

Service-Learning at the Northwestern University Settlement, 1930-31, and the Legacy of Jane Addams

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Abstract: *This article reinforces and extends claims of other scholars who historicize service-learning pedagogy in the academy with the work of Jane Addams. Featuring archival data from two students who worked at the Northwestern University Settlement (NWS) for credit with a 1930-31 sociology course, it introduces one trajectory of Addams' influence beyond Hull House at the NWS when run by Harriet Vittum who was considered a second Jane Addams by Chicagoans. This study furthers claims by scholars of service-learning who argue for the relevance of emotional work by featuring the role of emotions and importance of autobiographical writing for Addams as a young woman as she prepared herself for social work and also for the Northwestern students fulfilling their coursework at the settlement.*

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In her 1892 speech, "The Subjective Value of Settlements," Hull-House settlement founder Jane Addams described the transformative potential of settlement work for young and privileged people whose sweat equity was perhaps under utilized for social service work. Young people, who had the "advantages of college, of European travel, and economic study hear constantly of the great social maladjustment, but no way is provided for them to change it, and their uselessness hangs about them heavily," Addams claimed. These young people, she added, "are sustaining this shock of inaction" (79). Addams' claims that educated young people of the time had limited engagement with community service parallel her own experience as a privileged young woman traveling and contemplating meaningful work after graduating from college. Later she refers to this epoch in her life as the 'snare of preparation' (*Twenty-Years* 57), when quoting Leo Tolstoy. Addams' thoughts about inaction in civic affairs among the young and privileged also parallel the short-lived U.S. university settlement movement that Addams helped influence, including the founding of a sister settlement to Hull-House, the Northwestern University Settlement (NWS), associated with Northwestern University.

Although “service-learning” as a term did not yet exist, the rationale influencing the university settlement movement that encouraged cross-class liaisons for the sake of social reform, particularly involving young people as witnesses and workers, could be compared across time with contemporary university-sponsored service-learning initiatives. In fact, since Addams influenced the projects of University of Chicago progressive-era sociologists, her philosophy of engagement has been credited as an origin for service-learning in the U.S. (Harvey and Puckett; Daynes and Longo). Gary Daynes and Nicholas Longo in fact claim, “A full consideration of Addams significantly revises understanding of the origins of service-learning, suggesting service-learning has its origins as a practice, not a theory; in the community, not the university, and among women, not men” (6). This case study most broadly furthers research that the service-learning movement in the contemporary academy has a legacy that can be traced to Addams’ work and the processes she encouraged: social activism, cross-class communication and self-reflection. It uses an extensive example of work undertaken by historical students, Mabel and Max, writing about what we would identify now as service-learning, when the students worked at the NWS under the tutelage of a professor trained at Hull-House. Scholars like Daynes and Longo rely on Addams’ philosophy, writing, and history of activism to make their claims about Addams’ influence on the academy. The archival material shared in this case study uses direct evidence of settlement work interfaced with a college curriculum and during a significant blip of time: the end of the progressive era and the beginning of the Depression when Northwestern University was still flush but its settlement needed more resources, particularly personnel. The study even more specifically argues that the students’ account of their work at the NWS relates to Addams’ own struggles as a privileged person and her reliance on her emotions as a writer. For Addams, Mabel, and Max, gaining empathy for “Others” was a tool for personal transformation and, for Addams, foundational for activist work. The study showcases therefore showcases a two-folded legacy. It further credits Addams’ work as a legacy for contemporary service-learning in the United States. It also suggests also that Addams is a founder of the pedagogical complexity and usefulness of writing and emotional awareness for those managing experiences with people outside of their social class and their own neighborhoods—a current interest and concern for contemporary scholars of pedagogy and service-learning (Langstraat and Bowden).

This legacy of writing and gaining emotional awareness when writing about Others has a feminist dimension as well. Lisa Bowden and Melody Langstraat point out the prejudice associated with emotion despite its relevance to service-learning pedagogy. Emotions have been historically marginalized for their role in pedagogies, in producing knowledge, and in fostering

community because of their association with the feminine (Boler). As one example, Keith Morton and John Saltmarsh describe Addams' "snare of preparation" as a period of "indecision punctuated by periods of debilitating, physical, mental and spiritual struggle," a struggle they also coin "aesthetic" (143). Yet this transformative epoch of Addams' life required and relied upon emotional awareness. Addams describes the notebooks she kept during these formative years as extremely emotional; she wrote in them "only in moments of deep depression when overwhelmed by a sense of failure" (*Twenty Years at Hull House* 42). Addams' incubation period as she spent time traveling, observing, and thinking might also be categorized as an emotional journey. Addams also relied on the kind of writing that might be assigned to students in a service-learning course. As Chris Lasch argues, the social reform movement shaping and shaped by Addams and her colleagues also encouraged autobiographical writing. Self-reflection complemented social action. For Addams in particular, "[T]he discovery of the poor was the discovery of the self" (xxvi). Witnessing others' lives and also their pain is nevertheless a fragile enterprise even as it benefits the witness. Perhaps inevitably, writers can "mangle" the account of another's suffering (Spelman 4), which in turn can be troubling or uncomfortable for readers of witness accounts. This writing can also be easily maligned.

Addams describes her notebooks as "smug," which suggests furthermore the awkward project of writing for young people, or anyone for that matter, who develop a perspective about poverty and privilege when unstudied in larger forces shaping economic divides between individuals and groups. "Smug notebooks" could even metaphorically describe writing composed by students in contemporary service-learning courses or courses that require some social class and border crossing. Nedra Reynolds even argues this writing is a "haunting feature of qualitative study" when students' "class biases or cultural positions determine their 'findings'" (129). Contemporary service-learning students have been most typically white and middle class. These students also typically work, observe and write about communities of color, a set of circumstances which can set these students up to frame themselves as benevolent saviors, which can in turn reify their privilege, not challenge their assumptions (Catlett and Proweller 35). But writing about Others can be a form of self-discovery and self-awareness, with the transformation of perspective as a benchmark, as it reportedly was for Addams, and presumably for students using her methods such as Mabel and Max, as discussed shortly. The significant pedagogical benefit of this work that may result in emotional self-awareness for writers, and that can be useful to their self-development, might also be underestimated and "undertheorized" in contemporary pedagogies (Langstraat and Bowden 5).

Mabel and Max's work is mined for this study from a larger set of papers particularly because of the earnestness of its tone as the students articulate how their social class standings shaped their stance while working as settlement workers and also work out their mixed emotions when witnessing poverty. Both students also admit their privileges and also show material evidence of them. For instance, Mabel used a car, not public transportation, to get to the settlement and Max also had access to a family car when he needed it. Their term papers are part of a larger archive of nine other similar term papers, 90 pages of text, all of which feature themes we would associate with service-learning writing projects today: reflection about the authors' privilege, ambivalent emotions toward the Other, stereotyping the same Other, and pride in having extricated themselves from their comfort zones by crossing borders. Most students in the sample of nine papers also gushed about the value of hands-on education. A broad sweep of the several perspectives from all the papers would surely be educational and also further the points made in this article. But a close reading of these two writers' thinking can better show the transformative dynamic of a service-learning type assignment, even if the otherwise rich perspectives of these students is still inevitably fragmented and limited, like much archival material. Moreover, since Mabel and Max are historical subjects, we can better see the larger historical and cultural constructs shaping their projects, which are less transparent for us when we respond to and shape projects in our contemporary worlds. The analysis of student writing by Mabel and Max in this study therefore acknowledges the realistic awkwardness of their assigned project, one that required them to write about subjects unlike them and whose behavior was threatening to their existing views. The analysis is also frontloaded first with an outline of the historical and cultural factors shaping this student work, most specifically the midnight of the U.S. progressive era in the United States and Chicago more specifically.

Cultural Contexts Shaping Service-learning at NWS

Addams' influence was built into the genesis of NWS, founded in 1891, just two years after she founded Hull-House, which further links Addams' project as a social activist with Mabel and Max's curriculum. The timing of the NWS's founding was no accident. A handful of stakeholders had consulted Addams about the need for a second Chicago settlement. Its location in the most densely populated Chicago ward with the highest death rate and a large concentration of immigrants was also carefully planned (Feeney 3-4). As with Hull-House and many settlement houses springing up across the country during the progressive era, the NWS was run by college-educated professionals who developed education and recreation programs as well as job training programs for the mostly Polish working-class immigrants in this centrally located

Chicago neighborhood. In decades to come, several more settlements proliferated around the city during the heyday of settlement work and the height of nativist anxiety. Among NWS's first important stakeholders was a University of Chicago trained Sociology professor Charles Zueblin, an espoused feminist and an alumnus of Northwestern University. His passion for settlement work was fueled after staying at London's Toynbee Hall Settlement, the same settlement that had inspired Addams to found Hull-House (Wukas 8).

Zeublin's career may well represent the interface between Addams, Hull-House, the short-lived university settlement movement, and hands-on learning at the NWS embodied by this study of student work. This interface suggests Mabel and Max's settlement work was a manifestation of a grand cultural vision among progressive-era leaders. Mabel and Max were among other American college students at the time encouraged to work "shoulder to shoulder" with their clients, borrowing a phrase from an article in a 1906 issue of the short-lived periodical, *University Settlement Review*. This article defined settlement work as "a group of people working with their neighbors for the uplifting of the common life, and in the give and take of the struggle, working shoulder to shoulder" resulting in "a broadening of social vision that has been mutual" (3). The same year, longtime NWS resident, A.K. Maynard, headlined a Daily Northwestern issue dedicated to NWS settlement news. He claimed: "[t]he Settlement is a place for the exchange of social values, an attempt to establish right human relations" ("Resident Maynard" 1). The appeal to students as volunteers at the settlement coincided with a longtime focus among student Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s on modern day problems and social justice, and before the focus of these organizations changed during the post-progressive era (Hopkins 635). Work at the settlement by Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. Northwestern students coincided with a service agenda by these youth organizations at the national level ("The Chairman" 2; "Y.W.C.A. Excursion" 2).

At the same time, Harriet Vittum, director of the NWS during the era and a Chicago powerhouse who was considered a second Jane Addams, seemed to view the college student body as a moving target. She visited the Northwestern University campus regularly to talk up settlement work. In 1919, for example, she spoke to a group of female students with rhetoric that appealed to students' patriotism, their interest in moral uplift among the poor, and also their sense of responsibility as privileged citizens:

We must feel our social responsibility every minute. . . . For upon the women of the middle and upper classes the comfortable classes and those from which the bulk of college women are drawn rests the responsibility of setting the standards of dress and personal dignity. ("Settlement Problems" 1).

Overall, cultural scripts emphasizing the privileges of Northwestern students, and their Otherness to the poor, set up a foundation for the kind of work that Mabel and Max were assigned to do in the fall of 1930 and also reflects the interface between Addams' philosophy and the students' work at the NWS.

Professor William Byron, a graduate of the University of Chicago and also a former assistant head resident at Hull-House, taught the sociology class that Mabel and Max attended in conjunction with their settlement work ("Sociology faculty"). A second more advanced sociology class was taught by another sociologist, Thomas Elliot, the same semester and as part of a joint experiment that school year (Announcement of Courses, 1931, 107). Byron and Elliot were members of a group of sociologists who studied at the University of Chicago and were influenced by Addams and the work outlined in *Hull-House Maps and Papers* (Deegan, 168). These scholars and teachers were encouraged by a sociology built through "outwardly directed, service-centered" scholarship (Hackavy and Pickett, 1994).

The cultural factors that led to Byron and Elliott using settlement work as class material were tenuous. Even though the social activism that Addams emphasized was still influencing pedagogy at Northwestern as of 1930, this was near the end of an era of social science encouraging hands-on learning. A firmer demarcation was being made among academics between "knowledge production [and] knowledge use" and between "social science [and] social reform" (Harkavy and Puckett 303). These sociology courses were also taught at a pivotal time at Northwestern University. At peak enrollment in 1930, the university had just substantially revamped its general education curriculum, which included organizing departments into interdisciplinary divisions, offering four general education courses, also interdisciplinary, and a capstone-esque course, "Man and the World of Ideas" (Scott 4). Meanwhile the Depression had already strained the settlement movement; there was new effort to "get Northwestern University students involved" there. As of October 1931, 85 students were directing classes at the settlement, because of a shortage of personnel and apart from the sociology classes sending students to the settlement the previous school year (Wukas 52).

The Depression would shortly stymie innovation and growth at Northwestern as well (Williamson and Wild 191), which might be one reason that student coursework aligned with settlement work lost momentum. By the winter of 1931, fewer students were working at the settlement as part of coursework (McNicol, n. page). Byron's project of 1930-31 was also significant enough to be mentioned in a history of the settlement published in 1990 (Wukas 52). The archives of the NWS were also unusually preserved by a long-time settlement board member and historian who valued archival memory and established a relationship between the settlement and the university to

collect and store the settlement's archives (Overboe). At the same time, the NWS was one of the few settlements to survive after World War II when immigration laws changed, urban renewal projects displaced clients of settlement neighborhoods, social work was masculinized, and settlement homes associated with the feminine sphere were considered costly white elephants. The interface between universities and the poor was all but forgotten by the 1960s as the new University of Illinois campus was built over the neighborhood of Hull-House and its buildings had to be moved and reconstructed (Trolander 87-88). Mabel and Max's "smug notebooks," that parallel in part Addams' work as a burgeoning activist, are therefore "rare footage." They document a fleeting period of time that evidence Addams' influence on a university-sponsored pedagogy requiring hands-on learning, social-class border crossing, reflective writing and emotional work.

Addams' Legacy for Service-learning: the Role of the Emotions for Mabel at the Settlement

Before her first day at work at the NWS in the fall of her senior year at Northwestern in 1930, Mabel was originally told she would be running a girls club teaching domestic arts and music. But she was reassigned at the last minute to fulfill what was perceived as a bigger need: interviewing the settlement's nearby immigrant neighbors to ascertain their qualification for relief services. Mabel's encounter with poor families was reportedly transformative for her. The experience she outlines also relies on some of the previously listed tropes about hands-on learning that sound contemporary. Already frightened by associates and family members about what she might find during her visit to the "terrible settlement area" (Johnson 1), she had expected, if somewhat facetiously, that bums and "hold up" men stood around on every corner, that she'd hear "machine guns popping," and that people were "bumped off" (Johnson 1). Her fears were somewhat confirmed when a seemingly helpful settlement neighbor suggested she park her car in front of the settlement where it would be less likely stolen, which became her habit thereafter.

Mabel's account of her experience as a settlement worker features the awkwardness of a student assigned as a steward of culture while also an overall unqualified observer of poverty and working-class life during the 'snare of preparation.' Mabel's uneven and somewhat raw account of her work at the settlement in her own kind of "smug" notebook therefore exposes one problem identified with more recent service-learning type projects emphasized by Bruce Herzberg: most students, like Addams had been as a young woman, are ill-equipped to understand the "social nature of experience" or "accept the structural nature of justice" (315). Mabel's attitudes also put into

historical context the paternalism and prejudice that can shape contemporary service-learning projects. At the same time, Mabel also admitted her naiveté about the world she encountered at the settlement. She appreciated that her views were challenged. In the grand scheme, Mabel engaged in primary methods promoted by contemporary service-learning pedagogies: self-reflection, observation, hands-on experience and emotional work.

Some flaws that might shape a service-learning type project—its paternalistic roots and its complicated benefits, primarily to students—are illustrated through Mabel's experience when she attended a dance at the settlement. Here, her existing knowledge conflicted and coincided with her emerging knowledge, or lack thereof, as she admitted there was a lot she didn't know about how the other half lived. Mabel's experience can be associated with contemporary service-learning students' experience observed by Langstraat and Bowdon who suggest students are inclined to overcategorize their subjects as "heroes or victims" (10) when confronting conflicting cultural constructs. Overcategorizing can function as a default method of analysis and perhaps also as a defense mechanism. The sign at the settlement dance hall which had generated some conflicting thoughts and emotions for Mabel as well as some overcategorizing had read: "All men attending the dance must have their collars buttoned and they must wear a tie. No man may attend the dance without a coat [and] every girl who attends the dance must wear stockings" (Johnson 7). Mabel's first instinct was to criticize this sign because of the social control implied by it. "Can't you see these rules posted on a billboard—down at the 'Edgewater Beach' or at the 'Drake hotel'? To us the rules would seem absurd and ridiculous, and we would consider it an insult if these rules were posted as prerequisites to the entrance of the Charity Ball," she asserts (Johnson 7). The sign made more sense to Mabel when a provocatively dressed frizzy-haired young woman arrived at the dance. Mabel then supposed that the dance hall rules were perhaps necessarily prescriptive by elevating the attendees to "a higher group in society." The young woman, who was also the most "popular" girl at the dance and was surrounded by male admirers, had defied the spirit of the posted dress code. Mabel explains that the woman's "dress was way above her knee and so tight . . . that [Mabel] could not figure out how she got out of it once in it" (Johnson 8). In synthesizing the message from the otherwise off-putting dance hall sign along with the fashion choice of the popular young woman, Mabel decides, "All of this was very new to me and I began to realize that although we lived in the same city, nevertheless each section is just as foreign to the other as if it were an entirely different country" (Johnson 8).

Mabel's instinct to both distinguish herself from Others and also in part sympathize with them could be contemporized and also historicized in association with Addams' concerns about cross-class encounters and her presumed

interest in communing with those beneath her social class (Lasch): “You turn helplessly to the waiter and feel that it would be almost grotesque to claim from him the sympathy you crave because civilization has placed you apart, but you resent your position with a sudden sense of snobbery” (“The Subjective Necessity” 77). Addams’ anecdote also suggests the emotional work of cultural work, in this case cross-class encounters. Mabel had been annoyed by the dance hall sign when personalizing its message. When encountering difference, Mabel backed away from this critique. Mabel’s first instinct to judge rather than empathize with the popular girl might be considered a damaging effect or outcome of a service-learning-type assignment when students write about people outside their own communities or about people outside their social class. Yet for Mabel, this assignment encouraged new and emerging thinking about cross-class difference and tension. As Mabel frames her learning experience at the settlement, “When I compare their experiences, conditions and spirit with our conditions and half spirit I feel ashamed and I have since developed a new attitude toward life” (Johnson 5).

Mabel’s paper documents more oscillating experiences at the settlement as well as her reliance on overcategorizing to manage her experience when making meaning of the behaviors of those whom she observed. She also notes common ground between herself and the clients she interviewed and the various people visiting the settlement with whom she interacted more informally. Her emerging perspective and her claims about the people she worked with and observed at and near the NWS exhibit some of the emotional work of service-learners and the emergent thinking it can encourage. Mabel engages in some generalizing and stereotyping when declaring, “I have visited Polish women who have been in America for twenty-five years, and yet they are unable to speak a word of English,” and also that there are “two interests of the Polish people, ‘church and family’” (Johnson 12). Any truth about lived experiences of Others was inevitably lost in translation. But Mabel was also moved when observing a very thin woman nursing her infant. This experience led Mabel to one of her several and related conclusions that “[t]he Polish mother is just like any other mother. Her first concern is for her family,” adding, “rather than let her little boy starve she had been giving up her own vitality and sapping her own strength in order to feed this little boy” (Johnson 15).

Mabel’s interaction with this nursing mother inspired insights about her privileges. As she describes them:

I often think of this mother and of the many other mothers who are in similar positions sacrificing everything they have without a murmur, when I hear the girls around me complaining because their fathers haven’t sent them as much money as they usually do. If they could

only change places with these people for one day how much more they would appreciate and really enjoy all the advantages they have, and how much more they would do with the advantages given them. (Johnson, 15)

Mabel's emotional reactions, and her conclusions about her clients at the settlement, may seem problematic to some because they are too broad, or too paternalistic. As Elizabeth Spelman explains, "[C]laims of shared suffering can do as much to reinforce claims of superiority and inferiority as they can to undermine them," particularly when "one person or group attempts to borrow the experience of another person or group to make sense of their own suffering" (9). Mabel's gaze was also potentially exploitive to the nursing Polish woman. However, as Shannon Jackson puts it when describing the espoused goals of progressive-era settlers: "Rather than assuming the possibility of a pure stance, it is perhaps more helpful to acknowledge the reformist impulse propelling all sociality" (14). As Jackson suggests, it might be difficult to measure the forces and anxieties that propel us as reformers in our own respective day and age, but we can learn with and from historical actors of the past, such as Addams and Vittum, who developed programs and language to manage their experience when confronted with inequality. We can be tough and unrealistic critics if expecting Mabel, and her contemporary counterpart, to operate from a pure stance. As Addams describes the task of settlers working on site, "They must be content to live quietly side by side with their neighbors, until they grow into a sense of relationship and mutual interests" ("The Subjective Necessity" 85). Mabel, of course, did not live full time in the settlement. Full time settlers had the opportunity to overcome the instinct to, as Addams put it, 'overdifferentiate' between their lives and the lives of those being served. Mabel related the behavior of the poor Polish woman to that of mothers everywhere, but she still used the experience to ponder her privilege and those of her contemporaries, which suggests she was developing a "stance" that was perhaps inevitably not pure but still reflective. Mabel's recognition of her privileges accompanied by empathy for others can also signify transformative experience, a form of self-discovery, encouraged by Addams' brand of activism. For Addams, perhaps for Mabel, and to reiterate, "the discovery of the poor was the discovery of the self" (Lasch xxvi).

Credit might also go to Mabel's interest in social work at all. Addams identified a waning interest in social work among the young by 1930, and particularly among young women for whom post-suffrage culture promised more options. Addams' own coming of age took place during "a period in which the unmarried woman play[ing] her part was marked by an undue interest in social and economic reform. It was perhaps natural," she laments, "that the next generation choose other objects for its endeavor" ("Contrasts" 23). A script

and a set of responsibilities relying on *noblesse oblige* that enabled Mabel's work and encouraged her insights were also ultimately fragile. As mentioned, American sociologists were becoming less interested in progressive-era brands of social justice when a larger culture of reform fueled by civic-minded women like Addams and Vittum mutated. Also, religious groups on campus like the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. that encouraged settlement work among Northwestern students were becoming less civic-minded. Therefore, 1930 also could be regarded as the midnight not only for a reform-oriented field of sociology, but for reform impulses among young women like Mabel working at the NWS. This was even while students were called upon as useful personnel when the needs among clients at the NWS settlement were most acute and attendance was at a peak at the settlement during the Depression.

Considering the tenuous cultural factors shaping Mabel's work at the settlement, her observations could be a time capsule documenting the legacy of writing and emotional awareness as key learning tools comparable to Addams' own methods when preparing for activist work. By the 1920s, solidarity among middle-class females no longer resonated. Popular culture also emphasized "heterosexual allure" and "women's domestic and childrearing roles" (Cott 282), two topics that perhaps not coincidentally interested Mabel at the settlement. Meanwhile, the Depression curtailed momentum for professional women to establish footholds in careers as men took over social work and other previously female-dominated professions (Cott 218). A 1935 *Chicago Tribune* article that promoted stereotypes and cultural scripts for young women like Mabel might contextualize what Mabel was up against as a privileged, female college student and how work at the settlement may have helped her think critically about her values. The Northwestern co-ed in the article is celebrated as "rich," "expensive to date," and "clothes conscious." This college co-ed's goal was to be the "best dressed" with help from daddy who "pa[id] the bills" (Scully D12).

Max at the Settlement

As with Mabel, Max's work shows that a service-learning-type project challenged him to reflect upon his social standing and his values, to assess and question his assumptions, and to rely upon his emotions as a teacher. His participation as a male sociology student may have been unusual as well. The fall of 1931 Byron spoke to a group of Northwestern female students interested in settlement work. He encouraged them to be "pals to the poor" and not "high hat" them ("Byron Tells Girls" 1). Perhaps Byron was speaking particularly to members of a female club, which is not clear from the *Daily Northwestern* article quoting him. However, despite any cultural constructs that might have been discouraging young women from social service work, all but two of the

nine papers documenting the work of the sociology classes Byron and Elliott taught earlier that year were written by females. Notes on the papers from Byron and Elliott show that they requested students to return their papers, which some students may have likely forgotten or neglected to do. Max's paper is the longest paper, and includes a description of all ten boys with whom he worked when running a sports club called the "Celobie Boosters." Parts of the paper might even be characterized as ethnography. Max's paper is also the only one of the nine final term papers that earned a comment besides a grade. The grader, assumedly Byron, wrote, "A very good paper," on its cover page.

The first portion of Max's paper is a diary-like catalogue of his thoughts during each of his weekly visits to the settlement from October 1930 through early January 1931 that shows the development of his thinking and his attempt at self-awareness. During Max's first regular trip to the settlement, it had been an unusually warm fall day and community members of various ages were milling about in front. There, according to Max, "some of the younger boys were trying to edge in on the conversations of the older fellows" and some "were chased away, with a few swear words intermingled" (Bauman 5).

Seizing the opportunity for hands-on experience during his second visit, Max was ready to make "sociological observations." Many of these observations about the people Max observed from the streetcar and when getting off the streetcar were general, arguably prejudiced, and, perhaps, yes, "smug." Like Mabel, Max categorized the people near the settlement and called them "foreigners," while also realizing that as a college student he was an outsider in the settlement neighborhood and therefore a threat to some. Max was dismayed when overhearing some men whom he identified as laborers voicing dissatisfaction with their work "with evidence of communism creeping out" (Bauman 6). Max was also dismayed at how some of the men referred to women, presumably in derogatory ways. As a sociologist in training, Max determined that the immigrants themselves might not change, but their children would better adjust to the "standards of behavior of this country" (Bauman, 6). This chain of thought might have been a little pep talk for him since he had been working with pre-teens and teenagers. During his next visit, Max was impressed by the children playing in the settlement neighborhood. The children seemed to be enjoying their games and getting along well and in contrast to the young men loitering about. Max happened to have a suit and tie on that evening and thought these young men were sizing him up too aggressively. Max even heard one of them ask, "What does this guy want, anyway?" (Bauman 7). Max was similarly heckled on a future visit when carrying Christmas presents for members of his boys club. Upon yet another visit, when already

self-conscious wearing his Northwestern sweater, he overheard some snide comments about Northwestern students.

In his paper, Max repeatedly revisits his extra assignment beyond managing the boys club, studying poor immigrants in context and in contrast with his own world, with the nebulous pressure-filled role of transforming these young people into better behaving Americans, per the paternalistic script discussed previously. As he describes the interpersonal work this challenge entailed:

I leave Evanston after a full day at the university, at the fraternity house, rather endowed with the environment I have been in; by merely forgetting all of those experiences and burying myself in a newspaper or a book while on the elevated, I find myself in an entirely different world when alight from the Chicago avenue street car and walk over to the Settlement. An entirely different world is before one, but use some imagining power to transfer their thoughts to the Settlement, to the people of the Settlement—little Poland in itself; Europe right at our doorstep. The point is that the most decided contrast in the environment, in the life of these people and ourselves can be drawn by making somewhat of a contrasting study between the two groups. (Bauman 12)

Max's task of "contrasting groups" might have been his idea, but it sounds assigned. His instinct to "contrast groups" draws attention to progressive-era paternalism and its legacy as it relates to a service-learning type project. Max's view from the "elevated" (train) could be a metaphor for his alleged superiority to the neighbors of the NWS settlement. As Langstraat and Bowden warn, "the notion of compassionate learning and living often functions as a kind of undertheorized trope, a principal *raison d'être* of service-learning" (8). Max's social class, as signified by his role as a college student, and sometimes his clothing, gave him ethos and also a *raison d'être* or, at the very least, a reason to walk through the door of the settlement. But his social class and his markings as a college man made him uneasy, too. His unease might represent emerging knowledge similar to Mabel's. Settlement work encouraged Max to become more aware of the limits of his power, and also his limited understanding of the world, a world which included himself and also his clients at the settlement under one roof, or one sun and moon. His unease also points to the role and significance of service-learning type work as both cultural and emotional work. As Megan Boler puts it: "emotions are a mode of resistance—to dominant cultural norms . . . or to the imposition of authority" (xviii). Max's emotions—unease—aided his thinking.

Max's judgment of the people who lived by the settlement was tested further that fall when he challenged himself, as was becoming his habit, by

visiting a store near the settlement before his responsibilities began and on a day he drove the family Ford to the settlement because of blustery weather. He left the store because it smelled funny, he couldn't read the signs in Polish and the storekeeper was speaking Polish. Right outside the store Max observed some young boys running "from two of the dilapidated frame buildings to greet their comrades and replenish a supply of potatoes, which [the boys] were roasting in a fire they made in the gutter" (Bauman 13). Max assumed the boys stole the potatoes and thought it ironic to remember that when he had been the same age as these boys he and his friends had also stolen potatoes, which they had roasted outdoors in the same fashion. How could he reconcile that he had engaged in the same behavior as these poor lads? He could not. His stance was inevitably impure. He concluded that members of the upper class, like himself, "contributed to the maintenance of the birth rate" but also, he reconciles, "steal potatoes" (Bauman, 13).

Max did not revisit the cognitive dissonance he experienced when observing a set of behaviors and experiences that linked him to a population he had thus far Othered, and felt threatened by on several levels. However, by the end of his project in January, Max admitted that the boys with whom he worked, mostly when playing sports, were not that different than himself, and that perhaps he had taken his assignment to study and even exaggerate differences between himself and the clients of the settlement too seriously. Max's new attitude can affirm Addams' concern about "overdifferentiation" between a privileged subject and the Other. It suggests furthermore that observed similarities between students of service-learning type projects and their subjects can be knowledge-producing and personally transformative, even when students lack sophisticated knowledge about macro-socioeconomic power structures. As Max explains his perspective in the conclusion of his paper:

Leading a boy's club is an experience that every young fellow, who has passed a certain number of birthdays and thinks he is ready to be classed as a man of the world, should go through. It puts your thoughts back three or five years, and to one who has lived in Chicago and gone through some relatively similar experiences as the boys living around the settlement go through, it really is a revival of old times. When I was the same age of the boys I have, I belonged to a group, similar to settlement club, and we were organized as they were, and most of our activity was centered upon playing basketball. (Bauman, 29).

As it turned out, Max and his friends from his Chicago neighborhood also went to tournaments in "foreign neighborhoods," back in the day, which was only a few years previously. So the experience with the boys club, he ascertained,

wasn't as foreign, so to speak, as it might have appeared except that he was looking at conditions "from a sociological standpoint" (Bauman, 29). Max got more out of going to the settlement "than merely getting material enough to pound out a term paper for a sociology course," an affirmation for high-impact, hands-on projects in our world. Max concludes that the project he envisioned — instilling cultural values, perhaps with an iron fist — became instead "making friends with a group of fellows" (Bauman 29-30).

Max's conclusions, like Mabel's, furthermore illustrate the role of emotions, and interpersonal development, for cultural work that is also school-work, which Langstraat and Bowden argue is under-theorized. Oft-cited Herzberg, who has become a kind of long-term straw man for those thinking and writing critically about service-learning (including this writer), claims, for example, that "writing personal responses to community service experiences . . . is not sufficient to raise critical and cultural consciousness" (309). Personal responses to cultural phenomena and inequity might not be publishable, or even highly readable, but are Herzberg's criticisms of personal responses to community services projects exaggerated or simply unrealistic? Like Max, Addams also observed social class conflicts out of context. Addams had met some working girls on strike while in London during her formative travels. At the time, she lacked knowledge to connect this meeting with the ongoing labor movement and the "tradesunionist, concerning whom [she] had the vaguest notion" (*Twenty Years* 52). As an outsider, and because of her class standing, Addams simply lacked knowledge to critically assess the encounter with strikers or to offer any solutions for their problems. At the time she imagined only a benevolent authority "who will put things right as soon as they know what is wrong" (52). Max likewise lacked knowledge to assess with sophistication the culture shaping the behavior of the young men at and near the NWS settlement, not to mention the devastating economic effects of the Depression descending upon the nation. Yet Max's interpersonal work, when he identified himself as a member of a community he had otherwise or previously regarded as foreign, suggests that an emotional journey, which includes an encounter with difference, can lead an individual to a greater state of mind and a grander perspective. This new perspective for Max could have turned, if eventually, into some civic action—in the voting booth, perhaps, or back at the fraternity house during an informal political discussion.

Conclusion

The working through of conflicts and the assessment of prejudices by students in Byron's sociology class during the 1930-31 academic year is for the most part compared here mostly implicitly with contemporary projects for which many students are challenged to cross social class boundaries while

also physically traveling off campus to learn. When doing so, the contemporary counterparts of Mabel and Max are meanwhile perhaps inevitably set up to make snap judgments limited by the tools of their personal experience and the also the inevitably limited context that any course, school, mentor or fellow classmate can provide for them in the course of a semester. Easy targets, Mabel and Max are easy subjects as well. They're dead. Mabel and Max's imperfect but seemingly sincere work when writing for what we today would call a service-learning course, provides insight about how writing might be used to help students make sense of the world they observe as well as the identities they perform and have inherited. At the very least, it shows a historical case of students crossing borders and the emotional work required when encountering difference.

Working at the settlement, developing a stance when "working shoulder to shoulder" with clients and sorting out cultural scripts, including social class prejudice, was clearly emotional work for Mabel and Max. Mabel relied on fear, compassion and love, a degree of anger for having been sheltered from poverty, frustration with her peers for their entitlements, and also gratitude for her involvement in meaningful work. Emotions were central to Max's experience at the settlement, as he worked out his stance as well as his authority as a man, and particularly a college man. 'Overdifferentiating' himself from the boys in his care, and those whom he observed in the settlement neighborhood, was eventually distressing for him. He worked through this distress by reframing his relationship with the boys under his care to acknowledge his connectedness with the settlement community via his identity as a Chicagoan.

In tandem with the close reading of perspectives developed by Mabel and Max long ago, this study draws attention to the also complicated, and lately well-acknowledged legacy of settlement culture for U.S. service-learning projects, as circulated most prolifically and famously by Addams. Daynes and Longo "argue that service-learning researchers need to play close attention to service-learning's gendered origins" (9). This study encourages more collective insight about the relationship between gender, emotional work, and service-learning pedagogy that relatedly credits Addams' legacy, particularly her period of incubation when she prepared herself to found Hull House by traveling, observing, writing, and also feeling. It draws special attention to the emotional work Addams underwent as a precursor to activist social work that can historicize the common requirement that students write reflectively while engaging in service-learning. The study thus also furthers other claims by scholars of service-learning who argue the relevance of emotional work for students engaging with and writing about Others. The synergistic connections across time and culture, including a discussion of the emotions, furthermore suggest more investigation about the usefulness and complexity of the 'the

snare of preparation' when students are assigned to work through their prejudices in their "smug" notebooks as part of a service-learning project.

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