

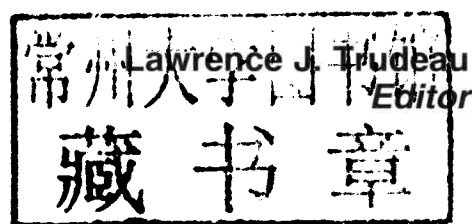
Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism

TCLC 299

Volume 299

Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism

**Criticism of the
Works of Novelists, Poets, Playwrights,
Short-Story Writers, and Other Creative Writers
Who Lived between 1900 and 1999,
from the First Published Critical
Appraisals to Current Evaluations**



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**Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism,
Vol. 299**

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Preface

Since its inception *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism* (TCLC) has been purchased and used by some 10,000 school, public, and college or university libraries. TCLC has covered more than 1000 authors, representing over 60 nationalities and nearly 50,000 titles. No other reference source has surveyed the critical response to twentieth-century authors and literature as thoroughly as TCLC. In the words of one reviewer, “there is nothing comparable available.” TCLC “is a gold mine of information—dates, pseudonyms, biographical information, and criticism from books and periodicals—which many librarians would have difficulty assembling on their own.”

Scope of the Series

TCLC is designed to serve as an introduction to authors who died between 1900 and 1999 and to the most significant interpretations of these author’s works. The great poets, novelists, short-story writers, playwrights, and philosophers of the period are frequently studied in high school and college literature courses. In organizing and reprinting the vast amount of critical material written on these authors, TCLC helps students develop valuable insight into literary history, promotes a better understanding of the texts, and sparks ideas for papers and assignments. Each entry in TCLC presents a comprehensive survey of an author’s career or an individual work of literature and provides the user with a multiplicity of interpretations and assessments. Such variety allows students to pursue their own interests; furthermore, it fosters an awareness that literature is dynamic and responsive to many different opinions.

Volumes 1 through 87 of TCLC featured authors who died between 1900 and 1959; beginning with Volume 88, the series expanded to include authors who died between 1900 and 1999. Beginning with Volume 26, every fourth volume of TCLC was devoted to literary topics. These topics widen the focus of the series from the individual authors to such broader subjects as literary movements, prominent themes in twentieth-century literature, literary reaction to political and historical events, significant eras in literary history, prominent literary anniversaries, and the literatures of cultures that are often overlooked by English-speaking readers. With TCLC 285, the series returns to a standard author approach, with some entries devoted to a single important work of world literature and others devoted to literary topics.

TCLC is part of the survey of criticism and world literature that is contained in Gale’s *Contemporary Literary Criticism* (CLC), *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism* (NCLC), *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800* (LC), *Shakespearean Criticism* (SC), and *Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism* (CMLC).

Organization of the Book

A TCLC entry consists of the following elements:

- The **Author Heading** cites the name under which the author most commonly wrote, followed by birth and death dates. If the author wrote consistently under a pseudonym, the pseudonym will be listed in the author heading and the author’s actual name given in parentheses on the first line of the biographical and critical introduction. Also located here are any name variations under which an author wrote, including transliterated forms for authors whose native languages use nonroman alphabets. Uncertain birth or death dates are indicated by question marks. Single-work entries are preceded by a heading that consists of the most common form of the title in English translation (if applicable) and the author’s name (if applicable).
- The **Introduction** contains background information that introduces the reader to the author, work, or topic that is the subject of the entry.
- The list of **Principal Works** is ordered chronologically by date of first publication and lists the most important works by the author. The genre and publication information of each work is given. In the case of works not published in English, a translation of the title is provided as an aid to the reader; the translation is a published translated title or a

free translation provided by the compiler of the entry. As a further aid to the reader, a list of **Principal English Translations** is provided for authors who did not publish in English; the list focuses primarily on twentieth-century translations, selecting those works most commonly considered the best by critics. Unless otherwise indicated, plays are dated by first performance, not first publication, and the location of the first performance is given, if known. Lists of **Representative Works** discussed in the entry appear with topic entries.

- Reprinted **Criticism** is arranged chronologically in each entry to provide a useful perspective on changes in critical evaluation over time. The critic's name and the date of composition or publication of the critical work are given at the beginning of each piece of criticism. Unsigned criticism is preceded by the title of the source in which it appeared. All titles by the author featured in the text are printed in boldface type. Footnotes are reprinted at the end of each essay or excerpt. In the case of excerpted criticism, only those footnotes that pertain to the excerpted texts are included. Criticism in topic entries is arranged chronologically under a variety of subheadings to facilitate the study of different aspects of the topic.
- A complete **Bibliographical Citation** of the original essay or book precedes each piece of criticism. Citations conform to recommendations set forth in the Modern Language Association of America's *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*, 7th ed. (2009).
- Critical essays are prefaced by brief **Annotations** describing each piece.
- An annotated bibliography of **Further Reading** appears at the end of each entry and suggests resources for additional study. In some cases, significant essays for which the editors could not obtain reprint rights are included here. Boxed material following the further reading list provides references to other biographical and critical sources on the author in series published by Gale.

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A **Cumulative Author Index** lists all of the authors who have appeared in a wide variety of reference sources published by Gale, including *TCLC*. A complete list of these sources is found facing the first page of the Author Index. The index also includes birth and death dates and cross references between pseudonyms and actual names.

A **Cumulative Topic Index** lists the literary themes and topics treated in *TCLC* as well as in *Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism*, *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism*, *Contemporary Literary Criticism*, *Drama Criticism*, *Poetry Criticism*, *Short Story Criticism*, and *Children's Literature Review*.

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An alphabetical **Title Index** accompanies each volume of *TCLC*. Listings of titles by authors covered in the given volume are followed by the author's name and the corresponding page numbers where the titles are discussed. English translations of titles published in other languages and variations of titles are cross-referenced to the title under which a work was originally published. Titles of novels, plays, nonfiction books, and poetry, short-story, or essay collections are printed in italics, while individual poems, short stories, and essays are printed in roman type within quotation marks.

In response to numerous suggestions from librarians, Gale also produces a paperbound edition of the *TCLC* cumulative title index. This annual cumulation, which alphabetically lists all titles reviewed in the series, is available to all customers. Additional copies of this index are available upon request. Librarians and patrons will welcome this separate index; it saves shelf space, is easy to use, and is recyclable upon receipt of the next edition.

Citing *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism*

When citing criticism reprinted in the Literary Criticism Series, students should provide complete bibliographic information so that the cited essay can be located in the original print or electronic source. Students who quote directly from reprinted criticism may use any accepted bibliographic format, such as Modern Language Association (MLA) style or University of Chicago Press style. Both the MLA and the University of Chicago formats are acceptable and recognized as being the current standards for citations. It is important, however, to choose one format for all citations; do not mix the two formats within a list of citations.

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Kuester, Martin. "Myth and Postmodernist Turn in Canadian Short Fiction: Sheila Watson, 'Antigone' (1959)." *The Canadian Short Story: Interpretations*. Ed. Reginald M. Nischik. Rochester: Camden House, 2007. 163-74. Rpt. in *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism*. Ed. Thomas J. Schoenberg and Lawrence J. Trudeau. Vol. 206. Detroit: Gale, 2008. 227-32. Print.

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Jane Addams

1860-1935

American nonfiction writer, memoirist, and biographer.

The following entry provides criticism of Addams's life and works. For additional information about Addams, see *TCLC*, Volume 76.

INTRODUCTION

Jane Addams was a pioneer in the field of social work and a cofounder of Hull House, the first settlement house in the United States. Settlement houses, a central feature of the turn-of-the-century reformist social campaign known as the settlement movement, were community centers that were established in poor urban areas. These houses were staffed by middle-class workers, mostly women, who sought to help improve the circumstances of the lower classes and lessen the divide between rich and poor. Established in 1889 by Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, Hull House became a refuge, a school, and a gathering place for educated, socially aware women and the impoverished inhabitants of Chicago's nineteenth ward. Addams acted on the belief that women should contribute their abilities to the community, and she strove through her activism and writing—which includes more than five hundred essays and speeches—to promote peace, women's suffrage, and social justice. She is considered one of the most important figures of the Progressive Era, a period of social activism and reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Scholars have also increasingly recognized Addams as an important thinker in the American pragmatist school of philosophy, which emphasizes the practical use of ideas rather than abstract thought.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Jane Addams was born on 6 September 1860 in Cedarville, Illinois, the eighth of nine children of John H. Addams and Sarah Addams (née Weber). Her father was an agricultural businessman, bank president, Illinois state senator, and founding member of the Republican Party. Her mother died when Jane was two, and two years later she contracted spinal tuberculosis, which left her permanently weakened and caused her to walk with a limp. Jane admired her father intensely, and he encouraged her to study history, literature, philosophy, and politics. Compelled by a sense of civic duty from her early youth, she hoped to attend Smith College, a newly founded women's college in Massachusetts, and become a medical doctor. Her father, however, insisted that she study closer to home. She enrolled at the Rockford

Female Seminary, where she read the work of such social theorists as John Ruskin and Thomas Carlyle. She graduated in 1881 at the top of her class.

Training at the Rockford Female Seminary was not intended to prepare women for a profession. Instead, its mission was to teach women to master the domestic arts and to devote themselves to charity. With greater ambitions, Addams entered the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia, where she studied for a year before dropping out because of health problems and depression following her father's death. In 1887, she traveled to Europe with several friends, including Starr, a former classmate from Rockford. While in London the two women visited Toynbee Hall, established in 1884 as the world's first settlement house. Addams and Starr were inspired to use Toynbee Hall as a model for such an institution in the United States. They opened Hull House five years later in a mansion named for the real estate magnate R. O. Hull who commissioned its construction in 1856. Although the surrounding neighborhood had once been fashionable, working-class immigrants made up the bulk of its population by the time Hull House was founded.

Addams and Starr were Hull House's first residents, and the center soon grew to a community of twenty-five female occupants. Addams initially supported the house with an inheritance from her father, but as the facilities and services expanded, several wealthy women became regular donors. The house offered a kindergarten, a drama club, a public kitchen, an art gallery, a music school, a library, a bathhouse, a night school for adults, a gym, and a book bindery. The center also hosted many cultural events and classes for the neighborhood's residents. At its most active, Hull House had as many as two thousand visitors a week and became a thirteen-building complex. Addams envisioned it as a site that would impart education and culture, promote interaction and exchange among the social classes, and provide an opportunity to practice the values of democracy. Hull House was a refuge for many who were sick, impoverished, or facing domestic abuse. Addams, Starr, and other residents—including the feminist physician Florence Kelley—acted as doctors, midwives, counselors, and teachers for those in need. Furthermore, they became advocates and researchers, devoting themselves to the study of social issues, including drug abuse, infant mortality, typhoid fever, overcrowding, education, and child labor.

Addams was a strong advocate of women's political influence, describing women's duty to the community as a kind

of “civic housekeeping.” She believed that women, conditioned to raise and nurture families, could advance society through tending to the welfare of others. She used these arguments to support such causes as women’s suffrage and public health. After noticing the carelessness of city garbage collectors hired by the allegedly corrupt Chicago alderman John Powers, Addams ran a successful campaign for election to the office of sanitary inspector in the city’s nineteenth ward. Under her leadership, around one thousand health violations were reported in a single year, advancing the city’s efforts to lower instances of death and disease caused by poor sanitation.

In the early 1900s, Addams published several books that illustrate her perspectives on social reform, including *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), and the best-selling autobiography *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910). She grew increasingly politically active, campaigning for Progressive causes and expressing support for the reforms of President Theodore Roosevelt. Addams was a pacifist, and her political opinions—particularly her vocal opposition to World War I and her founding of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom in 1915—occasionally attracted accusations that she lacked patriotism. Nonetheless, she persisted in her efforts to promote disarmament, demilitarization, and global stability. In 1931, largely as a result of those efforts, she became the first American woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. Addams died of cancer on 21 May 1935.

MAJOR WORKS

Newer Ideals of Peace (1907), Addams’s second published book, displays many of the Progressive and pacifist themes of her larger body of work. The work argues that a government founded on military ideals is ill-suited to an urban industrial society. Addams called instead for a government grounded in real human relationships and demanded a redefinition of patriotism based on peace rather than war. The book also promotes the strengthening of government through integrating immigrants and women into politics and encourages action based on kindness and the nurturing of others.

In *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, Addams established a unique style of writing that combines a realistic portrayal of industrialized urban society with fictional anecdotes about the young people who live within it. The work draws attention to the lives of young factory workers and the need for laws and other regulations to protect them from harsh management, low wages, and unsafe working conditions. While the educated upper classes enjoy access to art and nature to stir and renew the spirit, Addams wrote, no such equivalents are available to the urban poor. She stressed the need for “clean companionship” and produc-

tive forms of recreation for young workers, proposing, among other ideas, the construction of field houses in parks as places for youths to gather and creatively exercise their energies.

The autobiographical memoir *Twenty Years at Hull-House* is perhaps Addams’s best-known work. Beginning with a summary of her childhood—in which Addams noted her father’s strong influence on her drive toward social activism—the book chronicles the events leading up to the founding of Hull House and describes the organization’s operations in its first two decades. The text draws on many of Addams’s previous essays and lectures, explaining the social issues that compelled her to found Hull House and profiling some of its residents. Addams published a second volume, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House*, in 1930.

CRITICAL RECEPTION

Early reviews of Addams’s work were mixed, and academic sociologists were often critical of the author for her closeness to her subjects. George Herbert Mead’s 1907 review of *Newer Ideals of Peace* described the book’s arguments as unbalanced and unconvincing. In her review of *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, however, Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch (1910) praised Addams’s effectiveness in combining fact and fiction to demonstrate how industrialized society cares more for the products of labor than for the laborers themselves. Allen F. Davis (1960), in his account of the conflict between Addams and Powers, lauded the author’s valiant actions and described her as far more than a social worker.

Other critics have focused on Addams’s academic and personal influences. Rebecca Sherrick (1986) observed that both Addams and Kelley admired their fathers greatly and emulated them by insisting on maintaining their own authority and living in a community of supportive, strong-minded women. Katherine Joslin (1997; see Further Reading) suggested that Addams’s writing indirectly reinforced the work of French author Émile Zola, specifically in its display of literary Naturalism for the sake of moral causes. Catherine Peadar (1993) associated Addams’s rhetoric of social reform with classical, Christian, and Enlightenment discourses.

Many critics have examined Addams’s influence on other women, particularly her contributions to feminism. Kathryn Kish Sklar (1985; see Further Reading) explained that Hull House offered women a way of exercising their intelligence and civic spirit prior to the granting of women’s suffrage on a national level. Sklar recounted the case of Kelley, who came to Hull House seeking refuge and ultimately became a leading figure in social reform. Lois Rudnick (1996) compared *Twenty Years at Hull-House* with Charlotte Perkins Gilman’s novel *Herland* (1915), explaining that both writers envisioned utopian communities of

women and crusaded for justice as an extended form of housekeeping. Heather Ostman (2004-05) compared Addams to anarchist Emma Goldman, observing that while Addams maintained the nineteenth-century notion that women are naturally maternal and morally superior to men, Goldman embraced the sexually liberal, rebellious femininity of the twentieth century. Donna L. Franklin (1986; see Further Reading) linked Addams's work to that of pioneering American social worker Mary Richmond, arguing that the two reformers contributed to the shift from moral certainty to rational inquiry by applying the principles of scientific research to the practice of social work.

Irene Hsiao

PRINCIPAL WORKS

Democracy and Social Ethics. New York: Macmillan, 1902. (Nonfiction)

Newer Ideals of Peace. New York: Macmillan, 1907. (Nonfiction)

The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets. New York: Macmillan, 1909. (Nonfiction)

Twenty Years at Hull-House, with Autobiographical Notes. New York: Macmillan, 1910. (Memoir)

A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil. New York: Macmillan, 1912. (Nonfiction)

Women at The Hague: The International Congress of Women and Its Results. With Emily G. Balch and Alice Hamilton. New York: Macmillan, 1915. (Nonfiction)

The Long Road of Woman's Memory. New York: Macmillan, 1916. (Nonfiction)

Peace and Bread in Time of War. New York: Macmillan, 1922. Rev. and expanded. New York: Garland, 1972. (Nonfiction)

The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House, September 1909 to September 1929, with a Record of Growing World Consciousness. New York: Macmillan, 1930. (Memoir)

The Excellent Becomes the Permanent. New York: Macmillan, 1932. (Nonfiction)

Forty Years at Hull-House, Being "Twenty Years at Hull-House" and "The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House." New York: Macmillan, 1935. (Memoir)

My Friend, Julia Lathrop. New York: Macmillan, 1935. (Biography)

Peace and Bread in Time of War. New York: King's Crown, 1945. (Nonfiction)

Jane Addams: A Centennial Reader. New York: Macmillan, 1960. (Nonfiction)

Democracy and Social Ethics. Cambridge: Belknap, 1964. (Nonfiction)

The Social Thought of Jane Addams. Ed. Christopher Lasch. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965. (Nonfiction)

Jane Addams on Peace, War and International Understanding, 1899-1932. Ed. Allen F. Davis. New York: Garland, 1976. (Nonfiction)

Jane Addams on Education. Ed. Ellen Conliffe Lagemann. New York: Teachers College, 1985. (Nonfiction)

The Jane Addams Reader. Ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain. New York: Basic, 2002. (Nonfiction)

The Selected Papers of Jane Addams. Ed. Mary Lynn McCree Bryan, Barbara Bair, and Maree de Angury. 2 vols. to date. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2003-. (Nonfiction)

CRITICISM

George Herbert Mead (review date 1907)

SOURCE: Mead, George Herbert. Rev. of *Newer Ideals of Peace*, by Jane Addams. *American Journal of Sociology* 13.1 (1907): 121-28. Print.

[In the following review, Mead evaluates Addams's *Newer Ideals of Peace*, which addresses the problem of urban overcrowding, especially among immigrant populations, and argues that government should be based on the immediacy of social relations. Mead characterizes the book as unbalanced and unconvincing but notes the "inherent necessity" of Addams's social perspectives.]

The congestion of our great cities has been generally regarded as an unmitigated evil. We condemn the movement of population from the country to the city. Especially we condemn the perversity of the immigrant which leads him to herd with his kind in the city slums while the great harvest of our western plains are crying for labor; and condemnation passes over into indignation when the inevitable appeal is made to charity and conscience to cope with the suffering and vice that seem to be the sole fruit of these "plague spots" in our municipalities. This attitude has become fixed and almost traditional, because it is entrenched behind what we regard as the most admirable responses of human nature—its charity and conscience. We accept as our interpreters either the interested politician or the moral reformer, and the actual human experience that exists in these proscribed localities is separated from our vision by spiritual distances which dwarf the physical stretches these immigrants have covered to reach America.

Pre-eminent among those who have traversed these distances and have come into understanding contact with these social groups stands Miss Jane Addams, whose interpretation of

the men and women who live in the congested districts of our cities, and of the conditions out of which they have arisen, and of the conditions of the whole social life which they determine, is again presented us in the *Newer Ideals of Peace*.

The immediate theme of the book is the inadequacy of a governmental order that has arisen out of, and is still unconsciously dominated by, military ideals to express the democracy of an industrial community. For these military ideals Miss Addams substitutes those springing from actual human relationships, which do in fact surreptitiously dominate the government of the slums by its police and aldermen. The political corruption and protection of vice that ensue Miss Addams traces to the helplessness of outworn political conceptions and the worse practice they involve. And finally the author affirms that our highest form of social emotion—patriotism—because it is dominated by warlike impulses and tradition is quite unable to sweep into itself the “finer spirit of courage and detachment” belonging to modern industrial struggles, although we defend warfare because it engenders these very qualities.

To seek our patriotism is some age other than our own is to accept a code that is totally inadequate to help us through the problems which current life develops. We continue to found our patriotism upon war and to contrast conquest with nurture, militarism with industrialism, calling the latter passive, and inert, and the former active and aggressive, without really facing the situation as it exists. We tremble before our own convictions, and are afraid to find newer manifestations of courage and daring lest we thereby lose the virtues bequeathed to us by war. It is a pitiful acknowledgment that we have lost them already, and that we shall have to give up the ways of war, if for no other reason than to preserve the finer spirit of courage and detachment which it has engendered and developed.

(p. 217)

The movement which would slough off warfare and usher in universal peace is perhaps more aggressively international than any other, unless it is the socialistic labor movement. It is then natural that a contribution to that movement should find its immediate motive in the international complex of our great city population, and of the laboring force of our great industries. Still, when the reader of Miss Addams' book recognizes the wide range of topic there considered, not simply the third chapter on the failure to utilize immigrants in city government, but the others ranging over the survivals of militarism in city government, militarism and industrial legislation, group morality and the labor movement, protection of children for industrial efficiency, utilization of women in city government, and the passing of the war virtues, one is struck by the constant appearance of the immigrant at the center of the author's treatment of nearly all these subjects. The conflict between the doctrinaire eighteenth-century ideals of government and present conditions, and the consequent reversion to the repressive measures of a military community, is illustrated by the

immigration problem. While immigration began in response to political impulses, and these still play some part, it has become in the main an industrial movement. The immigrant is imported to provide that fund of unskilled labor upon which our industries may draw at will. He comes ignorant and helpless before the system of exploitation which enwraps him before he leaves the old country and may last for two generations after he enters our gates. Our government has nothing to offer him by way of protection but the doctrine of the abstract rights of man, a vote he cannot intelligently exercise, and the police to hold him in his place. But in the cosmopolitan mass of which he becomes a part he enters into human relations with neighbors in the same uncomprehended struggle, with the alderman who can use his human needs and response to kindness, with the policemen who depend upon this alderman and have some comprehension of his daily life. All this social organization lies hopelessly outside of the governmental ideas and institutions. The so-called intelligent community, in its pity as well as its prudence, takes necessarily the attitude of the conqueror toward the conquered, because its government is purely repressive and legal. Our unconsciously military attitude prevents us from making any use of the actual social organization that is going on, and in fact this healthful process leads by its very human vitality to connivance with legal wrong, to protection of vice and municipal corruption.

The author does not, however, rest with this negative phase of the immigrant's condition. She sees the great positive losses to the community which its lack of comprehension of him entails. Just because the immigrant has torn himself loose from the old soil and comes with hope and fear to the new land, he brings with him a fund of emotion which is the precious material out of which social values and ends are built up. There are in addition the valuable habits, representing often the selective development of many centuries that our external repressive government is utterly unable to utilize. There is no encouragement for the combination of community life with agricultural occupations, which exists among Italian peasant groups. The Doukhobors have occasioned endless complications with the Canadian government because its fixed and inflexible legal and property concepts could not adapt themselves to the common ownership of land that represent the inherited morale of these people. Apart from the organized habits of these immigrants, there is their native readiness to assist each other, to cooperate in human fashion in meeting the exigencies that surround them, that would be of enormous value if an intelligent government could recognize these possibilities and use the social materials already there. But our municipal governments offer only repression, or the extra-legal or illegal assistance of the politician who finds in the human situation his stock-in-trade. What might be done toward building up, out of social habits already there and their human social instincts and susceptibility, a deeper and more organic community control, if our

government had other ideas and methods than those of police to repress crime and courts to protect vested rights! Even the more frankly military governments of Europe have made longer strides in this direction than we. Their legislation not only protects, where ours ignores, but takes positive steps toward better housing, toward health, and insurance, that our democratic community is helpless as yet to imitate.

In discussing militarism and industrial legislation, Miss Addams gathers her argument about two recent strikes—that in the anthracite coal-fields and the Chicago Stock Yards strike. She shows that a purely repressive government which is unable to reinterpret its legal conceptions from a larger industrial point of view, is quite outside the real struggle for social control. The actual process of government takes place in the two camps of the employers and the employed. Representation, legislation, and executive administration, even the referendum, appear in these groups. And here the real issues appear—the issues of the standard of life, of economic efficiency—and actually control conduct. When, as in the anthracite coal-fields strike, the deadlock between the contending forces became unendurable, when the central government was forced to intervene and bring the issues before competent judges, the questions that were discussed were not simply those with which the military and legal type of government has concerned itself. On the contrary, the real questions, that everybody knew underlay the controversy, inevitably appeared in court:

Did the union encourage violence against non-union men, or did it really do everything to suppress violence? Did it live up to its creed, which was to maintain a standard of living, that families might be properly housed and protected from debilitating toil and disease, and that children might be nurtured into American citizenship? Did the operators protect their men as far as possible from mine damp, from length of hours proven by experience to be exhausting? Did they pay a wage to the mine laborer sufficient to allow him to send his children to school? Questions such as these, a study in the human problem, invaded the commission day after day during the sitting. One felt for the moment the first wave of a rising tide of humanitarianism, until the normal ideals of the laborer to secure food and shelter for his family, a security for his own old age, and a larger opportunity for his children, became the ideals of democratic government.

(pp. 98 f)

In the case of the Stock Yards strike in Chicago, the issue was found in the reduction of the wage of the unskilled and unorganized labor. Organized skilled labor attempted to fight the battle, with the mixed motives that always arise—the fight against a movement to reduce wages which would inevitably reach them, and a fight for the weak and socially less effective by the stronger and better-organized. False steps early in the contest, the unwieldy body of men to be controlled, endangered the hold which the labor-union strike managers had upon their men. The contest was a genuine one; the issue in terms of humanity

took hold upon the Stock Yards community. The politician who understands dealing in human issues as the basis for his City Hall pull, tried to get possession of this struggle for the betterment of the condition of the underpaid unskilled labor. The real issue in terms of actual human conditions came to the surface, confronted the policemen on duty, the political leaders who controlled the repressive function of government. It was so real, this issue, that the strike managers almost lost it, so eagerly did the politician want to make his use of it.

The moral is evident that as long as the government remains within its military attitude, as long as the policeman, its soldier, is its sole executive, and its arbiter courts which will admit to consideration only the abstract and property rights which hide the vital issues, its legislation cannot deal with the actual social forces out of which social control must arise. It cannot identify with itself the social organization which arises in the labor union, nor draw out in patriotism the devotion with which the laborer responds to its call. Actual social control and social emotion are lost to this government.

Again, it is the immigrant that forces this problem upon us. The anthracite coal-field strike was but the climax of the long-drawn-out fight between the employer's power to import unskilled cheap labor, and the employee's power to assimilate him and identify him with the interests of his American fellows. In the Stock Yards strike, skilled organized labor found the lower unskilled positions being given to the immigrants from among the most oppressed peasantry of Europe. Identification of their interests with those of these Slovaks and Lithuanians was the price of their position. It is the immigrant who comes in response to the call of our feverish industry and our innumerable machines, that is forcing the deepest problems of social organization and evaluation upon us. It is the humblest and the stupidest among our foreign-born citizens that are forcing upon us the problems of our industrial, non-military community. And those who meet them in their real human form are not the legislators nor the executives nor the judiciary of our government. They have in a large degree isolated themselves in outworn categories, though they are still powers to be used by those who are face to face with the real problems. The employer to whom the immigrant is an economic possibility, and the laborer to whom he is a threat of a lower wage, and a different and often a lower standard of life—they are face to face with the problem. The problem grows rapidly with its human content. It involves the whole question of wage, standard of life, education, and insurance against sickness and old age. It involves protected machinery, control of dangerous callings, hygiene in the factory and home and city. All these pressing questions come in the train of the immigrant.

In dealing with group-morality in the labor movement, Miss Addams emphasizes the shortcomings of the unions which arise from their own isolated character. They are as