

and survival problems. Hull House attracted a dedicated core of privileged yet concerned young staff, mostly volunteers, who "settled" (lived) in the house (thus the name "settlement house"). These volunteers helped the newly arrived families to care for their young children and conducted classes in English, citizenship, and the like. Addams imprinted on the field the values of respect for cultural differences and reaching out to clients where one finds them—on the stoops of their houses, at the corner bar, in the factory, and on assembly lines. She also promulgated the belief that society needs to work in a variety of ways to conquer social and personal problems. She loved the city and understood the power of groups to give support to their own members and to apply pressure for needed changes in the laws and customs of their communities. Four labor unions were organized at Hull House. Chambers (1980) records the history of the settlement house movement. He describes how settlement leaders supported the organizing efforts of working women, walked picket lines to demonstrate labor solidarity, testified before civic groups about the needs and rights of working women, and helped raise strike funds.

The settlement workers wanted to bring together the privileged and the underprivileged to share some of the finer things of life. Music, drama, art, and dancing clubs and classes were opened to the immigrant neighbors. Workers, college students, and alumni could live for a time in the settlements, playing basketball, chatting on stoops, and participating in the life of poor neighborhoods.

Jane Addams drew a sharp distinction between her kind of work and the work of the "friendly visitors" of the COS. She did not think they were "friendly" at all in the moralistic way they drew distinctions between the "deserving" and the "undeserving" poor. She wrote about the

difference between the emotional kindness with which relief is given by one poor neighbor to another poor neighbor, and the guarded care with which relief is given by a charity visitor to a charity recipient. The neighborhood mind is at once confronted not only by the difference of method; but by an absolute clashing of two ethical standards. (Addams, 1902, pp. 19–20)

Mary Richmond, one of the leading lights of the COS and author of the first major theoretical work on social casework, *Social Diagnosis* (1917), reciprocated Jane Addams's contempt, accusing the settlements of doing harm by their misguided charity.

Like the organizers of the COS, most of the settlement house workers came from a religious tradition and viewed their human service work as an expression of their beliefs. However, the settlement house workers had a somewhat different vision of the causes and the remedies of poverty. Although not usually radical in their political views (anarchists, communists, and socialists would not have claimed them as their own), they were more inclined than the organizers of the COS to put some of the blame for poverty on greedy businesspeople, landlords, and corrupt politicians.

Many of the settlement house workers were Progressives who struggled to expand the role of the state in social welfare. They sponsored reforms such as the juvenile court movement and the establishment of kindergartens. As we have seen, in their trust of the state, they ignored the state's potential for violations of human rights. At their lowest, they sought to force the immigrants' rich kaleidoscope of lifestyles and values into a more docile, homogenized U.S. style. At their best, they had a vision of a more just society and