaginative reconstruction of existing conditions. As a reflection on the rapid changes in the social conditions of industrial society, Twenty Years at Hull House appealed to an idealized vision of a collective self–an identity as a charitable and just nation, democratic in all aspects of communal life–while it at the same time challenged the "supposedly morally advanced bourgeois she addressed in her public lectures and articles" to realize the ideal of social democracy (Hobbs 201).

Both the reputation and moral authority of the epideictic rhetor draw upon the audience's sense that the writer herself represents important communal values. the sense that he or she in fact embodies cultural wisdom. Dale Sullivan characterizes this essential quality of the epideictic rhetor's *ethos* as "representativeness." In Twenty Years at Hull House, Addams wrote: "In a thousand voices singing the Hallelujah Chorus in Handel's 'Messiah,' it is possible to distinguish the leading voices, but the differences of training and cultivation between them and the voices of the chorus, are lost in the unity of purpose and in the fact that they are all human voices lifted by a high motive" (97). Similarly, in the epideictic mode of the autobiography, Addams's "voice" is subsumed within a collective wisdom: her *ethos* did not derive from individual personality alone, but from the audience's sense that a common cultural wisdom spoke through her. This common wisdom is expressed in the natural, seemingly organic place of the settlement's feminine offices in the tenement district: "In time it came to seem natural to all of us that the Settlement should be there. If it is natural to feed the hungry and care for the sick, it is certainly natural to give pleasure to the young, comfort to the aged, and to minister to the deep-seated craving for social intercourse that all men feel" (88). Addams then extended the common wisdom of women's "natural" role to the larger premise of women's political participation. For example, in her story of her appointment as neighborhood garbage inspector following her agitation for better sanitation, Addams wrote:

> Many of the foreign-born women of the ward were much shocked by this abrupt departure into the ways of men, and it took a great deal of explanation to convey

> the idea even remotely that if it were a womanly task to go about in tenement houses in order to nurse the sick, it might be quite as womanly to go through the same district in order to prevent the breeding of so-called 'filth diseases' (204).

Here and elsewhere in the autobiography, Addams's epideictic rhetoric invokes shared values of women's domesticity to warrant women's role as "civic housekeepers," couching her pre-suffrage calls for women's democratic action in terms acceptable to her middle-class men and women readers.

Recalling the literal meaning of the Greek word *ethos* as "place" or "dwelling," Dale Sullivan gives the term a new application that is particularly relevant to Hull House: "*Ethos* is not primarily an attribute of the speaker, nor even an audience perception: It is instead the common dwelling place of both, the timeless, consubstantial space that enfolds participants in epideictic exchange" (127). Despite this perception of timelessness and universality, the transformative potential of epideictic is always limited by *kairos*, the appropriateness of time and place. The importance of timeliness and the role of the audience in epideictic partly accounts for the fact that Hull House's domestic rhetoric was largely ignored by working-class men and immigrant leaders (as I will discuss further in chapter III). Thus, seeing Twenty Years at Hull House through the lens of the epideictic genre highlights both the strengths and weaknesses of Addams's work, succinctly stated by Mary Jo Deegan: "Despite her massive programs for social action (and most of them were successfully adopted), Addams believed more in the power of ideas than in the material world" (325). Similarly, Hilda Satt Polacheck's praise of Jane

Addams is tempered by her recognition of Addams's flawed idealism: "In retrospect, I feel that Jane Addams was perhaps too optimistic in thinking that a better world could be created within the economic conditions that prevailed" (104). As I will demonstrate in the following section, Polacheck's ambiguous class subjectivity gave her a unique position from which both to admire Addams's ideals and to observe the material conditions and social contradictions which limited their persuasiveness.

III. A View from Outside: Polacheck's I Came a Stranger

In 1953, Hilda Satt Polacheck began writing the only known memoir of life in the Hull House neighborhood by an immigrant woman.[7] When the manuscript was complete, Polacheck asked former Hull House resident Dr. Alice Hamilton to write the introduction, and Dr. Hamilton agreed, pending a book contract. The introduction was never written; at the time of Hilda Satt Polacheck's death in 1967, no publisher had been found. According to her daughter, Dena Polacheck Epstein, who edited the book for its eventual publication more than twenty years after Hilda Satt Polacheck's death, editors at the time showed no interest in her story:

> The editors to whom Hilda had introductions rejected the manuscript. "Who wants to read about an obscure woman like you?" she was told. "Write a biography of Jane Addams. We might be interested in that" (178).

In spite of patronizing rejection, Hilda Satt Polacheck maintained her faith in the significance of her story: "She knew that she had lived through important events; she

knew she had a story that needed to be told" (Epstein 179). Polacheck felt that it was important to tell "how an immigrant Jewish girl from Poland became an American at Hull-House, Chicago's first and most important settlement," and she believed that by telling her story, she could repay in part the debt she owed Jane Addams and other Hull House residents for changing her life for the better (Epstein 179).

The first several chapters of Hilda Satt Polacheck's autobiography follow a conventional chronology of the autobiographical genre, starting with the birth of the subject, family context, and accounts of family and childhood (see Part I: A Polish Childhood, 1882-92). Born Hinda Satt in 1882 in Wloclawek, Poland, Polacheck described an idyllic childhood that nonetheless held the spectre of anti-Semitism and political persecution. Her father, Louis Satt, migrated to Chicago's Hull House neighborhood in 1891, vowing he could "never live under the Russian yoke. . . [and] never would he subject his sons to Russian military service" (21). The rest of the family–Hilda, her mother, and five siblings–followed him to Chicago in 1892 (Part II: The Voyage to America: A New Life Begins, 1892-95). Louis Satt secured a position in his trade of carving inscriptions in tombstones, earning ten dollars a day "at a time in the history of America when ten dollars a week was considered good pay" (35). His skill was in demand in a neighborhood experiencing an influx of Eastern European immigrants, and because "he could read and write Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, German, and Russian, he was welcomed with open arms" (35). Satt even won a concession from his employer by refusing to work on the Sabbath: Hilda Satt Polacheck noted that she "often wondered if

he was the first man in Chicago to demand and get a five-day week" (36). When her father took the children to see the exhibits at the 1893 World's Fair, Hilda Satt Polacheck recalled her father saying with "great reverence," "[t]he wonders of America are as wonderful as the stars" (40).

In the midst of the economic depression of 1893, Hilda and her family enjoyed relative prosperity, living in a home which "compared with some of the homes of the children I played with. . was luxurious" (31). Blissfully unaware of class or economics, she did not associate her father's work with "earning a living:" "I did not connect the carving of these tombstones with the food I ate, or the clothes I wore, or the toys that I enjoyed" (33). The Satt children took "the first step toward . . . Americanization" when the registrar at their new school changed their names–Polacheck's from Hinda to Hilda (37). Hilda's father had enrolled the children at the Jewish Training School, a progressive school supported by the philanthropy of wealthy German Jews who had established themselves in the city's business and industry. Hilda idolized her teacher, Anna Bryan Torrance, "a woman with great spirit and an unbounded love for immigrant children" (39). In the figure of Mrs. Torrance, Hilda Satt Polacheck intertwined the ideals of Americanism and literacy. In a story that links writing with the promise of democratic prosperity, she tells of noticing that her teacher was writing with a golden pen point: "At one time I had visualized that only the czar could have a golden pen. Then I thought I would rather she had it" (38). In her sewing class, Hilda chose to make "a pen

wiper for my teacher so that she could wipe her golden pen point with it," further linking the ideals of literacy, social mobility, and feminine domesticity.

Polacheck credited her impressive success in school to Mrs. Torrance's influence: "She not only taught us English and arithmetic and geography, but she made us love what we were doing" (39). The teacher's feminine caring even extended to the children's personal grooming. Polacheck noted that she kept a box of combs to give to girls who came to school with unkempt hair: "One day I saw her scrub those combs with soap and water" (38). Above all, Hilda Satt Polacheck admired Mrs. Torrance for her "boundless" patience and sympathy with the children who could not speak English (38). As she recalled, she was very eager to learn English: "At that time it was my only goal in life. The sooner I could speak English, the sooner I would not be regarded as a greenhorn" (31). For Polacheck, Mrs. Torrance prefigured Jane Addams as a model of ideal American womanhood. In describing her later association with Hull House, she wrote: "[Addams] was the second person who made me glad that I had come to America. Mrs. Torrance was the first" (51). Both women fostered Polacheck's devotion to education as a means to individual accomplishment and distinction: Torrance's instruction was "a blessing" to Polacheck when she became a teacher of English at Hull House, an honor that was equaled only by the opportunity to attend the University of Chicago (90).

Although Polacheck's initial position is middle class, the narrative turns on the disruption of the Satt family's fortunes by the sudden death of her father at age forty-four, only two years after the family's immigration. For Hilda Satt Polacheck, her father's

death during her early adolescence represents not only an emotional trauma, but a change in material circumstances marking the disruption of a secure domestic environment. She recalled the impact that her father's death had on the family's expectation of a "good, free life":

> All his hopes and dreams for a good, free life for his family were buried with him. He had applied for citizenship, but he had not lived here long enough to be granted that high privilege.
>
> What was to be our future? What chance had we in a strange country, without funds?
>
> When we returned from the funeral, I heard Mother tell my sister that she had two dollars and there were seven of us to be fed (42).

The family was forced to rely on Hilda s mother, Dena Faltz Satt, who "had never known poverty" and whose health was soon broken by her efforts to support the family. She sold tea, sugar, and other staples door to door during the day, and at night tended to household chores: "she cooked, baked, sewed, kept our clothes mended, and kept the house clean" (46). Though Hilda respected her mother's "heroic" efforts to the family ("Here she was, with five small children, unable to speak the language of the country, with no training of any kind to earn a living" [44]), she began to resist the limitations of her maternal knowledge and experience. In response to her mother's assurance that there would always be a czar and women would never vote, Hilda Satt Polacheck commented: "The day arrived when I began to feel that even mothers could be wrong" (48).

Soon after the death of her father, Hilda went to work, transferring her dependence on home and family to reliance on self and, significantly, the domestic enclave of Hull House (Part III: Growing Up with Hull-House, 1895-1912). As her distance from the familiar life of home and school widened, Hilda Satt Polacheck became increasingly attached to Hull House and to the ideals of Americanism it represented. Her first acquaintance with Hull House was a Christmas party which she attended without her mother's knowledge or permission. Although Christmas had been "a day to be feared by Jews in Poland" (8), Polacheck saw Hull House as breaking down boundaries of fear and mistrust that divided people of different religions and ethnicities:

> As I look back, I know that I became a staunch American at this party. I was with children who had been brought here from all over the world. The fathers and mothers, like my father and mother, had come in search of a free and happy life. And we were all having a good time, as the guests of an American, Jane Addams. We were all poor. Some of us were underfed. . . . But we were not afraid of each other (52).

Hilda Satt Polacheck described Addams's presence in glowing terms, noting her warm voice and "kind, understanding eyes" which "banished fear from the heart of a child" (71). Like Mrs. Torrance, Jane Addams personified the best America had to offer. Comparing Addams to another American icon, Polacheck wrote, "While the Statue of Liberty welcomed [immigrants] to America, it was Jane Addams who took them to her warm and generous heart" (71). Addams represented an expansion of the maternal role

("Jane Addams had no children of her own, but the children of the whole world belonged to her" [162]), while Polacheck's own mother depicted its limitation and confinement.

Polacheck's formal schooling and visits to Hull House were curtailed when she joined her older sister working at a factory to help support the family.[8] She felt the weight of responsibility as the family's fortunes continued to decline ("I started to brood over the condition of my family. What could I do to help?"). She deeply regretted leaving school, where she had spent "the first happy years in America:"

> I went to school and told Mrs. Torrance that I was not coming back to school. I shall never forget that leave-taking. I looked at the beloved–yes, beloved–blackboard where I had learned to write my first English words. The bright pictures on the wall, the cutouts pasted on the windows, the desk, all seemed dear to me that day (56).

The end of school represented the foreclosure of material as well as social promise and possibility, the "bright pictures on the wall" contrasted with a bleak future of poverty and monotony. As a central crisis of the first part of I Came a Stranger, Polacheck's story shares many characteristics of what Julia Swindells refers to as the narrative of "losing caste:" "the poverty of 'losing caste' . . . engenders the poverty of unsuccessful labor and unsatisfied desires" (126). The narrative is marked by the practical hardships of economic hardship, but also the "the insecurity or precariousness" of social descent and the "memory of respectability or gentility, idealized because lost" (Swindells 127).

Hull House provides a narrative resolution to this social decline, offering Polacheck cultural capital in spite of economic hardship. The opportunity to admire literacy and culture were central to Polacheck's sense of resistance to poverty:

> Being young, I began to rebel against a life that offered only food and warmth and shelter. There were all those books in the public library, and I wanted to read some of them. There were pictures on the walls of the Art Institute and I wanted to look at them (60).

Hilda Satt Polacheck's association with Addams and Hull House allowed her to regain access to culture and literacy as a means to personal advancement and social contact. Hull House was "an oasis in the desert," an escape from the monotony and exhaustion after a ten-hour day of factory work that offered "books, music, . . . arts and crafts" as well as the "social stimulus of people my own age" (68). Polacheck recalled that while she ate and slept in the four-room flat shared with her mother and siblings, she "really lived at Hull House" (68). At Hull House, Polacheck "had been taught to think clearly and to meet events with courage," in the midst of comforting and familiar feminine domesticity.

Polacheck retained a strong adherence to education as a means of personal advancement, despite her discovery that employers regarded education and self-improvement as potentially subversive. During her years at her first job, doing piecework sixty hours a week at a knitting machine, Polacheck was acquainted with Hull House but "did not realize at that time that it was possible to study away from school and that there

were classes at Hull House" (56). After four years of work at the knitting factory, she attended a union organizing meeting, and "impulsively" rose to complain of grievances and degrading working conditions. The next morning, she was "called into the forelady's office and given whatever pay I had coming and was told that I was a troublemaker and that I was to get out and never come back" (58). Polacheck recounts several later episodes that reveal different meanings of education according to class differences. She recounted the following incident at her second job, sewing cuffs in a shirtwaist factory:

> I overheard my forelady talking to a man: "I don't want any experienced girls. They are too smart and too fresh, and they want good wages. And they turn out less work. Give me the 'greenhorns'–Italian girls, Polish girls, Jewish girls, who can't speak English. Girls who have just come from the Old Country don't know how much they can earn. I make them work hard like the devil. And they work for whatever wages they get" (62).

Here, the negative, sexualized connotation of "experienced girls" reveals the conflict between the Hull House ideal of experience and women's workplace realities. As Julia Swindells points out, "the discovery in employment that education means threat" is common to working-class autobiographical narratives: "the pursuit of learning is more likely to lead to problems with an employer than amelioration, and . . . if education is supposed to benefit some people in improving their status, it is not <u>these</u> people" (134). Swindells adds that the fact that many working-class women autobiographers "retain an attachment to books and to knowledge as crucial to autobiographical self-perception"

illustrates both the power of the illusion of education as a means of advancement and the courage of women's commitment to learning in the face of contradictory pressures. That Addams did not acknowledge or comprehend such contradictory pressures inherent in formal schooling limited her persuasiveness among working-class ethnic groups.

While class divisions regarding the value of education sometimes brought Hull House into conflict with leaders of ethnic communities (as demonstrated in Chapter III), they served to strengthen Hilda Satt Polacheck's adherence to learning as a means to spiritual and intellectual sustenance which was separate from material self-advancement.[9] When assigned to write her first composition for a Hull House composition class taught by a University of Chicago professor, Hilda Satt Polacheck recalled devoting every evening after work to her "masterpiece, over which I sweated five nights and a whole day Sunday" (80). After the professor had reviewed the essay ("The Ghetto Market," which convincingly echoed Hull House's calls for progressive reform), Jane Addams offered her an opportunity to attend the university:

> . . [Addams] said these magic words: "How would you like to go to the University of Chicago?" [. . . .] She did not realize that she had just asked me whether I wanted to live (86).

Addams had arranged a scholarship for Polacheck, as well as a loan to help sustain the family without her earnings, and advised her to talk it over with her mother. Polacheck recounted the conversation with her mother and sister:

> . . . I poured out my soul. I told them what Miss Addams had said about a loan, how my tuition would be free, how my life would be changed.
>
> "This can happen only in America," Mother said.
>
> "Yes," I said, "because in America there is a Jane Addams and Hull-House" (87).

Polacheck was registered as an unclassified student in three courses: German, English literature, and composition. That term of advanced literacy training at the University, Polacheck wrote, "opened a new life to me. . I have never stopped being grateful for having been given the opportunity to explore the treasures to be found in books" (88). Polacheck's oft-repeated declarations of relief at having been offered such a chance ("I often wonder what kind of life I would have lived if I had not met Jane Addams" [42]) serve to underline her sense of the precariousness of her gender and class position.

The irony of the contradiction between the illusion of advancement and the material conditions that governed her experience as a working-class woman was not lost on Polacheck. She wrote that she felt at "loose ends" after her term at university and was "determined not to go back to the factory to sew cuffs;" however, she knew she had to earn a living and help support the family. Having taught English at Hull House, attended the University, and learned to use a typewriter, she decided to look for more "genteel" work–a clerical position in line with her improved skills and feminine self-perception. She was given a bookkeeping job at a large mail order house, operating a billing machine. The material conditions that governed the workplace were hardly different from those of the factory:

> I was taken to a large room that was filled with long tables on which the billing machines had been placed. There were about three feet between the machines. I was assigned to a machine and an instructor came to show me how the work was done. She also told me the rules of the office. I was told that no talking was permitted during working hours. . . . I was told not to leave my machine unless it was absolutely necessary. Then I was told that the toilets were at the end of the hall, and I knew what she meant by "absolutely necessary" (93).

Polacheck wryly noted that, "I suddenly realized that 'genteel' work can be as deadly monotonous as factory work" (93). After observing that her voice had become husky from lack of use, she made a "feeble protest" to her employer: "I saw no reason why I could not speak to the girl next to me once in a while" (93). The next day, Polacheck was told that she was "too smart" for the job, and was fired. The dual connotation of "smart" as impudent and/or alert suggests the metaphor of literacy as double-edged sword to which Catherine Hobbs refers in her analysis of the cultures and practices of U.S. women's literacy (Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write 10). As Hobbs suggests, women like Polacheck have used their literacy to organize collective resistance to social control in the workplace; however, Polacheck glosses over the potential for resistance to her firing. Instead, she seeks Jane Addams's advice; armed with a letter of introduction from her enormously influential mentor, Polacheck was given "a very friendly interview [at the A.C. McClurg publishing house] and [she] got the job" (93). Thus, Polacheck was able to exploit her personal relations with Addams to secure advancement in work status.

Although Polacheck's own literacy and schooling was secondary to her advance in waged labor, she did credit her social advance through marriage to her experience at the university. She often stated in her autobiography that, had it not been for Jane Addams and the training she received at Hull House and the U of C, she would have been unlikely to meet and marry a man like William Polacheck, a second-generation Jewish American owner of a lighting business, whom she married in 1912:

> If it had not been for those few months, brief as they were, at the University of Chicago, I would never have attracted a man like Bill. I could not possibly have discovered the things that I was able to talk about unless I had that guidance. I had found out how and where to look for books. I had learned to listen to symphonies and enjoy them (122).

Thus, the education she had received functioned as a sort of intellectual finishing school for Polacheck. Due to the sexual division of labor which Charlotte Perkins Gilman analyzed in her 1898 study, Women and Economics, marriage rather than employment became the means to Hilda Satt Polacheck's economic security and advancement. Like her dependence on the security of her father's home, however, it proved impermanent.

The account of Hilda Satt Polacheck's courtship and marriage is perhaps the most self-consciously "literary" section of the autobiography, in its adherence to the late Victorian sense of marriage as the feminine ideal of fiction. Her suitor, William Polacheck, came to visit her at a summer camp where she was working part-time while writing a dramatic adaptation of a novel for the Hull House Theatre (again, on the advice

of her sponsor and mentor, Jane Addams). Hilda Satt Polacheck recounted romantic afternoons rowing down a lazy river with Bill while he recited Browning's poetry. She wrote that she began to tire of waiting for a declaration of love from Bill: "I made a heroic effort to be gay during the time I was with him, but when I climbed the hill it was with heavy heart. After all, it was possible that he was not in love with me" (115). Hilda Satt Polacheck recounted the feminine details of her preparation for the dance they attended on the last Saturday of Bill's stay:

> I wore the only white dress that I had brought. It was a nice dress with many little ruffles of lace; I wore two or three petticoats. My hair, which was almost black, was arranged in a becoming way. I put a small red poppy in my hair. I considered myself quite elegant (115).

After an evening of dancing but "no hint of a proposal," she recounted her resignation in melodramatic terms. At the climax of the courtship scene, however, Polacheck winked at the conventions of the feminine romantic narrative: At the next evening's dinner, she ate several onions "in desperation;" when the "rapturous moment" of her romantic encounter with Bill finally came, ". . . I was in his arms and his lips were pressed close to mine. And I had eaten raw onions for supper!" (116). She added, "In 1911, no 'proper' young man kissed a 'proper' girl unless he meant to marry her. And Bill meant just that, and I knew it" (116). Although the courtship narrative operated within the limits of dominant notions of propriety, Polacheck called attention to the historical context of such conceptions of sexuality and sexual encounter.

At the end of the courtship account. Polacheck contrasted meaningful work with romantic idealism: as she stood before the mirror, she chided herself, "Shake the stars out of your eyes, there's work to be done" (117). She returned to her typewriter, affirming her subjectivity as a writer. Polacheck's account of her courtship and married life hints at the incompatibility of marriage with the pursuit of a career, which was stated explicitly in her account of Jane Addams's personal life. In a melodramatic account of unrequited love, Polacheck described Jane Addams's refusal of her stepbrother George Haldeman's marriage proposal, which Polacheck attributed to her decision either "that her career was uppermost in her heart or that she did not love him sufficiently to marry him" (Polacheck 98).[10] Polacheck's depicted her own married life as a wife and mother of four as "a good life: years of love, fulfillment, and service," but not professional accomplishment (161). Though "still imbued with the writing bug," she published little during her marriage to William Polacheck.[11] Hilda Satt Polacheck commented directly on this hiatus only once, in an exchange with Jane Addams during her visit to the Polacheck's home in Milwaukee in 1921:

> "You have a fine family and a very nice home," she said.
>
> "I'm certain that I would not have all these blessings if it had not been for you and Hull-House," I said. "Bill would not have noticed me if I had not learned what I did at Hull House." [. . . .] When I asked her if she was disappointed that I had not written anything since I had married, she said: Hilda, my dear, one baby is worth a dozen books, and you have three, so have no regrets." Then she stroked

> my hair and said: "Some day, when the children are grown, you will write. I know it." I hope I am now fulfilling her prophecy (149).

A combination of circumstances led Hilda Satt Polacheck to return to Hull House and to professional writing: the death in 1927 of William Polacheck, and the advent of the Depression in 1929, which saw her business and insurance proceeds evaporate. Polacheck found herself "at the end of 1929 with four children and very little money" (163). Finding herself in a position nearly identical to that of her mother years earlier, she consoled herself that "I was better prepared to meet hardship than my mother had been. The years I had spent at Hull-House, under the influence of Jane Addams, were now my strength and support" (167). (The death of Polacheck's mother in 1913 had merited only one sentence.) Through the assistance of friends at Hull House, she secured a job and living quarters for the family in Chicago; when that job disappeared, she became a member of the Illinois Writers' Project of the WPA. She wrote several papers on Hull House and the settlement's progressive reform projects for the Writer's Project, but she never knew what became of the things she wrote (177). I Came a Stranger ends with an account of the funeral of Jane Addams in May of 1935, though Polacheck would live for another 32 years.

IV. Conclusion

In her collection of essays on women's autobiography, Estelle Jelinek posits a theoretical understanding of nineteenth-century women's autobiographies as distinct from

those of men. Jelinek argues that male autobiographers see themselves as legends or representatives of their times, while the distinctive emphasis of women autobiographers is on the personal, especially on other people. Maroula Joannou, however, questions the validity of such gendered categories, asking whether apparent differences in men's and women's life writing at the turn of the century might be due to women's lack of access to the public sphere or to the effects of diverse material conditions on women's lives, suggesting that specifically female mode of perception may be "more properly understood as historical rather than sexual in nature" (32-33).

Addams's and Polacheck's autobiographies bear out Joannou's assertion that women position themselves differently according to their access to material resources and rhetorical possibilities within a given historical context. In her autobiography, Jane Addams adopted both "masculine" and "feminine" rhetorical strategies in constructing an autobiographical *ethos*. Like the memoirs of great men, Twenty Years at Hull House presented the narrator as a representative of her times, yet Addams subsumed her personal authority within a feminine ideal of community. She domesticated her role as an autonomous public figure and skilled administrator by invoking the feminine, domestic rhetoric of the settlement as neighborhood house. To middle-class readers who were invited into Hull House as a dwelling place of common wisdom, Addams's class and gender positions were rendered virtually transparent. However, the publication histories of the two autobiographies call attention to the real differences in access to public

discourse that were available to Addams and Polacheck, due to their different positions in the social structure.

While Hilda Satt Polacheck was not able to publish her memoir during her lifetime, the narrative progression that she recounted may be seen as a subversive appropriation of literate power. Hull House served as a "reservoir of material and ideological support" for Hilda Satt Polacheck's literate practices, which she was able to draw upon to better understand and negotiate middle-class economic power. I Came a Stranger represents an immigrant woman's dialectical interaction with the settlement's ideology; Polacheck negotiated the meanings of gender, class, and literacy promoted by the settlement, resisting or exploiting them according to her own experiences and values. For example, in the 1920's she joined an "aggressive" suffrage organization, National Woman's party, "whose policy was not to ask for the vote but to demand it" (153). She noted that "I am quite sure that Miss Addams did not approve of this new organization." She also indirectly criticized Jane Addams's support of Theodore Roosevelt in the 1912 presidential election: she wrote, "It was very hard for me. . . to understand how Addams ever agreed to support Theodore Roosevelt," and quoted Addams's niece, Marcet Haldeman-Julius, in her assessment of the man as a "raving Jingo–an execrator of birth control because he favored large families for the purposes of militarism" (137). Although Polacheck diverged from Addams in her activity in, and interpretation of, causes such as pacifism and women's suffrage, it was Addams who publicly defined and authorized the positions against which Polacheck wrote.

As Deborah Brandt has pointed out, narratives of individual literacy experiences often show how "opportunities for literacy learning emerge out of the jockeying and skirmishing for economic and political advantage going on among sponsors of literacy" (169). Immigrant men and women in the Hull House neighborhood did seize such emergent opportunities, in ways that the middle-class residents did not intend or anticipate. While individuals like Polacheck have managed to write accounts of such appropriation, they have not necessarily been read. In this chapter, I have sought to interpret the ways in which differences in class and gender status between Addams and Polacheck informed the discursive representation of self. Any judgments made from such observations should be made with understanding of the complicated dynamics of literacy, immigration, and pedagogy at the settlement. I turn to these considerations in the chapters that follow.

Notes

1. Hull House sponsored many dramatic clubs and activities, including the Hull House Theatre, the Shakespeare Club, and the Dramatic Association. The Hull House Theatre is well-known in Chicago's theatre community; David Mamet is one of its distinguished alumni.

2. In her memoir, Hilda Satt Polacheck wrote: "In her two-volume autobiography, Twenty Years at Hull House and the The Second Twenty Years at Hull House, Jane Addams devoted most of the space to Hull-House. The personal side of her life, I feel, was treated casually" (96).

3. In the autobiography, Addams attributed the phrase "snare of preparation" to Tolstoy.

4. In a 1929 tribute to Dewey, Addams recalled that

> In those years when we were told by the scientists, or at least by the so-called scientists, that the world was in the grasp of sub-human forces against which it was absurd to oppose the human will, John Dewey calmly stated that the proper home of intelligence was the world itself and that the true function of intelligence was to act as critic and regulator of the forces which move the world ("A Toast to John Dewey," 180)

As many scholars have noted, Jane Addams and John Dewey mutually influenced and supported one another's work (Hobbs; Deegan; Lasch; Seigfried).

5.Mary Jo Deegan argues that one source of "error" in Jane Addams's thought was that she believed industrial progress was more "imminent and rational than it was" (325).

6. Like Quintilian, Addams actively resisted the devaluation of rhetoric from an active practice of citizenship to a school subject with little connection to public life. See Catherine Hobbs, "Jane Addams and the Social Rhetoric of Democracy."

7. According to the editor, Polacheck was aided only by her memory, since she kept no diary.

8. Though Polacheck claimed she was fourteen and of legal age for employment when she went to work, the editor of I Came a Stranger, Dena Polacheck Epstein, noted that Polacheck was actually 13. The chronology of Polacheck's memoir is at times ambiguous.

9. As Julie Bokser of the UIC women's studies dissertation group pointed out to me,

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education as a spiritual and intellectual aspiration is a commonplace in autobiographical narratives of first-generation Jewish immigrants. However, as Harvey Graff has pointed out, Polish and Slavic immigrants to the U.S. were skeptical of the idea of advancement through education, believing that early, steady work was the path to success in their new country (Legacies of Literacy 368). Such competing values among religious and ethnic traditions, as well as differences due to generational status, suggest the complex roots of individual attitudes towards literacy and schooling.

10.Ostensibly because his love was not returned, George Haldeman suffered a mental and physical breakdown and became an invalid until his death at age 48 (Marcet Julius Haldeman, qtd. in Polacheck 98). No mention of this incident is made in Addams's autobiography.

11. Lynn Weiner notes that Hilda Satt Polacheck was typical of her generation of women, most of whom left the ranks of the paid workforce after marriage: "The United States Census recorded in 1920 that only 9 percent of all white married women worked for wages: generally, married women sought employment only if driven by dire economic need" (xvii).

CHAPTER III:

"GOOD WILL, GOOD ENGLISH, GOOD CITIZENSHIP:"

LITERACY AND AMERICANIZATION AT HULL HOUSE

Among the hundreds of immigrants who have for years attended classes at Hull-House designed primarily to teach the English language, dozens of them have struggled to express in the newly acquired tongue some of those hopes which had so much to do with their emigration.

Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, 1910 (300)

. . . Such was my introduction to Hull House, a university of good will, good English, good citizenship–in brief, everything good that America stands for. All my subsequent training at Lewis Institute Prep School, University of Chicago, and even Harvard, was best interpreted by Hull House and exalted by it

Russian immigrant Philip Davis, And Crown Thy Good, 1952 (85-87)

This chapter further explores the educational philosophy which guided Hull House from 1890 to 1940, as expressed in Jane Addams's rhetoric and Hull House's practices, as well as in accounts of individual immigrant men and women who visited the settlement and took part in its educational mission. For Addams, the moving power of

education was experience–and therein lay the centrality of education to a democratic society. The settlement's educational philosophy presumed that "individually and socially enhancing life experiences were the vital sources and telling marks of a society in which democracy was a way of life, and not merely a rhetoric or a political creed" (Lagemann 5). Furthermore, Addams believed that it was through literacy that one apprehended such "individually and socially enhancing life experiences." Literacy education was one of the settlement's efforts to bridge differences and establish the sense of affiliation and fellowship necessary to a functioning democracy.

In the previous chapter, I argued that through her narrative reconstruction of experience, Addams taught and modeled a new mode of practical reason appropriate to an industrialized democratic society and sought to instill values and sentiments appropriate to the just society she envisioned. In this chapter, I explore the ways in which Hull House enacted these ideals in the context of particular cultural conditions–i.e., the economic and social fragmentation wrought by rapid industrialization and urban segregation of immigrant groups. Education at the settlement was broadly conceived and was to be tested by its outcomes in the daily lives of adults and children; thus, "[b]y inquiring into the social and developmental outcomes of everyday situations and activities, Addams was able to bring both the experiential and deliberately pedagogical aspects of education into view" (Lagemann 4). Like her colleague John Dewey, Addams envisioned the testing of experience as not only the outcome of education, but as the *process* of education itself.

As suggested by the quotation from Addams's autobiography that opened this chapter, the aim of teaching English at the settlement was not to assimilate in the conventional sense, but to provide an experience through which immigrants might express their democratic longings, those "hopes which had so much to do with their emigration." This approach was affirmed in the written accounts of three immigrant neighbors of the settlement–Oscar Luddman, Hilda Satt Polacheck, and Philip Davis. However, this democratic ethic did not extend to all of Hull House's activities, as highlighted by Hull House's participation in efforts to suppress parochial schools in which English was not the primary language of instruction. Scholars have interpreted such instances, in which settlement residents attempted to regulate the lifestyles of the poor and working classes, as evidence either that Jane Addams's social democratic ethic did not always find practical expression at Hull House or that her middle-class vision of democratic community was not widely shared by the settlement's working class and immigrant neighbors (Crocker; Lissak). Moreover, this chapter will suggest that Hull House's interests in promoting and sponsoring literacy among immigrant communities were complex and contradictory– sometimes working for the progress and advancement of individual talented immigrant men and women while simultaneously opposing the interests of ethnic groups in an effort to achieve the settlement's political ends. As Sheila Rothman has pointed out, "[t]he settlement house programs to train immigrants to citizenship and provide them with necessary services was part of a still grander goal: to make immigrants a force for Progressive change" (117).

I. Immigrant Education and Social Democracy

In summing up "Socialized Education," the closing chapter of Twenty Years at Hull House, Jane Addams identified Hull House's educational mission with its radical program, the attempt to "socialize democracy:"

> The educational activities of a Settlement, as well as its philanthropic, civic, and social undertakings, are but differing manifestations of the attempt to socialize democracy, as is the very existence of the Settlement itself (310).

Addams's closing words are open to various interpretations, as she never defined precisely what it meant to "socialize education" or "socialize democracy." In her essay, "Jane Addams and the Social Rhetoric of Democracy," Catherine Hobbs has suggested that such terms owe their complexity to the intertwining of strands of classical, Christian and Enlightenment discourses, which Addams both incorporated and resisted in developing her social democratic pedagogy. (184). The intertwining of multiple discourses in Addams's rhetoric help to "explain some of the rich potential for various readings her texts provide" (185).

The pedagogical principles deemed necessary for the enhancement of American democracy in an industrial era were woven from many complicated threads of Addams's rhetorical experience and education. One strand in this intertwining "melange of discourses" was classical discourse, including the Greek and Latin texts that Addams memorized and practiced in oration during her college years at Rockford Theological Seminary. These texts stressed the discourses of democracy, republicanism, and civic virtue. However, Hobbs has pointed out two problems for Addams in adapting the

classical ideal to her mission at Hull House: first, the exclusion of women from the public sphere of the civic orator; and second, the transformation of late nineteenth-century oratorical culture by the private discourses of professionalism (Hobbs 187-188). Addams resisted both the exclusion of women (becoming one of the most popular orators of her time) and the professionalization of sociology that relegated social work to second-class status after World War I.[1] From her education in classical rhetoric, Addams gleaned a strong sense of public, civic discourse which provided a viable alternative to the dominant trends of the early twentieth century towards private spheres of professional discourse.

A second influential strand in the development of Addams's social democratic pedagogy was the discourse of Christian humanitarianism. Hobbs notes that Addams resisted the religious teachings of the seminary; however, "she was attracted to the aspects of community and social responsibility emphasized in the teachings of the early Roman Christians and Tolstoy's model of Christian communitarianism" (192). For Addams and other Hull House residents, the settlement filled a need for a synthesis of public and private virtue, intertwining reform and religion "with a bent to express in social service, in terms of action, the spirit of Christ" (Addams, Subjective Necessity 20). As Eleanor Stebner has pointed out, the women of Hull House did not think of themselves primarily as "reformers"–their reform work was simply an outgrowth of their attempt to integrate a life of service with one of public and professional accomplishment (22). Settlement work was a way to reconcile the classical, civic virtues of democracy and citizenship and the private, individual morality of nineteenth-century Christianity.

Finally, the discourse of the Enlightenment--the rhetoric of individualism, rights, and progress–played an integral role in the construction of Addams's rhetoric and of the settlement's pedagogy. (In Twenty Years at Hull House, Addams referred to John Locke as one of "the best educators" [93].) Enlightenment discourses modeled an ideal of social evolution and moral progress which Addams enthusiastically embraced:

> [W]ithout the advance and improvement of the whole, no man can hope for any lasting improvement in his own moral or material individual condition; and . . the subjective necessity for Social Settlements is therefore identical with that necessity, which urges us on toward social and individual salvation (Twenty Years 100).

In her 1930 article in the Journal of Adult Education, "Widening the Circle of Enlightenment," Addams further detailed the pedagogical role of the social settlement in the "advance and improvement of the whole." Colleges and universities, Addams asserted, had made "a little inner circle of illuminated space beyond which there stretched a region of darkness, and it was the duty of the settlements to draw some of those who were in outer darkness [i.e., immigrants and the working classes] into the light" (205). Addams concluded that only by widening the circle of education and enlightenment would the nation as a whole advance; given "the interdependence of men in modern life," the exclusion of large groups of men and women from participation in the democratic social life would "largely cripple our general development" (211).

Although Addams believed the discourse of scientific progress held great potential to advance the "general intelligence," she rejected the objectifying gaze of the social scientist and modified the emphasis on individual rationality. She emphasized experience as the foundation for social progress, taking the subjectivist, feminine stance that "intellectual accumulation" was of limited use unless grounded in the daily life of the community (Addams, rpt. in Lagemann 70). While Addams embraced the utopian goals of modern science, her gender and moral theories prevented her from taking on the discursive role of gender-neutral expert implied by the rhetoric of professionalism (Hobbs 196).[2] Addams's practice of what Mary Jo Deegan has called "critical-emancipatory science" always connected the analysis of economic and political conditions to the "mundane and oppressive realities" experienced by the poor, laborers, women and children in the communities surrounding Hull House (Deegan 254-56).

Thus, Addams's pedagogical ethics intertwined and critically reconstructed classical rhetoric's call to active, democratic citizenship; the Christian obligation of service to the human community; and the Enlightenment ideal of social and moral progress. This critical reconstruction drew heavily on the evolutionary theories of gender that Addams shared with Charlotte Perkins Gilman, who stayed at Hull House during 1895. As the following account of immigrant education from Twenty Years at Hull House illustrates, Addams's pedagogy drew on essentialist assumptions about gender and moral character: just as Addams's pacifism centered on women as "the catalysts of [a] peaceful, democratic world society," her democratic pedagogy focused on reaching women (especially mothers) as the moral guardians of domestic and civic life (Hobbs

202). Addams saw the public school as an ideal democratizing influence for the immigrant family, because it held the potential to promote democratic values as well as English literacy. Through the schools' interaction with women and children, civic virtue would take root in immigrant homes and extend from there to the larger community.

In Twenty Years at Hull House, Addams related the story of a young Italian girl who had received in the public schools "the first simple instruction in the care of little children–that skillful care which every tenement-house baby requires if he is to pulled through his second summer" (182). As a result of this instruction, the girl explained to her mother that the reason that babies in Italy were healthier than babies in Chicago was not because Italian babies drank goat's milk, as the mother suspected, but because "the milk in Italy was clean and the milk in Chicago was dirty"(182). She explained to the mother that "when you milked your own goat before the door you knew the milk was clean;" however, in the tenement district, "you couldn't tell whether it was fit for the baby to drink until the men from the City Hall who had watched it all the way said it was all right" (183). Thus, enlightened social progress (in this case, milk inspection) could alleviate the unsanitary conditions of the urban slum–but only when it was intelligible to all, women in particular.

Addams concluded the anecdote in terms that invoke an ideal of a classical republic that includes the immigrant woman:

> Thus through civic instruction in the public schools, the Italian woman slowly became urbanized in the sense in which the word was used by her own Latin ancestors, and thus the habits of her entire family were modified. The public

schools in the immigrant colonies deserve all the praise as Americanizing agencies which can be bestowed upon them. . . (182).

The linking of education, civic instruction, and domestic virtue were central to Addams's conception of the mother's role in municipal life. For Addams, urban industrial relations presumed an essential relationship between woman's role as moral guardian at home and her wider, civic responsibility in society (Robbins). Within this new relation, women's virtue of caring for her family (e.g., by ensuring the wholesomeness of their diet) could no longer be relegated to a private, domestic sphere.[3] As noted in Chapter II, Addams used this rationale to warrant the extension of women's domestic role to involvement in civic affairs.

In an article entitled, "Why Women Should Vote," Addams argued that women's enfranchisement should extend beyond public school matters: "More than one woman has been convinced of the need of the ballot by the futility of her efforts in persuading a business man that young children need nurture in something besides the three r's." Here, Addams repeated the pure milk anecdote–but in this version, the little Italian girl's remarks to her mother added that "City Hall wanted to fix up the milk so that it couldn't make the baby sick, but that they hadn't quite enough votes for it yet" (reprinted in Lasch 147). Thus, through the domestic encounter with her young daughter, the immigrant mother was convinced of the need for women's participation in municipal affairs. Addams further extended the same argument to women's participation in international affairs:

> But is it not quite possible that as women entered into city politics when clean milk and sanitary housing became matters for municipal legislation, as they have consulted state officials when the premature labor of children and the tuberculosis death rate became factors in a political campaign, so they may normally be concerned with international affairs when these are dealing with such human and poignant matters as food for the starving and the rescue of women and children from annihilation? (reprinted in Johnson, 134).

Thus, Addams enlarged the ideal of what Hull House resident Florence Kelley called "Republican Motherhood"–feminine duties of civic responsibility, Christian love and duty, and enlightened social progress–from concrete local and state affairs to a more remote (though not abstract) internationalism.

The Hull House Labor Museum, another extension of the educational purpose of the settlement, demonstrated the practical tension between Addams's faith in industrial progress and her dismay at the social inequality of modern industrial relations. The Labor Museum, where immigrant men and women of the neighborhood demonstrated native crafts such as spinning, weaving, and pottery making, sought to humanize industrial labor and provide a cultural "bridge between European and American experiences in such wise as to give them both more meaning and sense of relation" (Twenty Years 172). Drawing on the romanticized view of labor in Tolstoy's religious philosophy, Addams organized spinning and weaving exhibits at the Labor Museum in order to educate and ennoble the young textile factory worker through an understanding of how her labor at the modern American industrial mill represented advancement of the "primitive industry" developed

generations before in her parents' native countries.[4] Addams wrote, "If these young people could actually see that the complicated machinery of the factory had been evolved from simple tools, they might at least make a beginning toward that education which Dr. Dewey defines as 'a continuing reconstruction of experience'" (172). While she ultimately rejected Tolstoy's agrarian philosophy as too limited for the modern industrial city, Addams sought to restore the human dignity of labor to mechanized trades through the settlement's education programs–including the Labor Museum, the Manual Training Shop, and cooperative education efforts with trade unions.

The spinning and weaving exhibits which formed the heart of the Labor Museum highlighted feminine modes of cultural production, as well as the ways in which domestic arts were occulted by mass production of textiles. Like the spinning wheel, the public mode of Addams's civic rhetoric was being replaced by the early twentieth century with a new kind of cultural production. Early twentieth-century industrialism transformed the material conditions of producing both texts and textiles within a specific set of historical and economic conditions. As Hobbs has pointed out, Jane Addams both embraced and resisted the forces of rhetorical as well as economic transformation; she had an ambiguous relationship both to the emerging discourses of professionalism and the ideology of capitalism. Following Tolstoy and Goethe, Addams valued the production of goods through human labor for its moral and aesthetic value, as long as they were produced for social utility rather than commercial gain. Yet, she was pragmatic; she understood that, for example, crafts such as hand spinning would be lost to later

generations unless they were made profitable, so she organized display of handspun textiles at Hull-House to sell to middle-class women.

Infusing industrial relations with the social ethic of democracy, Addams believed, demanded the mutual understanding of different classes and ethnicities. This understanding in turn would result from the "education which comes from participation in the constant trend of events"–that is, knowledge drawn from day-to-day experience and contact with different social groups. Christopher Lasch has argued that it was not only Addams's insistence on the preeminence of education that distinguished her from liberal crusaders for "good government," but also "her sense of kinship with the 'other half' of humanity" (Lasch xv). Addams envisioned both education and the recognition of the mutuality of class interests as complementary processes which demanded the continual reconstruction of experience, the ability to look at the world from another point of view. In spite of Addams's vision of the settlement crossing individual lines of difference, the next section will show that Hull House's literacy and Americanization practices were often embedded in classist assumptions that erupted into conflict with immigrant groups.

II. Americanization at Hull House

The concern over preserving the American (read: Anglo-Saxon) heritage was expressed in efforts to "Americanize" foreigners, a movement which "in the years 1916-1917 assumed the proportions of a crusade" (Berger 26).[5] The very idea of "Americanization" represented an ideological tug-of-war, a "verbal abstraction to be manipulated in the marketplace of ideas" by forces opposed to immigration and those

sympathetic to the immigrant (27). While the term evokes the elite white Anglo-Protestants seeking to transform immigrants into their own image and likeness, there were also more inclusive versions that emphasized a democratic ideal of unity among diverse groups.

Efforts to assimilate immigrants ranged from the social settlement's broadly based programs to more limited efforts that equated "Americanization" with crude efforts to teach the English language to immigrant adults. Stories of the latter are part of the established lore of American education. Herbert Miller's 1916 account of a visit to several evening classes for immigrant adults documented the ineffective teaching methods employed there. In one class, for example, workingmen were copying, "I am a yellow bird. I can sing. I can fly. I can sing to you." In another room, the lesson was about "little drops of water, little grains of sand" (qtd. in Bierstadt 112). Another published anecdote illustrated a similarly limited view of the immigrant education: a man, when asked about the Americanization program in his community, replied, "We used to have an Americanization problem but we haven't got one any longer. Several years ago we got all the foreigners in our town in some English and Civics classes and in two or three months we Americanized them all" (Bierstadt 114).

The precise character of Americanization efforts among U.S. settlements is a matter of some debate. Some historians argue that settlements generally favored sympathetic and constructive assimilation that was responsive to the needs of the immigrants themselves. "The settlement's Americanization program involved the development of a comprehensive social education," writes one historian typical of this

view; "If there were many who viewed the task of Americanization as simply one of imposing the English language upon the immigrant, there were others who saw the necessity for a total education" (Berger 37). However, critics of the settlements, notably Rivka Shpak Lissak and Virginia McLaughlin, point to evidence of paternalism and "Anglo-conformity" in the settlement ideology. Lissak argues that Hull House leaders, along with Liberal Progressives generally, worked against institutions that they believed promoted the persistence or even permanence of segregated ethnic communities, including parochial schools as well as immigrant banks and social welfare agencies. Ruth Hutchison Crocker attributes the difference in scholarly interpretation to the ideological diversity of the settlement movement. Even among progressive settlements like Hull House, there were gaps between theory and practice, and even the "tolerant attitudes that [Jane Addams] expressed in print did not always inform the settlement's programs for immigrants" (Crocker 42).

The chapter of Jane Addams's autobiography on "Immigrants and their Children," is the most famous statement of the settlement vision of Americanization in its broadest terms: comprehensive education of the immigrant family (Crocker 42). Addams wrote of the tensions created among immigrants families by too-rapid assimilation, including the alienation and lack of respect of immigration children for their parents and the misfortune of the elder generations being led by their inexperienced young. Addams expressed Hull House's aim with respect to their immigrant neighbors as twofold: first, to "preserve and keep whatever of value their past life contained" and second, to bring them "in contact with a better type of Americans" (Twenty Years 169). A 1904 newspaper account of a

speech by Addams further detailed Hull House's "effort to reach and develop the better side of the lives of these foreigners by appealing to their national instincts, by interesting Greeks in the reproduction of the old Greek classical dramas, by interesting the Italian women in spinning and weaving after the fashion of their ancestors for generations back" (4). The article concluded that

> The awakening of family and national pride brought about most frequently by the encouragement of their arts has helped more to make good American citizens of these foreigners than the attempt pure and simple to Americanize them (4).

As immigrants offered the noblest aspects of their own culture and history to the melting pot, Addams believed, the spirit of nationalism and ethnic pride would transcend national boundaries and serve as the foundation for American citizenship.

Rachel Shpak Lissak has argued the implicit aim of Hull House leaders's practice of "segregation within integration" was to promote the assimilation of immigrants into middle-class values and institutions. By encouraging the leaders of immigrant organizations to hold their events and meetings in Hull House buildings for low rents, segregated immigrant groups were brought into contact with middle-class settlement workers. This association was the first step to assimilating immigrants into middle-class American culture. While Addams and other Hull House residents advocated cultural and ethnic diversity, Lissak asserts that this was just a first stage in the assimilation process:

> Ethnic solidarity was a temporary condition, to be replaced first by social mobility, or by industrial solidarity and Americanization, and second by social and

> structural assimilation. The final stage was the disappearance of ethnic affiliation and the emergence of a harmonized society (Lissak 29).

Addams, like John Dewey, seemed to express two views simultaneously: she spoke in favor of mutual respect of difference, while advocating harmonious cross-cultural exchange.[6] This apparent contradiction prompts Lissak to question the authenticity of pluralism at the settlement: "The unresolved tension between unity and diversity in Addams's writings raises the question whether her pluralism was real or a matter of expediency and mere rhetoric" (9). Though this tension signaled to Lissak, a historian, superficial or "mere rhetoric," I understand it as an important site for the discursive negotiation of competing values within a charged historical context.

The tension between unity and diversity came to the fore in a conflict between Hull House and immigrant parochial schools. Hull House residents actively worked against church-sponsored immigrant parochial schools, which offered instruction both in English and the immigrant child's native language, because they regarded them as maintaining segregated ethnic communities and discouraging English literacy. While Addams and her colleagues believed that the immigrant child who attended public school would be quickly assimilated into American culture and values (and would impart these values to the entire family), private parochial schools were seen as hostile to such efforts. Furthermore, Hull House residents saw parochial schools as obstacles to proper enforcement of compulsory education and child labor laws:

> One great difficulty in the way of educating the non-English-speaking immigrant child is the foreign parochial school. It has been pointed out that the Illinois law

> permits a child to leave school and go to work without knowing how to read or write the English language (Abbott and Breckinridge 280).

In order to promote attendance at schools in which the primary language of instruction was English, Hull House supported bills in the Illinois state legislature which would have instituted state supervision of parochial schools, required children to attend schools offering instruction in English, and amended child labor laws to require children leaving school to be able to read, write and speak in English (Lissak 51). Other state legislation supported by Hull House residents would have required parochial school teachers to meet the same certification requirements as public schools (including English fluency).

Such measures were successfully opposed by immigrant groups, churches and parochial school leaders. Catholic and German Lutheran churches, for example, successfully opposed the stiffening of certification requirements for parochial schools teachers as a violation of the freedom of religion (Lissak). The words "in English" were deleted from the legislation when passed in amended version. Leaders of ethnic communities near Hull House thus effectively resisted what they saw as the settlement's patronizing attempts to undermine the parochial school system and direct immigrant children to public education. These leaders did not accept Hull House's position that public school attendance and English literacy were the surest routes to social and economic advancement. As Harvey Graff has observed, there were deep tensions within ethnic groups regarding the impact of education on ethnic solidarity and cultural survival:

> The Slavs and Jews in Chicago were characterized by high rates of child labor and home ownership and low levels of school attendance; these parents believed that

> early, steady work was the path to survival and security. However, they did see a need for education to maintain ethnic identities and communities against the threat of American society and Americanization. Consequently, they valued literacy highly. . . (Legacies 369).

Thus, for leaders of these immigrant groups, Hull House's opposition to immigrant parochial schools threatened community integrity and values.

With few exceptions, immigrants and working-class people held little decision-making power in directing the reform activities of the settlement (Crocker; Kraut; Berger). Although Addams ostensibly rejected the model of paternalistic benevolence in her approach to settlement work, Hull House residents' efforts often inadvertently engaged in the regulation of the lifestyles of immigrants and the poor. Addams herself acknowledged that at times settlement workers "rushed toward their ends 'with hurried and ignoble gait,' putting forth thorns in their eagerness to bear grapes" (Twenty Years 306). As nineteenth-century educated white women of privilege, Hull House residents were often blind to the classist and racist assumptions inherent in their attitudes toward education and Americanization: "Hull House women generally perpetuated attitudes of classism and racism because of their own social location and their general ignorance of the consequences of their well-intentioned behavior" (Stebner 25). However, as I will discuss below, accounts of individual immigrant men and women suggest that the settlement's efforts at education and uplift did serve a useful purpose for some of Hull House's immigrant neighbors–particularly the young and ambitious.

III. "Good Will, Good English, Good Citizenship"

As envisioned by Addams, literacy education at Hull House sought to provide immigrant and working-class men and women with not only the tools of reading and writing, but the means of expression and participation in democratic social life. Learning English would enable these newly-arrived immigrants to increase not only their economic opportunities, but also their ability to express the hopes and desires that would connect them with American values, culture, and people. Addams denounced literacy instruction in schools and adult education programs that lacked this corresponding social impulse. It was not the desire to become American that inspired adults to take classes in night school, Addams believed, but the desire to participate in democratic social relations in their new country. She lamented that this opportunity was wasted in many of the night school classes attended by immigrant men and women, where they were "taught to read and write concerning small natural objects, on the assumption that the undeveloped intellect works best with insects and tiny animals, and they patiently accept this uninteresting information because they expect 'education' to be hard and dull" (Addams, rpt. in Lasch 194). Condemning this myopic view of education, Addams wrote:

> There seems to be a belief among educators that . . . if a neighborhood is to receive valuable ideas at all, they must be brought in from the outside, and almost exclusively in the form of books. Such skepticism regarding the possibilities of human nature. . . results in equipping even the youngest children with the tools of reading and writing, but gives them no real participation in the industrial and

> social life with which they come in contact ("A Function of the Social Settlement" 194).

Unlike many who equated literacy instruction with Americanization, Jane Addams envisioned literacy as but one potential means of cultivating reciprocal social relations and democratic participation.

How effective was the settlement at making literacy relevant to the lived experience of the immigrant men and women who attended English classes? Despite Addams's urging to the contrary, the college-educated residents who directed the English clubs and classes at the settlement often applied the methods of composition instruction common in colleges and universities without adapting them for the particular demands of immigrants' "industrial and social life." In one Hull House English class, essays were assigned on the topic "What Kind of Home I Would Like to Have." An essay by a young Italian girl named Carmella Gustaferre reflected the middle-class domestic ideology of the settlement: "I should like to have a nice looking house with a garden like I had it at my old home in Italy. I would like to have a nice educated house and I like to have all the things that I have not got in my house. I would like to have a piano, a parlor and a room full of flowers." The methods of composition instruction often reflected traditional academic modes and domestic themes familiar to the mostly college-educated women who taught there.

The class described by Oscar Luddman in the letter below, however, suggests that more innovative approaches to composition instruction were also practiced in individual Hull House classes. The teacher, Robert Morss Lovett, faculty member at the University

of Chicago and resident of Hull House during the 1920's and 30's, described his role at the settlement as "meeting one a week with a group of young writers whose manuscripts I read for criticism in class, and corrected outside" (qtd. in Bryan and Davis 168). Those who attended the class/workshop included settlement residents, immigrant men and women from the neighborhood, and "recruits" from other parts of the city, a "highly miscellaneous company whose writing, without benefit of academic influence, made up in spontaneity what it lacked in conventional form" (168). The group's "chief triumph" was that of Oscar Luddman, the author of the following letter to Jane Addams and of a memoir, A Stepchild of the Rhine:

May 21, 1931

My Dear Miss Addams,

As an immigrant coming to this country three years ago, I want to thank you for the help I received at Hull House. The encouragement I found there has torn me out of a fatalistic stupor and proved to me that there are still such things as idealism and unselfish attempt to better the destiny of others.

When I came to America, mentally and physically dull, I passed through the bitter experience of every immigrant. I had studied many things at home in Alsace-Lorraine but very soon I lost faith in my knowledge, and like many foreigners I realized more and more that there was but one trade I knew thoroughly–the trade which had been forced upon me in the military camp, the trade of the gun. Friendless, homesick, and terribly alone, who cared if I grew desperate?

At just that moment, I was introduced into Mr. Lovett's writing class by Mrs. Evelyn Byron, and there at last I found understanding. All the horrors of my past life came before me as I wrote and when one evening, Mr. Lovett suggested, "Why don't you write these stories in a book?" for once I was happy, ready to smile upon the world I had hated. I had found a fatherland, a home--a peaceful one, I should say. Up to then Fatherland had meant some kind of a flag for me, either the imperial black-white-red, the French blue-white-red or the flag of the revolution. Home had meant my parents' house, a family of patriots, either passionate French or loyal Germans. They were all victims of their education from before 1870 and after.

In my book "Step-child of the Rhine" I have written about Alsace-Lorraine before and after the War. Thanks to the criticisms of Mr. Lovett, and to the help of Jane Hiller who later became my American wife, I have been able to finish this work. It will be published during the coming year. I sincerely hope that it may have some value in educating, in showing people the ridicule of so-called patriotism and the hopelessness of international understanding as long as children are taught to hate, not men but miserable uniforms.

If my countrymen could have seen at the Christmas exercises at Hull House the little negro boy beside Mexicans and Italians, all singing together, they would ask, "Why has my youth been poisoned? Why did we have to live through hunger, disease, constant yellow fear of death?" when children of all colors can sing to the Lord of Peace, at Hull House.

In the name of an Alsatian immigrant I thank you sincerely, Miss Addams, for the help I have received at the institution of Hull House.

Gratefully yours,

Oscar Ludmann

Ludmann identified his experience of literacy not with social autonomy or accomplishment, but with a sense of intimacy and belonging. Writing his story enabled him to find a place in which to belong, "a fatherland, a home." Here, the paternal connotation of "fatherland" is softened by the domestic image of home, reflecting the intertwining of maternal and paternal authority that characterized settlement pedagogy (Robbins 218).

Philip Davis, a Russian immigrant who later became a settlement worker himself, wrote of the Hull House's inviting domestic civility. In his memoir, And Crown Thy Good, Davis recounted his first meeting with Jane Addams:

> The first time I approached Hull House, the door was open and I walked in. No one was in the reception hall so I sat down near a table, eyeing the books and magazines. Presently Jane Addams appeared. From many pictures I had seen in the newspaper, I recognized her instantly. She greeted me cordially, than said: "Don't you want to read the Atlantic Monthly just out?" The Atlantic Monthly proved tough reading. After all, I came to see Jane Addams and Hull House, not to read the Atlantic Monthly! Realizing I was lingering rather than reading, she tried conversation:
>
> "Living around here?" she ventured.

> "On DeKoven Street," I answered.
>
> "Oh then," she said, "We are neighbors. You must come often." That was what I had hoped for.
>
> Such was my introduction to Hull House, a university of good will, good English, good citizenship–in brief, everything good that America stands for. All my subsequent training at Lewis Institute Prep School, University of Chicago, and even Harvard, was best interpreting by Hull House and exalted by it (85-87).

Both Ludmann's and Davis's accounts intertwine the educational and civic purposes of the settlement, suggesting that for these ambitious young men, literacy and education were perceived as means to gain access to political and economic spheres of influence. For example, Davis recounts telling Addams about his work at a New York sweatshop, to which Addams replied, "What do you want to do about it?"

> "Miss Addams," I solemnly replied, "I would like to educate myself so that I may return to the garment industry!" (qtd. in Bryan and Davis, 129).

Addams supported this ambition (Davis wrote that she responded, "I'm for it! Our country needs young educated men and women who wish to help others"). Thus, the settlement served as a literacy sponsor for such talented young men and women–enabling, supporting, teaching, and modeling a model of literacy founded on social action. However, such sponsorship was offered to a talented few–perhaps only to those who already shared the settlement's ideology of literacy and education.

Hilda Satt Polacheck, a Polish Jewish immigrant, demonstrated an early bent toward sociological observation and reformist zeal in her essay, "The Ghetto Market," an

argument for municipal reform of open-air markets which she submitted to a writing class at Hull House. In 1906, Polacheck offered to teach a summer English class to fellow immigrants at Hull House (most of the classes at Hull House were discontinued during the summer, when resident instructors often went on vacation). Her account of teaching the class highlighted the intertwining of literacy teaching and civic instruction at Hull House:

> since there were [no textbooks], I decided to use the Declaration of Independence as a text. It was a distinct success. The students did not find the words difficult: so in addition to learning English, we all learned the principles of Americanism [91].

Polacheck later introduced a manual on naturalization, and "the class learned English while studying how to become a citizen" (91). For Polacheck herself, teaching English at Hull House offered "a feeling of security that I so sorely needed" (91). For these immigrant individuals, she suggests, Hull House functioned as a democratic equalizer, breaking down social barriers associated with differences in literate practices while offering opportunities for social mobility through instruction in English. Polacheck recalled the Hull House Women's Club as a "venture in democracy" in which "[w]omen who had reached the highest educational levels and women who could not read or write sat side by side. . . . Each had one vote" (101).

As noted in Chapter II, Polacheck was well aware of what Graff calls the "literacy myth"–that while economic status helped gain access to literacy and education, literacy was by no means a guarantee of advancement in the workplace. At the same time,

Polacheck claimed that linguistic assimilation offered economic rewards. She used the accent-reduction methods of Mrs. Torrance, her former teacher at the Jewish Training School, to help her own students at Hull House:

> Mrs. Torrance had been very meticulous about pronunciation, and I used her methods that summer with surprising and satisfactory results. Most of my students learned to speak English without an accent. The great value of not having an accent, in those days, was that you could get a better job. And that was rewarding (90).

This emphasis on oral production prefigures the implementation of the literacy test in 1917 that required oral recitation of a printed text. The focus on pronunciation over comprehension of a written text calls attention to the perception of literacy as a kind of performance which figured in the assessment of the character, intelligence, and economic potential of the immigrant individual–a thesis which is developed further in Chapter IV.

Men and women like Ludmann, Davis and Polacheck represented only a tiny fraction of the thousands of immigrants who visited Hull House (Jane Addams herself called them the "transfigured few"). Further, as Rivka Shpak Lissak has suggested, gestures by settlement workers to lift promising immigrant and working-class individuals may have had the effect of removing potential leaders from their communities. At the same time, Thomas Philpott has observed that mobility in the area was quite high apart from the settlement's efforts: the surest way for families to demonstrate accomplishment was "to move away as rapidly as they can afford it" (69). Thus, community solidarity was strongest among newly-arrived immigrants, the most resourceful of whom often moved to

neighborhoods further south, including Bridgeport and Back of the Yards. While Philpott criticized the settlement workers for their many failures–including the inability to distinguish between economic and racial injustice–he maintains that "the very effort that the settlements made to be 'with' the workers made a difference in some people's lives" (89). Certainly, the above testimonials and the story of the Fauzio-Lombardo family, to which I turn in the next chapter, support this qualified conclusion.

IV Conclusion

Jane Addams's narrative demonstration of the settlement's pedagogical ethics in Twenty Years at Hull House has proved to be the most enduring and popular account of the educational activities of U.S. settlements. Despite its influence, the narrative mode of the book has sometimes obscured its importance in the history of American education. The arrangement of the text has made it easy to dismiss as "mere autobiography," nothing more than stories from one person's life. In recent years, however, Twenty Years at Hull House has been recovered as an important text in progressive educational philosophy. Even more than her colleague, John Dewey, Addams transformed generalizations into "unusually incisive experiential interpretations of social situations and problems" (Lagemann viii). As Jill Conway has observed, Addams "wrote with the simple directness of someone who had personally confronted the problems which concerned her. Hers was not an abstract or doctrinaire position . . . for she wrote from experience . . about her own confusion and puzzlement and their resolution" (257).

It is important, however, to understand both Addams's narrative and the activities of Hull House in historical context. The virtues that Addams espoused–including her belief in English literacy as a principal means of participation in American democracy–appealed mainly to the American middle class, though it was shared by those few immigrant and working-class men and women who might reasonably expect positive outcomes from the literacy practices espoused by the settlement. As shown by the conflict over immigrant parochial schools, many others interpreted their group and individual interests differently from settlement workers and rejected Hull House's notion of the beneficial consequences of English literacy and public schooling.

At the same time, Addams viewed literacy as a complex phenomenon and rejected a strictly functional, uniform concept of literacy. Far from seeing literacy and learning as neutral tools, Jane Addams understood that education served powerful interests–for example, she criticized public schools that offered narrowly-conceived "vocational training" that served the labor needs of industrialists while neglecting a more comprehensive, experiential approach to education. Moreover, Addams and other settlement residents resisted the association of literacy with moral character. In Chapter IV, I explore further the historical context and consequences of Addams's belief that immigrants' access to literacy and schooling was less a matter of individual character and ambition than a consequence of political, social, and economic circumstances that either suppressed or enabled access to literacy.

Notes

1. Jane Addams foresaw much of the negative impact that professional specialization would have on the legitimacy of social work. Mary Jo Deegan has argued that Jane Addams's career as a sociologist ended after WWI as a result of many factors, including Addams's unpopular pacifism and the complex changes in post-war social life and academic institutions. Though Addams and other women were among the founders of the Chicago School of Sociology, after the war, their work was relegated to the feminine sphere of social work, marginalized from the male network of sociologists centered at the University of Chicago. Today, her contribution to twentieth-century social theory is rarely recognized outside of schools of social work (309).

2. According to Eleanor Stebner, the spiritual orientation of the settlement in the nineteenth-century would give way by the 1920's to a more secular, professional model of social work (24).

3. The boundaries between women's public and private roles were blurred as civic organizations took over many of the functions previously exercised by women. In fact, Lucy Knight has observed that Addams never used the phrase "private sphere," though it was commonly used in her time; clearly, Addams saw the term as inadequate to define women's role in urban industrial society.

4. The Labor Museum was one of the inspirations for the Arts and Crafts movement, which shared a nostalgia for craftsmanship as against the mechanization of modern industry.

5. The term "Americanization," as I use it here, includes but is not limited to the activities of Francis Kellor's National Americanization Committee (1916-1920).

6. The tension between unity and diversity may well have been one of those issues on which Hull House was "quite as much under the suspicion of one side as the other" (Twenty Years 138). Addams was sensitive to the charge that settlements promoted miscegenation. Hilda Satt Polacheck, a woman of Russian Jewish descent, remembered that the first thing that Jane Addams asked her when she announced that she was engaged, was, "Is he Jewish?"

CHAPTER IV

LITERACY AND THE NEW IMMIGRANT:

STORIES FROM THE HULL HOUSE NEIGHBORHOOD

> For nearly three decades the settlement was practically the sole agency set to welcome the great body of strangers coming to our shores, to interpret to them the community at large, to assist them in adjusting their life to ours.
>
> –Woods and Kennedy, The Settlement Horizon, 1922.

Rosaria Contrino was born in 1882 in Valguarnera, a village in central Sicily. The first born of nine children, Rose helped her mother care for the younger siblings and attended school for only a few months–long enough to learn numbers, but not to learn to read and write. She emigrated to the U.S. in 1907, arriving in New York City, where she met and married married Tomasso Fauzio, a miner by trade who was also from Sicily. Rose and Tomasso Fauzio moved to a mining community in Toluca, Illinois, where Rose bore five children, two of whom died in infancy. In 1918, they moved to the Hull House neighborhood with their three surviving children–Edeline, Eleo, and Ernest–where the family resided for the next 26 years. In the evenings after supper, Tomasso would read aloud to Rose from Italian books he borrowed from the Hull House library. Rose took citizenship classes at Hull House, listening to and memorizing test questions and answers.

From her daughter, Edeline, she learned to write her name so that she could sign the naturalization papers; she practiced daily writing her name over and over in her daughter's ruled tablet.

Edeline Fauzio, Rose and Tomasso's daughter, attended public schools in Chicago and Toluca, Illinois. In the Toluca schoolroom where two grades shared the same classroom, Edeline would listen to the older grade's instruction while doing her homework. Always anxious to take first place in the weekly class spelling bee, she chewed the collars of dresses handmade by her mother while awaiting her turn. When the family moved to Chicago, Edeline was promoted a grade ahead at the Dante Elementary School on Forquer Street. She planned to read every book in the Hull House library, beginning with the A's (Louisa May Alcott, for example) and progressed through G (Zane Grey). At age 17, Edeline married Felice Lombardo and, as a wife and mother, she no longer had time to read for pleasure. She had been proud of the handwriting she learned using the Palmer Method; now, at 90, her hands shake, so she types letters to family and friends on a manual typewriter.

This chapter gives an account of the ways in which one family's literacy history intersected with the institutional history of Hull House, both of which span the better part of the twentieth century. For an immigrant family like the Fauzio-Lombardos, Hull House provided a point of contact with the literate practices of middle-class Americans, a port of entry into the swirling ideologies and materials of institutional literacy in the early twentieth century. Literacy materials–such as the lined notebook in which Rose Fauzio

practiced signing her name or the child care handbook given to Edeline Lombardo by the Infant Welfare League after the birth of her first child–reflect how the family's reading and writing practices intersected with the settlement's efforts to control and regulate those practices. As Deborah Brandt has observed, such materials "always carry traces of the grand history of official literacy" while they are at the same time infused with family history and personal memories ("Accumulating Literacy" 666). While my conversations with Edeline Lombardo in 1997 revealed ways in which "official literacy" served to control and assimilate new immigrants earlier in this century, they also revealed the close connection of reading and writing with a sense of family identity and community ethos.

As a neighborhood institution, Hull House played a material and symbolic role in the "accumulation" of family literacy practices, providing the context for many of the immigrant family's significant literacy experiences. Literacy "piled up" in the family like the stacks of books at the Hull House library that Edeline vowed to read, and new layers of uses and technologies of literacy were added with each generation. Hull House's relations with immigrant families of the settlement neighborhood further highlight the complex and contradictory role of the settlement in underwriting and regulating literacy practices discussed in chapter III. These relations cohered in a larger historical context in which large-scale changes in American economy and culture–such as concentration of so-called "new immigrants" in urban industrial areas–accompanied transformations in the meanings and practices of literacy. Literacy is tied up with social change, and stories such as that of Rose Contrino Fauzio's naturalization, recounted later in this chapter, represent "the challenges faced by all literacy learners in a society whose rapid changes

are themselves tied up so centrally with literacy and its enterprises" (Brandt, "Accumulating Literacy" 652). Autobiographical narratives, family stories, and documents of the Fauzio-Lombardo family reveal the ways in which these transformations were felt in individual lives, providing a "representative anecdote" of literacy development within a particular historical and institutional context (Burke).

In this chapter, I review the historical circumstances under which forces favoring immigration restriction used literacy as a means to discriminate among ethnic groups. The protests of Hull House residents against the restrictive uses of literacy parallel the settlement's efforts, described in the previous chapter, to advance individual immigrant men and women through the promotion of literacy and citizenship. These twin historical themes–the restrictive vs. the propelling function of literacy–appear frequently in the literacy history of the Fauzio-Lombardo family, as told to me during my conversations with Edeline Lombardo. Later in the chapter, I will return to Mrs. Lombardo's account of her mother's efforts to obtain citizenship to highlight occasions and motivations for learning to write in the Hull House neighborhood. Finally, I will explore the ways in which Hull House functioned as a "literacy sponsor" for Rose Fauzio and her family, providing access to "the economies of literacy" and the means by which they encountered both the restrictive and progressive functions of literacy (Brandt, "Literacy Sponsors" 3).

I. The New Migration

In 1900, immigrants made up 80% of the population of the city of Chicago (Elshtain). Many of the newly arriving residents of the city came from the nations of

southern and eastern Europe–e.g., Greece, Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary. They were part of a "new migration" that followed the economic depression of 1893 and, by 1907, pressed U.S. immigration rolls to record levels. According to an 1895 study by Hull House residents, eighteen nations were represented in the neighborhood immediately surrounding the settlement–predominately Italians, Russians, Poles, and Bohemians, but also Hungarians, Turks, Syrians, and Greeks. Few of the "old immigrants" from western European countries such as Germany and Scandinavia were found in this congested nineteenth ward district. [1] Hull House, situated only blocks from the Dearborn Street station where hundreds of immigrants arrived in Chicago by rail daily, was among the first institutions in the city to encounter these newly arriving ethnic groups.

Because they came at a time when the city and the nation were undergoing the rapid social and economic changes associated with industrialism and urbanization, the new immigrants became unjustly associated with many of the problems and unsatisfactory conditions of urban industrial life–such as the rise of slums, poverty, wage depression, corruption in government, and class conflict (Gere; Berger). The newly arriving southern and eastern European immigrants were perceived by many Anglo-Americans as racially different as well as morally and intellectually inferior to their western European predecessors. One 1913 textbook favoring immigration restriction asserted that the new migration was "made up of people of a very different racial stock" from the British, German and Scandinavian immigrants who had predominated before 1896 (Fairchild 134).[2] Unlike the earlier emigres, who "were of racial stock very closely related to the early settlers of the country," those from Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary

differed from "the original type of the American people" in "mental characteristics, traditions, and habits of life" (134). Such nativist critics blamed the "foreigners" for a declining standard of living in American cities, and arguments in favor of restricting immigration cited differences in "mental characteristics. . .and habits of life" that ranged from lack of experience with democratic government to high rates of illiteracy and insanity (Fairchild 135; Gere; Berger).

Those more sympathetic to the plight of the new immigrants, including many Hull House residents, pointed to the role of the environment on their differing "habits of life," portraying the newcomers as victims of corrupt ward bosses, high rents, crowded living conditions, and poor sanitation (Crocker 49). Although the new migration was not itself responsible for the growing national uneasiness of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the "foreigners" provided a convenient scapegoat for unacceptable political, economic and social conditions of the United States at the time. As Morris Berger has pointed out, "the expression of hostility toward the immigrant was the nervous twitching of a nation in change"–and by the beginning of the first World War, this "nervous twitching" wound itself into full-fledged backlash against the new immigrants (23). The movement to restrict immigration that began in 1882 and extended into the first decades of the twentieth century characterized America's response to the cultural anxiety which accompanied large-scale changes in immigration. The movement in favor of immigration restriction, which culminated in the Immigration Bill passed in 1917 over President Wilson's veto, included several provisions designed to stem the tide of new immigrants–the most controversial of which was the literacy test.

II. Sources of Pro-Restriction Sentiment

Public sentiment in favor of restricting the number of immigrants entering the U.S. arose in the late nineteenth century in response to changing economic, social, and political conditions. Among the economic arguments for restricting immigration was the wage decrease that accompanied the 1893 depression and which Fairchild attributed to the "competition of uncounted hordes of alien laborers" offering a ready supply of cheap labor (383). Fairchild along with other advocates of restrictive immigration policies asserted that immigrants from southern and eastern European countries were "more backward" and "represent[ed] a lower standard of living and industrial demands" (137). Further, these newcomers depressed immigration of the "advanced races" of western European, who were "unwilling to take up residence in a country where they must enter into competition with their inferiors, and where all will be classed together by the natives" (Fairchild 137). Finally, pro-restriction advocates accused the so-called "birds of passage" of coming to the United States with the sole intention of returning to their native country–and bringing the money that they had earned in the U.S. with them (Costin).

The new immigrants were thought to threaten the racial as well as economic integrity of the nation. Nativists who observed physical differences among the new immigrants concluded that social Darwinism was at work. Edward Alsworth Ross, professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, wrote in 1914 of the physical characteristics of the new immigrants:

> You are struck by the fact that from ten to twenty percent are hirsute, low-browed, big-faced persons of obviously low mentality. . . . These oxlike men are

descendants of those who always stayed behind (qtd in Kraut 152).

Franz Boas in 1911 had published extensive scientific research that refuted such "evidence" of racial inferiority, showing that such physical characteristics as a sloped forehead were associated with nutrition and environment and often disappeared in the immigrants' children (Kraut 152). However, such arguments were rarely convincing to lay readers who sought a rationale for their nativist sentiments.

Religious discrimination was also among the motivating factors for advocates of immigrant restriction. Josiah Strong's enormously popular book, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis, galvanized white Protestant America against the rising tide of Catholic immigration. Our Country, which sold 175,000 copies in the twenty years following its publication in 1886, has been compared to Uncle Tom's Cabin for the extent to which it inflamed public opinion against the rising tide of immigration (Gere 57). Strong, a Protestant minister, identified "an irreconcilable difference between papal principles and the fundamental principles of free institutions" (55). He cited the urban political machine with its Irish Catholic base as just one of the pernicious effects of Catholic immigration. Anti-Semitism was also clearly evident in the writings of nativists such as U.S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Goldwin Smith, Cornell University's distinguished historian. Such attacks sometimes linked economics with racial inferiority, claiming that the Jew compensated for physical inferiority with cunning and avarice (Kraut).

Thus, calls for restricting the number of immigrants were prompted by economic concerns about watering down the labor market, alarm over perceived threats to Anglo-

Protestant dominance in politics and culture, as well as racist fears of the "consequences of the progressive dilution of the American racial stock" (Fairchild 383). As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, such fears and prejudices prompted progressively louder and more shrill calls for legislation to stem the rising tide of new immigrants. As I discuss below, Hull House and the Immigrants Protective League were among the institutions that opposed restrictive immigration legislation, including the passage of the literacy test for immigrants.

III. The Literacy Test and Immigration Restriction

American Protective Association, the Immigrant Restrictive League, and other national organizations that supported restrictive immigration legislation sought to use literacy as a way to control the "quality" as well as the number of immigrants entering the U.S. (Gere). The test of literacy was a favored method of restricting immigration, because it targeted the "less desirable" immigrants: "The literacy test promised to be a useful expedient for this purpose because its effect would be to discriminate in favor of immigrants from the old sources and against those from the new" (Fairchild 384). Such a test was first introduced in an 1897 bill that would have provided for a test of literacy for all immigrants over the age of sixteen. Grover Cleveland vetoed the bill, citing the "radical departure to our national policy" regarding European immigration (Costin 84).[3] In 1907, Congress appointed a federal commission to carry out a formal inquiry into immigration in the United States, and among the commission's recommendations was the exclusion of all persons unable to read and write in some language (Costin). Although

immigration had already begun to decline by the start of World War I. and came to a virtual standstill during the war, restrictionists were able to exploit fears of an explosion of post-war immigration to generate support for restrictive immigration legislation. In 1917, the Sixty-fourth Congress overrode the veto of President Wilson to pass an immigration bill that contained a provision for a literacy test. In addition to prohibiting the admission of mentally retarded persons, paupers, criminals, polygamists, prostitutes, and contract workers, the 1917 immigration bill excluded "all aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who can not read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish" (Cong. Rec. 877). The test, to be administered at the port of entry, required the immigrant to read thirty to forty words printed on a slip of paper, in English or a language or dialect of his or her choosing. Wives, mothers, daughters, grandmothers, and fathers or grandfathers over age fifty-five of "admissible aliens" were exempted from the test.

To those who favored the literacy test, it was a test of intelligence–a "practicable and common-sense method of gauging intellectual quality" (Fairchild 200). Proponents of the test perceived literacy as an indicator of an individual immigrant's character and intelligence rather than as a product of complex political, social, and economic conditions in their native country. As Ann Ruggles Gere has pointed out, "the 1917 bill adopted an asymmetrical perspective on literacy," focusing on reading/consumption and oral recitation of a text rather than the productive act of writing (23). Furthermore, the bill framed literacy as a defining characteristic of individuals, rather than a complex social relationship:

> In trying to ascertain 'whether aliens can read,' the 1917 bill operated from a principle of inherency, seeing literacy as defining people. Opponents of the bill contested this principle, framing literacy in more social and political terms (Gere 23).

Ultimately, the national debate about literacy and immigration splintered between nativists who wanted to use literacy to control the "quality" of immigrants and industrialists who wanted immigrants–literate or not–in the work force (Gere). As I will discuss later, the settlement provided a mediating force between the interests of Anglo-Americans, industrialists, and the immigrants themselves.

Moreover, literacy and formal education were much less common among immigrants from southern and eastern Europe than among their western European predecessors. However, despite the comparatively low rates of literacy in eastern and southern Europe, nearly three-quarters of all immigrants who entered the U. S. between 1899 and 1910 were literate. In fact, Harvey Graff asserts that "levels of literacy were an important element in the selectivity of long-distance immigration;" immigration was a difficult and complex undertaking, and literate persons of all nationalities were more likely to have the skills and resources to negotiate the passage (Legacies 366). This finding contradicts nativist arguments that "those elements which felt the urge to migrate most strongly were on the whole the lowest down on the economic, and presumably the educational, scale" (Fairchild 385).

Given that individuals with the most resources (including literacy) within a culture were more likely to withstand the difficulties of long-distance immigration,

ethnicity did account for variations in the literacy rates of different immigrant groups. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, literacy rates in Italy were among the lowest in Europe (with the exception of Spain), and the gap between male and female literacy was also wider than usual, reflecting "the lower opportunities available to women in places where 'traditional' attitudes remained strong and where educational development was especially uneven and slow" (Graff, Legacies 297). Within a given country, there were also regional differences in literacy development: in Italy, for example, the northern regions had the highest rates of literacy; southern Italy and the islands (including Sicily) had the lowest. A number of cultural and economic factors account for such regional variations in literacy development:

> Poverty, lack of educational facilities, higher priorities for survival than literacy among families, agrarian seasonal cycles, and the like obstructed the progress of literacy throughout the Italian peninsula, but were far more severe in the south, where conservative elites also stood in the path of educational development (Graff "Legacies" 298).

In spite of these conditions, literacy rates in Italy increased during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century; among Italian military recruits, for example, illiteracy declined from 59 percent in 1870 to 10 percent in 1913.

Moreover, the Immigration Bill of 1917 had minimal effect on regulating the "quality" of immigrants or decreasing their number. While rates of literacy among immigrants after 1917 did rise, the increase was more likely due to rising standards of education in the immigrants' native countries than to the imposition of the literacy test.

In 1917, 1,263 aliens were denied admission to the U.S. on account of literacy, or 1.4% of the 88,421 aliens admitted during that year (Thompson 34). In 1914, three years *before* the literacy test was implemented, nearly twice the proportion (2.7%) of aliens was debarred; between the years 1892 and 1914, an average of just under 10,000 immigrants were denied admission to the U.S. each year (Fairchild 209). According to Professor Fairchild, the reasons for exclusion before 1914 varied:

> Fifty-five per cent were debarred on the grounds of pauperism or likelihood of becoming a public charge, 14.7 per cent were afflicted with loathsome or dangerous contagious diseases, and 11.6 per cent were contract laborers. These three leading causes account for 81.3 percent of all the debarments (209).

The 1917 Immigration Bill itself had little effect on the numbers of immigrants entering the United States. European immigration had already begun to decline by the start of the first World War and would come to a virtual standstill in 1924 (Crocker 49). While the 1917 Immigration Bill had little practical impact, the controversy regarding the literacy test revealed much about the politics and ideology of literacy and immigration in the early twentieth century. Hull House's response to the literacy test shaped, and was shaped by, the ideology of literacy within the settlement as well as the broader cultural context.

IV. Hull House s Response to the Literacy Test

In 1911, Jane Addams and former Hull House resident Grace Abbott wrote to Oscar W. Underwood, U.S. Congressman and member of a House Committee considering immigration restriction, to urge his opposition to a proposed literacy test. In

the letter, typed on Hull-House stationery, Addams and Abbott enumerated the following arguments against the literacy test:

1. It is not a character test. The ability to read and write is no indication of a man's honesty, his determination, or his general thrift. In the case of the immigrant, it is not even a test of ambition since in most cases those who are illiterate have had no opportunity to attend school at home.
2. It does not result in the exclusion of those who are industrially undesirable.
3. The adoption of the rule would result in the separation of families as the women and the old men have often not had the education which the young men are now receiving. This would therefore interfere with family migrations.
4. Finally, the inability to read and write is the one deficiency the United States is best equipped to supply.

Addams and Abbott concluded that although "much could be said in favor of an educational test as a requisite for naturalization," such reasons did not apply to immigrants *entering* the U.S. Thus, Hull House's position affirmed the value of literacy and education for the immigrant family, which was central to the mission of the settlement.[4]

Drawing on the settlement's social democratic ethic, the Hull House residents' appeal to Rep. Underwood emphasized that illiteracy was not a characteristic of individuals, but rather a product of economic and social circumstances which result in unequal access to literacy. The United States, with its public schools and social settlements, was uniquely well-suited to redress this inequality. Hull House's position on

the literacy test suggests how closely the institution's political fortunes were tied to those of its immigrant neighbors. Addams allied herself with other organizations on the issue. In 1912, Julius Rosenwald of the Immigrants' Protective League wrote to Addams seeking her help in securing opposition to literacy tests for immigrants as part of the Progressive Party platform: "Knowing your views on the subject, I venture to ask you to have some of the leaders express themselves as opposed to the literacy test."[5] The Progressive Party platform of 1912 contained a plank deploring the "fatal policy of indifference and neglect which has left our enormous immigrant population to become the prey of chance and cupidity" and called for legislation to effect the "assimilation, education, and advancement" of immigrants (National Party Platforms, 1840-1956).

Grace Abbott, a member of the Immigrants Protective League, more fully elaborated her response to pro-restriction arguments in a 1911 article in The Survey, "Adjustment–Not Restriction." The federal Commission on Immigration had cited a number of factors in support of restrictive immigration policies, such as the "character" of the new immigrants, the oversupply of cheap labor on the market, and the tendency of immigrants to return to their native country with the money they had earned in the U.S. Grace Abbott refuted each argument in turn, using the commission's own evidence to show that immigrants were no more likely than the general population to be alcoholic or mentally ill, and they were generally not "diseased" or in the ranks of paupers (Costin 85). Furthermore, she maintained that immigrants did not intentionally underbid the

THE AMERICANESE WALL, AS CONGRESSMAN BURNETT WOULD BUILD IT.
UNCLE SAM: You're welcome in - if you can climb it!

Figure 1. "Uncle Sam: You're welcome in—if you can climb it." Library of Congress. Rpt. Alan M. Kraut, The Huddled Masses.

labor market, but were instead victims of unscrupulous capitalists who exploited their labor for below-market wages. Protective labor legislation, like that supported by Hull House residents, was a better solution to this problem than a literacy test to restrict immigration. Finally, Abbott challenged the committee's finding that new immigrants as a class come to this country only to accumulate money to take home, citing the commission's own finding that most of the 30 percent of immigrants who did return to their native country were "victims of disease and industrial accident, the aged, the temperamentally unfit, the widows and children of immigrants who had died here" (529). Furthermore, Abbott noted that the immigrant who was among the 30 percent who did return "had never been known to take back with him the railroads, canals, and subways he has built, or the great industries that have been developed through his labor" (528).

Following the publication of the Survey article, Grace Abbott testified against the literacy test to the U.S. House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Congress did enact a provision for the literacy test in 1912, but the measure was vetoed by William Howard Taft–in part, because Taft was persuaded by Grace Abbott's testimony, according to her sister and fellow Hull House resident Edith Abbott (Costin).

V. Literacy and Citizenship: The Fauzio-Lombardo Family

To consider what the dynamics underlying immigration restriction and ethnic prejudice actually meant to an ordinary immigrant family in the Hull House neighborhood, I now return to the Fauzio-Lombardo family. At the time of our interview, Edeline Lombardo was 89 years old, a widow living in the suburbs of Chicago. She and

her husband, two sons, and her widowed mother had moved from the Hull House neighborhood to the suburbs in 1944, when their home and others on Bunker Street were marked for demolition to make way for the Congress Expressway. The displacement of the Fauzio-Lombardo family was a portent of things to come in the neighborhood: the Hull House settlement and much of the remaining neighborhood was bulldozed in 1962 to make room for the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Like many of the "new immigrants" of the early twentieth century, the Lombardo family's move to the suburbs during the post-WWII years corresponded to their entry into the middle class. A number of political and economic factors accounted for the transformation of low-caste "foreigners" into white middle-class ethnics. As Ruth Hutchison Crocker points out, the rise of mass entertainment and consumer culture in the post-war years proved a "powerful dissolvent of ethnic separateness" (59). In addition, nativist rhetoric peppered with calls for Anglo-American racial purity became much less palatable to the American public after Nazi genocide had been exposed at the end of World War II. Moreover, broad social and economic changes hastened the assimilation of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe into the ranks of the white middle-class.

Apart from these cultural conditions, the attainment of literacy and education remained key to the image of the upwardly mobile immigrant individual. Edeline Lombardo expressed pride in her two sons and her highly educated and successful grandchildren:

> Oh, I'm telling you, I'm proud of them, 'cause where I originated from, in that area where we lived, nobody went to college. If they ended up in high school, it

> was good. But not to go into [college], except those that became doctors or dentists, they went on. But there were very few.

Mrs. Lombardo repeatedly stressed the value of education in her family and the fact that her brothers, Eleo and Ernest, both completed a high school education ("they both graduated, they both had good jobs"). Though she herself left high school when she married at age 17, Edeline Lombardo was raised into a literacy of upward mobility and class status. Her father, Tomasso Fauzio was literate in Italian; he was among the 69.3% of adult male immigrants from Southern Italy in the mining and manufacturing occupations in 1909 who could read and write in their native tongue.[6] Tomasso Fauzio's Egyptian father, a foreman in the mines back in Sicily, had seen to it that his son was educated in a refined Italian dialect, rather than the coarser Sicilian. Tomasso in turn passed on both dialects to his own children, along with an understanding of their relative status and contextual appropriateness:

> Now, you know in Sicily it's a dialect, but my dad taught me the high Italian. I know the dialect, because sometimes they used it at home, but I usually use the high Italian.

For Mrs. Lombardo, the ability to read and write in Italian remains a valued skill, used mainly for transcribing and interpreting letters for Sicilian friends.

As Deborah Brandt argues, literacy signifies not only individual status but "was also designed to express a local identity and a community ethos" ("Accumulating" 655). Mrs. Lombardo recalled that Tomasso Fauzio's ability to read and write was valued among the close-knit community of Sicilian miners in Toluca, Illinois. She proudly

related the story of a fellow miner's gratitude to her father for reading to him a letter from home. The man, who could not read Italian, approached Tomasso at a bar at the end of a workday, asking him "[Sepete legere?]" ("Can you read?"). Tomasso answered that he could, and read him the letter from his wife in Sicily over a glass of beer. Tomasso offered to write the man a letter to his wife in reply, so the man came to the family's house in the evening, and the friendship between the two men's families lasted until the Fauzios left Toluca for Chicago.

Literacy was also a tool to fend off ethnic prejudice, such as the imputation of innate criminality expressed in a 1911 report of the United States Immigration Commision, which alleged that "certain kinds of criminality are inherent in the Italian race." Edeline Lombardo used writing to resist the prejudice she perceived as persisting in contemporary portrayals of Italians as "gangsters and dummies":

> I'm so sick and tired of people saying to me, "Mafia, mafia," as if we all belong to the mafia. We have nothing to do with the mafia! I signed a petition this week, and I signed it because some man at the newspaper downgraded the Italian nation, the Italian people, and we expect an apology from them, and they won't give us an apology, so we wrote to Springfield, we sent a petition to Springfield to make them apologize (13).

While she acknowledged the presence of "gangsters" years ago in the Hull House neighborhood, they were remote from her family's life ("We minded our own business; they had their own problems. They killed each other, they didn't kill us"). When I

mentioned an Italian men's group at Hull House that was discovered to have criminal records, Mrs. Lombardo explained:

> You know, they didn't know how to speak English, number one. They probably got themselves, they took something and didn't pay for it or thought the man was charging too much, and that's where the criminal records came in. But most of the men were not like that (17).

Thus, by linking criminality not with nationality but with ignorance of American language and customs, Mrs. Lombardo simultaneously affirmed the identity of the Italian immigrant community ("most of the men were not like that"), the value of literacy, and the experience of discrimination against less educated members of the community.

Harvey Graff has suggested that many immigrants were aware of contradictions in the "literacy myth": i.e., despite promises to the contrary, "the acquisition of literacy and education has by no means served to guarantee individual or collective advancement, and many have advanced without their benefits" (Legacies 368). Edeline Lombardo's stories of her mother, Rose Contrino Fauzio, clearly signal her appreciation of such contradictions. The focus of the following discussion is Mrs. Lombardo's stories of her mother's efforts to obtain U.S. citizenship, and the ways in which her attainment subverted both her husband's control and the restrictive ideology of literacy promoted by nativist organizations like the Immigration Restriction League.

Rose Contrino and Tomasso Fauzio had emigrated separately from the Sicily at the height of the new migration from the south and east of Europe. Tomasso, like many southern and eastern European immigrants of the time, initially had limited interest in

citizenship (Crocker). When Tomasso Fauzio first arrived in the U.S. in 1904, he filed a Declaration of Intention or "first papers," which are frequently completed and filed with a court soon after immigration (Szucs). After the required five-year stay in America, he was required to file his "final papers," which included a petition for citizenship and the required affidavits. Tomasso, however, forgot to file his final papers:

> My father, when he came to America, he came before [Rose] did. They met here. So, he made a petition to become a citizen, he wrote this thing. Well, there's a five-year limit, and within the five years, you're supposed to write in again, ask again. Well, for some reason or another, he forgot, and he didn't get his papers.

Tomasso was granted citizenship in 1925, nearly twenty years after his arrival in the U.S. and three years after a federal statute was enacted that required married women to be naturalized in their own right.[5]

After 1922, immigrant women like Rose Fauzio could no longer automatically derive citizenship from their husbands:

> Now at that time [when Tomasso had filed his first petition], if a man got his citizen papers, his wife was automatically a citizen also. But in 1920 [sic], they changed the law: the husband was a citizen, but the wife had to have her own citizen papers. So he reapplied to be a citizen, and within that five-year period, they had that law come in that the wife had to have papers of her own. And my mother never forgave him for that. 'Cause she wanted to be a citizen [laughs]. . So he got his paper then. And she had to go get hers, regardless of whether she knew how to read or write, you know, she had to have it.

As an illiterate, Italian immigrant woman, Rose Fauzio might be seen from a feminist perspective as triply marginalized: her class, gender, and ethnicity placed her on the negative side of dualisms that Adrienne Rich has identified as "the positive-negative polarities between which most of our intellectual training has taken place" (64). For Rich, the problem lies in the dichotomy of power/powerlessness: "The powerful (mostly male) make decisions for the powerless: the well for the sick, the middle-aged for the aging, the 'sane' for the 'mad,' the educated for the illiterate, the influential for the marginal" (Rich 64). Rich urges the rejection of such binaries and the revaluing of negative polarities such as the "unmanly," the "nonwhite," the "illiterate," all of which are rendered invisible by their negative status.

Rose Fauzio confronted her own lack of power when her husband threatened to "send her back to Italy:"

> When my father and my mother had a "loud discussion," so to speak, my father would get mad and say, "I'm going to send you back to Italy!" And this–oh my God, my mother–my mother used to go mad, you know? And she said, "I'm gonna get a citizen paper if it's the last thing I do! I'm gonna get a citizen paper."

In the face of widespread deportations in the Hull House neighborhood in the 1920's and 1930's, Tomasso's threat may have seemed credible to Rose. Despite the fact that her husband lacked any legal authority to send Rose back to Italy, he did have the power to intimidate her and highlight her dependence on the family for her survival outside the home. Citizenship offered Rose a way to reduce her dependence on her husband and to strengthen her own position in the family.

Rose's illiteracy was, however, a major obstacle to her naturalization. Like more than half of Sicilian women and girls during the first decade of the twentieth century, Rose Fauzio could not read or write (Cippola, Literacy 19). Edeline recalled:

> I said to her, "Ma, how could you get a citizen paper? You don't know how to write your name! You gotta *sign* the paper!" I said, "You don't know the questions, the judge is gonna ask you questions." [Her mother responded:] "I'm going to get the citizen paper!" So, you know what she did? She went to the Hull House, and she signed up to get the question and answers–how shall I say it?–to the citizen paper.

Edeline recalled that, while Tomasso was at work, Rose would secretly attend citizenship classes at Hull House. Rose took pride in her appearance when she attended the class, pinning up her curly hair and donning her "Sunday going-to-meeting" clothes. Perhaps most surprising, Rose would greet men from the class on the street, indifferent to her husband's questions.[6] Attending the class distinguished Rose from other women in the neighborhood who largely remained in their homes, under the watchful eyes of their fathers and husbands. Edeline recalled that women in the neighborhood "used to laugh when they seen her go to [the citizenship class]. The women never left their homes, you know?"

Clearly, the settlement served to enhance Rose's identity as an individual, reflecting the restructuring of traditional relations in the immigrant family that sociologist Herbert Gans has attributed with the settlement.[7] Rose's illiteracy, however, remained an obstacle to her independence within the family. Edeline, like many children of

immigrants, assumed the role of teacher, taking responsibility for helping her mother to achieve an immediate objective:

> How am I gonna manage to get her to sign her name? So I bought a ruled tablet. . . and I wrote her name, "Rose Fauzio," and every day, she took that tablet–that's how dedicated she was–and she tried to write "Rose Fauzio." Well, by the time she ended the tablet, it was legible–it wasn't perfect, but it was legible. She went to school, and she listened to the questions. She memorized all the questions–and the answers. And then when she'd come home–she'd have her little book, with the answers–she'd say, "Read me the questions." So I'd read her the questions [. . .] Out of her mind, she would pick out the answer. So finally, she got the notice to go before the judge.

Rose appeared before the U.S. District Court of Chicago on November 21, 1941 and made good on her vow to gain American citizenship despite her husband's threats.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: SO HELP ME GOD. In acknowledgment whereof I have hereunto affixed my signature.

(Signature of petitioner)

Sworn to in open court, this ____ day of NOV 21 1941 A.D. 19__

Figure 2. Detail of naturalization document, Rose Contrino Fauzio.

For Edeline, the story of Rose's naturalization served to highlight her mother's intelligence and resourcefulness, as well as her ability to outfox her more educated husband. What did citizenship mean to Rose herself? The story of Rose's appearance before the U.S. District Court of Chicago sheds some light on this question. When Rose went before the judge with her petition for citizenship, she was accompanied by two witnesses and her daughter, Edeline. Her daughter recalled that the judge asked her questions, and "since she'd memorized the whole book, she answered." She was asked to identify her signature, her witnesses testified to her good moral character, as required, and the judge announced that her request for citizenship was granted. Rose's emotional response to the announcement contrasted with the routine, bureaucratic setting:

> Well, he says, "okay, you're a good person," because the witnesses said she's a very good person, she is not in any trouble or anything. Well, he said, her request was granted. Well, when she heard that, she burst into tears. So, the judge says, "What is she crying for?" And I was in the back of the room, and I said, "She's been wanting to be a citizen for a long time, and she never thought she could manage it. She finally got her dream."

Rose's dream of citizenship was tempered by a keen sense of responsibility:

> She looked at the judge, and she said, "I got two sons," tears, you know? "I got two sons! If America goes to war, my two sons go to America to help America win the war!" Y'know, the judge was flabbergasted, what was he going to say to

her? He said, "Thank you very much, but I'm sure. . . You made an effort, and you know, you got your papers."

After her naturalization papers arrived in the mail at the family's home, Rose planned an elaborate dinner to announce the news to her husband. Edeline described her mother's preparations for the celebratory dinner, which included "all kinds of vegetables, pasta, tomatoes, chickens, olives, everything. . . . She set her table with her best tablecloth, napkins, the best dishes, the wine, she bought the wine, everything! Oh, we had a cake, I'll tell you, there wasn't a thing missing in that dinner" (8). After dinner, Rose surprised her husband with the news:

> So, after we got through eating. . she goes in the bedroom. She comes out, she hands him this envelope, she says, "Here," to my father. My father says, "What's this?" . . He opened it up , and he sees this citizen paper with her picture on it! And he was amazed. He said, "What's this?" She says, "Now you can't send me to Italy! I'm a citizen and you can't send me anywhere!"

Edeline laughed, adding that the story illustrated her mother's intelligence and resourceful character:

> That's her, that was her. That's how she got her citizen papers. As I say, she was not stupid.

Thus, Edeline rejected the equation of literacy and intelligence, while affirming the value of literacy for specific purposes and uses. The citizenship narrative illustrates the ways in which Rose Fauzio evaluated literacy and citizenship in terms of relationships within her own family system and their attendant responsibility within a larger political context.

In Contingencies of Value, Barbara Herrnstein Smith writes, "We are always, so to speak, calculating how things 'figure' for us–always pricing them, so to speak, in relation to the total economy of our personal universe" (43). Edeline Lombardo insisted that it was precisely this process of evaluation that characterized her mother's intelligence. Immediately after she recounted the story of her mother's efforts to gain citizenship, Mrs. Lombardo described her mother's ability to quickly assess value in a different context:

> They couldn't put anything over on her, you know? We used to have a peddler come by. . . he had a scale, and she'd buy potatoes from him. And she'd look at the scale [and say,] 'That scale is wrong! You gotta give me 15 pounds of potatoes!' She stood up for her rights, you know. That was her.

The family history of the Fauzio-Lombardos qualifies and redefines the value ascribed to literacy by advocates of immigration restriction. Edeline Lombardo's narrative reflects a recognition of literacy as a good whose value is assessed only in relation to limited resources of time and energy.

VI. Conclusion: Economies of Literacy

Rose Fauzio's story highlights contradictions in contemporary notions of literacy as a means of social and economic advancement. Arguing against simple formulations of the relationship between poverty and illiteracy, James Donald asserts: "Although it is true that education and the accumulation of cultural capital can provide a route for individual social mobility, this knowledge is perfectly compatible with the production and maintenance of unequal social relations" (126). Likewise, Rose's participation in classes

at Hull House offered a measure of cultural capital–including citizenship–which held specific value for her in relation to her family; however, it did little to change the real differences in power and aspiration that structure social relations in the family and other social groups.

As Chapter III illustrated, the interests of the settlement and immigrant groups did not always converge, and sometimes conflicted. The settlement as an institution nonetheless set terms and conditions for access to literacy within the neighborhood. As another former nineteenth ward resident recalled, sources of reading materials in the neighborhood were limited to "books from the Hull House library or 'dime' novels–retrieved by our neighbor, the junk man" (Klass 1). Hull House functioned as a "literacy sponsor" for the immigrant family, mediating among the immigrants themselves and the large-scale political and economic forces that set the routes and determined the public value of literacy: "Sponsors are delivery systems for the economies of literacy, the means by which these forces present themselves to–and through–individual learners" (Brandt, "Literacy Sponsors" 167). The settlement offered the family access to literacy materials and practices, through its libraries, lectures, clubs, and classes. Hull House served as one means by which ideologies of literacy and citizenship were conveyed to Rose Fauzio, with her daughter Edeline serving to support Rose's efforts within the family. Brandt points out that such relations are reciprocal, and the settlement stood to gain from Rose's success, through its association with successive generations of the family.

Deborah Brandt has identified two types of "accumulating literacy"–vertical accumulation ("piling up") and horizontal accumulation ("spreading out"). As forms of

literacy practice change with time and successive levels of education, older forms of literacy do not disappear, but instead layer onto one another. Among the ways that literacy "piles up" in the twentieth century is in the rising levels of formal schooling in successive generations of families. While Rose had almost no formal education, her daughter, Edeline Lombardo, attended high school, and both of Edeline's sons attended college (one became a high school language arts teacher and writer). Among Rose Fauzio's great-grandchildren, most have college degrees, and one is completing a doctorate in biology. Her grandson Thomas, with whom I collaborated on the production of a compact disc version of the interview, started a World Wide Web development company in 1996 and produces multimedia texts that characterize what Brandt has called the "new and hybrid forms of literacy" ("Accumulating Literacy" 651). Tom Lombardo's literate abilities command economic value precisely because of his ability to adapt proliferating forms of literacy to his clients' needs and to "amalgamate new reading and writing practices in response to rapid social change" (Brandt). Ironically, though, Tom expressed uncertainty about his own literate skills, stating that he had never been "good at English." Thus, while the materials and practices of literacy are undergoing rapid transformation, older layers of literacy (e.g., school-oriented practices) retain significance in society and within the experience of individuals.

Like the older forms of print literacy it espoused, the ascendancy of Hull House on Chicago's Near West Side has long been surpassed by an accumulation of newer institutions and practices. After more than a decade of unsuccessful efforts at urban renewal of the area following World War II, the Hull House board of trustees decided in

1961 to cooperate with Mayor Richard J. Daley and the University of Illinois in providing the settlement neighborhood and the settlement buildings themselves as the site for the new Chicago campus of the University of Illinois. Amid bitter community protest, the Hull House complex and much of the surrounding neighborhood was demolished in 1963 to make way for the new campus. The original Hull House residence and coffee house were spared from the wrecking ball; the former settlement buildings now house Jane Addams's Hull House Museum, which stands on Polk and Halsted streets, near the university's student center.[8]

Although the Hull House Museum is easily overlooked by the campus visitor, overshadowed as it is by the imposing Modernist structures of the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), the settlement remains deeply embedded in the history of the neighborhood. By contrast, the Hull House Association, a loose affiliation of existing settlements and social service agencies which took up the mantle of the original settlement in 1963, lacked the sense of place that characterized its precursor. One history of the settlement concludes:

> When the original Hull-House existed, there was a sense of place and residents who lived in the buildings. Now there was a growing cadre of professional social workers, men and women from all ethnic and racial backgrounds with masters degrees in social work, some of whom lived outside the neighborhood, and all keeping nine-to-five hours, five days a week. . . . Without the settlement base and without residents in a particular neighborhood, Hull-House lacked a special

method to differentiate its approach to social problems from that of the many other agencies operating in the city (Bryan and Davis 276).

Though the Association continues its work, the Hull House name and Jane Addams's context-specific efforts to bridge differences of class, economics, ethnicity, and education remain closely associated with the Near West Side, more than thirty years after the original Hull House shut its doors.

These observations have important implications for institutions that sponsor literacy in contemporary contexts. Responding perhaps to the postmodern sense of dislocation that characterizes computer-mediated communication contexts and the decentralized Hull House Association alike, scholars in rhetoric and composition have sought to recover a sense of geographies of local knowledge through mapping practices (Porter and Sullivan). Such disciplinary practices may further restore a sense of location by infusing newer mapping activities with the spirit of settlement projects like Hull House Maps and Papers (1895), which sought to document the material conditions and problems affecting recently arrived immigrants on the Near West Side. Teachers of composition benefit from an understanding not only of the structures and boundaries of online discourses, but of the needs, purposes and experiences which literacy learners bring to the these sites. Even in the so-called "information age," a historical context in which the economic value of advanced literacy training appears unquestioned, the benefits of attaining literacy are not absolute or universal. Expectations and benefits vary according to class, race, gender and economic positions.

The question that faced the residents of Hull House no less than contemporary U.S. literacy educators is how to maintain respect for the pluralism of individuals and social groups while sustaining a commitment to collective values. The 1989 report of the English Coalition Conference, subtitled "Democarcy through Language," connected language to citizenship in terms similar to those articulated by Jane Addams and John Dewey earlier in the century. The statement of the college strand emphasized the cultivation of students' ability to "make meaning–rather than merely consuming information" as necessary preparation for productive citizenship, and stressed the need for a diversity of writing experiences in order to "prepare citizens for the demands of a pluralistic society" and "enable students to use language to make sense of their lives" (27). Subsumed within these goals, between students' "language development as individuals" and their "experience [of] the kind of cooperation all citizens increasingly need," are tensions between individual and collective identity which characterized the settlement's ideology of community (English Coalition Conference 26-28).

In the introductory chapter to this dissertation, I argued that formulations of literacy as either empowering or oppressive oversimplify the complexities of literate practices which, as James Donald writes, "denote both autonomous membership of an educated public and yet also a technique of socialization" (122). I have avoided characterizing literacy instruction at Hull House as a means of either emancipation or of social control; neither characterization is adequate to the intricacy of the settlement's relations with immigrant men and women like Rose Fauzio, Oscar Ludmann, Hilda Satt Polacheck, and Philip Davis. In contemporary as well as historical contexts, literacy

functions as a good within unequal social relations, distributed differently to a variety of individuals according to different criteria reflecting the specificity of its value (Brandt). It remains to contemporary literacy sponsors who trade on the context-specific values of reading and writing to evaluate their ethical position in such transactions. I conclude with Jane Addams's 1902 frank assessment of the limits of Hull House's distribution of literate practices and incentives:

> To quote from a late settlement report, 'The most vaunted educational work in settlements amounts often to the stimulation mentally of a select few who are, in a sense, of the academic type of mind, and who easily and quickly respond to the academic methods employed.' These classes may be valuable, but they leave quite untouched the great mass of the factory population, the ordinary workingman of the ordinary workingman's street, whose attitude is best described as that of 'acquiescence,' who lives through the aimless passage of the years without incentive 'to imagine, to design, or to aspire (Addams, On Education 107).

In the spaces between official literacy and personal imaginings and aspirations so remote as to be dismissed as non-existent, many stories remain to be told.

Notes

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1. In her introduction to the Maps and Papers, Hull House resident Agnes Holbrook states that "the Germans, although they make up more than a third of Chicago's population, are not very numerous in this neighborhood; and the Scandinavians, who fill north-west Chicago, are a mere handful (17).

2. Fairchild used government statistics to highlight what he perceived as a dramatic and startling shift in immigration patterns: "Comparing the two years 1882 and 1907, it appears that the old immigration made up 87.1 percent of the total immigration in the first year, and 19 per cent in the latter, and the new immigration 12.9 per cent in the former and 81 per cent in the latter" (134).

3. In fact, restrictive immigration policies had been part of national policy since the 1880's, including the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and an 1888 order to deport all alien contract laborers (Gere 278n1).

4. Former Hull House residents Abbott and Sophie Breckinridge wrote in 1917 that "a knowledge of English is an indispensable requisite for [the immigrant's] own protection and his ultimate achievement in the bewildering and complex new life into which he has come" (264).

5.Rosenwald wrote the following to Addams in a letter dated Oct. 23, 1912:

> My Dear Miss Addams,
> At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, I volunteered to take up with you the subject of the literacy test for immigrants, with a view to securing from the leaders of the National Progressive Party an authoritative expression of their views on such a test for immigrants. Knowing your views on the subject, I venture to ask you to have some of the leaders express themselves as opposed to the literacy test.
>
> Thanking you in advance for anything you may do in this matter.
>
> Very truly yours,
> Julius Rosenwald

Addams replied by telegram dated Oct. 30, 1912, while en route from St. Paul, MN to Sioux City, IA:

> Have communicated w/ New York headquarters in regard to immigration tests.

Am sure we are sound on that.

6. According to Robert Higgs, "Race, Skills and Earnings: American Immigrants in 1909," an adult male worker from the south of Italy earned an average of $9.61 a week. Nearly half spoke English and had resided in the U.S. five years or more.

5. The federal law (42 Stat. 1021) passed on September 22, 1922 "required married women to be naturalized in their own right and eliminated derivative citizenship for women" (Szucs 426.)

6. Edeline remembered the following: "if she was out shopping or something and would meet one of the students, well, she'd stop and chat with them. Sometimes my father would say, 'How do you know that man?' [laughs.] She'd say, 'Oh, I met him some time ago,' she'd give him some story.'" This seems surprising in light of the observation that Tomasso, like many Italian men, appeared to carry on the old world tradition of supervising wives and daughters to ensure proper behavior (see Gabaccia, From Sicily to Elizabeth Street).

7.Gans wrote that the settlement served to restructure the immigrant family, which involved an attempt to "reduce the segregation between husband and wife, . . . to bring parents and children closer together, . . . and to reduce the adult-centered focus of the household" (148).

8. Conflicts between the University of Illinois at Chicago and its neighbors on the Near West Side continue. The development of new, upscale housing and planned demolition and displacement of residents of several low-rise public housing projects (including one named for Addams herself) have characterized the area in the 1990's, now called "University Village." In 1997, UIC has worked with the city to close the old Maxwell Street Market, south of Roosevelt Road, and clear the area for additional parking and planned expansion of the campus to the south. Residents of the predominantly Hispanic Pilsen neighborhood to the west have protested escalating real estate prices and rapidly expanding gentrification of the entire Near West Side.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH EDELINE LOMBARDO, FORMER RESIDENT OF THE HULL HOUSE NEIGHBORHOOD

from the compact disc Con Promesso: The History of the Fauzio-Lombardo Family,

© 1997, Bridget O'Rourke Flisk and Tom Lombardo

EL= Edeline Lombardo

BOR= Bridget O'Rourke, interviewer

TL Sr.= Tom Lombardo, Sr., Edeline's son

TL= Tom Lombardo, Edeline's grandson

EL: That's Tom's sister, Christine.

BOR: Your older sister? The one who's a biologist?

TL: Yeah, she's two years older.

EL: And this is a later picture of them. And this is her husband, Bill. Christine has one more year of school to finish her doctorate in Biology.

BOR: My goodness. . .a very educated family.

EL: Oh, I'm telling you, I'm proud of them, 'cause where I originated from, in that area where we lived, nobody went to college. If they ended up in high school, it was good. But not to go into. . .except those that became doctors or dentists, they

went on. But there were very few.

BOR: Men as well as women didn't go to college?

EL: Well, some women went into the convents. . . but it was that way. But all the women, they married and they stayed home. . .

BOR: Who's that in the picture there? [sketch of a woman]

EL: That's me when I was 37 years old. And when I took this picture home, they said, "Eh, that's not you." So, we had gone on vacation, and the small picture on the side was taken on vacation, and you can match the two.

BOR: Where were you on vacation?

EL: We were in Colorado. We went to California, then we went to Colorado. I have to laugh, because my husband. . .when we bought this house, they were going to paint outside. And I asked him when we were going take some time off for vacation, because we both worked. And he said, "We have to paint the house." So they painted the house; that's year one. So the next year, I said, "Fil"-- my husband's name was Felice-- "are we going on vacation?"

He said, "Oh, we've got to paint the house on the inside."

I said to him, "You got all the time in the world to paint the house on the inside! If you don't want to come, I'm going out and book me a tour, and I'm going to Colorado!" I'd always wanted to go to the Rocky Mountains. Well, he was not pleased, and he was grumpy about it. Well, okay. So, I went downtown–I used to work downtown–to the Greyhound, and I asked how much it was to go to

Colorado, you know, for so many days. $111. . . I signed up, and I said to him, "Well, it's going to cost you $111 if you want to come with me, but I'm going. I'm going. We went by bus. Guess what? When we got back from the vacation, you'd think it was his idea! He bragged about what he saw, he bragged about everything! [laughter]. So, okay. The next year, he says to me, "Are we going on a vacation this year?" I said, "Well, I'd like to go to the Smoky Mountains." Boom! We went to the Smoky Mountains. But, I tell you, I've traveled all the world, I've traveled to Alaska, and I've traveled to the Antarctic. . . Yes, ma'am. Twenty-one days, I went to Alaska. We went where there was no more land, and we saw the penguins come in to feed their babies. It was miraculous. I'll tell you, Alaska is beautiful.

BOR: When did you go?

EL: 1980.

TL: She's been to Europe, she's been to Australia. .

EL: I went everywhere in the United States, except for New Mexico. [. . . .]

EL: My mother's history is really something. . . My mother was not educated in a school--but she was not stupid! She had gone to school for just about two months, just enough to learn numbers, but then, my grandmother was having children one after the other, and they took her out–'cause Rose was the first born–they took her out of school to help take care of these children. But all the rest of the children were educated, [they] went to school and were educated–and there

were about nine children in the family. This was in Sicily.

So when my mother came here, she was a young woman–she came in 1906. And she met my father here, they were from the same town but they didn't know each other. But as usual, everybody congregates in their own area and they get to know each other.

BOR: Where did they meet?

EL: In New York. Anyway, they got married. It's kind of emotional sometimes. My father was a miner; he was a miner in the sulphur mines in Sicily. When he came here, he worked on the Erie Canal, to make the Erie Canal bigger, you know, with a shovel. But he didn't like that; he liked mining. His father was superintendent or head man of these mines in Sicily. So he went later on–he was educated, he was educated, his father had saw that he was educated–and his father was from Egypt. Yes, and he married my grandmother, [who] was a widow with two children–Mary and Ludwig. And then the other children came–my father, the other children. There was another four children. So when [Tomasso and Rose] married, my father was talking to some people in New York, and they said, "You know, there's some mines down in a state called Illinois." So he figured, well, he's gonna go see, y'know? So they moved to Chicago.

BOR: When did they move?

EL: When'd they move? Well, I was born in 1908, so it was 1908 when they moved to Chicago. But I wasn't born in Chicago, no, no, I was born in Toluca.

BOR: Where's that?

EL: Toluca. . . T-O-L-U-C-A, Illinois. It's in the central part of Illinois, and it's in the mining area there. And my dad was working in the mine in Toluca. But first they went to Decatur, Illinois, and I was a couple of years old when the next child was born. But I was born in Toluca. Then Elvira was the second born, and that child died of pneumonia. That's the one that they made the dress for.

BOR: How old was she?

EL: 14 or 15 months old. And the second child [after Edeline] was Doralese. She died after birth, I think she survived 2 or 3 days, it was a bad delivery. They had time enough to baptize her, y'know. And I remember when they went to bury Doralese, I was about three years old then, and I was standing outside, and my dad ordered a carriage, and the godmother and my dad–'cause my mother was still in bed. . . So they took this little casket. And I'm standing there and the other children came by, curious what was going on, and I was pushing them away, "That's my sister!" [Laughs.] I didn't want them to share any of the glory, so to speak. So my dad asked me to go with him–it was just a three-seater, with horses, there were no cars then. So I was saw where she was buried. . . in Toluca. She was buried next to Elvira, see there's two graves there. So that's it.

I was five years old when my brother Elio was born, and after that, 17 months later, my brother Ernest was born, and that's all, that was the end, and I was the only girl with two boys, y'know. So that's it.

When my father and my mother had a "loud discussions," so to speak, my father would get mad and say, "I'm going to send you back to Italy!" And this–oh my God, my mother–my mother used to go mad, you know? And she said, "I'm gonna get a citizen paper if it's the last thing I do! I'm gonna get a citizen paper." I says to her, "Ma, how could you get a citizen paper? You don't know how to write your name! You gotta *sign* the paper!" I said, "You don't know the questions, the judge is gonna ask you questions." [Her mother responded:] "I'm going to get the citizen paper!" So, you know what she did? She went to the Hull House, and she signed up to get this question and answers, this–how shall I say it?–to get the citizen paper. . . There was other people there, too.

How am I gonna manage to get her to sign her name? So I bought a ruled tablet, and I wrote her name, "Rose Fauzio," and every day, she took that tablet–that's how dedicated she was–and she tried to write "Rose Fauzio." Well, by the time she ended the tablet, it was legible--it wasn't perfect, but it was legible. She went to school, and she learned, she listened the questions. She memorized all the questions–and the answers! And then when she'd come home–she'd have her little book, you know, with the answers–she'd say, "Read me the questions!" So I'd read her the questions, and she would answer, she would pick out of her mind, she would pick out the answer. So finally, she got the notice to go before the judge. But my father didn't know it! She was doing this without anybody knowing about it, y'know.

[Laughs.] When she went to the Hull House, she used to dress herself up in her Sunday go-to-meeting–y'know, her church clothes. And my mother had curly hair, beautiful black curly hair, even to the day she died her hair was curly, and she'd comb her hair up with a bun up at the top, she had earrings on–she got herself all dolled up, and she'd go there with her book under her arm. [laughs]

BOR: Didn't your father wonder where she was going?

EL: He didn't know because he was at work! This was during the day that she went to the Hull House. So when she got up in front of the judge, y'know, he looks at the paper, [and said], "Is your name Rose Fauzio? Is this your signature?" "Yes, sir, it's my signature." Okay. And he asked her some questions. Since she'd memorized the whole book, she answered, you know? Well, the judge, he looked at her. She had two witnesses, the way it said, bring two witnesses. Well, he says, "okay, you're a good person," because the witnesses said she's a very good person, she is not in any trouble or anything. Well, he said, her request was granted.

Well, when she heard that, she burst into tears. So, the judge says, "What is she crying for?" And I was in the back of the room, and I said, "She's been wanting to be a citizen for a long time, and she never thought that she could manage it. She finally got her dream." She looked at the judge, and she said, "I got two sons," tears, y'know? "I got two sons! If America goes to war, my two sons go to America to help America win the war!" Y'know, the judge was flabbergasted,

what was he going to say to her? He said, "Thank you very much, but I'm sure. . . you made an effort, and you know, you got your papers."

So, when we got home, I was there, I knew she had gotten it, but we had to wait until they mailed it, mailed the papers. She got the mail, and she says to me, "What is this? What is this?" So I opened up the mail, I said, "It's your citizen paper." It had her picture on it. Oh boy, she says, "okay." She goes to the store, she buys a whole dinner–not a cooked dinner, you know–all kinds of vegetables, pasta, tomatoes, chickens, olives, everything–she bought everything. She came home and she made a dinner. She set her table with her best tablecloth, napkins, the best dishes, the wine–she bought the wine, everything! So my father comes home, "Hey, smells good in this kitchen. What's goin' on?" Well, she said, "I invited Tony and Dorothea to dinner, and I thought I would set up the table nice." So my father didn't know, whatever she did, it was all right with him; he never questioned her or anything. She was the boss–you know, in the house.

So we had this dinner. Oh, we had a cake! I'll tell you, there wasn't a thing missing in that dinner. So, after we got through eating–Tony and Dorothea had come for dinner–when we got through eating, she goes in the bedroom. She comes out, she hands him this envelope, she says, "Here," to my father. My father says, "What's this?" He thought it was a summons of some kind, y'know? He opened it up, and he sees this citizen paper and her picture on it! And he was amazed. He said, "What's this?" She says, "Now you can't send me to Italy! I'm

a citizen and you can't send me anywhere!" [laughs] That's her, that was her. That's how she got her citizen papers. As I say, she was not stupid.

BOR: What year was that?

EL: Wait a minute. 1927, it was. Vincent was three. . .1927, I think it was. 1927, 1928, something like that. Okay, now you can ask me all the questions you want!

BOR: Did you mother speak English?

EL: Oh, yeah, she learned the bad words first! [laughs] And on occasion, she'd say, "You full of you-know-what!" On occasion, when she was mad or somebody crossed her. They couldn't put anything over on her, you know? We used to have a peddler come by, with a wagon and a horse, he had a scale, and she'd buy potatoes from him. And she'd look at the scale [and say,] "That scale is wrong! You gotta give me 15 pounds of potatoes!" She stood up for her rights, you know? That was her.

BOR: It sounded like she was very proud of becoming a citizen. . .

EL: Oh, was she proud! You know, all those people around her, none of them had citizen papers! They used to laugh when they seen her go to [the citizenship class]. The women never left their homes, you know? But she did. She went there. And there were men there going for their citizen papers, and if she was out shopping or something and meet one of the students, well, she'd stop and chat with them. Sometimes my father would say, "How do you know that man?" [laughs.] She'd say, "Oh, I met him some time ago," she'd give him some story.

She was, she was alright. But she spoke English–broken English, yes–but she spoke English.

BOR: But your parents spoke Italian at home?

EL: Yes, I learned Italian and my father was an educated man and he taught me how to read and write in Italian. And to this day, I help people who get letters from Italy, and they come to me to read it for them. I've got a friend in Texas, she sends me a letter in English for me to write in Italian. And then I send it to her and she sends it to Sicily.

BOR: So you still write and speak Italian.

EL: Yes, fine. Now, you know in Sicily it's a dialect, but my dad taught me the High Italian. I know the dialect, because sometimes they used it at home, but I usually use the High Italian. And I got an English and Italian dictionary, some words I have to look 'em up to know how to spell them.

BOR: Did your father ever become a citizen?

EL: Oh, that's another story! Okay! My father, when he came to America, he came before [Rose] did. They met here. So, he made a petition to become a citizen, he wrote this thing. Well, there's a five-year limit, and within the five years, you're supposed to write in again, ask again. Well, for some reason or another, he forgot, and he didn't get his papers. Now at that time, if a man got his citizen papers, his wife was automatically a citizen also. But in 1920, they changed the law: the husband was a citizen, but the wife had to have her own citizen papers. So he

reapplied to be a citizen, and within that five-year period, they had that law come in that the wife had to have papers of her own. And my mother never forgave him for that. 'Cause she wanted to be a citizen [laughs]. . . .So he got his paper then. And she had to go get hers, regardless of whether she knew how to read or write, you know, she had to have it. And by golly, she got it! [laughs] But, she was a very, very proud--oh, she was a proud woman. One time when I was about four, she had gone to the store, and I found a pair of scissors, and I says to myself, "She won't see if I cut one hair, y'know? She won't see if I cut another hair." Well, the hair was in steps, you know? When she came home, and she saw the hair on the floor, and she saw my hair cut, she said, "What did you do? You look like a goat!" Big deal. Oh boy, did that do something for my ego [laughs]. "you look like a goat." Well, she had to cut bangs for me, and she had to cut 'em up real high. Now we were going--the society that my dad belonged to [the Knights of Columbus] was giving a dance that night, and we went to that society dance, and all the neighbors said, "What did you do to your daughter? Look at her hair!" [laughs]

BOR: So, you had an independent nature, too.

EL: Well. . . she wanted me to be educated. They sent both of my brothers to high school, they both graduated, they both had good jobs. My youngest brother, Ernest, worked on that thing that went to the moon, he worked on that, he designed the inner plumbing, like. He designed the first one, and they sent him to

St. Louis to see that it was all put up. My brother Leo–Eleo, he preferred to be called Leo–he designed cabinets, worked for Morton. I mean, they were both educated. And me, I married young, although I did have some high school, but I didn't go to high school after I was married. I got married at seventeen.

BOR: What year was that?

EL: 1925.

BOR: So you went to grammar school and some high school?

EL: Yes. I went [to] first year high school.

BOR: Did you go to a public school or a private school?

EL: I went to a public school.

BOR: What was the name of the school?

EL: Dante. It was on Forquer Street. There was a president named Forquer, and they had a street named Forquer Street. . . It was on the north side of Taylor Street, just one small street, it ran about three blocks or something like that. So that's where I went.

BOR: Is that where you learned to read and write English.

EL: Who me? When I went to Dante school, I had gone to the fourth grade in the school in Toluca. And at that time, they had two classes in each room, and when the teacher was teaching the upper class. . . I'd be doing my homework and listening to them, and every Friday we would have a spelling bee, and I used to be so nervous at that spelling bee because I wanted to be first! And usually I did.

But I had these dresses with collars, and I'd stand there and I'd chew my collar, and my mother couldn't understand how the collars would tear, she couldn't understand it. She'd say, "I don't know, we make good dresses, and all the collars are chewed!" Sure, I chewed 'em! I wouldn't tell her though.

BOR: Why did you want so much to win the spelling bee?

EL: I wanted to be first.

BOR: In everything, or just in that?

EL: Everything, everything. When I went to the Dante school, I started school in September, that's when we moved here, and I was so far ahead of them that they kept me in that grade and they transferred me to a higher grade. I was multiplying and reducing fractions.

BOR: In fifth grade.

EL: In fifth grade. So they put me up higher. And then in December–December 13–I got sick and I had to go to the hospital. I was quarantined. I got scarlet fever, and I was in the municipal contagious diseases hospital for a whole month. . . . .

EL: I'm so sick and tired of people saying to me, "Mafia, mafia," as if we all belong to the mafia. We have nothing to do with the mafia! I signed a petition this week, and I signed it because some man at the newspaper downgraded the Italian nation, the Italian people, and we expect an apology from them, and they won't give us an apology, so we wrote to Springfield, we sent a petition to Springfield to make them apologize.

BOR: What did they say?

EL: Oh, about the Italian people being gangsters and dummies. You know, really downgrading the people.

BOR: This was recently?

EL: Two weeks ago! So you know what I did, I signed the petition, "Edeline Lombardo," and next to it, in parentheses, I put, "Not connected to the mafia." Now when they get that in Springfield, they know I'm no mafia member.

TL: Were there gangsters back in the old neighborhood?

EL: Well, sure! There were gangsters. But they didn't bother us. We minded our own business; they had their own problems. They killed each other, they didn't kill us.

BOR: Were you in Chicago during Prohibition?

EL: Oh yes! I should tell you this. My father was very artistic. We were living on Bunker Street and the landlady was living upstairs. We were renting. Our kitchen needed painting, so my dad said to the landlady, "If you buy the paint, I'll paint the kitchen." So she bought the paint, and he started to paint. Now, before this, my father used to make beer, that's during Prohibition, and he used to put the beer–we used to have a man, we used to call him "Uncle," but we weren't related to him–he was living with us, he was boarding with us, and he had a bedroom for himself. So they put all this beer under this bedroom. Well, during the night in the summertime, with the heat, the bottles start bursting, and there was all glass

strewn around, and this man came out and said, "The Germans are here! The Germans are here!" [laughs] Because they sounded like a bomb exploding. So anyway, going back to painting. There was an electric light hanging. So my father painted a circle around the ceiling, with different colored paint, and then he cut a pattern of points, triangles around that circle. So, he was on the ladder, and he says to my mother, "Rose, go get me a beer." So she goes and gets it for him, and she gives him the opener. He opened it, and the beer shot up to the ceiling and down on my father's head! Foul language! So he says to my mother, "Get me the umbrella!" So she gets it. "Now go get me the beer. He opened up the umbrella, and he opened up the beer. . . [laughs]. That was before my mother got her citizen papers. She got it after, when we lived on Lexington.

BOR: When did you first move to that neighborhood?

EL: We moved there right when we came from Toluca–we moved to DeKoven Street, where the Chicago fire started.

BOR: What year was that?

EL: 1918.

BOR: And you got the house on Lexington. . .?

EL: No, we didn't buy the house then, we moved to Bunker Street–and Bunker Street is where the Fire Department has their school, for firemen. . . . I'm telling you, we were in a good neighborhood. And we moved because they had to put up that Circle [interchange?].

BOR: And you moved out of the neighborhood after that? What year was that?

EL: 1944. That's when they started tearing the houses down, they were buying the houses. . .

BOR: So you lived at the place on Bunker Street, then you moved to Lexington, was that with your husband?

EL: No, I was still going to school. We moved to Lexington Street, and then we moved here [a house in the suburbs]. Me, my husband, my mother, and my two children. My father had died. So, we moved here. Okay, what else do you want to know. . .about Hull House.

BOR: How did you find out about Hull House?

EL: Honey, the whole family knew about it! Because my father used to go there [to the Hull House library] to get books to read in Italian–Italian books–and he and my mother would, every night after supper, my mother would sit down and he would read aloud to her, he'd read the books to her. And I painted their picture. . . I painted them sitting down, and I titled it "Love Story." My mother with her hair up, and she's sitting by the table, looking at my dad, and my dad has got the book in his hand, and he's reading to her, at the kitchen table. . . .

TL: They had books in the library. . . Italian books, German. . . because there were a lot of different people in the neighborhood. . .

EL: Oh yeah! And I read all the [books], I started reading all the A's. . . I don't know when I finished, I guess when we moved. They had a post office, you could buy

your stamps and you could buy money orders and all that stuff, and they had classes. I had to learn how to make hats. So, I made a hat, and the first time it rained, it melted! [laughs] . . .There were two buildings, the Hull House was on Halsted and Polk Street. And then, there was an alleyway, and then there was this other building that belonged to the Hull House, and they had a hall upstairs where they gave dances and parties, and on the first floor, they had a loom where a woman used to make cloth, and in the back of this there was the pottery class and I got dishes that my brother made–a set of dishes–and if you turn the plate over, it says "HHK." Hull House Kiln. . . .

[looks at pictures of Hull House neighborhood in the *Many Faces of Hull House*]

EL: We had Greeks who used to live in our neighborhood on the street that we moved to, and for their Easter, they would put their lambs, and they would get the kids in the neighborhood to turn the [spit]. . .

BOR: Did you ever see [Jane Addams]?

EL: Oh yes. I saw her in life, and I saw her in her casket.

BOR: What was she like?

EL: She was a very, very nice person. . . She set up this Hull House, just with nothing, and she made something, something that was so useful to the people–everybody was, "Hull House, Hull House." This was her, she loved children. In fact, she had a nursery–let's see if I can find it–and I used to go there when I had my first baby. [. . .]

BOR: Now, this is the Men's Club, this is a group of Italian men, and Hull House kind of got in trouble because most of these men happened to have criminal records.

EL: You know, they didn't know how to speak English, number one. They probably got themselves, they took something and didn't pay for it or thought the man was charging too much, and that's where the criminal records came in. But most of the men were not like that. Here's a class where they did sewing. I never went here, my mother sent me to a regular tailor to learn how to sew. When I was eight years old, she apprenticed me to a tailor. The spinning wheel! This lady, I'd pass by and I'd wave at her. And here is a printing press. [. . .] Pottery class--they were Mexicans.

BOR: Do you remember there being Mexicans in the neighborhood?

EL: Oh yes, yeah.

BOR: But everybody had their own parts of the neighborhood?

EL: Oh, we had a Mexican family living down the street from us, when we were on Lexington. They were very poor, and they had two little children. And my father, every time my father used to go by, the children used to call him "grandpa," and he always gave them whatever change he had–and when my father died, these people came to the funeral parlor, and they told me that many times, Tom–my dad–used to leave money, and they used to use the money that he'd leave for them. He was really . .

BOR: Generous.

EL: Yeah. [. . .]

EL: I don't know if this is Nick Fosco. I wonder if his name is here. . .Fosco! Oh! He was my boyfriend. [laughs] He used to sit behind me in class, now we had inkwells, and he used to take my hair and put it in the inkwell. [laughs] One time, I felt that he was putting it in, and I turned around fast, and my braid hit him in the face! And he had his face all full of ink! He never did it again. Oh, Nick!

BOR: Was he Italian?

EL: Yeah. He used to be a boxer.

BOR: He was a welterweight.

EL: Welterweight! Oh God, Nick, my friend. Now, she looks like she's either Mexican or of negro extraction.

BOR: She's Indian. From India.

EL: I'd like to have a picture of Nick. . . Nick Fosco. And every time I'd go by–I used to take the shortcut, I used to go down the alley–Nick'd come by out of the pottery class, and he'd talk to me. And you know, he died young. He died young. . . And this is a cooking class.

BOR: You never took a cooking class.

EL: No, I had a good cook at home–two of them! My father was a good cook, too. . . My mother never cooked dinner because my dad used to want to cook Sunday dinner. [. . .]

Manual training shop. . .

TL: Your brothers were in some of those shop classes.

EL: Yeah, yeah, they all learned. Oh, this is the band! Hull House Band. You know Benny Goodman? He was an alumni of the Hull House, and he went on to be famous.

BOR: Did you know him then, or know of him?

EL: I knew of him. He was Jewish, and he lived on Maxwell Street. But it was all nationalities there, you know.

BOR: Did different nationalities kind of keep to themselves in the neighborhood, kind of socialize. . .

EL: Well, no. . . we were friendly with the Greeks. Yeah, in fact, I learned how to say a few Greek words. I'd say, "[Te kanyas]?" That's "how are you?" And 'hala, hala," okay okay. Good morning, good night. . . I learned some Greek. I can read Spanish fluently. . . My son Vincent is head of the foreign language department at Barrington High School. . When he goes to these stores where there's Mexicans, you should hear them chatter, in Spanish. And the girls look at him, they just adore him!

TL: He went to the Hull House, too, didn't he, Nani? Uncle Vince?

EL: Yes, he was in a play. They had a real director, and they were in this play. It was something about a landlord was going to evict some people out of the house. And my son with the long beard. . .he wasn't the landlord, he was someone else.

EL: This is the library.

BOR: You said you read all the books in the Hull House library?

EL: From A to as far as I could go. After I got married, then I didn't have time. But if you notice, I got books there, I got books there, I got books in my dining room from ceiling to floor, I got all kinds of books.

BOR: You just always enjoyed reading?

EL: Well, my father enjoyed reading the books he got from Hull House, yeah.

BOR: When you started reading the books from A onward, did you plan. . .

EL: Oh! Louisa Alcott, all the As. I went down to [Zane] Gray, he used to write western stories. I read all kinds of books.

BOR: You enjoyed reading?

EL: Oh yeah, I still do a lot of reading. . .

BOR: Did you write a lot then?

EL: Did I write? I used to have very good handwriting. I did Palmer Method. But now my hands shake, so I got my typewriter, and I type most of my letters. I feel bad, 'cause my n's, I can't manage to get my n's right. [Refers to book] This is the kindergarten part. Mary Crane nursery, yeah, that's it!

BOR: You brought your children there?

EL: No, my son Vincent didn't go there. But my sister-in-law and her sister went because her mother worked in the nursery, and they used to wash the children's clothes, and they used to put little smocks on, see? They all had something to cover them. This was the nursery, they were there. Well baby, infant welfare. I

used to bring my son here, now I nursed my. . . I breast-fed him, y'know. And I used to go there every month to have it checked up. And this book, this is what they gave me, and this was the man who wrote this book, Dr. Bundesan. And I used to go and they used to check. . . They used to have some visiting nurses come, and one day I was there, and my baby started to cry, so I nursed him. So she looked at me and frowned, and I thought to myself, "Lady, I don't care how much you frown, my baby's crying and I'm going to feed him!" That's my thought, you know, I didn't say anything to her. So when I went in there, she said to me, "How often do you feed your child?" I said, "Every four hours."
And she says, "Well, it was two o'clock, and you were feeding your baby."
"Yeah," I said, "I was feeding my baby, but you don't know when I gave him a bath–that was four hours ago!" [laughs] So she didn't say anything after that. So she came one day to show me how to boil an egg! [laughs] Every pot in the kitchen was on the stove to boil one egg! . . . And my son didn't even want eggs!

EL: Here she is, Jane Addams. She loves the children. . . What is this? Funeral for Jane Addams. You know, they had her laid out in the hall upstairs. You see the crowd? The crowd had to go up to the second floor, where they had her laid out, and it was four deep, and we went, the hall went all the way around, because they had her at the far end of the hall. And many a tear was shed. . . I had my baby then, and I went there, I couldn't help it, I had a few tears myself. But look at that, look at the crowd. . . People all over.

BOR: Did everybody in the neighborhood like Hull House?

EL: Yes! It was a good, you know, it was good place. If you got into trouble, there was free lawyers. If a child was abused, they got after whoever did the abusing. Say a family was abusing a child, and everything–if a child had trouble, needed glasses or needed anything. There was one family, the mother died, and the father used to work, and there was an older daughter and–the children were abused. They took all the children away from him, and they took the older daughter and placed her in a foster home, because she used to have to do all the cooking and the washing, and she was going to school, it was terrible. So, they took all of that . . .

BOR: What was your husband's name?

EL: Felice. F-E-L-I-C-E.

BOR: And did he take classes at Hull House?

EL: Yeah, to get his citizen papers. But he had a problem. His name was Lombardo. Now you know what Lombardo. . . there was a gangster [named] Lombardo. And just because his name was Lombardo, they had qualms about giving him citizen papers. So, he had to go to his employer, and he asked him to please write a recommendation for him. And the man, Mr. Leseer, he was really very gracious, he wrote and he said this man has worked for him since 1922, he has no record, he's not connected with any mafia. He said, he comes to work every day and he's a good employee. And we had to send that recommendation. They recalled him again, and they sent the recommendation, and then he got his citizen papers.

That's why I wrote on that petition, "not connected to the mafia," because he was a good man, my husband was a good man. [. . .]

TLSr: I don't know if my mother told you about this, that my grandfather, Papa Tomass, he was a reader–he would read people's letters, and then he would tell him what it said, and they would want to write a letter back to Italy, so he would write the letter back–he was a reader and writer. And that was a profession that people have lost. . .

EL: I told you my father was an educated man.

BOR: So most people couldn't read and write at that time?

EL: I'll tell you a story, this happened when I was a young girl. This man, my sister-in-law's father and his father, they came to the United States to work in the mines. Now they were living with a daughter that was married, and had a husband. . . I don't want to say anything bad about him, but he was a terrible person. Now for some reason or another, they got into a disagreement, the son-in-law and the father-in-law, and the son-in-law was making the father-in-law's life miserable. So this man, the father-in-law, got a letter from Italy from his wife, and the son-in-law wouldn't read the letter, and he told all the other people not to read that letter.

TLSr: What you've got to understand here, is that in certain communities, people tended to congregate together, from the province, they would live together or near each other in the same area in this town, in Toluca. So when she says that nobody would read the letter, no one of their friends who were from that area. . .

EL: Yeah, they weren't going to get this other guy mad at them, you know? As I say, he was a terrible man. So, this poor man, he had this letter for weeks and nobody would read it for him. One day, my father came up from the mine, and he used to always stop at the tavern for a beer, because they would get all this dust–in fact, my father died with black lung. So he used to stop for a beer, and this man was in this saloon. So my father wasn't one of the people who was so closely associated with this other one, the mean one. So this man approached my dad, very politely–not English, Italian–"Excuse me, but do you know how to read?". . . "Pardone, Signor, sepeta legere?" And my father says, "yes, I know how to read." And he says, "Por favor," as a favor, "would you please read me a letter?" And my father says, yes, let's go sit at the table away from the bar, and he read the letter to the man, and the letter was from the man's wife, and she was telling him whatever was happening in the family. So the man thanked my father, and my father said to him, "Would you like me to write a letter for you?" And the man said, "Oh my God, God must have sent you! Yes." So, my father says I live so-and-so place and I'll write your letter and see that you mail it. That night, those people came, they wanted a letter written. So we became very good friends with these people. Well! When this meanie heard that my father had written the letter, you know what list my father was on! A bad one. But my father didn't care. My father was educated, he had brains–the other guy didn't have any brains, he only had a big mouth. Well, anyway, we became good friends [. . . .]

BOR: What did your father do when he was in Chicago?

EL: He worked in a factory that made door closers. . . .

TL Sr: I think she asked a question about Papa Tomass.

EL: Yeah, I told her. They made door closers.

TL Sr: Not Papa Tomass. . .

EL: Well, your father did too. Both of them.

TL Sr: Oh, they both worked there.

EL: Yeah, they both worked there.

BOR: How did you meet your husband?

EL: [Laughs.] That's another story. I was fifteen at the time. His brother [Charles] had brought his wife over from Italy, and the younger brother was living with the older brother. My husband had gone in service in Italy–he was a soldier–and when he was discharged, he had done his time–there wasn't any war then–he was workin' in Palermo. So these two brothers, they called this one brother that was in Palermo to come to the United States, it was in November, and when he came, the brother came over to my house, 'cause we were friends with them, and he said, "My brother is coming from Italy, and we're having a get-together, a welcoming party." So, Saturday was the day that they were gonna have this party. I told my mother, "Why don't you and Pa go? I don't want to go over there."

She said, "You're gonna come over there if we have to drag you there." My mother was a very determined woman.

So we went there, and I took a look at this guy who came from Sicily, and they had shaved his head, his hair. And I said to myself, "Why didn't they leave him there?" I was a snot, I was really a bitch! So, here all the women, you know, all the married women were in the one room, they were all chatting about this stuff, my brothers were running around, you know, and it was cold, so I was standing by the stove. So, my husband had brought some nuts from Sicily. And he cracked some, he shelled some nuts, and he passed them around. So he got up and he came by me to give some of the shelled nuts. So, "Senorina." So I put my hand out. He said, "No, con promesso." Do you understand Tom?

TL Sr: No, what does it mean?

EL: Did he have permission to give me this? So, everybody nodded. I said, "That's alright, we got nuts here!" I don't want the nuts he brought from Sicily, I didn't care for them. So, anyway, my mother says to me, "Take 'em." And when she says, "Take 'em," I took 'em, no matter how I felt about him. So, anyway, I took 'em, and I thought to myself, "Why the hell didn't they leave him over there?" [laughs.] They used to come over every once in a while to visit us. And he'd come with his brother, Charlie would come, his younger brother and Charlie. Joe was the oldest brother. Charlie and Dad would come. Joe would be busy with his wife. He'd come if we invited him, but. . . Charlie and Joe would come. [. . . .] Then I felt sorry, because he was really a nice guy. When we were married, if I said I wanted to buy a dress, he'd say, "Buy two of them." When he got his first

bonus, he went out and bought me a set of pearls. . . He was the best, and he had friends all over.

TL: Did I miss the part about how you fell in love? [laughter.]

EL: Tom, I found out about love. We never went to bed mad. And when we had loud discussions, I could tell him to "go to hell, honey!" [laughs]. I'd sweeten it with, "honey." And he'd say to me, "You make me so mad! I'm gonna send you back to [your] mother." And I'd say, "Yeah, you send me back to my mother like you got me, kid." He'd say, "That's impossible!" "You got me." So we had to make up. . . . It was a good marriage, 47 years, then he died. And to this day, I'm still mourning him.

APPENDIX B:
NATURALIZATION DOCUMENTS, ROSE CONTRINO FAUZIO

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

No. 11-304408

CERTIFICATE OF ARRIVAL

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the immigration records show that the alien named below arrived at the port, on the date, and in the manner shown, and was lawfully admitted to the United States of America for permanent residence.

Name:	Rosaria Contrino	
Port of entry:	New York, N.Y.	T.D. discharged
Date:	August 14, 1907	8-14-07
Manner of arrival:	SS. Italia	

I FURTHER CERTIFY that this certificate of arrival is issued under authority of, and in conformity with, the provisions of the Act of June 29, 1906, as amended, solely for the use of the alien herein named and only for naturalization purposes.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, this Certificate of Arrival is issued

June 17, 1941
(Date)

District Director,
Immigration and Naturalization Service

Record regarded as applying
Data copied from form [illegible] 4-21-41

By: Bernard [illegible]
Verification Officer

Form 160-Im. U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

G-2.

ORIGINAL
(To be retained by Clerk of Court)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 238294

PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION

[Of a Married Person, under Sec. 310(a) of the Nationality Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 1144-1145)]

To the Honorable the DISTRICT Court of THE UNITED STATES at CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
This petition for naturalization, hereby made and filed pursuant to Section 310(a) or (b), or Section 311 or 312 of the Nationality Act of 1940, respectfully shows:

(1) My full, true, and correct name is ROSE FAUZIO

(2) My present place of residence is 937 Lexington St., Chicago, Ill. (3) My occupation is Housewife

(4) I am 58 years old. (5) I was born on Nov. 24, 1882 in Valguarnera, Italy

(6) My personal description is as follows: Sex Fem., color White, complexion Med., color of eyes Brown, color of hair Brown, height 4 feet 11 inches, weight 227 pounds; visible distinctive marks Mole on right side of face, race White; present nationality Italian

(7) I am married; the name of my wife or husband is Rose? Thomas; we were married on July 24, 1919 at Lacon, Illinois; he or she was born at Valguarnera, Italy on Dec. 17, 1874 entered the United States at New York, New York April 13, 1904 for permanent residence in the United States, and now resides at With me. and was naturalized on June 18, 1925 at Chicago, Illinois Circuit Court certificate No. 2203849 or became a citizen by

(7a) (If petition is filed under Section 311, Nationality Act of 1940) I have resided in the United States in marital union with my United States citizen spouse for at least 1 year immediately preceding the date of filing this petition for naturalization.
(7b) (If petition is filed under Section 312, Nationality Act of 1940) My husband or wife is a citizen of the United States, is in the employment of the Government of the United States, or of an American institution of research recognized as such by the Attorney General of the United States, or an American firm or corporation engaged in whole or in part in the development of foreign trade and commerce of the United States, or a subsidiary thereof; and such husband or wife is regularly stationed abroad in such employment. I intend in good faith to take up residence within the United States immediately upon the termination of such employment abroad.

(8) I have three children; and the name, sex, date and place of birth, and present place of residence of each of said children who is living, are as follows:
Edeline-F born October 26, 1908 at Tolnca, Illinois and resides at Chicago, Illinois
Leo-M born September 2, 1913 " "
Ernest-M born February 21, 1915 " "

(9) My last place of foreign residence was Valguarnera, Italy (10) I emigrated to the United States from Palermo Italy (11) My lawful entry for permanent residence in the United States was at New York, New York under the name of Rosaria Contrino on Aug. 14, 1907 on the SS Italia as shown by the certificate of my arrival attached to this petition.

(12) Since my lawful entry for permanent residence I have not been absent from the United States, for a period or periods of 6 months or longer, as follows:

DEPARTED FROM THE UNITED STATES			RETURNED TO THE UNITED STATES		
Port	Date (Month, day, year)	Vessel or other means of conveyance	Port	Date (Month, day, year)	Vessel or other means of conveyance

(13) (Declaration of intention not required) (14) It is my intention in good faith to become a citizen of the United States and to renounce absolutely and forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which at this time I am a subject or citizen, and it is my intention to reside permanently in the United States. (15) I am not, and have not been for the period of at least 10 years immediately preceding the date of this petition, an anarchist; nor a believer in the unlawful damage, injury, or destruction of property, or sabotage; nor a disbeliever in or opposed to organized government; nor a member of or affiliated with any organization or body of persons teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government. (16) I am able to speak the English language (unless physically unable to do so). (17) I am, and have been during all of the periods required by law, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States. (18) I have resided continuously in the United States of America for the term of one year at least immediately preceding the date of this petition, to wit: since Aug. 14, 1907 (19) I have not heretofore made petition for naturalization number ______ on ______ at ______ in the ______ Court, and such petition was dismissed or denied by that Court for the following reasons and causes, to wit: ______ and the cause of such dismissal or denial has since been cured or removed.

(20) Attached hereto and made a part of this, my petition for naturalization, are a certificate of arrival from the Immigration and Naturalization Service of my said lawful entry into the United States for permanent residence (if such certificate of arrival be required by the naturalization law), and the affidavits of at least two verifying witnesses required by law.

(21) Wherefore, I, your petitioner for naturalization, pray that I may be admitted a citizen of the United States of America, and that my name be changed to ______

(22) I, aforesaid petitioner, do swear (affirm) that I know the contents of this petition for naturalization subscribed by me, that the same are true to the best of my own knowledge, except as to matters therein stated to be alleged upon information and belief, and that as to those matters I believe them to be true, and that this petition is signed by me with my full, true name: SO HELP ME GOD.

X Rose Fauzio
(Full, true, and correct name of petitioner, without abbreviations)

Form N-406
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Immigration and Naturalization Service
(Edition of 1-18-41)

AFFIDAVIT OF WITNESSES

The following witnesses, each being severally, duly, and respectively sworn, depose and say:

My name is Angela Selingo my occupation is Housewife

I reside at 834 W. Lexington, Chicago, Ill.
(Number and street) (City or town) (State)

My name is Rosa Liberati my occupation is Housewife

I reside at 1104 S. Marshfield Ave., Chicago, Ill.
(Number and street) (City or town)

I am a citizen of the United States of America; I have personally known and have been acquainted in the United States with Rosa Fauzio the petitioner named in the petition for naturalization of which this affidavit is a part, since Jan. 1, 1923
(Month) (Day) (Year)
to my personal knowledge the petitioner has resided, immediately preceding the date of filing this petition, in the United States continuously since the date last mentioned, and I have personal knowledge that the petitioner is now and during all such period has been a person of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States, and in my opinion the petitioner is in every way qualified to be admitted a citizen of the United States.

I do swear (affirm) that the statements of fact I have made in this affidavit of this petition for naturalization subscribed by me are true to the best of my knowledge and belief: SO HELP ME GOD.

Rose Liberati (Signature of witness) Angela Selingo (Signature of witness)

Subscribed and sworn to before me by the above-named petitioner and witnesses, in the respective forms of oath shown in said petition and affidavit, in the office of the Clerk of said Court at Chicago, Ill. this 28th day of August Anno Domini 1941. I hereby certify that Certificate of Arrival No. 11-304408 from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, showing the lawful entry for permanent residence of the petitioner above named, has been by me filed with, attached to, and made a part of this petition on this date.

Vcb

HOYT KING Clerk.

By Edna A. Siegel Deputy Clerk. [SEAL]

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion: SO HELP ME GOD. In acknowledgment whereof I have hereunto affixed my signature.

X Rosa Fauzio
(Signature of petitioner)

Sworn to in open court, this ______ day of NOV 21 1941 A. D. 19__

______________________ Clerk.

By ______________________ Deputy Clerk.

NOTE.—In renunciation of title or order of nobility, add the following to the oath of allegiance before it is signed: "I further renounce the title of (give title or titles) which I have heretofore held," or "I further renounce the order of nobility (give the order of nobility) to which I have heretofore belonged."

Petition granted: Line No. 33 of List No. 5016 and Certificate No. 5283986 issued.

Petition denied: List No. ______

Petition continued from ______ to ______ Reason ______

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

VITA

VITA

BRIDGET KATHLEEN O'ROURKE

EDUCATION

Ph.D. English, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana
Primary area: Rhetoric and Composition
Secondary area: Cultural Studies

Dissertation: "Meanings and Practices of Literacy in Urban Settlement Communities: Chicago's Hull House Neighborhood, 1890 to 1940."

Committee members: Patricia Harkin (Chair), Janice Lauer, Irwin Weiser, Shirley Rose

M.A. English, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1993
Concentration in Teaching of English

B.A. English, Saint Xavier University, Chicago, Illinois, 1991
Concentration in Writing

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Elmhurst College, Assistant Professor, 1998-

Saint Xavier University, Chicago, Instructor, Spring 1997

DePaul University, Chicago, Instructor, 1996 to 1997

Purdue University, West Lafayette, Graduate Instructor, 1993 to 1996

University of Illinois at Chicago, Graduate Instructor, 1991 to 1993
Tutor, Writing Center, 1991 to 1992

ADMINISTRATIVE AND RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

DePaul University School of Education, School Achievement Structure, Chicago
Grant Writer, 1996 to 1998
Wrote proposals, administered grant funds, and ensured follow-through by grant principals

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Illinois at Chicago
Coordinator and Instructor, Summer Bridge Program, 1992
Coordinated activities and supervised writing instruction for a summer program designed to prepare at-risk students for success in college

Center for Research on Women and Gender, University of Illinois at Chicago
Research Assistant, 1992 to 1993
Compiled, edited and indexed the results of a faculty research survey
Published document electronically via the University's mainframe computer system

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

"Meanings and Practices of Literacy at Chicago's Hull House, 1890-1910." Conference on College Composition and Communication. Chicago, Illinois, April 1998.

"Lest the Moral Law Become a Far-Off Abstraction": The Social Teaching of Jane Addams." National Council of Teachers of English Annual Convention. Detroit, Michigan, November 1997.

"Autobiographical Narratives of Literacy as Social Action at Chicago's Hull House." Conference on College Composition and Communication, Phoenix, Arizona, March 1997.

"Jane Addams' Hull House: Language Use for Political Reform and Social Control." Modern Language Association, Washington, D.C., December 1996.

"Workplace Communication: Does Gender Matter?" Association for Business Communication Conference, Chicago, Illinois, November 1996.

"Between Method and Madness: Constructing Ethnographic *Praxis* in Composition Studies." Conference on College Composition and Communication, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, March 1996

"Entering the Conversation: Graduate Student Education and the Histories of Rhetoric." DePaul University Graduate Student Conference. Chicago, Illinois, February 1996.

"Teaching Writing as Community Service" with Carol Conway. International Conference of Teachers of English, New York, New York, July 1995

"Gender and Advanced Academic Writing: A Review of Research." Penn State Conference on Rhetoric and Composition, University Park, Pennsylvania, July 1995

DEPARTMENTAL AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Web page development committee, Purdue University Business Writing Program, 1996

Editorial committee, *Guide to Resources for College Writers at UIC*, Department of English, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1992

Bibliographer, 1995 *CCCC Bibliography of Composition and Rhetoric*

Textbook Reviewer, NTC/Contemporary Publishing Co.

Placement exam reader, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1992

Moderator, Literacy in Midwest Communities Conference, University of Illinois at Chicago, 1991

Chair, Conference on College Composition and Communication, session on collaborative writing pedagogy, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, March 1996

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

National Council of Teachers of English
College Composition and Communication
Association of Business Communication
Modern Language Association