The Civic Club of Hartford, Connecticut: A Study of Women's Organizations in the Reform Era

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Thesis

THE CIVIC CLUB OF HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT:
A STUDY OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN THE REFORM ERA

Submitted by

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(B.A., Manhattanville College, 1951)

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts
1992

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FOREWORD

The Civic Club of Hartford existed from 1895-1919 and involved prominent women of the city in the work of benevolence and reform. Despite its influence, which was great, it left a sparse record of its activities. Today, of all the club documents which may have been available at one time, only three reports can be found. There are no relevant diaries or correspondence which can be found. However, the club worked so closely with municipal government and private associations that it is possible to trace its work through newspaper articles and the reports of these other institutions.

The first three sections of this thesis put the club in its historical context. The remaining eight describe club programs and their influence on the City of Hartford.

B.F.D.
I. HARTFORD IN 1895

At the end of the 19th century, Hartford was a dynamic city, growing in wealth and importance. Since 1872 it had been the state capitol, an honor previously shared with New Haven.' The banks and law firms ancillary to state government had been established for years. The insurance industry, flourishing since the 1840s, continued its upward growth, with Aetna, the Hartford, Phoenix, and Travelers as leaders. By 1895 the roster of Hartford manufacturers included the Jewell Belting Company, Capewell Manufacturing Company, and Columbia Bicycle Company, as well as the more-famous Colt Patent Firearms Manufacturing Company and Pratt & Whitney.2

The downtown district, long dominated by the old state house and a line of white-spired churches, was being built up, as solid business blocks replaced old houses. Henry Hobson Richardson’s Brown, Thomson building (1872) and George Keller’s Goodwin block (1881) were models of their time, combining commercial and residential space in an innovative way.3 Just to the west of downtown, a jumble of shanties, dumps, tanneries, and railroad yards had, in 1865, been transformed into Bushnell Park, with the State Capitol, finally completed in 1879, crowning the hill above it. In the 1890s, a city Parks Commission made up of wealthy civic leaders was making plans for the chain of parks -- Elizabeth, Goodwin, Pope, Keney, and Riverside -- that would eventually ring the city.4

From downtown, Asylum and Farmington Avenues stretched broad and tree-shaded to the west and a new street railroad made it easy to reach the fashionable new residential areas which developed along their length. While few people could afford the opulence of Samuel Clemens’s
extravaganza in Nook Farm, or the more conventional splendor of Goodwin Castle at Asylum and Woodland Streets, dozens of large, comfortable houses rose among the trees and meadows of the west end.

Culturally, the city was enriched by Trinity College, the Wadsworth Atheneum, and concerts by the Kneisel Quartet and other visiting artists. The wit and fellowship that had attracted Samuel Clemens and his family to Nook Farm in the 1870s was still evident and the city was still a publishing center. Literary clubs flourished, the Twilight and Monday Evening Clubs for men, and the Thursday and Saturday Morning Clubs for women.

A small, agreeable network ran the city, serving on insurance, industrial, and civic boards with equal ease. The contentment of many well-to-do Hartford people was expressed by one of their leaders, Henry Cornelius Robinson. Mayor of Hartford from 1872-1874, successful lawyer, and billiard-playing intimate of Samuel Clemens, he was once offered the post of Ambassador to the Court of Spain. He rejected it, exclaiming, What! And leave Hartford?"

For people still ascending the ladder of success, Hartford held hope and promise: a small, thrifty house in the neighborhoods emerging north and south of downtown, and the fair security of a job. During the nineties, a decade of class conflict across the country, Hartford was quiet. The Chicago Pullman Strike of 1894 left 13 dead. But in his state-of-the-city address to the Common Council in 1895, Mayor Leverett Brainard was able to rejoice that there had been no strikes in Hartford during the preceding year.

Yet the city had flaws. Many streets were not paved, downtown Pearl and Gold Streets among them. Muddy in wet weather, dusty in dry, they
were also fouled by garbage, manure, and occasional sewer overflow. A Hartford Courant writer complained one March of “the amount of earth at liberty” in the spring winds. “Flying earthworks,” he called it. The city government attempted to make the city more livable by clearing the downtown streets of “all rubbish, decayed matter and horse-droppings” through the summer and fall months. If it was worth mentioning, in the Mayors annual report, that busy downtown streets were cleaned daily in summer and fall, it can be inferred that residential streets, particularly those in the poorer sections of the city, were cleaned less often.

Most Hartford streets were served by sewers, but sanitation problems remained. “The district between Prospect Avenue and Smith Street [in the desirable west end] is building up rapidly,” the 1895 Municipal Register reported, “and its entire sewage is deposited in a gully near Kenyon Street on Farmington Avenue. In the hot and dry season the stench from this locality is of a high order.”

Since before the Civil War, the poor of Hartford had clustered in the old section of the city between Main Street and the Connecticut River. When the Connecticut Legislature redistricted the City and Town of Hartford in January, 1895, this area was delineated as the first and second wards of the defined in the city ; but it remained known as the east side. Port of entry for new immigrants to the city, it was crowded with dilapidated housing. The streets were unpaved. There was no park, except the Village Street Square at one end of the neighborhood, a small green space that eroded into oblivion under the passage of feet and time. The children’s playground was the street, and disease spread easily, especially in summer.

The population of the city was changing radically. In the ten years
between 1880 and 1890 the population of Hartford increased 20%, from 42,551 to 53,230. The percentage of foreign-born within that population stayed about the same, at 25%. But there was a significant change in its makeup. Irish, Germans, and English predominated among immigrants in 1880; they still dominated in 1890, but the number of Italian immigrants increased seven times, from 82 in 1880 to 350 in 1890, and the number of Russian immigrants, most of them Jews fleeing persecution or the draft, increased almost 500 times, from 4 in 1880 to 492 in 1890. By 1910 there would be 4,521 Italian-born people living in Hartford, and 6,847 Russians.  

The earlier immigrants, sharing common ethnicity and/or religion with the old Yankees, had fitted into Hartford without much trouble. The Germans came as skilled laborers, the most celebrated among them being the Potsdam willow-weavers imported by Samuel Colt to make furniture from the trees planted along the dike that protected his factory from flood. Other immigrants with skills to offer, such as the English and Swedish, blended into the resident native-born population, particularly if they shared its religion, which was overwhelmingly Protestant.  

Unskilled immigrants, most notably the Irish, stayed for a generation at the bottom of the economic heap. A hard core of poor Irish remained among the city's paupers, as a scan of names among those sheltered at the city almshouse around the turn of the century reveals. But between 1870 and 1900 many Irish prospered; they moved out of the east side, some to the north end, and some to the country. In Farmington, for instance, owner-operators of farms at the turn of the century had names like Collins, Rourke, Flood, Ryan, and Hannon.  

Like the Irish, the Italians and Russians differed in religious belief
from most native-born Americans; unlike the Irish, they spoke little or no English. And, although there were German Jews in Hartford long before the arrival of the Eastern Europeans, they were no landsmen to the newer immigrants, being of a different economic class, nationality, and form of Judaism. With nowhere else to go, Italians and Russians massed on the east side, on the edge of downtown.

As the makeup of the city's population changed, and its middle and upper classes moved their homes farther from its core, there grew a deeper division between rich and poor. In a city where everyone, with the exception of a very few people of African descent, looked more or less alike, there was a feeling of familiarity, if not community. When distance between home and workplace, and workplace and the homes of rich and poor, were measured in terms of walking, each economic group was forced to see and interact with the other on a daily basis. The coming of street railways and the emergence of a moneyed managerial class changed all that. It was now, and for the first time, possible to leave the city behind and live one's real life in the city proper. Yet the heart of the city was still downtown, where people worked, shopped, and many of them shopped on Sundays. Hartford's central business district was the hub of the city's expansion as an industrial, insurance, and governmental center created a built-up center packed with new buildings. The city's importance demanded stateliness, not filthiness, and foreign masses were excluded at its not-so-golden door.
II. CHARITY AND CONTROL

Rule to guide you in giving to the them of your interest in them willingness to sacrifice yourself you can control them so that no one from you. It is the secret of the union supererogation and the lower life. It gave Clive the Hindoo at Arcot. It gave Gordon the rab at Karthoum. It gives the mother child. It is the simple example that for everyone and that everyone cannot be that money means charity, those who have money could be the contrary, money is only a and only becomes charity when of self-devotion, it is transmuted the poor and self-sacrifice for them.

This extraordinary statement was printed on the inside back cover of Hartford Charity Organization Society. 

As a manual, it falls somewhere between a manual on dog training and Kipling’s “Recessional.” After tossing the poor a hush-puppy of self-sacrifice, the reader is urged to assert control over them in a smart military manner, proving that he, or even she, is a superior being, one destined to mold and train those whom Kipling termed “all lesser breeds without the Law.” Victorian mother-love is unmasked for what the writer thought it truly was, an instrument of control. Even the love of God is subverted into a master-slave relationship. Where, in this passage, is the tender, loving Jesus of “Lead, Kindly Light,” the hymn that all good members of the Charitable Organization Society might sing of a Sunday? He, too, is
part of the system of control.

Perhaps the rationale for the statement appears.

Money becomes charity only by "alchemy," a sorcery in which the waters of absoluteness are poured over ill-gotten gains. Money buys control -- and becomes reassuring news to the rich.

***

Nine-tenths of sublimated poverty was a vice. The nineteenth-century Hartford believed that charity only the worthy did not, its 1894 report. Among the causes in the city's 

poverty was a vice. The make sure that the worthy poverty was a vice. The make sure that the worthy did not, its 1894 report. Among the causes in the city's 

The city had long shown sympathy for the aged, orphaned, and abandoned. Hartford was the home of two notable experiments in humane care, the Instruction of Deaf and Dumb
Persons, founded by Dr. Mason F. Cogswell in 1817, and the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane, founded by Dr. Eli Todd in 1820. Other institutions appeared as the century progressed, among them the Hartford Orphan Asylum in 1833, the Hartford Hospital in 1854, and the Juvenile Asylum and Farm School for Orphan Boys in 1880.⁵

The city operated an almshouse and disbursed “out door relief,” or direct financial aid, but city alms did not go unrecorded. All persons who received over a certain amount in “out door relief” or were admitted to the almshouse in any year were named in the annual Municipal Register. In 1898, that amount was $12.⁶

There also grew up in Hartford during the 19th century a mass of charities, many of whose functions overlapped and duplicated each other. A clever pauper could, by applying industry, if not temperance and virtue, secure to himself (or herself) many comforts indeed, while other members of the poor had their needs unmet because they had no way of appealing for help. Towards the end of the century, an attempt to organize charity was made with the foundation of the Union for Home Work. Organized in 1872, the UHW dominated the Hartford charitable scene. It enlisted the talents of the city’s well-to-do women, who held bazaars and published songbooks to raise money for its support. The agency conducted a day nursery, a sewing school, reading rooms, a low-priced temperance restaurant, a shelter for homeless women, and a free bathing facility. It also gave outright gifts of coal, food, and bedding, and instituted a sort of workfare through which women scrubbed, young girls sewed, and men worked in a woodyard in exchange for money or groceries. Some UHW work was carried on by its members, but a good deal was entrusted to its almoner or superintendent, Elizabeth Sluyter. UHW relied on “friendly visitors” to see that needs were
met, that inordinate demands were not met, and that a gospel of industry and thrift was not properly disseminated. In this spirit, the Charity Organization Society, established in 1890 to channel aid to the worthy poor while denying it to those deemed unworthy, offered the worthy poor relief.

The Charity Organization movement, already operating in Europe, had been launced in the United States during the winter of 1842-1843 with the formation of the Poor of New York City. At that time, New York had over 30 relief-giving societies, each devoted to a particular social ill, and each working with little coordination. To meet the need, coordination was needed, and the creation of a Charity Organization Society became apparent. Nationally, with the Panic of 1873 and, later, the depressions and labor troubles of the 1890s, the idea was to establish a continuous, friendly relationship between the needy family and a visitor like top-sy-turvy dolls, friendly visitors or understanding benefactor. The ideal was to establish a corps of the gimlet-eyed detective bent on exposing out a scrap of luxury or the odd jug of rum.

For a Charity Organization Society, the cost of outdoor relief, hinted at in charge of distributing alms, deferred an investigation headed by the Rev.
John J. McCook, professor of Latin and modern languages at Trinity College. His research confirmed the COS findings. Habitual drunkards and beggars were receiving aid, and drunks were frequently paid to vote. "A sudden decline in public relief followed the report...and another marked decline followed the transfer of the public charities from the hands of the selectmen to the Board of Charity Commissioners in June, 1896," the Charity Organization Society Superintendent, David Green, noted in a review of the organization's first ten years. Per capita expenditure for public outdoor relief had slid from 65c in 1890 to less than 6c in 1900. While the management of the UHW was female, that of the Charity Organization Society was largely male. Women were represented on the board, however. In 1892 Dotha Bushnell Hillyer (Mrs. Appleton R.) and Mrs. Robert E. Day, whose first name is unknown, were included.

At the same time that Hartford's official charities were becoming controlled, systematized, and rationalized, an unofficial revolt took place among individuals, chiefly women, who believed in trying to reach the poor on a more humane level.

Augusta Williams, for one, felt sympathy with the women of the impoverished, crowded east side. In January 1889 she rented a room on Market Street and opened it as a "rest room" for women of the neighborhood. (At that time, a "rest room" for women would include cots or couches and perhaps a reading corner as well as toilet facilities.) Some of the women whom she welcomed to her rest room were undoubtedly prostitutes: One account described how she made them feel at home by placing a red light outside the door. Two years later, with help from the Episcopal church and the Refuge Committee of the Woman's Aid Society (founded in 1877 to "provide a temporary home for friendless and erring women, and to restore..."
them to the virtue of a new life, and fit them to maintain themselves"),
Miss Williams converted her rest room into a shelter. The shelter, which
she conducted personally, eventually became known as Gray Lodge, moved to
Spring Street, and still survives as a haven for troubled teenage girls.\(^{13}\)

Like Augusta Williams, Mary I-tall acted on her own and then enlisted
community support. She studied law with John Hooker and was admitted to
the Connecticut Bar in 17882. While still a student, she befriended some poor
boys in Hartford, read to them, and suggested that they form a club.
The boys liked her idea; together they worked out a constitution
and by-law and in 17880 the Good Will Club was launched. Boys aged 8-27
were to "abstain from all intoxicating liquors, acca in all forms, and from all profanity and
do honor and obey their parents. The club's day
structure was held either at school or the Sunday school. The idea was
with interesting games, stories, illustrated
let wherever it found a home. Between 17882-1886
men's Christian Association. By this time it had
leaders, most of them women, but assisted
students (and perhaps faculty) from Trinity
ological Seminary.\(^{15}\) In 17886 the club left the
no one religious belief, its
richly Protestant organization had led to
ning to convert its Catholic members. Miss Hall
by Alfred E. Burr, editor of The Hartford
ined with The Hartford Courant in a fund drive
contribution from the wealthy grocers
Henry and Walter Keney, allowed the club to buy the building which had once housed Catharine Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary.\textsuperscript{16}

The Good Will Club offered classes, games, gymnastic activities, and vocational training. In 1906 an article in Connecticut Magazine described it as serving 2,000 boys every week and attracting inquiries from "the west and abroad" on how to start similar clubs in other cities.\textsuperscript{17} It had its own all-boy "city government" and "police force." The ideal of self-determination was present, though the rules were very likely handed down from above. Photographs of the club made for the Connecticut Magazine article show organized ranks of little boys, all busily reading or hammering or exercising at once, and always under the eye of a lady in a large hat. The poses conformed to photographic convention of the time; actual club activities may have been more independent than they were pictured. Certainly, in gathering the boys around her to draft the legal framework of their club, Attorney Hall acknowledged the worth of the boys’ contribution to their mutual good.

Members of women’s study clubs in Hartford also took an interest in bettering the lot of the less fortunate. Study clubs, which spread and prospered across the country in the half-century following the Civil War, were set up to enable middle-class women to continue their education after their school days were over. Excited by learning, unwilling to fade away into a routine of fancywork and china-painting in their families’ parlors, these women invited guest lecturers, assigned study topics, wrote papers, and conducted debates. Their focus was on study, not on action, but their own emerging feminism allied them with women’s issues. Their membership was often young, inquiring, and energetic.\textsuperscript{18}

The Saturday Morning Club of Hartford was founded in 1876 when
James T. Fields of Boston, whose daughter was active in that city's Saturday Morning Club, dined in Nook Farm with Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Perkins. The Perkinses and their guests, who included Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Clemens, were so intrigued with Fields's accounts of the club's intellectual stimulation and social diversion that they decided to form one for the Young women of their circle.¹⁹

As did most Victorian women's study clubs, the Saturday Morning Club focused on history, literature, and art history. However, an interest in social issues appeared in 1891, at the dawn of the American settlement house movement. On May 2, 1891, two years after the founding of Chicago's Hull House and New York's College Settlement, Miss Sisson presented the club with her paper on "Toynbee Hall and College Settlements." It was followed by a "conversation" (discussion) opened by Lucy Mather, which began with the question, "Is Living Among the Poor the Best Way to Elevate Them?"²⁰

Saturday Morning Club members worked at the Bazaars which raised money for the Union for Home Work. As they grew older, many of them became Union members and, still later, served on its Board of Managers? A good number of them also became active in the civic Club when it appeared.

When a mother expressed a desire to study nursing, their regard in mothers sw form their c excessive and its Flo...
organized as a club in October, 1880 but remained more or less under the supervision of the Union. Each member was assigned two or three families to visit. Members brought flowers to the poor. These were considered ideal gifts: "...they are neither food nor rainment, and so convey the idea of oneness, because of the sympathy expressed, as does no other benefaction," said the Union report for 1873-1874.

Another Hartford study club was the Thursday Club, founded in 1883 and composed, like the Saturday Morning Club, of well-to-do young women. Action came naturally to the early members of this club, which was organized, not by well-meaning mothers, but by the prospective members themselves. Its first president, a Miss Peltier, was described as “ambitious to study medicine.” Whether she achieved her desire is not recorded, but another founding member with the same ambition was able to fulfill it. At Massachusetts General Hospital, Julia Plummer scored 100% on her final examination in anatomy, and became valedictorian of her class. She later practiced in Boston.

Like the Saturday Morning Club members, Thursday Club women raised money for the Union for Home Work. In addition, they took on supervision of a rest room, located in the Brown, Thomson building. This rest room was not, apparently, for “erring” women, like Augusta Williams’s experiment. It simply catered to the weary, possibly the employees of the Brown, Thomson store, and the women who shopped there. Emily Morgan, a founding member, paid for the rental of the Brown, Thomson rest room, and opened “Heartsease,” her summer home at Saybrook, Connecticut, as a vacation refuge for working women. In this, as in the rest room, members of her club worked with her. They met and talked with guests of the rest room at Brown, Thomson once or twice a week, and made trips to “Heartsease” to
meet with the women there.25

More action-minded, less purely literary in purpose, the Hearthstone Club, founded in January, 1895. In a significant departure from its married members under their own, rather than their husbands' names, a "Foremothers' Day." The Hearthstone women, whose Hearthstone is the foundation whereon the State is built," launched their motto was "The "launched their 5-1896; and

in an era marked by reverence for colonial and pre-1899, and "American heritage particularly New England 1899, and "American they examined its occupied them in 1905-1906, Immigration" in

3 extremely practical "Social Economics and reading of Social pluming, the chemistry concerns made it appropriate Civic Club, when it

Hearthstone members also considered some subjects, devoting a half-hour of each meeting to Parliamentary Drill." Topics for study under the Economics included heating, lighting, ventilation, of cooking, pure water, ice, and disease. These for the Hearthstone Club to work directly with the Club, when it
III. THE SETTLEMENT IDEA

The endeavors of Misses Williams and Hall and the study club members were based on the premise of *noblesse oblige* -- the obligation of the well-to-do and educated to confer blessings on the less fortunate. Their charity moved in both directions was not a one-way street. An attempt to make traffic move to the Hartford Social Settlement, organized, like the Clubs, in 1895. It was directly inspired by Chicago's Hull House, New York. But like them, but its indirect inspiration was older than these settlements, in Hartford. There were strong ties to the Hartford Seminary. Many of its volunteer workers were students at the Theological School connected with the Seminary, some of its board members taught at the Seminary, and one of the settlements began with the Rev. Graham Taylor, a Seminary professor. He was a pastor of the city's Fourth Congregational Church in 1880. That church, which had traditionally been a church of Main Street attracted worshippers from the newly fashionable west end of Hartford. Churches on the west side had for Hartford's poor. Churches on the west side took over his parish he resolved not to court a clientele that he would stay with and proselytize the largely lived on the east side.

1880 was a time of tent revivals, conversion, and work with the poor, mission Army and evangelist Dwight L. Moody. It is not recorded how influential that he read and was influenced by Horace Bushnell's *Christian Nurture.*
Lester Ward’s Dynamic Sociology, and Practicable Socialism, by Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Barnett. Bushnell taught him to think of Christ as a social teacher, Ward suggested the idea of society as an evolving (and possibly improving) organism, and the Barnettts introduced him to the English settlements.’

Looking back on this period in his life, Taylor wrote in 1892, “Ten years ago, I was led by a new consciousness of the needs of my fellow men, begotten by close touch with their lives and surroundings, to devote my life to the single purpose that has since completely possessed it, viz. to apply our common Christianity to our common life.”

Taylor moved with his family to 22 Village Street, in the midst of the poorer section of his parish. He organized a youth group, and a “Yoke Fellows Band” of recovering alcoholics. Like early Salvation Army bands, this was a musical group whose members were in the process of reform. He moved the church to 19 Canton Street, between Main and Windsor, more in the center of his parish, and continued organizing the neighbors into a Boys’ League, Young Disciples, a Women’s Union, and a Girls’ Circle. He integrated his students in his church work, inspiring them to lead the youth groups, visit prisons, teach Sunday school, and join in the singing at open air services. In 1891 Taylor introduced the study of Christian Sociology at the Seminary, becoming one of the first to integrate the subject into traditional theological school curriculum. The Fourth Church became “a clinic for the Seminary students,” said a history of the Seminary. “The Professor of Practical Theology and Christian Sociology could not only teach his classes through lectures and text books but he brought them into living contact with the men and women who were meeting the problems of life under hard conditions...many students
received from him an impulse toward Christian social service which they never lost?

In 1892 Taylor accepted a position at the Chicago Theological Seminary on condition that he be permitted to open a social settlement? Two years later, he opened Chicago Commons and went on to a long career in settlement house leadership and political action.7

In May 1894, the same month that the Pullman strike broke out in Chicago, Chester David Hartranft, president of Hartford Theological Seminary, addressed the Hartford Board of Trade on the need for a school of sociology to acquaint citizens with changing social conditions. What resulted was a course, somehow connected with the Seminary, which ran for two years and was also known as the “Sociological Club” or “Sociological School.”8

With this precedent of living among, working with, and studying poor people, the Hartford Social Settlement took shape. The moving forces behind it were two young graduates of Hartford Public High School, Suvia Davison ‘85 and Alice Hansell ‘84, who took seriously the motto of Miss Hansell’s graduating class, Nun nobis solum (not for ourselves only).9 There is no record of the two young women’s attending college; in this, they were unlike many settlement founders. However, they spent “a few months” at the College Settlement in New York, according to an article in The Hartford Post for May 11, 1895, and “desired to see something of the sort established here.”10

The young women opened the settlement early in 1894, when they “hired the lower floor [of an old house at 25 North Street] and furnished it themselves.” They seem to have paid the cost themselves, as well, for the article states that “The enterprise was entirely private.” In February,
1895, the Sociological Club adopted the work, made needed repairs on the building, and hired Katherine Pearson Woods, of Baltimore, as “head worker.” She arrived in March 1895 and by May the settlement occupied twelve rooms on three floors of the house. The upper floors were used as living quarters (two residents were on hand, with a third expected soon), and the ground floor for club rooms. There, on the occasion when the Post writer visited 25 “extremely well-behaved” children were “playing dominoes, parchesi, authors, and other educational games.” A “kitchen garden” (play kitchen or play house) amused girls from 7-10, who were learning their “household duties” with toy beds and dishes. The Misses Hansell and Davison were in charge.

Miss Woods was described as a “practical student of sociology” and a disciple of Richard T. Ely, the economist who had helped to found the University of Wisconsin Settlement in Milwaukee.” She came to Hartford with two years’ experience in settlement work in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Another college woman, a “Miss Rogers,” described as “a Wellesley graduate and M.A., now a student at the Sociological School,” assisted her. Katherine Woods was to stay at the Settlement until September 1895 when she would be followed by Isabelle Eaton “of Smith College.” Whether Isabelle Eaton was a student, a graduate, or a former teacher is not clear; originally from Kansas, she was then teaching in Rockville, Indiana, and had formerly worked at Hull House. At a time when settlement houses were opening in many other U.S. cities, the attraction of working in Hartford’s east side was strong enough to pull women to Connecticut from Maryland, Indiana, and Kansas.

Other “sociological students” also assisted the settlement. In all, there were 20 young women, described as “lady students and other Hartford
young ladies," some married, some single, who worked for the settlement in one way or another, supervising clubs and games, or "calling on neighbors."

Two months after coming to Hartford, Miss Woods told the reporter that, "the settlement work is entirely distinct from that of the Good Will Club and the United Workers, for the settlements do neighborhood work. We can find out the needs of the neighborhood, the wishes of the people, and try to meet them on their own grounds.

"The people are very cordial and friendly," she continued. "The boys are very willing to do neighborly offices for us. We are perfectly welcome in all the houses. We have called on nearly all the neighbors in the street and have been treated with true cordiality in almost every instance. Although the settlement is a novel affair to the people, they trust us and we find that they have great confidence in us. They heartily join hands with us in improvements. A great many of the women neighbors cannot speak English. We are going to study the Judisch language."  

To live among the people they served, to "try to meet them on their own grounds," "join hands...in improvements," and resolve to study the "Judisch" language was a decisive step away from noblesse oblige.
IV. ORIGINS OF THE CIVIC CLUB

Against this background of care and control, the Civic Club of Hartford took shape. It paid no attention, at first, to the poor themselves. Its more impersonal object, when it was founded in April 1895, was set forth in its Constitution: "mutual counsel and united effort to promote a higher public spirit and a better social order in the community in which we live." If the care and control of people were means to that end, the club would employ those means. Members set up no headquarters of their own, preferring to work through the existing system — city government, the public schools, the Parks Commission. The club's approach to reform was from the top down, and it was very effective.

The Civic Club of Hartford was one of many women's clubs which plunged into civic betterment around the turn of the century. Their concerns were broader than those of the literary clubs which sought, primarily, to increase their members' knowledge and appreciation of culture, and their attitude may be summed up in an address made in 1904 by Sarah Platt Decker, the newly elected president of the General Federation of Woman's Clubs. "Dante," she told her audience, "is dead. He has been dead for centuries, and I think it is time we dropped the study of the Inferno and turned the attention to our own."2

There is no evidence that the Hartford club belonged to the General Federation magazine the same month that the Civic Club was founded.

Ellen Henrotin, president of the Federation from 1894-1898, asked what importance she asked, should clubs
give to the study of civics and social economics? Should they merely study these topics or "endeavor, by education and active cooperation, to promote a higher public spirit and a better social order"? Her answer was a ringing "Yes!"

Women's clubs have long been the butt of American humor. Grant Wood mocked his DAR members with their teacups, and Helen Hokinson poked fun at matrons twittering among the palms of their lunch clubs, but the movement which nourished these ladies was born of the urge for self-improvement and public reform. It played an important part in the women.

As the nineteenth century progressed, American women had learned to organize for benevolent abolition societies, and to expand their minds through the study of social problems through the century they were educators of their own good as well as many of their leaders who voted.

One vehicle of organization was the General Federation of Women's Clubs, launched by Jane Cunningham Croly, who had founded Sorosis, the men's club, in New York in 1868. No idle lady of Croly was a journalist, college professor, writer of books, and acquaintance of Louisa May Alcott, known agnostic, Robert Ingersoll. She raised them and an invalid husband during the last ten
Jane Croly believed that, by joining in a national federation, women’s clubs could intensify their influence for good. United, women could investigate social ills and persuade legislators to pass laws to correct them. She persuaded Sorosis to hold a convention of literary clubs in honor of its own 21st birthday. Sixty-one clubs sent representatives to the meeting in New York in April 1890 and from these 61 groups, the National Federation of Women’s Clubs was formed.

The concerns of women’s clubs included schools, libraries, child welfare, street cleaning and sanitation, municipal water supplies, city parks, cemeteries, and even national parks. Members kept in touch through Federation publications and biennial conventions, held in different cities around the country.

Club activities varied from city to city, but examples from two club histories can be taken as typical of many. In 1886, before federation, the Chicago Woman’s Club, for instance, petitioned the city to place a kindergarten in one of its public schools -- at private expense -- and in 1889, persuaded the city to pay for it. Between 1900-1905, the Portland (Oregon) women’s Club persuaded the state legislature to fund public libraries, conducted a study of the effect of narcotics and alcohol on young people, lobbied for higher salaries for school teachers, and, in a gesture uniquely their own, raised funds for a bronze statue of the Indian guide Sacajawea to be installed at the Lewis & Clark Exposition held in Portland in 1905. Portland people contributed readily: if Sacajawea had not been along to lead the way, Lewis & Clark might never have made it to the west coast a century before.

The issues which engaged women’s club members in other cities engaged the women of Hartford as well. And, like their sister club
members across the country, the Hartford women who founded the Civic Club were mature and well-to-do.8

The only official Civic Club documents that can be found in any Hartford library are the club’s reports for 1895-1901 and 1901-1905, and a 1905 booklet about the club’s activities connected with “School-Gardens, Household School, and Playgrounds” in Riverside Park. No files of club correspondence or minutes can be found, nor are there available many letters which describe club meetings and other activities. My account is drawn from newspaper articles, the city’s annual Municipal Register, and the annual reports of the Charity Organization Society of Hartford. Without spontaneous first-person accounts, it is difficult to discover the motivation and attitudes of the women who belonged to the Civic Club. How much of what they did to help poor people was prompted by altruism, and how much by self-interest? It is presumptuous to guess.

To begin with, the members of the Civic Club wanted clean streets. Muddy, dusty, dung-strewn, littered with discarded food and paper, the streets of Hartford were dirty and uninviting to the ladies of the west end who came downtown to shop, go to church, or catch a train. The first order of business, then, after organization and election of officers in January, 1895, was to send a letter, in March, to “property-holders and tenants in the business section of the city, asking their cooperation in the efforts to have cleaner streets.” The club petitioned the Common Council to have “waste-cans for the reception of rubbish placed about the city”9 and their petition was immediately granted. Other groups came before the Common Council with petitions and waited longer for results -- it took years for the city to acquire a new municipal bathhouse -- but the request of the Civic Club was treated with deference and speed.10
It didn’t cost much, for one thing. And, for another, these women were well-connected. The first president was Alice Hooker Day, daughter of one lawyer, John Hooker, and wife of another, John C. Day. Her vice presidents were Agnes Moss Burton, wife of Dr. Richard Burton, Literary Editor of the Courant; Annie Elliot Trumbull, daughter of historian J. Hammond Trumbull and a well-published author in her own right; Ellen Hooker; and Emma Ferguson, wife of the Rev. Henry Ferguson, a professor at Trinity College.

The recording secretary was Lucy A. Perkins; the corresponding secretary Mrs. John A. Porter, married to the editor of The Hartford Post. Treasurer was Mrs. Gurdon Trumbull. Directors included Laura Dibble Bunce, whose husband Jonathan B. Bunce headed the Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Co.; Charlotte H. Hillyer, whose husband Drayton Hillyer was in the wool business; and Mary R. Perkins, whose husband George C. Perkins was a financier.

Augusta Williams, Mary Hall, Suvia Davison, Alice Hansell, and the women behind the Thursday Club were young when they launched their ventures. The women behind the Civic Club were quite mature. In 1895, Alice Day was 48, Laura Bunce was 57 and Ellen Hooker 59. Annie Eliot Trumbull, at 38, may have been one of the younger members.

The Civic Club founders were active in other municipal organizations. In 1895, Laura Bunce and Mary Perkins were on the executive committee of the Union Work and Alice Day on the board of the Art Society of Hartford. Three years later, Lucy Perkins was president of the Saturday Morning Club and Annie Elliot Trumbull its vice president. Miss Trumbull had been a founding member of the SMC and was always prominent in its discussions and theatrical productions. Many of these she wrote.
There were ties to the leadership of the powerful Charity Organization Society. Jonathan Bunce was a director of that organization in 1894, and the Rev. Henry Ferguson in 1895. It is more probable than not that dinner conversation in the Bunce and Ferguson households included the social concerns that had occupied the couples during the day.¹⁴

There are no membership lists for 1895, but in 1901 Civic Club members included these women:

- Mrs. Samuel Colt, grande dame and a founder of the Union for Home Work.

- Alice Day, daughter of Alice Hooker Day, who was a student at the Boston Cooking School.

- Katharine Seymour Day, who was later active in the Women's Municipal League and other civic betterment organizations. The Day family contributed to the Hartford Social Settlement.

- Mrs. Francis Goodwin, wife of Hartford's omnipresent benefactor.

- Mrs. W. F. Gordy, connected through her husband to the people of Hartford's east side. Wilbur Gordy was principal of the Second North School, which most east side children attended; he was also active from the beginning in the Social Settlement.

- Caroline Maria Hewins, a founding member of the club, was the Librarian at Hartford Public Library and spent her career putting children in happy contact with books. She read to children, talked to them, took them on field trips, and compiled lists of books they would enjoy. It was she who had put together the nucleus of 50 "Harper's publications" for the Good Will Club. In 1895 she opened a reading room (branch library for children) at the Social Settlement, the first of many she established. She lived for 12 years at the Settlement.
* Emily Seymour Holcombe, wife of J. M. Holcombe, was known as the lady who cleaned up Gold Street. This street adjoining the Ancient Burying Ground was a narrow, noisome passage where prostitutes plied their trade rather too openly for the tastes of descendants of those entombed next door. Mrs. Holcombe, local regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, led a reform drive and obtained full city cooperation. The street was cleaned up and widened and the prostitutes forced out. It is not recorded where they went. The Civic Club contributed $50.00 to her cause in 1897.

* Mary Graham Jones headed the board of the Social Settlement from 1897-1905, and was its head resident from 1900 until her death in 1912.

* L. O. Mather was the SMC member who showed an early interest in social problems.

* Laura Sluyter was another SMC member, and daughter of UHW director Elizabeth Sluyter.

* Augusta Williams originated the shelter which became Gray Lodge.

* Dotha Bushnell Hillyer (1843-1893) was an important personage in Hartford. The daughter of the Rev. Horace Bushnell, she was married at the age of 36 to Appleton R. Hillyer, a banker who served, at various times, as cashier, president and vice president of the Aetna National Bank of Hartford. Hillyer amassed enough of a fortune to endow a night school, principally for the foreign-born, at the Hartford YMCA -- which had been built on land donated by his father. His gift amounted to $50,000 and the night school eventually became Hillyer College, a component of the University of Hartford when it was founded in 1957. His bank took pride in catering to women, with a special writing room and telephone of their own and an assured supply of "new (i.e., not dirty) money" for their needs.
Bushnell Hillyer bore three daughters. Catherine Hillyer died in infancy and her sisters Mary and Lucy were grown by the time their mother became active in the Civic Club and other causes. Mrs. Hillyer was a Saturday Morning Club Member, a perennial officer of the Civic Club, and a founding vice president of the Municipal Art Society. A woman of vast energy and influence, she typified the idea clubwoman of the reform era, moving out from her home to positions of power in the community and working with men on their level. 

The club flung itself into work. By June, 1895, it had staffed committees on parks, civic literature, schools, health board, street commissioners, city government, police board, and city finances. There was a watchdog for every city function. Former mayor Henry Cornelius Robinson addressed the club on the proposed city charter. Cleanliness was still the first concern, but other interests crowded in. Emma Ferguson wrote Alice Day on December 19 (the year is not given, but the context of the letter would date it about 1895) that a club meeting which Mrs. Day could not attend had been spent “talking over the ways and means to hinder spitting and get the streets clean on Sunday morning.” She had wanted to discuss schools at that meeting, but had not had the opportunity.

At the December, 1895 meeting, Mrs. Mary E. Mumford of Philadelphia told the club of the work of the Philadelphia Civic Club. Mrs. Mumford was a Board member of the General Federation of Women’s Clubs and a firm advocate of their ability to exert power. “The great movement toward municipal housecleaning and housekeeping,” she wrote earlier in 1895, “is to find a steady propelling force in the woman’s club.” Mrs. Mumford was
also a speaker at the conference called by the Municipal League of Philadelphia in January, 1894, at which the National Municipal League was formed. (Theodore Roosevelt and Carl Schurz were among the other speakers.) The Municipal League was a mostly-male association organized to reform city hall from the inside out. It shared some of the goals of the civic-minded women's organizations. In 1900 the National Municipal League invited the Civic Club of Hartford to send two delegates to its annual meeting. The club accepted the invitation but what further interaction there was between the groups is not recorded.

The Courant reported fully on Mary Mumford’s talk to the Civic Club. Cities, she told her audience, were “the center of privilege.” She continued, “It is a privilege to live on the topmost wave of life, but it is also a great responsibility. We must act, were it simply to defend our own.”

Mrs. Mumford described the work of other clubs, of gambling dens and “houses of disorder” destroyed in Chicago, and school reforms instituted in Philadelphia through lobbying the Pennsylvania Legislature.

What could women do about corrupt politics when they did not vote, she asked rhetorically. If they could vote, would they be more high-minded than men? In answer, Mrs. Mumford assured her listeners that, if they were high-minded, they had no need to wait for the vote; they could begin, now, to bring the country back to the ideals of its founders. She concluded with a flourish, “Now may our women’s clubs turn the full light of investigation on our methods of government as they exist today, and show us how far those early dreams of the fathers have been realized; and may we never forget that it is our duty continually the ideals of self-denying service, which laid the foundation and which alone will
Appealing to patriotism, noblesse *oblige*, and the selfdenying ethic of Victorian womanhood, she inspired the Hartford women to press on. Against what is not clear. The faults of Hartford were minor when compared with those of cities like New York or Chicago, or even Philadelphia. Despite the small voting irregularities uncovered by the McCook report, Hartford had no Boss Tweed, no Tammany Hall. The tenements of Hartford, when the Charity Organization Society investigated them in 1900, were not as dreadful as those in New York. Still, the women of the Civic Club saw a need for their efforts. Perhaps they feared the destruction of their “centers of privilege.”

“Here there is work for all,” the *Courant* commented, “and the need of the help of every one. So it has come to pass that women begin to take a part in the great responsibilities, which devolve upon all dwellers in cities.”

Having stationed their trash barrels and alerted women to the challenge of reform, the club organized a League of Good Order among students at Hartford public schools. Children who enrolled were pledged “not to throw papers, bits of fruit, or any refuse whatever into public streets, parks, or picnic grounds,” not to deface public property, and to exhort others to follow their lead. The city cooperated by installing a dozen trash cans at city schools. The children of the West Middle School cooperated further, patrolling their neighborhood to pick up trash?

Col. George E. Waring, Jr., who had led the reform of the New York street cleaning department, clearing it of graft and patronage, “gave the details of the gathering of ashes and garbage” to an attentive Civic Club audience on January 17, 1896, the *Courant* reported. In attendance as guests were Mayor Leverett Brainard, three street commissioners and their
superintendent, the president of Trinity College, a former sheriff, the secretary of the Board of Trade, the Rev. Francis Goodwin, master of good works throughout the city, and Dr. E. K. Root, chief medical inspector for the city. The Civic Club was able to get its message to those in power?

By inviting civic leaders to their presentation on clean streets, the Civic Club members inaugurated a style that characterized them throughout the period for which records are available. They enlisted official help and stayed out of politics while doing so. In this they were in harmony, knowingly or not, with the principles set down for the General Federation of Woman’s Clubs at its fourth Biennial Congress, held in Denver in June, 1898. Mrs. Cornelius Stevens, chair of the Federation’s committee on Civic Clubs and Village Improvement Associations, listed four rules which civic reformers should follow if they wished to be effective:

1. Cooperate with each other.
2. Keep civics apart from politics.
3. Enlist the children.
4. Support existing institutions for civic work rather than “starting new and independent lines which might be looked on with distrust.”

In April 1896 Dr. Root spoke to the club on sanitation and recommended paving “the entire east side between Main Street and the river” because the street “is the playground of the children, the meeting place and general casino for all the inhabitants of the tenements along its sides.” If the streets were paved, he said, children would not be as exposed to “the filth and miasms and demoralizing influences of the foulness which exists in these quarters,” he said. The club’s message again influenced
City Hall. In his next report to the Board of Health, on March 3, 1897, the department's inspector recommended paving east side streets and alleys "at an early day." Organized to promote a beautiful city, the Civic Club women were now concerned with a healthy one, and with the welfare of the children who lived there.
V. THE VACATION SCHOOLS

Of the Civic Club's dozen-or-so achievements, three stand out: vacation schools which provided summer activity for the working-class children of Hartford, playground programs which made Hartford's parks useful to thousands, and a heightened consciousness which helped to shape the city's ultimate design. The vacation schools were the club's first major project.

The club appointed a schools committee in 1895, in February 1896 and in February 1897 presented "The Public Schools of Hartford," schools. It can be speculated that the spent $50.00, were those of reprints of photographs, on which the club days of Hull House, settlement photographs, on which the European paintings. From the early reform-era women's clubs promoted access to fine art, and Oregon Woman's Club, for that concern to schools. The Portland, school art class rooms and hung copies of old masters in public when Solon P. Davis, long..... slides for school art talks. And served the city's working classes of the evening schools which 1897, he told the members at the Civic Club in March reproductions of the closest means of bettering not only school children, "should have in their schools goals of art." This, he said, "would be a Introducing young people to fine art was thus his said. goal of encouraging a higher public line with the Civic Club.

Heralding their more active involvement with schoolchildren, the club members at the February 1897 meeting also heard a paper by Alida Clark, a teacher at the Brown School who later taught in the evening schools. Miss
Clark spoke of the need for occupying poor city children during the summer months and advocated “vacation schools” with “short, easy tasks,” defined as short and easy, perhaps, to differentiate them from the long, arduous tasks which occupied the many turn-of-the-century schoolchildren who worked in shops, factories, and home sweatshops. Principal J. A. Graves of South School agreed with the need for planned summer activity; Principal W. I. Twitchell of the West Middle School, in a more affluent area, disagreed. A subcommittee of the Civic Club agreed to look into the matter and report.  

Two months later came another talk on vacation schools. In April 1897 Mrs. Edward Adams of Cambridge, Massachusetts, told how, during the previous summer, she and her friends had collected $700 and conducted a six-week school for 60 boys aged 9-15 and how they planned to expand the program to include 240 boys and girls in the summer to come!

The subcommittee must have reported favorably on the idea of launching a vacation school in Hartford because in May the Civic Club was reported as obtaining the kindergarten rooms of the Brown School for a program to be conducted by what The Hartford Times called “the voluntary services of ladies who are willing to give their time for an object so highly deserving of the approbation and aid of every good citizen.” Subjects “useful and specially interesting and pleasing to the boys,” such as mechanical training and military drill, would be emphasized. (Idle boys were no doubt considered more of a threat to the public peace than idle girls.) Boys and girls alike would study history, botany, astronomy, and geometry.  

The city of Hartford was at that time engulfed in a tide of school-age immigrants. From the 1890s into the early 1900s, reports of the Board of
School Visitors speak of inadequate school facilities and the need for expansion.

At least one program had no permanent home. An evening school mandated by the state to teach the reading and writing of English to 14-6-year-olds who were unable to attend school by day because of fulltime employment, moved, between 1895-901, from rented or donated quarters on Pearl Street to a site on Main Street, then to Asylum Avenue, far to the west of its potential students, then to rooms furnished by the Morgan Street Chapel. In 1900 its administrators reported, in frustration, that attempts to locate the school in the district public schools were useless because the desks were too small for the students -- and because access to those schools was in the control of the district, and not the city. An appeal to Hartford Public High School to house the evening school also failed. The high school would allow only the students of the evening school’s drafting class to occupy its rooms. The population of the evening schools had originally been made up of “non-English-speaking foreigners, Germans, Danes, Swedes, Russians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles, Austrians, ranking numerically in the order named...many...finely educated in their own language,” according to the Municipal Register. But by 1900 adults as well as teenagers were enrolled, and most students were Italian.

Coincidentally or not, only one graduate of Hartford Public High School in 1900 had an Italian surname. Could the high school have feared destruction of its facilities by newcomers who were not part of its regular applicant pool?

By contrast, the Civic Club proposal involved young children, not adolescents or adults, and, because of its disciplined setting, offered an opportunity to Americanize the students. Furthermore, there was no cost
to the taxpayers. The city welcomed the experiment.

The first vacation school program opened on June 28, 1897 in the kindergarten building of the Brown School, with 150 children enrolled for six weeks. The club gave $52 of its own towards the cost, and raised another $500 by public subscription. In this it resembled the Union for Home Work, which raised money from the public for its projects, rather than simply soliciting its members for support. In 1899 the club raised over $1,300 for the program and the city made its first contribution, $300. By 1900 the club was conducting three vacation schools, two playgrounds, and four reading rooms, or branch libraries, maintained by the Hartford Public Library and club member Caroline Hewins. 1200 children took part. At that point, with an obvious success on their hands, the club members persuaded the city to assume the program’s cost, which that year was $1,900, and the next year the city assumed management as well. It was convinced of its responsibility to do so by a petition signed by teachers, clergymen, and other civic leaders.

Club members demonstrated a keen sense of public relations in achieving the transfer. Caroline Hewins wrote to Alice Hooker Day on July 28, 1899 that Annie Elliott Trumbull had persuaded Alfred Burr, editor of the Hartford Times, to visit the school and give it “a very good notice.” Mayor Miles B. Preston and “Alderman Kinsella” also visited. Miss Hewins mimicked Kinsella’s brogue, saying he had "influence" and could control "city votes." The Council appointed a public/private committee to run the vacation schools. Representatives from city government and the Civic Club. Lucy Perkins and Annie Eliot Trumbull represented the club on the first committee."
With the vacation schools, the club established a pattern: Members studied a problem, developed a possible solution, experimented, were successful, and then persuaded an existing organization to assume responsibility for it.

Although the schools were now a public enterprise, private assistance was still welcome. In 1901, Civic Club member Emma Ferguson funded a "kindergarten" which, in this case, was a playground for infants and small children. The club itself supported a camp, the Hartford Civic Camp, and the Rev. Francis Goodwin, husband of a member of the club's Advisory Board, funded school gardens, which will be described later.\textsuperscript{13}

An account of the 1901 vacation school program appears in the 1902 Municipal Register. The children were described as "occupied for three hours of the morning with physical exercises and drills, and instructed in manual work, such as paper-cutting, wood-working, painting, sewing, weaving and other light exercises which train the eye and hand, and given helpful talks on cleanliness, civic virtues, and patriotism."

Further details were furnished by the vacation school superintendent, Francesca A. Henke. Subjects of study, she wrote, were "patriotism, the seasons, and special days, such as bird day, birthdays of noted men, etc." Simple oral and written lessons correlated with the clay, paper, painting, and crayon work. Manual training and military drill were "very attractive" to the boys, and the girls "showed deep interest in their sewing and raffia lessons." "Sand tables" in school halls, "representing city, country, and Indian life, gave pleasure and instruction to young and old." The school featured daily talks on ethics, a "Hartford Day," on which the children's work was exhibited and "Mayor Harbison and General Dwight addressed the children in a most interesting and instructive manner," a "Picnic Day" at
Riverside Park, and excursions to the Trinity College Natural History Building and local shrines such as the Atheneum, the Ancient Cemetery, the Colt Memorial House, Bushnell Park, and the State Capitol.\textsuperscript{14}

The curriculum emphasized the study of nature, arts and crafts, and patriotism. In his talk to the Civic Club in 1897, Solon P. Davis had not only praised the influence of good art on schoolchildren, but deplored city children's separation from nature. Crowded cities, he said, "were places of robbery, for they took from the child his birthright - a knowledge of nature. The city tended to make a prize fighter of a boy rather than to inspire him with the spirit of poesy."\textsuperscript{15} As more people became removed from nature and crowded into cities, Americans, particularly those of upper-class, Protestant heritage, became increasingly conscious of the need to preserve countryside and make it available to people. The creation of a strong Hartford Parks Commission in 1895 and the formation of the Connecticut Forest and Park Association that same year were local indications of this concern? The belief that children fare better, morally, in the country than in the city has influenced child welfare work from the time of Charles Loring Brace and his Children's Aid Society.\textsuperscript{17}

Advocates of the arts and crafts movement saw it as an antidote not only to inferior factory production but to the mindlessness of production-line work. What is curious, and apparent only through the hindsight of history, is the emphasis in the vacation school on arts and crafts busy work like raffia weaving. There was no attempt by the school administration to investigate what native craft traditions the Russian and Italian students or their families might have carried with them from Europe. If the women of the Civic Club were like others of their class and station, they collected examples of native European crafts on their trips
abroad, and brought them to places of habitation, or in their own homes. Yet they never seem to have identified what was foreign here.

By contrast, the Hartford Social Settlement, like Hull House, honored Catherine Woods expressed intention to "learn Judisch," and among its many activities in 1908, there was a class in embroidery and N. dePietro. In a European settlement, flush toilets and plumbing was a sign of prosperity and virtue. Charitable organizations in

Cleanliness was essential to civic-minded people of the reform era. They were aware of the dangers of "zymotic" diseases that spread through mortality that resulted. In a European practice of tossing food scraps and merely picturesque; here, the act was the Civic Club's concern with trash barrels of Good Order Among School Children. Bathtubs were rarities; here, indoor therefore, by Calvinist assumption,
Hartford had made baths available to poor people since the early days of the Union for Home Work, and benevolent employers like the Cheney brothers of Manchester made bathhouses prominent features of their company town plans. The Hartford Social Settlement had its Mermaid and Neptune clubs.20

But underlying reformers' concern with the unhealthiness of dirt and the comfort of cleanliness was a deep strain of ethnic pride. The women of the Civic Club descended from Puritans who worshipped in meeting houses so bright and bare they were sometimes called “God’s barns.” Instinctively they must have distrusted the dark and possibly verminous gloom associated with the swarming immigrants of the east side. Thus “cleanliness, civic virtues, and patriotism” belonged together in the “helpful talks” given to children in the vacation schools.
VI. PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS, AND "SCHOOL-GARDENS"

The Civic Club’s vacation schools soon moved outdoors, following the pattern set by social experiments in other cities. Parks and playgrounds were favorite concerns of reform-era leaders who believed that fresh air and exercise would improve not only the health of a city’s poor, but their morals as well. In 1889 the Boston Park Department turned 10 acres along the Charles River, adjoining a congested tenement area, into an Open-air gymnasium for boys and men. The area was fenced, landscaped, and equipped with swings, ladders, seesaws, a sandbox, and facilities for wading, bathing, and rowing. Mayor Josiah Quincy said that the youths who patronized it were proving “less likely to fall into vicious ways.” It proved so popular that, two years later, a section of the park was set aside for girls and women. In Chicago, the residents of Hull House opened a model playground at the settlement in 1892, and in New York, Jacob Riis led the drive to turn 2 1/2 acres of slum into a demonstration playground -- Seward Park -- which opened in 1899 with play equipment, wading pool, and a gymnasium with baths.

In Hartford, Mary Graham Jones attempted to create a playground in the corner of a lot near the Social Settlement in 1896, but failed because the owner of the lot would not fence it off as she wanted. A great deal of open space for recreation was becoming available in Hartford at the time, most of it at some distance from the Settlement, but some conveniently close to home. Until the mid-nineties, Hartford had only one park, the one planned for the city by the Rev. Horace Bushnell...a green carpet of ground...a place of life and motion that will make us more completely conscious of being one people. Between August 30, 1894 and November
14, 1895, nearly 1,200 acres of land were willed or purchased for the development of a ring of parks around Hartford and in 1895 the city Park Commission was given budget and authority enough to maintain them. Most of this occurred through the indefatigable work of the Rev. Francis Goodwin. A wealthy man who served 12 years as an Episcopal minister, then devoted himself to his family's business and philanthropic interests, he was aware, through reading and travel, of current park design. Goodwin joined Hartford's Board of Park Commissioners in 1880, and remained influential in it until 1910. In 1894 he convinced his cousin, the generous, childless Henry Keney who had contributed so much to the Good Will Club, to leave his fortune in trust for the acquisition of about 600 acres of farmland and woodland at the north end of the city. Next, he persuaded Charles M. Pond, a childless widower, to leave the city his estate, on the border of West Hartford, as a garden in memory of his wife Elizabeth. Then, he talked with industrialist Albert Pope, the country's leading producer of bicycles, and convinced him that workers near his plant needed a park of their own. Pope responded with 90 acres and a gift of $100,000 for maintenance. "I believe," he said, "that a large part of the success of any manufacturing business depends upon the health, happiness, and orderly life of its employees, and that in a like manner a city thrives best by caring and providing for the well-being of its citizens."

Next on Goodwin's list was Elizabeth Jarvis Colt, widow of armsmaker Samuel Colt. She agreed to provide the city with the 100 acres, more or less, that lay between her home, "Armsmear," and the Colt factory. Goodwin, father of eight, must have appealed to some desire for self-perpetuation in the childless people he solicited. By the time she decided to live parkland to the city, all four of the children borne by
Elizabeth Colt were dead. When she herself died in 1905, her gift passed to the city.

The new parks of Hartford had individual purposes. Keney Park, at the northern edge of the city, was a rustic ramble, almost a forest preserve. Elizabeth Park, in the affluent west end, with its nursery and rose garden, was a refined pleasure ground which combined formality and rusticity in the English manner. Colt and Goodwin Parks, the latter on land purchased at the southern edge of Hartford, included athletic fields, but most of their space was given to woods and meadows. Early photographs of all these parks depict their bucolic emptiness—in fact, the liveliest creatures in many of the pictures are the grazing sheep of Elizabeth Park.10

The pictures of Pope and Riverside Parks are different. Here, the emphasis is on systematized recreation: tennis courts, gymnastic apparatus, playgrounds in full use. Pope and Riverside were designed expressly to serve the working-class areas which adjoined them. Olmsted Brothers drew the plan for Pope Park in 1898, and indicated tennis courts, a “little folks lawn” and “sand courts” (a huge sandbox) as part of the scheme.11 By 1905 the Pope Park facilities included several Maypoles, climbing ropes, parallel bars, a sand court, and swings.

The 63 acre Riverside Park were acquired in 1895 not by gift, but specifically for the inhabitants of shanty town, to provide recreation control, to keep the Connecticut river from going on its almost-annual flood, through the tenement district. The Olmsted design for this portion. Shown are a little folk, a wading pool, a boys'
playfield, and two other playfields (use unspecified.) The park quickly became “the resort of thousands,” reported Mayor Miles B. Preston. By 1905 Riverside had a skating pond, basketball courts, several ballfields, and a playground filled with swings, climbing ropes, etc.

The Civic Club made use of Riverside Park as soon as it opened. Once a week during the summer of 1899, each class in the Brown and Second North vacation programs conducted by the club went to the park for “recreation and nature study.” The Park Commission supplied swings, a sand court, a Maypole, and croquet fields which made a playground from a grove at the southern edge of the park.

In 1901 the club opened a second playground in Pope Park for 500 children enrolled in its vacation program at Lawrence Street School. The club’s own account of playground activity says only that “interested” ladies had contributed to programs in both parks, but elsewhere they are identified as Mrs. Henry Ferguson and Mrs. Thomas O. Enders. Both were Civic Club members. Emma Ferguson, who chaired the school-gardens, household school, and playgrounds committee of the club in 1905, advanced the Parks Department $200 for the Riverside Park kindergarten (summer program) in 1901 and, with her husband, supported the Pope Park gymnasium for several years. Harriet Enders, a vice-chair of the school-gardens, etc. committee in 1905, was the daughter of Franklin Whitmore, Financial Officer of the Parks Board for many years and also contributed to Riverside Park.

In addition, the club sponsored public lectures by noted authorities on playgrounds and heard unnamed local experts discuss the subject in private club meetings. In January 1900 Jacob Riis gave a public talk on “Parks and Playgrounds for the Children of the Poor.” Give a poor boy “the right to play ball,” he said. This was “just as sacred and important to him as the right of
habeas corpus. In following years Luther Gulick of Pratt Institute spoke on “Public Playgrounds” and “Physical Culture in the Public Schools.” Gulick was a founder of the Playground Association of America in 1906, along with Jacob Riis and Mary McDowell, of the University of Chicago Settlement. Another speaker, a “Miss McMartin of New York” lectured at an open meeting on “Open Air Playgrounds and Gymnasiums in Large Cities.”

From playgrounds to “school-gardens” and a household school was the next logical step for the club. The city had experimented in 1902 with a small “school-garden” program for boys. The ever-charitable Francis Goodwin had paid for tools and seed; Emma Ferguson financed an exhibit of the boys’ produce; and the Civic Club contributed $25 for prizes. The city kept statistics on the boys in the program. Their average age was 13 1/2. Every boy was “American born, and with pronounced American sympathies,” although 18 of the 48 participants admitted, with some prodding, to be of foreign descent. Ten of these were Irish, five German, and three English. Of the 10 dropping out of the program, four were Irish, which no doubt confirmed some suspicion of the overseers in charge.

In 1905 the club decided to conduct the program itself and to allow girls as well as boys to take part. At their request, the Park Commission fenced off and spaded up enough space in Riverside Park, near their playground, for 96 vegetable gardens, each 5’ x 30’, and 140 flower gardens, each 5’ x 6’. A “temporary booth” at one side of the enclosure became a playhouse, with kitchen and veranda. The Club provided some furniture, a sink, and a stove; bought seeds and tools; and hired four Young women who had studied at the “School of Horticulture” as teachers.

Over 1,000 children applied for garden plots but only 250 could be
accommodated. These were chosen "not at random, but with a knowledge of the applicant and his home" i.e., on the basis of need and worthiness. Nationality was not, apparently, taken into account. Gardening lessons and planting took place after school from June 3 until July 2, when the gardens were open all day every day but Sunday. Girls gardened on one side of the plot, boys on the other; they grew beans, peas, Swiss chard, corn, tomatoes, and more; and the sturdier annuals, from ageratum to zinnias. Families came on weekends to admire the gardens; children took flowers and vegetables home; often they learned to cook them in the little playhouse. Over the summer, a total of two tomatoes were stolen from the plots. Once Governor Henry Roberts visited the gardens, and once, Mayor William Henney and members of the Common Council. "The children enjoyed the excitement of having company...but, aside from the pleasure," the club reported, "it was good for them to see the men by whom they are governed?"

Of the club's three surviving documents, two are factual lists of members, lecturers, and projects. The third document, the club's 1905 report on its school-gardens, household school, and playground in Riverside Park is the only one written in a way that hints at what club members thought about their work and the people they served. As such, the school-gardens report deserves a close look.

Reporting for the club, Mrs. William Brown Williams, its recording secretary, told why the women had originated the park programs: "The most unreflecting, the most selfish person could not pass through the streets of our East side on a blazing July day without wishing to carry the children off to a more suitable spot...If they do not lose a limb or contract a fatal disease their constitutions are weakened by this contact with
things unclean. And the moral dangers are more hideous than the physical ones. In this statement were echoes of the message which Dr. E. K. Root had given the club in 1896, that organized playground activity would take children away from "filth and miasms and demoralizing influences of the foulness which exists in these [i.e., tenement] quarters over city longstanding American belief in the superiority of country demanded that impressionable children be removed from the city and exposed to the beneficial forces of nature.

With its park programs, the club extended its work, for the first time, from children to their mothers. Mrs. Williams's tone was sympathetic: these women "spend their time in the kitchens, where the smells from the sink mingle appallingly with those from the oil-stove, and the Pitiful wailing of the baby indoors is almost drowned by the noisy clamor of the children outside." In the playground, the mothers could let their babies drift coolly off to sleep in hammocks under the trees, and perhaps take a nap themselves. *Sometimes* too they bring their supper and have a Picnic on a bench in a retired comer," Mrs. Williams added. Older brothers or sisters, often the principal caretakers in families whose mothers went away from home to work, found respite in the park — supervision for younger siblings, and, for themselves, a chance to play, cool off with a bath, and be free of responsibility for a while.

The gardens were planned with high moral purpose. The city had emphasized the Americanism of the boys in its program, but the civic Club appeared content to instill, not patriotism, but a saving love of nature and understanding of the earth in the children who took part. "Today, in all civilized countries," wrote Mrs. Williams, "philanthropists bemoan the tendency of the country people to abandon their farms and crowd into the
The Gardens opened the eyes of the children to the profit and the pleasure of cultivating the earth, and we hope that, in years to come, it will lead to their having little farms, or, at any rate, to their living in a more wholesome region than the tenement house district. Again, there is the superiority of country over city, and the optimistic expectation that these children would succeed economically and be able to move away from low-income areas.

The club also intended to train the young gardeners in self-control. Mrs. Williams noted that the children ranged from 9-14 and were of “many nationalities... of American parentage, of Irish, Italian, Russian, German, and Roumanian.” In the 16 weeks of the program, she said, there was no quarreling, and “only one real breach of discipline.” She marveled, “To maintain such perfect discipline day after day in the freedom of all outdoors, is an achievement to be proud of, especially when one remembers home.”

responsible for younger ones, but the middle class assumption was that the poor were undisciplined.

The outdoor programs expanded to a third park when, in 1907, the Civic Club added school gardens in Colt Park? In 1908, the Park Commission appears to have taken over management of playgrounds and gardens, as their expenditures for improvements and maintenance of these areas rose from $40.69 in 1907 to $840.59 in 1908. In 1910, the Parks Board annual report refers to the Pope Park playground as being “under the supervision of the Vacation School Committee,” which was a municipal board.
From then on, organized recreation grew steadily in the city parks. In 1911, the Riverside Park playground for small children doubled in size and the next year an outdoor gym for girls was built in Pope Park. The transformation of parkland from bucolic ramble to busy recreation center reached a milestone in 1910, when baseball diamonds took over the Elizabeth Park sheep pasture and another in 1913 when the old deer paddock in Colt Park became another “little folks playground.” The previous summer, 86,000 children were counted as using outdoor gym facilities; another 70,500 the playgrounds; and another 11,600 the school gardens.

Like the Civic Club, the Park Commission viewed playgrounds as effective instruments of social betterment. In 1908 George A. Parker, superintendent of Hartford parks, wrote, “I believe the city has no choice between destroying a large percentage of its children and providing playgrounds; that the want of playgrounds is one of the fundamental causes of the weakness, degeneracy, and death of thousands upon thousands of children in the cities of the world during the last fifty years...” Two years later, Parker found another, somewhat more disturbing, reason for playgrounds. He quoted “a great German general, who said in substance: "...better soldiers came from cities where the streets are lined with trees and not straight for any great length, where there are open spaces, parks and playgrounds...the weakest and most easily beaten men come from cities with treeless streets, laid out in long straight lines and of the gridiron pattern.”

Like parks and playgrounds, country vacation houses were popular with settlement workers, many of whom remembered their own bucolic childhoods and felt that rural play offered children the best chance for...
As did many settlement houses, the Civic Club had its own summer place for children.

Ella Parish, a Hartford schoolteacher, had noticed how “languid and inert” many of her pupils were after a city summer, and vowed to spend her vacations giving them a taste of country living. She was offered the use of a deserted farmhouse in Chateaugay, New York, furnished it herself, and moved there one summer prior to 1902. Hartford boys came to “the Civic Club Camp,” staying three weeks at a time. The second summer, boys and girls took turns, and the third summer, 20 boys stayed for the whole season. They did farm chores, played baseball, and hiked. The camp was largely self-supporting: Campers earned money for their train fare and $2.00 weekly board during the winters. The Civic Club contributed an annual subsidy of $130.00.

In a few brief years, the Civic Club profoundly affected the lives of thousands of Hartford children and their families, introducing the children to summer learning, country play, and pride in their own achievements in gardening, housework, and crafts. That this was done with a fair amount of regimentation was to be expected. Schools of the time were regimented, with learning weighted heavily in favor of recitation, and desks bolted firmly to the floor. Vacation school, and the outdoor activity that accompanied it, fell automatically into an authoritarian mold. But beyond pedagogical style was the perceived need to train little immigrants in accepted social behavior, that is, to groom them as young Americans. As they learned no Neapolitan intarsia or lacework in vacation schools, the Italian children grew no garlic in their gardens. Instead, they brought home Swiss chard, and taught their mothers how to cook it. The Russian children introduced their mothers to lettuce and tomatoes, strange fare for people
raised on carrots, horseradish, cabbage, and beets. But the mothers were
because they could
new foods and listening to children who in the old country would be
listening to their parents, the mothers were willing enough to adapt.
VII. THE SCHOOL OF HOUSEKEEPING

From the time of Catharine Beecher on, American women sought to professionalize the job of housekeeping. *American Woman’s Home*, which Miss Beecher published with her sister Harriet Beecher Stowe in 1869, advertised itself as “A Guide to the Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful and Christian Homes.” The Beecher goal was elevation of the job of homemaker to a high level of dignity and enable women to take charge of their own homes without dependence on servants. But, by the 1890s, while middle-class and upper-class homemakers continued to stress the religious and aesthetic qualities of their homes, they became increasingly concerned with cleanliness and economy. Thirty years of Victorian collecting mania had buried every cleanable surface of their homes under layers of rugs, cushions, and piano shawls. Even with endless dusting and carpet-beating, it was almost impossible to get a house really clean. As cities grew larger, food production and processing occurred at greater distances from the houses in which the end products were consumed. Milk, meat, produce, and canned goods passed through many hands on the way to the consumer, with little supervision and great chance for spoilage. At all educated levels of society, there was concern, and upper class housewives faced a special dilemma. The tides of immigration had washed ashore a new class of servants, unused to American standards, unable to care for American houses, and apt to bring in who knows what diseases. Women like the members of the Civic Club believed it was essential to educate the general public, and specifically the servant class. They could turn to experts for help in doing this.

Although the General Federation of Woman’s Clubs was originally more interested in “social economics,” i.e., municipal housekeeping and civic
reform, members took up the cause of improved domestic management as early as 1896, when the Federation launched a Home Department which included the study of home economics.* The Civic Club of Hartford became interested in home economics not because its members were concerned about the health of the city but because they had problems with their servants.

An average well-to-do household in Hartford's west end at the turn of the century required at least four or five full-time servants-cook, gardener-chauffeur, children's nurse, and one or two maids-as well as seasonal or temporary workers such as garden help, laundresses, sewing women, and extra maids brought in to serve a dinner party. In a household which traveled to a summer place, there were upheavals in June, when some members of the Hartford staff might be dismissed for the season (and replaced, in the summer house, by local servants) and in September, when the old servants were re-hired or replacements found. A good homemaker treated her servants well and found summer work for them; otherwise, she might not see them in the fall. Young women were expected to assume their administrative roles as soon as they were married, to judge the performance of tasks they had never handled themselves, to deal with language barriers, intemperance, and family quarrels. It was not easy.3

In addition, the problem of running a household was aggravated by the ever-present rule of noblesse oblige. The Beecher sisters had expressed it clearly in their book:

The mistresses of American families, whether they like it or not, have the duties of missionaries
imposed upon them by that class from which our supply of domestic servants is drawn. They may as well accept the position cheerfully, and, as one raw, untrained hand after another passes through their family...comfort themselves with the reflection that they are doing something to form good wives and mothers for the republic.  

The Civic Club first demonstrated its interest in home economics in 1897, when Annie E-liot Trumbull reported on “the servant question” at the club’s annual meeting. Miss Trumbull told the members that, if they added household economics to their concerns, and sponsored “cooking classes, scientific kitchens, and a school to make willing, competent and trained domestic servants,” they would be following the lead of clubs in other cities. She did not need to tell them that they might be simplifying their own lives as well. In 1898 the club sponsored a general (public) meeting at which Maria Daniells of Boston spoke on a School of Housekeeping!

The next winter the Civic Club joined with the Motherhood and Hearthstone clubs in sponsoring a “course of lectures on Household Economics.” Maria Parloa, proprietor of the Boston Cooking School, spoke on the aim and scope of domestic science; Ellen Henrietta Richards, onetime professor of “sanitary chemistry” at Massachusetts-Institute of Technology, discussed “The Housekeeper of the 20th Century”; a Miss Conro gave hints on opening a school of housekeeping; and a professor M. R. Smith talked about the responsibility of employers of domestic labor.

Two years later, in February 1902, delegates from “the prominent women’s clubs of the city” met to establish The Hartford School of Housekeeping. The purpose of the school was to “improve conditions of
domestic service in Hartford. Classes would be held for “mistresses, working-girls, and servants.” The mistresses would be taught household skills so that they would know how to direct their servants, the working-girls, so that they could become good managers when they had their own homes, and the servants, so that they could advance in their jobs. Plain and advanced cooking would be taught, as well as waitressing, laundry work, marketing, and sewing.

The Hartford women’s clubs were not oddly elitist in their desire to create a skilled, contented class of servants. There was national concern over a dwindling labor supply. Despite low wages, long hours, and real physical danger, many young women preferred factory work to domestic servitude. In factories, at least, they were not directly subject to the whims of mistresses who called them whatever they pleased and expected them to be on duty all but six hours a week. As new jobs opened up in shops and offices, women flocked to them. In 1870 half of all working women had been employed in “private or public housekeeping” (i.e., domestic service, whether in homes, hotels, or institutions) and by 1890 only a third were so employed.

Social reformers looked for ways to improve working conditions for domestic labor. Women’s clubs and college alumnae groups sponsored studies of domestic service, and some unlikely players entered the field: the YMCA, which set up a national commission on household employment, and the Legal Aid Society, which published a handbook for servants and employers. The aim of their efforts was to set up standards by which employers and employees could abide. In establishing the School of Housekeeping, the women’s clubs of Hartford were in the same boat with other humanitarian organizations and paddling about in the same muddled
sea of motives. Were they offering job training to maintain the kind of lifestyle possible? To help others to rise, perhaps spread a gospel of health and sanitation for the betterment of the poor? Or to “defend our own,” in the memorable words of Mary E. Mead, the Philadelphia speaker who had stirred them so at one of their early meetings?

By 1903 the school was in a rented suite of rooms at 69 Pratt Street, with a large, well-lighted kitchen and enough space to seat 60 people for lectures. Associate and sustaining members of the school Society supported it. Associates paid $1.00 annually, sustainers, $10.00. The Board of 24 Directors included 10 Civic Club members and was headed by Dotha Bushnell Hillyer. For someone like her, a housekeeping school offered essential support. It would have been impossible for Mrs. Hillyer, a fixture on the board of the Civic Club and later in the Municipal Art Society, to manage her household and have time for her many community activities without a cadre of trained, loyal servants.

Despite initial support, and Mrs. Hillyer's dauntless leadership, the School of Housekeeping lasted only two years and after 1904 no longer appears in the city directory. The reason for its failure is not recorded. The school may have failed to attract working class students because in 1902, the year it was founded, the city added cooking classes to its free evening school. Upper class homemakers may have been too busy running their establishments to attend. Or they may have considered scientific home management a subject suitable for servants, but not for themselves.
VIII. TENEMENT REFORM

The general tone of reports written before 1900 by the Charity Organization Society of Hartford and by the city’s municipal authorities implies that the conditions of poverty were more or less static. Handouts could be regularized and behavior improved, but tenement living, with all its obvious horrors, was an unavoidable fact of life. Landlords subdivided old houses, breweries, and warehouses to accommodate as many people as possible, and builders flung up cheap new warrens to house even more. Building laws, which might have restrained the worst abuses, were nonexistent or unenforced. If newcomers to Hartford, most of them foreigners, were forced into this situation, well, that was how life had sorted out for them.

About 1900 the tone changes. Both the COS and city bureaucrats begin to write of housing reform. Not coincidentally, it was in 1900 that the COS and the Civic Club sponsored an exhibit on tenement living conditions which, though it lasted only three days, had a lasting impact on Hartford.

As early as the 1870s, some American reformers had shown interest in improving not only the general moral tone of the poor, but their housing conditions as well. Common opinion was that removing people from their crowded, disease-infested neighborhoods would improve their lot. A nice little cottage in the suburbs or, better yet, the country, would or should be the goal of every slum-dweller, these well-wishers maintained. However, reformers who advocated a move to the country failed to realize that many urban workers could not afford to move beyond walking distance of their work or that they could not save enough money to become homeowners. Some city-dwellers simply liked living in a busy city, near their
compatriots, ethnic grocery stores, and churches or synagogues.

Reformers who acknowledged this desire to stay within familiar neighborhoods began to focus on improving conditions within the slums. Professional building and architectural magazines sponsored contests for improved tenement design. One such contest, sponsored in 1879 by the *New York Plumber and Sanitary Engineer*, had a paradoxical result. The magazine specified that designs must prove profitable as well as humane, and the winning entry showed a solid rectangular block pierced by two narrow airshafts. The design was profitable, it was feasible, and it afforded access to light and air from at least a few interior rooms of a tenement. What the contest judges did not foresee was that, when duplicated in building after building down a city block, the “dumbbell” design, as it was nicknamed, actually permitted more crowding and less light than the ramshackle houses it replaced. At any rate, the dumbbell became the approved minimum standard for tenement design in legislation passed by the State of New York later that year, and was copied many times over in New York City. By 1893, a Board of Health census showed 70% of New York’s population living in multiple family dwellings. Four-fifths of these were tenements and most of the tenements were dumbbells.”

Further contests followed and in 1900 the Charity Organization Society of New York took up the cause of improved housing and sponsored not only a design competition but a massive photographic exhibit as well. Building on earlier research by Jacob Riis and organized by Lawrence Veiller, the exhibit, on view in February, 1900, included more than a thousand photographs of existing tenements, models of old and new designs, and winning entries from the competition.²

Three months later, part of that exhibit came to Hartford, where it
was augmented by local photographs and at least one model tenement design, by Hartford's reigning architect George Keller. As in New York, public discussion accompanied the show, which was held in the Board of Trade rooms and included 600 photographs. COS paid $80 towards the exhibit and the Civic Club contributed $25. Lawrence Veiller, who had organized the New York exhibit, toured Hartford tenements and reported that the local situation was like that of New York 60 years earlier, which could be interpreted as meaning unfortunate but not disastrous. However, when his assessment of Hartford was published with his assessment of other American cities, it read, in part, "Hartford, with a population of only 79,850, has for its size the worst housing conditions in the country, the conditions there being in many respects similar to those of Boston." He recommended that the city build small houses rather than tenements for its poor.

The Civic Club was unusual in its concern, at this time, with housing. Tenement conditions were not a major interest of women's clubs in 1900. At biennial congresses of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, members in charge of civic committees reported on tree planting, street cleaning, playground building, sanitation improvement, and "cemeteries beautified with bloom and bush," but not on tenement housing.

Nor had housing conditions been a major concern of the government of the City of Hartford. From 1895-1898, Municipal Registers carried almost no mention of tenements and the 1899 Register referred to a Board of Health inspection of "the tenement district" (the east side), in the summer of 1898. The inspector reported that living conditions in general were "fairly comfortable." Local papers were interested in reporting fires and floods in the tenement district but did no muckraking. A check of articles
featured in the Courant for the three months preceding the Tenement Exhibit in May, 1900, reveals not one investigative news story on life on the east side.8

Until 1900, the annual reports of the Charity Organization Society of Hartford showed no concern with environmental improvement. In 1900 this changed and, for the next few years, COS annual reports devoted a significantly large amount of space to tenement inspections and recommendations for improvement.9

There is no way of knowing whether the idea for the Hartford Tenement Exhibit originated with the Civic Club or with COS. Perhaps it was prompted by Jacob Riis’s visit to Hartford in January 1900 to speak at a public meeting organized by the club on parks and playgrounds. His talk was not focused on tenements but, as the diligent photographer of tenement living conditions, no doubt he made his audience aware of them. Or perhaps the impetus came from the COS itself. Members, impressed by the New York show, may have wanted to duplicate it here.10

Whatever the cause, enlightened self-interest was at work in the new concern with tenement living. Commenting on Veiller’s assessment of Hartford, COS superintendent Green said, “It would appear that conditions exist at the present time in our city which, judging by the experience of New York, will become a source of danger in the natural growth of Hartford.”11 In January, 1901, COS and the Civic Club sponsored another public meeting on tenements, with Robert W. de Forest, president of the New York Charity Organization Society and head of the Tenement House Department of New York Mayor Seth Low’s administration, as speaker.12

The COS report for 1902 contains the organization’s own survey of newly-built Hartford housing. The inspector found that Hartford did not, as
yet, have any examples of the dumbbell design, but did have "the elements
of which it is composed" including a diamond-shaped airshaft 16" wide
which was supposed to light two rooms and a bath on each floor of a
four-story building. The inspector also found that there was no law
preventing a builder from covering almost his entire lot with a building. It
was possible, and perfectly legal, for one builder to build within 12" of his
lot line and the builder next door to do the same thing, with the result that
windows in one building might open on a brick wall in the other.
Fortunately, Hartford still had enough open land, and was enough of a
renters' market, that, so far, this had not occurred.13

Following the Tenement Exhibit, an awareness that east side
conditions were substandard, and that a number of causes were linked to
make them so, began to appear in Municipal Registers. In 1901, the Board
of Health asked for a new ordinance forbidding the erection of barns and
sheds adjoining tenement buildings. Frequent fires were cited as a reason
for the request.14 The next year it approached the problem from the other
direction and requested an ordinance forbidding the erection of "rear
tenement houses" near barns and sheds.15 (Rear tenement houses were new
housing jammed on the back of a lot, into whatever space remained
between an older tenement building and its outbuildings.) In 1903 the
Department concentrated its east side efforts on educating tenants to
clean their yards and alleyways. It deplored the still-unpaved Streets as
hard to clean.16 In 1904 the Health Department reported continued efforts
to keep the east side clean. The still-unpaved streets in that area were
cleaned twice a week but "owing to the amount of traffic and the habits of
the people, it is impossible to keep them clean."17

R. H. Fox, Building Inspector, was chiefly concerned with fire danger
in tenement areas. In 1903 he asked for a law specifying firewalls in new construction. Tenements for up to twelve families, he noted, could legally be built with nothing but wood for interior partitions. His department, he complained, had no authority to demolish or remove unsafe buildings? The next year he reported that conditions in the area had improved somewhat because the Commission charged with building the Founders Bridge across the Connecticut River had bought and demolished a number of old tenement houses to make room for the bridge approach. This move “distributed a great many families to less congested localities,” i.e., away from the east side.

In his 1905 report, Fox called for new, enforceable building laws -- he called the existing ones “very lax” and asked that appointments to his department be made through civil service, not patronage. Members of the Civic Club joined with COS in lobbying the State Legislature for passage of a bill regulating tenement house construction. “An Act concerning Tenement Houses” was approved on June 29, 1905. It applied to cities with over 20,000 population; governed room size, siting, ventilation, lighting, and plumbing of tenements and required builders to submit plans to a city’s building inspector before beginning construction. The act also required inspection and issuance of a certificate of compliance before the premises could be occupied. Key provisions were:

1. No tenement could occupy more than 90% of a corner lot or 75% of any other lot.

2. Rear yards must be at least 10’ deep. (This provision did away with the practice of erecting new tenements in the yards behind existing buildings a practice which had gone on in Hartford for at least 25 years.)
· Outer courts (the notch in the dumbbell, when built at the edge of a lot) must be at least 4' wide, so that the space between buildings at the court notch would be 8' wide.

· Inner courts (those surrounded by building on all sides) must be at least 10' wide, and provided with fee passage at ground level to the street.

· At least one room in each apartment must be 120 square feet; all other rooms must be at least 70 square feet. All rooms, except for water closets, must have windows.

· Public halls must have windows or glazed doors, to admit light.

· There must be a water closet in every apartment of four rooms, and at least one for every two apartments of less than four rooms.

· Basement apartments must have damp-proofed walls and floors, and ceilings at least 4.5' above ground or street level.21

The regulations did not create paradise, but they prevented some flagrant horrors. The Municipal Register published in the spring of 1906 noted that 44 tenement houses had been built since passage of the Tenement House Act, and that the plans for each one, submitted to the building inspector before construction began, met or surpassed requirements of the new law.22

Unfortunately, the imposition of new standards and demolition of old buildings forced rent up beyond the ability of some families to pay. A strong demand resulted for “three-room tenements in good surroundings where a laborer’s family can live without having to sub-rent rooms or take in boarders,” COS superintendent David Green wrote in 1907.23 Hartford Building Inspector Fred J. Bliss suggested that the demand be met by “the public spirited citizen of means who will be content with a safe...
moderate return on his investment.24

In 1907 a Tenement House Committee, composed of representatives from COS, the Civic Club, the Social Settlement, the Union for Home Work, the Board of Trade, and the Medical Society, was formed, and hired Robert E. Todd to survey Hartford's largest tenements. He reported at a January, 1907 meeting of the Civic Club, but what he said is unrecorded. (Because Civic Club records after 1905 are nonexistent, it is possible to piece together only fragmentary accounts of club activities. Brief accounts of the Tenement House Committee on which the club was represented appear in COS annual reports.)25

Todd must have pointed out the need for inspection of existing housing, because the committee then called for more effective sanitary inspection of tenements. Later in 1907 the group considered plans for model tenements and appointed a subcommittee to raise money for their construction. "A safe investment in this direction could be combined with an important social service," COS superintendent Green observed.26

In 1908, members of the Tenement House Committee joined with Mayor Edward W. Hooker in organizing a stock company to build these models. Where, or even whether, these model tenements were built, cannot easily be discovered.27

In 1911 the tenement committee drew up amendments to the 1905 Tenement House Act and presented them to the Legislature. These passed without opposition and became law in November, 1911.28 The amendments strengthened the 1905 law, increasing requirements for tenement court and yard space in new construction; making specific recommendations concerning cleanliness, repairs, lighting, and toilet accommodations in existing construction and making the act apply to all cities and boroughs in
the state, not just those with populations over 20,000.29

Some strong, enforceable language about repairs was needed to protect Hartford’s poorest people. The 1905 act dealt only with new buildings. Although housing built after its passage met or surpassed its standards, older, non-complying housing was either demolished or slipped further into decay. In the fall of 1911, Mary E. Heilman spent two months inspecting existing Hartford tenements for the Civic Club, and a brief report on her findings was included with the COS report for that year.

In it, she draws now-familiar conclusions: Deteriorating housing commanded low rents, which attracted disillusioned tenants, who further damaged the property.

However, she did not blame the victims for the crime. “With very few exceptions,” she wrote, “the tenants like to be clean, but until the responsibility for the public parts of the buildings is fixed, clean yards, halls, and areas will not be found, for it is a little beyond human nature for individual tenants to volunteer to care for and clean that part of the building used by many.” As an example of how bad a situation could get before the city Board of Health condemned it, she described one building about to be vacated. Windows in three rooms were boarded up; a hole in the waste pipe under the pantry sink flooded the floor; a hole in the pantry floor carried the water to the cellar below; there were additional holes in floors and ceilings and scarcely any plaster remained on the walls. She concluded her report by saying that the Civic Club commissioned her investigation to see what measures could be taken to prevent such conditions. Clearly, the Club was interested in uncovering possible violations of the amended law, and estimating how hard it would be to correct them.30 At some point during the next year the club sponsored a
“clean-up week” but what other action it took as a result of her investigation is unknown.

Because the club had exposed and publicized violations, the Board of Health was able to bring 12 cases to court in the year between passage of the law and publication of the 1912 COS report. Violations were corrected in two cases and fines imposed in ten. COS Superintendent David Green praised the club for its efforts. “Much credit is due to the Civic Club,” he wrote, “for developing an interest in the rapid enforcement of this law, for aiding the Board of Health in locating violations, and for inaugurating the clean-up week which established a new standard of cleanliness for the city.”

The club’s concern with substandard housing had led to passage and enforcement of acts which governed new and existing tenements. As a result, housing opportunities improved for many people but deteriorated for others, as rents rose to cover the costs of improved construction and repairs. People unable to pay the new, higher rents were often forced to live in buildings unfit for occupation. Civic Club investigation of conditions in existing, non-complying tenements pointed up this paradoxical side effect of its reform efforts, but how much further the club was willing to take its concern cannot be known. The Tenement House Committee, on which the club was represented, joined with Mayor Edward W. Hooker in soliciting investment in low-cost housing, but such housing might have benefited only the moderately poor able to afford living in ten a year or so before the club’s investigation of tenements.

In a statement written existing tenements by bushnell hillyer reiterated a conviction held by many housing reformers, that “workmen be encouraged to own their own
homes...where the family life may be a natural life, and a beautiful life, not subjected to the evils of congested tenement regions, so demoralizing to both body and soul. She recommended a stock company to help "workmen" build these houses. Unfortunately, her solution left many of the poor, such as transient workers and underpaid women, literally out in the cold.
The Civic Club report for \textbf{1901-1905}, which is the last official club document available, is a concise summary of past achievements and current endeavors. The achievements in \textit{sanitation, recreation, and housing reform} have been described earlier in this paper. A look at the projects on which club members were at work in \textbf{1905} reveals continuing connections to a host of city agencies and examples of the reform activity which stirred Hartford between 1905 and the outbreak of World War I. The Civic Club’s work in progress included:

“Widening and \textit{strengthening its influence}”

The report lists organizations with which the club had worked since \textbf{1901}. These were the Board of Trade, the Merchants’ Exchange, the Church Federation, the School of Horticulture, the Landlords’ and \textit{Taxpayers’ Association}, the Consumers’ League, the Charity Organization Society, the North Street Settlement, the City Tenement House Committee, and the Municipal Art League. All of these organizations were linked to the governing elite of Hartford, effective.\footnote{Missing from the list at the time, for example, is the Equal Rights Club (advocates of women’s suffrage), the United Women’s Christian Temperance societies to which immigrants as the Ladies Deborah Society and the Catholic Benevolent Association belonged, such as the St. Michael’s Branch of the Ladies’ Auxiliary. There appears to be no overlap between...}
the membership of the Equal Rights and Civic Clubs; at least the women who were officers of the Equal Rights Club in 1895 and 1905 were not also members of the Civic Club at those times. The women of the Civic Club were not suffragists, nor were the vast majority of women engaged in the woman's club movement at the time. Omission of the Union for Home Work, Visiting Nurse Association and WCTU underscores the club's concern with civic reform and not benevolence and omission of the ethnic societies makes it abundantly, perhaps redundantly, clear that the Civic Club was not set up to cross cultural boundaries. Settlement houses might incorporate ethnic clubs, as did the Hartford Social Settlement, but civic reform organizations did not.

"To improve the condition of Union Station"

This was also a goal of the Municipal Art League, which a number of Civic Club members joined when it was founded in 1904. It was, in addition, a personal goal of Dotha Bushnell Hillyer, longtime Civic Club leader, and was recommended in the city plan drawn up by the architectural firm of Carrere and Hastings in 1912. The Municipal Art League and the city plan will be discussed later.

"To encourage the use of the high school building for evening classes"

These classes, mandated by the state, were intended at first to educate boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 16 who, because they had fulltime jobs, could not attend high school. As more and more immigrants arrived in Hartford, class population changed from adolescent native-born to adult foreign-born and the classes became the kind of Americanization agency depicted in Leonard Ross's The Education of Human Kind, for example, the English class in Room 6 of the Asylum.
Srreer drancn or the school included men and women from 14 different countries and by 1908 two-thirds of the students enrolled were of foreign birth. Students made great efforts to attend classes. “One young Russian came seventy-one nights,” reported teacher Elizabeth Virginia Adams in 1908. “Up at four in the morning and working sixteen hours a day -- he was loath to leave the school at the closing hour in the evening.”

In the evening school, students were taught to read and write English, “to know and love our Washington and Lincoln and all that such men stand for,” and to master the art of writing business and social letters and job applications. Classes in bookkeeping, millinery, cooking, and various shop skills prepared them for job advancement. As today employers work with public schools to ensure a supply of literate future workers and customers, employers in turn-of-the-century Hartford worked with the evening schools. A representative of Pratt & Whitney, for instance, supplied a class.

Teachers approached Americanization with missionary zeal. They responded to the emotional appeal of people recently escaped from pogroms, exile, enforced military service, or unrelenting poverty. “Passing from class to class, one looks into uplifted faces of all nationalities, men and women of all ages, bearing traces of the mental stress of poverty and oppression,” reads one report on the east side school. Anyone who had attended closing exercises at the east side school in 1907, reads another account, “will not soon forget the budding patriotism evidence by the pupils who had part in the exercises or the manifest affection with which all these scholars regarded the teachers who had given them their first introduction to American life at close contact.”
Beneath idealism lay self-interest. Alida B. Clark, Civic Club member and vice-principal of the east side school, wrote in her report in 1906:

**IMPORTANCE OF THE EVENING SCHOOL.** As long as great numbers of foreigners continue to invade America, the value of the Evening School is immeasurable, inestimable. It assists the immigrant from hopeless poverty to remunerative stages in our commercial development. It protects our charitable organizations and almshouses. It greatly facilitates the work of assimilation by bringing these people in contact with positive, intelligent, uniform efforts to inculcate American ideals in social life and government. It loosens the bonds of superstition, of bitter hatred toward the capitalist, of impracticable socialistic ideas and anarchistic tendencies which many bring with them.¹²

What more could any patriot desire? No wonder that Civic Club president Dotha Bushnell Hillyer gave the evening schools’ graduation address in 1906¹³ and that the club worked towards establishing evening classes in the high school.¹⁴

“*To bring about the appointment of a juvenile delinquent court and a probation officer...the abolition of newsgirls*”

This concern for a city-appointed juvenile probation Officer was shared with the Charity Organization Society and led to the appointment, in
1909, of a city Juvenile Commission. In 1907 COS hired a probation officer and in 1908 the Police Department added this officer to its staff and paid her salary. She had been termed a “visitor” by COS; presumably her duties included befriending and supervising juvenile offenders on probation in the same way that “friendly visitors” befriended and supervised COS clients?

The Juvenile Commission, as described in Mayor Edward W. Hooker’s message to the Council in 1909, was set up to “study the causes that operate against the proper development of the child, and... recommend legislation which will tend to remove the limitations and obstructions which now hinder the growth of the child in the modern city.”16 It would have no power to act on its own.17

Two Civic Club members, the ubiquitous Mrs. Hillyer and Mary Graham Jones, head resident at the Hartford Social Settlement, were among the eight people appointed to the first Juvenile Commission.18 With the exception of a woman appointed in 1895 to the Board of School visitors,19 they were the first women appointed to any Hartford city commission. Lucy Perkins, another Civic Club member, was the commission’s secretary.20 Mrs. Hillyer resigned from the commission in 1912 and was replaced by Emma Ferguson, the Civic Club member and playground advocate. Miss Jones remained on the commission until her death in 1912.21

Following the example of the Civic Club, the Juvenile Commission launched an investigation early in its career. During 1910 it reviewed the situation of children in Hartford, compiling data on, among other subjects, the nationalities of new parents, playgrounds, the occupations of various social service agencies, recommendations, the first of
“street trading” by children. The object was to keep children under 10 from selling newspapers and other street fare, and to keep those between 10-14 from working late at night or during school hours. The Council accepted the recommendation and made it law.\textsuperscript{23} In 1912 the commission conducted a thorough investigation of working conditions and the number and sex of employees under 16 in Hartford stores, factories, printers, laundries, etc., and made further recommendations to the Council. The commission asked for 17 new playgrounds for the city, with most of them to be built, not in parks, but in tenement areas.\textsuperscript{24} Members also asked for vocational guidance for children about to leave school for work, and noted that the commission had itself hired a woman to act as city vocation counselor for six months. Her salary had been paid “entirely by contributions from clubs and private individuals.”\textsuperscript{25} This public/private approach to social welfare was typical of the Civic Club’s way of accomplishing its objectives, and proved workable in an era when the delivery of social services was moving from private benevolence to public obligation.

\textbf{To abate the smoke nuisance, to abolish offensive signs and posters...to encourage the grouping of public buildings...}"

These were prime concerns of the Municipal Art Society and became recommendations of the Commission on the City Plan and part of the Carrere and Hastings plan itself.\textsuperscript{26} Causes which the Civic Club championed were, as before, adopted by the city’s ruling men.
Towards a City Plan

Support the idea of grouping public buildings. Main Street defined by church spires, had made it important. As the city grew and commercial buildings dwarfed the spires, it became necessary to reassert importance. By the turn of the century government, not religion, was seen as the caretaker of hallowed ideals, and it was therefore necessary to enshrine the buildings of government. A higgledy-piggledy arrangement of Old State House, which served as city hall, near one end of Main Street, and State Capitol off somewhere else at the end of a park, no longer made sense, if it ever had, and people who envisioned a beautiful city turned to the stately capitols of Europe for ideas on how to improve Hartford. They thought in terms of Paris, Madrid, and Vienna.

They were inspired, too, by the City Beautiful movement. All across the country, fast-growing municipalities were prudently salvaging enough open space to create chains of urban parkland; planting trees along wide boulevards; and grouping government buildings in landscaped settings. Architects trained at L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris were designing libraries and courthouses of classic majesty, balanced, rational, and ordered, and in complete contradiction to the eccentric Victorian structures they replaced. When grouped to create vistas across water or down allées of trees, the new civic centers invoked the awe and respect of citizens. It was fortunate that they invoked the awe and respect not only of longtime American citizens, but of newly-created ones as well.

A Municipal Art Society, which enrolled many Civic Club members, was formed in Hartford in 1904 to “conserve and enhance in every
practicable way the beauty of the streets, buildings, and public places of Hartford; to stimulate interest in the scenic, artistic, and architectural development of the City; and to encourage a greater civic pride in the care and improvement of public and private property. Its first president was the portrait painter Charles Noel Flagg, half-brother of Ernest Flagg, the Beaux-Arts trained New York architect.

Of the three goals of the Municipal Art Society, the third ("to encourage a greater civic pride...") was particularly in harmony with Civic Club aspirations, and a number of Civic Club members became officials of the new Society. A founding vice president was Dotha Hillyer and founding directors included Emily Holcombe and Annie Eliott Trumbull. On various committees were Mary Graham Jones (Public Baths and Houses of Comfort,) Dotha Hillyer and Annie Eliott Trumbull (Civic Centers and Public Buildings,) Mrs. G. C. F. Williams, whose first name is unknown, (Parks, Thoroughfares and Playgrounds,) Harriet Enders and Mrs. J. H. Greene, whose first name is also unknown, (Street Fixtures.) By 1907, at least eight more Civic Club members were listed as directors or life members.

The Society issued a series of bulletins. One protested a planned extension of Laurel Street through Pope Park. Another, edited by Frederick L. Ford, City Engineer, promoted the idea of grouping public buildings around green spaces. In Hartford, the ideal assemblage of buildings came to be seen as

- a new State Library and Supreme Court building across a lawn to the south of the Capitol, with a new State Armory nearby;
- a new City Hall on Main Street, to the east of the Capitol, and joined to it by an allée of trees on either side of a cleaned-up Park River;
- a new industrial school joined to Hartford Public High School.
These were, in essence, the recommendations of the city’s Commission on the City Plan, appointed in 1907, and were to some degree proposed in the plan as drawn up by Carrèe and Hastings in 1912.8

The Armory was built in 1909, the Library and Supreme Court building in 1910, the City Hall in 1915. The allee of trees was never developed, and the industrial school addition never built.9

The Carrèe and Hastings plan, illustrated with photographs of European cities, emphasized the potential beauty of Hartford, with recommendations for tree-lined boulevards radiating from parklike circles, in the style of Washington, DC. The architects predicted industrial growth along the railroad tracks south of the Capitol, approximately where the “typewriter district” did develop, and recommended a planned residential district to the south and east of this. Here the city’s factory workers would live.10

The order and beauty of the proposed plan were what the Civic Club had always advocated but it failed to address two concerns which had occupied many club members’ energy for the past 12 years, namely the need for improved tenement housing and recreation facilities for poor children. The Commission on the City Plan had asked the architects to mark “the selection of suitable areas for additional children’s playgrounds,” and “a plan for the improvement of housing conditions so as to prevent intensive congestion, and reduce unnecessary deaths from preventable diseases” 1 but the plan met their request only halfway. Although Carrèe and Hastings recommended public baths, wash houses, and open air swimming pools for Pope and Riverside Parks, they indicated only one new playground on their plan. It would have been built on the site of a onetime reservoir on Garden Street, far from the populous east side.
And although the plan called for new homes for members of an industrious and advancing working class, it did not deal with the problem of housing the poor. Except for a boulevard along the river and a proposed widening of Morgan Street to provide better access to the Founders Bridge, the plan ignored the east side.  

Hartford’s leading citizens were, perhaps, no longer concerned with the problems of this teeming area. In 1909, when interest in a potential city plan was high, the Courant had asked 11 leading citizens of Hartford for their suggestions on improving the city. Among those polled were Dotha Hillyer, Francis Goodwin, George Parker, Charles Noel Flagg, Mayor Edward W. Hooker and former mayors William Henney and Ignatius Sullivan. Cleaning up the Park River, abolishing the smoke nuisance, increasing the water supply, widening Jewel Street, and establishing an industrial training school were the recommendations made most often. Only Sullivan, the city’s first working class mayor, mentioned “East Side improvement” as a priority.
XI. CONCLUSION

The Civic Club disappears from the City Directory in 1920. There is a listing for 1919, then none after that. Why the club ceased operations is unknown, but clubs and causes have their times, and the time of the Civic Club seems to have passed at the end of World War I. The political and social climate which gave rise to reform movements like the club was changing and with it the opportunities for women who might have kept it going.

Dotha Bushnell Hillyer presided over the club from 1900-1915 and served again in 1919, either to conclude the club’s activities or to try to revitalize it. In the intervening years, Mrs. Frederick W. Davis took her place. Mrs. Hillyer’s long tenure may have been a reason for the club’s longevity and for its demise as well. It may have become too much “her” institution.

Mrs. Hillyer aside, world-shaking events were commanding the attention of middle- and upper-class American women. With the outbreak of World War I, many of them who espoused the patriotic sentiments of the Civic Club were swept up in War Bond drives and work for the Red Cross. A smaller number allied themselves with Jane Addams, Alice Hamilton and other anti-war leaders. Whichever way women’s beliefs took them in the war years, their new associations called for at least as much time commitment, leadership ability, and sense of personal relations as club work had. If Civic Club members expected their daughters to follow them into the club, they were mistaken. The young women who might have formed the nucleus of a continuing organization joined the Junior League instead. A chapter formed in Hartford in 1921.

The American suffrage movement, dormant during much of the reform
era, regained momentum with the suffrage parades organized by Harriot Stanton Blatch and her followers, and the passage of a woman suffrage referendum in Washington State in 1910. As suffrage activity heated up, so did opposition to it, and women the age and station of Civic Club members were among its most vocal exponents. A variety of reasons impelled them. As gentlewomen, they shrank, or thought they should shrink, from the rough-and-tumble of politics. Some of them, because of their class, subscribed to the argument which had been advanced by H. L. Nelson, editor of Harper's Weekly. He wrote, in 1894, that equal enfranchisement would mean "the enfranchisement of those classes of women who correspond in character and education to the plantation negro and the ignorant immigrant." Others believed that woman suffrage would place unbearable burdens on women whose first interest should be their homes. Eleanor Flexner points out the irony of this assertion, because the women making it came from homes well-staffed with servants and needing relatively little of their own attention?

A tremendous amount of energy and organization was needed to oppose the suffrage drive. The "antis," as anti-suffrage activists were called, drew up petitions, lobbied legislators, testified at hearings, and became effective politicians. All the while they insisted that politics was an unsuitable occupation for women.

Without records of anti-suffrage associations in Hartford and I have not found them it is impossible to cross-reference them with the Civic Club membership list and determine whether women formerly active in one might have joined the other. However, there was a great deal of anti-suffrage activity in Hartford, because it was the state capitol. The activity involved women of the socioeconomic group from which Civic
Club members came and Civic Club women undoubtedly took part in it.

Mary Vaill Talcott, a popular Hartford matron who was not known as an activist, became a tireless "anti." She handed out tracts, wrote letters, circulated petitions. When Rep. Jeanette Rankin of Montana, the first woman elected to the U. S. House of Representatives, refused to join the Congressional majority in a declaration of war, Mary Talcott wrote in her diary for April 6, 1917,

Miss Rankin wept, faltered, and said, "I want to serve my Country, but I cannot vote for war."

They shouted at her vote! vote! but she put her head on her desk and was counted among the pacifists. Which proves what I have always contended, that a woman is neither physically nor temperamentally fitted to enter politics. At the crucial moment -- one of the greatest of the century -- her emotions overcame her judgment.7

Even if the war had not intervened, well-to-do women in Hartford would have become less interested in the city's welfare because in the decade that spanned the war they moved farther and farther from the city's core. In 1895 women of influence lived in Hartford. What concerned the municipality concerned them. The fine houses they commissioned between 1895-1905 rose on or near Prospect Avenue and Elizabeth Park was their focus.8 Then a new center of affluence developed around the grounds of the Hartford Golf Club, on the western edge of Hartford and the eastern edge of West Hartford. Wealthy Hartfordites moved out of the city and allied themselves with a more bucolic West Hartford or with once-rural Farmington.
Perhaps the most compelling reason for decline was that the Civic Club had either done what it set out to do, or could not do what needed to be done. It originated summer programs which occupied thousands of children, encouraged poor people to use the city parks, promoted the idea of a cleaner and more beautiful city (and cleaner, more beautiful people to live in it), and helped to shape the Beaux-Arts look of the city’s public spaces. It achieved laws to regulate tenement building and repair. But it could not or would not pursue tenement reform to its grittiest and most boring conclusion, the constant supervision and patrol of existing housing. It was left to settlement leaders and professional social workers to continue that battle.9

The professionalization of social work, which was occurring at this time, had its effect. There was no more place for amateur “friendly visitors” and members of the flower mission, as there had been in the heyday of the Union for Home Work and the Charity Organization Society. An increasingly bureaucratized social service welcomed trained professionals instead. In a way, the Civic Club women were victims of their own success because, as they originated programs and turned them over to the city, they handed over control of the programs as well, and their unofficial, unprofessional involvement was, soon enough, not needed.

The political climate in which these women operated was changing and they were therefore becoming less influential. The government of Hartford was no longer handed from one member of its establishment to the next. Ignatius A. Sullivan, a Democrat who was in office from 1902-1904, had been the city’s first Irish mayor. He was followed, although not immediately, by other Democrats, Joseph H. Lawler (1914-1916) and Richard J. Kinsella (1918-1920, 1922-1924.) Soon, other
Irish and Italian Democrats would follow them.\textsuperscript{10}

On the state level, even the Republican party was changing with the arrival of J. Henry Roraback. Chair of the Republican party's Central Committee from 1910 until his death in 1937, Roraback controlled the state, reaching a peak of power in the 1920s. He came from Canaan, not from Hartford, and shifted the base of state power from Hartford to small towns.\textsuperscript{11} Hartford's Yankee nobility was no longer in charge, and the wives of that nobility were no longer important.

The population of Hartford was changing as well and the east side, for several years the focus of Civic Club attentions, was ceasing to be an immigrant ghetto. Foreign-born people were approximately 30\% of the total population in 1910 and again in 1920,\textsuperscript{12} but new arrivals to Hartford had settled communities into which they could move. The east side became a stable Italian-American neighborhood that survived until it was leveled for Constitution Plaza and a highway complex in 1960,\textsuperscript{13} and the Jews who had first settled with the Italians on the east side moved to the north end, particularly to the area around the south side of Keney Park.

Civic Club members made an enormous difference in their city. Francis Goodwin and the Park Commission created the park system, but the women of the Civic Club put the parks to use in providing recreation for the people who flocked to them. The city, working through its school districts, provided schoolhouses, but Civic Club members converted them to year-round use with vacation schools that occupied and possibly even entertained thousands of children. The methods the women used to attain these ends were also an achievement.

Civic Club work was a triumph of persuasion. Whether they were lobbying for passage of the tenement reform act or simply asking for a few
trash barrels, the club women acted like ladies. They avoided confrontation -- and got what they wanted. Theirs was the last triumph of "influence," that subtle Victorian tool.

William L. O'Neill points this out in speaking of club women of the early 20th century. "...because it was impossible to measure their actual potency, wise politicians conceded some power to clubwomen for safety's sake. Clubwomen did not ask for a great deal, but when they wanted something badly it was prudent to assume that their frustration might have unpleasant consequences."\textsuperscript{14}

Civic Club women had little contact with the recipients of their charity. In this they differed from the volunteers of the Good Will Club, the early Union for Home Work, and the settlements. Their method was to determine a need, investigate it, and then hire experts -- like the teachers in the vacation schools or the gardening instructors in the parks -- to work with the needful people themselves. This approach could be considered a model for later boards of women allied for civic causes, which enables them, in theory at least, to grasp an overview of a situation without becoming fixated on the one piece of the situation which each one might experience personally.

The reform era was dominated by what Robert H. Wiebe has called a "search for order."\textsuperscript{15} The Civic Club's concern with surveys and investigations, standards of discipline, military drills, and the rational layout of public buildings shows how connected it was with the search. Even its patriotism sprang from concern with order. The women who belonged to the club sensed that their familiar old world, with its rural customs and Yankee gods, was fast spinning apart and they longed to hold it together.
Finally, the Civic Club expressed the double standard of the Victorian conscience. Municipal housekeeping was domesticity extended, and as a husband might be proud of a wife who managed his own home and children well, he would be proud of her management of the community. But the conviction went deeper than that. Men were born to conquer, and sin a little if needed to bring home the trophies. Women's role was to atone for the sin.

The Hartford Daily Times hinted at this in its article on the opening of the first vacation school in 1897: "While the men, who are capable and influential, are too busy in the management of their private affairs to give much attention to such public interests, the women, who have more leisure, have time to consider them, and of late years have been organizing and doing excellent work for the benefit of society."16

It was this ability of women, to do the good that men were too busy to do, that assured the Civic Club its support. And because that ability becomes cloaked in invisibility when measured against bricks and mortar, it is the reason that they and their achievements are now forgotten.
NOTES

I. HARTFORD IN 1895


2 Grant, pp. 171-173.


9 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1895 (Hartford, CT: Press of Waterman & Wright, 1895), p. 23.

10 The Hartford Courant, March 5, 1896.

11 Municipal Register:1895, p. 68.

12 Municipal Register: 1895, p. 223.

13 See Map, Appendix A. Also, Municipal Register: 1895, pp. 513-517. The old east side of Hartford disappeared in the late 1950s with the construction of Constitution Plaza.

14 Municipal Register: 1895, pp. 196-204.

15 Grant, p. 178.

16 Grant, p. 66.

17 Of 543 people admitted to the city almshouse between April 1896 April 1897, 269, or almost half, were Irish-born. Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1897 (Hartford, CT: R. S. Peck & Co., 1897), p. 278.

II. CHARITY AND CONTROL


5. Grant, pp. 129-132, 136.


7. *Annual Reports of the Union for Home Work, 1873-1881* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood, and Brainard, 1873-1881); Janet Thurman Murphy, "The Union for Home Work: A Study of 19th Century Female Benevolent Societies" (Hartford, CT, 1988), unpublished thesis ms in the collection of Trinity College.


15. Holman, p. 281
16 Caroline M. Hewins, Librarian of the Hartford Public Library, selected a library of 50 "Harper's Publications," which were given to the boys by the Hon. David Clark. *Historical Sketch of the Good Will Club* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard, 1890), unpaged. Miss Hewins was later a member of the Civic Club.

17 Holman, p. 285.


19 The club was not founded by Mark Twain, contrary to durable rumor. Twain and his wife Olivia Clemens were honorary members, and Mark Twain himself inspired the club pin, a band of gold surrounding enameled lilies-of-the-valley. At one meeting, he plucked lilies-of-the-valley from an arrangement and distributed the flowers to the members, to distinguish them from the guests present. He spoke to the club no fewer than 15 times. Alice Mohler DeLana, *One Hundred Years of the Saturday Morning Club of Hartford, 1876-1976* (Hartford, CT: The Saturday Morning Club of Hartford, 1976), pp. 7-33.

20 Lucy Mather continued her interest in social topics. In November, 1891, she took the affirmative in a debate on "Shall Public Parks, Museums, and Free Libraries be Opened on Sunday?" and a year later led a discussion of "The Indian of To-day and our Duty to Him." "Saturday Morning Club Scrapbook, 1876-1901," unpublished scrapbook in the collection of the Stowe-Day Foundation.

21 This information is contained on several pages in the Murphy thesis.


24 *Second Annual Report of the Union for Home Work* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood, and Brainard, 1874), p. 32. The ever-thrifty Charity Organization Society later noted the pre-eminence of spiritual over material gifts: "It is, in part, a recognition of this fact that has led the City Missionary Society to employ a missionary for awakening and strengthening religious life among the poor, instead of an almoner for the administration of material relief...in the establishment and development of the vacation schools...and especially in the establishment of a social settlement as a center of uplifting influence, where the spirit of democratic neighborliness is not to be jeopardized by the presence of a relief fund." *Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Hartford, Conn. for 1900*, p. 15.


26 "Calendars," *The Hearthstone Club of Hartford, 1895-1920* (Hartford, CT, 1895-1920)
III. THE SETTLEMENT IDEA

1 Charles Trumbull Russ, "The Hartford Years of Graham Taylor, 1880-1892, with Special Emphasis on his Association with the Fourth Church" (Hartford, CT: 1960), unpublished thesis ms in the collection of the Hartford Seminary, pp. 3-18.


3 Russ, p. 51.


6 Davis, p. 13.

7 Davis, pp. 73, 165-166.

8 Geer, p. 173. I can find no trace of lecture topics.


10 "North Street Pioneers Talk to The Post of their Labors," The Hartford Post, May 11, 1895, p. 2. The account of the settlement, as given in this chapter, is based on this article, and all direct quotations are taken from it.


12 "United Workers" must have been a reference to workers for the Union for Home Work, as no "United Workers" are listed in the City Directory for 1895-1896.

13 i.e., Yiddish. Possibly misspelled by the reporter. The word is derived from Middle High German "jüdisch diutsch" or "Jewish German." (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1978, p. 1484.)
IV. ORIGINS OF THE CIVIC CLUB


5 Blair, pp. 15-22, 93-95.


7 A History of the Portland Woman's Club, unpaged, undated ms in the collection of the Oregon Historical Society, Portland, OR.

8 Blair, pp. 95-96.


10 The municipal bathhouse, constructed in 1884, was a bathing tank in the Connecticut river, suspended between boats. (Hartford City Directory, 1895-1896, p. 717.) It floated away from its mooring in the "spring freshets" of 1896. Temporary expedients were provided thereafter, while officials and reformers called for new bathhouses with showers for men and women, but even in 1912 the city had not provided adequate facilities.

11 The cost of covered waste cans was $82.76, from a street cleaning budget of $42,244.19. (Municipal Register of the City of Hartford; 1896), p. 105.

12 Officers and directors are listed in Hartford City Directory, 1895-1896, p. 690. All birth and death dates and most maiden names are taken from cards in the ms. file of the Stowe-Day Library.

Officers:
Agnes Moss Burton: Hartford City Directory, 1895, p. 72.
Annie Elliot Trumbull: Grant, p. 145. Her work was published in McClure's and Atlantic Monthly. Her papers are kept at the Connecticut Historical Society. Annie Elliot Trumbull had been a founding member of the SMC and was always prominent in its discussions and theatrical productions, many of which she wrote. SMC Scrapbook.
Ellen F. Hooker: 1836-
Emma (Eleanor Margaret) Ferguson: Hartford City Directory, 1895.
Directors:
p. 69.
Drayton Hillyer: Hartford City Directory, 1895, p. 165.

13 Hartford City Directory, 1895, p. 706.


15 Members:
Alice Day: Hartford City Directory, 1895, p. 704.
Caroline Maria Hewins: Tinling, p. 10.
Emily Seymour Holcombe: Grant, 98. What is interesting about Mrs. Holcombe is not so much what she accomplished but the fame she has received for it. At the time, newspapers applauded the work of the Civic Club and the Hartford Social Settlement as well as the cleanup of Gold Street, but in recent histories neither organization is named. She is.
Mary Graham Jones (1865-1912):
Lucy Mather, Lucy Sluyter: SMC Scrapbook.
Augusta Williams, see ch 3.


17 The Hartford Daily Courant, June 8, 1895.

18 ALS, Emma Ferguson to Alice Hooker Day, Dec. 19 [1890s], unpublished ms in the collection of the Stowe-Day Foundation.


20 Stewart, pp. 11-28.
21 The Hartford Daily Courant, Jan. 13, 1900.
23 The Hartford Daily Courant, Dec. 7, 1895.
26 The Hartford Daily Courant, Jan. 18, 1896.
27 Wood, pp. 102-103.
28 The Hartford Daily Times, Apr. 11, 1896.
29 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1897, p. 217.
V. THE VACATION SCHOOLS


2 Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1911), pp. 371-376. (Note: Although Jane Addams always wrote Hull-House with a hyphen, I have spelled it without one in the text because, whenever I have tried to be correct and use the hyphen, a proofreader has questioned it.

3 "A History of the Portland Woman's Club. "The date of the gift is not given, but its context places it around 1900.

4 Courant, May 6, 1897, p. 4.

5 Hartford Daily Times, Feb. 6, 1897. Twitchell's position is not mentioned here but he is identified as President of the Park Board and Principal of West Middle School in Hartford Municipal Register:1902, unnumbered page.

6 Hartford Daily Times, April 3, 1897, p. 5.

7 Hartford Daily Times, April 3, 1897, p. 5.

8 Municipal Register:1895, p. 432; Municipal Register:1897, p. 336; Municipal Register:1898, p. 454; Municipal Register:1900, p. 643; Municipal Register:1901, p. 566.


10 Municipal Register:1902, pp. 721-725.


12 Municipal Register:1902, p. 725.


15 Hartford Courant, March 6, 1897, p. 4.


17 Davis, p. 18.

19 Municipal Register, 1902, pp. 729-731.

VI. PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS, AND "SCHOOL-GARDENS"


2 Boyer, p. 181.

3 Butler, pp. 77-83.

4 ALS, Mary G. Jones to Alice Day, May 25, [1896]. Unpublished ms in the collection of the Stowe-Day Foundation, Hartford, CT.

5 Alexopolous, p. 13.

6 Alexopolous, p. 23; Grant, pp. 132-135.

7 Grant, p. 134.

8 Alexopolous, p. 25.

9 Grant, p. 134.


11 Alexopolous, p. 51.

12 Alexopolous, pp. 54-60; Municipal Register of the City of Hartford, 1892, p. 8.

13 Souvenir of the Public Parks of Hartford, Connecticut.

14 40th Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Hartford: April 30, 1900. (Hartford: City Publishing Company, 1900), p. 34.

15 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1902, p. 736.


17 Hartford Daily Courant, Jan. 24, 1900, p.12.


20 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1902, pp. 737-739.

21 ...School-Gardens, pp. 4-8.
22 School-Gardens, p. 11.
23 School-Gardens, pp. 5-6.
24 The Hartford Daily Times, April 11, 1896.
25 School-Gardens, p. 6.
26 School-Gardens, p. 7.
27 School-Gardens, p. 10.
33 52nd Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Hartford: April 30, 1912. (Hartford: City Publishing Company, 1912), p. 27.
34 51st Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Hartford: April 30, 1911, p. 29.
36 53rd Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Hartford: April 30, 1913, p. 43.
37 48th Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Hartford: April 30, 1908, (Hartford: City Publishing Company, 1908), 49.
38 50th Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Hartford: April 30, 1910), p. 44.
39 Davis, pp. 60-61.
40 Municipal Register, 1902, pp. 784-785.
VII. THE SCHOOL OF HOUSEKEEPING


2 Wood, p. 84.

3 Talcott. This paragraph digests material sprinkled through all three volumes of this diary.

4 Beecher and Stowe, pp. 326-327.


   Ellen Henrietta Richards (1842-1911) ventured further, into the chemical bases for sound domestic practice. She wrote *Food Materials and their Adulterations* (1886), which included information on food inspection; *The Chemistry of Cooking and Cleaning: a Manual for Housekeepers* (1897, with S. Maria Elliott); *Air, Water and Food from a Sanitary Standpoint* (1900, with Alpheus G. Woodman); *The Art of Right Living* (1904) and *The Cost of Cleanliness* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1914).

8 All available information on the school is contained in an unpaged booklet, *The Hartford School of Housekeeping Society*. It has no date and no imprint.

9 Strasser, p. 205.

10 Louisa May Alcott describes the hours of servitude in *Work, a Story of Experience* (Cambridge, MA: University Press, John A. Wilson & Son, 1873), pp. 14-33. Written years before the School of Housekeeping was set up, it still can serve as an adequate description.

11 Strasser, p. 97.


VIII. TENEMENT REFORM


4 Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Hartford, 1902 (Hartford, CT: W. H. Barnard, 1902), p. 7. Rev. E. deF. Miel, who also studied the Hartford tenement situation, told his audience at the 1903 meeting of the Charity Organization Society that he estimated 15,000-16,000 people in Hartford -- about 1/5 the total population -- lived in tenements with more than four families under one roof, and that two thirds of the tenement-dwellers lived on the east side. Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Hartford, 1903 (Hartford, CT: W. H. Barnard, 1903), p. 12.

5 Wood, p.170.

6 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford;1899 (Hartford, CT: Case Lockwood and Brainard, 1899), p. 325.

7 One account of a 68-year-old woman being rescued after falling into her flooded cellar on Front Street is typical of those reported. Hartford Daily Courant, May 5, 1896.

8 Hartford Daily Courant local news summaries, October 1899 - January 1900.

9 As an example, see "Some Things Accomplished by the Charity Organization Society," CO Annual Report 1898, inside back cover.

10 Hartford Daily Courant, May 2, 1900, 5.


14 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford;1901 (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1901), p. 370.

15 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford;1902 (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1902), p. 409.

16 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford;1903 (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1903), p. 480.
17 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1904 (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1904), p. 432.

18 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford, 1903, pp. 117, 123.

19 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford, 1904, p. 432.

20 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1905 (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1905), pp. 127-130.


22 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1906 (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1906), p. 128.


24 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1907, 153-154.


27 Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Hartford, 1908, p. 8. It is frustrating not to know when or where or whether these houses were built, as they would have revealed a great deal about their builders' aspirations. Publicly-assisted housing usually has a social purpose beyond the mere provision of decent shelter. For instance, model housing built during the reform era often contained apartments with "living rooms" (the term itself was new then) as large as, or larger than, the kitchens. Reformers, whose cultural lives went on in their own living rooms, thought of kitchens as workshops to be kept spotless as scientific laboratories. By featuring living rooms in their model housing designs, they hoped to discourage the immigrant practice of centering all life -- eating, sleeping, talking, washing -- in their kitchens. Although reformers could not control the furnishing of tenements as they did their architecture, they did offer decorating advice to the families who lived in them. For the sake of cleanliness and order, they encouraged bare floors, painted walls, and simple furnishings of Mission or Colonial design. Immigrant women, to whom the bed was a sacred object to be skirted, draped, and piled with quilts, and who wished to show off wealth with the most ornate furniture they could buy, did not take readily to reformers' advice. Model tenements also included rooftop play areas or large landscaped inner courtyards, to draw children off the streets and into a controlled environment. Often, buildings to be used by or for immigrants were designed in Colonial Revival style, for patriotic reasons. This material is developed in Building the Dream, by Gwendolyn Wright, pp. 114-134, The Colonial Revival in America, edited by Alan Axelrod (536-543), and Lizabeth A. Cohen, "Embellishing a Life of Labor: An Interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working-Class Homes, 1885-1915," first published in The Journal of American Culture 3:4 (Winter 1980): 752-775.


33 Municipal Art Society Bulletin No. 13, p. 17.
IX. WORKS IN PROGRESS

1 This listing and the quotations used as subheads in this chapter are taken from Report of the Civic Club of Hartford, Conn. 1901-1905, pp. 10-12.


Ethnic clubs in Hartford Social Settlement: See p. 39 of this thesis.
Civic reform organizations and ethnic groups: Accounts of reform group activities, such as those in History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, A Half-Century of Municipal Reform, and Spearheads for Reform do not report cross-cultural efforts.


5 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1907, p. 524.

6 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1908, p. 622.

7 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1908, p. 633.

8 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1908, p. 633.

9 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1908, p. 625.

10 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1907, p. 525.

11 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1907, p. 517.

12 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1906, p. 602.

13 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1906, p. 603.

14 In 1911, the last year for which I read accounts, the evening school was still sited in three different buildings, not in the High School. Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1911, p. 738.


16 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1909, p. 59.

17 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1910, p. 58.

18 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1911, p. 704.
19 Welthea Day, a woman, appears on the Board of School Visitors in 1895. *Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1895*, List of Board, unpaged.

20 *Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1911*, p. 707.

21 *Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1912*, p. 665.

22 *Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1910*, pp. 661-673.

23 *Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1911*, pp. 709-710.


25 *Municipal Register of the City of Hartford: 1912*, p. 671.

X. TOWARDS A CITY PLAN


3 Andrews and Ransom, p. 238. Ernest Flagg, who studied New York tenements at the Beaux-Arts, adapted Parisian courtyards for tenement design, beginning in 1894. Designs incorporating his ideas dominated the 1900 Charity Organization Society competition in New York. He built "philanthropic" (reform) housing in the New York area from 1898-1933. (Plunz, pp. 41-47, 99, 214.) It would be interesting to know if Ernest Flagg and his half-brother Charles Noel Flagg discussed housing reform for Hartford.


5 Municipal Art Society Bulletin No. 6 (Hartford: Municipal Art Society: 1907).


8 Carrere and Hastings, A Plan of the City of Hartford. These architects studied at L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, then worked for the New York architectural firm of McKim, Mead and White before forming their own partnership. "Reflecting their training at the Ecole, their designs emphasized rational plans on a large scale, as in the New York Public Library, 1911, for which they are best known." Andrews and Ransom, 236.

9 Andrews and Ransom, 7, 37, 38.

10 Carrere and Hastings.

11 Municipal Register of the City of Hartford:1909, pp. 236-237, Recommendations nos. 34 and 38.


XI. CONCLUSION


2 O'Neill, pp. 169-183. Also, a note on wartime preparedness activities in Hartford at the time: "Patriotism and flags are the keynote now. Hectic fads and doings spring up daily. 'Woman is finding herself' say the Suff's. One may join any amount of classes for preparedness. I have been asked to join a shooting class. Elinor belongs to a wireless class. K. T. is learning how to take an automobile to pieces and put it together again." Talcott, April 3, 1917, p. 776.

3 Grant, p. 137.


5 O'Neill, p. 72. Also see Flexner, pp. 294-305.

6 Flexner, p. 296.

7 Talcott, pp. 774, 776-777.


9 Davis, pp. 239-242.

10 Grant, p. 23.


12 Grant, p. 178.

13 Grant, p. 176.

14 O'Neill, p. 88.

15 O'Neill, p. 150.

16 The Hartford Daily Times, May 7, 1897, p. 5.
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