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CHAPTER 11

Progressive Chicago: Upton Sinclair, Jane Addams, and Social Reform Literature

Rachel Elin Nolan

In November 1904, a young man appeared in Chicago's Union Stock Yard, the meatpacking district on the South Side. A few weeks past his twenty-sixth birthday, he was slim and boyish, and he wore his hair parted to one side as he had done during his student years at the City College of New York.[1] On that fall day he wore a flowing tie and a wide-brimmed hat. Navigating through the stockyards, the young man made his way to 42nd and Halsted Street. He entered the Transit House, an enormous wood and red brick hotel popular among cattle dealers, cowboys, and newspapermen. Upon entering, he apprehended another young man, the journalist-turned-trades union press agent Ernest Poole. He greeted Poole with a "warm expansive smile" and introduced himself. "Hello! I'm Upton Sinclair!" he said, "And I've come here to write the Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Labor Movement!"[2] Sinclair would spend the best part of two months in Chicago, observing laborers and gathering the factual details that would provide the basis for a novel that would catapult him to national prominence. *The Jungle* (1906) would be serialized in the socialist newspaper *Appeal to Reason* before being published as a book by Doubleday, Page. It would make him a household name almost overnight, and it would be translated into seventeen languages before the end of the decade.[3]

Chicago vividly evoked the contradictions of turn-of-the-century America. The West Side of the city opened onto the Midwestern plains, a prospect that served as a continual reminder of the region's pioneer past and agrarian roots. Meanwhile, the city, with its smokestacks, skyscrapers, and snaking railroad lines, aggressively asserted its status as the driving engine of modern American industry. In the evening, its visual incongruities were brought into sharp relief as, in Poole's words, "the setting sun threw gorgeous colors on the billowy clouds of smoke belched from the chimneys of the slaughterhouses."[4] By the turn of the century, the United States was, according to one historian, "the most strike-torn nation in the

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world," and Chicago, with its spectacular wealth and devastating poverty, was the epicenter of labor unrest.[5] By the time Sinclair arrived in Packingtown, as the Union Stock Yards were called, the city had already witnessed some of the most explosive conflagrations in the history of American labor. It is easy to see why the ambitious young writer would choose industrial Chicago as the setting for a novel that he hoped would offer a definitive statement about working-class life in America.[6]

Like other writers, journalists, scholars, and president's men who traveled into the Midwest to observe the nation's industrial battles, Sinclair received assistance from Chicago's established reformers, the most prominent of whom was Jane Addams. Nearly two decades older than Sinclair, Addams had been running Hull-House, Chicago's first Social Settlement, since her arrival in the city in 1889. Settlement life brought Addams into what her friend and fellow progressive reformer John Dewey termed "living contact" with the city's poor residents.[7] In 1892, a widely circulated magazine, *The Forum*, had published two essays by Addams, laying out her philosophy. Settlement, she had explained, recognizes the interconnectedness of all social life. It is an attempt to put into action values of tolerance and hospitality. Addams would later incorporate one of her *Forum* essays into her autobiographical account of life in Chicago, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910).[8] This book, first published by Macmillan, went through six printings its first year and has remained in print ever since.[9]

Taken together, Sinclair and Addams embodied parallel but different approaches to ameliorating class inequality. Whereas Sinclair was a newly converted socialist and a self-identified "red-hot radical," Addams famously declined to embrace any one ideology and held firm to her belief that reformers must be ready to adapt their ideas and methods as circumstances change.[10] When they met at Hull-House in 1904, their ideological differences were plain to both. Nonetheless, Addams and Sinclair belonged to a tradition of social reform that was animated by a belief in moral progress. And this shared belief drew them to the American city most identified with industry, inequality, and labor strife – Chicago.

A City of Extremes

Illinois's embrace of limited government shaped Chicago's spectacular emergence as a site of industry, wealth, and inequality in the second half of the nineteenth century, and yet the state had not always been averse to building public infrastructure. During an earlier period, Illinois spent millions of dollars on the construction of railroads and turnpikes, as well

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as improvements to rivers and harbors. The experiment ended in calamity after the financial panic of 1837 left the state broke and unable to repay its debts. Afterward, Illinois adopted a new constitution, which framed the state government's economic role as supervisory. By mid-century, newspaper journalists presented the earlier spending program as a misguided extravagance, and they congratulated private business for repairing the economic damage.[11] Chicago, then, grew up in a pro-business, low-regulation environment. Across the region, mechanization transformed agriculture and new railroad lines made it possible to transport larger quantities of grain faster than ever before. Sophisticated markets developed, and flexible and complicated business methods, including futures trading, presented opportunities for speculators. This frenzy of activity was overseen by the Chicago Board of Trade, the first grain futures exchange in the United States. By the 1860s, the Board of Trade had become what one historian has called "the largest speculative commodity market in the world." By 1900, it was a symbol of America's ferocious commercial energy, an "immeasurable colossus" in the words of naturalist writer Frank Norris.[12]

Chicago was a profitable place for American capitalists, and those who achieved success were keen to showcase it. In the 1870s and 1880s, the city's business elite employed leading architects to design gorgeous residential and commercial buildings. The Railway tycoon George Pullman poured his wealth into his Prairie Avenue mansion, which boasted a two-hundred seat theater, a glass-paned palm court, and an elaborate terrace.[13] Meanwhile, the dry-goods merchant Potter Palmer, who had made his fortune during the Civil War by catering to the predilections of Chicago's women shoppers, spent two million dollars on the Palmer House, "the handsomest and most substantial hotel in the country at that time."[14] Before the end of the century, the retail magnate's wife, Bertha Palmer, would be touted by the press as the "Queen of Chicago."[15]

But there was more than one side to life in industrial Chicago, and by the late nineteenth century the city was among the most unequal in the world. The lavish lifestyle cultivated by Chicago's elite contrasted sharply with the squalid conditions endured by the city's numerous poor. The extent of the degradation came more fully into view when the social reformer and Hull-House resident Robert Hunter shone a light on the shoddily constructed dwellings that had grown up in the Stock Yard district and across parts of the city's South and West Sides. His neighborhood surveys revealed that three-room dwellings, sometimes windowless and often filthy, housed dozens of people. Chicagoans began to fear that

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the conditions in their city's slum neighborhoods were beginning to match those found in crowded eastern cities such as New York.[16]

Furthermore, the racial wealth gap in Chicago was visible to all. While race relations in the North were less volatile than in the Jim Crow South, late nineteenth-century Chicago was starkly segregated. Between Reconstruction and the Great Migration, the Black population remained small, comprising only 1.3 percent of the total population in 1890 and 1.8 percent in 1900. Nonetheless, Black Americans constituted 37.7 percent of the male and 43.3 percent of the female servants in the city, and white guests staying at the Palmer House were waited on by an all-Black staff. The rest of the servant population was mostly drawn from the city's vast and growing population of immigrants.[17] Germans began arriving in the 1850s, and significant numbers of Irish, Scandinavians, and Bohemians quickly followed. The city would continue to diversify as a new wave of southern and eastern European immigrants arrived in the 1890s, by which point over three-quarters of the city's residents were either foreign born or of foreign parentage.[18] Minority groups lived in neighborhoods segregated from those of Chicago's wealthy elite. Moreover, as Addams and Hunter realized, immigrant groups tended to self-segregate, with each protectively defending its cultural values and way of life.

Some European immigrants, particularly Germans, brought with them a homegrown interest in socialism, and the ideological makeup of immigrant-rich Chicago helps explain why the city became the "storm-centre of radical labor agitation" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[19] The Great Uprising of 1877 laid bare the city's radicalism. What began as a railroad strike in West Virginia erupted into a violent outpouring of anger, and mass riots and street demonstrations swept the country. The protests left one hundred dead, with Chicago's poor accounting for almost a third of those deaths. Newspaper journalists condemned the violence, but could not ignore the fact that many Americans were dissatisfied with the status quo. In the years that followed, a small number of Americans joined the newly formed Socialist Labor Party, while a larger number participated in organized strike actions. Railroad workers, miners, and builders all took to the picket line during these years; even America's children participated in strike action, as newsboys and newsgirls succumbed to what the press called "Strike Fever."[20]

Anti-labor crackdowns and widespread corruption led some workers to embrace radical forms of direct action, and a small but vocal band of anarchists began calling for revolution. Anarchist leaders, including the German-born upholsterer and newspaper editor August Spies and the

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American-born founding member of the International Working People's Association Albert Parsons, organized demonstrations in the city's most exclusive neighborhoods, hollering threats and terrifying Chicago's wealthy residents. The anarchists' campaign of intimidation, along with the city newspapers' exaggerated reporting, created an atmosphere of uncertainty, and, by 1886, Chicago residents – as well as the Chicago Police Department – were on edge.

Tensions came to a head in spring 1886 when violence broke out on the city streets around Chicago's Haymarket Square. On May Day, eighty thousand Chicago workers took part in peaceful demonstrations, joining with thousands more Americans across the country in a coordinated strike for an eight-hour workday. On May 3, a dispute between workers, strike-breakers, and police at the McCormick Harvesting Plant turned violent, leaving several dead and more injured. Outraged by the attack on union workers, Spies called upon workers to rise up against their employers, to "destroy" the "factory lord" and the "lazy thieving masters."[21] Spies and Parsons convened a meeting of workers in Haymarket Square the next day, May 4. During that meeting, a bomb was tossed into the crowd. Chaos erupted as police and workers alike opened fire. The violence left seven police dead and many more people injured. The identity of the bomb thrower was never discovered, but the anarchist leaders were nonetheless arrested and charged with murder, conspiracy, riot, and unlawful assembly.[22]

The ensuing trial transfixed America. As newspapers stoked nativist anxiety, the public came to view the accused as symbols of foreign-grown radicalism. The conviction of Parsons, the only American-born among the accused men, sent a message to other Americans who might be tempted to sympathize with radicalism. The climate of fear seeped into the courtroom, and the case became one of "anarchism" versus "society."[23] After the jury delivered a guilty verdict, Parsons published his *Appeal to the People of America*, calling upon his fellows to "judge" him according to the "facts."[24] Instead, members of the public penned emotional and even hysterical open letters clamoring for violent retribution. Parsons, along with five of the other men, was hanged on November 11, 1887.[25]

Beyond heightening xenophobic sentiment across the nation, the Haymarket incident negatively affected the credibility of labor unions, as organized labor and bomb plots would remain intertwined in the minds of many Americans for years to come.[26] For Chicagoans who lived through it, the Haymarket affair may very well have provided a lesson about what happens when anger, fear, and suspicion collide.

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Faith in Reform

Jane Addams arrived in Chicago amidst the long, tense aftermath of the Haymarket affair. Inspired by the new university settlements that she had seen during her recent travels in England, she hoped to build an institution that would draw together disparate elements of society. Her vision was at once social and spiritual. "Love," Addams argued, "is the creative force of the universe, the principle which binds men together, and by their interdependence on each other makes them human."[27] Hull-House, as Addams envisioned it, would provide the social context within which individuals might be united in shared spiritual purpose. In short order, it became the most highly regarded of the American settlements. And yet, even if Addams was clear in her convictions, the finer points of her Chicago project took time to work out. Could the gospel of social progress take root in a city wracked by inequality and discord? Under what conditions might the value of human fellowship come to supplant the deeply engrained culture of competitive self-interest? *Twenty Years at Hull-House* provides an account of Addams's efforts to find answers to these pressing social questions.

Addams was guided by her understanding that inward thought must be translated into action, that a Christian "spiritual force" must be "evoked." In the years following the Civil War, many middle-class Americans found that the older religious basis for moral action no longer held. For women, spiritual inertia was compounded by gendered restrictions on female activity beyond the home. But rather than reject religion per se, some middle-class Americans such as Addams – and Sinclair, too – sought a return to what Addams called "the joyous simplicity" of Christ's "command to love all men."[28] Addams perceived that "restricted and unhappy" young people – who were often overwhelmed by the rapid social transformations around them – craved moral purpose. Settlement life aimed to translate "deep enthusiasm for humanity" into social action, offering its young and predominantly female residents a chance to pursue more socially engaged, spiritually fulfilling lives.[29]

Addams's ideas concerning the spiritual basis for moral action were informed by her reflections on religious arguments made by nineteenth-century philosophers. The English utilitarian thinker John Stuart Mill connected the persistence of religion to the human capacity for hope. Religion, like poetry, he writes, supplies the human desire for "ideal conceptions grander and more beautiful than we see realized in the prose of human life."[30] The problem, as Mill saw it, is the human tendency to imagine a more perfect world beyond our own, and he questioned whether it might

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not be better to redirect our "elevated feeling" toward "the idealization of our earthly life, the cultivation of a higher conception of what *it* might be."[31]

Leo Tolstoy, who was a Christian anarchist rather than a religious skeptic like Mill, similarly valued the moral lessons of Christianity while rejecting what he called the "dogma" of the established church. The church's "rules," Tolstoy observed, too often "destroyed the desire for Christian truth."[32] For Tolstoy, "resist not evil" was the primary moral lesson of Christianity, and the one that the "doctors of the church" failed to observe.[33] Drawing upon such insights, Addams, too, learned to value Christianity for its capacity to inspire unselfish action. "It may be true," she writes, "that the very religious fervor of man can be turned into love for his race."[34] She believed, moreover, that Christianity might promote shared identification across the whole human race, regardless of ability or status. Settlement, then, provided a method for translating spiritual desire into socially meaningful action – for allowing ordinary people to become more like Christ.

So inspired, Hull-House reformers pledged to "unify" Chicago society and "to protest against its over differentiation," and they focused their efforts on fostering democratic cooperation. Importantly, experiments in progressive "association" – Addams's preferred term – made demands on both sides. Association required working-class people to look beyond narrow class interest, and it required middle-class advocates of labor reform to listen to and learn from their struggling neighbors. When one well-intentioned Chicago clubwoman applied for membership of a newly formed women's union, the working women rejected her application because the clubwoman "seemed to belong to the other side." Only by persisting in her support did the clubwoman eventually win acceptance from the people she sought to serve.[35]

The notion that both the privileged and the poor stand to gain from cross-class association was one of Addams's most original ideas, as her biographer Victoria Bissell Brown observes.[36] Hull-House became a meeting place for labor organizers. But it also became a place where class interests were hashed out, where working people took an authoritative role in determining the trajectory of reform efforts, and where rich and poor alike strived to reconceive the labor struggle as "a general social movement concerning all members of society and not merely a class struggle."[37]

The God of Hogs

Political radicals regarded Addams's efforts to foster cross-class dialogue as insufficient, and Upton Sinclair counted himself among those who

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criticized the settlement method. Looking back on his first evening in the company of "the saintly Jane Addams," Sinclair recalled that he got into an argument with members of her "consecrated band" after he lectured them on the virtues of socialism. Addams, for her part, found Sinclair wanting, later remarking that he struck her as "a young man who had a great deal to learn."[38] While the two would go on to enjoy a fond acquaintance, the initial clash went beyond mere temperament. Addams was a cool-headed Christian humanist who rejected political creeds. In contrast, Sinclair was a socialist – and his political feelings ran hot.

Sinclair supported socialism with the zeal of the newly converted. The bright and curious child of downwardly mobile southern elites, Sinclair's early education provided him with an incoherent "jumble of notions" about the "malcontents" and "cranks" on the Left. In addition, his first experience with radicalism was mediated by consumerism. At age ten, Sinclair encountered Haymarket anarchists Albert Parsons and August Spies in the New York Eden Musée's "Chamber of Horrors" – cast in wax and displayed for the viewing pleasure of tourists willing to pay the fifty cents admission.[39] Some visitors marveled at the appearance of the "great realistic Group," but the grotesque spectacle left an imprint on Sinclair's growing social consciousness. By the time he set off for Chicago, he understood the relationship between mass marketing and politics, and he aimed to produce a novel with mass appeal.[40]

The Jungle tells the story of Lithuanian immigrant Jurgis Rudkus, who arrives in Chicago with the hope that hard toil will win him and his family a better life but who falls victim to Chicago's brutal culture of exploitation. Jurgis throws himself into his work in Packingtown and embraces the ethos of economic self-reliance. "I will work harder!" he cries. But Jurgis spirals into poverty and is driven to despair after his wife, having suffered rape and blackmail at the hands of her employer, dies in childbirth. Yet the end of the novel is optimistic. Jurgis saves himself by joining with a group of socialists, who share with him their "mighty dreams" of a "new earth to be created, of a new labor to be dared."[41]

The tension in the novel – between pessimism and hopefulness – is one of the hallmarks of American naturalistic fiction. By the late nineteenth century, evolutionary theory had made a significant impression on American social thought. American authors, including Sinclair, Norris, Theodore Dreiser, Stephen Crane, and Jack London, along with the broader reading public, were captivated by evolutionary theorists' vision of a world of unremitting competition, in which individuals were fated for survival or extinction. In *The Jungle*, Jurgis is initially confident that he and

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his family are "not the failing kind."[42] Nonetheless, relentless environmental forces prove insurmountable. The Packingtown system proves to be a determining force, and the family is devastated by circumstances beyond their control.

But even as naturalism uncovers the environmental factors restricting individuals, as a literary form it is centrally concerned with the moral ambiguity of human life, as literary scholars such as Donald Pizer have convincingly argued. Pizer writes: "The naturalist appears to say that although the individual may be a cipher in a world made amoral by man's lack of responsibility for his fate, the imagination refuses to accept this formula . . . and so seeks a new basis for man's sense of his own dignity and importance."[43] Jurgis ultimately fails to rise through the ranks of workers, fails to protect his wife, and fails to save his family. But in the face of crushing defeat, he finds hope in the message of socialism and struggles on against the odds. *The Jungle* affirms the experiences of apparently insignificant individuals and, in doing so, preserves what Pizer has more recently termed naturalism's "human element."[44]

By understanding American naturalism in this way one can, in turn, appreciate the concerns Sinclair shared with Addams. Among these shared concerns was the dignity of the immigrant worker. Addams sought to throw "a flood of light" upon the creative and intellectual capacities of Chicago's poor. When she describes the suffering of an immigrant coal shoveler, for instance, she underscores her own surprise at learning that the man's fits of explosive violence resulted from the fact that life in America deprived him of his livelihood as a goldsmith. Just as in life Addams required her settlement residents to open themselves up to learning from workers, in *Twenty Years at Hull-House* she invites readers to question their own assumptions about patterns of behavior that, in Progressive Era America, were so often cast as depraved.[45]

Similarly, *The Jungle*'s opening sequence introduces a cast of immigrant workers but focuses particularly on the figure of an immigrant fiddler, "an inspired man" upon whom the "hands of the muses have been laid." Music, the reader learns, transforms the scene of poverty. Sinclair writes, "the music . . . changes the place from the rear-room of a saloon in the back of the yards to a fairy place, a wonderland, a little corner of the high mansions of the sky."[46] Sinclair in later passages characterizes immigrants as more richly cultured than native-born Americans. Addams's writing about the poor frequently performs the same trick: she narrates a scene of deprivation, only to reveal the beauty, dynamism, talent, or intelligence of

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the desperately poor. Addams and Sinclair made a habit of confounding the expectations of their readers.

Years before Sinclair had arrived in Chicago, journalists such as P. J. O'Keefe and Dreiser (later the author of Chicago-set novel *Sister Carrie*) had brought Americans into closer proximity with the activity of the Chicago packing houses, which processed the nation's meat: Armour & Company, Swift & Company, and Nelson Morris & Company.[47] O'Keefe and Dreiser marveled at the speed and efficiency of the manufacturers, describing how animals shipped into the yards through the night would be slaughtered within a few hours. "Hardly any sunrise," writes Dreiser, "sees in existence any part of all this life that on the previous morning bleated, squealed, and bellowed . . . so systematically is everything arranged."[48] Yet as vivid as these earlier accounts are, they fail to fully convey the sense of moral depravity that touched many visitors to Chicago's Packingtown.

The enduring horror of *The Jungle*, then, derives from the its account of human and animal life collapsed together in meaningless struggle and senseless suffering, an element of the text that moves readers from sympathy to disgust. Like O'Keefe, who pointed out that "No description, however graphic, can give an idea of the . . . Stock Yards," Sinclair too seems to run into the problem of conveying in words the depth of "anguish" experienced by those unfortunates who find themselves employed by the Chicago packers: it is, he writes "endlessly bitter and cruel . . . sordid and petty . . . ugly . . . humiliating . . . unredeemed by the slightest touch of dignity."[49]

Readers are invited to reflect upon conditions so extreme as to defy description, they are also drawn into the realization that the Packingtown system sees no place for mindful contemplation. In other words, it leaves no place for the sacred: "Relentless, remorseless, it was . . . was one to believe that there was nowhere a god of hogs, to whom this hog personality was precious, to whom these hog squeals and agonies had a meaning?"[50] Sinclair's yearning for the sacred recalls Addams's insistence on a shared, Christian hope as the fundamental ground of reform. While Sinclair might have regarded Addams as an incrementalist, and while Addams might have regarded Sinclair as a doctrinaire socialist with much to learn, they both observed in Chicago's industrial life a need for the sacred, be that a god of hogs or the Son of Man, and a need for hope.

Progressives and Muck Rakers in America's Second City

In January 1906, Jane Addams received a letter from fellow progressive reformer and Republican President Theodore Roosevelt. "Will you let me

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say a word of very sincere thanks to you for the eminent sanity, good-humor and judgment you always display in pushing matters you have at heart?" While Roosevelt claimed to "revel" in his friendship with Addams, he confessed to finding his interactions with other reformers considerably less pleasant, remarking "I have such awful times with reformers of the hysterical and sensational stamp."[51] The president would, within a matter of weeks, come to include Upton Sinclair among those "hysterical" individuals who so irked him.

Aware of Roosevelt's desire to rein in the Beef Trust, Sinclair that year sent the president an advance copy of *The Jungle* and the two subsequently engaged in a now-famous correspondence concerning the Chicago situation – an exchange that left Sinclair vexed and Roosevelt exasperated. Roosevelt admired the young writer's desire to expose injustice. But the broad-minded and politically cautious statesman preferred moral strivers like himself to angry malcontents like Sinclair, which he made clear in his April 14 address to the US Senate. The president likely had Sinclair in mind when he deplored "men with the muck rakes," individuals who focus so much on the dirty underside that they fail to perceive the goodness of human life. "There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck rake," Roosevelt acknowledged, "[b]ut the man who never does anything else . . . speedily becomes, not a help but one of the most potent forces for evil."[52]

Roosevelt, by expressing his contempt for Sinclair, conveyed in stronger terms Addams's earlier complaint that the truculent young writer had "much to learn" about the world of progressive reform. Indeed, Roosevelt and Addams rejected socialism and had little patience for sensationalism, Sinclair's avowed ideology and signature style. Historian Michael McGerr writes that leading progressives – who were, like Addams, "repelled" by competitive individualism – found themselves enticed by socialism, though very rarely declared themselves advocates of what many Americans regarded as a foreign ideology.[53] Progressives perceived capitalism and socialism as poles apart, and they believed that embracing either one or the other would merely proliferate and prolong America's problems. Addams's and Roosevelt's mutual disapproval of Sinclair thus highlights the very real differences between progressives and radicals during this period.

And yet, progressives and radicals had more in common than perhaps either group cared to admit. Addams throughout her writing characterizes settlement work as a method for reuniting individuals from across a divided society. In *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, she also conveys her

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reform vision through a metaphor of a choir of voices singing in harmony. She writes: “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 in the chorus, are lost in the unity of purpose and in the fact that they are all human voices lifted by a high motive.”[54] For Addams, collective effort was not merely a path to near-term political change, but to the elevation of the shared human endeavor. And one easily recalls in Addams’s inspired chorus the “inspired” immigrant fiddler of Sinclair’s novel, the man onto whom the “hands of the muses have been laid.” Music, for both writers, creates a place of shared joy in the present moment. Sinclair calls this place of fleeting pleasure “a fairy place, a wonderland.” Through their respective meditations on humanity’s creative capacities, both Addams and Sinclair invite readers to embrace the wonder of the present moment and, in so doing, contemplate the future as a place of hope and possibility.

Roosevelt was perhaps too hasty when he thought that these men with “muck rakes” could see nothing beyond the “filth on the floor.” The reformer of “sanity” and “good-humor” and the doctrinaire and hotheaded socialist each saw in Chicago’s extremes of wealth and poverty a need for the elevation of all human beings. Each saw in squalor and degradation a need for a new, shared faith in the capacity of humankind for love and interconnection. And each saw in a society increasingly evacuated of shared purpose the need for a common faith in the preciousness of the individual personality and the sacredness of the mutual endeavor.

Notes

1. Anthony Arthur, *Radical Innocent: Upton Sinclair* (New York: Random House, 2006), 4.
2. Ernest Poole, *The Bridge: My Own Story* (New York: Macmillan, 1940), 95.
3. Arthur, *Radical Innocent*, 71.
4. Poole, *The Bridge*, 92.
5. Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 119.
6. Upton Sinclair, *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), 105.
7. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Free Press, 1966), 20
8. Jane Addams, “Hull House, Chicago: An Effort Toward Social Democracy,” *Forum* 10 (October 1892): 226–41; Jane Addams, “A New Impulse Toward an Old Gospel,” *Forum* 11 (November 1892): 345–58.

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