Civic Culture and Citizenship: the Nature of Urban Governance in Interwar Manchester and Chicago

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Leicester

by

Tom Hulme

Centre for Urban History

School of Historical Studies

University of Leicester

September 2013

Tom Hulme

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Abstract

This thesis explores and compares the ways in which citizenship during the interwar period was formulated through an understanding of both the damaging effects, yet also potential benefits, of living in the modern city. In both Manchester and Chicago, municipal government and local voluntary associations cooperated in an attempt to create citizens who were physically healthy and imbued with the spirit of urban community. This understanding of citizenship challenges the recent historiography of Britain and the US, which has emphasised the rising importance of national identity between the wars, and the linking of citizenship to the democratic responsibility of exercising the right to vote.

As a comparative analysis, it argues for viewing the urban variable as the key point of convergence in both places. The city was not a neutral or passive container; it was the development of the urban environment and its government that directed the form that citizenship took. Fears in both cities surrounding issues like the impact of the slums, the emergence of new forms of leisure, growing segregation and social stratification, and a perceived escalation of political radicalism encouraged associations and government to intervene and create new environments of health and cooperation. This urban notion of citizenship was apparent in the variety of linked areas that the thesis analyses: the educational materials used to incite civic loyalty; the evolution of the 'youth problem' in the 1920s; the design of schools arising from scientific investigation of the physiology of children; the design of public housing in Britain after the Housing Act of 1919 and in the US through the Public Works Administration after 1933; the public ritual enactments of city community during civic festivals; and the facilitation of welfare distribution following central government legislation across the period in Britain and during the New Deal of the 1930s in the US. The thesis however also recognises the fundamental differences in context between the two; most notably, the extensive power of municipal government in Manchester, the level of racial animosity in Chicago, and the rapid rather than piecemeal rise of the central state in the US.

I make three related arguments. Firstly, although other forms of national citizenship were evident, the urban was still vitally important to citizenship in the interwar period. While contemporaries argued that it was the modern city that damaged the health and morals of its inhabitants, both the city and its government were concurrently reimagined as something to be proud of, and responsible for, due to its guarantor status for the life and health of its citizens. Secondly, citizenship was produced through policies and activities that focused on the body of citizens in relation to their immediate environment. In youth clubs, public housing, state-provided schools, and the distribution of charity, contemporaries tried to instil ideals of personal health and collective interaction and belonging. Finally, these environments and policies were created and managed through a civic culture of voluntary associations and government, primarily local but increasingly central. While the central state was growing during this period, it reinforced rather than negated the power of urban

association and citizenship, by providing the funds and physical structures for urban citizenship to be created. After 1945 however, with the establishment of the classic welfare state in Britain and the rise of civil rights facilitated through the courts in the US, notions of citizenship moved further toward the national and broke from the interwar emphasis on the city and its governance.

By acknowledging the differences between the two cities and countries, yet concentrating on the similar operation of civic culture and the shared importance of the urban environment, this comparative approach reveals the fundamental characteristics of citizenship formation in Britain and the US during the interwar period.

Contents

Illustrations

Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CBPC	Chicago Boosters' Publicity Club
CBWF	Chicago Boys' Week Federation
CCCO	Coordinating Council of Community Organizations
CHA	Chicago Housing Authority
CHM	Chicago History Museum
CT	Chicago Tribune
DPS	District Provident Society
GMCRO	Greater Manchester County Record Office
HWLCMRC	Harold Washington Library Centre Municipal Reference Collection
MCLH	Manchester City League of Help
MCWC	Manchester Civic Week Committee
MDBWMCIU	Manchester and District Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union Ltd
MG	Manchester Guardian
MLSL	Manchester Local Studies Library
MSAS	Manchester Surgical Aid Society
MSCSS	Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service
NAHO	National Association of Housing Officials

NWFA   North West Film Archive

POPEMP   Pageant of Progress Exhibition Miscellaneous Pamphlets

Acknowledgements

Foremost thanks must go to my supervisors Prof. Simon Gunn and Prof. Douglas Tallack, whose enthusiasm, encouragement, and feedback over the past three years has been equally consistent and valuable. Simon especially has trusted yet pushed me to achieve the best I can since I was a final-year undergraduate in 2007/2008 first exploring real archival research; without his guidance I would not have started a PhD, let alone finished.

Academic inspiration has come from a variety of sources: the Montreal History Group and York University in Toronto; the 'Summer Seminar on the City' at Drexel University, Philadelphia; and all the curators in the Social Sciences department of the British Library.

Financial support in the way of an Economic and Social Research Council 1+3 studentship has enabled me to research extensively in the US as well as undertake a secondment at the British Library, for which I am very grateful.

The archivists of the Greater Manchester County Record Office and Chicago History Museum, where I have spent most of my time, have been fantastic. Other archivists and staff at the Manchester Local Studies Library, Harold Washington Library Centre, British Library, University of Chicago Special Collections Research Centre, Washington National Archives, the North-West Film Archive, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, and Wisconsin Historical Society also provided help and expertise.

Friends in a variety of places have kept me sane. In London: Matt Follows, Alexey Morozov, Mikey Joinson, Marie Weir, Simone Bacchini; in Chicago: Greg Lash, Jonathan Grossman, Chuck Edwards, Izzy Martinez, Melissa Walter, and Caitlin Wiessner; in Leicester: Joe Frazer, Sohail Marcola, Miriam Cady, Megan Ruth Leyland, Hannah Davies, Matt Neale, and Gill Murray; and in Buxton: Lewis Mellor, Big Jack Gregory, Phil Crespin, Lucy Cox, George Burgess, and Ryan Doxy.

My biggest thanks however are reserved for my parents, Howard and Susan Hulme. Their love and support, not just over the duration of the PhD but my whole life, has made me into the person I am today; it is to them that this thesis is dedicated.

Chapter One

Historicising and Theorising Urban Citizenship

This thesis is about the notions of citizenship operating in Manchester and Chicago during the interwar years, and how this citizenship was defined and produced as a direct response to the specific social experience of the city in that period. As a comparative thesis it argues that similar debates framed the ways in which citizenship became linked to both the projected identity and exercising of municipal government, and the health and behaviour of the individual in the urban environment. This challenges the historiographical dominance of national identity and democratic engagement in analyses of citizenship in the interwar period, trends historians have argued came about at the expense of an urban based notion of citizenship, due to the necessity of incorporating a larger and more diverse electorate emerging in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Links between the city and citizenship therefore have been identified with the nineteenth rather than the twentieth century. Anne Rodrick has described how, in Victorian Birmingham, citizenship was based on an ideal of self-improvement and civic participation, as voluntary institutions identified culture as a means of civic power.[1] Similarly, in Victorian Manchester, Tristram Hunt has detailed how prosperous and public-minded businessmen dominated civic life by creating grand public buildings, schools, picture galleries, and clearing open spaces.[2] Between 1870 and 1900, according to Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, citizenship 'was associated with civic spirit and civic engagement.'[3] In this period, described

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[1] A.B. Rodrick, *Self-Help and Civic Culture: Citizenship in Victorian Birmingham* (Ashgate, 2004), p.144.
[2] T. Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: the Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* (London, 2004), p.275.
[3] B. Beaven and J. Griffiths, 'Creating the exemplary citizen: the changing notion of citizenship in Britain 1870-1939', *Contemporary British History,* 22, no. 2 (2008), p.204-205.

as 'the high point of civic Liberalism' by Simon Gunn, it was self-improvement through such civic action that formed the basis of urban citizenship in Britain.[4] In Chicago, as K.D. McCarthy has argued, wealthy, moralistic and reforming volunteers 'assumed the role of Christian Gentlemen', creating relief and learned societies, hospitals and lyceums, and generally maintaining the city's charitable and cultural institutions.[5] Frederic C. Jaher has confirmed this characterisation of nineteenth-century Chicago, and cities in the US more generally.[6] Citizenship was not solely limited to civic elites, as shown by the similar activities of philanthropic women, particularly in social settlements.[7] But, in both Britain and the US, there was a distinct separation between two tiers of citizenship: firstly, as an active and public pursuit, demographically limited to mostly white rich men, and secondly, as private and moral self-improvement, theoretically available to anyone. Notions of behaviour for those excluded from the former due to their lower social status were a priority for reasons of stability, and so were the loci of encouragement of moral regularity from 'active' citizens.[8] Regardless, the city and its institutions were the sites through which people could 'make themselves into citizens.'[9] There were expressions of self-government and expression for the lower classes, like friendly societies in Britain, trade unions, or the attempt to create what Kevin Mattson has termed a 'democratic public' from below in the Social Centres Movement

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[4] S. Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City, 1840-1914* (Manchester, 2000), p.182.

[5] K.D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929* (Chicago, 1982), p.173.

[6] F.C. Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (Champaign, 1982), pp.512-519.

[7] See M.A. Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (Princeton, 2002); J. Metzger, *What Would Jane Say? City-Building Women and a Tale of Two Chicagos* (Chicago, 2009); J. Addams, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull-House: September 1909 to September 1929* (New York, 1930); J.B. Elshtain (ed.), *The Jane Addams Reader* (Chicago, 2001).

[8] D. Smith, 'Englishness and the Liberal inheritance after 1886' in R. Colls and P. Dodd (eds), *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London, 1986), p.257.

[9] T. Bender, 'Intellectuals, cities, and citizenship in the United States: the 1890s and 1990s', *Citizenship Studies,* 3, no. 2 (1999), p.203.

of America, but the emphasis of the highest form of citizenship was placed mainly on those of a male elite background, difficult to realise without money, time, and prestige.[10]

Historians have highlighted how, by the early twentieth century, this relationship between urban elites and citizenship was less tenable. In Britain, nineteenth-century middle-class suburbanisation removed a large proportion of active citizens, leading to a perceived dearth in the quality and quantity of what John Garrard has termed the 'urban squirearchy': a local leadership combining social, economic and political substance.[11] Both contemporaries and historians have drawn attention to the prevalence of this process in Manchester.[12] By the 1880s affluent families in the US were also moving out to the suburbs, and, instead of socialising in the city, vacationed at exclusive resorts, or attended newly organised country clubs.[13] Michael Schudson has reasoned that, concurrently, due to a combination of improved transport and communication in the late nineteenth century, individuals began to understand themselves in a national rather than local context.[14] In Chicago, many of the upper class civic elite were lured away by 'pleasant climes and exciting and elegant environments'.[15] A process of middle-class suburbanisation also took place, beginning in the 1870s and proliferating post-First World War, leaving the centre of the city dominated by ethnic and immigrant groups with less mainstream political power compared to their white predecessors.[16] This arguably marked the death of the Progressive Era in Chicago; 'machine

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[10] K. Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: the Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy During the Progressive Era* (Philadelphia, 1998).

[11] J. Garrard, '1850-1914: the rule and decline of a new squirearchy?', *Albion: a Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 27, no. 4 (1995), p.612.

[12] Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*; R.J. Morris, 'Structure, culture and society in British towns' in M. Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Vol. III* (Cambridge, 2000) and Gunn, *The Public Culture*; K. Chorley, *Manchester Made Them* (London, 1950), pp.137-139 have argued that civic pride declined after 1914, though this has been challenged by more recent theses, like C.E. Wildman, 'The "Spectacle" of Interwar Manchester and Liverpool: Urban Fantasies, Consumer Cultures and Gendered Identities', PhD Thesis (University of Manchester, 2007) and S. Begley, 'Voluntary Associations and the Civic Ideal in Leicester, 1870-1939', PhD Thesis (University of Leicester, 2009).

[13] M. Schudson, *The Good Citizen: a History of American Civic Life* (New York, 1998), p.175.

[14] Ibid., p.176.

[15] Jaher, *The Urban Establishment,* p.538.

[16] S.B. Warner, *The Urban Wilderness: a History of the American City* (New York, 1972), pp.108-109.

politics' now proliferated under the Republican Mayor, 'Big Bill' Thompson, and left the bureaucratic local authority as the main controlling power in the city, without substantial checks from middle-class reformers.[17] Remaining civic volunteers increasingly found technocrats in between the donor and recipient of philanthropy, as scientific expertise dominated the methods of dealing with the poor, while the Progressive Movement, instead of confirming the civic duties of wealthy citizens, called for a reformed, professionalised and accountable municipal government.[18] Citizenship as a process of communication between civic elites and the working class was now less important.

By the interwar period other notions of citizenship that disregarded the local succeeded this urban elite model. In 1905, Progressive reformer Frederic C. Howe proclaimed the US city as 'the hope of democracy'; the site in which the political and societal answers to industrial modernity could be found.[19] Yet, as Thomas Bender has shown, the city was seen as 'too limited a terrain' to provide political solutions, and the focus of social politics increasingly moved towards the nation, helped along by an invigorated sense of national identity nourished in the 1880s and 1890s to 'heal the wounds' of the Civil War.[20] After the initial policy of isolation, the American entry into the First World War and mobilization of the home front further encouraged popular patriotism, as associational culture and government cooperated to instil a sense of togetherness and national identity.[21] Christina A. Ziegler-McPherson has traced the cause of this cooperation to the mass immigration of the first two decades of the twentieth century, when federal and state governments sought to

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[17] M. Graser, '"A Jeffersonian skepticism of urban democracy"? The educated middle class and the problem of political power in Chicago, 1880-1940' in R. Roth and R. Beachy (eds), *Who Ran the Cities: City Elites and Urban Power Structures in Europe and North America, 1750-1940* (London, 2007), p.222. H.F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model* (Chicago, 1937).

[18] McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige,* p.174.

[19] F.C. Howe, *The City: the Hope of Democracy* (New York, 1905). Bender, 'Intellectuals, cities, and citizenship', p.213. See also M. Frisch, 'Social particularity and American political culture: the two-edged sword of community' in S.H. Gilman (ed.), *The City and Sense of Community* (New York, 1976), pp.34-36.

[20] Bender, 'Intellectuals, cities, and citizenship', p.214.

[21] C. *Capozzola, Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern Citizen* (Oxford, 2008); J.F. McClymer, 'The federal government and the Americanization movement, 1915-1924', *Prologue: the Journal of the National Archives,* 10, no. 1 (1978).

shape American national identity through the naturalisation and assimilation of immigrants into a culture pre-defined by the country's British heritage.[22] In the wartime output of the Committee on Public Information, there was little reference to the city, with the focus instead on democracy as realised through Anglo-American cultural values and practices.[23] Conservative organisations like the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, the National Security League, and the American Legion, worked to inculcate a notion of citizenship based on literacy, the mechanics of American government, patriotic rituals and 'a reverential, unquestioning view of American history.'[24] These cooperative strands led to a 'poisonous atmosphere of paranoia and hyper-patriotism.'[25] Into the 1920s demands for '100 percent Americanism', as Robin Bachin has noted, continued as signs of cultural or economic nonconformity – like labour strikes and fears of communism - were displayed as contrary to the identity of the 'true' American.[26] The 1920s were, as William Leuchtenburg has stated, 'rabidly nationalistic'.[27] This focus on the national, according to Michael Schudson, was increasingly located around the idea of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, which were put on public display as well as becoming required teaching in most states by 1931, and the central role of federal government in Washington, DC, which became a 'national icon in the 1920s and 1930s.'[28] In the mid-1930s, John Higham has argued, came another upsurge in nationalism, in response to the growing sense of crisis due to the prospect of global warfare.[29] The combination of patriotic rituals, reverential treatment of national

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[22] C. A. Ziegler-McPherson, *Americanization in the States: Immigrant Social Welfare Policy, Citizenship and National identity in the United States, 1908-1929* (Gainesville, 2009), pp.1-2.
[23] Ibid., p.88.
[24] Ibid., p.10.
[25] Ibid., p.91.
[26] R.F. Bachin, 'At the nexus of labor and leisure: baseball, nativism, and the 1919 black sox scandal', *Journal of Social History,* 36, no. 4 (2003); H.W. Stubblefield and P. Keane, *Adult Education in the American Experience: From the Colonial Period to the Present* (San Francisco, 1994), p.229; C.E. O'Leary, *To Die For: the Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton, 1999).
[27] W.E. Leuchtenurg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (Chicago, 1993), p.239.
[28] Schudson, *The Good Citizen,* pp.202-203.
[29] J. Higham, 'Hanging together: divergent unities in American history', *Journal of American History,* 61, no. 1 (1974), pp.27-28.

symbols, and enforcing of 100% Americanism aptly displayed what Robert Bellah later famously described as the American 'civil religion': an institutionalised belief system that ensured national solidarity and mobilized 'deep levels of personal motivation for the attainment of national goals.'[30] In the US, according to these historians, citizenship in the interwar period was based upon several interlocking ideas that focused on the bounded nation-state: cultural conformity, in the form of eschewing political and social radicalism; celebration of national ideals and symbols, like democracy and the Constitution; and loyalty and service for the nation, especially against the backdrop of external military aggression.

In Britain, Rodrick and Brian Doyle have shown, country and empire were already assuming increasing cultural significance at the beginning of the twentieth century as a sense of 'Englishness' began to overpower localism and provincial identity.[31] During the First World War, as Nicoletta Gullace has argued, female war enthusiasts, through actions like handing out white feathers to perceived cowards, were contrasted with shirkers and pacifists.[32] As women displayed their duty to the nation by providing 'the blood of their sons', undertaking dangerous munitions work, and castigating those who refused to sign up, patriotism and duty, rather than manhood, became the most important qualifications for citizenship in Britain.[33] Public remembrances, like Armistice Day, and institutions like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), bolstered the widespread feeling of a patriotic national character in the interwar period.[34] Campaigns like Empire Day, as described by

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[30] R.N. Bellah, 'Civil religion in America', *Daedalus,* 96, no. 1 (1967), p.13.

[31] Rodrick, *Self-Help,* pp.205-206; B. Doyle, 'The invention of English', *Englishness: Culture and Politics.* Readman has argued that localised interpretations of Englishness still provided the basis of national identity in the period 1890-1914, finding more purchase than wider ideas of Britishness like imperialism or empire. P. Readman, 'The place of the past in English culture c.1890-1914', *Past and Present,* 186 (2005), pp.149-150.

[32] N.C. Gullace, *'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (Basingstoke, 2002).

[33] Ibid*.,* p.4.

[34] S. Nicholas, 'From John Bull to John Citizen: images of national identity and citizenship on the wartime BBC' in R. Weight and A. Beach, *The Right to Belong: Citizenship and National Identity in Britain, 1930-1960* (London, 1988), p.39.

Kaori O'Connor, highlighted the duty of supporting the national rather than local economy.[35] Richard Weight and Abigail Beach have contended that national identity and citizenship were 'regarded as complementary, if not virtually indivisible'.[36] While citizenship lost 'the intensely aggressive strand of imperialism' of the Edwardian period, the nation and its Empire remained important markers in the 1920s.[37] In Britain, in the analysis of these historians, citizenship denoted a belonging and concurrent responsibility to the nation, which was defined popularly as also incorporating support for the Empire. Citizens therefore were those who supported and 'built' the nation, whether through economic support, military service, or cultural conformity - ideas disseminated through nationwide cultural institutions and events. As both countries entered the post-First World War period, according to this historiography, it was a trust in national identity that many hoped would bind society together.

Alongside this shift was the increasing attachment of political rights and responsibilities to notions of citizenship. In Britain, the Representation of the People Act in 1918 created a mass electorate: in 1913, 7,709,981 were eligible to vote; in 1918 this had risen to 21,392,322. All males over twenty-one were now enfranchised, while women over thirty (with property qualifications) were also eligible.[38] Old notions of who deserved the vote lost legitimacy; it was harder to justify the Victorian 'respectable head of household, firmly established in his community' as soldiers of all classes returned home after experiencing the First World War.[39] In the US, the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 also

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[35] K. O'Connor, 'The King's Christmas pudding: globalization, recipes, and the commodities of empire', *Journal of Global History,* 4 (2009), p.139.

[36] Weight and Beach, 'Introduction', *The Right to Belong,* p.1. See also J. Stapleton, 'Citizenship versus patriotism in twentieth-century England', *The Historical Journal,* 48, no. 1 (2005).

[37] Beaven and Griffiths, 'Creating the exemplary citizen', pp.211-212. Stapleton, 'Citizenship versus patriotism', pp.164-166.

[38] C. Cook, *The Age of Alignment: Electoral Politics in Britain 1922-1929* (London, 1975), p.4-5.

[39] A. Clark, 'Gender, class and the nation: franchise reform in England, 1832-1928' in J. Vernon (ed.), *Re-Reading the Constitution: New Narratives in the Political History of England's Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), p.253.

prohibited the exclusion of voting rights 'on account of sex'. Unsurprisingly, then, many studies have concentrated on the specific experience of women as political citizens in the interwar period.[40] Similarly, the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 prohibited the exclusion of voting rights 'on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude'. Importantly, however, from the 1880s to 1920s, the civic nationalist ideology that proclaimed equal rights for all individuals who proclaimed American allegiance, regardless of race and ethnicity, was overtaken by racial nationalism, which instead expressed nativism, common blood, and the rightness of whiteness, supported through immigration bans and legal restrictions on the citizenship of East and South East Asians.[41] Nonetheless, citizenship notions sought to incorporate a new diverse mass electorate.

Political citizenship therefore became tied to exercising the right and responsibility of the vote. According to Liette Gidlow the vote was the symbol of legitimacy and full inclusion in US society at the start of the 1920s.[42] As the *Chicago Tribune* declared in 1920, the 'Test of Citizenship' was 'patriotism and intelligence… It is the test of the ballot box. It requires

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[40] For Britain, see S. Innes, 'Constructing women's citizenship in the interwar period: the Edinburgh Women's Association', *Women's History Review,* 13, no. 4 (2004); V.A. Wright, 'Education for active citizenship: women's organisations in interwar Scotland', *History of Education,* 38, no. 3 (2009); K. Hunt, 'Rethinking activism: lessons from the history of women's politics', *Parliamentary Affairs,* 62, no. 2 (2009); K. Hunt, 'Making politics in local communities: Labour women in interwar Manchester' in M. Worley (ed.), *Labour's Grass Roots: Essays on the Activities of Local Labour Parties and Members, 1918-1945* (Ashgate, 2005); M. Andrews, 'For home and country': feminism and Englishness in the Women's Institute movement, 1930-1960', *The Right to Belong*; M. Andrews, *The Acceptable Face of Feminism: the Women's Institute as a Social Movement* (London, 1997); C. Beaumont, 'Citizens not feminists: the boundary negotiated between citizenship and feminism by mainstream women's organisations in England, 1928–39', *Women's History Review,* 9 (2000); J. Smith, 'The Manchester and Salford Women Citizens' Association: a Study of Women's Citizenship, 1913-1948', PhD Thesis (Manchester Metropolitan University, 2007). For the US, see Flanagan, *Seeing with their Hearts;* N. F. Cott, 'Across the great divide: women in politics before and after 1920' in L.A. Tilly and P. Gunn (eds), *Women, Politics, and Change* (New York, 1990); K. Anderson, *After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics before the New Deal* (Chicago, 1996); E.B. Freedman, 'The new woman: changing views of women in the 1920s', *The Journal of American History,* 61, no. 2 (1974).
[41] The Chinese were barred through an 1882 Exclusion Act, as were women who married an 'alien' ineligible for citizenship after the Cable Act, 1922. E.N. Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (London, 2002), p.26. G. Gerstle, 'Race and nation in the United States, Mexico, and Cuba, 1880-1940' in D.H. Doyle (ed.), *Nationalism in the New World* (Athens, 2006), p.272 and p.276.
[42] L. Gidlow, *The Big Vote: Gender, Consumer Culture, and the Politics of Exclusion, 1890s-1920s* (Baltimore, 2004), p.8.

two actions, registration and voting.'[43] Michael Schudson has further elaborated that twentieth-century voting was a 'performance of individualism oriented to the nation, not a performance of community directed to the locale' – a distinct change from nineteenth-century politics.[44] In Britain, as Rodrick has suggested, the new franchise did not encourage deep involvement in civic governance or municipal reform, with public opinion only expressed through the election, representing the transition from a 'republican model of civic participation to a liberal democratic model of adult male suffrage.'[45] This was arguably a passive-form of citizenship, also promoted by the BBC, as Sian Nicholas has argued.[46] Yuk Yong Jessie Wong has also seen the interwar period in Britain as representing a stage in citizenship education that stressed citizenship as obligation, rather than right. The campaigns by the Association for Education in Citizenship in the 1930s aimed to preserve democracy, which in reality meant voting, rather than active participative citizenship.[47] The interwar period, in this historiography, therefore stands at the end of one type of citizenship, generalised as liberal individualism, self-improvement, civic participation, and a limited demographic of mostly rich white men. After the extension of the franchise there was a change in who was admitted, at least on a constitutional basis, to the definition of citizenship, with voting and national identity now being the key signifiers.

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[43] 'The test of citizenship', *Chicago Tribune* [hereafter *CT*] (10th October 1920), p.8.
[44] Schudson, *The Good Citizen,* p.173.
[45] Rodrick, *Self-Help,* pp.149-150 and p.208.
[46] Nicholas, 'From John Bull to John Citizen'. See also D.L. LeMahieu, *A Culture for Democracy: Mass Communication and the Cultivated Mind in Britain between the Wars* (Oxford, 1988); D. Oswell, 'Early children's broadcasting in Britain: programming for a liberal democracy', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television,* 18, no. 3 (1998).
[47] W.Y.Y. Jessie, 'Continuity and Change in Citizenship Education in England in the Twentieth Century', PhD Thesis (University of Liverpool, 1991), p.6; G. Whitmarsh, 'Society and the School Curriculum: the Association for Education in Citizenship, 1934-57', PhD Thesis (University of Birmingham, 1972).

Putting the City Back into Citizenship

This thesis challenges the dominance of the prevailing historiography by arguing that we must reinstate the importance of the city in the process of citizenship formation. 'Good citizenship', particularly for youths, immigrants, and the working class was also seen as being social: coterminous with the responsibility of personal health and urban behaviour. Contemporaries in Manchester and Chicago therefore viewed social citizenship through the lens of the urban environment and urban interaction. The thesis does not attempt to argue, however, that the national was not important; rather, it aims to show how citizenship, as formed through local policy and urban social interaction, provided individuals that were suitable for the requirements of both the city <u>and</u> the nation. The relationship between local and national, therefore, was not one of competition, but instead one of compatibility and shared goals.

Historians have already drawn attention to the importance of health in the period. In Britain there was growing pessimism emanating from the decline of the country's industrial and military strength at the turn of the twentieth century, seen as partly due to the poor health of the urban working-class.[48] The mid-Victorian conception of citizenship as individual progress was therefore increasingly replaced by an emphasis on the collective health of the nation, expressed through the efficiency and fitness of its citizens.[49] Into the interwar period, health and strength were again highlighted and linked to citizenship, especially following the poor fitness of army recruits in the First World War, and again in the late 1930s in the context

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[48] J. Savage, *Teenage: the Creation of Youth 1875-1914* (London, 2007), p.xvi; G.R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: a Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914* (Oxford, 1971), I. Zweiniger-Bargieloska, *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health, and Fitness in Britain 1880-1939* (2010); B. Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester, 2005), pp.88-90; B.F Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild: a History of the School Medical Service in England and Wales* (Buckingham, 1995), pp.6-7; D. Porter, '"Enemies of the race": biologism, environmentalism, and public health in Edwardian England', *Victorian Studies,* 34, no. 2 (1991).

[49] Beaven and Griffiths, 'Creating the exemplary citizen', pp.208-209. M. Freeden, 'Civil society and the good citizen: competing conceptions of citizenship in twentieth-century Britain' in J. Harris (ed.), *Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions* (Oxford, 2003).

of preparedness for international conflict.[50] Healthy and productive workers could secure the vitality of the nation and thus the Empire. Citizenship debates followed a similar pattern in the US. At the end of the nineteenth century, rapid immigration and urbanisation led to a fear that the Anglo-Saxon 'race' was declining, taking with it the physical strength of the nation.[51] Into the interwar period this fear remained to a certain extent and, though mostly shorn of its eugenics basis, physical health remained important.[52] Alongside this notion of health in both countries was also increasing attention given to creating cooperative behaviour, rather than individualistic improvement, in order to maintain social stability in the context of racial tension, class consciousness, and new forms of damaging leisure pursuits.[53] Citizenship was vested in the responsibilities of the individual and how they cooperated with other citizens for

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[50] I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Building a British superman: physical culture in interwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History,* 41, no. 4 (2006); C. Lawrence and A.K. Mayer, 'Regenerating England: an introduction' in C. Lawrence and A.K. Mayer (eds), *Regenerating England: Science, Medicine and Culture in Inter-War Britain* (Atlanta, 2000); S. Carter, *Rise and Shine: Sunlight, Technology and Health* (Oxford, 2007), p.77; P. Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* 2nd ed. (1996 [1982], Harlow), p.183; S. Sturdy, 'Hippocrates and state medicine: George Newman outlines the founding policy of the Ministry of Health' in C. Lawrence and G. Weisz (eds), *Greater than the Parts: Holism in Biomedicine, 1920-1950* (Oxford, 1998); J. Welshman, 'Bringing beauty and brightness to the back streets': health education and public health in England and Wales, 1890-1940, *Health Education Journal,* 56 (1997); A. Beach, 'Potential for participation: Health Centres and the idea of citizenship c.1920-1940' in *Regenerating England*; J Welshman, 'Physical education and the School Medical Service in England and Wales, 1907-39', *Social History of Medicine,* 9, no. 1 (1996).
[51] D. Porter, *Health, Civilization and the State: a History of Public Health from Ancient to Modern Times* (London, 1999), p.163; M. Verbrugge, 'Recreating the body: women's physical education and the science of sex differences in America, 1900–1940', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* 71, no. 2 (1997); D. Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia, 1981); H. Green, *Fit for America: Fitness, Sport, and American Society* (Baltimore, 1986);. R. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston, 1964 [1944]); R.J. Park, 'Healthy, moral, and strong: educational views of exercise and athletics in nineteenth-century America' in K. Grover (ed.), *Fitness in American Culture: Images of Health, Sport, and the Body, 1830-1940,* (New York, 1989); D.S. Churchill, 'Making broad shoulders: body-building and physical culture in Chicago 1890-1920', *History of Education Quarterly,* 48, no. 3 (2008).
[52] P.N. Stears, *Battleground of Desire: the Struggle for Self-Control in Modern America* (New York, 1999), p.20; Green, *Fit for America,* p.263; J.C. Wharton, 'Eating to win: popular concepts of diet, strength, and energy in the early twentieth century' in *Fitness in American Culture*, p.87; M.R. Harris, 'Iron therapy and tonics' in *Fitness in American Culture;* Green, *Fit for America,* p.253; H. Green, 'Introduction' in *Fitness in American Culture,* p.11;. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism,* p.203; D.J. Mrozek, 'Sport in American life: from national health to personal fulfilment, 1890-1940' in *Fitness in American Culture,* p.18; N. Molina, *Fit to be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley, 2060).
[53] For the US, see Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals,* pp.147-148; Verbrugge, 'Recreating the body', pp.290-292; M.R. Olneck, 'American public schooling and European immigrants in the early twentieth century: a post-revisionist synthesis' in W.J. Reese and J.L. Rury (eds), *Rethinking the History of American Education* (New York, 2008), p.110; Mrozek, 'Sport in American life', p.23. For Britain, see Welshman, 'Physical education', p.37; Beaven and Griffiths, 'Creating the exemplary citizen', pp.208-209; L.L. Shiman, 'The Band of Hope movement: respectable recreation for working-class Children', *Victorian Studies,* 17, no. 1(1973), p.69.

the greater good, while maintaining the health and fitness of their own body, to secure both local and national economic strength, and international military power.

With citizenship understood in this way the urban variable becomes paramount, making a comparison between the two cities here viable; contemporaries in Manchester and Chicago consistently and explicitly stated that it was the specific experience of the modern city that created these conditions of social instability and poor health.[54] While the city was the site of these problems, it was also believed to contain within itself a potential for cohesion.[55] Important therefore were the ways in which this could be achieved; firstly, by linking citizenship responsibility to the services and benefits of living in the city, and secondly, by creating alternative modes of urban leisure and urban environments that corrected health and behaviour. In this way citizenship remained 'liberal', in as much as it was still targeted towards creating 'character' and making the individual self-governing, yet 'collective', since it sought to fit the citizen into what contemporaries saw as a potential urban community, for the purposes of local and national health.[56] Policies and activities that aimed to produce citizenship therefore worked through a focus on the body of the citizen in relation to their environment, created and managed through a cooperation of voluntary associations and the state, primarily local but increasingly central. Informed by investigation and analysis of the urban environment and its effects on the physiology of the citizen, interwar citizenship as based on the city was realised in several different areas that I analyse: the educational materials used to encourage civic loyalty and citizenship; the public ritual enactments of city

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[54] See Chapter Five, section one, for how contemporaries in Chicago and Manchester linked health and behaviour directly to the urban environment. For an example of a compelling case for the 'urban variable', see M.J. Daunton, 'Introduction' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Vol. III.*

[55] P. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p.292. While Boyer was talking about the American city, I believe that this thesis will show that the notion of the city as also being a potential site of cohesion was just as evident in Manchester.

[56] C. Otter, *The Victorian Eye: a Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago, 2008), p.11.

community; the provision of clubs and festivals for youths; and the material designs of schools and public housing.

The power of municipal government and urban voluntary associations, and the points of contact between the two, was vital, making the interlinked concepts of 'civic culture' and 'urban governance' relevant to this thesis.[57] Theories of governance, rather than concentrating on one source of authority and power, have maintained that 'the agencies and relationships which projected power were diffuse, multi-centred and networked.' The result of these interactions was the 'steering' towards citizenship, rather than social control, of defined groups in the city, like the working class and immigrants.[58] Taking part in governing the local community were a range of agencies, categorised as governmental (local, state, central/federal) and voluntary (local associations, regional and national charities).[59] Defining the differences between these groupings is problematic; voluntary organisations often had paid employees, worked with government, were funded by government, or provided services instead of governments.[60] For this reason I use a definition of voluntary associations that leaves scope for a range of interactions. Firstly, voluntary associations were non-profit, and did not distribute income to members beyond employees; secondly, while voluntary associations may have worked with or through government, they were not official government departments in name or administration, could not make or enforce laws, and were free to act outside the realm of government; and thirdly, voluntary associations predominantly worked towards the attainment of a self-defined and malleable 'public

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[57] Historians of both Manchester and Chicago have already utilised the concept of civic culture in the twentieth century: see P. Shapely, *The Politics of Housing: Power, Consumers and Urban Culture* (Manchester, 2007) and R. Bachin, *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago 1890-1919* (Chicago, 2004). See also K.D. Revell, *Building Gotham: Civic Culture and Public Policy in New York City, 1898-1938* (Baltimore, 2003) and Rodrick, *Self-Help.*
[58] R.J. Morris, 'Governance: two centuries of urban growth' in R.J. Morris and R.H. Trainor, *Urban Governance: Britain and Beyond since 1750* (Ashgate, 2000), p.10.
[59] M. Goldsmith and J. Garrard, 'Urban governance: some reflections' in *Urban Governance,* p.16.
[60] L. Salamon, *America's Nonprofit Sector: a Primer* (New York, 1999), pp.10-11.

good'.[61] Civic culture was a pluralistic mode of communication and persuasion, consensus and diversity, and the permitting of moderated change among these various agencies; it helps us understand how policy makers weighed the interests of different groups, governed the local community, framed local goals, engaged in decision-making, and selected and implemented public policies.[62] The creation of civic culture was a 'contested process', as the lines between public and private were acknowledged yet blurred.[63] Essential to the exercise of governance and the effective working of civic culture was the publication and public discussion of information and argument, especially as produced and presented by scientific and professional expertise.[64] Civic culture in the interwar period became geared towards values that emphasised the pride, belonging, and identity of the city, as well as the symbolic yet purposeful performing of the relationship between city government, associational culture, and the individual urban-dweller. It transcended 'traditional politics' by providing a 'shared sense of identity, of belonging to the same community with its distinctive history and traditions.'[65] While this was not necessarily a stable identity, it gave a structure to urban citizenship policies, and importance to local government and associations.[66]

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[61] For discussion of the various ways to define the voluntary sector, see K. Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State: Charities and the Working Classes in London, 1918-1979* (Manchester, 1999), pp.19-20; J. Lewis, 'The voluntary sector in the mixed economy of welfare' in D. Gladstone (ed.), *Before Beveridge: Welfare before the Welfare State* (London, 1999); M. Hilton and J. McKay, 'The ages of voluntarism: an introduction' in M. Hilton and J. McKay (eds), *The Ages of Voluntarism: How We Got to the Big Society* (Oxford, 2011), pp.12-14; W.W. Powell and R. Steinberg, 'Introduction' in W.W. Powell and R. Steinberg (eds), *The Nonprofit Sector: a Research Handbook,* 2nd ed. (New Haven, 2006); M. O'Neill, *Nonprofit Nation: a New Look at the Third America* (San Francisco, 2003), p.2.

[62] G.A. Almond and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (London, 1963), p.6; L.A. Reese and R.A. Rosenfeld, 'Comparative civic culture: theory and methods' in L.A. Reese and R.A. Rosenfeld (eds), *Comparative Civic Culture: the Role of Local Culture in Urban Policy-Making* (Farnham, 2012).

[63] Bachin, *Building the South Side,* p.7.

[64] Morris, 'Governance', p.10.

[65] Shapely, *The Politics of Housing,* p.11.

[66] J. Street, 'Political culture – from civic culture to mass culture', *British Journal of Political Science,* 24, no. 1 (1994), p.104.

Certainly, in Britain, the interwar period was primarily one of central government growth, after the First World War stimulated the already evident trend of an enlarging state.[67] Weakening and control of local government was reflected in the creation of the Unemployment Assistance Board in 1934, which took the responsibility for maintaining the able-bodied unemployed away from local authorities, and increased control and power to make regulations in police forces under the Police Act of 1919 and the Police (Appeals) Act of 1927.[68] A rapid rise in central legislation affecting local government was apparent throughout the interwar period, as municipal governments were restricted by statutes and grant policy.[69] However, while the powers of local government were tempered by central legislation, restrictions, and grant policy, the interwar period still represented a last flowering for municipal government.[70] Local councils reached the height of their spending power; councils that previously struggled to provide services, due to financial and legal obstacles, though sometimes inertia, now had central aid.[71] Central government therefore supported local civic culture. Furthermore, in new and expansive areas of government like public housing and education, local authority expenditure grew faster than that of central government.[72] Local government also retained its Victorian municipalised utilities, like gas, water, and transport.[73] For some authorities the interwar period was even one of consolidation and extension of the autonomous and progressive approach usually attributed to the local

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[67] D. Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: a History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution,* 4th ed. (Basingstoke, 2009), pp.209-210.

[68] J. Willis, 'Parliament and the local authorities' in H.J. Laski, W.I. Jennings, W.A. Robson (eds), *A Century of Municipal Progress 1835-1935* (London, 1935), p.437. Thane provides an excellent overview and analysis of the growth of the welfare state in this period. Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* pp.153-206.

[69] L. Hill, 'The municipal service' in *A Century of Municipal Progress,* p.111. Willis, 'Parliament and the local authorities', p.450.

[70] N. Hayes, 'Civic perceptions: housing and local decision-making in English cities in the 1920s', *Urban History,* 27, no. 2 (2000), pp.214-215.

[71] J. Davis, 'Central government and the towns' in M. Daunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Vol. III* (Cambridge, 2000), p.272. See also S. Ewen, 'Power and Administration in Two Midland Cities', PhD Thesis (University of Leicester, 2003); and E.P. Hennock, 'Central/local government relations in England: an outline 1800-1950', *Urban History Yearbook* (1982).

[72] Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* p.205.

[73] J. Sheldrake, *Municipal Socialism* (Aldershot, 1989); W.H. Fraser, 'From civic gospel to municipal socialism' in D. Fraser (ed.), *Cities, Class and Communication* (Hemel Hempstead, 1990); J.A. Hassan, 'The growth and impact of the British water industry in the nineteenth century', *Economic History Review,* 38, no. 4 (1985).

council of the second half of the nineteenth century.[74] These aspects were particularly apparent in Manchester's municipal government, which showed 'relative strength and ambition' in the interwar period.[75]

This growth in urban government partly emanated from intellectual thought regarding citizenship and community in the nineteenth century, as Victorian social liberalism persisted in the gradual development of social democracy and the foundation of the welfare state in the first half of the twentieth century. Contrary to the popular definition of liberalism, taken as meaning individualistic doctrines that aimed to defend personal rights and liberties through an absence of restraint, Eugene Biagini has demonstrated how J.S. Mill, the leading libertarian of the mid-nineteenth century, actually drew upon the republican practices of Ancient Greece to argue for the importance of civic virtue in the form of local public participation, positing the local community as the arena in which civil liberties flourished. Through the formation of common interests a positive emotional commitment to a socio-cultural entity could be created, thus leading to higher participation and debate – the foundation of democratic engagement and an individual's responsibility.[76] Idealist philosopher T.H. Green, described later by sociologist and politician L.T. Hobhouse as Mill's 'true successor', took up similar themes in the 1860s, explicitly tackling the role of the state in relation to civil liberty.[77] In 'Liberal legislation and freedom of contract' (1861) Green maintained, with reference to work, education and health, that it was the 'business' of the state to not directly promote 'moral goodness', but to 'maintain the conditions without which

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[74] B.M. Doyle, 'The changing functions of urban government: councillors, officials and pressure groups', *Cambridge Urban History of Britain,* p.289.

[75] C. Wildman, 'Urban Transformation in Liverpool and Manchester, 1918-1939', *The Historical Journal,* 55, 1 (2012), p.143.

[76] E.F. Biagini, 'Liberalism and direct democracy: John Stuart Mill and the model of ancient Athens' in E.F. Biagini (ed.), *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles 1865-1931* (Cambridge, 2002 [1996]).

[77] P. Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge, 1978), p.26.

a free exercise of the human faculties is impossible'.[78] Importantly, it was also in the local arena that Green saw such intervention taking place, and he favoured municipal intervention primarily; without the securing of minimum of material conditions individuals could not reach their full capacity for rights.[79]

While Peter Clarke has argued that it would be a mistake to call Green a collectivist or an architect of the welfare state, he nonetheless provided a language readily adopted by late-nineteenth-century reformists who justified increased state intervention on the grounds of ensuring individual liberty.[80] Directly teaching key social liberals like Herbert Samuel and H.H. Asquith at Balliol College, Green's impact was also explicit in the 'Rainbow Circle' meetings in 1894 that brought together the mix of Liberal, Independent Labour Party, and Fabian progressives from which New Liberalism sprung.[81] Beyond the Edwardian period, as Biagini has pointed out, it was the contextual development of party politics rather than any substantial difference in liberal ideology that led to divergences in the relations between liberalism and labour.[82] When the Liberal Party began to decline therefore, in the interwar period especially, the conversion of middle-class liberals to Labour was a natural result of the progressive agenda that had been shared from the turn of the century.[83] Importantly for this thesis, modern sociology and political thought as based on Mill or Green was not confined to intellectuals or central policy makers, and spread directly into the popular and vernacular contexts that this thesis analyses – like the national efficiency debate, social surveys, the guild of help, town-planning, and civics education. While interwar contemporaries may have,

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[78] T.H. Green, 'Liberal legislation and freedom of contract' in T.H. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation and other Writings,* ed. P. Harris and J. Morrow (Cambridge, 1986), p.202. For an analysis of how Green conceived of the common good, see A. Simhony, 'T.H. Green: the common good society', *History of Political Thought,* 14, no. 2 (1993).
[79] M. Carter, *T.H. Green and the development of Ethical Socialism* (Exeter, 2003), p.40.
[80] Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats,* p.15.
[81] Ibid., p.58.
[82] Biagini, 'Liberalism and direct democracy', p.8.
[83] Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats,* pp.195-198; R. Lewis, 'The Welsh radical tradition and the ideal of a democratic popular culture' in E.F. Biagini (ed.), *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles 1865-1931* (Cambridge, 2002 [1996]), p.338.

for the most part, eschewed the language of Mill, Green or Hobhouse, the influence of the New Liberalism and its nineteenth century origins was highly apparent at the 'grassroots' level of the city.[84] Debates about the relationship between liberalism and community, the state and citizenship, and the city and the individual therefore took place at different levels, often crossing from the theoretical to the practical. The thesis does attempt to join the practices it discusses with these evolving philosophical notions of citizenship, but it does not push contemporaries into a philosophical framework with which they would not necessarily have been familiar. This is especially evident with the small associations who had more basic goals of integration and stability rather than creating a twentieth century version of fourth century Athens – even if this hyperbole was attractive to civically proud dignitaries and boosters.[85]

Despite this growth of the liberal interventionist state, the interwar period was certainly still important for local voluntary associations, especially those involved in welfare, as a negotiation of civic responsibility for urban problems took place. After earlier analyses focused on the role of the state and stressed 'the eventual triumph of collectivism over individualism', more recent studies have highlighted the importance of the 'mixed economy of welfare'.[86] In this viewpoint the family, the formal voluntary sector, the commercial market, and the local and central state, combined to deliver formal and informal services, often in partnership. While, with the impact of the New Liberalism especially at the turn of the twentieth century, the balance of power in Britain was moving more towards the state,

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[84] J. Harris, 'Platonism, positivism and progressivism: aspects of British sociological thought in the early twentieth century' in E.F. Biagini (ed.), *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles 1865-1931* (Cambridge, 2002 [1996]), p.356.

[85] E.D. Simon often made overtures to the Athenian model of city pride and citizenship, extolling the virtues of how 'Every Athenian citizen profoundly believed in and loved his city, and was prepared to work and, if necessary, die for her.' Chicagoans were also not averse to billing their great cities as modern versions of this model, with the proclamation of the Chicago Boosters' Publicity Club that the city was 'the New Athens' often cited in the 1920s. See E.D. Simon, *A City Council From Within* (London, 1926), pp. 234-235 and D. Bukowski, *Big Bill Thompson, Chicago and the Politics of Image* (Oxford, 1998), p. 109.

[86] D. Gladstone, 'Editor's introduction: welfare before the Welfare State' in D. Gladstone (ed.), *Before Beveridge: Welfare before the Welfare State* (London, 1999), p.2.

central government ascendancy was a long-term process, and voluntarism was never eclipsed.[87] Though many charitable or philanthropic bodies disbanded when the state replaced their functions, many reinvented in response to change.[88] Localised organisations maintained that the nature of state responsibility for welfare necessitated their existence and expansion of programmes that created citizens; the state was impersonal, and lacked the face-to-face relationship that ensured learning, civic responsibility, and community cohesion.[89] The state and the voluntary therefore are best understood less as entities in their own rights, and more as two elements in a co-constitutive relationship.[90] Into this relationship the voluntary associations carried 'past traditions' and remained important in terms of the ideology they embodied, and their methods of implementation.[91] It was in and in response to the urban context, and around the question of citizenship, that these associations worked.

In the US a similar process occurred as the interdependence of public and private organisation became 'a fundamental premise of American polity in the twentieth century.'[92] In the 1920s, Herbert Hoover, through his position as secretary of commerce, attempted to implement a vision of 'self-government by the people outside of government', achieved through voluntary co-operation at the community level.[93] While business and productivity boomed, government policy was geared towards promoting the exchange of information and cooperation, while a private sector consisting of business interests, charities, and

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[87] J. Lewis, 'The voluntary sector in the mixed economy of welfare', p.13. Davis, 'Central Government and the towns'.

[88] Hilton and McKay, 'The ages of voluntarism', p.2; Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State*, p.2.

[89] See Chapter Four.

[90] Hilton and McKay, 'The ages of voluntarism', p.8 and p.12 and J. Harris, 'Civil society in British history: paradigm or peculiarity?' in *Civil Society in British History*.

[91] G. Finlayson, 'A moving frontier: voluntarism and the state in British social welfare 1911-1949', *Twentieth Century British History,* 1, no. 2 (1990), pp.184-185.

[92] P.D. Hall, *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and NonProfit organizations* (Baltimore, 1992), p.15.

[93] Ibid. See also J.N. Giglio, 'Voluntarism and public policy between World War I and the New Deal: Herbert Hoover and the American Child Health Association', *Presidential Studies Quarterly,* 13, no. 3 (1983); V. Gaddis, *Herbert Hoover, Unemployment, and the Public Sphere: a Conceptual History, 1919-1933* (Oxford, 2005).

philanthropic foundations provided a variety of services.[94] Economic organisations worked closely with voluntary organisations with altruistic purposes to 'combine self-interested pursuits with the higher values of cooperation and public service.'[95] Charity shifted away from 'moralizing amateurism… toward business models and methods.'[96] In the 1920s therefore voluntarism was reaffirmed in the funding and control of social services for most people, while limited public welfare concentrated on the 'irreducible minimum of persons with long-term conditions'.[97] The Chicago Council of Social Agencies, formed 1914, coordinated this associative state between business, philanthropic organisations, and government.[98]

Certainly, however, the purview of the local state was increasing. Recent research has challenged the historiographical view of 1920 marking the close of the Progressive Era and beginning of a period of social reform stagnation before the intervention of the New Deal. Rather than being a decade of retrenchment and reaction, the 1920s saw extensive governmental expansion and the consolidation of the 'civic welfare state'.[99] City government investment was mostly in policies that enabled healthy and cooperative citizenship through moral, physical and cultural reform – like schools, parks, playgrounds, museums, libraries and public utilities.[100] Throughout the interwar period municipal government grew and, by 1937, over 25,000 people were employed by the Chicago city council.[101] Federal government

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[94] Hall, *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector,* p.pp.53-57.

[95] P.D. Hall, 'Resolving the dilemmas of democratic governance: the historical development of trusteeship in America, 1636-1996' in E.C. Lagemann (ed.), *Philanthropic Foundations: New Scholarship, New Possibilities* (Bloomington, 1999), p.28.

[96] P.D. Hall, 'A historical overview of philanthropy, voluntary associations, and nonprofit organizations in the United States, 1600-2000' in *The Nonprofit Sector: a Research Handbook,* p.49.

[97] J. Fisher, *The Response of Social Work to the Depression* (1980), pp.15-16.

[98] Chicago Council of Social Agencies, 'The Tenth Mile Stone', *Annual Report* (Chicago, 1931), p.4.

[99] D. Amsterdam, 'The Roaring Metropolis: Business, Civic Welfare and State Expansion in 1920s America' PhD Thesis (University of Pennsylvania, 2009), p.v.

[100] For the growth of leisure opportunities provided by Chicago's city council, see Chicago City Council Committee on Public Recreation and Athletics, *Annual Report of Municipal Recreation* (Chicago, 1924), and, for general civic welfare state growth, the essays in Chicago Association of Commerce, *Survey of Chicago: Twenty-First Anniversary of the Chicago Association of Commerce* (Chicago, 1925).

[101] F. Rex, *General Outline of the Municipal Government of the City of Chicago* (1937), p.7.

was also growing. With the Sheppard–Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act, November 1921, the federal government was also brought into the field of child welfare through the area of health, long considered to be the domain of the medical profession.[102] By 1929 public provision was growing, but grants were small and eligibility was restricted.[103] With the turning point of the Great Depression however, the balance between public and private fundamentally altered, and public agencies were widely accepted as being responsible for relief giving.[104] The Social Security Act of 1935 particularly was a landmark event and signified the end of dominance of private charity over public welfare.[105] In the ten years after the Great Crash of 1929 federal government was significantly enlarged, particularly under Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal legislation (1933-1938), as the state expanded in many different directions in an attempt to provide relief to the unemployed, promote economic recovery, and reform the financial system.[106] With the establishment of the Works Progress Administration in 1935, the federal government became the largest employer in the country.[107]

Robert Putnam and Gerald Gamm have contended that associational culture in the US grew most rapidly between 1850 and 1900, with slower growth 1900 to 1910, and stagnation or decline from 1910 to 1940. Furthermore, it was in smaller cities and towns with low population growth, rather than large rapidly growing cities, that they found the highest level of associational activity.[108] Putnam and Gamm's work can be seen as one manifestation of the inclination in American sociology to search for ideal expressions of 'community' and

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[102] W.I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State: a History of Social Welfare in America,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1979), p.184.
[103] Fisher, *The Response of Social Work*, p.23.
[104] Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State,* p.223.
[105] Ibid*., pp.236-237.
[106] D.M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: the American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York, 1999), p.10.
[107] A.L. Hamby, *For the Survival of Democracy: Franklin Roosevelt and the World Crisis of the 1930s* (New York, 2004), p.418.
[108] R.D. Putnam and G. Gamm, 'The growth of voluntary associations in America, 1840-1940', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 29, no. 4 (1999), p.514.

civic engagement.[109] This arguably is due to the tendency in American political thought, from the 1960s especially, to separate the political from the state, and to see its genesis and power instead in civil society.[110] In 1974 John Higham could argue that, with a few exceptions, 'a remarkable number of recent studies focus on the points at which or the ways in which American communities have failed.'[111] In 1985, with the publication of Robert Bellah and co-researchers' *Habits of the Heart,* in which he argued that the language of individualism undermined civic commitment, this trend continued.[112] Putnam's other work, especially in assessing the perceived decline of social capital, could be viewed as being in a similar vein.[113]

It is worth noting however that Chicago was not one of Putnam and Gamm's twenty-six selected towns or cities, and that statistics provided by the University of Chicago in 1927 do not match their chronology; in the first half of the 1920s nearly as many city-wide organisations were founded as in the previous decade.[114] At the very least, associations in Chicago, while experiencing problems in the interwar period, continued to be qualitatively important, especially in the domain of encouraging urban citizenship.[115] In this sense I agree with Higham, who has pointed out that judging 'one pattern of social integration by criteria derived from another' confuses scholarship and demeans 'the first at the expense of the

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[109] Frisch, 'Social particularity and American political culture', p.32. Defining community is problematic; G.A. Hillery, in an influential 1955 paper, identified ninety-four definitions in sociology, many of which conflicted. Rather than trying to pin down the notion of urban community, or discover whether it was a 'real' thing, this thesis explores the different ways in which it was constructed by contemporaries. G. Hillary, 'Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement', *Rural Sociology*, 20 (1955).

[110] R.H. King, 'Old problems/new departures: American political thought since 1960', *The History Teacher,* 24, no. 1 (1990), p.106.

[111] Higham, 'Hanging together', p.6 and n.3 for a list of such works.

[112] R.N. Bellah, R. Madsen, W.M. Sullivan, A. Swidler, and S.M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley, 1985).

[113] Putnam and Gamm, 'The growth of voluntary associations'. See also R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: Civic Disengagement in America* (New York, 1999).

[114] Public Affairs Committee of the Union League Club of Chicago and the Committee on Local Community Research of the University of Chicago, *Chicago Civic Agencies: a Directory of Associations of Citizens of Chicago interested in Civic Welfare* (Chicago, 1927), p.13.

[115] For the issues settlements were facing, see Chapter Four.

second.'[116] The spirit of association and tendency of 'Americans of all ages, of all conditions, of all minds, [to] constantly unite' that Alexis de Tocqueville so famously described in 1835 was still evident in Chicago one-hundred years later.[117] As he rhetorically asked, 'what political power would ever be able to be sufficient for the innumerable multitude of small enterprises that American citizens carry out every day with the aid of the association?'[118] Bearing in mind the anti-statist bias of his work, this question remained valid in the 1930s, even with the vast expansion of the federal and state machinery. Associations remained vital, yet located in a civic culture that also included and was supported by local, state, and federal government.[119] As Theda Scolpol has shown, it was around the high points of federal government activity, like the Great Depression, that the amount of associations formed actually grew.[120] As Bender has argued for the nineteenth century, communities were not eclipsed by nationalising forces; this also holds true for the interwar period.[121] While the 1930s therefore saw a profound shift in the balance of responsibility, a role remained for non-governmental organisations. Older institutions, like settlement houses, found a new demand for their existing services, while being enabled to invest in new pursuits using government funding. In this new relationship associations continued to promote a form of citizenship that they believed fostered urban community cohesion.

This notion of the continued importance of local associations in spite of the rise of the state found an intellectual justification in the popular philosophy and pragmatism of John Dewey who, along with other notable activists in Chicago like Jane Addams, advocated a Jeffersonian informed interpretation of citizenship and responsibility. Noting the ever

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[116] Higham, 'Hanging together', p.7.
[117] A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America,* trans. H.C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop (Chicago, 2000), p.489.
[118] Ibid.
[119] T. Skocpol, M. Ganz, and Z. Munson, 'A nation of organizers: the institutional origins of civic voluntarism in the United States', *American Political Science Review,* 94, no. 3 (2000).
[120] T. Skocpol, 'The Tocqueville problem: civic engagement in American democracy', *Social Science History,* 21, no. 4 (1997), p.467.
[121] T. Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (Baltimore, 1982).

apparent change from a nation of small towns, Dewey reacted against the rapid rise in industrialisation and urbanisation to call for a reassertion of the value of day-to-day connections through local communities.[122] Praising Jefferson's emphasis upon self-government in relation to affairs such as care of the poor, he paraphrased Jefferson's hope that the individual would actively 'share in the government of affairs not merely on election day but every day.'[123] Dewey's pragmatic vision of democracy drew on this ideology, as well as his own small-town upbringing, and encouraged associational engagement at a local 'community' level, distinct from 'society' and its impersonal and general modes of interaction.[124] As he articulated in the seminal *Democracy and Education* (1915), it was the task of the school, as a microcosm of the community, to teach these habits of cooperation and responsibility.[125] Similar to social liberals in Britain, he also saw this communal spirit as key to ensuring the development of individuality.[126] Vitally, and again in line with British liberal intellectual thought, Dewey and other progressives believed that it was the interventionist state that could ensure the conditions for both individuality and communal relations – a position developed most fully in the 1930s against the backdrop of increased federal involvement.[127]

Alongside this evolving civic culture were the crucial modern particularities of cities that made them fundamental to cultural belonging and the exercise of government. Engin Isin has described the city as 'the site of the social' and, since citizenship is social in its emphasis on co-existence and co-dependency, further claimed that the city and citizenship are

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[122] J.J. Carpenter, '"The development of a more intelligent citizenship": John Dewey and the social studies', *Education and Culture*, 22, 2 (2006), p.32. As will be seen, especially in Chapter Five, Dewey's thoughts were part of a wider popular and influential discourse of the effect of the urban on citizenship and local interaction.
[123] H.C. Boyle, 'A different kind of politics: John Dewey and the meaning of citizenship in the 21st Century', *The Good Society,* 12, no. 2 (2003), p.6.
[124] Carpenter, '"The development of a more intelligent citizenship"', p.32; J. Dewey, *The Public and its Problems: An Essay in Political Enquiry* (Philadelphia, [1927] 2012), p.32.
[125] J. Dewey, *Democracy and Education: an Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York, 1916).
[126] Carpenter, '"The development of a more intelligent citizenship"', p.33.
[127] See, in particular, J. Dewey, *Individualism Old and New* (New York, 1930) and *The Future of Liberalism* (New York, 1934).

inherently related.[128] By focusing on the social and the city this thesis goes beyond a type of citizenship that 'comprises a static and universalistic legal status of abstract individuals in nation-states', and instead draws attention to how urban inhabitants were defined and created as 'fit' for citizenship, in terms of both rights and responsibilities.[129] The links between the social, the city, and citizenship can be seen in three interrelated ways. Firstly, citizenship can be understood as rights derived from belonging to the city as a legal association. Even when, as was increasingly apparent in the twentieth century, the city did not confer formal rights or status in the same way as the state, belonging to the city gave 'substantive rights by virtue of being a space with a special government and legal jurisdiction.'[130] Secondly, the city, especially in its modern form, entailed the congregation of different social groups and the negotiation of their differences as they articulated their 'rights to the city': autonomy, appropriation, difference, and security.[131] Urban associations were significant in negotiating and mediating this process. Thirdly, and most importantly for this thesis, if we accept that the governing of democratic states requires incorporating subjects into their own governance, the site of citizenship, namely the city, becomes fundamental; the everyday social of the citizen – like eating, housing, consuming, learning, leisure, and sexual – became an object of government.[132] Increasingly, as will be seen throughout the thesis, citizenship was recast in terms of health, habit, and behaviour. That the growth of government in the twentieth century was attached to these sites of the social makes the city, its governance, and citizenship explicitly connected. This thesis analyses several different ways in which citizens were created through the social relationship between the state, the association, and the governing

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[128] E.F. Isin, 'The city as the site of the social' in I.F. Engin (ed.), *Recasting the Social in Citizenship* (Toronto, 2008), p.273.

[129] E.F. Isin, J. Brodie, D. Juteau, and D. Stasiulis, 'Recasting the social in citizenship' in *Recasting the Social in Citizenship,* p.11.

[130] Isin, 'The city as the site', p.271.

[131] Ibid., p.272.

[132] E.F. Isin, 'Conclusion: the socius of citizenship' in *Recasting the Social in Citizenship,* p.282.

of the individual in the city. Important therefore is the idea of bodily behaviour, and the actual *processes* by which citizens were made: a task for which theoretical models are useful.

Theory

In its research and construction the thesis takes inspiration from a range of writers who have in turn been influenced the ideas of Michel Foucault. This is evident with the idea of the healthy and efficient body as the end-goal of citizenship. Historians have drawn attention to Foucault's concept of 'biopolitics': the attempt to regulate biological processes and functions in the nineteenth century in order to fashion a self-managing body, and social body, realised principally through public health legislation and health education, and based on particular forms of scientific knowledge about the body.[133] Biopolitics was inseparable from the rise of 'the social' in the nineteenth century, 'a historically specific "transactional reality" mediating the relations between government and population', as the ideal of a healthy and fit body became a sign and target of responsible citizenship in both Britain and the US.[134] These ideas are helpful in analysing the citizenship characteristics of schools and public housing in the period, the subject of Chapter Six and Chapter Seven. Social theorists have turned to an analysis of the school building that acknowledges its role as a disciplinary space, and its focus upon the body.[135] Classrooms, hallways, central halls, and playgrounds were all sites that enabled children's bodies to be quantified, mapped and made visible – and thus rendered amenable to governing. This was made possible through expanding layers of administration,

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[133] Zweiniger-Bargieloska, *Managing the Body*, p.8; W. Schinkel, 'From zoepolitics to biopolitics: citizenship and the construction of society', *European Journal of Social Theory,* 13, no. 2 (2010).

[134] P. Joyce and T. Bennett 'Material powers: introduction' in P. Joyce and T. Bennett (eds), *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (London, 2010), pp.7-8.

[135] M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (New York, 1979). For a good introduction to Foucault and education, see S.J. Ball (ed.), *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge* (London, 1990). See N. Peim, 'Towards a social ecology of the modern school: reflections on histories of the governmental environment of schooling', *Paedagogica Historica,* 41, no. 4-5 (2005) for a useful review of the application of Foucauldian theories to schooling environments.

inspection, training, and surveillance, inherent in school practices like physical education, the school medical service, methods of reforming truants, and school meals.[136] Through these practices, certain types of children, and particular types of behaviour, were normalised and institutionalised, allowing for the productive potential of individuals to be realised. This was also the case with state intervention into living spaces; Chris Otter has highlighted public housing as one example of a type of infrastructure that promoted 'liberal subjectivity', defined as 'forms of being or conduct' like health or independence.[137] Council housing was a response to 'the prevailing idea that certain environmental and technological systems were both collectively necessary and not adequately secured by the market.'[138] Matthew Hollow too has analysed public housing as a space of biopolitics; state intervention removed the sources of infection and corruption – the slums – and constructed an environment which optimized people's capacity to function as citizens.[139] This was mainly through the engineering of a space for the tenant to be self-regulating, clean, healthy, and moral - characteristics defined as necessary for social citizenship.

For the ways this certain type of environment enabled a bodily type of citizenship, the recent studies of the 'material turn' have proved useful.[140] These have highlighted how the social was performed not just by a combination of formal institutions and experts, but by the networks and technologies they managed as well.[141] Foucault's concept of 'governmentality', taken here to be the rationalities and techniques of governing, forms a key part of the argument: technologies could engineer from afar an environment that was clean, healthy, and

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[136] M. Gleason, 'Disciplining the student body: schooling and the construction of Canadian children's bodies, 1930-1960', *History of Education Quarterly,* 41, no. 1 (2001), p.190.

[137] Otter, *The Victorian Eye,* p.18.

[138] Ibid*.,* p.18. See also, N. Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1999), pp.98-136; P. Joyce, 'What is the social in social history?', *Past and Present,* 206, no. 1 (2010); and J. Vernon, 'The ethics of hunger and the assembly of the school: the techno-politics of the school meal in Britain', *American Historical Review,* 110, no. 3 (2005).

[139] M. Hollow, 'Governmentality on the Park Hill Estate: the rationality of public housing', *Urban History,* 37, no. 1 (2010), p.121.

[140] F. Trentmann, 'Materiality in the future of history: things, practices, and politics', *Journal of British Studies,* 48, no. 2 (2009). See, also, the essays in *Material Powers.*

[141] Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, p.15.

effectively enabled citizens to regulate themselves.[142] In this analysis power is dispersed or relocated to technicians and experts - engineers, architects, planners, and hygienists – rather than 'concentrated in a centralized and monolithic state'.[143] Knowledge creation was not 'free-floating, ethereal and transcendental' but rather earthed in material entities like bodies, buildings and objects.[144] Politics, in the traditional sense, takes a backseat; while politicians and legislators provided the arena in which governing took place, it was the powers of technology, and its governors of laws, institutions, engineers, and inspectors, that shaped the environment in which practices were formed.[145]

These ideas have been useful in conceptualising how citizenship was behavioural and bodily, and how citizens were produced through the types of environment created in the increasingly technological and networked city of the interwar period. While this logic forms the background, the thesis has not maintained an explicit Foucauldian approach in every section. Instead I follow the advice of Nikolas Rose, who advocates a 'looser, more inventive and more empirical' relation to Foucault's work, 'less concerned with being faithful to a source of authority than with working within a certain ethos of enquiry'.[146] As Foucault stated, his thoughts should be taken as propositions to stimulate analysis and 'open up a space of research' rather than dogmatic assertions.[147] Foucault's ideas about power and governing then are one way to approach questions surrounding the relationship between the state, knowledge, and citizenship, but this rigid framework is not maintained throughout. Primarily this is a historical investigation, and it does not seek to fit archival evidence to one overriding theory. Instead, it utilises governmentality when it is applicable in chapters on youth, schools,

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[142] M. Dean, *Governmentality* (London, 1999) and N. Rose, 'Governmentality', *Annual Review of Law and Social Sciences*, 2 (2006); M. Foucault, 'Governmentality' in J. D. Faubion (ed.), *Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, vol. 3 (London, 2002).
[143] Vernon, 'The ethics of hunger', pp.695-696.
[144] D. N. Livingstone, 'Keeping knowledge on site', *History of Education,* 39, no. 6 (2010), p.780.
[145] Otter, *The Victorian Eye,* p.16.
[146] Rose, *Powers of Freedom,* pp.4-5.
[147] M. Foucault, 'Questions of method' in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (London, 1991), p.74.

and housing. The thesis also maintains a critical perspective of Foucauldian theory. In terms of a materiality analysis, as Frank Trentmann has warned, systems and 'things' can also be 'trouble'; they may break, be used in ways not first envisioned, or become sites of contestation.[148] This was particularly the case with school environments and public housing, and so the thesis also aims to reveal how 'governmentalities stutter in their realization.'[149]

The study of citizenship also responds to an analysis of spatiality and representations, especially when combined with an emphasis on ritual.[150] This analysis is particularly relevant in the chapter regarding civic festivals, where citizenship as an identity was tied to the urban environment; the city and its public spaces were the most important 'stage' where ideas of authority, belonging, respectability, and claims to public recognition took place. Simon Gunn, analysing the Victorian city, has shown how the parades and processions of civic events offered the opportunity for civic elites to make a symbolic display of leadership and authority.[151] Other social groups, like the working class, could also take part, and so render themselves visible to the urban public, staking a claim to a place within the social body of the town.[152] Mary Ryan has similarly assessed the American urban parade in the nineteenth century, discussing how it had multiple authors, each who 'carried their own chosen symbols into one composite ceremony.'[153] Also examining public occasions in the city, Patrick Joyce, following Gunn, has stated that the voluntarism of the parade could represent the 'ideal of the self-regulating urban community policing itself through inherent codes of conduct.' Through

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[148] Trentmann, 'Materiality in the future of history', p.300.
[149] Vernon, 'The ethics of hunger', p.4.
[150] See S. Gunn, 'The spatial turn: changing histories of space and place' in S. Gunn and R. Morris (eds), *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City Since 1850* (Ashgate, 2002).
[151] Gunn, *The Public Culture*, p.163. See also D. Cannadine, 'The transformation of civic ritual in modern Britain: the Colchester oyster feast', *Past and Present,* 94, no. 1 (1982).
[152] Gunn, *The Public Culture,* p.174.
[153] M. Ryan, 'The American parade: representations of the nineteenth-century social order' in L. Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History* (London, 1989).

this, voluntarism and independence, yet also hierarchy, authority, and community, could 'receive expression, yet also coexist.'[154]

By using these various theories the thesis concentrates on the actual mechanics of producing citizens. This enables the concept of citizenship to go beyond simplistic identities or legal bases. Yet these mechanics were historically relative, informed and realised in the specific circumstances of the two cities this thesis analyses.

Manchester and Chicago

Manchester, in the mid nineteenth century, and Chicago, at the end of the nineteenth century, were at the centre of questions about modernity, as the shocking condition of the city and its inhabitants forced contemporaries to think about the relationship between health, behaviour, and environment.[155] Events and processes in the decades leading up to and in the 1920s built on these notions and combined to make urban citizenship a particularly relevant problem. In Chicago between 1880 and 1920, the proportion of foreign-born inhabitants from central (excluding Germany), eastern, and southern Europe, grew from 10.5 per cent to 55.6 per cent. By 1920, Poles were the largest group of foreign-born (137,611), Germans second (112,288), Russians third (102,095), and Italians fourth (59,215), ahead of the Swedish and Irish (58,563

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[154] P. Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom* (London, 2003)*,* p.163.

[155] A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London, 1963), pp.88-135; J.C. Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City: Problem, Promise and Reality* (Baltimore, 1986), pp.1-15; L.K. Boehm, *Popular Culture and the Enduring Myth of Chicago, 1871-1968* (New York, 2004); S.H. Bremer, 'Lost continuities: alternative urban visions in Chicago novels, 1890-1915', *Soundings: an Interdisciplinary Journal,* 64 (1981); M. Savage, A. Warde, and K. Ward, *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity,* 2nd ed. (Basingstoke, 2003), pp.11-12. For contemporary accounts of Manchester see F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844* (London, 1936 [Originally published in English in 1892]); L. Faucher, *Manchester in 1844* (London, 1969 [1844]); W. Cooke-Taylor, *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire* (London, 1936 [1844]); J.P. Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture of Manchester* (1832). For contemporary accounts of Chicago see W.T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago; A Plea for the Union of All Who Love in the Service of All Who Suffer* (Chicago, 1894); U. Sinclair, *The Jungle* (New York, 1906); Vice Commission of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago: a Study of Existing Conditions* (Chicago, 1911)..

and 56,786) respectively.[156] Furthermore, the wartime boom in the economy encouraged the migration of Southern African-Americans to the industrial cities of the North in the 'Great Migration.'[157] Between 1880 and 1920, the black population rose from 6,480 to 109,450, and would double in the next decade.[158] The increasing diversity of Chicago displayed itself in social fragmentation. Industrial workers of the city became segregated into ethnic neighbourhoods, where association was centred on family, the local church, and the corner ethnic saloon.[159] Black Chicagoans were shaped by a growing 'new consciousness', while the city's other ethnic groups felt increased awareness of European nationalism after the First World War.[160] 'Old World' conflict now found its expression in the 'New World', like fighting between Jews and Poles.[161] The largest racial conflict took place in July 1919 when an African-American youth drowned after being struck by a rock thrown when he drifted into a 'whites-only' section of Lake Michigan.[162] The following five days of riot took the lives of thirty-eight people, injured five-hundred more, razed over a thousand homes to the ground, and only ended when the militia was called in.[163] The following year a group of black nationalists, calling themselves the Star Order of Ethiopia and Ethiopian Missionaries to Abyssinia, burned an American flag, with the repercussions leaving two dead.[164] Competition over employment and housing made neighbourhoods and workplaces a battleground of ethnicity and 'rights'.[165]

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[156] M. P. McCarthy, 'The new metropolis: Chicago, the annexation movement and progressive reform' in M.H. Ebner and E.M. Tobin (eds), *The Age of Urban Reform: New Perspectives on the Progressive Era* (London, 1977), p.183.

[157] Bachin, 'At the nexus of labor and leisure'.

[158] McCarthy, 'The new metropolis', p.183.

[159] L. Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge, 1990), p.28.

[160] D. Bukowski, *Big Bill Thompson, Chicago and the Politics of Image* (Urbana, 1998), p.95.

[161] K.L. Merriner, *Grafters and Goo Goos: Corruption and Reform in Chicago, 1833-2003* (Carbondale, 2004), p.101.

[162] For the classic analysis of the race riot, see W. Tuttle, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* (New York, 1970).

[163] Ibid., p.101.

[164] Bukowski, *Big Bill,* p.101.

[165] T.L. Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Immigrants, Blacks, and Reformers in Chicago, 1890-1930* (Belmont, CA, 1978), pp.162-180.

Racial tensions after the First World War were exacerbated by industrial unrest, negating the wartime coalitions between inter-racial and inter-ethnic unions, workers, reformers, government, and industry.[166] Industrial conflicts like the Great Steel Strike of 1919, which mobilised over four million people nationwide, including 250,000 in Chicago, added to the climate of uncertainty surrounding the legitimacy of business in the city.[167] While the labour movement faltered after this initial post-war disruption, the image of a radicalised Chicago remained, reflecting wider concerns of the 'Red Scare' in US society.[168] Military Intelligence operating in Chicago reported of a city filled with 'disaffected foreigners, blacks, and union members, the kind who gathered in meeting halls to sing: BOLSHEVIK! BOLSHEVIK!'[169] Fears of radical influence on youth were particularly prominent; the 1919 report of the Association House settlement head resident stated that 'Our Russian friends are talking in seriously anarchistic ways and make us feel that the making of Americans is no easy task unless we "catch 'em young".'[170] In 1919 the Chicago Community Trust rightly claimed that Americanisation organisations in the city were aware that instead of 'wholesome community consciousness' was a 'sinister class consciousness.'[171]

Manchester, and Britain more widely, also felt the rising power of labour and the spectre of radicalism conjured up by the Russian Revolution, as well as a ripple-effect from problems in Ireland.[172] Membership of trade unions in the country increased between 1910

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[166] Bachin, *Building the South Side,* p.299.
[167] R.F. Bachin, 'At the nexus of labor and leisure'.
[168] D. Dolnick, 'The Role of Labor in Chicago Politics Since 1919', PhD Thesis (University of Chicago, 1939); A. Hagedorn, *Savage Peace: Hope and Fear in America, 1919* (New York, 2007); R.K. Murray, *Red Scare: a Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis, 1955).
[169] Bukowski, *Big Bill,* p.104.
[170] Chicago History Museum [hereafter CHM]: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 2, Secretary's Report January 1919-December 1920 (6), 'Report of Head Resident April 8 1919', p.2.
[171] The Chicago Community Trust, *Americanization in Chicago: the Report of a Survey* (1919), p.3; CHM: F38AS .C4co, Conference of those interested in developing a more intelligent and efficient citizenship, held at the building of the Chicago historical society 8th December 1923, under the Auspices of the Chicago Historical Society, the Chicago Americanization council, and the Illinois society of the Colonial Dames of America.
[172] J. Lawrence, *Electing Our Masters: the Hustings in British Politics From Hogarth to Blair* (Oxford, 2009), p.121.

and 1920 from 2.5 million to 8.5 million.[173] Industrial and social disturbances reached new peaks, with over thirty-five million days lost in strikes in 1919, compared to five million in 1918.[174] Following the post-war boom of 1919-1920, workers fought to maintain wartime gains regardless of rising unemployment and employer pressure for wage reductions. In Manchester there were 'numerous' strikes by industrial workers employed by the City Council and a 'persistence of political unrest.' Irish agitation especially warranted concern when it was discovered simultaneous riots in Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow were planned for 1920. This plot was suppressed without public disturbance, though minor outbreaks continued, and several Sinn Fein leaders were tried at the Manchester Summer Assizes in 1921.[175] Unrest also affected Manchester's engineering industry in 1922, with the men returning on the employers' terms after a bitter thirteen week dispute, and disputes also occurred in the cotton mills over the introduction of more machines per operative.[176] The Civic Week celebrations, subject of Chapter Three, had to be set back from July to October due to the Great Strike of 1926.[177] In general there was a fear for the social order, with the *Manchester Guardian* in 1921 arguing that the Russian Revolution highlighted the necessity of finding a solution to 'the problem of establishing industrial democracy and of finding the relationship between the worker and industry and the nation and industry… most likely to secure the freedom and self-respect of the worker and the peace and vigour of the nation.'[178] Academics, businessmen and politicians alike in post-war Britain stressed 'what class war really meant, and how incompatible it was with the wellbeing and permanence of any

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[173] J.E. Cronin, *Labour and Society in Britain 1918-1979* (London, 1984), pp.241-2.
[174] S. Merrett, *State Housing in Britain* (London, 1979), p.31.
[175] A. Redford, *The History of Local Government in Manchester,* vol. 3 (London, 1940), p.22.
[176] A. Kidd, *Manchester* (Keele, 1993)*,* p.200.
[177] Ibid.
[178] J.L. Hammond, 'A century of liberalism', *Manchester Guardian* [hereafter *MG]* (5th May 1921), p.53. At the end of the War MI5 compiled a 'Defence Black List' of 13,500 names; by 1925 this had grown to 25,250 names, providing 'a central register of persons connected with foreign secret service' and 'persons of foreign blood or connection in British Government civil service'. C. Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: the Authorized History of MI5* (London, 2009), p.143.

community'[179] similar to how, in the US, 'labor strife and ethnic tensions together became symbols of disloyalty and anti-Americanism'[180] as the spectre of the Comintern lurked in the background.[181] In both cities therefore was a situation that made questions of inclusion, community, and citizenship especially important; local government and associations therefore sought to create an urban-based identity that could subsume conflict, and social and political difference.

By looking at both Manchester and Chicago it is a risk that we may learn a little about two places instead of creating a comprehensive picture of one. Of course the cities chosen shared many characteristics. Both had historical and contemporary claims to being second cities of their nation, a mind-set that influenced civic culture, and also had a clear business and industrial basis in practice and their projected identities.[182] As noted, both also had a reputation of being 'shock cities'.[183] This reputation again influenced civic culture, drawing attention to the negative effects of the urban environment. The issues that they faced internally and externally point towards the viability of comparison. Yet there were also fundamental differences in government, like political corruption in Chicago, or the extent of municipal ownership in Manchester.[184] Most importantly, the issue of new immigration that dominated Chicago socially, economically and politically in the period was not apparent in Manchester. To point out the fundamental differences or similarities between an English city and an American city however would be time-consuming and fruitless. Yet to look at transnational developments in different locales reveals the characteristics of certain

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[179] 'Classical association in Manchester', *MG* (8th October 1926), p.66.
[180] Bachin, 'At the nexus of labor and leisure'.
[181] Tuttle, *Race Riot,* p.15.
[182] Hodos has argued that Chicago was a second-city from the 1890s until the 1960s, when it progressed to become a 'global city'. J.I. Hodos, *Second Cities: Globalization and Local Politics in Manchester and Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 2011), p.8.
[183] Briggs, *Victorian Cities*; Hodos, *Second Cities*; Boehm, *Popular Culture;* H.L. Platt, *Shock Cities: the Environmental Transformation of Manchester and Chicago* (Chicago, 2005); H. Spodek, *Ahmedabad: Shock City of Twentieth-Century India* (Bloomington, 2011).
[184] See Chapter Two, section one, for a discussion of these differences in municipal government.

processes. In this case, the studying of the relationship between associational culture and the state, and the urban environment and the individual citizen, can tell us how notions of citizenship were created and implemented in cities as well as the nation. Chicago and Manchester are case studies to show broader concepts, a 'means to a larger end' rather than a comparison for comparison's sake.[185] The thesis will analyse factors that were transnational, and some that were unique to both cities, and aim to show how these could combine to create a sense of citizenship that emphasised similar characteristics. It will not ignore fundamental differences and chronologies; the analysis will interweave the two cities, only separating into a singular strand when dealing with issues uniquely important or evident in one and not the other.

Structure

While the main point of concentration is between the two world wars, the thesis also considers both the preceding and succeeding periods. In assessing interwar local government in Chicago, it is necessary to understand the politics of the Progressive Era, when contemporaries attempted to shape the type of city and government they thought could achieve stability and citizenship. During this period many of the relationships between associations and government were first formed, though these evolved under the circumstances of the interwar years. Similarly, in Manchester, it was the Victorian origins of reform associations that shaped municipal government and civic culture in the interwar period. It is also impossible to understand citizenship in the interwar city without looking back to the origins of the urban degeneration debate in both Britain and US at the turn of the twentieth century. While the particularities of the interwar city formed the basis of citizenship policies, associations and government were also influenced by the legacy of the nineteenth-

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[185] D. Cohen, 'Comparative history: buyer beware', *GHI Bulletin,* no. 29 (2001), p.25.

century city. Finally, by going beyond the interwar period the specificity of citizenship as behavioural and bodily can truly be seen; following the Second World War this conception declined, as different and newer models of citizenship became more prevalent.

Chapter Two begins by outlining the basis of the importance of the city, showing how it was constructed as the social foundation of citizenship. It argues that an ideological narrative of the city, and its municipal government, was apparent in the general civics textbooks used to educate both youths and adults. In textbooks government was revealed to be technical, depoliticised, and geared towards the egalitarian securing of the life and health of the urban citizen. The chapter uses the local press in particular to create, yet question, the veracity of this municipal narrative. While the thesis relies on the dominant newspapers of the period, the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Manchester Guardian,* a variety of other local newspapers are used throughout to gain a wider perspective. The chapter also uses educational materials, like syllabuses and lecture notes, produced by local government and local associations in Manchester and Chicago. What it reveals is a citizenship discourse that highlighted the civic and governmental cohesion of the city, rather than solely the culture and administrative apparatus of the nation.

Chapter Three continues to assess these ideals of the city and its government by analysing two public festivals that utilised the fabric of the urban environment, while also providing opportunities for voluntary associations, and some minorities, to stake a claim to this culture in a co-operative exercise with the local state. It extends and builds upon civic ritual theories that have been more prevalent for analyses of the nineteenth century, showing how the displaying of administrative functions of municipal government became just as important as civic elites performing authority in public space.[186] For Chicago, the chapter uses the Pageant of Progress, a two-week event taking place in both 1921 and 1922. While

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[186] Gunn, *The Public Culture;* Ryan, 'The American parade'.

the World's Fair of 1933 was equally important in the city, and was much larger and important in an international sense, it has already received academic attention - unlike the 1921 Pageant.[187] Furthermore, it was arguably a direct expansion of the logic of the 1921 event.[188] The techniques and operation of the Pageant of Progress are directly compared with Manchester's Civic Week in 1926. This took place in a similar context of concern over civic pride and economic disruption, and has received little attention.[189] To reconstruct these events a variety of contemporary pamphlets, newspaper reports, official handbooks produced by local governments, memorabilia, photographs, and some filmed evidence is used. My primary focus is to look at the techniques of creating citizens that saw themselves as part of a larger city-based community: the ways in which the notions of civics outlined in Chapter Two were ritually performed by government, association, and citizen.

Chapter Four continues to unpick the relationship between associations and government by looking at the results of the growth in central and local state welfare provision, arguing that this actually led to new opportunities for urban voluntary organisations to develop citizenship activities. In Chicago this process was particularly apparent during the exceptional conditions of the Great Depression and the ensuing New Deal legislation of the 1930s. Old organizations were rejuvenated and brought further into a cooperative sphere of citizenship creation. In Manchester the rise of the state was a more long-term and piecemeal process in which the responsibilities of local associations gradually shifted. The chapter uses the minutes and annual reports of local associations and, in Chicago, the correspondence between New Deal agencies and local government, to ascertain how associations modified or created citizenship activities in response to state growth;

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[187] J. Seliga, 'Making Progress: Chicago's 1933-1934 Century of Progress Exposition', MA Thesis (Georgetown University, 1994), pp.44-45; R.W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: the Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago, 1993), p.36; J.G. Cawelti, 'America on display: the world's fairs of 1876, 1893, 1933' in F.C. Jaher (ed.), *The Age of Industrialism in America: Essays in Social Structure and Cultural Values* (London, 1968).
[188] R.W. Rydell, 'Century of Progress Exposition', *Encyclopaedia of Chicago* (2005), accessed online 3rd April 2013, http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/225.html
[189] For an exception, see Wildman, 'The "Spectacle"', pp.68-91.

associations were fluid, and could work with government, through government, or without government.

Chapter Five continues to link citizenship, the city, and associational culture by looking at how youth citizenship was affected by the experience of the urban in the 1920s, as associations highlighted the need for a new type of environment and experience. The chapter uses contemporary social science investigations into modern leisure, the reports and minutes of local associations, and newspaper reports of activities provided for youths. Increasingly children became the target of various clubs and festivals. While some utilised the rural environment, the majority took place within the city. This targeting of youth was distinctively in terms of health and behaviour, rather than national identity and politics. Key was creating individually healthy bodies, but also fashioning a collective, rather than individualist, sense of citizenship and community.

Chapter Six continues the focus upon youth in terms of health and behaviour by looking at the experience of school – the main point of contact between the state and the child. It specifically reveals the disciplining of the body and the creation of collective citizenship through physical education, the school medical service, and sport. It also goes beyond the disciplinary aspect by looking at the creation of a material environment based on scientific investigation that universally promoted health. Increasingly the purpose of the school was to create healthy and moral citizens by providing a space of personal discipline but also egalitarian health; the chapter assesses the types of knowledge creation that allowed this space to be constructed. Key sources are education committee minutes and reports of local government, the physical education curriculum, documents concerning school medical services, central government reports of educational policies, and the scientific treatises of school building.

Chapter Seven develops this link between the material environment, citizenship, and the state by assessing the physicality of public housing, providing a case for the usefulness of materiality as an approach for studying citizenship. At the turn of the century voluntary associations published social surveys that identified how the poor condition of houses in working-class areas of cities like Manchester and Chicago hindered the character formation of housewives and their families. These notions were developed into the building and management of municipal housing projects, though not without the contestations of the tenants who lived in them. To uncover this relationship the chapter uses housing committee minutes, tenant manuals, the local press, and the oral testimony of tenants. Again, citizenship was defined as a manner of creating a clean and healthy body; the chapter therefore focuses on the very structure of the house in the form of its technologies and physical management, and makes a strong case for citizenship being a relationship between the individual and the state.

The thesis concludes by raising some speculative questions of the extent to which this highly local and health based form of citizenship could exist in the distinctly different world after the Second World War. Specifically, it argues that while the city and the local were still important, distinctive developments led to a renegotiating of the balance between the responsibilities of citizenship, and the rights of citizenship – defined more strongly in terms of welfare entitlement in Britain, and racial equality in the US. These new notions of citizenship were consequences of the failures of the interwar citizenship model. In Chicago especially, the inability of a city-based conception of citizenship to contain ever-increasing racial discord left a vacuum for alternative models.

Above all, the thesis asserts the importance of the local and the urban in the creation of citizenship in the interwar period. Rather than being a continuance of nineteenth-century urban conceptions of citizenship, however, it was different in ideology and in who controlled

the process. Firstly, the target of citizenship was most likely to be the youth, the working class, or the immigrant. Secondly, it was not in democratic engagement or patriotism that citizenship was based, but in a distinct form of urban community and bodily health. Finally, this was achieved through a cooperation of local government, the central state, and local associations, informed by the creation of discourses around health, the urban, and its government in the interwar period.

Chapter Two

Municipal Government, Civics, and Education

This chapter uses civics education materials to assess how the city and its government became engrained in notions of citizenship in the interwar period, and was subsequently taught in municipal, federal, and voluntary association citizenship classes in Manchester and Chicago. Books aimed at educating the public in the details of citizenship commonly placed a loyalty to the city where one lived as an important facet of being a citizen. More interesting however was the strong emphasis on the municipal structures and services that existed – from utilities like gas and water, to social services like parks and libraries – and a clear sense of what the city did for the citizen. Citizenship therefore was based on the strong relationship between municipal government and the citizen in terms of health and leisure, with government providing the structure and benefits, and citizens consequently embodying certain types of behaviour and health responsibility. Citizens were envisioned as interlocking parts of local communities which inhabited an ideal municipally managed city, realised through egalitarian social service provision. By the interwar period, these themes were evident in various sites of education and debate in both Manchester and Chicago.

The chapter will first look at those activities of local government that contributed to a distinctive municipal narrative, like the creation of civic airports, before discussing what general role municipal government in Chicago and Manchester took. While there were substantial differences in municipal identity in both cities, elites attempted to place the city and its government at the forefront of a discourse of modernity. The second section looks at how these ideas were present in interwar civics texts, and how this educational movement

progressed in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Though civics was not as popular in Britain as in the US, the materials used in both were city, community, and municipal government orientated. The final section returns to Manchester and Chicago, joining their specific narratives with general civics themes to show how civics was used in local education. Overall, this chapter builds the argument that citizenship was a concept in the interwar period tied directly to the municipal identity and framework of the city.

Creating and Contesting Municipal Narratives

The civics education movement was fundamentally shaped by discourses of municipal government and municipal ownership. One example of this interventionist spirit was in attitudes to transport. With the growing potential of aviation for travel and transoceanic business in the interwar period, airports offered an attractive area of investment for city councils, and also an opportunity to produce a vision of municipal enterprise. Manchester opened the first licensed municipal aerodrome in Britain in 1929 at Wythenshawe and a permanent municipal airport at Barton-on-Irwell in 1930.[1] When the corporation was advised in 1934 that Barton was inadequate for new larger airliners, a site at Ringway, eight miles south of the city, was proposed.[2] Construction was ritually started in 1935 by the Mayor, and finished in 1938 with a public ceremony.[3] Municipal aviation in Chicago was also embraced wholeheartedly, and Chicago Municipal Airport was dedicated in 1927, after leasing land off the Chicago Board of Education in 1925.[4] Similar to Manchester, William Hale Thompson, Chicago's Mayor, officially opened the venture with a speech after 'a parade of more than a

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[1] C. Simmons and V. Caruana, 'Enterprising local government: policy, prestige and Manchester airport, 1929-82', *The Journal of Transport History,* 22, no. 2 (2001) p.137; R.A. Schofield, *Manchester Airport* (Stroud, 1998), p.5.
[2] Simmons and Caruana, 'Enterprising local government', p.128.
[3] Schofield, *Manchester Airport,* pp.9-10.
[4] D. Vaillant, 'Midway Airport', *Encyclopaedia of Chicago* (2005), accessed online 11th April 2013 http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/828.html; 'Chicago gets public airport on school land', *CT* (4th April, 1925), p.6.

thousand flag draped automobiles'.[5] In 1931 a new passenger terminal and administration

building was constructed with money raised by a bond-issue.[6]

**Figure 2.1: Chicago's Mayor, William Hale Thompson, poses in the seat of an airplane
at the opening of Chicago's Municipal Airport, December 1927.**

Source: 'Chicago Puts Air Mastery Next on List', *CT* (14th December 1927), p.2.

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[5] 'Chicago puts air mastery next on list', *CT* (14th December 1927), p.2. See also Chicago Office of the Mayor*, Chicago Airport Conference* (Chicago, 1927). Automobile parades were a common political tool of Thompson, aiming to signify progress in a city still dominated by horse-drawn-carriages. Bukowski, *Big Bill*, pp.37-38.
[6] 'Aero body backs $450,000 bonds for city airport', *CT* (1st April 1930), p.16.

Figure 2.2 Manchester's Mayor, Thomas Stone Williams, cuts the first sod on the new site of the civic aerodrome, November 1935.

Source: R.A. Schofield, *Manchester Airport* (Stroud, 1998), p.11.

Airports, Manchester councillors believed, could assure the long-term prospects of the city. They were also expensive, however, and the council had to predict the 'possibilities of the future, not the facts of the present.'[7] There was opposition from nearby local authorities like the Cheshire County Council, landowners, or those who thought it an unnecessary burden on the rates, including many within the Manchester council.[8] Though the scheme was approved by a margin of only one vote in the council, most eventually agreed with the sentiment of

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[7] 'Ringway airport scheme', *MG* (10th October 1934), p.13; 'Municipal and business enterprises', *MG* (16th December 1930), p.4.
[8] 'Ringway airport enquiry', *MG* (13th October 1934), p.13.

councillor William Johnstone, who 'did not think that Manchester ratepayers were likely to get a return from the airport for some years' but still advocated going ahead with schemes as part of a long-term plan.[9] The local press agreed, emphasising the Corporation's long history of investing in infrastructure to secure business, with the triumph of the Ship Canal and the Trafford Park industrial estate being the frequent comparisons made.[10]

In Chicago there was little organised opposition to investment in aviation facilities, perhaps due to its almost instant success; by 1929 Chicago's Municipal Airport was the busiest in the world.[11] Promoters emphasised the idiosyncratic pioneering spirit of the city and its governors. The *Chicago Tribune* bragged that Chicago was already the centre of rail, road and water transport in the country and that the city's 'I will' spirit meant 'air mastery' was 'next on [the] list'.[12] Thompson emphasised this progression, stating at the inauguration of the airport in 1927 that 'We like to boast that we have a train coming into Chicago every sixty seconds. We will certainly be able to boast when we have an airplane landing every sixty seconds.'[13] These claims in Manchester and Chicago were part of a narrative that consistently placed the municipal in a key role in the advancement of the city's interests. It was a type of 'city chauvinism', the idea that the city had been at the forefront of modernity and progress, and would continue to be so.[14] Aviation, with its uncertain future and financial risk, was 'sexy and dangerous', and by putting the municipal in a lead role, airports became symbolic of progressive government.[15]

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[9] 'The airport debate', *MG* (26th July 1934), p.11.

[10] 'Keeping abreast of the times', *MG* (16th September 1930), p.15.

[11] 'History of Midway International Airport', *FlyChicago.Com* (Accessed online on 23rd September 2010).

[12] 'Chicago puts air mastery next on list'.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Quilley coined this term when discussing Manchester City Council's entrepreneurial approach to urban regeneration in the 1980s and 1990s, but it applies just as strongly here. S. Quilley, 'Constructing Manchester's "New Urban Village": gay space in the entrepreneurial city' in B. Ingram and Y. Retter (eds), *Queers in Space: Communities/Public Spaces/Sites of Resistance* (1997), p.285.

[15] A. Gordon, *Naked Airport: a Cultural History of the World's Most Revolutionary Structure* (Chicago, 2004), p.29.

City councils looked to the past in order to frame the future, using their status as former and current 'shock cities' to create bold and exciting visions. In Manchester, the council invested heavily in slum clearance, suburbs and public transport to show the city as modern and progressive. In municipal publications this was juxtaposed with 'Victorian Manchester… squalid, dark and chaotic.'[16] Similarly, in Chicago, the grandiose forecast of Daniel Burnham's Plan of Chicago, a direct outgrowth of the City Beautiful movement, attempted to show a progressive civic vision of the city in the 1910s and 1920s. When the Commercial Club presented the plan as a gift to the City in 1909, the Mayor appointed a Plan Commission of 328 people, consisting of all of the council members, forty of the Commercial Club, and others from prominent civic and political organisations in the city.[17] Though the actual authority lay with an Executive Committee dominated by Commercial Club members, the formation of the Commission represented a partnership of public and private bodies committed to developing the urban environment. Laura Baker has argued that the Plan represented was perhaps the first effort to 'propagandize' Americans into civic unity using the technologies and techniques of modern mass society, like advertising, public relations, and filmmaking.[18] Walter Moody, Managing Director of the Commission, recognised the potential of the plan in this respect, stating that citizen-making and city-building went 'hand in hand'.[19]

In general terms however municipalisation never took off in Chicago. Certainly there were conferences in the city that tried to create a swell of support for municipal ownership, capitalizing on a transnational moment in the exchange of ideas around municipal governance, like the first International Municipal Congress and Exposition, held in Chicago

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[16] Wildman, 'The "Spectacle"', pp.33-36 and p.56.
[17] L.E. Baker, 'Civic ideals, mass culture, and the public: reconsidering the 1909 plan of Chicago', *Journal of Urban History,* 36, no. 6 (2010), pp.751-752.
[18] Ibid*.,* p.748.
[19] W.D. Moody, 'Public schools: teaching the child city building' in Chicago Association of Commerce, *First International Municipal Congress and Exposition* (Chicago, 1911)*,* p.91. See also Boyer, *Urban Masses*, pp.267-276.

in 1911 and organised by local commerce, industrial, and charity groups.[20] With the formation of the Public Ownership League of America in 1916 in Chicago, the idea of public ownership grew, spurred on by foreign examples. Highlighting the sacrifices made by American troops in the name of democracy, Albert M. Todd, president of the League, asserted that public ownership was a 'natural and just function of government' since operation of utilities and services were universally needed for 'promoting general prosperity and happiness.'[21] During the interwar period the League safeguarded already publicly owned works, particularly light and power plants, and continued to promote municipal ownership.[22] The League represented one further step in tying the city to citizenship, by imagining municipal provision as the benefit of civic participation. However, though many saw the ownership of utilities as having a 'kind of plausible allurement', the fear that it would be used as another tool of political patronage and graft was strong.[23] Compared to Manchester the difference in political corruption was large. Lady Shena Simon, a councillor, educational reformer, active member of voluntary associations, and wife of industrialist, Liberal (and later Labour) politician, reformer, and philanthropist Lord E.D. Simon, could claim in 1938 that there were 'few echoes of municipal corruption' in one hundred years of city government. Only on one or two occasions did investigations into alleged wrongdoing warrant the resignation of a councillor, with most charges of corruption never substantiated.[24]

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[20] Ibid. For this transnational moment see P. Saunier, 'Introduction' in P. Saunier and S. Ewen (eds), *Another Global City: Historical Explorations into the Transnational Municipal Moment, 1850-2000* (Basingstoke, 2008); P. Saunier, 'Taking up the bet on connections: a municipal contribution', *Contemporary European History,* 11 (2002); D.T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (London, 1998); P. Dogliani, 'European municipalism in the first half of the twentieth-century: the socialist network', *Contemporary European History,* 11 (2002).
[21] Public Ownership League of America, *Proceedings of Public Ownership Conference*, Bulletin no. 14 (Chicago, 1919), p.12. A.M. Todd, 'Relation of public ownership to democracy and social justice', *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York*, 8, no. 4, (1920).
[22] Public Ownership League of America, *Public Ownership: Brief History of the Public Ownership League and what it has done to protect and promote Municipal and Public Utilities and National Resources* (Chicago, 1929).
[23] 'Public ownership', *CT* (24th March 1924), p.8.
[24] S.D. Simon, *A Century of City Government: Manchester, 1838-1938* (London, 1938)*,* p.404. E.D. Simon was one of the 'masses' of the Liberal party's 'best men' who went over to the Labour party as it became clear the

The activities of the Simon's represented the persistence of older forms of upper-class civic culture in the interwar period, with both highly active on the city council and in local and national reform causes like housing.[25] They were also responsive to new or developing notions of citizenship; E.D. Simon was the founder of the Association for Education in Citizenship in the 1930s, an organization that attempted to rival fascist continental programmes of direct citizenship training partly by informing the public on the benefits and privileges of government provision, and Shena Simon was a prominent member of the Women's Citizenship Club, the key local body in promoting active women's citizenship following enfranchisement.[26] Both were participants and protectors of an active, and what they saw as progressive, municipal governmental culture.

Chicago, in contrast, was a hotbed of political vice. Frequent cases of municipal 'boodling', the acceptance of bribes for work, hindered those who advocated a fair and democratic system of ownership. Though there were some successes in tackling corruption, and the Municipal Voters League could claim in 1916 that the majority of their endorsed candidates were elected due to the people being 'really desirous of better municipal government', this was not a lasting victory.[27] Throughout the 1920s the League lamented the state of local politics, and especially the reign of Republican Mayor Thompson in the years 1915-1923 and 1927-1931, describing 'the orgy of misrule indulged in' by his administration.[28] Jobs and favours went through the Thompson machine and, by 1923, he was sued for making illegal profit from the construction of public works projects, while the

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Liberals were no longer the 'the best available instrument of progress' in the first decades of the twentieth century. P.F. Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1971), pp.396-397.

[25] Nick Hayes has recently argued, through a case study of Nottingham, that there was a general continuance of elite leadership in municipal politics in the first half of the twentieth century. N. Hayes, 'Counting civil society: deconstructing elite participation in the provincial English city, 1900–1950', *Urban History,* 40, no. 2 (2013). See E.D. Simon, *How to Abolish the Slums* (Manchester, 1929) and A. Olechnowicz, 'Civic leadership and education for democracy: the Simons and the Wythenshawe Estate', *Contemporary British History,* 14, no. 1 (2000). Simon donated the land that formed the basis for the huge Wythenshawe housing estate.

[26] Smith, 'The Manchester and Salford Women Citizens' Association'. See pp.52-53 for a discussion of the specific context of the Association for Education in Citizenship.

[27] Municipal Voter's League. *Annual Preliminary Report* (Chicago, 1916).

[28] Ibid.*,* (1929), p.3.

'Republican party mastermind "Swede" Lundin' was accused of defrauding the school treasury of millions of dollars.[29]

With this corruption came entrenched trust in private enterprise. Regarding a road improvement, one letter to the *Tribune* claimed that, if carried out by a private corporation, it would have taken two to three weeks; the city, however, had taken over three months.[30] This opinion was unsurprisingly supported by powerful representatives of private business in the city, like Samuel Insull, president of the Commonwealth Edison Company. Referring to municipalisation, he maintained that it destroyed 'individual incentive for gain' and increased production costs – all so the politician could 'have the glory of municipal ownership.'[31] Of course, large monopolies like traction or electricity made substantial profits for businessmen. With the distrust of municipal officials, and strength of private interests, it is unsurprising that movements for municipal ownership did not persuade the city's population or businessmen, or make substantial progress in municipalising utilities. Though movements articulated from abroad during the progressive era were persuasive, public ownership was still negatively equated by some with socialism, and intervention was seen as 'political meddling with economic forces'.[32] In this viewpoint the 'duty of government' was 'to make statutes and enforce them'; 'business ventures' were 'outside the realm of the state.'[33] When municipal ownership schemes faltered in the 1930s there was a sense of glee in the *Tribune,* which reported that municipal ownership had been 'rejected', receiving a 'black eye'.[34] Schemes were ridiculed; when a $1,500,000 municipal garbage plant was abandoned in 1929 and

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[29] Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City,* p.49. Gosnell, *Machine Politics,* for the classic account of machine politics in Chicago.
[30] 'A sidelight on municipal ownership', *CT* (9th August 1924), p.4.
[31] 'City ownership of utilities is Insull's target', *CT* (30th May 1923), p.9.
[32] 'Signs of the times', *CT* (14th July 1924), p.8.
[33] 'Public ownership', *CT* (24th March 1924), p.8.
[34] 'Give black eye to municipal ownership idea', *CT* (8th November 1933), p.5.

subsequently torn down in 1936, it was described as a 'monument to wild spending' and 'a relic of the costly municipal ownership theories.'[35]

With public ownership of the transit system, the greatest municipalisation battle of Chicago in this period, ideologies and constraints proved impossible to overcome. One of the most profitable yet corrupt private enterprises in the city, transport was a frequent target of proponents of municipal ownership and reforming mayors, and at several times the electorate voted in favour of municipalisation.[36] Yet the general manager of the Glasgow municipal streetcar system, brought in to advise on a scheme, would not recommend the council taking over after being 'taken aback by the stench of political corruption hovering over Chicago'.[37] The financial outlay of municipalisation was also exceptionally high, reflecting the amount of capital sunk into the expansive material structures: Chicago's streetcar system was the largest in the world.[38] As Teaford has shown, while attacking streetcar companies won votes from suffering commuters, this was mostly rhetoric, as 'the courts and state legislatures generally sided with privately owned utilities.'[39] Gail Radford has suggested that there were significant legal and institutional barriers in the US, particularly in the powerful authority of the courts to declare public activity unconstitutional.[40] Even after this became less of an issue in the 1920s, as the judiciary became receptive to broader conceptions of public purposes, numerous laws restricting the raising of capital for public undertakings proved difficult to circumvent.[41] While there was support from some Chicagoans for wider public ownership, they were fighting a losing battle, and with the defeat in a popular referendum for municipalisation in

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[35] $1,500,000 city garbage plant being wrecked', *CT* (3rd January 1936), p.6.
[36] Rodgers has calculated that, in the 1890s, 'the city's two principal streetcar companies had paid out 27 percent of 29 percent of their gross receipts in dividends.' Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings,* p.148. See J.A. Fairlie, 'The street railway question in Chicago', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* 21 (May, 1907); H.S.Grosser, 'The movement for municipal ownership in Chicago', *American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 486 (1908) for the early history of the movement.
[37] Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings,* pp.153-4.
[38] Ibid. p.153.
[39] Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City,* p.38.
[40] G. Radford, 'From municipal socialism to public authorities: institutional factors in the shaping of American public enterprise', *The Journal of American History,* 90, no. 3 (2003), p.874.
[41] Ibid., p.878.

1925, the topic slipped off the agenda until the end of the 1930s.[42] When the distrust of municipal government, dominance of big business, and institutional/financial barriers is understood in the context of the inability of progressive forces to take city hall, exacerbated by white middle-class flight to the suburbs, it is unsurprising that machine politics proliferated and Chicago remained a non-municipalised city.[43]

In contrast, municipal ownership in Manchester was cemented by the interwar period. By the 1920s arguments within the city were concerned less with whether the municipal should own and run ventures, though this occasionally surfaced on some issues,[44] but instead whether profit should be used to reinvest or lower the rates –a debate that cut across party lines.[45] That municipal government should not be undertaking the provision of water or light in the first place was not considered, even by Conservatives wary of municipal ownership.[46] The council consolidated the municipal vision first moulded through projects like the Ship Canal in the nineteenth century, and it had few successful internal challenges to its plans of expansion in the twentieth, like the Haweswater reservoir scheme, or Ringway Airport.[47]

Contemporaries in Manchester were actually concerned that municipalisation was too much taken for granted, and that citizens did not engage enough with local government; E.D. Simon regretted that a cynical attitude towards municipal service was 'unfortunately common amongst all classes.'[48] This was reflected more widely; C.F.G Masterman, a New Liberal and member of the British Cabinet, claimed that active interest in municipal life had never been

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[42] 'Council committee revives city owned traction plan', *CT* (7th July 1939), p.13.
[43] Graser, '"A Jeffersonian scepticism"'.
[44] 'Bill for municipal 'buses defeated', *MG* (13th March 1926), p.8.
[45] This issue prominently centred on the tramways. See 'Manchester tram fares', *MG* (27th August 1924), p.6 and, more generally, 'Municipal elections', *MG* (29th October 1929), p.10.
[46] 'City council elections: views of the parties in Manchester', *MG* (23rd October 1928), p.14.
[47] S. Hall, *Haweswater* (London, 2006) for a fictional account of the events from the point of view of inhabitants of the Lake District, and also H. Ritvo, *The Dawn of Green: Manchester, Thirlmere and Modern Environmentalism* (Chicago, 2009) for an account of the vocal opposition to an earlier reservoir scheme.
[48] E.D. Simon, *A City Council From Within* (London, 1926), p.235.

so low because of the numbing experience of five years of war.[49] Similarly, a study of local government in 1939 remarked that throughout the interwar period 'almost everywhere… the apathy of the electors is alarmingly general.'[50] Related to this was unease due to a perceived rise in radical political ideology, the converse of impartial interest in municipal administration. Austen Chamberlain in 1922 believed that 'everywhere there was a bitter extremist element out for revolution, men and women alike.'[51] Graham Wallas, a prominent socialist and psychologist cut from the New Liberal cloth, writing in relation to Manchester, noted that the Labour party was attracting an increasing proportion of men with idealist thoughts and emotions. While he recognised that the party's mouthpiece *Local Government News* contained the best general survey of municipal development, he worried that Labour members in city councils showed less appreciation than members of older parties for the essential conditions of administrative efficiency.[52] Such a concern was a basic response to the enfranchisement of the working class, the rise of Labour and the consequent feared disruption to the *status quo.* Yet contemporaries in Manchester placed emphasis on a nonpartisan approach to local government administration. Writing in 1927, E.D. Simon maintained that after a service had actually been undertaken it became part of normal business and not subject to party politics.[53] In the case of civic airports, for example, this seemed to be the case.

Clearly, municipal narratives in Manchester and Chicago were not the same. Manchester's council was unchallenged in its control of basic utilities like water, electricity, and gas, and also speculative projects like civic airports.[54] Chicago however was more uneasy

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[49] C.F.G. Masterman, *How England is Governed* (London, 1921), p.ix.
[50] G.M. Harris, *Municipal Government in Britain: a Study of the Practice of Local Government in Ten of the Larger British Cities* (London, 1939), p.263.
[51] Lawrence, *Electing Our Masters*, p.120.
[52] Professor G. Wallas, 'Preface' in *City Council Within,* p.xiv. In 1914 Wallas published the influential *The Great Society,* the title of which attempted to define the increasingly complexity of modern life that was 'supplanting the small-scale communities of the nineteenth century.' Schudson, *The Good Citizen,* p.189.
[53] Simon, *A City Council,* p.5.
[54] In the provision of free swimming baths, Manchester was the leading city by 1918. [no stated author], 'Holborn, Lambeth and Manchester: three case studies in municipal swimming pool provision', *The International Journal of the History of Sport,* 24, no. 5 (2007).

about municipal ownership, reflecting common cultural and economic concerns regarding the boundaries of public and private, and political corruption in the city, as well as the specific financial and legal situation of state government. Nonetheless, while ownership of large concerns was limited, municipal government in Chicago was still in charge of and expanding a wide range of public utilities like water, sanitation, street maintenance, and traffic control.[55] Both cities used the narrative of urban government as playing a key role in maintaining urban modernity. Combined with the multitude of everyday roles that councils had accepted by the interwar period, like providing public parks and libraries, and regulating the construction of private systems, there developed a potent way to link good citizenship as a necessary responsibility of the benefits provided by city living.

Idealising the Municipal in Civics

Civics textbooks are a useful source to discover and understand how these developing ideas of the city and the municipal were ingrained in the interwar notion of citizenship and education.[56] They ranged from fifty to more than four hundred pages; could be purely text-based, or also contain diagrams, maps, and images; and might use simplified and direct language, highly specialised expert terminology, or literary forms like allegory and metaphor. Authors approached the reader with a friendly tone and as a benign adviser, delivering their knowledge as objective and scientific. Alain Choppin and Chris Stray have emphasised that textbooks were purposefully 'designed to provide an authoritative pedagogic version of an area of knowledge' and employed by educators to communicate historically relative

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[55] J. Bauer, 'Public ownership of public utilities in the United States', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 201 (1939), p.51; Chicago Board of Local Improvements, *A 16 Year Record of Achievement 1915-1931* (Chicago, 1931).

[56] For an in-depth analysis of civics texts in Chicago, see T.J. Hulme, 'Putting the city back into citizenship: civics textbooks and municipal government in the interwar American city', in A.B. Bridges and M.J. Fortner, *Urban Citizenship and American Democracy: the Historical and Institutional Roots of Local Politics and Policy* (SUNY Press, forthcoming).

knowledge and morals in a particular context.[57] Structurally, each chapter corresponded to a different topic that would form the basis of a lesson, and topics were arranged to be studied in sequence.[58] The analysis of textbooks has concerned a range of subjects and periods.[59] There are obvious issues in using textbook content: how did teachers use materials, and how did students respond to civics?[60] As Stray has suggested, for both teachers and pupils, some would follow the book blindly, whereas others used it as a reference tool.[61] Of course, immigrants could simply ignore the Americanisation classes that were so prominent in this period.[62]

Civics textbooks are nonetheless useful since they reflect the social conditions in which they were produced; they were a 'composite cultural commodity… standing at the crossroads of culture and pedagogy, publishing and society.'[63] While textbooks do not ordinarily represent an outlet for new knowledge, they can give an indication of the state of the field's development at the time of publication.[64] Authors of civics textbooks - including historians, librarians, politicians, school directors, or administrators - were clear about their aims: education to create citizens loyal to the city, state and nation. In the US they were used in schools 'to give the child… such an understanding of his relation to other people as will make him a good citizen', or for adult immigrants so that 'they may understand their environment and adjust themselves to it'.[65] In Britain, they could 'enable an unimaginative

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[57] C. Stray, 'Paradigms regained: towards a historical sociology of the textbook', *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* 26, no. 1 (1994), p.2. See also A. Choppin, 'The *Emmanuelle* Textbook Project', *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* 24, no. 4 (1992).

[58] F. McMurray and L.J. Cronbach, 'The controversial past and present of the text' in L.J. Cronbach (ed.), *Text Materials in Modern Education: a Comprehensive Theory and Platform of Research* (Urbana, 1955).

[59] See note 131 of Hulme, 'Putting the city back into citizenship'.

[60] R.M. Anderson and J.S. Tompkins, *Understanding Materials: their Role in Curriculum Development. A Discussion Guide* (Vancouver, 1983).

[61] Stray, 'Paradigms regained', p.5.

[62] Olneck, 'American public schooling', p.112.

[63] Stray, 'Paradigms regained', p.4.

[64] D. Klein and W.L. Smith, 'Historical trends in the marriage and family textbook literature, 1887-1980', *Family Relations,* 34 (1985), p.211.

[65] M. Hill and P. Davis, *Civics for New Americans* (Boston, 1915)*,* p.iii.

citizen to see and feel that which otherwise would not exist for him'.[66] This was achieved through description of the city and its governance, presented in an objective, non-political and accessible manner, using statistics, maps, diagrams, and pictures.

There was a simple attempt to reveal a fundamental civic spirit, located in a sense of belonging to the city. J.R. Peddie, in *The British Citizen* (1920)*,* contended that the First World War had helped every soldier realise 'how dear to him was his native village, or town, or city.'[67] Describing troop relations on the front, he saw the mutual love of one's city as providing a bond between men fighting for the nation.[68] Walter Moody, of the Chicago Plan Commission, similarly stated in 1911 that national patriotism was 'being given a companion sentiment – devotion and passionate interest in the safety and welfare of our cities. This new feeling of community patriotism… takes the form generally of a high and controlling pride in one's native city, or in the city in which one abides and has adopted as his home.'[69] Moody's 'sentiments' became located in Chicago Plan publications like *Teacher's Handbook: Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago* (1911), a popular civics book used throughout the interwar period in elementary school classes.[70] Certainly, the idea of the national was prominent too; civics texts celebrated national achievements, the extent of the Empire, spoke of the English or American spirit, detailed voting, politics, the national state, taxation, and the justice system, and there were many specifically national based civics texts too.[71] Considering the growth of citizenship as a national identity, with its corresponding cultural and legal attributes, this is not surprising.

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[66] Wallis, 'Introduction', Simon, *A City Council*, p.xiii.

[67] J.R. Peddie, *The British Citizen: a Book for Young Readers* (Glasgow, 1920)*,* p.1.

[68] Ibid. It is likely that the tendency at the start of the war for local groups to enlist and serve together in Pals Battalions cemented this bond.

[69] Moody, 'Public schools', p.91.

[70] R.B. Fairbanks, 'Advocating city planning in the public schools: the Chicago and Dallas experiences, 1911-1928' in R.B. Fairbanks, P. Mooney-Melvin, and Z.L. Miller (eds), *Making Sense of the City: Local Government, Civic Culture, and Community Life in Urban America* (Columbus, 2007).

[71] For England see, for example, Masterman, *How England is Governed.* For the US, see C.F. Dole, *The New American Citizen* (1918) which, although covering city life and government, also covers a remarkable amount of elements relation to the nation and state structure. Gidlow, in the case of the US, has emphasised the 'intelligent voting' emphasis of civic education in the 1920s. Gidlow, *The Big Vote,* p.141.

Yet, in the US, contemporaries recognised the distinctiveness of a new field of civics. The Report of the Commission on the Social Studies by the American Historical Association in 1935 traced the point of departure primarily to *The Community and the Citizen,* by Arthur W. Dunn, published in 1907.[72] Dunn's book was described as 'revolutionary' for several reasons, including its emphasis on participation in community life by pupils, and citizenship as something to be lived rather than memorised and recited. Most importantly he emphasised 'the physiology rather than the anatomy' of government, meaning the services that government performed rather than its legal structures.[73] This development had the effect of making community civics texts distinctly urban based, as the location in which social government functions were realised. Dunn later expanded on his account of civics in a 1915 essay, arguing that government was 'the chief means by which the citizens of a community co-operate'; civics, therefore, approached 'the mechanism of government through its relation to the immediate interests of the citizen.'[74] In this way, civics texts reflected the belief of Progressive reformers that the state was responsible for conditions that determined the health and welfare of society, and that individual liberty was 'no longer a good to be protected from state intrusion, but rather a product of state regulation to be actively generated by a vigilant state.'[75]

Dunn's notion of civics spread into wider educational currents. At a meeting of an association of history teachers in 1913, for example, two of three resolutions passed directly encouraged the teaching of the new civics: firstly, that the focus should be on the functions of government and not just the machinery, and secondly, that work should be based on the

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[72] A.W. Dunn, *The Community and the Citizen* (Boston, 1907); J. A. Reuben, 'Beyond politics: community civics and the redefinition of citizenship in the progressive era', *History of Education Quarterly,* 37, no. 4 (1997), pp.401-404. For further Dunn civics texts see *Community Civics and Rural Life* (Boston, 1920) and *Community Civics for City Schools* (Boston, 1921).

[73] R.M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association, part XI* (Chicago, 1935), p.292.

[74] Ibid*.,* p.311.

[75] C. Diffee, 'Sex and the city: the white slavery scare and social governance in the progressive era', *American Quarterly,* 57, no. 2 (2005), p.411.

pupils' experience of their immediate surroundings.[76] When this 'community civics' was endorsed by the United States Bureau of Education, the National Education Association, and the American Political Science Association, it became the core of civics education.[77] After 1915 it 'completely dominated'[78] and in 1929 historian Armand J. Gerson summarised that 'In none of the social studies have the changes of the last twenty years been so marked as in the field of civics', contrasted with its previous incarnation as 'a simplified study of government… restricted to the upper grades and [which] took the form of verbatim memorization of the Constitution of the United States.'[79] As Julia Reuben has argued, the authors of the new civics rejected traditional focuses on the national government and instead began with the students' local community.[80] As *Community Civics* (1921) informed the reader, 'the laws of the town or city in which we live come closest to us'; it made sense for this to be the starting point of civics study, since the student could 'see how these laws work.'[81]

After the First World War American authors stressed this departure from older forms of citizenship instruction, with titles frequently referring to a 'new' form of instruction. Roscoe L. Ashley, writer of *The New Civics: a Textbook for Secondary Schools* (1918), saw this movement as 'naturally different from that of a generation ago' and even 'from that of a decade ago.'[82] Rather than simply detailing government and its machinery in order to inform voters, as civics texts had previously done, Ashley now saw citizenship as 'social' in as much as it detailed how the citizen placed and lived within and benefitted from the hierarchies and

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[76] Tryon, *The Social Sciences,* pp.292-293.

[77] Reuben, 'Beyond politics', p.401. The Bureau of Education report in 1915, which presented a national guideline for high school teachers on how to teach civics, was particularly important. United States Bureau of Education, *Report on the Teaching of Community Civics,* Bulletin, Number 23 (1915). S.H. Ziegler and H.J. Wilds, *Our Community: Good Citizenship in Towns and Cities* (Philadelphia, 1918), p.iii, the authors, both history and civics teachers in Philadelphia high schools, make reference to preparing their book in the style of the Bureau bulletin.

[78] Tryon, *The Social Sciences,* p.282.

[79] A.J. Gerson, 'The social studies in the grades – 1909-1929', *Historical Outlook,* 20 (1929), p.272.

[80] Reuben, 'Beyond politics', p.405.

[81] E.W. Ames and A. Eldred, *Community Civics* (New York, 1921), p.52.

[82] R.L. Ashley, *The New Civics: a Textbook for Secondary Schools* (New York, 1921), p.v.

structure of society.[83] Similarly, in *Our Community: Good Citizenship in Towns and Cities,* the authors contended that the new civics had superseded the limited study of government, and replaced it with two clearer questions: what is the community doing for the citizen, and what does the citizen owe the community?[84] Much of the same point was made in *Community Civics* (1921), which proclaimed that 'The old order changeth' as the 'old methods of teaching the science of government, outworn and laid aside, give place to a wider interpretation of the subject and a wider application of its principles.' In practice, the best 'tool' was 'the study of the relationship of the individual to his fellow man and to the government instituted for his benefit.'[85]

Unlike the US, interwar educators in Britain were cautious of embracing direct citizenship education in schools.[86] In the 1926 Board of Education report on *The Education of the Adolescent,* while the 'need for instruction in civics or citizenship' was recognised, and 'sporadic attempts' were occasionally made to introduce specific courses on the subject, opinion remained 'divided'; it was thought more apt to let the 'consideration of the responsibilities of the individual towards the community' arise implicitly out of the history syllabus.[87] The activities of the Association for Education in Citizenship, founded in 1934 by E.D. Simon and Eva Hubback to 'advance the study of and training in citizenship', were a direct response to this lack of citizenship education.[88] By 1937, while the 'ideal' of 'universal teaching of civics to schoolchildren' had not yet been reached, 'a good start' had been made, and a range of education ventures across Britain had started to use local government focused

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[83] Ibid.
[84] Ziegler and Wilds, *Our Community*, p.xi.
[85] Ames and Eldred, *Community Civics,* p.v.
[86] D. Heater, *A History of Education for Citizenship* (London, 2004); Jessie, *Continuity and Change,* pp.44-46.
[87] Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent* (London, 1926), p.196.
[88] Association for Education in Citizenship, *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools* (Oxford, 1936), p.267. See Whitmarsh, 'Society and the School Curriculum' and E.D. Simon and E.M. Hubback, *Training for Citizenship* (London, 1935).

materials.[89] Certainly, there was a substantial rise in the number of texts using the same themes as the civics texts of the US.[90] Through an enabling structure provided and maintained by municipal government, it was emphasised how the citizen could live a safe, healthy and virtuous life. This emphasis drew on notions of the idealist movement, as expressed particularly by Victorian philosopher T.H. Green, which saw the state as the 'guardian of citizens rather than a coercive and intrusive opponent of the individual.'[91] For idealists and New Liberals, individuals could only realise their potential in the collective context, through the protection and nurturing powers of the state. As Lawrence Goldman has argued, these ideas, while formulated in the nineteenth century, had a 'prolonged influence in the twentieth century in educational thought and practice'.[92] By the 1920s, as *Government and People: An Introduction to the Study of Citizenship* (1921) recognised, 'the increasing scope of State activity' combined with the extension of the franchise meant that a new formulation of citizenship training was needed.[93] This text therefore saw it as important that the reader should see that 'in many ways' government was trying to 'bring about "the greatest happiness of the greatest number"' as well as 'make it easy for people to be good.'[94] Importantly, much of this state increase was through local government; for this reason *Government and People,* like many other British civics texts, began with the municipal.[95]

British civics texts described the importance and benefits of public urban amenities. Peddie asked the reader to consider their home-town in retrospect, when they had left for

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[89] L. Hill, 'School children and local government', *The Citizen,* no. 3 March (Published by the Association for Education in Citizenship, 1937), pp.16-17.

[90] Using the British Library catalogue as a crude barometer, I have ascertained that, before 1918, there were 12 books published on the topic of civics and citizenship, and between 1918-1940 there were 26 published. A bibliography of British texts is available upon request.

[91] L. Goldman, 'Intellectuals and the English working class 1870-1945: the case of adult education', *History of Education,* 29, no. 4 (1999), p.291.

[92] Ibid. p.291. See also P. Gordon and J. White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: the Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice* (London, 1979) and J. Harris, 'Political thought and the welfare state 1870-1940: an intellectual framework for British social policy', *Past and Present,* 135 (1992).

[93] C. Gill, *Government and People: An Introduction to the Study of Citizenship* (London, 1921).

[94] Ibid. p.2.

[95] Ibid. pp.2-3.

somewhere else, like the colonies. Men and women now realised 'how much they owe to the place in which they were reared' as they recalled 'clean, paved streets; abundance of water for all needs; protection from thieves and evil-doers; education; places for recreation; [and] libraries from which to borrow the books they wanted'.[96] Similarly, in *Government and People,* the reader was asked to imagine the condition of the urban environment before the rise of local government: ill-paved and unclean streets; no housing regulations; and lack of libraries, parks, tramways, or art galleries.[97] Advanced civilisation was portrayed, through comparison, as a set of governmental functions that structured physical and social life. In *Elementary Civics* (1920), a text adapted for the syllabus of the British Association Committee on Training in Citizenship, the author described the 'State' as 'really a great family'; it told citizens 'to do certain things and to avoid others' so that they may become 'good members of this great family'. To achieve this meant avoiding 'the wrong actions' and keeping 'the wishes of the State'.[98] Important here is the idea that the council provided the apparatus for the citizen to work on the self, becoming healthy, decent and self-governing as an 'autonomous agent.'[99] Citizenship then was still a process of self-improvement, as in the nineteenth century, but by the interwar period the tools of such liberal freedom were provided by the state. These tools were then were readily shown to the citizen in order to create a sense of loyalty and responsibility.

Significantly, the agents of government were not politicians, but instead the efficient municipal employee, impartial and outside politics, and often the first point of contact between the subject and the state.[100] In the British city of *The Good Citizen: An Introduction to Civics* (1934), the dustman, road-mender, policeman, tram-driver, postman, and fireman

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[96] Peddie, *The British Citizen,* p.3.
[97] Gill, *Government and People,* p.5.
[98] C.H. Blakiston, *Elementary Civics* (London, 1920), p.2.
[99] Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, p.19.
[100] M. Dagenais and P. Saunier 'Tales of the periphery: an outline survey of municipal employees and services in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' in M. Dagenais, I. Maver and P. Saunier (eds), *Municipal Services and Employees in the Modern City: New Historic Approaches* (Aldershot, 2003), p.6.

were the 'familiar sights' of day-to-day living.[101] For those who emphasised civics, it was 'more important that people should know who collects their refuse than who cut off Ann Boleyn's head.'[102] In *Civics for Coming Americans* (1915) the focus was not the mayor, councillor and aldermen, but more familiar urban characters who actually carried out the functions of government. For example, the health officer, in combating the 'many people' who 'sell milk that is adulterated, ice that is filthy, and meat and vegetables that are not fit for use' or the 'cases of smallpox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and measles', was emphasised. Against these 'evils' the board of health officers protected 'the health of the people of the city.'[103] Frequently cited in American texts, as in British texts, was the street cleaner, 'aided with mechanical street flushers to wash the streets and sweepers that brush up the dirt' to make 'it possible to breathe pure air, and to keep our bodies clean, two prime necessities for good health.'[104] In *A Community Civics: a Textbook in Loyal Citizenship* (1920) the children are told to look out of the window and see the street cleaners, 'aiding us so that we may have clean streets.'[105] Other city employees like firemen, teachers, and policemen were often referred to in similar ways, as fundamental parts of the urban environment, maintained apolitically to ensure the safety of the citizen.[106]

Descriptions of the subterranean urban environment provide some of the most interesting passages. In *The Good Citizen: An Introduction to Civics* (1934), the infrastructure one would see if the top portion of a British street was taken off is described: 'a number of different pipes… running to and fro' including water mains, sewers, gas mains, and electric cables. 'This mass of pipes and cables' helped the citizen 'understand something of the work

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[101] C.S.S. Higham, *The Good Citizen: An Introduction to Civics* (London, 1934), p.iii.
[102] L. Hill, 'School children and local government', p.16.
[103] P. Roberts, *Civics for Coming Americans* (New York, 1917), p.54.
[104] Ibid., p.53.
[105] E.W. Adams, *A Community Civics: a Textbook in Loyal Citizenship* (Chicago, 1920), p.55.
[106] See Ames and Eldred, *Community Civics*, p.26.

that is done… by our "local authority"'.[107] Similarly, in the American *Elementary Civics: the New Civics* (1918), the author utilised storytelling techniques to display the influence of municipal technology on the everyday life of a Bostonian. The day began with 'water supplied by the public through an elaborate system of public pumps and reservoirs and pipes' which then disappeared through a plumbing system constructed in accordance with municipal regulations and inspected by public officials. The Bostonian then walked along a sidewalk constructed and cleaned by the public, before riding in a street car regulated by the public. After his working day, this 'imaginary Bostonian' walked through the public gardens, before entering the public library – 'the latest and most striking expression of the public's interest in the individual.'[108]

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[107] Higham, *The Good Citizen,* p.13.
[108] C. McCarthy, F. Swan and J. McMullin, *Elementary Civics: the New Civics* (Chicago, 1918), pp.22-24.

Figure 2.3: Captioned, 'A Street Cleaner at Work' – a common image used in civics.

Source: M. Hill and P. Davis, *Civics for New Americans* (Boston, 1915), p. 50.

Figure 2.4: Brighton's municipal electricity transforming station, linking it to the national grid. Images of utility technology were also common in civics.

Source: C.S.S. Higham, *The Good Citizen: An Introduction to Civics* (London, 1934), p.21.

In these stories, municipal and state government had 'conquered' the urban environment for the citizen. Higham reminds readers that, in Britain, 'through the vigilance of our city council and the borough engineer, our modern cities are wonderfully healthy, compared with the towns of days gone by'[109] while in Ashley's *The New Civics,* American 'governments frequently and usually *promote the welfare of the citizen* [Ashley's italics]*;* schools, parks, playgrounds, municipal water plants all benefitted 'directly or indirectly' the 'individual citizen.'[110] Government is presented as a benign background force, making sure what Harvard Professor of Municipal Government W.B. Munro termed 'the humdrum data of routine civic life' ran smoothly.[111] Government provided the structure for living, but it did not make the citizen live in a certain way. Instead, this was deemed to be an inherent and obvious citizenship responsibility. These everyday routines were presented as questions of administration, outside of politics, and carried out by impartial material systems and public regulations. Of course, this was a highly idealised image of perfect government that did not relate to the 'messiness' and uncertainty of urban systems.[112] Civics texts were like the ambitious and fantastical mid-century city plans that Frank Mort has argued imposed a 'distinctive way of seeing the city, whereby key urban functions were highlighted and other uses were deliberated occluded.'[113] This 'imagined urban scene that was in excess of the socially possible or politically acceptable'[114] attempted to create citizens by then showing 'what is being done for them' and consequently 'what they are expected to do for themselves and for their fellows.'[115] As Reuben has demonstrated, this was a fundamental change in how US citizenship was conceptualised from the nineteenth century, no longer a 'primarily

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[109] Higham, *The Good Citizen,* p.18.
[110] Ashley, *The New Civics,* 13. See also Ames and Eldred, *Community Civics,* p.96.
[111] W.B. Munro, *Principles and Methods of Municipal Administration* (New York, 1916), p.4.
[112] Trentmann, 'Materiality in the future of history', p.306.
[113] F. Mort, 'Fantasies of metropolitan life: planning London in the 1940s', *Journal of British Studies*, 43 (2004), p.125.
[114] Ibid. p.124.
[115] Hill and Davis, *Civics for New Americans,* p.iii.

political status' tied strongly to the notion of exercising democracy at the ballot box, but rather a character-based identity; to be a good citizen was to be clean, neat, obedient, respectful, helpful, honest, thrifty, and above all, healthy.[116] These ideas of character and its relationship to citizenship and government were evident in both the US and Britain, and specifically in Manchester and Chicago.

Civics in Manchester and Chicago

Civics increasingly found its way into Chicago's curriculum; by the mid-1930s, ninety-one per cent of schools reported that civics texts were used in assemblies and English classes.[117] In a 1921 publication prepared for the Chicago Board of Education, tailored towards adults with 'little command of English' applying for naturalisation, three linked aims were laid out.[118] Firstly, government (city, county, state and nation) was planned, effective, and a 'good' system. Secondly, government was both indispensable and convenient, and 'the only workable device to attain these objects.' Finally, 'the people' were a 'silent partner', with the products or achievements of government being spread to all citizens.[119] As a publication for instructors only, the authors were candid in arguing that civics was 'to be presented from the standpoint of the concrete evidence of the benefits it insures, beginning with the city government and proceeding by connected steps to the county, state and national government' detailing 'its *products* [original italics]' instead of 'its machinery or mechanics' a method that had 'been all too prevalent.[120] Instructors were advised to encourage their students to link their citizenship to the geography of the urban environment in which they lived, like

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[116] Reuben, 'Beyond politics', p.416.

[117] Education for Citizenship, *A report prepared by the Committee on Civic Education of the Superintendent's Advisory Council of the Chicago Public Schools* (March, 1933), pp.29-30.

[118] *Suggestions to Instructors on a course in citizenship and language adapted to adults having little command of England who are applicants for citizenship – based on naturalization forms, student's textbooks, with lessons adapted to the Chicago standpoint* (Chicago, 1921).

[119] Ibid., p.5.

[120] Ibid., p.8.

recognisable areas of North/South/East/West, and specific neighbourhoods and streets. Lesson Six made students 'repeat: Chicago is my home city. What is home? "There's no place like home."'[121] Further on in these instructions, the importance of the material environment created by the municipal and its representative officials was central, concentrating on one of its greatest triumphs over nature: the provision of a clean water supply.[122] In this narrative the situation before municipal ownership was presented as negative, with private companies delivering little water, opposed to the municipality's egalitarian goal of 'millions of streams for every emergency.'[123]

The text stressed the infallible expert opinion upon which the water system was based: the physician who understood water's relation to health, the scientist, the 'political genius with the welfare of the city at heart', the skilful engineers, the craftsmen, and the 'strength and goodwill of the laborer'.[124] This reflected the importance given to engineers and experts during the Progressive period in providing social efficiency.[125] With the instability since the end of the War, the author noted that in 'these days of frenzied discussion of class consciousness' it was 'a good time to emphasize at every opportunity the ideas of interdependence and the solidarity of all classes and not the solidarity of a single class; that we are all partners; that we must all "hang together, or we will hang separately."'[126] It went on to describe the services that made equality possible, like water, traced in reverse order from the faucet, water pipe, street water mains, pumping station, concrete water tunnels that went from the city into the lake, and the source: 'the Cribs which stand out there in the lake,

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[121] Ibid., p.27.
[122] L.P. Cain, *Sanitation Strategy for a Lakefront Metropolis: the Case of Chicago* (DeKalb, 1978); Bureau of Engineering, Department of Public Works, City of Chicago, *A Century of Progress in Water Works, Chicago* (Chicago, 1933).
[123] *Suggestions to Instructors,* p.28.
[124] Ibid., p.30.
[125] D.C. Jackson, 'Engineering in the progressive era: a new look at Frederick Haynes Newell and the U.S. Reclamation Service', *Technology and Culture,* 34 (1993); W.K. Hobson, 'Professionals, progressives and bureaucratization: a reassessment', *Historian,* 39 (1977); E. Layton, 'Veblen and the engineers', *American Quarterly,* 14, no. 1 (1962).
[126] *Suggestions to Instructors,* p.30.

some two miles and other four miles from shore.'[127] Through municipal technology, the citizens benefitted, mentally and bodily, from 'a good many baths, plenty of clean clothes, clean streets, fresh lawns and parks.'[128]

In 1932 those interested in citizenship in Chicago attempted to create a comprehensive Chicago-specific civics text. *Local Government in Chicago,* seemingly never made it past the 'tentative draft of an outline'[129] to press and into schools, but it used the same techniques from other civics texts in the period. Though the reality of municipal ownership was less secure than in Manchester the outline drew attention to how local government 'builds its own bridges, constructs harbor facilities, builds and cares for public edifices, furnishes street lights, paving, sidewalks, street name plates, cleaning of streets and alleys, including the disposal of garbage and ashes.'[130] While there was no mention of the contentious tramways, there was boasting of the other large concerns in the city, like the sewage system of the Sanitary District, which was the 'largest publicly owned utility in the Chicago area… valued at four and one half billion dollars' and the Public Works Department which 'spends about thirty-five million a year'.[131] There was a direct acknowledgement that the regulatory functions of municipal government for the health of the citizen were a moral responsibility: 'not a matter for dispute, but an accepted commonplace.'[132] This included the purity of water; the cleanliness of the streets; milk 'free from disease'; a lifeguard at the beach; and the provision of recreation in the form of parks, playgrounds, museums, and libraries.[133]

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[127] Ibid., p.27.
[128] Ibid., p.28.
[129] CHM: Chicago Commission on Citizenship Education, F38E .C421, *Local Government in Chicago* [tentative draft of an outline], 1932.
[130] Ibid., p.89.
[131] Ibid., p.90.
[132] Ibid., p.33.
[133] Ibid., p.2.

Civics education in Chicago was given a large boost with the establishment of federal funding for adult education through the New Deal, first through the Civil Works Education Service from December, 1933, to September, 1935, then through the Works Progress Administration from December 1935 until after the Second World War – both of which worked in cooperation with the Chicago Board of Education and local associations.[134] By 1937 the Citizenship Department of the Adult Education Program had grown to 147 centres, 194 classes, and sixty-three teachers, with a weekly attendance of 4,654 in 1937.[135] Classroom material disseminated to teachers had a clear municipal focus, again stressing the themes of egalitarianism, community, and services.[136] In a pamphlet of the Social Studies Conference held in Chicago in 1937, reference was made to the fact that 'community civics' texts were to be used in the adult education classes.[137] In a lesson on taxes from the 1930s, for example, the pupil was taught that their money was used 'to take care of the streets, the parks, [and] the water-works'. It was emphasised that everyone paid taxes. Again it was the depoliticised municipal employee, or 'public servant', who was the familiar point of reference: the firemen, the policemen, the street cleaners, and other officers.[138] The following lesson was titled 'Civic Responsibility' and drew attention to functions of the municipal that 'belong to the citizen', like schools, libraries, and parks.[139] Importantly, good behaviour of school children was seen as the responsibility of the adult due to these amenities: 'we must teach them to obey the laws, protect public property, [and] help keep our city clean'; 'we

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[134] Chicago Board of Education, *Adult Education Annual Report for 1937 Conducted by the Chicago Board of Education with cooperation of the Works Progress Administration* (Chicago, 1938), p.3.

[135] Ibid. p.13.

[136] What lessons and lesson-plans that can be found are in the Vernon Bowyer Papers held at the Chicago History Museum, though often material is undated or incomplete. CHM: Vernon Bowyer Papers 1919-1960, M1970, Boxes 1-4.

[137] CHM: *Miscellaneous pamphlets on the Adult Education Program of the Work Projects Administration sponsored by the Chicago Board of Education,* F38QF.C4A3z, 'Social Studies Conference December 20th and 22nd, 1937 Central Y.M.C.A 19 South LaSalle St. Chicago, Illinois. Adult Education Program conducted by the Chicago Board of Education with the Cooperation of the Works Progress Administration', 1940.

[138] CHM: Vernon Bowyer Papers 1919-1960, M1970,Box 2, Folder 15, Lesson 52 (Undated, likely late 1930s).

[139] Ibid.*,* Lesson 53.

must teach them to do their part'; 'we can only have a good country when everyone helps.'[140] In Chicago in the 1930s, civics was the key element of citizenship education.

In Britain a concentration on municipal employees and structures in civics reflected a wider interest in how cities were governed that proliferated under the municipal reform movement of the late nineteenth century.[141] Certainly there had been a consistent increase in the number of people working for the local state.[142] E.D. Simon stated in 1927 that 25,000 people worked for the Manchester council, meaning that one tenth of the city's population was supported by city council wages.[143] It is unsurprising then that Manchester had a range of books that placed the municipal at the centre of city-life. The *Manchester Guardian Yearbook,* a sort of citizenship almanac, saw local government as the primary agent, warning that 'the cessation of their activities would mean that dirt, darkness, disease and lawlessness would turn Manchester into a city of Horrible Night.'[144] The 'facts' presented to 'the citizen of this great community' aimed to 'inspire a prouder and more intelligent citizenship.'[145] In *A City Council From Within,* written by E.D. Simon and describing the duties of being a councillor, the specific benefits of city government to the 'middle-class man living in the suburbs', like gas, electricity, water, a police force, fire brigade, public health department, and municipal transport are described.[146] These aspects of municipal provision, Simon hoped, could inspire a civic dedication and engagement of Athenian characteristics, where residents gave allegiance to the city-state.[147]

In *How Manchester is Managed,* a city government publication produced annually and the city's most complete expression of civics, the wide range of activities undertaken by

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[140] Ibid.
[141] J.R. Griffiths, 'Civic communication in Britain: a study of the *Municipal Journal* c. 1893-1910', *Journal of Urban History,* 34, no. 5 (2008).
[142] Dagenais and Saunier 'Tales of the periphery', p. 4.
[143] Simon, *A City Council,* p.1.
[144] *Manchester Guardian Year Book* (Manchester, 1925), p.12.
[145] *Manchester Guardian Year Book* (Manchester, 1925), foreword.
[146] Simon, *A City Council,* p.229.
[147] Ibid. pp.234-235.

officials and departments of the council are discussed. As the preface for 1925 stated 'The Corporation does more than purvey gas, electricity, and street transport... It nurses and shields us from the cradle to the grave: we may begin our career in the lap of the Corporation midwife and end it with the Parks and Cemeteries Committee.'[148] The corporation had therefore 'developed a new conscience in matters of public health and housing and leisure'.[149] It cared for eyes, teeth, and the general physical condition of people, and provided gymnasia, parks and open spaces for 'the development of our bodies'.[150] It also maintained the roads, drained and cleaned the city, brought a 'pure water supply from afar', looked after blind persons, as well as 'a hundred other things it does for the citizen.'[151] Each department of local government, like gas, sewage, and electricity, was described in terms of the benefits it brought the citizen. Municipal administration was the epitome of modernity: 'As soon as you get beyond the sweep of the scavenger's broom you are outside the machinery of civilisation.'[152]

While, as mentioned, citizenship education was not prevalent in schools, civics themes did directly make their way into some educational settings. As Beaven and Griffiths have argued, the central state 'adopted a laissez-faire strategy in civic education' between 1870 and 1939, 'leaving early initiatives to local urban elites, philanthropists and later to the academics of the early twentieth century.'[153] Importantly, considering the strength of civics themes in Manchester produced texts, the Workers' Educational Association, the main voluntary source of education in this period, absorbed the civic culture of towns and districts where activity took place.[154] In the educational programme of the Manchester and District

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[148] M. Anderson (ed.), *How Manchester is Managed: a Record of Municipal Activity* (Manchester, 1925), p.2.
[149] Ibid. p.2.
[150] Ibid., p.2.
[151] Ibid., p.3.
[152] Ibid., p.50.
[153] Beaven and Griffiths, 'Creating the exemplary citizen', p.203.
[154] S.K. Roberts, 'The Evolution of the WEA in the West Midlands, 1905-26' in S.K. Roberts (ed.), *A Ministry of Enthusiasm: Centenary Essays on the Workers' Educational Association* (London, 2003).

Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union Ltd [MDBWMCIU] in the late-1920s the civics influence can clearly be seen. Working with the Workers' Educational Association, the Board of Education, universities, trade unions, political parties, and co-operative societies, the MDBWMCIU claimed to be 'unsectarian and non-party in politics.'[155] In the programme for 1928, the relationship between the individual and the state was crucial, as the series of talks aimed to show 'that government, by which is meant all we get as a result of law, directly affects the daily life in each one of us.'[156] The first lecture in February questioned 'What would happen if all Government suddenly stopped?' Highlighted were a range of the tropes associated with civics, expressed through a short story, like the importance of government servants such as postmen, urban protection by policemen, and the provision of schools for children. Students were then expected to discuss, as a class, what other services and aspects of home life, work, and recreation would be affected by the disappearance of government.[157] The second talk, in March, took this discussion further, detailing how government affected safety and health – 'the first and most important fruits of good government'.[158] The fire brigade protected citizens from 'personal danger'; the army, navy and air force secured peace; and the public health services, like drainage, sanitation, and isolation hospitals, protected the citizen from disease.[159] These functions of government enabled the productive self-regulating subject: 'the first aim of government is to do all in its power to give us security and peace of mind, so that we may be free as possible to use our

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[155] Greater Manchester County Record Office [hereafter GMRC]: Records of the Manchester and Direct Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Limited, GB124.G20.13, Educational Programme and List of Lectures (undated, 1930s), p 7. The central state had elements of political control over the WEA during the interwar period, through its grip on essential grants and financial aid, and was wary of adult education being used to inculcate revolutionary aims. R. Fieldhouse, 'The Workers' Educational Association' in R. Fieldhouse (ed.), *A History of Modern Britain Adult Association* (Leicester, 1996), pp.176-177 and T. Kelly, *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain* (Liverpool, 1992), pp.285-287.

[156] GMRC: Records of the Manchester and Direct Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Limited, GB124.G20.13, Educational Programme and List of Lectures, Talks and Lectures, The First Talk – 29th February 1928, p.6.

[157] Ibid., p.6.

[158] GMRC: Records of the Manchester and Direct Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Limited, GB124.G20.13, Educational Programme and List of Lectures, Talks and Lectures, The Second Talk – 7th March 1928 – How good government affects our safety and health, p.8.

[159] Ibid., p.8.

energies to our own advantage and that of the nation as a whole.'[160] Following talks covered education and government, the citizen's part in making laws, and the corresponding duty in making laws work. The final talk in the programme summarised these aspects of government and the nature of its relationship with the individual:

> We have seen that modern civilised life as we know it depends first upon our being freed from worry as far as possible, and that good government does give us a large measure of peace, security and fair treatment, safeguarding us from personal violence and the worst dangers of disease, and our property from robbery or damage. And we have seen that when it has done this, good government also gives us increased opportunities for developing our intelligence and our faculties, by making knowledge and instruction accessible and by providing many conveniences which make it easier for us to widen our interests.[161]

It would be inaccurate to characterise all adult education in Manchester as being dominated by this civics mode of thought. Across the city a whole range of different institutions, governmental and non-governmental, provided different sorts of education, the majority of which was not related to citizenship.[162] Yet in those lessons and lectures that did concern citizenship, the relationship between the services of the state, especially local, and the life of the citizen, was a common way that educators attempted to inculcate an ethos of self-improvement and civic duty.[163]

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[160] Ibid., p.8.
[161] GMRC: Records of the Manchester and Direct Branch of the Working Men's Club and Institute Limited, GB124.G20.13, Educational Programme and List of Lectures, Talks and Lectures ,The sixth talk, 4th April 1928, pp.13-14.
[162] Manchester Education Committee [herafter MEC], *A Survey of the Facilities for Adult Education Available in Manchester 1924-25* (1926) to 1938-9.
[163] See, for example, the New Lecture Series at the Byrom School for 1934-35 which covered the meaning of government; the meaning of self-government; how the law courts and police work; how local government worked (particularly, 'how Manchester is managed' – likely using the text of the same name); and the financial system of the country. Ibid. p.6.

Conclusion

Civics textbooks expressed the social and political ideologies of the authors interests and were open to both criticism and censorship.[164] The author had the ability to exclude material, use an unbalanced selection, or distort the content that was chosen.[165] Contemporaries in the US recognised the municipal bias of textbooks. As Reuben has shown, the educators who designed community civics curricula believed that industrial, urban society was incompatible with older political ideas of minimal government and maximum individual liberty. Community civics therefore tried to lead students away from individualistic philosophies toward support for government activism.[166] This bias concerned the proponents of private ownership, who made their living from selling utilities to urban dwellers. One public relations director asserted that '97 per cent of all the textbooks used in the public schools affecting public utilities are written by socialists and advocates of public ownership.'[167] A combative publicity campaign was devised by the Public Relations Committee, representing the providers of utilities, in order that 'future generations of Americans will be staunch friends of the public utilities' by learning that 'the utility men are neither bugaboos nor bandits, but public servants supplying the essentials of the modern home and business… that the progress of the community depends upon the development of its utilities.'[168]

In Chicago advocates of this view were vociferous; instructed by utility magnate Samuel Insull to 'get busy and do something' the executives of his companies in 1919 formed the Illinois Committee on Public Utility Information.[169] As well as taking lectures and talks to the schools, delivered by men trained in public speaking, and giving prizes to students who wrote the best essay on the nature of the utility business, the committee published its own

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[164] W.E. Marsden, *The School Textbook: Geography, History, and Social Studies* (London, 2001), p.130.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Reuben, 'Beyond politics', p.416.
[167] B.L. Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth* (Chicago, 1933), p.251.
[168] Ibid., p.251.
[169] E. Gruening, *The Public Pays: a Study of Power Propaganda* (New York, 1931), p.18.

assessment of private ownership.[170] In *Chicago's Genii, The Public Utilities* (1921), the narrative used the civics language of modernity and classlessness to describe privately run gas, electricity, telephones and transport: 'A wonderful transformation – a miracle – has happened in the last half century, that has placed all men and women, rich or poor, on the same level in relation to the fundamental conveniences of life.'[171] In response to Insull's campaign a Save-Our-Schools-Committee was organised in 1928 'to establish upon yet firmer foundations… that American schools and colleges are not to be considered as subjects for propaganda by special interests, groups, or causes.'[172] There was a battle to present the supposed 'real' image of municipal ownership, which often crossed business and government lines. The *Chicago's Genii* pamphlet for example was produced for the Chicago Boosters' Publicity Club, an organisation of businessmen and key municipal figures, like William Hale Thompson, also a sometime friend of municipal ownership when it suited his political interests.[173] In comparison, municipal-based narratives in Manchester were less contested; due to the strength of municipalism in the city, and the support given by the influential *Manchester Guardian* under the editorship of C.P. Scott, an important New Liberalism supporter, the image and role presented did not warrant discussion.

While calls for municipal ownership sometimes grew in strength, and sometimes weakened, the idea of the municipal as infallible, egalitarian, and benign - even if the reality of Chicago government was somewhat different - was a consistently popular way of linking citizens to their environment. This municipal discourse provided the services that enabled

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[170] For the Chicago Boosters' Publicity Club, by the Illinois Committee on Public Utility Information, *Chicago's Genii, The Public Utilities* (Chicago, 1921).

[171] Ibid., p.1.

[172] Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations,* p.272.

[173] Bukowski describes the official mouthpiece of the Club, *Greater Chicago,* as 'a primer on modern propaganda techniques'. Bukowski, *Big Bill*, p.109. For examples of Thompson's municipal hypocrisy, see the report of the Public Ownership Conference held in Chicago in 1919, where Thompson sent a delegate to show he was 'in favor of municipal ownership of the street railways.' F.B. Ayers, representing Hon. William Hale Thompson, Mayor of Chicago, 'Plan for People's Ownership and Operation of Chicago Street Railway System', *Proceedings of Public Ownership Conference*, Bulletin no. 14 (Chicago, 1919), p.51.

citizens to improve themselves and fit into a beneficial urban way of living. While the national was undoubtedly important in civics texts, urban government was at the forefront of citizenship ideology. Chapter Three therefore looks at how these civics notions could be performed and ritualised by individuals, associations, and local government in the context of public festivals. Importantly, these festivals did not just take place in the city but also celebrated the city, and its government, as a fundamental source of citizenship identity.

Chapter Three

Rituals of Municipal Power and Sites of Urban Community

In Chicago's Pageant of Progress in 1921 and 1922 and Manchester's Civic Week in 1926, two hugely popular civic festivals, these notions of civics were publicly represented and realised in the context of the modern city. This chapter examines how the city was shown to its inhabitants during these festivals in order to engender loyalty and responsibility, and to create the urban citizen, and argues that citizenship was brought about through techniques rooted in forms of municipal architecture, modern methods of civic ritual, and different forms of pageant. Civic festivals promoted a definite way of seeing and celebrating the city, yet also offered opportunities for both individuals and associations, either as organisers or participants, to experience the festivals on their own terms. In this way civic culture was figured out in a very public manner; civic elites were fully aware of the ability of public drama to reproduce political, cultural and moral discourses in the interwar period.[1]

While parades were common in this period, the size and duration of these two events, their explicit focus on the city, and their bringing of inhabitants into the city centre in novel ways, made them particularly noteworthy.[2] Between 1905 and 1939 pageants were popular with most towns and cities in Britain succumbing to what was termed 'pageantitis' by

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[1] M. Woods, 'Performing power: local politics and the Taunton Pageant of 1928', *Journal of Historical Geography,* 25, no. 1 (1999), p.66.

[2] For the frequent Catholic parades in interwar Manchester, see C. Wildman, 'Religious selfhoods and the city in inter-war Manchester', *Urban History,* 38, no. 1 (2011). For other parades, like guides and scouts, see T.M. Proctor, 'On my honour: Guides and Scouts in interwar Britain', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 92, no. 2 (2002). In Chicago various ethnicities held their own localised parades. See V. Granacki, *Chicago's Polish Downtown* (Charleston, 2004) and 'A History of Bud Billiken Day', *Chicago Defender* (8th August 1998) the annual African-American parade, from 1929. As Bukowski has stated, parades had 'long fascinated Chicagoans' – something Mayor Thompson took advantage of in various 'prosperity parades' during his 1920s mayoralty. Bukowski, *Big Bill,* p.38.

contemporary observers.[3] In Taunton, Michael Woods has argued, social and economic restructuring and political instability from the General Strike in 1926 formed the context and impetus for its 1920s Pageant; authorities hoped to replace class consciousness with community-consciousness.[4] Deborah Sugg Ryan has shown how British pageants were written about in the American press, receiving favourable reviews, and were even attended by visitors from the United States. At the turn of the century, Americans looked to Britain's pageant masters, and Frank Lascelles in particular, for the staging of their own pageants.[5] Between 1905 and 1914 more than 130 pageants took place in the US.[6] Consequently, these events shared much in common.

Section one will concentrate on the vision of the modern city, presented in terms of its industry, government, and urban fabric. It argues that a combination of modern means and historical legitimacy, as expressed through exhibition spaces, placed the city and its citizens in a narrative of progress. Section two looks at the rituals and parades of the specially embellished urban environment that cemented yet delineated the relationship between citizen and government. It argues that these were modern versions of nineteenth-century traditions, though different in each city. The final section questions how inclusive or exclusive the festivals were and assesses what this meant for interwar conceptions of citizenship and the role of race, ethnicity, and gender.

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[3] Woods, 'Performing power', p.59.
[4] Ibid., p.64.
[5] D.S. Ryan, ''Pageantitis': Frank Lascelles' 1907 Oxford Historical Pageant, visual spectacle and popular memory', *Visual Culture in Britain,* 8, no. 2 (2007), p.77.
[6] Ibid*.,* p.64. See D. Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: the Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (London, 1990).

Celebrating Civic Progress

Chicago's two week long Pageant of Progress took place mainly on the 3330 foot-long Municipal Pier, and nearby grand boulevard, Michigan Avenue. Nine-hundred of Chicago's trades and firms presented exhibits of their work and products, illustrating the strides in science and industry the city had made in the three decades since the Chicago World Fair of 1893. Posters advertised entertainments like diving competitions, 'spectacular' street parades, aeroplane and pigeon races, Venetian singers, and 'beautiful' fashion shows.[7] It was billed as 'the greatest national exposition ever held', and a testament of the 'I Will' spirit of Chicago.[8] Primarily, the Pageant aimed to boost the local economy. Mayor Thompson assured business leaders that the Pageant would 'stimulate business, create a demand for labour, and assist in solving the present problem of unemployment.'[9] Thompson defined this effort in relation to the suggestions of the Unemployment Conference of 1921, organised by Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, stating that the Pageant was an 'answer to that suggestion that bread lines and other forms of charity be established for the relief of the unemployed.'[10] Thompson instead sought solutions through private industry, assisted by the city administration, rather than through central government intervention.[11] The Pageant however also intended to create citizens; the *Chicago Tribune* claimed that 'the original purpose of merely averting a business slump has grown expansive. The purpose of Chicago's pageant now is announced by its proponents to be to awaken the country and the world to the importance of the city.'[12] Inhabitants of Chicago were actually the main focus of this

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[7] CHM: Pageant of Progress Exposition Miscellaneous Pamphlets [hereafter POPEMP], F38MZ 1921.P14, ''No End of Spectacular Events' Poster', 1921.
[8] CHM: POPEMP, F38MZ 1921.P14, C. S. Rieman, *The Pageant of Progress Exposition: a Typical Chicago Exhibition*, 1921. Written for a banquet given in honour of W.H. Thompson to the Committee of Exhibitors and Business Men of Chicago.
[9] CHM: POPEMP, F38MZ 1921.P14, [Thompson Letter to Businessmen], 1921.
[10] Cohen, *Making A New Deal,* p.182.
[11] Gaddis, *Herbert Hoover,* p.64.
[12] 'Pageant, Trade Born, Rises to Heights of Art', CT (21st July 1921, p.17.

awakening; the Pageant aimed to be a 'great educational force'[13] that would 'blend thousands of minds so that a new and harmonious civic spirit will be born.'[14]

Manchester's Civic Week in 1926 spread over the entire city, with citizens being invited to tour municipal buildings, a Textile Exhibition, factories, and warehouses. Before the beginning of Civic Week, a twenty-foot long banner was hung from the Town Hall, proclaiming 'The City keeps open house and provides a wealth of attractions. Invite your friends and tell them to bring their curiosity.'[15] In both cities exhibitions were accompanied by parades, crowds, and historical pageants. As in Chicago, Manchester's Mayor stated that Civic Week would 'stimulate industrial expansion by attracting universal attention to our facilities for manufacturing and distributing to the home and foreign markets.'[16] Sir Percy Woodhouse, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, persuaded the Civic Week Committee that Manchester's trade was 'rather like the Curate's egg, only good in places' providing 'all the more reason why every possible step should be taken to bring our manufactures before the world.'[17] As well as the revival of trade and industry, it was clear that the aim was also to create civically minded citizens. In the *Official Handbook of Civic Week,* the Mayor addressed the everyday inhabitant: 'You are asked to look at Manchester, posed openly before your eyes, and to see how it does the trick of leading the world industrially', stating that 'the real wish of all concerned in this week is that you should see the customary conduct of the establishment.'[18] Citizens were to be shown the city from both the front and behind the scenes, to see how the city council governed.

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[13] [Thompson Letter to Businessmen].
[14] CHM: Greater Chicago Magazine, F38AP.g79, Chicago Boosters Publicity Club [hereafter CBPC], *Greater Chicago,* 1, no. 7 (March, 1921), p.4.
[15] 'City's open house', *Manchester Evening News* [*MEN*] (7th August 1926), p.8.
[16] Manchester Local Studies Library [hereafter MLSL]: Miscellaneous Souvenirs of Manchester Civic Week, MSC 942.7391, 'Report of the First Meeting of the Civic Week Advisory Committee', 23rd March 1926, p.3.
[17] Ibid., pp.4-5.
[18] Manchester Civic Week Committee [hereafter MCWC], *Manchester Civic Week: Official Handbook* (Manchester, 1926), p.27.

Chicago's Pageant of Progress was organised by a coalition of business and industry leaders (41.1 per cent), municipal authority representatives (23.6 per cent), professionals, like lawyers and doctor (5.8 per cent), academics (26.5 per cent) and the press (three per cent).[19] This breakdown is unsurprising; it was not just goods that were sold, but the ability of industrial capitalism in the 1920s to provide leadership and generate profit in turbulent and changing conditions.[20] Similarly, the Secretary of Labour in the US, Senator James Davis, hoped that the Pageant would mark a new era of cordiality between labour and employers in America.[21] Examples of progress were then juxtaposed with obsolete methods and products. This consumer-based narrative of progress commodified time and gave the products of exhibitors leading roles in the future.[22] The Chicago Retail Lumber Dealers Association, for example, displayed a primitive log cabin, using the same specifications as the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, and set it adjacent to a 'picturesque bungalow' of the industrial age. While the crude log cabin was described in the exhibits souvenir brochure as 'quaint', the bungalow marked the 'progress of man, brains and machine.'[23]

A number of exhibition booths were given to the Illinois State Health Department, 'for the purpose of giving intelligent information and instruction to many thousands of visitors on the ways and means of good health', reflecting the preoccupation with the body in citizenship.[24] In the 1922 Pageant, the state department of public welfare and the department of agriculture each had ten booths, the city health department had seven, the state health department five, the board of education six, and the board of local improvements five.[25] An

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[19] Calculated from CHM: POPEMP, F38MZ 1921.P14, 'Description of the Sections and Section Chairmen of the organization of the Pageant', 1921.
[20] C. Gordon, *New Deals: Business, Labor, and Politics in America, 1920-1935* (Cambridge, 1994).
[21] 'Davis predicts better industrial relations', *New York Times* (31st July 1921), p.9.
[22] M.L. Smith, 'Making time: representations of technology at the 1964 World's Fair' in R.W. Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, *The Power of Culture* (Chicago, 1993), p.226.
[23] CHM: POPEMP, F38MZ 1921.P14, Retail Lumber Dealers Association, 'Progress in Building', 1921.
[24] CHM: Greater Chicago Magazine, F38AP.g79, CBPC, 'The complete story of the Pageant of Progress Exposition', *Greater Chicago,* 1 no. 12 (August/September, 1921), p.10.
[25] 'Pageant feels strike effects in slim crowds', *CT* (5th August 1922), p.9.

attempt was also made to show the future of the urban environment. In Chicago, this revolved around the Plan of Chicago and City Beautiful movement. The Plan Commission provided a miniature scale model of the already constructed Michigan Boulevard Bridge, and a complete layout of the remaining work of the plan.[26] In Chicago visitors lauded the 'interesting and instructive' exhibits, and displayed excitement to *Tribune* reporters at the inner-workings of the governing institutions of the city.[27] In the ethnic districts of Chicago, where life was centred on the neighbourhood, these central exhibits were highly important. As Warren Susman has argued, public fairs enabled visitors to 'rethink the world from a vantage point somewhere between past, present and future' and participate in a new technologically, socially, culturally, and politically emerging social order.[28] Pin badges that featured the Mayor's face were distributed during the Pageant; each of the exhibits had short souvenir leaflets; and, following the Pageant, 'eyewitness' accounts, like John Delaney's *A Trip Thru Chicago's Pageant of Progress Exhibition* (1921), were published.[29] Items of memorabilia presented official viewpoints, imbued with instructive meaning, and 'not only kept alive the memory of a fair for those who attended, but also brought the life of that event to millions who did not.'[30]

In Manchester, a committee of academics, dignitaries and businessmen, was dominated by representatives of the Council. The main attraction of the Week was the Textile Exhibition, held at Belle Vue Gardens. The committee for this exhibition was, unlike the primary committee, mostly made up of figureheads of institutions related to Manchester's textile industry, like the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and the

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[26] Ibid., p.18.
[27] 'The inquiring reporter', *CT* (8th August 1922), p.19.
[28] W. Susman, 'Ritual fairs', *Chicago History,* 12, no. 3 (1983), p.6.
[29] CHM: POPEMP, F38MZ 1921.P14, J.F. Delaney, *A Trip Thru Chicago's Pageant of Progress Exhibition: Being a graphic description of Chicago's great industrial, commercial and business exposition which opens on the breeze swept Municipal Pier on July 30th and closes August 14th 1921*, 1921.
[30] Susman, 'Ritual fairs', p.5.

President of the Manchester Cotton Association.[31] As the *Manchester Guardian* recognised, the exhibition functioned 'not only as an advertisement for 'Manchester goods' but as a rallying point for Lancashire's courage and faith in its products and its future.'[32] Faith in the modernity of the city's government was also shown. A vehicle parade aimed to display 'how dependent is our modern industrial system upon the modern system of transport' by showing a linear procession of merchandise carried first by pack horses, then wagon horses, then steam wagon, ending with the current form of transportation, the petrol wagon. The Corporation also supplied old horse-cars, old electric cars, and old horse-buses, followed by examples of the latest types of petrol vehicles used. Onlookers were supposedly shocked with how 'so out of date' and 'so utterly useless for the purposes of our modern world' the old forms were. [33]

Exhibits at Manchester's Civic Week also displayed 'modern methods of milk supply, public lavatories, maternity and child welfare centres... hospital work, massage, tuberculosis, and smoke abatement.'[34] Alongside the scale models were charts, graphs and statistics illustrating the decline of disease due to municipal intervention. Invitations were made for citizens to visit the departments of the Corporation, to 'stimulate appreciation of the incessant labour that lies behind the day-to-day conduct of a great city.'[35] Wildman has also highlighted how municipal leaders displayed the investment made in urban infrastructure, by, for example, producing a ceremonial tram covered in electric lights. Using the idea of investment in the city could construct local ideas of citizenship by engendering loyalty to a vision of the future.[36] Existing municipal or state intervention in both cities therefore was displayed not as a matter of politics, but one of administration. These exhibits provided a

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[31] MCWC, *Official Handbook*, p.35.
[32] ''Manchester' exhibition', *MG* (9th November 1926), p.4.
[33] 'The launching of Civic Week', *MG* (4th October 1926), p.80.
[34] GMCRO: *Manchester Civic Week,* M740/2/8/3/2, 'Report of Committee on Civic Week' (Undated, presumed 1926), p.4.
[35] MCWC, *Official Handbook,* p.43.
[36] Wildman*,* 'The "Spectacle"', p.29.

more accessible and tangible complement to civics books; Manchester Council reports stated that exhibits of municipal governance 'would be the best kind of practical supplement to the book "How Manchester is Managed".[37] While the distribution of the book was just a few thousand, the total attendance at Civic Week was one million.[38] Educating citizens in the business of governance created an informed public, the '*sine qua non* of democracy.'[39]

Figure 3.1: Manchester Civic Week Ceremonial Tram, 1926

Source: 'Manchester Illuminated Tramcar Postcard', *Pearson's Studio Oldham Road* (Manchester, 1926).

Exhibitions did involve a certain kind of participation, however. Tony Bennett has elaborated how exhibition spaces were experienced but also allowed participation. In this 'exhibitionary complex', cultural technologies operating within such spaces organised the liberal citizen: a subject who voluntarily self-surveyed and therefore self-regulated.[40] In the exhibition halls everyone could see and be seen. The orderly crowd thus became the ultimate spectacle by the power of panoramic vision – surveying yet constantly being under surveillance. Furthermore,

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[37] GMCRO: *Manchester Civic Week,* M740/2/8/3/2 'Report of Committee on Civic Week', (Undated, presumed 1926), p.2.
[38] Wildman, 'The "Spectacle"', p.88.
[39] D. W. Williams and M. Lee, 'Déjà vu all over again: contemporary traces of the "Budget Exhibit"', *The American Review of Public Administration,* 38, 203 (2008), p.5.
[40] T. Bennett, 'The exhibitionary complex', *New Formations,* no. 4 (1988), p.76.

by rendering governance knowable through exhibiting the workings of its fundamental institutions, citizens could 'identify with power, to see it as, if not directly theirs, then indirectly so, a force regulated and channelled by society's ruling groups but for the good of all.'[41] Bennett's analysis entails some problems; according to Gunn 'the view from the gallery floor is hardly considered, nor the fact that exhibitions might be seen from – and engender – a variety of subject positions rather than a single, uniform subject.'[42] While it is difficult to capture these other subject positions, one can at least recognise that different visitors may have left with different impressions; the governmental exhibits, for example, may have not warranted as much interest when compared to the exhibits of 'curiosities' like obsolete pieces of machinery, or the pleasure functions of exhibitions, like the beauty queen pageants in Chicago's Congress Hall. Furthermore, while exhibitions may have enabled the production of a self-regulating and loyal citizen, we should recognise examples of other behaviour. For example, the operation of thieves,[43] or female abortion activists, who passed out printed business cards advertising medicine for 'Ladies', were a feature of the Pageant of Progress.[44] Though this may not have been conscious subversion or deviance from the 'official' aims of the Pageant, it is important in showing how festivals can provide multiple functions, most of which are not controlled. Above all, however, the festivals presented a distinctly municipally-defined vision of the city and its government.

Ritualising Municipal Government

Festivals also offered opportunities for civic elites to perform their legitimacy and for aspects of the urban to be literally highlighted and celebrated. In Manchester electricity was very

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[41] Ibid., p.80.
[42] S. Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (Harlow, 2006), p.104.
[43] F. E. Haynes, *Criminology* (New York, 1930), p.158.
[44] L.J. Reagan, *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine and Law in the United States, 1867-1973* (Berkeley, 1998), p.44.

important: the ability to illuminate public buildings and spaces operated as an allegorical political visibility. Wildman, in her analysis of Civic Week, has stated that the city itself was turned into an exhibition, from 'a cold prosaic city to a place of bright, infectious gaiety': something to be celebrated.[45] The buildings highlighted, according to Wildman, were chosen to symbolise the city's diverse economy, and to break from its Victorian past. The Ship Canal building, the emblem of Manchester's ability to face economic depression, and the 1910 tower of the Refuge Insurance building, were both floodlighted. This argument however can be overstated; alongside modernity was a continued recognition of Victorian municipal identity. Wildman stated that the Victorian Town Hall was not lit; this, however, was not the case.[46] The Town Hall was floodlit from below by six powerful electric lights, and lights were also fixed to the roof of the tower and in the tower itself.[47] The effect was striking; the *Sunday Chronicle* described the tower as a 'civic beacon', its 'powerful searchlights sending beams to all points of the compass',[48] while the *Liverpool Post* remarked 'the great, pressing crowd whose heads were turned up by the thousand to see the tower must have all felt in their honest Lancashire hearts some stirring of that pride of city.'[49]

As the tallest building in the city, the tower secured visual dominance in the overall townscape.[50] All parts of Manchester could be seen, and, in turn, the citizen could 'at all times be able to view this emblem of the citizenry.'[51] Located in its own purpose-built municipal space, Albert Square, with statues of Liberal politicians, like Gladstone and Bright, it now became a place of public gathering even late at night; one reporter believed that 'the ghostly effect of the flood lights' revealed the 'soul' of the huge building, and brought

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[45] Wildman, 'The "Spectacle"', p.83.
[46] Wildman, 'Urban Transformation', p.140.
[47] 'Brighter city of Manchester', *Manchester Dispatch* (30th August 1926), p.39.
[48] 'Cotton city's day of pageantry', *Sunday Chronicle* (3rd October 1926), p.20.
[49] 'Civic week in Manchester', *Liverpool Post* (4th October 1926), p.30.
[50] Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom,* p.167.
[51] Ibid*.,* p.167.

thousands to the square.[52] Contemporaries in Manchester complimented the throngs as 'large and enthusiastic' yet also good tempered and 'orderly'.[53] In this way the inhabitants of the city could lay claim to public space in exceptional circumstances, and enact the well-behaved self-regulating community under the banner of celebrating the city.[54]

Public spaces also played a key role in the wider civic ritual of both the Pageant of Progress and Civic Week. Ritual offers one way of thinking about how governance worked and was achieved. Central was the ability of ritual to perform, through a choreographed spectacle, the symbolic display of leadership and authority.[55] Through this drama a unified urban community was imagined, and a symbolic claim to authority made over that community by civic leadership.[56] The urban setting for civic rituals was significant; embellished buildings became a part of the event. The opening ceremony of Manchester Civic Week took place in the decorated Albert Square in front of the Town Hall. The Mayor and his wife stood with other dignitaries of the city on a raised platform, visibly delineated from the crowds. After being presented with an addition to the City's regalia, the Mayor proclaimed the beginning of the festival. A sense of theatrics and emotional drama worked through the ritual; one onlooker described how 'The speakers spoke to microphones, and their voices were delivered to the crowd through electric amplifiers... the thunder of the spoken word, echoing and re-echoing from the cliff-like buildings, had a dramatic effect which kept the crowd strangely hushed.'[57] Governors and governed were thus clearly demarcated in both role and space.[58]

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[52] Ibid., p.167. 'That Civic Week feeling', *MEN* (6th October 1926), p.19.
[53] 'The Kings message to Manchester', *MEN* (2nd October 1926), pp.68-69.
[54] This could be considered as a classic example of Joyces 'freedom as a mode of restraint' paradox of liberal governmentality. Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom,* p.1. Rose, *Powers of Freedom,* p.4.
[55] Gunn, *The Public Culture,* p.163.
[56] Ibid.
[57] 'The launching of Civic Week', *MG* (4th August 1926), p.80.
[58] J. Garrard, 'English Mayors: what are they for?' in J. Garrard (ed.), *Heads of the Local State: Mayors, Provosts and Burgomasters since 1800* (Aldershot, 2007), p.23.

Figure 3.2: the Lord Mayor of Manchester, on a raised platform surrounded by civic signatories, delivers his opening speech.

Source: 'Film No. 7: Manchester Civic Week', *NWFA* (1926).

Figure 3.3: Manchester Civic Week opening ceremony in front of the Town Hall. Crowds to the left, delineated from the Mayor's platform on the right.

Source: 'Film No. 7: Manchester Civic Week', *NWFA* (1926).

Parades were another important part of civic ritual. The route of the procession marked out the perceived identity of the city not just by the parts of the urban environment in which the celebration took place, but also the parts that were ignored. The route of the opening parade of the Pageant of Progress in Chicago went along the recently widened Michigan Avenue, and passed important commercial buildings like the newly built Wrigley Building. It also crossed the Michigan Avenue Bridge, a key part of the Plan of Chicago. North of the bridge the route went through a recently mass-developed area, where 'Warehouses and old homes [had] literally vanished, replaced by a line of stores, offices, and skyscrapers, including the Tribune's famed tower.'[59] On the east side of the route was Grant Park, developed and expanded in the previous twenty years. By passing through an area of Chicago dominated by business buildings, yet also parks and improvements, the parade highlighted an environment that civic and business leaders believed would inspire pride in the city.[60]

Parades accompanying Manchester Civic Week focused on the streets around the civic centre of the Town Hall and Albert Square, though also passing alongside important institutions like the University of Manchester, the School of Art, and the Royal Infirmary.[61] This demonstrated, as Woods has argued, the 'elite's power through the occupation of symbolically significant space.'[62] In the Civic Week handbook, which sold seventy-thousand copies, these sites were also marked out and discussed.[63] Furthermore, a map accompanying the *Manchester Guardian* Civic Week supplement was dominated by thick red lines signifying public tram routes, to display 'the ample means provided by its City Fathers

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[59] Bukowski, *Big Bill,* p.110.
[60] CHM: Greater Chicago Magazine, F38AP.g79, CBPC, 'Pageant of Progress Exposition Organizations Formed in Every District of Chicago', *Greater Chicago Special Pageant of Progress Exposition Issue*, 1, no. 10, (July, 1921), p.19. Burnham had previously stated of the plan's power to cement together 'the heterogeneous elements of our population, and toward assimilating the million and a half of people who are here now but who were not here fifteen years ago.' T.S. Hines, 'Architecture: the city beautiful movement', *Encyclopaedia of Chicago* (2004) accessed online 11th April 2013 http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/61.html.
[61] MCWC, *Official Handbook,* pp.48-49.
[62] Woods, 'Performing power', p.58.
[63] 'Another civic week invasion', *MEN* (4th October 1926), p.75.

whereby the Citizens may transport and disport themselves in public vehicles.'[64] Again this highlighted both the historic institutions of the city as well as modernity. The main parades of both Chicago and Manchester did not enter residential areas or areas that did not fit the image that the authorities wished to promote. One observer in Chicago noted how 'Dirty alleys... refuse filled streets in the Second ward, black and tan cabarets operating in violation of the 1 o'clock closing law... these are a few of the forgotten exhibits in Mayor Thompson's Pageant of Progress.'[65] Wildman has also noted how '*Northern Voice,* a self-styled working-class periodical, complained "amongst the junketing and chronicling of Civic Week… I have seen no reference to one little island near the heart of the city", referring to the slum area of Ancoats.'[66] Clearly parts of the city were meant to be seen and celebrated, and parts were not. Through this the projected identity of the city became synonymous with its leading institutions and public spaces.[67]

The format of these main events differed between Manchester and Chicago, though they also shared some similarities. Important in both cities was the presentation of the Mayor as the principal character in the ritual, what Garrard terms the 'super-squire', a figure who personified municipal government and represented corporate authority within the city.[68] In Manchester the opening parade consisted solely of the Lord and Lady Mayor driving through the decorated streets of the city.[69] In Chicago the opening parade was led by Mayor Thompson 'throwing roses', before, at the final destination, all other participants passed before him as a sort of review.[70] In this way the civic elite was defined as privileged through ritual and their visual commanding of public space.[71] In a departure from nineteenth-century

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[64] 'Civic Week number', *MG* (2nd August 1926), pp.32-33.
[65] 'Chicago women hear Thompson regime flayed', *CT* (28th October 1921), p.12.
[66] Wildman, 'The "Spectacle"', p.90.
[67] Gunn, *The Public Culture,* p.169.
[68] Ibid; J. Garrard, *Leadership and Power in Victorian Industrial Towns 1830-80* (Manchester, 1983), p.30.
[69] MCWC, *Official Handbook,* p.30.
[70] 'Parade opens Pageant of Progress', *CT* (30th July 1922), p.3.
[71] Woods, 'Performing power', p.58.

rituals however importance was given to parading not just civic dignitaries but also the various workers employed by the City; this reflected the decline of middle-class civic culture and the rise in the extent of municipal administration. In Manchester a 'Ceremonial Review', consisting of the City Police Force, Fire Brigade, and St. John's Ambulance passed through Albert Square, in front of the Mayor's podium, and past the waiting crowds.[72] In Chicago, following the police chief, were fifty motorcycle policemen, three-hundred mounted policemen, 'thousands' of patrolmen on foot, one-thousand firemen on foot, one-thousand postal employees, and two-thousand nurses.[73] The employees of the street department, dubbed the 'white wings', were 'drilled and marched like soldiers, the effect being enhanced by their being in uniform.'[74] This obvious display of the modern municipal machinery reminded the citizen, through sheer number and the precision in which they marched, of the freedom and services that they received because of local government, physically highlighting the ideas that were apparent in civics education.

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[72] MCWC, *Official Handbook,* p.30.
[73] 'Blaze of glory opens Chicago progress show', *CT* (31st July 1922), p.1.
[74] 'Parade opens Pageant of Progress', *CT* (30th July 1922), p.3.

Figure 3.4: Manchester Civic Week Ceremonial Review; policemen march through Albert Square, 1926

Source: 'Film No. 7: Manchester Civic Week', *NWFA* (1926).

Figure 3.5: Street Cleaners in the Pageant of Progress Opening Parade, 1922

Source: 'Parade Opens Pageant of Progress', *CT* (30th July 1922), p. 3.

Yet the parades of Chicago and Manchester were also different. Apart from civic employees and the ceremonial review, the opening day of parades in Manchester's Civic Week gave little chance for participation. The 'Pageant of Industries', organised by the Federation of British Industries, consisted of almost eighty separate firms, some with as many as seven floats. Participation was limited to driving or operating. In the nineteenth century, though declining from 1870 and into the Edwardian period, it was more common for citizens to make up a significant part of the parade. By participating in processions social groups and institutions had 'rendered themselves visible to the urban public and staked their claim to a place within the social body of the town.'[75] While Gunn noted that this was not inclusive, with the exclusion of women particularly, it still enabled organised groups among the working class to claim legitimacy in the civic culture of the city. The 'Pageant of Industries' in Manchester however, was instead intended to 'demonstrate the fundamental soundness and energy of the city's great organisations.'[76] In this display it was not citizens of the city that were celebrated, but its institutions, employees, and industrial firms.

The opening parade of the Pageant of Progress in 1921 was accessible to wider social groups, the number of participants being as many as seventy-five thousand. Included within this was a women's section including the Women's Band and two thousand women in an anti-war display, showing that participators could bring their own agendas into civic celebrations.[77] Twenty-five of the outlying districts of Chicago had their own section of floats.[78] As the parade progressed, many of the spectators joined on to its end. The American parade thus had multiple authors, each who 'carried their own chosen symbols into one composite ceremony.'[79] In Manchester the ritual was much more of one seeing from the side lines, identifying the authority of government without participating in it. In Chicago the

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[75] Gunn, *The Public Culture,* p.174.
[76] 'Civic Week', *Manchester Daily News* (4th August 1926), p.6
[77] 'Coolidge opens Pageant of Progress today', *CT* (30th July 1921), p.1.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ryan, 'The American parade'.

subject position still allowed authority to be identified, but also offered participation within this authority. The voluntarism of the parade thus displayed a 'self-regulating urban community policing itself through inherent codes of conduct... as opposed to ones imposed from outside authority.'[80] Ritual presented a way in which festive life could perpetuate the values of those who both organised and participated, as in Chicago, but it could also limit participation, as in Manchester's parades.

Figure 3.6: Community Floats in the Pageant of Progress Opening Parade, 1921: 'Decorated floats and beautiful girls – neighborhood queens who will contend for the honor of being queen of the pageant... made the parade a colorful spectacle.'

Source: 'Chicago Points the Way to a New Era of Progress and Prosperity', CT (31st July 1921), p. 3.

The well-behaved citizen was targeted through attempting to make the existing social order seem natural. This was an example of 'social steering': a relationship more of bargaining rather than social control.[81] Yet neither Manchester Civic Week nor the Pageant of Progress consisted solely of images of governance; they were also sites and events that allowed the gathering of hundreds of thousands of people. Different ways that people could become

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[80] Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom,* p.163.
[81] Morris, 'Governance', p.10.

involved in civic festivals are therefore important; there was a multitude of diverse means that these events stimulated civil society, 'community spirit', and the individual, providing opportunities for involvement. The final section will take as its main concern the ways that people could participate and celebrate the civic, be excluded, or indeed exclude themselves.

Race, Ethnicity, Women, and Civic Cohesion

Municipal festivals show how groups with less established political power, like women and racial or ethnic minorities, could claim legitimacy in the public space of the city, and enable us to avoid the reduction of citizenship to a dichotomy of governor and governed. While neither Civic Week nor the Pageant of Progress were directly exclusionary, and were technically open to all, both festivals still operated on a complicated inclusionary and exclusionary basis defined by the social context of the period. A subject could still however assert inclusion in ways that worked outside official representations of the exhibitions, since it was people themselves who determined their level of involvement. Important here is an understanding of resistance, taken as 'part and parcel of the means and the implementation of action,' since what impedes also facilitates and necessitates action.[82] Furthermore, municipal exhibitions could revitalise civil society or indeed create alternative public spheres of 'rational-critical debate', and thus older notions of active citizenship. I argue that the Pageant of Progress was both inherently and by necessity more inclusive than Manchester Civic Week, due to the spectre of 'the stranger' in American society, yet inclusive in a 'safe' rather than 'equal' manner. I conclude that municipal festivals did not end with the promotion of the official machinery of governors, but carried on to 'work' in ways that were not originally considered by their organisers.

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[82] Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom,* p.184.

Both events were inclusive on one level since they allowed the mixing of men and women, and races and ethnicities, in public spaces. Both entailed a varied programme which stressed leisure, entertainment and fun. On the Municipal Pier in Chicago the crowds could watch speedboat races, take part in competitions like swimming races or boxing contests, or listen, mingle and dance to the singing of Venetian choirs.[83] In Manchester, special firework displays were held at the Belle Vue Zoological Gardens and Pleasure City, late night dancing and galas took place every night, and sporting events, including swimming, football and wrestling, drew in large crowds of spectators.[84] While the organisers of Civic Week stressed that entertainments should not 'obscure the object and intention of the week', municipal festivals did not solely revolve around instruction.[85] The festive atmosphere could relax quotidean structures of urban society, and allow an enactment of unity that cut 'across the hierarchies of structure' by 'erasing status differences by building a common mood, a common experience.'[86] A visit to the festival became a special ritual, and a rite of passage, where citizens became aware of the everyday life of the city, and became part of that life.[87] This is especially important in the case of Chicago, since the race riot of 1919 had, at least as its catalyst, concerned access to the contested space of an informally segregated public beach. By imagining the Municipal Pier and its activities as a public space of leisure, the Pageant of Progress created a site and focal point of community interaction and a perceived local identity that attempted to absorb racial tensions in Chicago.[88]

Within the shared space of the Pageant of Progress it was still possible for different races and ethnicities to be displayed. Importantly, when we consider the fragile situation of the city, there were no exhibitions based on eugenics, with 'savage' model foreign villages - a

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[83] Rieman, *The Pageant of Progress Exposition,* p.4.
[84] MCWC, *Official Handbook*, p.57-59.
[85] Ibid*.,* p.27.
[86] J. R. Gusfield and J. Michalowicz, 'Secular symbolism: studies of ritual, ceremony, and the symbolic order in modern life', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 10 (1984), p.429.
[87] Susman, 'Ritual fairs', p.7.
[88] Bachin, *Building the South Side*, p.297.

feature of previous world expositions.[89] Instead different cultures were celebrated. The provision of a space where different races and ethnicities could be seen was significant; one visitor noted 'The people that I saw there... there were a few of every type represented' as the most interesting thing they saw at the festival.[90] The most overt display of racial and national identity was through public singing. The wealthy Chicagoan philanthropist, Charles Hutchinson, believed that music could ease urban tensions and promote understanding among the various groups of the city, and had backed the formation of the Civic Music Association in 1914.[91] The programme of music at the Pageant was run along these lines, each day featuring a different section of Chicago society, like the Italian Singing Society, the Colored Stock Yards Group, a Hungarian choir, the United German Singers, the Colored Community Group, the Polish Singing Alliance, as well as a day where songs of the French, Spanish, English and American colonists were heard.[92] While choirs often had hundreds, or even thousands, of members, not everybody could participate. Musical events however allowed the participants, and the race or ethnicity they represented, to stake a non-aggressive claim to public recognition within the city.

A whole day was dedicated to the Chinese. A 'gaudy parade' organised by the Chinese Merchants of Chicago made its way to the Pier, with floats depicting Chinese industries alongside 'dragons and weird oriental idols' while the Chinese Pageant Queen and others wore 'picturesque costumes representing important eras in Chinese history.'[93] The Chinese numbered a mere 2,353 in 1920.[94] The black population of over 100,000 however, while not a homogeneous group, barely featured in the Pageant except through attendance

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[89] See Rydell, *World of Fairs,* for an analysis of this type of racial representation at American fairs.
[90] 'The Inquiring reporter', *CT* (8th August 1922), p.19.
[91] McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige,* p.112.
[92] CHM: Greater Chicago Magazine, F38AP.g79, CBPC, 'Special Musical Program Pageant of Progress Exposition', *Greater Chicago: Special Pageant of Progress Exposition Issue,* 1, no. 10 (July, 1921), p.17.
[93] 'Pageant of Progress exposition offers many features of enjoyment', *Ibid.,* p.16.
[94] T. Steffes, 'Chinese', *Encyclopaedia of Chicago* (2004). Accessed online at 11th April 2013, http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/285.html.

and choirs.[95] The largest united display of black visibility was from the Metropolitan Community Church Choir, which consisted of approximately one thousand young black singers.[96] Following the 1919 riot, a similar display of unity from a black group would have been contentious. The 'joss sticks' and 'oriental lanterns' of the Chinese however 'cast a glamour of the Far East upon the occidental $5,000,000 Municipal pier.'[97] By being included under the official banner of the Pageant, such overt displays of a different culture were rendered acceptably 'American'. This notion of patriotism stressed the ability of loyalty to overcome race and ethnicity in citizenship.[98] Yet certain displays were simply too dangerous to be included, and these 'others' were limited to visiting the Pageant, or participating in the 'safe' musical aspect.

Demographic changes deriving from mass immigration and increasing urban sprawl made it increasingly difficult for Chicago to have 'civic coherence'.[99] Rather than one homogeneous entity the University of Chicago sociologist Charles Richmond Henderson claimed that the city was 'a huge aggregation of villages, each with distinct and antagonistic ideals.'[100] This did not necessarily signify the end of over-arching civic unity in the interwar period: it was more an issue of how these 'villages' could be included within the image of Chicago. Localised parades, highlighting the idiosyncratic nature of their district, took place in the weeks leading up to the Pageant. The city was split into twenty-six areas, based on notions of community identity and solidarity, and a local Queen was elected following each parade. These 'Community Parades' were each viewed by fifty-thousand to 500,000 persons, and the *Greater Chicago* magazine speculated that the overall attendance was as much as

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[95] McCarthy, 'The new metropolis', p.183.
[96] 'Mayor seeks 1,000 negroes for chorus at pier show', *CT* (20th June 1921), p.11.
[97] 'Throng at pier sees 2,000 foot leap into lake', *CT* (4th August 1921), p.23.
[98] Bachin, 'At the nexus of labor and leisure'.
[99] Warner, *The Urban Wilderness,* p.111.
[100] Graser, '"A Jeffersonian scepticism"', p.216.

three million.[101] Community parades allowed different districts of Chicago to maintain individual and self-perpetuated conceptions of identity, while celebrating under the wider banner of unity in Chicago.

Figure 3.7: 'Uptown Chicago' Local Community Parade (1922)

Source: 'North End Business Men Stage Huge Parade', *CT* (21st July 1922), p. 3.

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[101] Rieman, *The Pageant of Progress Exposition,* p.4.

Manchester, though not facing the same extent of racial or ethnic tensions, still included minorities in the communal aspect of the event.[102] The official handbook informed the reader:

> These Italians are one of our communities; and you will find as you get to know the city that there are many others. You can walk through a mile of Cheetham Hill Road and read nothing but Hebrew on the shop fronts... You will find, too, as you look about you, the places where men's headgear varies between the turban and the fez; and where the Greeks congregate and where the Levantines [live].[103]

Formal representations of these groups did not feature at the actual Civic Week, reflecting their small number within the city, though the Irish, the largest minority grouping, were at least symbolically shown: Deansgate and Market Street had the distinctive colours of green, orange and white.[104] This is interesting when we consider that this tricolour had only recently become official following the Easter Rising (1916), and the formation of the Irish Free State (1922), and Irish unrest in the city in 1920-21.[105] After the bloody Irish Civil War of 1922-1923, Steven Fielding has argued, most Irish in Manchester 'seemed to want to forget Ireland.'[106] Taken with the decline in Irish immigration, tensions were lower. A conscious effort was still made to make Civic Sunday in Albert Square a 'United Undenominational Service', opening with the hymn 'All People That Dwell on Earth', and conducted by both Reverends and Rabbis. Speeches concentrated on the importance of civic solidarity, and

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[102] The Italian community, for example, numbered just 2000 out of a total population of 730,307. 'Legacies: Manchester', *BBC* (2003), accessed online 11th April 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/legacies/immig_emig/england/manchester/. Total population figure taken from 'Manchester', *A Vision of Britain Through Time* (2009), accessed online 11th April 2013, http://visionofbritain.org.uk/data_cube_page.jsp?data_theme=T_POP&data_cube=N_TOT_POP&u_id=10136933&c_id=10001043&add=N.

[103] MCWC, *Official Handbook*, p.15.

[104] 'City's big pageant', *Daily Mail* (27th July 1926), no page number. The Irish population, though falling from 8.59 per cent in 1871 to 2.36 in 1921, still made Manchester the third largest Irish town in Britain in this period. D. Fitzpatrick, 'A curious middle place: the Irish in Britain, 1871-1921' in R. Swift and S. Gilley, *The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939* (London, 1989), p.13.

[105] E. Barth, *Shamrocks, Harps, and Shillelaghs: the Story of the St. Patrick's Day Symbols* (New York, 1977), pp.43-45. S. Fielding, 'A separate culture? Irish Catholics in working-class Manchester and Salford, c. 1890-1939' in A. Davies and S. Fielding (eds), *Workers' Worlds: Cultures and Communities in Manchester and Salford, 1880-1939* (Manchester, 1992), p.41.

[106] Fielding, 'A separate culture?', p.42.

celebrated the city rather than God or religion. As the Mayor's Chaplain declared, 'Grant unto us a vision of Manchester as she might be... a city of peace where order shall not rest on force, but on the love of all for the city, the great mother of our common life and our common weal.' The Chaplain also placed emphasis on Manchester's 'inhabitants' and their 'spirit of civic endeavour, the spirit in which each regarded his place and share in civic life, the spirit of the unselfishness and co-operate effort, the sinking of self into the common weal'[107] while the Mayor championed 'the devotion of men and women who are ready at call to give service to the City that serves them so well.'[108]

Manchester Civic Week offered opportunities for its citizens to get involved, and to celebrate themselves. This was apparent in the organisation and execution of the Historical Pageant held at Heaton Park. The master of the Pageant, F.E. Doran, stated its purpose was to

> symbolise the growing power of the people through the centuries, to indicate the part played by Manchester people in moulding the thought, institutions and commerce of the country, to emphasise that beyond the veil of smoke and the forest of chimneys our civic life is based on heroic and romantic incidents, the endeavours and struggles of the common people, [and] to recall forgotten glories so that we may appreciate Manchester's contribution to world progress.[109]

This rhetoric fits the general image of pageants in the period; as Withington reasoned in 1926, they were seen as one way to foster citizenship through attachment to the local, the national, and the imperial.[110] The Manchester Pageant was based mainly on the murals of significant events in the city's history painted by Ford Madox Brown and hung in the Town Hall, continuing the popular approach of Frank Lascelles, the most famous pageant master of

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[107] 'City's big pageant', *Daily Mail*.
[108] MLSL: Miscellaneous souvenirs of Manchester Civic Week, MSC 942.7391, 'Lord Mayor at Gaiety Theatre', (Undated, presumed 1926), p.1.
[109] MLSL: MCWC, *Historical Pageant of Manchester: Heaton Park* (Manchester, 1926), p.4.
[110] R. *Withington, English Pageantry: an Historical Outline*, vol. 2 (New York, *1926*), p.195.

this period, in using historical and narrative paintings of pre-Raphaelite painters.[111] Episodes included the establishment of Flemish Weavers in the City (1363), John Kay and the Fly Shuttle (1753), and the Opening of the Bridgewater Canal (1761). The Pageant ended with a depiction of Manchester's heroic efforts in the Great War (1914-1918), and a symbolic show of 'the unity of past, present and future.'[112] By using episodes that integrated local events into a national narrative of progress, pageantry provided 'examples of right conduct for modern-day Englishmen to follow.'[113] Ryan has argued that pageant episodes were 'like acts in a play, in which the place is the hero.'[114] Importantly, the actors of the Historical Pageant were drawn from the populace of the city. Manchester was split into districts, with each district responsible for a different episode. Local and often younger people of the district were then mobilised by local church leaders.[115] Over 2,500 performers, a hundred singers, and three massed bands, took part.[116] The popularity of this Historical Pageant was immense; over 100,000 people went to Heaton Park to watch. It was public, popular, yet also participatory; it fashioned a local consensus of civic feeling and pageants were thought of as genuine community events.[117] As the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* cried 'You're in it! We're all in it! You may not be acting the part of Sir Lancelot, or defending Manchester from the Roman marauders at Heaton Park, but you're in it!'[118] The past, present and future of Manchester was not just its institutions, but also 'the result of community effort and civic endeavour'.[119] By using local performers, according to Wood, class boundaries were suspended yet, 'Rather than acting as a catalyst for a new, less-class based society' pageants 'created an illusion of

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[111] Ryan, ''Pageantitis'', p.68.
[112] *Historical Pageant of Manchester,* pp.18-20.
[113] Readman, 'The place of the past in English culture', p.191.
[114] Ryan, ''Pageantitis'', p.64.
[115] 'Manchester world', *Christian World* (2nd September 1926), p.77.
[116] '200 years of Manchester in a night', *Manchester Evening Chronicle* (3rd August 1926), p.5.
[117] Readman, 'The place of the past in English culture', p.174.
[118] 'Sunshine smiles on glorious send-off', *Manchester Evening Chronicle* (2nd October 1926), p.69.
[119] *Historical Pageant of Manchester,* p.4.

democratic, class-less involvement, while at the same time propagating discourses which supported the existing social order.'[120]

A historical pageant in Chicago's 1922 Pageant of Progress, rather than concentrating on Chicago citizens specifically, featured the general progress of women in the world. Organised by the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs, two-thousand women and children took over the Congress Hall and donned costumes of 'Cleopatra, Mary Queen of Scots, Spartan mothers, Biblical heroines, allegorical figures of Prophesy and Justice' to signify 'the steady march of womanhood from the dawn of history to the present.'[121] Both Withington in 1926, and David Glassberg in 1990, have suggested that pageants were inherently anti-modern, reflected in their use of mostly pre-industrial and rural themes. Ryan maintains that this was simplistic – a viewpoint supported here. Their participatory nature depended on modern mass society and the development of mass leisure in the modern city; people needed disposable income and time to take part.[122] As Mick Wallis has argued, the ideological power of pageants depended upon 'demotic feelings of dislocation classically identified with modernity… the historical pageant offered a brief compensation from anxiety and anomie, a sense of continuity and depth, by mobilising a vague sense of "history"'.[123] In the case of Manchester, while some of the themes were pre-industrial – like the arrival of Flemish weavers – they were included to explain and celebrate a Whiggish narrative culminating in the mercantile power of the modern city. As Readman has shown in reference to Edwardian pageants, a patriotic concern with history did not necessarily mean a rejection of industrial spirit or progress in the present.[124]

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[120] Woods, 'Performing power', p.69.
[121] 'Woman's history told in allegory at pier pageant', *CT* (1st August 1922), p.1.
[122] Ryan, ''Pageantitis'', p.66.
[123] M. Wallis, cited in Ryan, ibid., p.66.
[124] Readman, 'The place of the past in English culture', p.150.

In Chicago, a city lacking in such a pre-industrial heritage, the narrative focused on a temporally important issue: the citizenship of women.[125] By looking back to powerful women throughout history, a bold and modern statement about the right of women to political participation was made. We should not, however, overstate the power of these pageants to create civic feeling; it is difficult to know the motivations or feelings of participants and observers. For many, it was simply 'an opportunity to meet others taking part, to dress up and show off, [and] to take pleasure.'[126] Pageants could be 'possibilities for escapism and fantasy'.[127] Furthermore, accounts of pageants that survive are invariably presented 'through media favourable to the elites' narratives' like local histories and newspapers, 'which may remember the positive aspects of an event such as the pageant more than the negative.'[128]

The presence of women at the 1921 Chicago Pageant of Progress went far beyond images of progress; a comprehensive programme of discursive events for and created by women, lasting eight days, played an important role. Each day had a special subject, with speeches by prominent women academics and presidents of Women's Clubs. On Citizenship Day there was Community Singing of patriotic songs, a film concerning citizenship lent by the Society of Visual Education, as well as a speech concerning Americanisation, and another speech concerning Americanisation work taking place in schools.[129] On 'Professions, Business and Industry' day speeches were given concerning 'The Woman Minister' by Reverend Alice Phillips Aldrich, 'The Woman in Medicine' by Dr. Clara Seipple, 'The Woman in Law' by Mrs Catherine Waugh McCullocugh, and 'The League of Women

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[125] As Ryan has discussed, 'American pageant masters struggled to represent and visualize places before they were settled and named by Europeans, particularly wilderness and desert.' Ibid., p.78.
[126] M. Wallis, cited in Ryan, Ibid., p.75.
[127] Ryan, ''Pageantitis'', p.75.
[128] Woods, 'Performing power', p.70.
[129] CHM: Greater Chicago Magazine, F38AP.g79, CBPC, 'Pageant of Women's Committee Pageant of Progress Exposition under the auspices of Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs', *Greater Chicago: Special Pageant of Progress Exposition Issue,* 1, no. 10 (July, 1921), p.12.

Voters' by Mrs Henry Cheney.[130] This schedule displays the existence and health of what Nancy Fraser has termed 'competing public spheres'.[131] A 'counter-civil society' of female voluntary associations, like philanthropic and moral reform societies, allowed women alternative access to political life that did not just centre on voting.[132] Fraser has argued that it is possible for multiple public spheres to exist, consisting of those, like women, excluded from the liberal-bourgeois public sphere of Habermas's classic account.[133] Paradoxically the attempt to inculcate a new sense of citizenship that stressed the city and its government actually revived older forms of citizenship that encouraged active rational-critical debate of political issues.[134]

It is worth noting too that disenfranchised groups in the US could also organise alternative parades and pageants that propagated their own chosen identities and notions of citizenship, evoking the past 'in order to affect public opinion and… stimulate communal cohesion.'[135] The Universal Negro Improvement Association [UNIA], formed in 1914 by the flamboyant Jamaican political leader Marcus Garvey, extensively promoted black pride, links to Africa and African traditions, and even the repatriation of Africa by black Americans. One of its key methods in cementing these notions was the use of public drama, from small Christmas pageants that portrayed Jesus as a black child, to larger pageants at the conventions of the UNIA, where women members dressed in authentic African dresses as historical

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[130] Ibid., p.14.
[131] N. Fraser 'Rethinking the public sphere: a contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy', *Social Text,* 25/26 (1990), p.61.
[132] Ibid., p.61.
[133] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA, 1989).
[134] C. Calhoun, 'Introduction: Habermas and the public sphere' in C. Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (London, 1992), p.9.
[135] S. J. Whitfield, 'The politics of pageantry, 1936-1946', *American Jewish History,* 84, no. 3 (1996). Whitfield discusses a series of historical pageants organised by Jews in New York in the 1930s-1950s that demonstrated transnational notions of Jewish identity and solidarity as a response to the rise of Nazism; the horrors of the Holocaust; and the fight for Jewish sovereignty in Palestine.

figures like the Queen of Sheba.[136] Other organisations used similar though subtly different methods. One script, produced by the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] and titled The Balance, represented characters from Africa, yet also placed them alongside characters representing America and Democracy. Reflecting the notion that African identities could be subsumed yet maintained within modern America, this pageant ended with all the participating children on the stage in front of the national flag singing the Star Spangled Banner while wearing traditional African dress.[137] In these various pageants an idealistic African past was joined to different visions of an American present, creating a transnational sense of citizenship.

Garveyism and repatriation was never popular in Chicago and support had mostly evaporated by the late 1930s, reflecting a wider decline in the movement following Garvey's conviction for mail fraud in the mid-1920s.[138] Yet themes of African identity and pageantry were still evident in the city. Particularly important was Bud Billiken Day Parade, an event that emerged in 1929 following the popularity of the Bud Billiken Club. An initiative of the *Chicago Defender* founder Robert S. Abbott, formed in 1923 and named for an ancient Chinese character believed to the guardian angel of children, the network of clubs provided a space of middle-class respectability and racial pride for Chicago's black youth.[139] As with the UNIA and NAACP pageantry, the Bud Billiken Day Parade celebrations made extensive use of African tradition and imagery by inviting African dignitaries, like the Crown Prince Allaoumi of Nigeria, and in the incorporation of African music, dance and costumes.[140] In

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[136] T. Martin, *Race First: the Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Dover, MA, 1986 [1974]), pp.73-74 and C. Grant, *Negro with a Hat: the Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey* (Oxford, 2008), p.344.
[137] C. Corbould, *Becoming African Americans: Black Public Life in Harlem, 1919-1939* (Cambridge, MA, 2009), p.43.
[138] St. Clair Drake and H.R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: a study of Negro Life in a Northern City,* Volume I (1993 [first published 1945]), p.752.
[139] P.M. Rutkoff and W.B. Scott, 'Pinkster in Chicago: Bud Billiken and the Mayor of Bronzeville, 1930-1945', *The Journal of African American History,* 89, no. 4 (2004), p.318.
[140] Ibid., p.319.

many ways the event also functioned in a similar way to the earlier Pageant of Progress. The Bud Billiken Parade passed in review in front of Abbott, performing the role of 'supersquire'; agents of municipal government, such as black policemen, figured prominently in the parade; local community organisations like the Boy Scouts and black American Legion Drum and Bugle Corps joined the parade in their groups; and the event included wider entertainments like beauty contests.[141] In these ways the Parade and its wider celebrations utilised existing narratives of respectability and governance, as well as older identities of racial identity, to forge an alternative notion of citizenship for blacks in the city - one that depended on racial solidarity, African history, and the neighbourhood rather than wider civic cohesion or exclusionary 100% Americanism. The Bud Billiken Day Parade grew in popularity throughout the interwar period and after, reflecting the growing sense of racial pride and organization in Chicago's Bronzeville neighbourhood. Both women and African Americans therefore could use pageantry for their own cause.

If women had a visible and important role in Chicago's civic festival, this was not the case in Manchester. One commentator asked

> where have the women been in the tableaux and processions? Certainly one could never think of Cottonopolis without being reminded of women and girls, but even these workers have been missing from the pageants of industries, while women in all the various social movements have also not taken any part.[142]

There were only minor opportunities for women to be involved in the planning and execution of Civic Week. The primary committee of the Historical Pageant, for example, consisted of thirteen men, though the General and District Committees were slightly more balanced, with

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[141] Ibid.
[142] *Co-operative News* (9th October 1926), p.4

twenty-four men and fifteen women.[143] There were some 'official' ways that women could participate, though mostly through volunteer work like putting up bunting, or selling souvenirs. 'Busy Bee' badges, for example, were sold by a thousand female volunteers.[144] Exhibition organisation, by contrast, was dominated by men.

This lack of female involvement may reflect wider themes in Civic Week that stressed overall themes of education and instruction that considered men and women as equal. While there were no female workers visible in the Pageant of Industries, very few male workers were either. Instead of displaying distinctions of gender, Manchester's citizenry was celebrated as a homogeneous whole. Wildman, however, has offered an argument that we could consider as contrary to the above views, arguing that, in the interwar period, Manchester Corporation linked women's 'duty as housewives with their responsibility as citizens, through the consumption of municipally owned electricity, gas, and water supplies.'[145] Wildman has suggested that the link between consumption and citizenship was made 'partly out of a need to include women in local politics' as well as 'an important marketing tactic' to make Corporation departments profitable.[146] This is plausible, especially if applied to the whole of the interwar period in Manchester. Yet Civic Week did not make such distinctions. Consumption as good citizenship was important, but for both men and women, the theme of civic identity that ran through Civic Week took clear precedence over any gendered notions of citizenship.

We should not, however, ignore 'unofficial' ways that the agency of women, or indeed anyone, could be displayed at civic festivals. These were choices of people rather than by any force or instruction from above. As Mitchell Dean has stated, 'while government

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[143] MCWC, *Historical Pageant,* pp.6-7.
[144] The Bee was the symbol of Manchester, representing the city as a 'hive of industry'. '£2,500 harvest for city hospitals', *Evening Chronicle* (14th October 1926), p.110.
[145] Wildman, 'The "Spectacle"', p.40.
[146] Ibid*.,* p.44.

gives shape to freedom, it is not constitutive of freedom. The governed are free in that they are actors...it is possible for them to act and to think in a variety of ways, and sometimes in ways not foreseen by authorities.'[147] To highlight this it is worth considering some other choices made, suggesting that people were not just objects of manipulation, but social actors with agency of their own. These choices are perhaps more difficult to discern since the majority of the material studied was officially produced and as such presents the organiser's view. Some examples and speculations can still be made however. Following the controversial decision of the Corporation to hold a nightly Military Tattoo,[148] some members of the Society of Friends utilised the crowds to distribute Women's International League leaflets, announcing that 'International Friendship means Manchester's Prosperity' and giving details of the practical work of the League of Nations.[149] In Chicago organised labour demonstrated its own power with a street-car strike that led to the attendance being 'less than one third of what they had expected' as the 'crowds failed to materialize.'[150] This strike was 'revenge' by traction officials and labour against the Mayor.[151]

Within this governmentally-led notion of citizenship however was a clear space for associational clubs and activities. The events of Civic Week and the Pageant of Progress celebrated and helped revitalise voluntary association. In Chicago the *Greater Chicago* magazine highlighted how there was 'new life injected into many nearly defunct organizations; and the many live clubs already existing in every section were joined with them for the necessary work.'[152] Various organisations and business clubs joined together to

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[147] Dean, *Governmentality,* p.13.
[148] Some found it distasteful following the 'degradation, its horror, and its untold suffering' of the First World War. Quoted in Wildman, 'The "Spectacle"', pp.89-90.
[149] 'Civic Week at Manchester', *The Friend* (9th October 1926), p.1. *The Friend* was a newspaper of the Quakers.
[150] 'Pageant feels strike effects in slim crowds', *CT* (5th August 1922), p.9.
[151] 'Fear strike for pageant', *CT* (25th July 1922), p.2.
[152] CHM: Greater Chicago Magazine, F38AP.g79, CBPC, 'Pageant of Progress Exposition Organizations Formed in Every District of Chicago', *Greater Chicago: Special Pageant of Progress Exposition Issue Magazine,* 1, no. 10 (July, 1921), p.18.

stage entertainments. The Loyal Order of the Moose, a fraternal business club, staged its own pageant, and 'initiated' three-thousand new members at the Congress Hall on the Pier.[153] A section in the official handbook of Manchester Civic Week listed the societies, institutions and charities of the city that 'keep a watchful eye on all in want' while listing their meeting points, times and activities.[154] A diverse range of associations was represented, from boys' clubs and welfare societies, to religious clubs and women's associations. Visitors to Civic Week were 'especially welcome' to visit these associations, with the implication that they could then get involved.[155] Participation in voluntary organisations therefore encouraged 'an interdependence among individuals and groups that improves cohesion in societies'.[156] Rather than being a separate entity to local government, civic culture was a coalition, or partnership of mutual benefits.[157] This was important due to its capacity to provide a bond for potentially disparate sections of society; the distinction between governors and governed was not entirely binary and, in between, there existed multiple layers of action and agency, both geared towards support of the image of civic governance promoted, yet also towards more personal aims.

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[153] 'Moosehearts great chorus to sing at pageant', *CT* (12th August 1922), p.5.
[154] MCWC, *Official Handbook,* pp.25-26.
[155] Ibid., p.25.
[156] Begley, 'Voluntary Associations', p.6.
[157] Goldsmith and Garrard, 'Urban Governance', p.16.

Figure 3.8: the Order of the Moose Pageant (1921)

Source: 'From All Over Chicago to the Pageant of Progress', *CT* (3rd July 1921), p. 2.

Though the image of the civic was made to dominate due to the events creation being mostly controlled by municipal representatives and business interests, this must be balanced with the real participation in historical pageants and parades, as well as examples of those who chose not to participate. Chicago's Pageant of Progress offered more opportunities for people to become involved than Manchester Civic Week, though not in a way that challenged existing segregation or hierarchies. Chicago was dealing with more newly disparate communities and tensions than Manchester and it was necessary to incorporate these groups delicately, without exacerbating urban strife. The different examples of civic participation, such as sites of active debate like the women's programme, as well as the combination of community parades into one large city parade, highlights that different types of citizenship could co-exist. Undoubtedly, however, it was the relationship between the city and the citizen that was most realised.

Conclusion

On a financial and attendance based assessment, Manchester's Civic Week was successful. Nearly 100,000 people visited the city's institutions and municipal departments, over eighty-thousand paid for admission to the Textile Exhibition at Belle Vue, and over 100,000 saw the Historical Pageant in Heaton Park.[158] For the second showing of the previously popular Historical Pageant, however, the crowd numbered a paltry five-hundred due to bad weather.[159] Around a million people attended some aspect of the celebrations.[160] The Textile Exhibition resulted in orders for more than £250,000 worth of goods, and other provincial newspapers suggested Manchester be followed to boost trade.[161] The Chicago Pageant of Progress in 1921 was also a triumph. Daily crowds averaged 55,000, and the *Tribune* estimated that as many as two million people saw the ending firework display.[162] Profits from processed sales and admission tickets totalled $300,000.[163] The Pageant also boosted both the spirit and future orders of the manufacturing giants of the city; a banquet given to honour the Mayor following the exposition noted that it had 'brought more wholesale buyers to Chicago during the Pageant of Progress than ever before' generating 'numbers of new customers and many millions of dollars' worth of additional business.'[164] The second Pageant however suffered through the traction strike previously mentioned, and was not continued by the incoming Mayor of the City in 1923, due to its association with the corrupt 'Big Bill' Thompson.

It is more difficult to assess the ability of the exhibitions to cement citizenship. Manchester Civic Week did seem to achieve the stimulation of the electorate; the *Municipal*

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[158] 'Civic Week's meaning to Manchester', *MG* (16th October 1926), p.113.
[159] 'Shivering dancers' *Daily Express* (11th October 1926), no page number.
[160] Wildman, 'The "Spectacle"', p.88.
[161] Figure from *Manchester Guardian Yearbook* (1927), p.230. See, for example, 'Civic pride: what Manchester is doing this week', *Walsall Observer* (9th October 1926), p.152.
[162] 'Pageant ends in doubled blaze of fireworks', *CT* (15th August 1921), p.3. Attendance figures from L. Wendt and H. Kogan, *Big Bill of Chicago* (Evanston, 1953), p.202.
[163] Wendt and Kogan, *Big Bill,* p.202.
[164] Rieman, *The Pageant of Progress Exposition,* p.4.

Journal and Public Works Engineer stated that 'the citizen is not the apathetic creature which disgruntled candidates and parties habitually declare him to be. For the elector to waken it was only necessary that the Council should awake.'[165] Similarly, the Bishop of Manchester wrote to the Lord Mayor in order to congratulate him on the development of 'the sense of corporate life' and how individuals now felt 'that they belong to something greater than themselves'.[166] In Chicago, a new spirit of civic pride and loyalty was also declared. The *Tribune* believed 'all went home agreeing that Chicago is being made civically wealthier every day the show runs.'[167] Chicago was now proclaimed as 'a pageant of progress in itself', as its factories, warehouses, shops, stores, streets, homes, parks, and playgrounds told 'the whole story of America and America's progress.'[168]

The Pageant however could not banish the spectre of racial and ethnic disharmony in Chicago. While bitter competition over jobs, housing, political power, and facilities for relaxation remained, gestures like civic festivals had too much to contend with.[169] Even while the Pageant was taking place and the civic unity of the city was being lauded, there were incidents of racial discord. On the Chinese day, for example, a confrontation between a gang of white teenage boys and a teenage Chinese boy regarding the Chinese parade ended with one boy being shot.[170] Even more serious was an 'alternative' event that took place on the penultimate night of the 1922 Pageant, elsewhere in Chicago. With 'Onward Christian Soldiers' being sung by 25,000 people in the southwest suburban Oak Lawn, an estimated 4,650 new workers swore their loyalty to the Chicago branch of the Ku Klux Klan. In the space of the previous year, eighteen Klan organisations in Chicago and another twelve in

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[165] 'Manchester's Civic Week', *The Municipal Journal and Public Works Engineer,* XXXV, no. 1758, (1926), p.1516.
[166] 'Civic Week of triumph', *Daily Dispatch* (16th October 1926), p.15.
[167] '100,000 make it breathing room only at pageant', *CT* (8th August 1921), p.3.
[168] 'City pageant puts new heart in nation, tribute from Davis', *CT* (31st July 1921), p.1.
[169] Tuttle, *Race Riot,* p.21. A.H. Spear, *Chicago: the Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920* (Chicago, 1967); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago, 1932); M.W. Homel, *Down From Equality: Black Chicagoans and the Public Schools, 1920-1941* (Chicago, 1984).
[170] 'Throng at pier sees 2,000 foot leap into lake', *CT* (4th August 1921), p.23.

suburban Cook County had emerged, with a combined membership of between forty and eighty thousand.[171] Exposed to pressure from city hall, the Klan gradually faded in the 1920s, but the spirit it represented remained.[172] Tensions in the city not only ran deep, but bubbled to the surface too. Still, the Pageant offered some placation to labour unrest and fears of foreign radical influence. At a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labour, the chairman of the committee on Russian affairs lamented the cold reaction to Soviet policies, observing sadly 'There is no longer any handclapping when Russia is mentioned in our meetings.'[173] He directly attributed this to the 'superficial glamour' of the Pageant, arguing it prevented 'the people from functioning properly mentally' instead of giving 'earnest consideration of the problems of industrialism.'[174]

These two short events have begun to show some ways in which local government cooperated with local associations in the city. While they were exceptional and did not represent day-to-day experiences, they brought the ideas of city and its government clearly to the surface, magnifying as well as contributing to the citizenship notions of civics texts. The remainder of the thesis will assess how these ideas were worked out on a day-to-day level. Chapter Four therefore assesses how these ideas evolved and solidified in the changing nature of philanthropy and voluntary associations, as the central state and local state increasingly became involved in the distribution of welfare in the interwar period. Vitally, as with public festivals, civic culture gave opportunities for local associations to highlight and undertake specific citizenship responsibilities.

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[171] Bukowski, *Big Bill,* p.135.
[172] Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City,* pp.61-62.
[173] 'Labor now cold to Russ Soviet, Fraenckel Says', *CT* (8th August 1921), p.3.
[174] Ibid.

Chapter Four

Voluntarism, the State, and Welfare

So far the thesis has concentrated on the importance of local government and local associations. Civics festivals, for example, were initiatives undertaken completely at the instigation of municipal government, business, and associations, and are a good example of the local 'associative state' in action. Gradually however central government was also influencing urban policies and civic culture. Yet as central government increasingly provided both structure and finance for local government and associational intervention, new opportunities for the emphasising of urban citizenship were actually created. By the interwar period there existed an established 'mixed economy of welfare', and a sharing of public and private responsibility for the welfare of the unemployed and working class. The distribution of this welfare created a space for associations to undertake new citizenship activities. In Manchester, associations increasingly turned to the problem of how to emphasise moral obligations in the new benefits of nationally provided unemployment relief. In Chicago, associations more simply utilised the new sources of state funding to prolong traditional forms of adult citizenship education and community recreational services. Importantly, the city was the site of this interaction and, particularly in the context of unemployment and unrest, provided the impetus for a type of citizenship education that emphasised urban stability.

The chapter is split into two sections, and deals with each city individually. Section one, on Manchester, first briefly traces the development of associations and municipal government back into the nineteenth century, describing the origins and purposes of co-

operation in tackling environmental degradation. It argues that, while associations remained important, their reform element was lost as municipal government and then central government took on new roles, and voluntary functions became professionalised. It then uses a study of charity and welfare across the interwar period to illustrate the subsequent relationship between associations, the state, and citizenship. I focus on several organisations– the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society, the City League of Help, the Manchester Surgical Aid Society, and Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service – to assess how voluntarism responded to the changing nature of the mixed economy. It shows how, in certain cases, the state replaced voluntary functions; local associations worked alongside the state; and how citizenship forming activities grew in response to the new public/private relationship. In section two, for Chicago, I focus particularly on the realignment of the relationship between associations, local government, and federal government in Chicago in dealing with unemployment during the tumultuous period of the Great Depression. While there was continuity from earlier periods, as with Manchester, the changes from 1929-1939 were particularly significant. As private agencies first distributed unemployment relief, then aided the federal and municipal government with New Deal programmes, the citizenship element of their recreational and social work consistently came to the fore. I use the records of the United Charities, Association House, the House of Happiness, and other relief agencies. By the end of the interwar period, therefore, citizenship in Manchester and Chicago was still very much a part of associational culture; it had, however, evolved and adapted to the rise of the local and central state.

Charity and Citizenship in Manchester

From the middle of the nineteenth century the citizens of Manchester made the progression of the urban environment and its inhabitants a fundamental part of their own liberal self-

improvement, civic duty, and citizenship.[1] The relationship between civic associations and local government was one of partnership and guidance, with a membership overlap between municipal officials and civic groups.[2] These associations were part of the flourishing culture of popular social science in mid-Victorian Britain that operated through national and local sociological and statistical associations.[3] They investigated neighbourhoods, compiled reports, and educated the public and local government on the conditions of the urban environment and its population.[4] Implicit was the idea that by quantifying urban problems through a collection of data, new analytical categories and a climate for reform could be created, with municipal intervention often being the desired end result.[5] Concurrently, these associations also had a moral agenda for both the recipients and benefactors of philanthropy. The District Provident and Charity Organisation Society of Manchester and Salford [DPS] was formed as a reaction to fears about the physical and moral condition of the poor; it hoped to give them the tools of self-improvement through frugality, personal savings, and advice, as well as the 'occasional' relief of sickness and misfortune.[6] Through these efforts, as the DPS's first report in 1833 stated, 'a race of persons always ready for crime and disorder…

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[1] Hunt, *Building Jerusalem,* p.275; Gunn, *The Public Culture,* p.182; Rodrick, *Self-Help,* p.148.

[2] For example, the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association, Ancoats Healthy Homes Society, and Manchester and Salford District Provident Society. See A.J. Kidd, 'Introduction: the middle class in nineteenth-century Manchester' in A.J. Kidd and K.W. Roberts (eds), *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester, 1985), p.12. See also A.W. Vincent, 'The Poor Law reports of 1909 and the social theory of the charity organisation society' in *Before Beveridge,* and Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State,* pp.7-8; W.H. Mills, 'Fifty years of modern Manchester' in W.H. Mills (ed.),*The Manchester Reform Club*, (Manchester, 1922), p.43; GMCRO: the Family Welfare Association of Manchester LTD, GB127.M294/1/7, District Provident and Charity Organisation Society of Manchester and Salford Annual Reports [hereafter *DPS Annual Report*], 1901, p.12; 'Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association', *Manchester Times* (9th October, 1852); Shapely, *The Politics of Housing*, p.90.

[3] Harris, 'Political thought and the welfare state 1870-1940' p.120.

[4] For a small example of the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association's output, see *Local Government and Sanitary Reform* (London, 1874); *Public Health Considered in Reference to the Physical and Moral Condition of the People* (Manchester, 1855); *A Lecture on the Sanitary Condition of Chorlton-upon-Medlock* (Manchester, 1854).

[5] Dagenais and Saunier 'Tales of the periphery', p.19. In public housing, 'by the early twentieth century… A consensus emerged which understood that substantial reform would only be achieved through public pressure and municipal action.' Shapely, *The Politics of housing,* p.93.

[6] Particularly influential in the setting-up of the DPS was Dr. James Kay (later Sir James Phillips Kay-Shuttleworth), the author of *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester,* published in the previous year, which provided much of the ideological background of the Society.

whose idles and vice now find a refuge and protection in the morbid compassion of the thoughtlessly charitable' would be banished from the town or reclaimed to 'industrious habits'.[7] Concurrently, a mutual relationship emphasised the moral duty of the beneficiary and consequent moral obligation of the recipient.[8] The Manchester Surgical Aid Society [MSAS], formed in 1897 to assist the poor with the provision of medical appliances, also displays these themes. Through a combination of philanthropy and recipient contribution the worker could 'resume their work, and so avoid the burden of debt.'[9] Voluntarism and philanthropy existed to enable the working poor to lift themselves out of their predicament, rather than to absolve them of responsibility.[10] Concurrently, it was a manifestation of the benefactor's own citizenship responsibility; in 1934 one member of the association worried that if the State assumed 'responsibility for all forms of medical treatment… [and] the voluntary treatment-giving institutions' it may 'result in a lessening of the individual's moral responsibility for helping his fellow man.'[11]

As the role and power of both municipal and national government developed under the Liberal reforms of the early twentieth century, many of these groups altered in purpose, or ceased to exist at all. In 1908 the health visitors employed by the Manchester and Salford Ladies' Health Society, founded in 1862, were taken by the public health department.[12] With the Government Pension Bill, January 1909, the DPS discontinued its own pension funds for those eligible for the state pension, though they continued to supplement 'a few special cases', as well as to provide full pensions for those under the state pension age of seventy.[13]

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[7] *DPS Annual Report,* 1833, p.15.
[8] A.J. Kidd, 'Outcast Manchester': voluntary charity, poor relief and the casual poor 1860-1905' in *City, Class and Culture,* p.52 and M.E. Rose, 'Culture, philanthropy and the Manchester middle classes' in *City, Class and Culture,* p.106.
[9] GMCRO: the Family Welfare Association of Manchester LTD, GB127.M294/7/2, Surgical Aid Society, Manchester Branch, Annual Reports [hereafter *MSAS Annual Report*], 1898, p.4-5.
[10] Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*, pp.153-155.
[11] *MSAS Annual Report,* 1934, p.3.
[12] Anderson, *How Manchester is Managed*, p.43.
[13] *DPS Annual Report,* 1909, p.10.

Similarly, when the National Insurance Act in 1911 provided funds for sick relief and treatment for illness, the Provident Dispensaries Association, which used worker subscriptions to provide medical care, was rendered obsolete; it ceased to exist by 1917.[14] By 1926 the council's Public Health Committee was in charge of maternity and child welfare, treatment of tuberculosis, hospitals, housing and unhealthy dwellings, inspection of shops, workshops and lavatories, drainage and smoke- abatement, negating the need for the Sanitary Association; it disbanded in 1934.[15] Through the interwar period central government control also tightened over the friendly societies and insurance companies approved to administer the benefits of the National Health Insurance scheme. The Depression reduced contributions and raised the level of claims, while legislation extended and redefined the statutory benefits rights of the unemployed at the expense of approved societies.[16] Reform groups in Manchester campaigned on highly specific issues, disbanded, did not last any great length of time, or found their influence on municipal government waning. Ratepayer's associations, for example, 'formed to oppose a particular item of expenditure, sending memorials to the Council, sponsoring candidates at elections and then dying out.'[17]

It would be incorrect however to claim the death of voluntary associations by the 1920s. Although social policy and public-health administration became increasingly institutionalised in government departments and professional groups after 1880, this was a long-term process, and, according to Jose Harris, was accompanied by a 're-emergence and reformulation of a popular and voluntaristic social-scientific culture that in both personnel and social purpose was strikingly similar to that of the mid-Victorian years.'[18] Some associations, like the Charity Organisation Society, evolved with the changes in government

[14] *DPS Annual Report,* 1916-1917.
[15] N.J. Frangopulo, 'A story of municipal achievement' in N.J. Frangopulo (ed.), *Rich Inheritance: a Guide to the History of Manchester* (Manchester, 1962), p.65.
[16] N.Whiteside, 'Private provision and public welfare: health insurance between the wars' in *Before Beveridge*, pp.29-30.
[17] Simon, *A Century,* p.404.
[18] Harris, 'Political thought and the welfare state', p.121.

and society. The outbreak of the First World War, for example, incited new areas of obligation for the DPS and spurred 'the philanthropic conscience', and also bringing it into closer cooperation with national and local authorities.[19] The distribution of other charities funds by the DPS doubled to £2243 by the end of 1914, and then trebled again by the end of 1915, mostly due to the grants from the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation payable to widows and dependents of servicemen killed in action.[20] The Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association also turned to the Society to register their names and addresses as applicants for assistance, encouraging a new wave of volunteers.[21] Alongside these volunteers the City Council provided sixty clerks to undertake work for the Society, intensifying the existing relationship between the association and the local government.[22] This cooperation between charities and statutory authorities was apparent across Britain, and grew throughout the interwar period.[23]

Certainly, in some ways, the interwar period was difficult for the DPS. Its role as a distributor of its own funds consistently declined. In 1907, for example, the applications to the Sick Fund for relief numbered 3,472; in 1920 there were a mere 592.[24] Even with this large reduction the Society was struggling financially by 1921 due to lack of subscribers and a general trade malaise: 'Month by month' it sank 'further and further into debt.'[25] In 1929, too, the committee lamented the 'withdrawal of a number of subscriptions' and loss of income due to the incidence of bad trade.[26] This also reflected 'the exodus of the well-to-do into Cheshire' identified in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[27] In other fields municipal government no longer needed the Society; in 1921, for example, the number of

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[19] Finlayson, 'A moving frontier', p.194.
[20] *DPS Annual Report,* 1914, p.11 and *DPS Annual Report,* 1915, p.11.
[21] *DPS Annual Report,* 1914, p.9.
[22] Ibid.,p.8.
[23] Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* p.161.
[24] *DPS Annual Report,* 1907, p.10 and *DPS Annual Report,* 1920, p.6.
[25] *DPS Annual Report,* 1920, p.9.
[26] Ibid., p.11.
[27] Chorley, *Manchester Made Them*, pp.137-139.

welfare recipient investigations decreased from 11961 to 7432, due to the fact that Hospitals and Child Welfare Centres now made their own enquiries.[28] By 1922 this had decreased to 4987.[29] By 1926 the original purpose of the DPS, the personal savings bank, was also endangered due to there being 'so many other ways of saving now available.'[30] The MSAS also struggled. In the 1920s its committee complained of the 'high prices of appliances, increasing unemployment and a decreasing amount of subscriptions', with a deficit of £302 in the accounts for 1921.[31] In 1922 the Canon Peter Green admonished that, even though it was 'an obvious duty for people who are well and strong to help such a society as the Surgical Aid Society… there was not the spirit of giving that there used to be a generation ago.'[32] Increasingly however the Society's funds were supplemented from other charities and municipal government, displaying the nature of civic culture and the mixed economy. By 1923 the Society was working in 'willing co-operation' with the Education Committee of the Corporation, the Poor Law Guardians, and the United Services Fund.[33] By 1932 more assistance was received from the Public Assistance Committee, the Clarke's and Marshall's Charities, the Manchester and Salford Hospital Saturday and Convalescent Homes Fund, the Crippled Children's Help Society, the DPS, and the Booth Charities.[34] With this support the list of applicants and beneficiaries grew, hitting a peak of 747 applications and 702 helped in 1934.[35]

In other ways the interwar period gave new life to voluntary associations, particularly in terms of citizenship. With the large expansion of state welfare and influence came increased moral responsibility. In 1922, for example, the DPS committee commented that

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[28] *DPS Annual Report*, 1921, p.7.
[29] *DPS Annual Report,* 1922, p.8.
[30] *DPS Annual Report,* 1926, p.4.
[31] *DPS Annual Report* ,1921, p.4.
[32] *DPS Annual Report* ,1922, p.3.
[33] *DPS Annual Report* ,1923, p.4.
[34] *DPS Annual Report* ,1932, p.5
[35] *DPS Annual Report* ,1934, p.4.

'one longs to be assured that character, self-reliance, and the sense of individual responsibility, have not been materially sapped by State control.'[36] This reflected Sidney Webb's prognosis that, as public authorities acquired extensive powers, there would be a simple two-way relationship between the state and the individual, leaving no role for voluntary associations.[37] As one member responded to the report at the Annual Meeting of the DPS, it was not 'a healthy stage of things to contemplate, and in some way or another, their own Society and kindred organisations, must do their best to develop a better feeling in those among whom they worked.'[38] As Jane Lewis has suggested, the importance given to participation in voluntary action as a responsibility of a democratic society lasted till at least the 1940s.[39] In this climate of municipal and state expansion, there existed new ways for charities to expand their citizenship activities. Instead of giving 'merely his money', the responsibility of the social worker was 'more and more of himself, his time and his sympathy', as the DPS recognised in 1926.[40] In the annual report for 1929 this theme was elaborated: 'The State', argued the committee, 'can only be an impersonal and rigid kind of helper… the voluntary organisation must and does continue to render indispensable service because of its elasticity and, what is of paramount importance, in a human way.'[41] In this way, voluntary societies could suggest 'to the mind of many an applicant the ways he can best help himself: and to do this involves much more than filling up an application form, however complete the details.'[42]

As Gareth Stedman Jones has displayed for the late nineteenth century, charitable giving normally implied a personal relationship of voluntary sacrifice, prestige, and

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[36] *DPS Annual Report,* 1922, p.6.
[37] R. Rodger and R. Colls, 'Civil society and British cities' in R. Colls and R. Rodger (eds), *Cities of Ideas: Civil Society and Urban Governance in Britain 1800-2000* (Ashgate, 2004), p.16.
[38] *DPS Annual Report,* 1922, p.5.
[39] Lewis, 'The voluntary sector', p.14.
[40] *DPS Annual Report,* 1926, p.6.
[41] *DPS Annual Report,* 1930, p.7.
[42] Ibid.

superiority for the giver, and the imposition of obligation on the receiver. If this relationship was depersonalised, it lost its defining features.[43] Clearly, with the rise of the state representing depersonalisation in the Edwardian and interwar periods, this was a key issue for local associations like the DPS. Citizenship in this sense was a relationship and responsibility to ward against the excesses of state intervention in the targets of welfare, while creating more morally sound citizens. This reflected the ideology of the National Council of Social Service, which believed the relationship between the state and associations gave opportunities to enact 'the public good' and encourage participatory citizenship in the beneficiaries of welfare.[44] The Manchester University Settlement, for example, recognised and welcomed the rise of the state, but still saw its own role as working with urban inhabitants to 'instil a belief in health, beauty and cleanliness.'[45] In this way, the growing social democratic notion of citizenship, understood as the social rights of government, were mixed with older liberal notions of obligation and improvement; an associational intervention in the 'clientelist relationship between the citizen and the state.'[46]

With the onset of depression in 1929 the DPS again found its services in demand. While recognising that the State had 'stepped in to relieve the individual of many of his responsibilities', the DPS report for 1931 stated that 'many of the fundamental causes of distress are still existent'; 'The work done by voluntary organisations', therefore, was 'proved to have been abundantly justified and would appear to-day to be more than ever necessary.'[47] Consequently the DPS gave convalescent treatment to workers, arranged the provision of

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[43] G. Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: a Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford, 1971), pp.251-2.

[44] S.D. Adderley, 'Bureaucratic Conceptions of Citizenship in the Voluntary Sector (1919-1939): the Case of the National Council of Social Service', PhD (University of Wales, 2002), p.4.

[45] Manchester and District Regional Survey Society, *Social Studies of a Manchester City Ward No.1: a Study of the Health of Ancoats and Some Suggestions for its Improvement* (Manchester, 1928), p.14. The Society was a study group of the Manchester University Settlement.

[46] J. Harris, 'State social work and social citizenship in Britain: from clientalism to consumerism', *British Journal of Social Work,* 29 (1999), p.917.

[47] *DPS Annual Report,* 1931, p.6.

tools for men starting new jobs, gave short-term loans to those awaiting wages, and distributed increasing amounts of private charity from forty-four different organisations.[48] The appointment of the public Unemployment Assistance Board under the Unemployment Act of 1934, however, responsible for giving means-tested unemployment relief to those not qualified for benefit-based contributions, was a further cementing of state responsibility for the unemployed.[49] This test disqualified certain categories of individuals, using distinctions of deserving and undeserving – old voluntarist notions. As Finlayson has argued, 'the frontier of the state moved, but took voluntarist convictions with it.' The DPS 'welcomed' this act, noting that 'the Society has always held that it is not primarily a "relief society"', noting that it instead hoped to 'encourage others to give wisely and constructively and to act for them; and also to encourage applications to become self-supporting and independent.' With the 'huge relief-giving machinery conducted by the state and the local Corporations' the DPS could instead 'concentrate intensively upon constructive case-work': the key point of contact between the benefactor and recipient, and process through which citizenship values of obligation were received.[50] The annual report of the Pilgrim Trust in 1936 could still claim that unemployment had led to 'unparalleled activity' to the extent that 'the state's efforts were dwarfed by those of a voluntary character.'[51] The rise of the state, then, did not necessarily lead to the decline of voluntarism. Instead it either became a partnership, where voluntarism provided the personal moral impetus, and the state acted as the impersonal financial backer, or provided new opportunities for voluntary associations to thrive.

The interwar period also saw the founding of new organisations. Formed in 1919 following communication between the National Council of Social Services and local government in Manchester and Salford, the Manchester and Salford Council of Social

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[48] Ibid., p.9. See also *DPS Annual Report,* 1933, pp.8-9.
[49] Finlayson, 'A moving frontier', p.192.
[50] *DPS Annual Report,* 1934, pp.5-6.
[51] Finlayson, 'A moving frontier, p.195.

Service's [MSCSS] primary remit was the 'local organisation of social work' in the context of a 'complex modern life'. Specifically, it tried to ensure a minimal overlap in the work of agencies, and strong communication between public and private agencies, to make the social welfare system of Manchester an integrated whole.[52] It also helped 'foster developments likely to raise the standard and promote the welfare of the community, and to receive and administer funds for the general well-being.'[53] Its purview was wide, with eighty-seven members in 1920 covering a whole range of purposes and viewpoints. From its inception the MSCSS had strong ties with municipal government, and positions on the committee were filled by the Mayor and chairmen of municipal committees like education and public health, and the medical officer of health and school medical officer, as well as Anglican representatives from Manchester churches and associations. In its first year, 'tentative arrangements' were made with the Education Committees of both Manchester and Salford to bring the authorities and voluntary agencies 'into closer touch.'[54]

In 1923, the MSCSS cooperated with the Education Committees and the Ministry of Labour to formulate plans for Juvenile Unemployment Centres.[55] In 1924, after hearing that a circular had been issued from the Board of Education announcing a special grant of £20,000 to assist the work of juvenile organisations in 'developing the social and physical training of young persons', the Council organised a conference in the Town Hall, made up of the representatives of various federations that had dealings with juveniles, as well as representatives of the Manchester Education Committee.[56] Voluntary associations in Manchester had 'taken full share in this movement of co-operation' as 'all over the country official and voluntary efforts… [were] woven together into a more coherent system of

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[52] GMCRO: the Family Welfare Association of Manchester LTD, GB127.M294/15/, Annual Reports of Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service [hereafter *MSCSS Annual Report*], 1920, p.9.
[53] Ibid., pp.9-11.
[54] Ibid., p.7.
[55] *MSCSS Annual Report,* 1923, pp.5-6.
[56] *MSCSS Annual Report,* 1924, p.7.

national education.'[57] This practical relationship matches what the social welfare theorist Elizabeth Macadam termed in 1934 the New Philanthropy; rather than being the primary provider of welfare, the voluntary sector moved towards a role that complemented and supplemented the local and central state, active in research and experimentation, identifying areas of concern, creating propaganda, and articulating responses to problems. Associations now focused on specialised issues, while being organised through a coordinated body like the National Council of Social Service on the national level, or the MSCSS at the local.[58] This relationship benefitted the state, since charitable organizations were cheaper than sole state responsibility, while also enabling charities to maintain standards while costs were ever-increasing.[59]

Formed in 1907, the Manchester City League of Help also illustrates this cooperative role. The League emphasised voluntary workers visiting families and individuals and giving 'help' through advice and sympathy, eventually becoming an intermediary between the individual and the state. Volunteers 'were not middle-class people helping those of the working class' but 'mostly people living in the same area as those they visited.' The League was fundamentally different therefore from the older moralising middle-class DPS. The purpose of the League was instead to create a 'decentralised democracy' with the characteristics of 'civic responsibility'.[60] This reflected the move towards philanthropy that was less elitist and more egalitarian, based on personal or community service rather than money and wealth.[61] It was these personal, democratic, local and voluntary characteristics that meant the League remained necessary even as the purview of the state rose. As the City League of Help annual report for 1949-50 stated, 'the more organisation there was in the

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[57] W.H. Brindley *The Soul of Manchester* (Manchester, 1929), p.60.
[58] E. Darling, '"Enriching and enlarging the whole sphere of human activities": the work of the voluntary sector in housing reform in inter-war Britain' in *Regenerating England*, p.153; E. Macadam, *The New Philanthropy: a Study in the Relations Between the Statutory and Voluntary Social Services* (London, 1934).
[59] Finlayson, 'A moving frontier', p.203.
[60] *DPS Annual report,* 1921, p.13.
[61] Finlayson, 'A moving frontier', p.201.

hands of the Central Authority, the more necessary, not the less necessary, was the work of voluntary societies.' As they saw it, only volunteers could provide the personal touch and 'deal with things that in the nature of the case officials would be unable to deal with.'[62] Surprisingly this does not reflect the prevalent trend of charities using paid-staff rather than volunteers in the interwar period.[63] With new types of legislation and provision, the league became an advice bureau, putting individuals or organisations 'in touch with the right department, right ministry or right agency'.[64] In 1946, for example, the League dealt with enquiries as diverse as postal regulations, educational training, problems of refugees, medical and health, housing, tax, and pensions.[65] In this way the rise of state bureaucracy provided new opportunities for associations to work directly with urban citizens, and emphasise community and stability.

In 1936 the DPS moved to larger premises, providing space for many other societies in the same building, to encourage 'closer co-operation and co-ordination of voluntary charitable societies who would have the great advantage of working under one roof.'[66] In 1937 the DPS could say with some confidence that 'There is not the slightest doubt that the voluntary society must continue to work alongside the official department'.[67] The DPS and charitable organisations like it led the way for state social legislation. Yet when acts were passed and the state took on increased responsibilities, a space still existed for voluntary societies to advise and ensure the running of welfare distribution; there was not a smooth or inevitable progression towards the welfare state.[68] As the DPS maintained in 1929, 'State help can never possess that elasticity which is so essential in dealing effectively with human

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[62] GMCRO: the Family Welfare Association of Manchester LTD, GB127.M294/10/4, Manchester City League of Help Annual Report [hereafter *MCLH Annual Report,* 1950, p.5.
[63] Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State*, p.19.
[64] *MCLH Annual Report,* 1947, p.7.
[65] Ibid.
[66] *DPS Annual Report,* 1935, p.5 and *DPS Annual Report,* 1941, p.3.
[67] *DPS Annual Report,* 1937, p.7.
[68] Bradley, *Charity, Philanthropy and the State,* p.17.

troubles, and it is just here where our Society, unencumbered by red tape, can step in to give just the right form of assistance at just the right moment'.[69] Undoubtedly the balance in the welfare mix had changed, with the state taking on a larger role. Yet the responsibility and activities of voluntary associations responded to new state initiatives, and developed new functions when its own were taken over. At the end of the interwar period, therefore, while not as financially sound, voluntarism had adapted to the rise of the state, expanding in the areas of character and citizenship building, and still, therefore, played a vital role in the life of the city.

Charity and Citizenship in Chicago

Civic associations in Chicago also reacted against the city's 'shock' status, especially following the visit of muckraking journalist W.T. Stead during the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.[70] His exposé of vice and corruption, published the following year, accelerated a longer tradition of mid-nineteenth-century associational culture reform movements, like temperance and the abolition of slavery.[71] In sensational terms he 'berated the city' and 'condemned it as a center of evil', reflecting, in a populist form, wider currents of anti-urbanism in the final decades of the nineteenth century.[72] In the next ten years a variety of civic associations were formed, like the Civic Federation (1894), Municipal Voters League (1896), and City Club of Chicago (1903). All aimed to improve the social, economic, and political conditions of the city in some way, and energise the public conscience of

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[69] *DPS Annual Report,* 1929, p.6.
[70] Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago.*
[71] See McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige;* B.L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago: From Town to City, 1848-1871* (Chicago, 1940), pp.436-437; Jaher, *The Urban Establishment,* pp.465-466. More generally, see the classic R. Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1955).
[72] Boehm, *The Enduring Myth of Chicago,* pp.67-68. M. White and L. White, 'The American intellectual versus the American city', *Daedalus,* 90, no. 1 (Winter, 1961). For a more optimistic interpretation, see T. Bender, *Toward an Urban Vision* (Lexington, 1978).

Chicago's residents.[73] Movements for reform displayed a divergent set of aims, mediated by gender, politics and social position. Activist women saw Chicago as a city of homes in which to rear children with government responsible for the social welfare and justice of all urban residents; issues like lack of public baths and unclean streets required municipal solutions instead of untrustworthy private enterprise.[74] This focus on a common cause enabled women, to an extent, to bridge distinctions of class, race and ethnicity.[75] Desires for a city responsible to its less well-off citizens contrasted and conflicted with prominent business and political orientated ideas of good government in the Progressive Era, which instead espoused a 'gospel of efficiency', using scientific techniques and professionals in order to 'impose order and organization on chaotic, or inefficient, situations.'[76] Local government was to be reclaimed from corrupt forces and transformed into a professional corporation run by committed businessmen – not extended as a welfare provider. Schemes like the Burnham Plan, published in 1909 by the Commercial Club of Chicago, dominated the planning discourse in Chicago and reflected this divergence; instead of improving access to recreational facilities, as women activists hoped, it was 'ultimately deficient in the human element',[77] instead aiming for 'unequalled facilities for the easy, quick, and economic transaction of business.'[78]

Social settlement houses, of which there were thirty-two by 1911, worked on a more local citizen-based approach, famously represented by Jane Addams and Hull House. Inspired by Toynbee Hall in London's East End, voluntary settlement workers aimed to help

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[73] B. Grant, *Fight for a City: the Story of the Union League Club of Chicago and its times 1880-1955* (Chicago, 1955), p.143; City Club of Chicago, *Year Book* (Chicago, 1904), p.5; Municipal Voter's League, *Annual Preliminary Report* (Chicago, 1920), pp.1-2; R. G. Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders: a History of Chicago* (DeKalb, 2000), p.146.

[74] Settlement house resident Anna Nicholes, speaking in 1913. Quoted in Flanagan, *Seeing with Their Hearts*, p.1, p.9 and p.42.

[75] Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts,* pp.6-7.

[76] Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders,* p.147. Jaher, *The Urban Establishment,* pp.505-506.

[77] Metzger, *What Would Jane Say?*, p.1. Metzger compares and contrasts the two visions of the future of Chicago; that of Jane Addams, and her 'humanist' centred approach, and Daniel Burnham, and his 'monumentalist' approach.

[78] C.H. Wacker [Chairman Chicago Plan Commission], *An Appeal to Business Men: Provide work now for the unemployed, relation of national prosperity to city planning, business and the Chicago plan* (Chicago Plan Commission, 1921), p.4.

improve the lives of local inhabitants and immigrants through art, drama, music, public baths, baby care, job training, and classes in English.[79] As with other progressive reformers, like William Allen White and John Dewey, Addams's views of the city were heavily influenced by her positive memories of the civic virtue of small-town life; these notions continued to shape the emphasis of community interaction in the city in the interwar period.[80] Also investigating conditions, settlement workers urged the abandonment of voluntarism in favour of using the governmental power to correct injustice and create social democracy.[81] Gradually however the impact of the reform impulse began to wane. By 1917 the Civic Federation recognised that 'the day of the general civic organization was largely gone, and… the growth of tax burdens demanded specialized and vigorous attention'; it therefore turned its energies to educating citizens on questions of local taxation and growing government service.[82] While Addams and other social settlement workers remained notable civic figures in Chicago, as the scientific management model of professional social provision gained credence, untrained volunteerism became a less important mode of governance.[83] Proponents of municipal intervention viewed this positively, as it suggested that city government had taken on responsibility for improved conditions; associations essentially existed 'for their own annihilation'.[84] It also reflected however the issues civic reform organisations faced; by the 1920s they lost 'well-born' leadership, struggled with hostility towards ethnic minorities and organised labour, and were 'considerably weaker' than in previous periods.[85] Certainly a

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[79] J. B. Elshtain, 'A return to Hull-House' in *The Jane Addams Reader*, p.xxiv.

[80] J.B. Quandt, *From the Small Town to the Great Community: the Social Thought of Progressive Intellectuals* (New Brunswick, 1970); R.J. Ellis, *American Political Cultures* (Oxford, 1997), p.23; A.F. Davis, *American Heroine: the Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (2000), p.10; P.K. Conkin, *Puritans and Pragmatists* (Bloomington, 1968), pp.345-390.

[81] D.J. John, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Philadelphia, 1985), p.27.

[82] D. Sutherland, *Fifty years on the Civic Front* (The Civic Federation, Chicago, 1943), p.2. See, for example, CHM: Civic Federation Bulletin, F38E.C499Bu, Bulletin 69, March 1924.

[83] Elshtain, 'A return to Hull-House', p.xxxvi.

[84] M. Fessler, 'Relation of voluntary to municipal bodies' in *First International Municipal Congress and Exposition,* p.58.

[85] Jaher, *The Urban Establishment,* p.546. See also R. Mors Lovett and O. Ludmann, 'Hull-House, 1921-1937' in A.F. Davis and M.L. McCree (eds), *Eighty Years at Hull-House* (Chicago, 1969), p.149; and M. Wukas, *The*

variety of organisations, labour leaders, and women's groups did continue to attempt 'to fashion a municipal state corresponding to their vision of civic culture', with varying degrees of success.[86] Yet, although groups like the Municipal Voters' League in Chicago still made a stand against municipal corruption throughout the interwar period, progressive forces failed to capture city hall, and municipal administration in Chicago remained corrupt and inefficient.[87] Importantly, 'most of the city's welfare activities were [still] undertaken or sponsored by private institutions or associations' in the 1920s.[88] While the reforming element of progressivism may have been dampened by the 1920s, and the municipal project weak, local associations continued to be a vital part of the welfare mix, or associative state, and, when the conditions of the Great Depression struck, it was through this established civic culture that federal funds were partly channelled.

Certainly, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the amount expended on social work in Chicago increased exponentially, reflecting the successes of the Progressive Era. In unemployment relief it tripled; child care, quadrupled; homes for the aged, ten-fold; and 'character building' agencies, five-fold.[89] In 1922 much of this was still through private funds; the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, formed in 1914, calculated that the expenditure of public social work in 1922 was $21,363,819, or 44.74 per cent of the total, as compared to $26,388,797, 55.26 per cent, for private social work - a total expenditure of $47,752,616.[90] By the end of 1933 this total had grown to about $75,000,000 - a sixty-three per cent rise. Increased public funds however accounted for the change; the amount raised by private agencies was actually around nine per cent less. The balance therefore was

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Worn Doorstep: Informal History of Northwestern University Settlement Association 1891-1991 (Chicago, 1991), p.39. Wukas notes that, while many settlements had transitioned to social work rather than reform, the Northwestern University Settlement remained progressive.

[86] Bachin, *Building the South Side,* p.306.

[87] Graser, '"A Jeffersonian scepticism"'. M.H. Ebner and E.M. Tobin, 'Introduction' in *The Age of Urban Reform,* p.7. See also Chapter Two.

[88] Graser, 'A Jeffersonian skepticism', p.225.

[89] A.J. Todd, 'Financing of social work in Chicago', *Social Service Year Book 1933,* p.72.

[90] Calculated from Ibid., p.73.

fundamentally different, with public expenditure accounting for nearly seventy per cent.[91] Yet, as this section will argue, associational culture used this rise in public funding to cooperate with government to rejuvenate their activities that aimed to create citizens; federal intervention therefore confirmed the importance of voluntary associations.

With the drastic conditions of the Great Depression, this shift in public/private responsibility, and the consequent invigoration of voluntary association citizenship activities, was particularly apparent in unemployment relief. When the returns of the Federal Census, April 1930, became available in the summer of 1930 the seriousness of the economic situation was forced into public consciousness. Out of 1,558,949 workers in Chicago, 167,934 – or 10.8 per cent - were unemployed.[92] The situation continued to decline; by January, 1931, 448,739 were out of work, and in March 1931 the number of families in Chicago receiving relief was more than four times that of the previous March. Prior to late 1931 responsibility for dependent families in Chicago lay with a mix of public and private organisations. Two large public relief agencies made up 63.1 per cent of relief in 1930: the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare and the Mothers' Aid Department of the Juvenile Court. The other 36.9 per cent was shared between five relief agencies supported by private funds: the Jewish Social Service Bureau and the Central Charity Bureau, serving mostly Jews and Catholics respectively; the United Charities, a city-wide non-sectarian organisation; the American Red Cross, supporting disabled veterans, and the Salvation Army, a Christian religious organisation.[93] By the end of the second winter of the depression many of the private agencies in the city were exhausted, and President Hoover's commitment to individualism, self-help, and private charity was exposed as incapable of responding to the

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[91] Calculated from Ibid., p.80.
[92] J.D. Hunter, 'Family relief and service' in Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *Social Service Year Book 1932* (Chicago, 1933), p.9.
[93] Ibid., p.9.

scale of the crisis.[94] The welfare and social benefit functions of private organisations were the first to be cut under the conditions of depression due to their reliance on the support of business, weakening the success of the associative state.[95]

As early as 1931 bodies like the Federal Council of Churches called for legislation in place of charity.[96] By 1932 it was widely recognised that private funds could not cope with the current level of responsibility. As Gertrude Wilson of the YWCA in Chicago described to the National Social Workers' Conference in Montreal in 1935, by the early 1930s organisations were struggling with the necessity of reducing their budgets and staff, and were consequently pooling resources with other groups.[97] Yet, unfortunately, the depression had the effect of greatly increasing 'the social burden placed upon them in serving the underprivileged people of their communities'.[98] As the *Social Service Year Book* for 1933 describes, 'it had become a positive conviction that private philanthropy was no longer in any way adequate to meet the mounting burden of relief.' After this point, 'strenuous and repeated efforts were directed particularly toward State and Federal sources of relief funds.'[99] Local organisations in Chicago, like the Chicago Workers' Committee on Unemployment, with a membership of twelve-thousand in 1932, demanded 'adequate immediate relief for the unemployed who are willing to work' through funds from municipal, state and federal

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[94] F.Z. Glick, *The Illinois Emergency Relief Commission: a Study of Administrative and Financial Aspects of Emergency Relief* (Chicago, 1940), p.4. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State*, p.225. P.K. Conkin, *The New Deal,* 3rd ed. (Wheeling, 1972), pp.26-27.
[95] Hall, *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector,* p.59.
[96] D.C. Hammack, 'Failure and resilience: pushing the limits in depression and wartime' in L.J. Friedman and M.D. McGarvie (eds), *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* (Cambridge, 2003), p.266.
[97] CHM: Vernon Bowyer Papers 1919-1960, M1970, Box 2, Folder 3, Gertrude Wilson of the YWCA, Problems Arising out of the use of Relief Workers in Certain Private Group Work Agencies, a paper to be delivered at the National Social Workers' Conference in Montreal (undated, presumed 1930s). Wilson was an influential proponent of the use of group-work in social work. See G. Wilson, *Case Work and Group Work* (New York, 1942).
[98] CHM: Vernon Bowyer Papers 1919-1960, M1970, Box 3, Folder 4, The Adult Education Program in Chicago Under the CWES, EEP, and WPA (undated, presumed 1940s).
[99] Todd, 'Financing of social work in Chicago', p.76.

sources.[100] In January 1932 the Committee held a series of open hearings to gather information they saw as lacking: 'an intimate picture of what has been taking place within the communities which have been most seriously affected' in order to persuade 'the people who are in a position to provide the requisite funds for immediate relief'.[101] 175 people testified before the committee, including unemployed members of various communities, community business representatives, school representatives, community health representatives, religious workers, settlement and neighbourhood house representatives, charity agency representatives, and homeowners. A summary of these findings was sent to the Governor of Illinois, Louis Lincoln Emmerson, and to each state legislator, and members of the Committee appeared in person before committees of the state legislature and of the United States Congress 'with the purpose of impressing upon those bodies the urgency of some immediate provision for at least basic relief.'[102]

Prior to the large-scale implementation of state then federal funds was a period of flux, where obligation was still laid partly on private agencies. In October 1930 the Governor Emmerson appointed a Commission on Unemployment and Relief, tasked with raising money and overseeing its expenditure in Cook County, of which Chicago was by far the largest place. The money for this Commission, $5,000,000, came from private sources, raised through a joint campaign of the Commission and private agencies, the funds distributed by existing private agencies endorsed by the Chicago Association of Commerce. Though meant to last until October, 1931, the money was exhausted by July, 1931. The next campaign of the Commission in autumn 1931 raised $10,500,000 – $1,700,000 more than its goal. This money was distributed by Joint Emergency Relief Stations, founded in October 1931, organised and

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[100] CHM: Frank W. McCulloch Papers, 1931-1988, MSS Lot M, Box 4, Folder 1, *Chicago Workers' Committee on Unemployment: It's Purpose and Platform,* 1931.

[101] Ibid., *An Urban Famine: Suffering Communities of Chicago Speak for Themselves* [Summary of Open Hearings Held by the Chicago Workers' Committee on Unemployment January 5-12, 1932], p.3.

[102] Ibid. The Committee continued to pressure municipal, state and federal government to improve the system of relief in the 1930s through petitions, letters, publicity, and protests.

run by private agencies.[103] Consequently, in 1931, private unemployment relief actually accounted for more than public relief (fifty-nine against forty-one per cent). The programme of the United Charities accounted for the largest part of this rise, increasing from 13.6 to 31.4 per cent between 1930 and 1931, along with the 6.8 per cent of the Joint Emergency Relief Stations.[104] Because of the 'critical condition of Cook County, and the failure to ask for or obtain State and Federal Funds' the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare could not take on any more unemployment relief, and its share of distribution dropped from 36.8 in 1930 to 32.4 in 1931.[105] The drop in the relief of the Mother's Aid of the Juvenile Court of Cook County was even greater, falling from 26.3 per cent to 8.7 per cent in the same period.[106]

With the creation of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission in February 1932 however, the call of the unemployed and private charities was answered, and a fundamental shift in responsibility for unemployment occurred. Money for the Commission first came from State taxes, and then, from 23rd July 1932, the federal government.[107] Funds were distributed primarily by public agencies, but also by private agencies. In October 1932, for example, the Emergency Welfare Fund of Cook County was organised to act as the replacement of the Joint Emergency Relief Fund, and to act as the agent between the Fund and the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission. Its primary activity was a subscription drive, in which 130 relief and welfare agencies of Chicago and the surrounding area participated, to raise $7,500,000 from private sources for causes that were complicated by unemployment – like child care, care of the aged, and medical treatment. The money raised was then allocated to private agencies on the basis of recommendations of the Plans and Estimates Committee of

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[103] Hunter, 'Family relief and service', pp.10-11.
[104] 'Family service and relief' in Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *Social Service Year Book 1934* (Chicago, 1935), p.7.
[105] Hunter, 'Family relief and service', pp.10-11.
[106] 'Family service and relief' in *Social Service Year Book 1934*, p.7.
[107] Hunter, 'Family relief and service', p.17.

the Council of Social Agencies, who had access to the budgets of participating agencies.[108] In 1932, with the Unemployment Relief Service of the Commission now taking up 55.1 per cent of relief, public responsibility climbed to 77.5 per cent.[109] Following the end of the Unemployment Relief Service in 1935, the Family Service Division of the Chicago Relief Administration, funded by the federal government, became the main body for unemployment relief, making up 36.6 of the total in 1936, 69.4 in 1937, 67.5 in 1938, and 66.4 in 1939.[110] Consequently, with the combination of the older Cook County relief and new state and federal funds, the percentage of unemployment relief between 1934 and 1939 accounted for by public funds never dropped below ninety-seven per cent.[111]

This stratospheric rise in the provision of public relief can obscure how private relief both continued and also adapted, bolstering their activities in the local community that attempted to create citizenship. While public money made up almost ninety per cent of the funds in 1932, public organisations distributed 74.45 per cent of the relief, leaving the remaining 25.55 per cent to private agencies. This level also differed between organisations. The American Red Cross, for example, distributed $75,666, of which only $3,355 or 4.4 per cent came from public funds. The Salvation Army, however, distributed 483,052, of which 344,920 or 71.4 per cent came from the public.[112] Both public and private agencies, therefore, increased their level of responsibility, while working together. The funds distributed in 1932 by private agencies represented an increase of 770.7 per cent from 1928, as compared to the astronomic increase of 1593.4 per cent for public funds in the same period.[113] Many associations were supported by these funds to support or set up new initiatives. In 1932, for example, twenty-four homeless shelters and feeding stations were supported by either the

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[108] Ibid., p.18.
[109] 'Family service and relief' in *Social Service Year Book 1934*, p.7.
[110] Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *Social Service Year Book 1939* (Chicago, 1940), p.7.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid., p.18.
[113] Ibid., p.24.

Joint Emergency Fund or the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission, but operated by agencies like the Salvation Army, the Chicago Christian Industrial League, and the Chicago Urban League. Other agencies, like the Pacific Garden Mission and Jewish Shelter, cooperated with public authorities but supported themselves financially.[114] The capacity of these various shelters was thirteen-thousand.[115] As well as providing rest and shelter, however, new initiatives offered concurrent opportunities to build up healthier, more intelligent, and loyal citizens. As the *Social Service Year Book* for 1932 boasted, 'Chicago is the second city in the United States to recognize the need for character, morale-building and other recreational activities for men housed in shelters.' These entertainments and other activities composed principally of movies and homeless shelter talent productions, rational recreation like active games, and athletics including inter-shelter leagues. Using teachers from the Board of Education, educational lessons were also given. The 'fruits of these activities', it was hoped, would be 'manifest in terms of well-adjusted personalities and employable men when the depression has become history.'[116] As the United Charities organisation understood, the entrance of public agencies into unemployment relief meant that voluntary agencies 'could devote more of their time and resources working with those basic problems of family and individual maladjustment', key pursuits in ensuring urban stability.[117]

Associations however were still called upon by public bodies in the administration of public assistance.[118] Throughout the 1930s private agencies acted as advisers to new public bodies, as the emerging administration drew upon the knowledge, assistance, and heritage of social workers.[119] The Advisory Board of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare in 1933, for example, 'continued to be largely composed of representatives from private

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[114] R. Beasley, 'Care of non-family men and women' in *Social Service Year Book 1932,* p.25.
[115] Ibid.*,* p.27.
[116] Ibid., p.28.
[117] United Charities of Chicago, *Yesterday, Today, 1857-1957* (Chicago, 1957), p.11.
[118] Ibid., p.11
[119] Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State*, p.239; G. Taylor, *Chicago Commons Through Forty Years* (Chicago, 1936), p.184.

agencies who accepted continuing responsibility for assisting the public agency to fulfill its purposes and to cope with its obligations.'[120] In March 1935, for example, the Director of the Service for Non-Family Men and Women of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission wrote to the President of Association House, a Presbyterian settlement in the West Town, requesting 'public spirited Boards of Directors who have the interest of the community at heart to loan to use for a short period men and women who can assume leadership.' He continued that 'we feel the type of background most needed comes from the group agencies' before asking for the head resident of the House to be the head of a new programme.[121] Other agencies 'lending their best personnel' included the United Charities, the Institute for Juvenile Research and the Jewish Social Service Bureau.[122] There was no absolute nor stable distinction between what constituted 'private' and 'public'.[123] As the *Social Service Year Book* for 1933 stated, 'Cooperation existed in principle and in fact.'[124] In this way, the entrance of federal government into civic culture did not diminish the role of the association; it was instead confirmed.

Association House recognised in 1932 that 'Even with the city-wide relief organizations operating at their best, relief will have to be given in many cases'.[125] The House cooperated with the wider relief network in the city by providing the United Charities with office space in December 1930.[126] Other activities of Association House included giving food and coal 'until general agencies can get into action', as well as clothing, and the payment of gas and light bills as a final measure before they are turned off, 'often the 'last

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[120] J.T. Nicholson, 'Family relief and service' in *Social Service Year Book 1933*, p.1.
[121] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 4, Minutes 1935-1936, 'Letter to President of Association House from the Director of the Service for Non-Family Men and Women of the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission', 18th March 1935.
[122] Ibid.
[123] D.C. Hammack, 'Foundations in the American polity' in *Philanthropic Foundations,* p.43.
[124] Nicholson, 'Family relief and service', p.1.
[125] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 3, Association House Program of Family Work – Fall and Winter, 1931-32.
[126] Ibid., Helping Families Through the Winter of 1930-31.

straw' to break the spirit of a family.'[127] As the Association stated later in 1932, after rent ceased to be paid by the Emergency Relief Agencies, they managed 'some way or another' to 'keep a roof' over the heads of families.[128] There were also moments where the public administration of relief was severely hindered, which again brought private agencies into action. In July 1935, for example, the administration of general relief was taken away from the county and give to the city, meaning that the offices of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare were taken over the Chicago Relief Administration. Due to this change there was a period of two months where there was no money for administration. During this time Association curtailed its general activities to 'offer emergency care to those in acute distress who would have received relief from the public agency had it been functioning normally.[129] To support such activities private charities continued to raise funds throughout the period, concentrating particularly on large coordinated community drives. Until the autumn of 1930 each agency was responsible for raising its own funds; after that date however there were various Joint Funds in Chicago. Firstly, the Governor's Commission, which raised $4,957,424 to be used between October 1930 and September 1931 for 102 agencies; secondly, the Joint Emergency Relief Fund, which raised $10,227,474 to be used from October 1931 to September 1932 for 176 agencies; thirdly, the Emergency Welfare Fund, which raised $4,829,200 to be used between October 1932 to September 1933 for 133 agencies; and finally, the Community Fund for Allied Chicago Charities, which raised approximately $4,000,000 to be used between October1933 to September 1934 for the use of 102 agencies.[130] In June 1934 the Community Fund of Chicago, Inc. was organised as a

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[127] Association House Program of Family Work – Fall and Winter, 1931-32
[128] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 3, Fighting the Depression – The Human Side (undated, presumed 1930s).
[129] Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *Social Service Year Book Chicago 1936* (Chicago, 1937), p.1.
[130] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 4, Folder 1, Minutes Board of Directors Association House 1934, Outline to Facilitate the Discussion of future social planning in and financing in Chicago, 1934, pp.1-2.

permanent solution, its first aim being to raise $3,000,000 for 135 agencies.[131] This new organisation cooperated closely with the Council of Social Agencies for the rest of the 1930s.

Following the First World War many settlements had begun 'to wonder whether the day had gone by for our simple method of solving our own and our neighbors' problems' and questioned whether 'perhaps the settlement should slip quietly out, ready as it had always been to adapt itself to changing circumstances.'[132] Settlements were facing a wide range of problems: competition from the forming of a multitude of other neighbourhood organisations in the 1920s; lack of financial support and leadership as the richer classes moved out of the cities; the growth in the professionalisation of social work; a stifling of innovation due to war-induced jingoism and the post-war Red Scare; and an inability to attract young reformers as earlier in the century.[133] While these issues did not disappear, in one sense the crisis of the depression revitalised the settlement movement. In times of distress and unemployment particularly, associations that provided activities that encouraged good citizenship were vital in maintaining stability in the urban environment: as a report of Association House on its activities during the Depression argued, 'seething unrest' needed to 'be tempered before it erupts into forceful demonstration.' While the men they worked with were 'not Communistic in either thought or demonstration' they attributed this to a 'year of constructive thinking' and activities that promoted unity.[134] Yet contemporary reports still reflected fears that mass unemployment would lead to instability and community breakdown; violent strikes and militant rallies led many middle-class Americans to believe that the depression was nurturing

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[131] *Social Service Year Book Chicago 1934* (1935), p.19.
[132] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A , Box 1, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow At Association House (undated – presumed mid-1930s), p.1.
[133] Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State,* pp.153-154. P.H. Stuart, *Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Innovation: Settlement Houses in Twentieth-Century America* (Indianapolis, 1992), p.1.
[134] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 3, A Dark Winter – Seeing People Through (undated, presumed 1930s). See Taylor, *Chicago Commons,* p.191. For the growing movement of labour unionisation and demand for better pay and working conditions during the 1930s, see Cohen, *Making a New Deal.*

working-class radicalism.[135] When men could not find work, and families lived under the constant threat of eviction, destitution, and starvation, it was also 'only natural that community standards should break.'[136] The annual report of the Jewish People's Institute in 1932, *Community Culture in an Era of Depression,* also highlighted the ever-important role of associations. With millions 'through no fault of their own' facing 'leisure without purpose or end' it was the job of the welfare agencies to 'take care of recreation'. This was particularly important for youth who, 'unless protected', would be left with 'permanent scars... Defective education, defective health, faulty habits are hard to overcome.'[137] As the report summarised,

> Prevention of social disturbances, of lost balance in community life, of broken families, and of lost faith in one's fellow-men is the burden of the moment which demands a full program of public and private welfare resources. Not icing for the cake, but leaven for the dough of the national bread-loaf is what the welfare and relief mobilization will provide as a measure of prevention for social sickness.[138]

With the ensuing 'confusion and chaos' the settlements 'stood calm and serene, hearts sensitive to all the new, overwhelming, astounding needs of their neighbors.'[139] By 1934 Association House recognised that most of the unemployment relief load was now 'carried by public agencies'. The House therefore realigned its priorities, realising their freedom 'to give more attention to the deeper needs of those still overwhelmed by economic disaster'.[140] 'Looking forward', this meant 'to help men and women to live through these trying days, and

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[135] Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City,* p.81; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear,* pp.218-248
[136] *An Urban Famine,* p.11.
[137] P.L. Seman, *Community Culture in an Era of Depression* (Jewish People's Institute, Chicago, 1932), p.5. See also Jewish People's Institute, *The Development of a Social Force in Chicago: a Group of Expressions by Renowned Authorities on the Significance of the Jewish People's Institute* (Chicago, 1934).
[138] Seman, *Community Culture,* p.11.
[139] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 1, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow At Association House (undated – c.1935), p.1.
[140] Ibid., 1899-1934: the Spirit of Association House, 1934.

to take their part in making better days with more equal opportunities for them and for all.'[141]

Their services included providing 'mature experienced workers able to listen sympathetically' for advice; help and tips for mothers to cook cheaper food; group meetings to study the economic situation and make 'constructive plans for betterment'; recreation in the form of athletics, games, music and entertainment; and clubs and classes for boys and girls to watch for physical and mental 'signs of breakdown'.[142] People took advantage of the House's continued activities: the attendance in 1931 was an 'enormous' 148,910.[143] As the *Chicago Daily News* stated in 1932, the programme of Association House was 'more or less typical of what is going on in each of Chicago's thirty-four settlements, neighborhood houses and centers'.[144]

Like other associations, the House of Happiness struggled with finding enough volunteers and also with the cost of maintaining a highly-used social settlement at a time when needs were 'increased two-hundred fold'.[145] To overcome these difficulties they cut expenses, carried out their own marketing, used men from the United Charities 'wherever possible', and had only two paid staff, utilising unpaid students for most work.[146] Regardless of financial difficulties, the House of Happiness's programme grew in popularity during the depression; in 1932 the total attendance of organised activities for June-August was 16,777 – an increase of more than seven-thousand from the equivalent period the previous year. This rise was an 'alarming forecast' of the responsibilities the House faced in the following months.[147] In terms of actual relief the contribution of the House of Happiness was relatively small; in 1932 a letter to potential donors stated that $2000 had been spent 'on absolutely

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[141] Ibid.
[142] Association House Program of Family Work – Fall and Winter, 1931-32.
[143] 'How a leader copes with distress in settlement', *Chicago Daily News* (21st April 1932).
[144] Ibid.
[145] CHM: Benton House Records ca. 1892-1980, MSS Lot B, Box 3, Folder 12, Letter to Miss Elizabeth Ross-Lewin, 7th September 1932. [The House of Happiness was renamed Benton House in 1942.]
[146] Ibid., Untitled Report, 1st December 1931.
[147] 'Letter to Miss Elizabeth Ross-Lewin'.

necessary relief' – being emergencies when families were waiting for funds from regular relief agencies, or where sickness or special circumstances rendered temporary help necessary.[148] Similar to the City League of Help in Manchester, however, with each new extension of federal relief or administrations the House of Happiness consequently had 'problems which we must help solve and calls for interpretation which we are expected to be able to give', as the Head Resident reported in 1934.[149] While it is debatable to what extent settlements remained innovative forces in reform terms, with one historian describing Hull House as 'little more than a relief agency during the dark years after 1929', the Depression increased demand for existing services, led to a large rise in volunteering, and gave associations new funds for older responsibilities of citizenship training.[150]

Regardless of the input of federal funds and the enhanced role given to settlements, the 1930s was still a period of intense difficulty. In 1933 the picture of group work agencies in Chicago reported by the head resident of Association House was bleak. Using data from twenty-four settlements and neighbourhood houses, he calculated that budgets had decreased from $478,916 in the year ending 30th September, 1932, to $388,471 in the year ending 30th September, 1933 – a fall of 18.9 per cent. Out of the twenty-four surveyed, only two agencies showed increases.[151] Across the US church incomes fell by up to two fifths between 1929 and 1935.[152] Settlements could also not protect their neighbourhoods from suffering a 'general deterioration... both physical and moral' as houses became uninhabitable due to lack of repair, before being gutted to the extent that nothing but 'an empty shell' was left.[153]

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[148] CHM: Benton House Records ca. 1892-1980, MSS Lot B, Box 3, Folder 12, Untitled letter to donors 2nd November 1932.

[149] Ibid., Report of Miss Bertha L. Moore –Head Resident – 17th January 1934.

[150] E. Wilson, 'Hull-House in 1932' in *Eighty Years at Hull House,* p.174; Hall, *Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Innovation,* p.10. For more general decline of the reform element of settlements, see J.A. Trolander, *Settlement Houses and the Great Depression* (Detroit, 1975), pp.15-16 and pp.29-31. As Trolander noted, Chicago and New York were less affected than other cities in terms of the waning power of settlements.

[151] E. Eels, 'Group work agencies' [Head Resident, Association House of Chicago], *Social Service Year Book 1933,* p.57.

[152] Hammack, 'Failure and resilience', p.266.

[153] Eels, 'Group Work Agencies', p.59.

Associations in Chicago continued, however, to do more with less; group work agencies using buildings were mostly operating to capacity, and reported increases in membership – like a thirty-seven per cent gain for the Chicago Boys' Clubs, and an all-time record for the Boy Scouts.[154] In 1939 the Chicago Boys' Club opened new locations, and the YWCA opened a new location in the Stockyards district.[155] Attendance at the House of Happiness remained strong throughout the 1930s and, in its 30th anniversary of 1938, 1585 different individuals participated in a total attendance of 83,183.[156] In the winter session of 1928 there were eight boys clubs; six evening gym classes; and two Saturday gym classes. By 1937 this had grown to eighteen senior boys groups; six junior groups; twenty-eight evening gym classes; and nine Saturday classes.[157] Robert Putnam's comment that the Great Depression induced a 'civic drought' does not stand up to scrutiny in the case of associations in Chicago.[158]

While the state and federal was certainly in the ascendancy, private charity was still an important part of the mixed economy of welfare, especially in carrying out the character-building element that was so vital in times of distress and social instability. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to assess the success of the New Deal unemployment relief, it is possible to argue that 'for the first time in the history of Chicago' there was a clear 'partnership of national, state, and local responsibility for the relief of distress.'[159] Within this relationship creating citizens in the city was a key priority.

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[154] Ibid., p.60.
[155] Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *Social Service Year Book 1939* (Chicago, 1940), p.65-66.
[156] CHM: Benton House Records ca. 1892-1980, MSS Lot B, Box 3, Folder 13, House of Happiness, 1939, p.1.
[157] Ibid., Boys' Department over a period of nine years: Comparison between 1928 and 1936.
[158] Putnam, *Bowling Alone,* p.16.
[159] Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *Social Service Year Book 1935* (Chicago, 1936), p.iv.

Conclusion

The path of public and private integration and a renewed focus on citizenship was, to an extent, similar in Chicago and Manchester. After an earlier period of intense activity, by the 1920s voluntary organisations in both cities were suffering financially and in leadership terms and had, to some extent, become professionalised agencies rather than reform agencies. In Chicago the responsibility of private agencies for social services in the 1920s was higher than in Manchester, reflecting the importance of municipal and state provision in Britain. In the 1930s the change towards higher government collaboration in Chicago was quicker, due both to the severity of the depression, especially in comparison to Manchester, and also the sudden development in federal legislation, as opposed to longer welfare development in Britain.

By the end of the interwar period associations in both cities could claim to be maintaining a strong sense of citizenship, both independently and through government funding. Importantly, the city was still the key site of this interaction, while also providing the justification for the necessity of citizenship creation. In Manchester, it was through the interaction of local associations and the recipients of national welfare that the morals and citizenship of the citizen were targeted. In Chicago, it was through local associations that a significant amount of federal funding was channelled and the response to the potential problems of urban unrest that associations galvanised their citizenship activities. As Chapters Five and Six will show, these notions of urban unrest, and associational and governmental cooperation, were particularly evident in the ways that youth citizenship was conceived and created in the interwar period. Importantly, it was in youth citizenship that the fundamental issue of bodily citizenship can most clearly be seen.

Chapter Five

Youth, the City, and Associational Culture

In the specific pursuit of creating youth citizens in the interwar period the clear importance of the city for citizenship can be seen. Youth citizenship was explicitly conceptualised as an urban problem, with a concurrent urban solution, realised in a focus upon the body and behaviour of children. The emphasis on the relationship between the city and the young had its modern origins in the late nineteenth century, when urban degeneration and a perceived crisis of order encouraged state and associational intervention. During the interwar period this relationship evolved, as modern modes of leisure combined with the older degeneration debate to create a renewed sense of urgency, especially in the 1930s as both countries moved into depression. The type of citizen required changed; while there was still emphasis on individual fitness for the purposes of national efficiency, there was also a rise in the inculcation of forms of bodily behaviour and recreation which could build a sense of community and cohesion in the fragmented modern city. Youth citizenship therefore required personal health and individual focus, but also team-work, social conformity, and a collective identity; all attributes that would fit youth into their coming role as a part of the local and national economy. Less attention therefore was given to the idea of the youth-citizen as a potential voter. This was clear both in the ways that associational culture approached youth citizenship, the subject of this chapter, and also in the growing power of the school, the subject of Chapter Six.

It is difficult to define a typical youth targeted by associations as the concept of 'good citizenship' was used as a catch-all policy against a large group that had differences in

gender, class, race, ethnicity, as well as simply by age; youth was 'a socially constructed and historically contingent identity.'[1] It is more practical to talk of a 'non-adult'; citizenship instruction began in the schools before the perceived problems of the adolescent years, and the consequent transition from schoolchild to economic worker. Citizenship strategies for youth, as identified by associations and government, were as much about prevention as correction; vital to contemporaries was the creation of the citizen *before* adulthood. One defining technique that extended across all of these potential definitions was a focus on the physical body as both the means and end of citizenship, especially in the context of industrial societies divided by economic and social stratification.[2]

Boys were the primary target of citizenship education since girls were considered to not be so much a problem in terms of crime or delinquency.[3] This was reflected in late nineteenth century press coverage and crime figures. In Chicago's newly established (1899) Juvenile Court, girls represented only eight per cent of cases.[4] In Manchester, too, it was the urban gangs of boy hooligans, or 'scuttlers', who fascinated and appalled the British public in the 1880s and 1890s.[5] The focusing of civic energy on boys was reflected in the lower attendance rates of girls for recreational activities. In the Lower North Side of Chicago between April 1938 and March 1939 only 28.6 per cent of girls were reported as participants in supervised recreation compared to 84.6 per cent of boys, reflecting the network of boys clubs and specific events like Boys' Week, detailed in section two. Tellingly, only 1.3 per cent of girls had delinquency records, compared to 17.6 per cent of boys.[6] In Manchester, there were several clubs for 'lads', yet girls were limited mostly to friendly societies. As

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[1] A.J. Diamond, *Mean Streets: Chicago Youths and the Everyday Struggle for Empowerment in the Multiracial City, 1908-1969* (Los Angeles, 2009), p.12.
[2] Porter, *Health, Civilization, and the State,* p.163.
[3] See J.H. Whitehouse, *Problems of Boys Life* (London, 1912) or F.M. Thrasher, *The Gang: a Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago, 1936 [1927]).
[4] Savage, *Teenage*, p.65.
[5] G. Pearson, *Hooligan: a History of Respectable Fears* (London, 1983), p.95.
[6] Chicago Recreation Commission, *Recreation and Delinquency: a Study of Five Selected Chicago Communities* (Chicago, 1942), p.63.

Penny Tinkler has shown in the case of Britain, the place of adolescent females was seen to be in the home helping the mother with domestic chores.[7] Consequently, 'the girl would have had little time for relaxation and 'leisure''.[8] Girls were still targeted by citizenship forces however; though arguably predominantly defined in terms of their domestic roles as potential wives and mothers, recent research has shown that female youth citizenship was complex and varied.[9] Certainly, the new leisure habits of women, whether in the modern dancing of the Jazz Age, or the 'flapper' movement, still concerned contemporaries in terms of purity and untamed sexuality.[10] While the chapter addresses girls' citizenship, due to the imbalance given to boys during the period, they will receive most of the attention.

The chapter does not document and assess every organisation involved with citizenship training for youth.[11] In the US the YMCA and Boy Scouts movement was primarily aimed at white, middle-class protestant boys, leaving the urban lower class to boys' clubs.[12] In Britain, too, the Scouts and Guides attracted middle-class families and areas of the country, appealing less to working-class youths.[13] These 'urban lower classes' were seen as a distinctive problem, so I focus on the local and urban organisations specific to both Manchester and Chicago, and the pressures provoking anxieties, assessing methods and techniques that responded directly to these concerns. Section one charts the emergence in the

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[7] P. Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls Growing Up in England, 1920-1950* (London, 1995), Tinker, pp.16-19.

[8] Ibid., p.19.

[9] See, for example, Verbrugge, 'Recreating the body'; A.J. Latham, *Posing a Threat: Flappers, Chorus Girls, and Other Brazen Performers of the American 1920s* (Middletown, 2000); V. Long, 'From danger and motherhood to health and beauty: health advice for the factory girl in early twentieth-century Britain', 20, no. 4 (2009); D. Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, c.1920-1970* (Basingstoke, 2008)*, pp.59-72; C. Oldfield, 'Growing Up Good?: medical, social hygiene and youth perspectives on young women, 1918-1939', PhD Thesis (University of Warwick, 2001).

[10] P.S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (Oxford, 1977), pp.2 3-24 and Fowler, *Youth Culture,* pp.59-71.

[11] For the range and extent of citizenship organisations in the US aimed towards youth, Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations,* offers an excellent survey. CHM: Chicago Boys and Girls Club records 1901-1969, MSS Lot C, Box 1, Folder 12, A Special Study of the Boy Situation in Chicago (prepared for Chicago Boys' Club by the Boys' Club Federation, 1929) provides a statistical breakdown of the boys' clubs.

[12] D.I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: the Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison, 1983), p.3.

[13] J. Stevenson, *British Society 1914-1945* (London, 1984), p.246. See also Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men,* p.99.

late nineteenth and early twentieth century of a fear that the city was having a negative effect on the body and character of youth, and the evolution of this fear during the changed circumstances of the interwar period. Section two details how associational culture constructed alternative types of urban environments for youths to engage in 'rational recreation', taking into account questions of race, and to what extent citizenship was exclusive rather than inclusive. The final section describes the limits of youth associational culture, and how an evolution in the relationship of associations to local government took place around questions of youth citizenship – most notably through state-provided schools.

Urban Degeneration and Modern Leisure

To understand interwar associational culture, understanding the growing concerns of national efficiency and urban morality as the US and UK underwent similar processes of urbanisation, industrialisation and rearmament at the end of the nineteenth century is vital[14] In Britain new organisations like the Boys' Brigade, formed in 1883, attempted to instil the virtues of 'Reverence, Discipline and Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness' in the youth of the day.[15] Urban youths however continued to incite fears of hooliganism and lack of law and order. Manchester, with its neighbourhood gangs claiming their own dress and language, was a hotbed of these problems.[16] When a high proportion of men who enlisted to fight in the Boer War were discovered to be unfit for service, the damaging effects of the urban environment came to the forefront in the mind of reformers.[17] The cry of 'national efficiency' began to gather steam as commentators questioned how Britain could compete globally if its people were physically inferior. This label crossed

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[14] Savage, *Teenage,* p.xvi; Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, p.88.

[15] Savage, *Teenage,* p.20.

[16] Ibid.*,* pp.42-43; Pearson, *Hooligan*, p.95; A. Davies, *The Gangs of Manchester: the Story of the Scuttlers, Britain's First Youth Cult* (Preston, 2008).

[17] Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency*, p.60. See also Porter, *Health, Civilization, and the State*; Zweiniger-Bargieloska, *Managing the Body*; Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men,* p.90.

conventional lines of 'left' and 'right', 'liberals' and 'conservatives', and even 'socialists' and 'capitalists', and was expressed through movements like tariff reform, compulsory military service and eugenics.[18] While the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration Report of 1904 did not argue that physical degeneracy was hereditary, it added to the climate of national efficiency by calling attention to poor nutrition and health.[19] Associations like the National League for Physical Education and Improvement, the Health and Strength League, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, and the Eugenics Education Society were launched in this context.[20] While support for 'hereditarian policies' had a minor effect in legislative terms, 'biologically-based rhetoric provided a vocabulary' that was 'widely adopted by policy makers and members of the medical profession.'[21] Social reform legislation now explicitly approached the problem of youth fitness through acts like the Education (Provision of Meals) Act in 1906 and the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act in 1907, which established free school meals and medical inspection respectively.[22] The youth of Britain were 'given a new social and political identity; they became… 'Children of the Nation'.[23]

Similar concerns circulated through associational culture in the US. Between 1880 and 1920, 'child saving' was the most widely supported reform cause in the country, based around rescuing mainly ethnic working-class children from social and economic hazards like economic exploitation, unrestricted immigration, and an unsupervised adolescent street culture.[24] As Jane Addams stated in 1912, America had 'a fast-growing number of cultivated

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[18] Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency,* p.2 and p.54.
[19] Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild*, pp.6-7.
[20] Zweiniger-Bargieloska, *Managing the Body;* Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, p.8.
[21] I.Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Raising a nation of "good animals": the new health society and health education campaigns in interwar Britain', *Social History of Medicine,* 20, no. 1 (2007), p.75. Porter has claimed that eugenics had limited influence in British policy-making due to the power of an entrenched public health structure, the propagators of which had no interest in biologistic social Darwinism, instead being committed to environmentalism. Porter, '"Enemies of the race", p.173.
[22] See Chapter Seven.
[23] Beaven and Griffiths, 'Creating the exemplary citizen', p.209.
[24] Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals*, p.1.

young people who have no recognized outlet for their active faculties.'[25] The settlement house movement was one way that local associations attacked the problem of youth delinquency; by 1909 nineteen settlement houses had been opened in Chicago.[26] As in Britain, part of this concern was related to the physical body, though here more inflected by race origins. In the 1880s, as the birth-rate of Americans with supposedly superior Anglo-Saxon heritage was revealed to be in decline, and immigration increasingly came from southern and eastern Europe, fears of 'race suicide' and emphasis on heredity focused American concerns for the vitality of the nation on physical health.[27]

Organised sports and bodily activity was one way that contemporaries thought decline could be halted.[28] Progressive Era reformers made the connection between intellect and physical fitness, believing that urban living was weakening the nation's citizenry.[29] These ideals were reflected in voluntary organisations; while the Chicago YMCA in the 1870s and 1880s tried to lead men into active Christian lifestyles, by the 1880s it was instead developing 'an extensive gymnastics program that sought to build bodies rather than save and uplift souls.'[30] In the play movement organisers departed from traditional approaches to the child that emphasised the distinction between mind and body; muscular conditioning 'could influence the content and quality of mental and moral processes.'[31] When these ideas of the body and the corrupting influence of the city were taken alongside the scientific child study movement of educators and psychologists like G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey, and James Mark

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[25] J. Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York, 1912), p.48.
[26] John, *Class and Reform,* p.25.
[27] Green, *Fit for America*, p.225. Social Darwinism was received particularly strongly in the US towards the end of the nineteenth century. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism.*
[28] Park, 'Healthy, moral, and strong'.
[29] Churchill, 'Making broad shoulders', p.346 and p.348.
[30] Ibid., p.353.
[31] Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals,* p.51.

Baldwin, who argued for a distinct stage of life termed 'adolescence', the body and habits of the urban child became very important.[32]

Social commentators and researchers in the interwar period continued to highlight the defects of the body as a hindrance to the creation of good youth citizens. The end of the First World War brought a renewed sense of urgency in raising the standard of fitness of men in Britain.[33] High rates of army recruit rejection highlighted physical inadequacy, with only thirty-six per cent graded fully fit (A1), and thirty-one per cent graded unfit for combat (C3), categories that entered debates about the desire to become an 'A1 population'.[34] The ideal of the 'good citizen' was a physically fit, muscular male body, combining strength, restraint, endurance and chivalry.[35] In the 1920s these fears manifested themselves in social hygiene health movements propagated by organisations like the Sunlight League and the New Health Society.[36] For girls, organisations like the YWCA and Girl Guides sought to regulate adolescent sexual knowledge and behaviour and provide girls for a role in both the family and wider society.[37] In the 1930s ideas of national fitness were again revived, with the launching of the National Government's National Fitness Campaign and the flourishing Women's League for Health and Beauty.[38]

The ideology and guidance of George Newman was highly influential in Britain. Appointed as the first Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health in 1919, and retaining his position as Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education from 1907, Newman has been described by the historian of health Bernard Harris as the 'most important single figure

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[32] Ibid., p.54-77.
[33] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Building a British Superman, p.596. For the general effect of the war, see Lawrence and Mayer, 'Regenerating England'.
[34] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Building a British Superman', p.601.
[35] Ibid., p.598. See S.O. Rose, *Which People's War? National Identity and Citizenship in Britain, 1939-1945* (Oxford, 2003), pp.153-7.
[36] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Raising a nation of 'good animals''. For the Sunlight League, see Carter, *Rise and Shine*, p.77.
[37] Oldfield, 'Growing Up Good?', p.8 and p.10.
[38] Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* p.183.

in the history of the British public health administration' in the first half of the twentieth century.[39] Having absorbed the discourse of national efficiency, Newman made links between physical health and citizenship, through the concept of Preventive Medicine – 'the ideal of medicine'.[40] For Newman, cultivating human health and capacity had always been, 'consciously and unconsciously, among the first and most fundamental tasks of statecraft'; health and illness were tied up with the relationship between individuals and a physical and social environment.[41] Increased medical powers to schools reflected the importance of these ideals, as did health campaigns.[42] On a more local stage, Health Centres emerged in the 1920s to educate citizens in personal wellbeing, part of a wider concern with 'positive health' and unfulfilled potentiality.[43] Environmental determinism was still a key part of physical fitness, to be combated by public health initiatives.[44] The cumulative effect of these movements and ideology was emphasis on personal health and habits of restraint – whether in cleanliness or leisure – and its links to good citizenship.

In the US, the interwar focus on the body was more problematic. Certainly, the emphasis on health and fitness continued to grow. The importance of personal health and cleanliness, a cornerstone of late nineteenth-century respectability, intensified.[45] Consumer products, like electronic devices that promised to renew vigour, 'flooded the market' after the First World War.[46] In the 1920s the science of nutrition and popular consciousness of diet reached new heights.[47] The craze for vitamins, propagated by large pharmaceutical

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[39] Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild,* p.50.
[40] Sturdy, 'Hippocrates and state medicine' and G. Newman, *The Rise of Preventive Medicine* (Oxford, 1932), p.vi.
[41] Newman, *The Rise of Preventive Medicine,* p.vi.
[42] Harris, *The Health of the Schoolchild,* p.2. For an example of how Leicester City Council responded to the ideology of health and citizenship, see Welshman, 'Bringing Beauty'.
[43] Beach, 'Potential for participation'.
[44] Ibid., p.218.
[45] Stears, *Battleground of Desire*, p.20.
[46] Green, *Fit for America,* p.263.
[47] Wharton, 'Eating to win', p.87.

companies, led to a 'vitamin-crazy' nation by the end of the 1930s.[48] Harvey Green has claimed that building bodily fitness to protect the future of the American race persisted into the 1920s.[49] Importantly however, other historians, and later work by Green, has contended that the health focus was detached from its earlier emphasis on national efficiency; attaining the 'perfect' body was more about the enjoyment of the process and result, than social and political ends.[50] Americans in the interwar years saw play and sport as the realms of personal pleasure and fulfilment that needed little external social justification.[51] Instead, health, fitness, and sporting competition was its own reward.[52] Bodily behaviour and training however remained important in its capacity to create better societal relations since activities that were 'fun' could create a happy and 'well-adjusted personality.'[53] While a focus on sport in terms of its moral attributes had diminished for adults, using sport and physical culture to promote health still remained an important part of how associations targeted youth citizenship. Indeed, the loosening or relaxing of some behavioural values in the early part of the twentieth century actually provoked new forms of self-control for new indulgences, and a renewed intensity in 'Moralists' laments' in the 1920s; this will be evident in section two of this chapter.[54]

In 1920s America youth appeared suddenly and dramatically.[55] Differing from the juvenile offenders and slum children of the Progressive Era, the youth problem of the 1920s was not how youths could be assimilated from crime into the mainstream of culture, but how the changes within that mainstream had rendered it undesirable.[56] This view of youth was

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[48] Ibid., p.91. See also Harris, 'Iron therapy and tonics'.
[49] Green, *Fit for America,* p.253.
[50] H. Green, 'Introduction', *Fitness in American Culture,* p.11. Also reflecting this, Social Darwinism as a 'conscious philosophy' had also 'largely disappeared' by the end of the war. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism,* p.203.
[51] Mrozek, 'Sport in American life'*,* p.18.
[52] Ibid., p.20.
[53] Ibid., p.23.
[54] Stearns, *Battleground of Desire,* p.5, p.46, and pp.3-30.
[55] Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful,* p.6.
[56] *Ibid.,* p.14.

constructed as a 'fictionalized, emotion-packed distortions of a type that was meant to evoke rather than to describe'.[57] In Chicago, the problems of youth exploded. As Diamond has described, the 'dynamic role played by athletic clubs and other youth groups' structured 'the everyday milieu of racial hostility' as young men made sense of what it meant to be masculine and white or black.[58] In the 1920s, urban crime concerned contemporaries on account of the moral decline it suggested and the cost entailed, a point made continually by the American Citizenship Foundation, which cited statistics showing 'taxpayers had to pay out approximately fourteen million dollars to maintain the police, court and jail machinery.'[59] Chicago's youth were painted as the source of this crime, with eighty-five per cent of offences committed by youths under twenty-one, an age 'where corrective influence might be effective if intelligently applied.'[60] With the kidnap and murder of a Chicago businessman's son in 1924 by two rich elite youths a nationwide debate on the misdirection of a whole generation of America's youth gathered steam.[61]

Again it was the urban environment that provoked and informed policies of youth and associational culture interaction, with emphasis placed on leisure habits. While national debates of 'fitness', physical culture and health provided the context, it was in cities that organisations made sense of youth citizenship. In Chicago, theories of the urban and its influence were subjected to academic investigation by the Chicago School of Urban Sociologists, whose work can be seen as the analysis of 'the nature of social bonding in the modern, fragmented, city' as 'the extent of immigration... posed a challenge to the

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[57] *Ibid.*, p.18.
[58] Diamond, *Mean Streets,* p.20.
[59] CHM: the American Citizen, LC251.A5, 'Save the boys', *The American Citizen,* 1, no. 3 (Chicago, January 1927), p.13.
[60] Ibid.*,* p.13.
[61] Savage, *Teenage,* pp.212-216. See S. Baatz, *For the Thrill of It: Leopold, Loeb, and the Murder that Shocked Chicago* (New York, 2008).

establishment of orderly and comprehensible social relationships.'[62] Paul Boyer however has stated that, in 1920s America, 'the stereotype of the city as a cesspool of wickedness and a seedbed of revolution lost much of its force.'[63] While he recognised that this view did not disappear altogether, he has suggested that the Chicago School sociologists in particular took a more laid-back approach to judging the social meaning of the city, its heterogeneity instead judged as 'a positive social gain, adding to the richness and creative diversity of American life.'[64] This theme can be overstated. While intellectuals like Lewis Mumford and Louis Wirth may have moved towards a more tolerant and positive view of the urban, at the local level, as I will show, associations took the analysis of Chicago school sociologists and reinvigorated their critique of the modern city. In the introduction to *The Taxi-Dance Hall: a Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life* (1932), an investigation into new dance halls where girls were paid to dance with men, the Chicago School sociologist E.W. Burgess categorised the activity as indicative of, and peculiarly suited to, the modern city.[65] Leisure was based around 'the insistent human *demand for stimulation,* the growth of *commercialized recreation,* [and] the growing *tendency to promiscuity* in the relations of the sexes' reflecting 'the failure of our ordinary devices of social control to function in a culturally heterogeneous and anonymous society.'[66] Jazz, too, with its 'emotionally charged atmosphere' and 'wriggling movement and sensuous stimulation of the abominable big… orchestra' continued to provoke concern from commentators like the *Ladies' Home Journal* in the 1920s.[67] As a type of music originating and mostly performed by African-Americans,

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[62] M. Savage, A. Warde, and K. Ward, *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity,* 2nd ed. (Basingstoke, 2003), p.13.
[63] Boyer, *Urban Masses,* p.287.
[64] Ibid., p.287.
[65] P.G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall: a Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life* (New York, 1968 [1932]). The Taxi Dance Hall was chosen due to its rapid and unforeseen rise; Burgess claimed that, at the time the study commenced, it was a 'very new and questionable type of establishment with which even social workers were not familiar'. E.W. Burgess, 'Introduction' in *The Taxi-Dance Hall.*
[66] Ibid.
[67] Savage, *Teenage,* p.211.

jazz was feared by many whites as 'an attempt by the black community to undermine the morality and superior lifestyle of whites.'[68]

These themes also reflected the general tensions of sexuality arising from a shift towards a liberalisation of certain aspects of young women's lifestyles during and after the First World War: fashionable and skimpy clothing; greater sexual opportunity; and the growing availability of sexual images and innuendo, particularly from Hollywood.[69] Previously, according to Burgess, the desire for stimulation was expressed through the family, neighbourhood, varied programmes of village life, or in the pioneering settlement of the West. With the passing of the frontier and decline in family and neighbourhood recreation, '"The jungles" of the city become the *locus* of excitement and new experience.'[70] In Frederick Thrasher's *The Gang* (1927) attention is again called to the degeneration of the urban environment. As Robert Park stated in the preface, it is 'the modern American city' and 'the slum' or 'the city wilderness' that 'provides the city gang its natural habitat.'[71] A result of the failure of controlling customs and institutions – like the family, school, religion, and 'wholesome recreation' – gangs were the 'spontaneous effort of boys to recreate a society for themselves where none adequate to their need exists.'[72] Thrasher's 'conservative estimate' of gangs in Chicago was 'no less than 1,313' with around 25,000 members.[73] As educator and philosopher John Dewey posited, the problem in the 1920s was how to establish community in the context of 'new and relatively impersonal and mechanical modes of combined human behaviour' that characterised the 'modern' city.[74]

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[68] M. Newton-Matza, *Jazz Age: People and Perspectives* (Santa Barbara, 2009), p.xiv; L. Dumenil, *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York, 1995).
[69] Stearns, *Battleground of Desire,* p.194; M. Haller, 'Urban vice and civic reform: Chicago in the Early Twentieth Century' in K.T. Jackson and S.K. Schultz (eds), *Cities in American History* (New York, 1972), p.299.
[70] Burgess, 'Introduction'.
[71] R. Park, 'Editors preface', Thrasher, *The Gang*, p.xi.
[72] Thrasher, *The Gang,* p.38 and p.79.
[73] Ibid.*,* p.5.
[74] Dewey, *The Public and its Problems,* p.94.

Sociological studies called for further associational activity to mediate this shift in behaviour. Burgess believed that the city needed to provide for the social life of young people, the socially handicapped, and the lonesome.[75] Regardless of the accuracy of these studies, the conclusions were influential, and moved out of the academic arena into local discussion and policy. As the *Chicago Daily News* stated in 1923, 'If the wholesome welfare agencies do not reach the working boy, then it must be the poolroom, the cheap movie, and the public dance hall.'[76] In an inquiry of 'Boy's Work' carried out by the Chicago Council of Social Agencies in 1921, several reports of academic researchers were referenced in relation to the behaviour of children. A study carried out by the Research Department of the University of Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, under the direction of the prominent social reformer Edith Abbott, was cited for its analysis of the relationship between juvenile delinquency and the home.[77] Similarly, Thrasher's study of gangs was cited by the Chicago Council of Social Agencies even before publication, showing the close relationship between associations and researchers in the city.[78] Taken alongside Chicago's reputation as the centre of the illegal alcohol distribution industry during Prohibition and the shocking rise to power of Al Capone, such studies and popular representations informed and confirmed the impression of the city as a negative environment to those involved in associational culture for youth.[79]

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[75] Burgess, 'Introduction'.

[76] CHM: Chicago Boys' Week Federation, Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings, Photographs, Forms, Posters, F38JV .C4s [Henceforth CBWF], vol. 1, 1923, p.54, 'Working Boys left to wage own battle', *Chicago Daily News* (14th May 1923). See also CBWF, vol. 1, 1923, p.55, 'Unsupervised play makes boys destroy', *Chicago Daily News* (18th May 1923).

[77] Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *Preliminary Inquiry into Boys' Work in Chicago* (Chicago, 1921), p.8.

[78] Ibid., pp.10-11.

[79] Savage, *Teenage,* p.220. See K. Allsop, *The Bootleggers: the Story of Chicago's Prohibition Era* (Garden City, 1961) and E. Behr, *Prohibition: the Thirteen Years That Changed America* (New York, 1996).

In Manchester local debate was not directed by academic studies, yet the same conclusions were reached.[80] Similar to *The Taxi Dance Hall,* the Manchester Citizens' Association based the hypothesis of a fundamentally problematic urban environment on the way that the sexes mixed.[81] Formed following a meeting held by the National Council of Women in the Manchester Town Hall in 1918, the Association targeted young male and female workers who, after 'a hard day's work' found 'a dance, or game, or quiet by the stove… a welcome change', and, for the young unemployed 'downhearted and discouraged' the 'cheeriness and friendly spirit in the Club' was 'a great boon.'[82] In 1927, upon the opening of the Association's permanent home on Grosvenor Street, the Lord Mayor elaborated on this ethos and remarked that for the 'young people… just on the threshold of manhood and womanhood' who went to the public house 'for warmth, friendship and conversation', it was good 'that the Club provided [an alternative] place where they could resort in this way amid pure and temperate surroundings.'[83] The Girls' Friendly Society of Eccles, too, recognised that with the new 'freedom and liberty' of women came new responsibilities; 'purity', especially, was 'the principal around which the Society [was] built'.[84] As The Rev. J. Smith, rector of Gorton, addressed the Society: 'Since the days of the Great War there has been greater need than ever for both boys and girls to guard their moral outlook on life.'[85] The urban environment, according to the Manchester University Settlement, caused 'growing girls and women, as well as men… to seek comfort in unhealthy

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[80] There was an earlier tradition of social investigation that related the urban environment to behaviour – see Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, p.91, for a discussion of Charles Booth and others in the first decade of the twentieth century.

[81] This association was first named the Manchester Comrades' Club, and renamed the Manchester Citizens' between 1920 and 1921.

[82] GMCRO: Hulme Lads' Club, GB127.M716, Box 5, Manchester Citizen's Clubs Association, *Report* (1918); *Ibid., Third Annual Report* (1921), p.4.

[83] Ibid*., Ninth Annual Report* (1927).

[84] GMCRO: Eccles, St. Andrew, GB127.L286/5/5, Girls' Friendly Society, Log Book, cutting from the *St Andrews Parish Magazine*, 'A Jubilee' (1926, undated but describing the jubilee of 6th November 1926).

[85] Ibid.

excitement.'[86] These ideas reflected the concern with social and sexual morality which heightened during and immediately after the First World War.[87]

Leaders of boys' clubs and other organisations also described and lamented a shift in leisure habits apparent in the interwar period. In 1924 the Jewish Lads' Brigade drew attention to changes since the war, like increased disposable income and the rise in cinemas and other forms of cheap undesirable attractions. Due to this change, 'the necessity for character training and for the provision of healthy outlets for the spirits and energies of the boys' was 'more urgent than ever.'[88] Young people often found employment more easily than adults due to the cheapness of their labour, and were a potent market for clothes, mass entertainment and recreational opportunities.[89] Young female workers too were courted as consumers in the interwar period.[90] David Fowler has even gone as far as to suggest that these young wage-earners of the interwar period were the first teenagers – a category typically applied to the post-1945 generation.[91]

In both cities the rapid growth of the cinema caused concern. As Thrasher argued, movies provided 'a cheap and easy escape from reality' while also giving the gang boy 'patterns for his play and his exploits', a position supported by the Chicago Bureau of Recreation.[92] Thrasher calculated that, of a hundred gang boys he interviewed, average attendance was three times a week, while thirty went every day.[93] Cinema attendance in Chicago remained high throughout the period; in 1939 it was calculated that twice as much

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[86] Manchester and District Regional Survey Society, *Social Studies of a Manchester City Ward,* p.7. The Society was a study group of the Manchester University Settlement.
[87] Oldfield, 'Growing Up Good?', p.14 and pp.20-48.
[88] GMCRO: Jewish Lads' Brigade, GB127.M130 2345, Box 6, Annual Reports of Jewish Lads' Brigade, *Report for 1924* (Manchester, 1925), p.8.
[89] Stevenson, *British Society 1914-1945,* p.246.
[90] Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood,* p.4.
[91] D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers: the Lifestyle of Young Wage-Earners in Interwar Britain* (London, 1996), p.1.
[92] Thrasher, *The Gang,* p.102 and Chicago Bureau of Recreation, *Annual Report for the Year end December 31 1925* (Chicago, 1926), pp.23-28.
[93] Thrasher, *The Gang,* p.102.

time was spent by boys in the movies as on supervised recreational activities.[94] In Manchester in 1937 the city's cinemas could seat around fifteen per cent of the population at any one time.[95] While it is debatable to what extent the cinema actually had a negative effect on the behaviour of youth, it nonetheless remained a worry to those trying to promote wholesome forms of recreation.[96] Contemporary investigations in Manchester in the late-1930s found a wide variety of negatively perceived modern amusements. In the working-class district of Hulme there were eight cinemas (with four on the outskirts); one variety theatre; twelve public dance halls; eight public billiard halls; and 143 public houses.[97] In America, other new forms of leisure like poolrooms and the growth of the saloon worried contemporaries.[98]

By the 1920s and 1930s there was a consensus that the modern city, with its opportunities for the 'wrong' types of leisure, was having a deleterious effect on the citizenship of children. Contemporaries in the US saw the pursuit of modern leisure as a direct outgrowth of 'the sad realities of life' and the 'imminence of death' that had been awoken by the war.[99] Under the conditions of the Great Depression in the 1930s, the fears of untamed and possibly revolutionary youth became even more potent.[100] This was also the case in Britain where mass unemployment and a rise in the juvenile crime rate in the 1930s sparked fears of ill-discipline and moral laxity – even if the reality was not as severe as imagined.[101] When combined with the pre-existing concern with the body and physical efficiency, the question of how to educate and reform the youth citizen was pressing. As

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[94] Chicago Recreation Committee, *Recreation and Delinquency*, p.240.
[95] Calculated from figures in Fowler, *The First Teenagers,* p.118.
[96] For this debate see Fowler, *The First Teenagers,* pp.119-125, as well as examples of civic elites in Manchester who lamented the effect of the cinema. See also Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, pp.105-107.
[97] H.E.O. James and F.T. Moore, 'Adolescent leisure in a working-class district', *Occupational Psychology*, XIV (1940), p.134. For the supposedly negative effects of the dance hall, see Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men,* p.173.
[98] Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful,* p.22.
[99] Ibid., p.18.
[100] Savage, *Teenage,* p.276-294.
[101] Stevenson, *British Society 1914-1945,* p.247. Civic leaders in Manchester thought that unemployed youngsters would turn to crime, though this was not reflected in juvenile crime statistics. Fowler, *Youth Culture,* p.89. See also Savage, *Teenage,* pp.294-314.

President Coolidge told the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America in 1926, repeatedly emphasising the importance of the health of the American 'race',

> Towns and cities and industrial life are very recent and modern acquirements. Such an environment did not contribute to the making of the race, nor was it bred in the lap of present-day luxury. It was born of adversity and nurtured by necessity... if the usual environment has been very largely changed, it becomes exceedingly necessary that an artificial environment be created to supply the necessary process for a continuation of the development and character of the race.[102]

The next section will describe this 'artificial environment', and the ways it took both anti-urban and pro-urban dimensions; new associations were created within the city that provided a solace from the corrupting influence of the streets yet, in Chicago especially, new events like Boys' Week took place in the public spaces of the city, hoping to create a clearer sense of civic consciousness in youth.

Methods of Creating Youth Citizens

By the interwar period older organisations in Chicago made it their civic duty to improve the character and morals of children. The Union League, chartered 1879, formed its first Boys' Club in 1919 after feeling 'a more direct contribution could be made to the city's underprivileged youth' through businessmen 'helping these boys become good citizens.'[103] Other new organisations, like the American Citizenship Foundation, formed in Chicago in 1920, expressed similar desires, calling for training in 'the ways of good citizenship, to the end that loyalty, patriotism, the desire to serve, and an intelligent public opinion may be

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[102] Calvin Coolidge, 'Address Before the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America, Washington, D.C.,' 1st May, 1926 in Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, accessed online 11th April 2013, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=395.

[103] Grant, *Fight for a City*, p.214.

developed in the highest possible degree.'[104] For businessmen, training youths would both halt crime and provide a future workforce. Youth associations in Manchester experienced a more tumultuous period. While there were new clubs formed, like the Manchester Citizens Association in 1917 and Eccles Girls' Friendly Society in 1926, many associations, like the Hulme Lads' Club or Broughton Girls' Friendly Society, complained of dwindling attendance.[105] Associational culture in Manchester diminished or modified as the municipal rose and diversified in the same way elaborated in Chapter Four. Regardless, a consistent targeting of the minds, bodies, and habits of youth was evident; in the 1925 annual report of the Groves Lads' Club, 'The youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity', it was declared that lads' clubs were still 'one of the most important factors' in teaching boys to lead 'honourable and healthy lives, thus ultimately growing up into really worthy and useful members of the general community.'[106] By the end of the period these ideals were renewed in claims for physical efficiency in Britain, expressed through the Physical Welfare and Recreation Act of 1937.[107]

Associations sought to remove the child from the corrupting interwar city into a regulated, healthy, and educational environment. One option was the countryside and its reforming characteristics.[108] In Chicago, the Boys' Clubs travelled to Lake Winona, Indiana; Hull House boys to Bowen Country Camp, near Waukegan; and Long Lake, Illinois for the

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[104] CHM: the American Citizen, LC251.A5, 'The American citizen's pledge', *The American Citizen*, 1, no. 2 (Chicago, December 1926), p.8.

[105] In 1933 the secretary for Girls' Friendly Society of Broughton 'regretted that' the membership 'was the lowest on record' with 'only 45 paying members on our books, 59 in all.' GMCRO: Lower Broughton, The Ascension, GB127.L154/5/1, The Societies, Girls' Friendly Society of Broughton, The Minutes of the branch council meeting held in Duke St. School, Saturday, 14th October, 1933'. In 1928 the Hulme Lads' Club described a general malaise in attendance at boys' clubs in Manchester, stating 'other Clubs were in the same unhappy position as ourselves with regard to membership.' GMCRO, GB127.M716, Hulme Lads' Club, Box 2, Minutes of a meeting of the officers council held at the club 24th April 1928, p.55.

[106] GMCRO: Jewish Lads' Brigade, GB127.M130, Box 3, Grove House Club Correspondence, Annual Report 1925: the youth of a nation are the trustees of posterity, p.4.

[107] Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men*, p.163; Welshman, 'Physical education'; Zweiniger-Bargieloska, *Managing the Body*.

[108] See B. Anderson, 'A liberal countryside? The Manchester Ramblers' Federation and the "social readjustment" of urban citizens, 1929–1936', *Urban History,* 38, no. 1 (2011).

Jewish People's Institute. In 1923 nearly every boy's agency provided summer camp opportunities.[109] In Manchester, too, all of the major clubs either owned or rented summer camp retreats.[110] The effect of the countryside in terms of its capacity for citizenship creation is a subject that has been covered by historians of both Britain and US.[111] Yet the reforming characteristics of this rural environment were distant and not immediately available; most interaction was based around the everyday and, specifically, the time when the child was not in school.[112]

The Jewish Lads Brigade offered citizenship training based around this ideal since the first decade of the twentieth century; by the 1920s it also gave 'the full advantages of a club' and 'opportunities for outdoor sports' as well as 'ordinary training.'[113] The Manchester Citizens' Association asserted the 'modern' character of the effort to 'reach and cater for the poorer young men and women' who found 'their recreation generally in the streets, the smaller public houses, the cinema, or the dance halls.' The club offered a respite from the stimulation of the modern city: 'recreation, interest and exercise or perhaps a place where they will receive a welcome and rest and read or find a friend.'[114] The Procter Gymnasium and Hulme Lads' Club highlighted the renewed importance of the boys' club in society after the 'past terrible four years' of war.[115] Vital was the provision of alternative environments; in 1924, the Club saw its main object as 'to provide a bright and pleasant place in which Working Lads and Young Men may spend their spare time with profit and pleasure; and to

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[109] CBWF, vol. 1, 1923, p.53, 'Many summer camps provided for boys', *Chicago Illinois News* (17th May 1923).
[110] Annual Reports of Jewish Lads' Brigade, *Report for 1928* (Manchester, 1929), p.8.
[111] A.A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960* (Minneapolis, 2006); K. Cupers, 'Governing through nature: camps and youth movements in interwar Germany and the United States', *Cultural Geographies,* 15, no. 2 (2008); F. Trentmann, 'Civilization and its discontents: English neo-romanticism and the transformation of anti-modernism in twentieth-century western culture', *Journal of Contemporary History,* 29, no. 4 (1994).
[112] Fowler highlights cost and unemployment as adversely affecting camp attendance. Fowler, *The First Teenagers,* p.139.
[113] GMCRO: Jewish Lads' Brigade, GB127.M130, Box 6, Annual Report of Jewish Lads' Brigade, 1924, p.8.
[114] GMCRO: Hulme Lads' Club, GB127.M716, Box 5, Manchester Citizen's Clubs Association, A Mixed Club for Young Working People, (undated, 1920s), p.1.
[115] Ibid., Annual Report of the Procter Gymnasium and Hulme Lads' Club for the year ended 29th September, 1918, p.3.

exert every possible influence for their moral elevation.'[116] The Manchester University Settlement described the Saturday night dance it held for youths as 'A good dance under thoroughly wholesome conditions.'[117] Through the provision of alternative forms of morally regulated leisure, associations in Manchester could ward against the increasingly popular and under-regulated dance halls.[118] Under the conditions of the depression, with the potential of urban unrest, associational activities for youths in Manchester were seen as even more important.[119]

In Chicago, the Association of Commerce contrasted old and new spaces for youth; parks, stadiums, and the municipal pier could convert boys 'street-and-alley-time' into 'enjoyable occupations free from hoodlumism, bad manners, and vicious amusements.'[120] Importantly, the municipal parks and playgrounds were regulated, with physical instructors giving health information to children, and making sure 'girls and boys' did not 'mingle except under most wholesome conditions.'[121] The Off-the-Street-Club did as its name suggests, by taking the child into a regulated playground or clubroom to guard against 'the moral breakdown of society' while developing 'strong, healthy bodies and keen, alert minds.'[122] The Chicago Boys' Clubs Federation used 'radio, printing, woodwork, sign painting, library games, dramatics, athletics, art, scouting, weaving, brass work' and other activities to keep boys off the streets, where they were playing marbles and loafing, or 'bothering' people. As they maintained, 'People know how unhealthy it is to play in

[116] Ibid., 'Annual Report For the year ended 29th September, 1924, p.1.
[117] M.E. Rose and A. Woods, *Everything went on at the Round House: a Hundred Years of the Manchester University Settlement* (Manchester, 1995), p.35.
[118] Savage, *Teenage,* p.240.
[119] GMCRO: Jewish Lads' Brigade, GB127.M130, Box 3, Grove House Club Correspondence, Annual Report for 1932, p.7.
[120] W. McAndrew, 'Twenty years progress of the public schools' in *Survey of Chicago,* p.11.
[121] City of Chicago Bureau of Parks, *Playgrounds and Bathing Beaches, Rules and Regulations: Municipal Playgrounds of Chicago* (Chicago, 1926)
[122] CHM: Off-the-Street-Club Miscellaneous pamphlets, F38JW.O3z, 'Off-the-Street-Club', 1920, p.12.

insanitary alleys… a more serious danger [is] that street play undermines and demoralizes character in a most serious manner.'[123]

Figure 5.1: Off-the-Street Club pamphlet, caption reads: 'On the road to a life of crime. This is only one of the many incidents that go to make up a boy's street education. The Off-the-Street Club is the boys' opportunity to make good; also it is your opportunity to lend a hand and help make useful citizens.'

Source: CHM: Off-the-Street-Club Miscellaneous pamphlets, F38JW.O3z, 'Off-the-Street-Club', 1920, p.4.

Boys' Week, an annual event in Chicago from 1921 organised and financed by the Rotary Club, illustrates the myriad themes running through youth citizenship and the attempt to create this alternative urban environment.[124] The stated aim was to create 'more interest' and 'better citizen training' in the city's communities and to ward against 'the perils of modern social conditions.'[125] 'American boyhood [w]as the material with which the future of business, industry and government in America' would be 'built', reinforcing the work of the

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[123] CBWF, vol. 1, 1923, p.10, 'Character built in fun of boys' clubs', *Chicago Illinois News* (9th May 1923).
[124] Chicago's Rotary Club followed the lead of the Rotary Club in New York who first organised a Boys Week in 1920 through its Americanization Committee, deciding that 'a very fundamental bit of Americanization consisted in improving the Americanism of the American boy.' CBWF, vol. 1, 1923, p.18, 'The week of the boy', *The Literary Digest* (21st March 1923).
[125] Ibid., p.1, Newspaper: to all local papers, 21st April 1923.

school, and developing 'the spirit of co-operation between the citizen and the Boys' worker.'[126] The week consisted of days that targeted different aspects of the boy's life. In 1923 the week began with a loyalty parade numbering 'more than 50,000', which aimed to instil in the boy 'respect and adherence to the principles of good government'.[127] One day was given over to Athletics, taking place in the schools, playgrounds, and boys' centres; Sunday was Boy's Day in Church, with church-led 'special programs, designed especially to interest boys'; Monday, Boys' Day in School and Thrift, arranged 'through the co-operation of the banks'; Tuesday, Boys' Day in Industry and Safety, a collaboration between schools and employers of labour; Wednesday, Boys' Day in Health, organized by the Health Commissioner of the city, with lessons in personal health; and Thursday, Boys' Day with Dad, a programme arranged by the YMCA, 'planned to arouse a new interest on the part of the Father in their sons, and a new interest on the part of the sons in their father.'[128] In its staging it was a clear example of the associative state; a variety of civic agencies, municipal government, industry, as well as the boy and his family, too, were brought into a mutually beneficial relationship.[129] This was reflected in the planning for the 1924 Boys' Week, when the Rotary Club was joined by business associations like the Kiwanis, Lions, and Order of Builders; boys groups like the Scouts and Clubs; the Department of Health and public schools; and the Chicago Church Federation, the YMCA and the Jewish People's Institutes, in the organizing of the event.[130]

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[126] Ibid. p.68, [Chicago Boys' Week leaflet], 1923.
[127] Ibid., p.52, 'Loyalty parade of 50,000 will open boys' week', *Chicago Daily News* (15th May 1923).
[128] Newspaper: to all local papers.
[129] See Ibid., p.47,'Men's clubs active in aiding boys work', *Chicago Illinois News* (19th May 1923), for a list of organizations involved in boys' activities.
[130] CBWF, vol. 2, 1924, p.1, 'Many join to stage Boys' Week for city', *Daily News* (10th April 1924).

Figure 5.2: A float during the opening parade of Boys' Week 1923 advertises the activities of municipally provided playgrounds, beaches, and swimming pools.

Source: CHM: Chicago Boys' Week Federation, Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings, Photographs, Forms, Posters, F38JV .C4s, vol. 1, 1923, p.33.

Health was particularly important in Boys' Week. As well as sports competitions, public lectures made explicit connections between health and citizenship. Dr. Herman Bundesen, the city Health Commissioner, gave a lecture to schoolchildren detailing how to stay healthy through diet, exercise, play, and sleep. The results of his tips would be boys 'healthy in body, in mind and in morals'.[131] This was vital for the economic and social health of the city; through keeping the 'body and mind clean' boys could 'grow up into the kind of men Chicago needs' with 'habits… that will result in' making them 'a desirable member of

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[131] CBWF, vol. 1, 1923, p.72, [Script of Herman N. Bundesen (Commissioner of Health] on How to Keep Well and Growth Strong].

[Chicago's] great community.'[132] Bundesen also prepared leaflets of basic bodily advice to be given to boys, emphasising the need to keep body, face, ears, hands, finger nails and teeth clean; hair combed and shoes shined; correct sitting and walking posture; and a diet consisting of milk, water, bread, butter, meat, egg, cereal, potato, apples, oranges, stewed fruit, and both raw and cooked vegetables.[133] This reflected the joint concern of personal health habits and diet; public health education, US contemporaries believed, would lead to healthier and happier people, and, consequently, better communities and a more productive workforce.[134]

The organisers of the Week highlighted integration, describing the opening parade as consisting of 'boys from every district and class of the city' including Boy Scouts from the 'back of the yards', a notably working-class area, marching 'beside sons of influential citizens'.[135] The parade went directly through downtown, allowing its participants to feel part of a wider civic culture – a tactic also used in the Pageant of Progress parades discussed in Chapter Three. In the Boys' Week of 1925 the organisers explicitly tried to define the ideal citizen, by searching for the 'best boy in the city' to be labelled as 'Chicago's best citizen in 1950'.[136] A combination of a hundred of the city's civic and business leaders – like the Mayor, university professors, bankers and educators – each gave their own opinion on what were the vital characteristics. The call to find this perfect citizen was spread through the local and parochial press – from the *Tribune* to small titles like the *Englewood Times*, *Logan Square Herald,* and the *Calumet Index*.[137] The qualifications, announced in May 1925, were a

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[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid., p.6, 'Boys and 'cops' end warfare, sign truce', *Chicago Illinois News* (23rd May 1923).
[134] E. Toon, 'Selling the public on public health: the Commonwealth and Milbank health demonstrations and the meaning of community health education' in *Philanthropic Foundations,* p.125.
[135] Ibid., p.4, [Untitled], *Morris, Illinois Herald* (12th May 1923).
[136] CBWF, vol. 4, 1925, p.1, 'Seek Chicago's best citizen of year 1950', *CT* (12th April 1925).
[137] Ibid. pp.7-9, 'Chicago's best citizen in 1950', *Englewood Times* (24th April 1925); 'Chicago's best citizen in 1950', *Logan Square Herald,* (24th April 1925); 'Have you the material to be this young man', *Calumet Index* (22nd April 1925).

combination of social and physical citizenship, fitting the boy into his environment, community, and workforce, as well as the nation:

> The ideal citizen of tomorrow must be clean in body, mind and speech; cheerful in work and play, an honest winner and a good loser; courteous in all contacts with others; thrifty of time and health as well as money; industrious and painstaking in the performance of all duties; ambitious, striving eagerly to succeed, but not to the detriment of others; courageous, true, loyal to friends and country, honest, fair and upright, and an all-round good fellow.[138]

This broad definition was silent on race and ethnicity. Some observers however did see the event as a manifestation of improved race relations. A housewife, Mrs. D.F. Dorsett, nostalgically compared the opening parade of Boys' Week to the World's Fair of 1893, when 'race mingled with race in harmony'.[139] One newspaper described the Week in 1925 as 'a big, hearty, entertaining, instructive display of Chicago boys – white and black, Catholic, Jew and Protestant, ragged and natty, good and not so good – at their best'.[140] During the 1929 Week, the *Chicago Defender,* a paper primarily for African-American readers, published a photograph of a parade at the Soldiers Field stadium, in which 600,000 boys participated; leading the safety patrol of the Farragut Junior High School is a black boy while, as the *Defender* notes 'Other members of the patrol are white'.[141] In another article, titled 'Our Boys Form Honor Guard in Big Parade', the *Defender* describes the various representatives of blacks in Chicago marching down Michigan Avenue in 1924, from schools, settlements, parks, and cadet corps. As the photograph by-line of a troop of black cadets notes: 'If these

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[138] Ibid., p.37, 'Boys' Week is launched today in series of games', *Chicago Post* (16th May 1925).
[139] CBWF, vol. 1, 1923, p.6, 'The inquiring reporter', *CT* (19th May 1923).
[140] CBWF, vol. 4, 1925, p.62, 'Exposition lets you into heart of Chicago' [unknown clipping].
[141] 'Chicago honors her 700,000 boys', *Chicago Defender* (1st June 1929), p.10.

young men would have attempted to enter such an event in the South they would have been placed under arrest and sentenced to the work farm or shot to death.'[142]

Figure 5.3: A black youth leads a white safety patrol of his school during Boys' Week.

Source: 'Chicago Honors Her 700,000 Boys', *The Chicago Defender* (1st June 1929), p. 10.

These examples however mask deeper unresolved issues of racism in Chicago. Controversies surrounding the American Citizenship Foundation in the 1920s display the amount of distrust regarding race and citizenship education. With plans to expand countrywide, the Foundation was explicitly nationalist, defining citizenship as one-hundred per cent Americanism, emphasising the importance of patriotism and loyalty. It claimed to be open to all regardless of race or religion, yet, in practice, this was not the case. The *Chicago Defender* took a keen

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[142] 'Our boys form honor guard in big parade', *Chicago Defender* (31st May 1924).

interest in the inclusivity of blacks within US citizenship. From exhorting blacks to become involved in the life of the city and nation, to tracking legal and societal racism, it was at the forefront of black consciousness. Questions were immediately asked of the Foundation in October 1926, when the *Defender* compared the stated aims of what it 'hoped to accomplish', like teaching children US history and traditions, or counteracting subversive societal movements, with what it 'ought to accomplish', like fighting discrimination and 'Jim Crowism in defense of our dark-skinned brothers who are denied full citizenship rights by such practices.'[143] When an invitation sent to a Chicago citizen for a Washington birthday dinner was retracted after it was discovered that the invitee was black, *the Defender* considered its suspicions confirmed, and declared that the Foundation had 'showed its true colours on the race question.'[144]

This incident shows how the race issue was always bubbling below the surface of citizenship education in Chicago. Some groups were unabashedly nativist and racist, and did not even pay lip-service to ideas of racial harmony and inclusive citizenship.[145] In others it was slightly more complicated and approaches were contradictory. The Chicago Boys' Club was at first seemingly happy to accept black members; in 1907 thirty per cent of its boys were Italians, thirty per cent Jews, fifteen per cent 'negroes', 'while only three per cent' were 'Americans'. The remaining twelve per cent represented 'almost every nation on the earth'.[146] Yet, in 1917, six years after opening, the Club closed its third location, because 'The pressure of the negro population among the whites in the neighbourhood to the east of this club… made the location… an increasingly undesirable one.'[147] While certain groups were pro-integration and worked alongside black associations, it would be naive to proclaim the

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[143] 'American citizenship', *Chicago Defender* (16th October 1926), p.3.
[144] 'That citizenship foundation', *Chicago Defender* (19th March 1927), p.2.
[145] See, most obviously, the KKK – as discussed in Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations,* p.122.
[146] CHM: Chicago Boys and Girls Club records 1901-1969, MSS Lot C, Box 1, Folder 1, 'Membership in Chicago Boys Club after Six Years, [undated – presumed c. 1907].
[147] Ibid., Folder 2, Short History of the Chicago Boys' Club (1917).

interwar period as one of a cohesive and non-discriminatory citizenship in Chicago.[148] The large majority of settlements operated in white areas and, while settlement workers supported new settlements in the Black Belt, 'they did not bring blacks and whites together in the same neighbourhood centers.' While settlements may have 'stood for the unification of a segmented society', in reality they reinforced the colour line and segregated African-Americans from the rest of the city.[149]

While Manchester's youth were not segregated by race, clubs and societies still attempted to create a sense of community, as well as reform the body. Physical training and sport for junior Co-Operative Union members, for example, was 'designed to develop the students physically and mentally, and to encourage the team spirit.'[150] David Fowler however has seen the decline of citizenship through moral education and the concurrent proliferation of games and sports as a sign of both the waning influence of clubs and the lack of importance given to citizenship. As he has argued, 'the aims of youth organisations, in the case of the lads' clubs… were either modified or simply abandoned… by the 1930s, "building up character" was no longer central to club life.'[151] Using the example of Heyrod Street and Ancoats Clubs, he sees the development of billiards, table tennis and draughts as replacing the original moral aims of clubs.[152] On the contrary, I would argue that this signified two things: first, health as the key attribute of citizenship, arising from the national efficiency debate, and second, a development from late nineteenth century form of citizenship that emphasised the individual, as opposed to the collective. A 1926 report of the Jewish Lads

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[148] The Union League developed, in 1911, out of the National League for the Protection of Colored Women; the Committee for Improving Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York; and the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes in New York. A. E. Strickland, *History of the Chicago Urban League* (Urbana, 1966).
[149] Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, pp.274-275.
[150] The Co-operative Union Limited, *Continued Education for Junior Co-Operative Employees: An Account of the Classes attended by Junior Employees in the Manchester* [Written by W.P. Rutter, Headmaster of the Peter Street Day Continuation School] (Manchester, 1929), p.7.
[151] Fowler, *The First Teenagers,* p.159.
[152] Ibid*.,* p.141.

Brigade, for example, highlighted the importance of self-discipline, yet linked this discipline to the ability to work towards a general 'harmony' so 'all may march in unison': the 'collective effort alone' mattered.[153] This was not just apparent in sports and boys' clubs, but also in the Band of Hope temperance movement, which, by the end of the nineteenth century, was increasingly 'oriented towards training children who would be easily integrated into the community' and, concurrently, 'less emphasis on individuals' heroic exploits'[154] and in the content of popular fiction for boys which, between 1890 and 1920, began to shift away from heroic, individualist tales towards stories that encouraged boys to think of themselves in terms of the community they lived in; by the end of the interwar period manliness in boys' fiction was based around conformity to society and its greater good.[155]

Figure 5.4: the Gymnastic squad of the Salford Lads' Club performs a gymnastic routine in 1930, displaying teamwork as well as individual strength and fitness.

Source: Salford Lads' Club website, accessed 12th April 2013,
http://salfordladsclub.org.uk/2013/03/salford-sirens-a-match-for-the-lads/

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[153] GMCRO: Jewish Lads' Brigade, GB127.M130, Box 3, Grove House Club Correspondence, What a Game, 1927, pp.6-7.
Pp.8-9.
[154] Shiman, 'The band of hope movement', p.69.
[155] K. Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: a Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp.70-101.

Collective citizenship was also clear in the activities of the Co-operative Society of Manchester. As a 1923 report stated:

> The energy and fire of adolescence cannot find free and full expression in industrial and commercial occupations, and so the task of the co-operative educationist is not to further repress that energy but to afford it opportunity for expression in a manner consistent with the development of the co-operative movement in its widest sense.[156]

In 1936 the Union further elaborated on this aim, describing the reorientation of citizenship away from individualism toward community and cohesion, stating 'the object for Co-operative education is to prepare co-operators for co-operative citizenship in a Society in which Co-operation has replaced individualism and competition.'[157] By employing popular forms of recreation, clubs created an environment where a collective yet competitive spirit, vital for providing a productive workforce, could be generated under the watchful eyes of association leaders.[158] In the Grove House Club the Entertainments Committee organised dances and concerts for both girls and boys, and chess, draughts, dominoes and other table games were played regularly in local leagues. To gain access to these popular pursuits, new members were examined by a medical officer and provision was 'made for each boy to have one hour's physical training at least weekly when he takes part in drill, gymnastics, or physical games', showing the various ways that the health element was still important in popular leisure.[159] The result of the increasing importance of games and sport in both cities therefore was its ability to retain a focus on individual health, yet also move away from individualist definitions of citizenship to one that considered youths as part of a collectively

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[156] H.J. Twigg, *Junior Co-Operators and their Organisation: Being a thesis prepared in connection with the first award of the Co-operative Union's Honours Diploma in Co-operation, and issued by the Central Education Committee of the Co-operative Unon LTD* (Manchester, 1923), p.10.

[157] Co-operative Union Ltd, *Ten year Plan for Co-operative Education: Being the first programme of work to be undertaken during the year 1936... issued by the national educational council* (undated), p.18.

[158] Long, 'From danger and motherhood', pp.457-458.

[159] GMCRO: Jewish Lads' Brigade, GB127.M130, Box 3, Grove House Club Correspondence, Annual Report, 1928, pp.6-7.

bonded society. Due to the crowded and public nature of the modern city individualism was unsuitable, and co-operation necessary.[160] A variety of voluntary agencies worked towards these goals yet, increasingly, the power of the state, particularly in the 1930s, meant that these agencies had the chance to both modify and coalesce with new arenas of publically provided citizenship formation, like the state-provided school.

Civic Culture and the Rise of the School

Associations could never reach every youth in the city. A 1921 study in Chicago surveyed 297 agencies that worked with youth and calculated that of the 325,000 boys in Chicago between the ages of ten and twenty, only 52,912 (16.2 per cent) used organised recreation. Even this estimate was 'generous' due to the belief that 'the same boys' were 'probably enrolled in more than one organization.'[161] This reveals the general problem of youth and leisure; while the study recognised that 'an organized boys' club is a wonderful influence in the life of a boy', it also emphasised that in many neighbourhoods there were seventy-thousand people in one square mile, most of the lots had unsupervised rear buildings, and the usual playground was still the street. The study concluded that 'no matter how many and how efficient the boys' clubs of the city are, they cannot do the whole job.'[162] Still, by the end of the 1930s, the reach of associations was wide; figures provided by the Chicago Recreation Commission investigation of five areas suggested that youth involvement in supervised recreation was approximately eighty per cent.[163] Yet within Chicago there were significant differences between areas in the extent of supervised recreation. South Chicago,

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[160] Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals,* pp.147-148.
[161] Chicago Council of Social Agencies, *Preliminary Inquiry into Boys' Work in Chicago*, p.24.
[162] *Ibid.,* pp.8-9.
[163] This calculation is based on the figures given for the Lower North Side (84.6 per cent), Greater South Chicago (62.1 per cent), Greater Fuller Park (90 per cent), Near West Side (82.8 per cent) and Greater Hyde Park (91.9 per cent). Unfortunately, this calculation does not take into account the number of inhabitants in each area, and as such should be treated as a general trend rather than an exact conclusion.

predominantly African-American, lacked recreation agencies and had the lowest participation, with 62.1 per cent of boys and 41.4 per cent of girls being involved in 1938. In contrast, supervised recreation in Fuller Park, made up of various white ethnicities like Polish, Italian, Irish, and German, reached over ninety per cent of boys and seventy-five per cent of girls at some point during that year.[164]

Social agencies in Chicago therefore increasingly looked to the municipal as the primary agent of citizenship, as the balance in civic culture changed. Playgrounds created in Chicago during the 'child saving' movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were taken over by the city.[165] After campaigning by Jane Addams, Graham Taylor of the Chicago Commons, and Charles Zueblin of the Northwestern University Settlement, municipal government ensured its responsibility for urban playgrounds with the construction of the South Park system in 1903, which contained ten parks in the 'most congested, impoverished immigrant wards' and accommodated approximately five million people from the South Side annually.[166] By 1920 voluntary play organisations were overshadowed by the public school, a result with which the promoters of the play movement were happy.[167] The Chicago Association of Commerce could contrast the situation in 1905, when the municipal operated seven playgrounds, with an annual expenditure of $23,000, with that of 1925, when it controlled twenty-two municipal playgrounds; seventy-two small parks; four bathing beaches; four sanatoriums; the Municipal Pier; twenty public baths and four pubic comfort stations, with an 'annual appropriation' of $700,000.[168]

Associational culture however did not abandon the child to the municipally-run schools; civic groups and municipal authorities treated the welfare of children as a joint

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[164] Chicago Recreation Commission, *Recreation and Delinquency*, p.154.
[165] Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals,* p.29.
[166] Ibid., p.30.
[167] Ibid., p.48.
[168] 'Survey of public improvements' in *Survey of Chicago,* p.17.

concern, and often worked in tandem, as described in Chapter Four. This was particularly apparent as conditions changed during the 1930s depression. In the Montefiore School in Chicago, the report for 1933-34 claimed that it was 'impossible to discuss all of the social agencies that have worked with the school'.[169] General organisations like the United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau, women's interest groups like the Chicago Woman's Club and Chicago Woman's Aid, specific children's interest associations like the YMCA and Union League Foundation for Boys, and settlements like the Chicago Commons, all worked alongside each other. Northwestern University Settlement supplemented the 168 free lunches served by the school by delivering sandwiches daily. Clothing was consistently provided by the Women's Club, while the School Children's Aid cared for 175 boys and gave 229 complete outfits – making it possible for seventy-three graduating boys to appear 'on this day of their greatest success in a manner befitting the occasion.'[170] On other occasions, the relationship between associations and schools was more formal. In 1919, for example, the Women's Club agreed to the Board of Education's request to provide two directors for a 'Vacation School' in the First Ward.[171]

Several clubs and movements in Manchester found the interwar period one of either stagnation or decline.[172] Contemporaries claimed that the cost of clubs was prohibitive, especially during the depression. Certainly, some pursuits were denied to the poorest members of society.[173] Some associations recognised this and attempted to remedy the problem of pricing; the 1st Broughton Troop of Boy Scouts in 1926, for example, conceded that the entrance fee 'was thought to be rather too much, and that it sometimes prevented boys from joining' and consequently lowered admission prices from 1s to 6d for scouts, and

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[169] Chicago Board of Education, *5th Annual Report of Montefiore School, 1933-34* (Chicago, 1934), p.25.
[170] Ibid.
[171] CHM: Chicago Woman's Club records, 1876-1998, MSS Lot C, Box 6, Chicago Woman's Club Board Meetings 1919-20, 30th April 1919, p.5.
[172] Fowler, *The First Teenagers,* p.138.
[173] Ibid*.,* p.139.

6d to 3d for cubs.[174] Others were more relaxed and approached the question of payment on a case-by-case basis. In many respects however the availability of other unregulated pursuits was too great; the Hulme Lads' Club acknowledged that 'the Club suffered from the competition of outside sources such as Picture Houses' and that 'boys seemed to be able to find enough money for these entertainments but would not keep up their Club subscriptions.'[175] The Ancoats Lads' Club shared this view, lamenting 'Lads' Clubs nowadays must be up-to-date if they are in any way to be a counter attraction to the growing and not too elevating influence of the cinema'.[176] Sunday Schools especially suffered; as the Lancashire Congregational Union noted in the late 1920s, 'we have been compelled to face the disheartening experience of retreat from positions gained, and a consequent loss thereby of hope and initiative.' Particularly concerning was the fact that, in Lancashire, the Sunday Schools had seen a decrease of twenty-thousand scholars between 1907-1926, arguably reflecting the growing, though uneven, secularisation of leisure in the period.[177]

Some contemporaries in Manchester still believed that the associational approach to youth citizenship was still working. In the report of the Manchester Citizens' Association in 1928, for example, the police reported that 'the neighbourhood has been much quieter and there has been less trouble all round since the Club was opened' as well as promising 'to give their help in any way possible.'[178] The Union League Boys Clubs' in Chicago also judged success by this measure; the district where Boys' Club No. One was located reported a

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[174] GMCRO: Lower Broughton, The Ascension, GB127.L154/5/5/2, The Societies, 1st Broughton Troop of Boy Scouts, Minutes, Meeting of the Scout Council held in the Duke Street School,14th April, 1926.
[175] GMCRO: Hulme Lads' Club, GB127.M716, Box 2, Procter Gymnasium and Hulme Lads' Club, Minutes of Meetings of the Officers Council, 3rd April 1928, p.52.
[176] Fowler, *The First Teenagers,* p.140.
[177] GMCRO: Zion United Reformed Church, Zion Crescent, GB127.M187/24, Manchester Sunday School Union, Lancashire Congregational Union: Young People's Committee (undated, presumed late-1920s). Though there is disagreement on the periodisation of secularisation, many have identified the 1920s and 1930s as witnessing clear signs of the waning influence of religion on leisure-time. See J. Morris, 'The strange death of Christian Britain: another look at the secularization debate', *The Historical Journal*, 46, no. 4 (2003).
[178] Manchester Citizen's Clubs Association, *Report for 1928*.

seventy-six per cent decrease in juvenile crime after a year in operation,[179] and Club No. Two reported a decrease of 68.1 per cent in neighbourhood delinquency after twenty months.[180] The *Chicago Illinois News* supported these statistics, stating that 'Before… the Union League Boys' Club opened, the boys in these respective neighbourhoods engaged in petty thieving, breaking street lights, and destroying property to relieve the drab, dull monotony of life.'[181] Other observers in Manchester had a more damning view of the efforts of associations in regulating the citizenship of youth. In their study of Hulme, Moore and James concluded that 'existing clubs touch too small a proportion of the population, occupy too small a percentage of leisure time and fill that percentage with too trivial activities, for their practical effect upon adolescence to be important.'[182] Only a minority of young people participated in youth organizations, while the majority were influenced by education.[183]

In Manchester, more so than Chicago, the municipal, acting through the school, directly took over some of the functions of associational culture.[184] Recognising by 1934 that 'Provision is now made in various ways by the State, Municipalities, and other bodies for school children' the Hulme Lads' Club instead focused its energies on the young adult worker.[185] The most comprehensive example of the ascension of the municipal at the expense of voluntary associational culture in the city was the Evening Play Centres movement. Initiated first at the Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, London, in 1897, the centres aimed to provide a place for children 'who had nothing better to do than to play in the gutter… and to form small gangs on the lookout for accidents or fights.[186] In 1904, a small

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[179] Grant, *Fight for a City*, p.221.
[180] 'A Special Study of the Boy Situation in Chicago', p.16.
[181] CBWF, vol. 1, 1923, 'Chicago leads in helping her boys', *Chicago Illinois News* (7th May 1923), p.51.
[182] James and Moore, 'Adolescent leisure in a working-class district', p.145.
[183] Stevenson, *British Society 1914-1945*, p.248.
[184] This reflects the increasing problems of corruption and lack of funding to schools in Chicago, described in Chapter Six.
[185] Annual Report of the Procter Gymnasium and Hulme Lads' Club for the year ended 30th June 1934, p.5.
[186] J.P. Trevelyan and Mrs. H. Ward, *Evening Play Centres for Children: the Story of their Origin and Growth* (London, 1920), p.xi and p.3.

committee of local dignitaries in London, including members of parliament, was formed to lay the proposal of Evening Play Centres in schools before the Education Committee of the London County Council. This resulted in the formation of seven centres in schools across the city.[187] Under wartime conditions of a rise in juvenile crime, the central state recognised the usefulness of the movement and in 1917 empowered the Board of Education to offer grants to Local Education Authorities for the formation of evening play centres.[188]

The Education Committee of Manchester's City Council, 'regardful of the wider training of future citizens', took advantage of these grants, and opened eight centres in September, 1917; three centres in September, 1918; four centres in September, 1919; two centres in January, 1920; two centres in November, 1920; and, finally, two new centres in 1925.[189] Centres were purposefully located in congested working-class districts like Ancoats, Ardwick, Blackley, Cheetham, Chortlon-on-Medlock, City, Clayton, Hulme, Openshaw, and Miles Platting.[190] Open four evenings each week from September to March and three evenings March to June, they provided the same environment as lads' clubs, concentrating on self-reliance, self-control, and the rational use of leisure time.[191] Above all, they provided 'enjoyable physical and mental recreation free from the rough and tumble and aimlessness of play in confined streets': the defining aspect of youth citizenship training in interwar Britain.[192] Centres were a cooperative endeavour of the central state, which provided funding, the local state, which provided buildings and staff, and associations, which provided volunteers. The movement was regarded as successful. As a survey of education in Manchester stated, in 1916, before the first centre was opened, 889 cases were brought before

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[187] Ibid., p.12.
[188] Ibid., p.55.
[189] MEC, *General Survey: 1914-24* (1926, Manchester), pp.71-2.
[190] Ibid., p.76.
[191] MEC, *Education in Manchester: a Survey of Progress 1924-1934* (Manchester, 1935), p.167.
[192] GMCRO: 352.042 M12, The City of Manchester, *Epitome of Proceedings of Committees,* vol. 36, 1918-1919, MEC, The Programme, 19th May 1919, p.290.

the juvenile courts; by 1924 this had fallen to 258 cases.[193] In 1918 there were already 6,552 children registered, rising to a peak of 14,142 in 1924. While these attendance figures are impressive, the proportion of those registered represented only 5.3 per cent of children attending the elementary schools in 1918, and 12.4 per cent in 1924.[194]

There were still examples of a coalition of the municipal and the associational. The Girls' Friendly Society Guides of Eccles in Manchester, for example, held its activities in the local schools.[195] The School Medical Department particularly cooperated with the Surgical Aid Society; the Police Aided Society (for clothing and footwear for poorer children); and the City League of Help (for voluntary assistance taking children to and from appointments at School Clinics when parents were unable).[196] The Co-operative Union of Manchester particularly offers an example of the way the school linked with voluntary associations to create a new space for citizenship training. Beginning in 1921, the Co-operative Union organised continued education for boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen employed in wholesale and retail trade, office, bank, insurance, factory, and milk boys, amongst others.[197] The emphasis of classes was 'not only on intellectual advancement and commercial and industrial efficiency, but more especially on the development of character.'[198] Classes would provide a 'training for life': 'a life in which all our faculties are developed – our bodies pure and fit, our minds keen and alert, and our creative spirits fine and firm.'[199] Classes were organised by the Manchester Education Committee, who provided teachers and equipment, and held in YMCA buildings. The co-operative societies allowed their employees to attend 'one half-day of four hours, or, in a minority of cases, two half-days of three hours each' and

[193] MEC, *General Survey*, p.78.
[194] Ibid.
[195] GMCRO: Eccles, St. Andrew, GB127.L286/5/5, Girls' Friendly Society, Guides (undated, presumed 1925).
[196] City of Manchester Education Committee, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the School Medical Officer for the year ended 31st December, 1923* (Manchester, 1924), p.39.
[197] The Co-operative Union limited, *Continued Education for Junior Co-Operatives*, p.3.
[198] Ibid., pp.2-3.
[199] Ibid.

paid all travelling expenses.[200] For the first course in autumn, 1921, 214 boys and girls were enrolled; by 1929 this had increased to 750.[201] Through a sharing of civic responsibility between government, industry, and associational culture, attempts were made to create a citizen who fitted the prerogatives of all three: healthy, enterprising, and community orientated.

Conclusion

During the interwar period there was a wide network of different agencies using similar techniques to inculcate citizenship in the minds and bodies of the young, with varying degrees of success. In Manchester certain organisations struggled with both financing and declining attendance, as the lure of new forms of leisure proved strong. New organisations were formed, however, and associations could still claim to be important parts of the network of bodies concerned with youth citizenship in the 1930s. In Chicago the interwar period saw expansion in the number of youth-targeted associations, reflecting the particularly tumultuous reality and public opinion of the city during the Jazz Age of the 1920s. Fundamental however was the inability of these associations, and the events they created, to overcome the issues of unequal provision based on racial neighbourhoods, and the issue of black inclusion within youth citizenship. In neither Manchester nor Chicago could associations claim to reach the majority of youth.

Youth was still on the citizenship agenda at the end of the 1930s and, increasingly, youths were reached by local and central government initiatives. Under the New Deal funding in the US, agencies that worked with youth, like social settlements and organisations like the YMCA, received a boost to their citizenship activities, as we saw in Chapter Four.

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[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.

Increasingly however the federal government dealt directly with youths, through initiatives like the Civilian Conservation Corps, which employed young men on projects like tree planting, road construction, and bridge improvements.[202] Alongside this was increasing emphasis placed on keeping students in school.[203] In Britain, with the realisation that international conflict was likely, the terms of the 1937 Physical Training and Recreation Act created local committees to direct central government funding towards both Local Education Authority and voluntary associations to provide or increase recreational facilities.[204] As the last section of this chapter began to elaborate, municipal government was increasingly either working alongside associations or taking over their functions. Nowhere was the rise of government in the creation of youth citizens as clear as in the school, the most important point of contact between the state and the child in the interwar period. Importantly, educators heightened, perfected, and institutionalised a bodily-focused mode of governance, transcending beyond informal associational culture provided environments in their level of sophistication. Chapter Six therefore will analyse the school and reveal the fundamental expression of health and cooperation as the key signifiers of interwar citizenship, as provided by the state.

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[202] See K.E. Hendrickson, 'Replenishing the soil and the soul of Texas: the Civilian Conservation Corps in the lone star state as an example of state-federal work relief during the Great Depression', *The Historian,* 65 (2003) and J.A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1943: a New Deal Case Study* (Durham, NC, 1967).
[203] Savage, *Teenage,* p.292.
[204] Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men,* p.163.

Chapter Six

Health, Behaviour, and the School

The problem of youth citizenship was conceptualised by sociologists and associations as how to replace the corrupting influence of street culture. The interwar state-provided school offered an unrivalled opportunity to achieve this, reaching a much larger amount of children, and keeping them under closer supervision for a longer amount of time. Importantly, the school also institutionalised the use of medical discourses of health and efficiency, relating them directly to the citizenship of children. Educators proclaimed the interwar period as a new age of importance for child-centred conceptions of citizenship. In 1925 a Manchester council publication stated that the 'modern conception of the school is that it should deal with all the aspects of the life of the child – his physical well-being and his intellectual, moral and social training.'[1] In Chicago the Board of Education in 1933 also recognised that the 'full purpose of modern education is the uniform development of the mental, moral and physical attributes of the individual.'[2] This chapter discusses the bodily practices and physical environment of the school, showing how the creation of knowledge about pupils and buildings was used to inform physical education, health education, and the construction of classrooms. As with associational culture, there was a shift in emphasis away from traditional liberal individualist education for self-improvement towards education that helped fit the citizen into his or her city; in Britain, a central Board of Education report in 1927 discussed the conflict between educating older children as individuals and educating in order to

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[1] Anderson, *How Manchester is Managed,* p.84. This was in line with central government views. Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent* (London, 1927), pp.xxiii-xxiv.

[2] Chicago Board of Education, *5th Annual Report of Montefiore School*, p.44.

recognise 'the claims and needs of the society in which every individual citizen must live.'[3] In Manchester's Education Week of 1924, held to reveal to parents and the community the work of schools, these changes were expressed: 'It is now generally accepted that education should… produce men and women possessing such civic and social conscience as will cause them to use their abilities for the general good.'[4] The Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for Chicago made a similar point in 1925, proclaiming that 'The hope of our civilization rests on the quality of our citizenship more than upon the quality of leadership… All school activity should be directed toward social duties… The object of schools is to be the formation of habits. This is more important than knowledge and information.'[5]

For educators and contemporary commentators the school could correct the failings of other societal agencies.[6] In 1916, the Director of the Juvenile Court in Manchester issued a report blaming rising juvenile crime on the 'deficiencies of many homes' and 'lax parental control', concluding that voluntary organisations were 'incapable of dealing with the problem in the comprehensive way the situation demanded.'[7] He recommended that the school 'counteract the deficiencies' of parents and voluntary organisations.[8] One assistant school medical officer in Manchester blamed the general fatigue of children on careless, over-indulgent, or mistakenly kind parents, who allowed the child to stay up at night, play in the streets, or worse, accompany their parents to the cinema.[9] In the US, too, as Marvin Lazerson and David Tyack have emphasised, educational leaders at the beginning of the twentieth century saw the extension of education as the answer to the negative effects of urban and

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[3] Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent,* p.100.
[4] MEC, *Education Week Handbook* (Manchester, 1924), p.7.
[5] Chicago Board of Education, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the year ending June 30 1925* (Chicago, 1925), p.103.
[6] 'Manchester justices', *MG* (8th January 1916), p.8. The rise in crime in cities across Britain was attributed to lack of parental influence due to fathers being away at war.
[7] MEC, *General Survey,* p.68.
[8] Ibid*.,* p.67.
[9] City of Manchester Education Committee, *Annual Report of the Acting School Medical Officer Dr Henry Herd 1930* (Manchester, 1931), p.13.

industrial strain, and the fragmentation of the social fabric due to extensive immigration.[10] With the perceived failure of the workplace, the family, and the community as effective sites of citizenship formation came a 'general expansion and intensification of schooling as a means of civic socialization for all youth.'[11] In 1934 the Chicagoan political scientist Charles Merriam accordingly stated that 'Of all the agencies of social training' the school had emerged 'as by far the most important in our time and country.'[12] By 1940, the Chicago Board of Education agreed, stating the school had increased its purview over the 'many services that were formerly performed by the home, the church and other community or private agencies'.[13]

Before the interwar period school attendance in both cities grew rapidly, as education became a key area of social and political intervention. Between 1893 and 1902, a combination of Progressive reformers, business owners, and organised labour leaders succeeded in pressuring the state legislature of Illinois into passing child labour and compulsory education laws that lengthened the school year and raised the minimum dropout age to sixteen.[14] Consequently, between 1910 and 1920 total school attendance in Chicago rose by 26.4 per cent,[15] with African-American enrolment increasing by 185.2 per cent.[16] A greater emphasis than ever before was placed on public education.[17] In Britain, national legislation like the Education Act of 1918 raised the school leaving age to fourteen, while

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[10] M.F. Lazerson, *Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870–1915* (Cambridge, MA, 1971); D. Tyack, *The One Best System: a History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA, 1974).
[11] Olneck, 'American public schooling', pp.107-108.
[12] C.E. Merriam, *Civic Education in the United States* (Chicago, 1934)*,* p.68.
[13] Chicago Board of Education, *The Montefiore Special School Report* (1940), p.1.
[14] Diamond, *Mean Streets,* p.88. M.J. Herrick, *The Chicago Schools: a Social and Political History* (Beverley Hills, 1971).
[15] Homel, *Down From Equality,* p.6.
[16] Ibid. As Diamond has calculated, for the fourteen and fifteen age group, 'the percentage of second-generation ethnics enrolled rose from 66.3 per cent to 94.4; for immigrant youths in this same age range, the rate increased from 54.9 to 94.3' between 1910 and 1930. Diamond, *Mean Streets,* p.90.
[17] D.A. Gyure, *The Chicago Schoolhouse: High School Architecture and Educational Reform, 1856-2006* (Chicago, 2011). For an account of the progressive era and education in Chicago, see John, *Class and Reform.*

prohibiting the employment of children below that age in factories, mines or workshops.[18] By 1924 there were 150 infant schools in Manchester, attended by 35,000 pupils, with a programme of new schools planned to meet the swelling demand.[19] While school-building met periodic problems of funding, in 1938 Shena Simon could claim that education in Manchester had seen 'the greatest advance along all lines', with increases in secondary schools and nursery classes, the development of the School Medical Service, and new buildings in 'larger playgrounds than ever before.'[20]

In both cities therefore the school had become the most prominent educational influence in the life of the child, offering an unrivalled opportunity to create citizens. This chapter will first look at how a focus on the body as a means of citizenship education took place in the processes of identifying physical and mental defects in children, and how such defects were rectified through school medical services and physical education. Section two will then concentrate on the actual physical environment of the school, detailing the technologies and discourses that allowed and promoted a space conducive to citizenship to be maintained, and the inherent values that this implied. The conclusion will question the success of these techniques in the context of depression and racial tension in the interwar period.

Bodily Education

Under the conditions of calls for national efficiency, discussed in Chapter Five, governmental reports in Britain highlighted the link between citizenship and the body, and recommended a system of physical education; the 1904 report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on

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[18] F. Smith, 'The nation's schools' and G. Newman, 'The health of the people' in *A Century of Municipal Progress*. D. Gillard, *Education in England: a brief history,* accessed online 10th November 2011, www.educationengland.org.uk/history (2011),

[19] Anderson, *How Manchester is Managed*, p.84.

[20] Simon, *A Century,* p.273.

Physical Deterioration in particular advised that Local Education Authorities (LEAs) should provide facilities for physical training indoors as well as playgrounds outdoors.[21] In lectures given to school doctors in 1906 by Thomas Horsfall, prominent social reformer and driving force behind the Manchester and Salford Citizens' Association for the Improvement of the Unwholesome Dwellings and Surroundings of the People,[22] emphasis was placed on the ability of physical training to create 'strong, healthy, industrious, honest, happy citizens, able and willing to drive out from their country the drunkenness, gambling, licentious, lying, dishonesty, and physical deterioration which now hold her in bondage.'[23] These recommendations were enshrined in the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907, which introduced a system of medical inspection, and the Education (Provision of Meals) Act of 1906, which introduced free school meals.[24] According to the Central Medical Officer, George Newman, physical education was a method of preventive medicine, treating problems like flat-feet, curvature of the spine, adenoids, deafness, and 'mental deficiency'.[25] Board of Education publications highlighted the moral aspects of physical education, arguing that it was 'a natural and convenient means of teaching the value of mutual co-operation and assistance, of laying… the foundations of an understanding of good citizenship.'[26] During the war contemporaries re-emphasised the growing pre-war importance of education for both economic progress and military advantage.[27] This ideology was apparent in the beliefs of the Reconstruction Committee of the government, which was tasked with discovering what measures could develop the strength and vitality of the nation, with education being seen as particularly significant.[28] Emphasis on physical education and citizenship re-emerged even

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[21] Welshman, 'Physical culture and sport', p.55.
[22] Shapely, *The Politics of Housing*, p.92.
[23] Welshman, 'Physical culture and sport', p.61.
[24] Ibid., p.56.
[25] Ibid., p.34.
[26] Ibid., p.62.
[27] G. Bernbaum, *Social Change and the Schools 1918-1944* (London, 1967), p.16.
[28] G. Sherington, *English Education, Social Change and War 1911-20* (Manchester, 1981), p.91.

more powerfully in the latter years of the 1930s against the backdrop of the rise of fascism in Europe, renewed fears of national efficiency in Britain, and the rise of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology – a key influence in the discourse of healthy school design, as I discuss in section two.[29]

By the 1920s, Manchester's city council was committed to an extensive programme of physical education and care. Describing the situation before 1914, the Manchester Education Committee [MEC] commented that 'Some little attention had… been given to physical drill' but 'the idea of caring for the body, the prevention or care of childish ailments, and the proper physical development of the children, had not received great consideration.'[30] In contrast, the following decade provided 'a story of physical care for the child in Elementary School which reads more like a romance than a part of the history of educational administration.'[31] In 1923, the report of the school medical officer gave special attention to the relationship between physique and educational attainment and found that it was 'a very important factor', consequently recommending that physical training should be taught or advised upon by a specialist.[32] By 1924, two hours a week were devoted to physical education in the elementary schools, given in daily lessons that emphasised breathing exercises, movements to develop the different parts of the body, running, marching, and games.[33] While recognising that 'as far as possible, the lessons should be taken in the open air', showing the prominence of the open-air school movement, the MEC also published a

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[29] Welshman, 'Physical culture and sport'*, pp.69-71. C.S. Myers and H.J. Welch, *Ten years of Industrial Psychology: an Account of the First Decade of the NIIP* (London, 1932); A.H. Seymour, 'Progress of the investigation' in *School Buildings: Papers Presented to the Meeting of Members and Officials of Local Education Authorities at the Folkestone Conference of the NUT, National Union of Teachers* (London, 1932); Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* p.183.

[30] MEC, *General Survey,* p.24.

[31] Ibid.

[32] City of Manchester Education Committee, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the School Medical Officer for the year ended 31st December, 1923* (Manchester, 1924), p.80.

[33] MEC, *Education Week,* p.67.

manual of exercises and guidelines for physical education in the classroom.[34] Teachers were advised to scrutinise each bodily movement and measure its accuracy and precision.[35] Exercises were carried out through a combination of single and group work led by the teacher, and progress was measured through Posture Tests, both sitting and standing.[36] Above all, exercises were designed to encourage discipline, the acceptance of school authority, and prepare pupils for the 'stress and strain' of life after education.[37]

Historian David Churchill has seen the development of the physical education curriculum in Chicago as emerging from the effect of the urban environment and immigration at the end of the nineteenth century. Between 1899 and 1900, under the guidance of Chicago physician and school board trustee Dr. W.S. Christopher, thousands of Chicago's primary, grammar, and high school students were scrutinised, measured, weighed, tested, and diagrammed.[38] The aim of this investigation was to establish the fitness of the student body, now made up of many new arrivals from eastern and southern Europe, as against what Christopher saw as a 'normal' sample of students from Alcott Primary, a school that consisted of mostly native-born students.[39] Connecting children's intellectual and mental capabilities to physical fitness and strength, the doctors concluded that, on average, the students 'who have made greater intellectual advancement are on the whole taller, heavier, stronger' and 'possessed a greater endurance.'[40] In order to remedy the 'inferior' children, a programme of exercise based on scientific physical culture was recommended as 'the truest

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[34] MEC, *Physical Education in the Classroom* (Manchester, 1920), p.3. There is an extensive literature on the open-air movement. See, for example, F. Wilmot and P. Saul, *A Breath of Fresh Air: Birmingham's Open-Air Schools 1911-1970* (Chichester, 1998); A. Chatelet, 'A breath of fresh air: open-air schools in Europe' in M. Gutman and N. de Coninck-Smith (eds), *Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space and the Material Culture of Children* (New Brunswick, 2008); and the various essays in A. Chalet, J. Luc and D. Lerch (eds), *Open-Air Schools: An Educational and Architectural Venture in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Paris, 2003).
[35] MEC, *Physical Education,* p.4.
[36] Ibid*.,* p.5.
[37] City of Manchester Education Committee, *Annual Report of the Acting School Medical Officer Dr Henry Herd 1931* (Manchester, 1932), p.63.
[38] Churchill, 'Making broad shoulders', p.341.
[39] Ibid., p.342.
[40] Ibid., p.346.

road to building the ideal type of body, an ideal intimately linked to notions of intellectual, social, as well as physical superiority.'[41]

The Chicago Board of Education was in tune with these currents, and employed its first physical culture instructor in 1889, as well as undertaking a programme of gymnasium construction, with all twenty-one high schools attaining a space dedicated to physical culture by 1913, compared to none in 1880.[42] Churchill makes a distinction between what he sees as two types of physical culture: firstly a programme drawing on European - especially German - influences, based on gymnastics, calisthenics, and weight training; and secondly, a programme that promoted athletics or sports like football, baseball, and boxing.[43] This second wave gradually supplanted, though never replaced, the first. While both built and trained the body, the second also taught comradeship.[44] After 1920 physical education continued to grow in importance in Chicago. From 31st August 1928, elementary school students had to complete a year's work in physical education, comprising of at least 144 forty minute periods, in order to graduate.[45] By the mid-1930s, the Board of Education employed a director and two supervisors to organise and supervise the physical education department, as well as 231 teachers of physical education for the 309 elementary schools.[46]

The trend towards recognising the importance of athletics and games for the values it imparted as well as its impact on the body was as evident in schools as the youth associations discussed in Chapter Five. In 1919 the Chicago Board of Education defined physical education as having multiple aims: 'neuro-muscular training, bodily and mental poise, correct

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[41] Ibid., p.347.

[42] Ibid., p.363. A teacher to take charge of physical education in the grammar grades of elementary schools was first appointed in 1885, and extended to the primary grades and high schools in 1889. H. Suder, *Light Gymnastics for Elementary Schools* (Chicago, 1916), p.8.

[43] Churchill, 'Making broad shoulders', pp.350-351. Each lesson targeted every part of the physical body, and was led by commands from the teacher, occasionally accompanied by rhythmic music. Suder, *Light Gymnastics for Elementary Schools,* p.9.

[44] Churchill, 'Making broad shoulders', pp.350-351.

[45] J. F. Williams and F.W. Maroney, 'Health and physical education' in G.D. Strayer (ed.), *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago, Illinois,* vol. 3 (New York, 1932), p.162.

[46] Ibid., p.163.

posture, organized vigor, strength and endurance, co-operation, self-subordination, obedience to authority, courage, higher ideals, [and] a wholesome habit of recreation.'[47] In 1929 the handbook for pupils of the Junior High Schools stated that 'Physical Education helps your body to grow, and helps you to be a good sport and a good team-worker.'[48] The social value of sport and games was seen as just as important as the physical and mental, since physical education could promote 'such moral and social qualities as appreciation, team-play, honesty, neatness, alertness, and self-reliance.'[49] According to Donald Mrozek, sport became more about self-expression and 'getting along' with others than inculcating values of self-sacrifice and dedication for national health.[50] As Annegret Staiger has elaborated, athletics and team games were increasingly viewed by contemporaries as a potential site of civic patriotism; in 1915 the National Educational Association of America stated that 'In the boy's mind, the football team is not only an aggregation of individuals organized to play, but a social instrument with common needs, working along common lines and embodying a common purpose.'[51] These values were also evident in the physical education and training of girls in the US.[52] Schooling, therefore, could reflect both individualist and collective values.[53] Furthermore, a focus on practical expressions of community and common purpose through sport could overcome the evident issues of teaching values to classes often made up of pupils whose first language was not English.[54]

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[47] Chicago Board of Education, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the year ending June 30 1924* (Chicago, 1924), p.41.

[48] Vocational Guidance Bureau of the Chicago Board of Education, *Junior High School: a Book of Information for Sixth and Seventh Grade Boys and Girls and Their Parents* (Chicago, 1929), p.10.

[49] Chicago Board of Education, *Report of the Superintendent of Schools of the City of Chicago for the year ending June 11, 1937* (Chicago, 1937), pp.71-72.

[50] Mrozek, 'Sport in American life', p.23.

[51] V.K. Froula, 'Extra-curricular activities: their relation to the curricular work of the school', *National Association Proceedings* (1915), pp.738-739. Cited in A. Staiger, 'School walls as battle grounds: technologies of power, space and identity', *Paedagogica Historica*, 41, no. 4-5 (2005), p.563.

[52] Verbrugge, 'Recreating the body', pp.290-292.

[53] M. Cohen, 'Reconsidering schools and the American welfare state', *History of Education Quarterly,* 45, no. 4 (2005), p.513.

[54] Olneck, 'American public schooling', p.110.

For Britain, John Welshman has seen the origins of this change in the period 1890-1910, as contemporary commentators highlighted the ability of games, gymnastics and camping to improve children's health, solve the physical deterioration caused by urban conditions, and instil morality and discipline.[55] As physical education grew in importance in Manchester a similar transition was made from a dependence on bodily movements and drill, to emphasis on games and athletics. By the 1920s this resulted in a growing emphasis on team sport, as schools held sports days and organised football, cricket, and netball leagues.[56] The notion of 'discipline' was increasingly posited more in terms relating to civic responsibility, while also acknowledging individual independence. After 1919, according to the MEC, a 'more elastic system of bodily education' introduced elements of 'freedom and joy' into physical training. Exercises aimed to remove the distinction 'between work and play', using organised games, swimming, and folk dancing alongside older methods of regimented drill.[57] Games, along with societies and prefect systems, provided opportunities for pupils to 'exercise leadership and bear responsibility' so the child could learn 'the practical value of social order, of justice and tolerance' and become 'a better citizen.'[58] Team games were a continuation of the ideals of drill and gymnastics in as much as they taught self-discipline and respect, yet different in the way that this was manifested as a responsibility to others and their community.[59] Sport, therefore, could create a sense of collective identity.

In other ways attention was paid to methods of scrutinising and examining the child's body, and remedying its defects, in order to create citizens. In Manchester in 1915 the attendance of children at the city's School Clinics amounted to 21,766; following a legislative change in 1918, which made school medical services a duty rather than a power, this rose to

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[55] Welshman, 'Physical education', p.33.
[56] Ibid., p.37.
[57] MEC, *Education in Manchester*, p.45.
[58] Ibid*.,* p.49.
[59] Chicago Board of Education, *5th Annual Report of Montefiore School*, p.45.

326,663.[60] By 1935, medical officers employed by Local Education Authorities (LEAs) across Britain were carrying out two million routine inspections, a million special inspections, 3.5 million dental inspections, extracting three million teeth, and providing 150,000 children with spectacles.[61] By 1935 there were five general purpose clinics located across Manchester, three of which were built since 1924, as well as two clinics for dentistry only, and an orthopaedic clinic in the Lancasterian School for Crippled Children.[62] The role of the School Medical Service was to 'produce healthy boys and girls'; 'physical defects' had to 'be discovered and remedied.'[63] Children in the elementary schools of Manchester were subjected to at least three medical inspections during their time at school – at ages five, eight, and twelve – as well as being under the constant observation of the teacher, who could refer a child for inspection at any time.[64] Of the children diagnosed with minor ailments, like skin, eye, ear and throat complaints, over ninety per cent were treated at the school clinics. The remainder were referred to a private doctor, the hospital or the dispensary, but were also 'followed' up by the school nurses until 'the disease or defect was remedied as far as possible.'[65] Fundamental was the identification and categorisation of those who did not fit into what were seen as 'norms'. As the MEC stated, 'the principle of basing methods of education upon observation of the developing child is the guiding principle in the modern Infant school.'[66] It was the expertise provided by nurses, doctors, hygienists, dieticians and psychologists that made this process possible.[67] As the MEC observed in 1931, the school medical service was 'designed to make the child as far as possible a healthy adult citizen.'[68]

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[60] MEC, *General Survey,* p.41.

[61] C. Webster, 'The health of the school child during the depression' in N. Parry and D. McNair (eds), *The Fitness of the Nation – Physical and Health Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Proceedings of the 1982 Annual Conference on the History of Education Society of Great Britain)* (Leicester, 1983), p.71.

[62] MEC, *Education in Manchester*, p.133.

[63] MEC, *Education Week,* p.67.

[64] Ibid*.,* p.69.

[65] Ibid., p.71.

[66] Ibid*.,* p.15.

[67] Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on Psychological Tests of Educable Capacity and their Possible Use in the Public System of Education* (London, 1924), p.134, argued that psychologists,

Guidelines sent out to teachers in the Chicago public school system in 1924 also emphasised this process, referring directly to 'the important bearing on future citizenship' that 'better character and better habits in unusual children' could bring.[69] Children were categorised through a system of observation and rating. In the Chicago Board of Education's *Manual of Instructions for Behaviouristic Scoring* (1924), teachers were advised to underscore words that best described the child in a long list of defects, before estimating the degree of severity from one to five. Such attributes were as varied as selfish, enthusiastic, slow, lazy, shy; stutters, bites nails, crossed eyes, left handed, jerky body, poor hearing, deformities; and steals, profane, masturbation, lying, peeping, and sex assaults.[70] Depending on the result of this survey, the child was subsequently referred to one of the following: Department of Child Study, Medical Inspectors and school nurses, Department of Compulsory Education, or outside social agencies.[71] The removal of such a pupil therefore was vital in maintaining a productive teaching environment, as well as solving the problems of that particular child. Montefiore School in Chicago was an example of this intervention at its most comprehensive. Established in 1929, the school centralised attempts to reform truants deemed 'incorrigible' in the regular school system, with ninety pupils being drawn from 192 public elementary schools in the north and west of the city. Ultimately, Montefiore aimed to change the social habits of children to the extent that they 'will cease to be truants or behaviour cases and will learn to conform socially to their school environment'.[72] It served as a 'laboratory', with a staff of doctors, nurses, a dentist, psychologist, psychiatrist, truant officers, a personnel work teacher, a special speech teacher, and a remedial reading teacher.

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statisticians and teachers must cooperate in the ways that they approach the diagnosing and testing of children in British schools.

[68] City of Manchester Education Committee, *Annual Report of the Acting School Medical Officer Dr Henry Herd 1931* (1932), p.9.

[69] Chicago Board of Education, *Manual of Instructions for Behaviouristic Scoring* (Chicago, 1924), p.13.

[70] Ibid., p.4.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Chicago Board of Education, *5th Annual Report of Montefiore School*, p.1.

Physical defects, while 'not necessarily the cause for the boys' unadjustment [sic]', were seen to aggravate the situation and make readjustment difficult.[73] In the report of Montefiore for 1940, the author summarised the shift and development of this method of dealing with 'defective' children:

> As a result of the child study and mental hygiene movements teachers and principals take a scientific viewpoint toward the problem child who fails, who is a truant or who becomes a problem in school. Instead of being the recipient of punishment, he has become an object for study. Psychologists and psychiatrists and trained social workers are employed to help teachers deal with their problem cases. The creation in the schools of this scientific attitude on the part of teachers and principals toward children's behaviour is much more important than in keeping psychology and psychiatry as external and sometimes clumsy correctives to everything that is not scientifically sound in the school's activities.[74]

In conjunction with this process of examination, categorisation, and rectification, was also the cheaper method of educating children in health care so they could maintain their own bodies – reflecting the increasing preoccupation with personal health in the US.[75] The superintendent of schools in Chicago saw this as being directly linked to the formation of habits and character, stating that

> The child owes a moral duty to himself to preserve his health and to do all that he possibly can to make his surroundings healthful and sanitary. He must learn that health does not just happen. Like most good things in life, it must be earned. The care,

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[73] Ibid., p.15.
[74] Chicago Board of Education, *The Montefiore Special School Report*, p.2.
[75] See Chapter Five.

the intelligence, and the effort that he must devote to the formation of health habits are just so many steps toward the building of a strong and vigorous character.[76]

Dental hygiene was important in Chicago, especially surveys in 1918 which revealed 'deplorable mouth conditions on the part of school children' with the extent of tooth decay being so bad 'as to interfere with their mental efficiency'.[77] This interference was supposedly due to toothaches, the absorption of toxic matters from tooth cavities, and stomach and intestinal disorders from incomplete mastication of food, all of which prevented 'satisfactory scholarship' and induced 'backwardness and school retardation'.[78] In 1918 initial experiments were carried out in a small selection of schools on the lower north side, where children were given lessons that taught the names of the teeth and the causes of decay, while dentists gave demonstrations of the best way to clean the teeth and prevent cavities. Two days later the children were quizzed and reinstructed. Three weeks later a final visit was made, and the children interviewed to ascertain what percentage were now using toothbrushes. Of 7399 children, only fifty-one per cent had previously being using toothbrushes; after the lessons this had risen to ninety per cent. In certain Chicago schools there was also emphasis placed on daily routines. In Montefiore, boys were required to assist in the lunchroom and cafeteria in assisting to prepare the meals, clean up, and wash dishes.[79] The school also provided showers and basins, as well as a matron in charge at all times to teach cleanliness.[80]

In Manchester, health education began on a comprehensive level in the child's earliest years. In 1917 in an infants' school in Hulme, the first Municipal Nursery Class was opened. By 1926 forty-three schools had nursery classes, accommodating approximately 1,100

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[76] Chicago Board of Education, *Report of the Superintendent of Schools of the City of Chicago for the year ending June 11, 1937* (Chicago, 1937) p.21.
[77] Chicago Board of Education, *Sixty-Fourth Annual Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1918* (Chicago, 1918), p.99.
[78] Ibid., p.99.
[79] Chicago Board of Education, *5th Annual Report of Montefiore School*, p.3.
[80] Ibid., p.4.

children of three and four years old.[81] Such was the growth in this area of provision that the MEC claimed nurseries were 'regarded as the Manchester policy.'[82] Health education took a practical basis, aided by investment in tools of instruction, like washing-tables with enamel basins and soap dishes, and a bag containing a towel, tooth brush, and comb for each child.[83] After assembly each morning each child brushed their teeth, put away the toothbrush, 'smoothed' their hair, and 'performed his toilet', while being monitored and praised by the teacher.[84] As the MEC stated, 'all possible opportunities are used for the social training of the children.'[85] Through this combination of physical education, team sports, medical services, and health education, a type of citizenship that highlighted social cooperation and the healthy body was prominent in both Manchester and Chicago. Educators and social commentators also increasingly recognised that the actual physical environment of the school where this 'training' took place, and its conduciveness to learning, was one of the most important influences on the behaviour of children. The following section analyses how this environment was produced, and how technologies of ventilation, heating, and light became fully bound up with the notion of citizenship as coterminous with bodily health.

School Environments

As a Board of Education Report of 1931 in Britain accepted, it was pointless 'to give lessons in hygiene and good manners if the surroundings in which children pass twenty-seven hours each week are unhygienic or mean.' Classrooms therefore had to be 'sunny and airy', and every school 'should contain proper accommodation, lavatories with an abundant supply of hot water wherever possible, cloakrooms…, a provision of drinking water, and provision for

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[81] MEC, *General Survey,* p.33.
[82] Ibid., p.21.
[83] Ibid., p.35.
[84] Ibid., p.36.
[85] Ibid.

school meals where necessary.'[86] These values were seen strikingly in the *Children at School* documentary film of 1937.[87] 'A nation,' the narrator argued, 'depends on its children;' vital, then, were the 'conditions which will enable them to grow up into healthy sensible individuals, and good citizens.'[88] In Manchester this was fully acknowledged; a 1926 survey of education stated: 'success in Elementary School work' depended on 'suitable lighting, heating, sanitation, and general building arrangements.' Before the interwar period these key elements had been 'far from satisfactory', with inadequate lighting blamed for injuries to eyesight, and lack of ventilation for illness and lowered vitality in pupils.[89] The main aim of the school building should be 'not to provide education but simply the environment in which children may acquire it most easily.'[90] As the National Institute of Industrial Psychology summarised in the late-1930s, the attention given 'to gymnastics and the development of the body' showed 'the importance attached to physical fitness' yet just as important were 'environmental conditions – as affected by heating, ventilation, and lighting – [which] influence also the child's capacity for mental work.'[91] In the US, at the end of the nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century, psychologists, sociologists and hygienists involved in the child-study movement were coming to similar conclusions, as they aimed to discover the capabilities and characteristics of children in order to develop a new form of education based on science.[92] G. Stanley Hall, the leader of the movement and influential author of *Adolescence* – a text that cemented the notion of adolescence as a distinct period of

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[86] Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary School* (London, 1931), p xix.

[87] These state and industry sponsored films aimed to promote democratic citizenship and social progress. Patrick Russell, 'Introduction' in *Land of Promise: the British Documentary Movement 1930-1950* (London, 2008) and Ian Aitken, 'The British Documentary Movement in the 1930s' in ibid.

[88] *Children at School* [film] (1937), time: 21:38. The film was narrated by Wilson Harris, editor of the Spectator, and scripted by left-wing journalist Tom Driberg.

[89] MEC, *General Survey,* p.22.

[90] Ibid., 10.

[91] W.D. Seymour, *The Heating Ventilation and Lighting of School Buildings* (Oxford, 1939), 203.

[92] L.T. Benjamin, *A Brief History of Modern Psychology* (Oxford, 2007), p.64. See also E.D. Cahan, 'Science, practice, and gender roles in early American child psychology' in F.S. Kessel, M.H. Bonstein, and A.J. Sameroff (eds), *Contemporary Constructions of the Child: Essays in Honor of William Kessen* (London, 1991); T. Richardson, *The Century of the Child: the Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany, 1989).

development – declared that the schoolhouse 'ought to be a palace of health'.[93] As Dale Allen Gyure has shown, the design of school architecture in Chicago in respect to this was firmly established by 1920, not to be greatly modified for the next two decades, after American school architecture had responded to the Progressive movement and been 'reduced to a science'.[94]

This interest in environment was expressed primarily in the layout of school buildings, technologies for heating, lighting and ventilation, and the use of specific materials: light, air, warmth, and hygiene were newly understood to be central to the constitution of healthy, clean school children and would-be citizens. Through a process informed and led not solely by teachers or educators, but also by scientists, engineers, and architects, knowledge created was gradually incorporated into local school building experiments and the guidelines or regulations of legislative authorities, as educational bodies and experts worked in cooperation.[95] The result of this relationship was awareness of creating a classroom environment where pupils could be alert, comfortable, and fully able to absorb the information given to them. This recognised that school buildings were not neutral or passive containers but, as Catherine Burke has argued, active spaces that shaped the experience of school and the understanding of education.[96] Importantly, this diverges from seeing the school simply as a disciplinary space, as elaborated in the first section of this chapter. Rather, the school was intended as an emancipatory space - one that provided the freedom of each

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[93] G. Stanley Hall quoted in Gyure, *The Chicago Schoolhouse*, p.43. See also G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology, and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education* (New York, 1904).

[94] Gyure, *The Chicago Schoolhouse,* p.40.

[95] Ibid., p.xx. See also D.N. Livingstone, 'Keeping knowledge in site'*, History of Education*, 39, no. 6 (2010), p.779 and the special edition of *History of Education,* 39, no. 6 (2010); the essays in M. Lawn and I. Grosvenor (eds), *Materialities of Schooling: Design, Technology, Objects, Routine* (Oxford, 2005); and F. Herman, A. Van Gorp, F. Simon and M. Depaepe, 'The school desk: from concept to object', *History of Education,* 40, no. 1 (2011).

[96] C. Burke, 'Containing the school child: architectures and pedagogies', *Paedagogica Historica,* 41, no. 4-5 (2005), pp.489-490.

child to be safe and productive – or, as the MEC stated 'more habitable, happier, and better able to function'.[97]

Ventilation of classrooms was a consistent priority, with methods developing as new theories arose. Experiments in Staffordshire at the turn of the century, led by the Medical Officer of Health for the county, recommended that the current dominant design of school, where classrooms were placed around the sides of a central hall, impeded ventilation. Together with the county architect he devised an arrangement where every classroom had windows on opposite sides to provide a through current of air.[98] The health of the children appeared to improve, and other local education authorities followed this design. Research carried out shortly after in the Institute of Hygiene in Breslau by Dr Leonard Hill was influential in supporting this design and changing expert discourse in Britain. Hill conducted several experiments on students, like placing them in a chamber and raising the temperature, to prove the assertion that lack of 'vitality' in pupils was due to heat stagnation from lack of air movement, rather than impoverishment of oxygen or excess of carbon dioxide. These results were presented to the Local Government Board in 1914, which then circulated them to education authorities.[99] In 1924 the school medical officer in Manchester stated that 'there should be, at least, fresh moving air in properly furnished sunlit rooms.'[100] By 1931 the *Manchester Guardian* acknowledged that the means by which rooms were ventilated were 'fully appreciated as they used not to be' and the open model had 'profoundly' affected the

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[97] MEC, *General Survey,* p.22. M. Dudek, *Architecture of Schools: the New Learning Environments* (Oxford, 2000), p.5.

[98] F. Clay, *Modern School Building Elementary and Secondary: a Handbook on the Planning, Arrangement, and Fitting of Day and Boarding Schools, Having Special Regard to the Question of Cost, Hygiene, and Educational Requirements,*3rd ed. (London, 1929), p.32.

[99] L. Hill, 'Ventilation and the effect of open air upon the respiratory metabolism', *Local Government Board* (London, 1914), quoted in Clay, *Modern School Buildings,* p.33.

[100] City of Manchester Education Committee, *Sixteenth Annual Report of the School Medical Officer for the year ended 31st December, 1924* (Manchester, 1925), p.59.

traditional building programme.[101] This school plan consequently became the dominant form in British school design into the 1930s.[102]

Research was also more and more linked to the development of new materials. Vitaglass, for example, emerged in Britain the 1920s, invented by Francis Everard Lamplough at the 'urging' of Leonard Hill, its unique selling point being the ability to enable the ultraviolet radiation of the sun into buildings.[103] By this point 'glass was firmly entrenched as one of the materials of a new architecture, which would be remedial for mind and body, and both enable and house a new society.'[104] Vitaglass was promoted by the New Health Society, which hypothesised the nutritional value of sunlight, formed in 1926 by William Arbuthnot Lane, a surgeon and health campaigner. In the first year of its existence, the Society held a press conference at London Zoo to mark the experimental use of Vitaglass in the animal houses, stating that its use encouraged the 'stimulating effect on general growth, power of resistance to disease, and on the richness of blood' as opposed to 'ordinary window glass' which was 'quite un-transparent to the health giving ultra-violet rays.'[105] The use of Vitaglass thus had obvious benefits to school construction. In 1926, for example, the medical officer of health for the Smethwick Education Committee made twenty observations of the occupants of two classrooms, the second of which had windows made of Vitaglass. He concluded that, after six months, pupils in the latter showed a quicker increase in weight, and had higher attendance. Consequently he advised the Committee to install the glass in the older badly-lit schools in the area.[106] Advertising materials in 1926 claimed that the product

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[101] 'Manchester's New Grammar School', *MG* (17th October 1931), p.15.
[102] W. Wu and E. Ng, 'A review of the development of daylighting in schools', *Lighting Research and Technology,* 35, no. 2 (2003), p.112.
[103] J. Sadar, 'The healthful ambience of Vitaglass: light, glass and the curative environment' *Architectural Research Quarterly,* 12, no. 3-4 (2008), p.269.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Carter, *Rise and Shine*, p.68.
[106] Clay, *Modern School Buildings* (1929), p.30.

had already been installed in 200 schools and 300 hospitals.[107] In these ways new technology clearly became aligned with social movements of health and citizenship, expressed through the locus of school construction.[108]

Clear attention in Britain was also given in the Board of Education 1936 guidelines to materials that made up the interior of schools. In nurseries the regulations stated that rubber, cork, or linoleum should be used instead of boards, due to their ease of cleaning.[109] The question of halls in schools received considerable attention from the Board. As well as avoiding excessive height and curved ceilings to lessen reverberation, the regulations suggested that 'wood blocks give a suitable, moderately silent floor' while 'Boarded floors are the noisiest.' Furthermore, the rear wall behind the audience was to be coated with 'a strong hygienic sound-absorbent, such as perforated fibre slabs or some form of porous plaster.'[110] As the regulations noted, 'Modern research and experiments have now made it easier to reconcile good hygiene and good acoustics'[111] – two vital parts of the school environment. Strong here was the capacity of different materials, as understood by expert opinion, to enable more productive and efficient ways of managing school environments – in many ways a development of Victorian attempts by municipalities to engineer physical conditions conducive to visual connection, brightness, clarity, and privacy.[112]

In the US the debate on ventilation centred more upon defining a minimum amount of air per pupil per minute, with a wide variance due to the relative autonomy of states. By 1925 seventeen had no state-wide regulation of school ventilation; seven only had general legal provisions; while the remaining twenty-four had state-wide standards affecting all schools or

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[107] Carter, *Rise and Shine*, p.68.
[108] For the Victorian history of the focus on the social and medical benefits of light, see Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, pp.65-67.
[109] Board of Education, *Suggestions for the Planning of Buildings of Elementary Schools*, Board of Education Educational Pamphlets, no. 107 (London, 1936), p.18 and p.87.
[110] Ibid., p.38.
[111] Ibid., p.90.
[112] Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, p.96.

certain classes of schools.[113] Of those that explicitly regulated the amount of air, a figure of thirty cubic feet per pupil per minute was often cited, due to activism on the part of the American Society of Heating and Ventilation Engineers at the turn of the century.[114] In Chicago, the Building Code stipulated a requirement of twenty-five cubic feet.[115] Because of this emphasis on such a high amount of air, mechanical ventilation was needed. By the interwar period however this requirement was increasingly being challenged by scientists and hygienists, as studies instead pointed towards the importance of controlling humidity and temperature. It was now believed that ten to fifteen cubic feet was perfectly adequate.[116] In 1931 the New York State Commission on Ventilation endorsed the findings of the National Education Association and American Medical Association, which recommended window ventilation with exhausts to carry away 'vitiated' air, and advised the 'repeal of the arbitrary regulations' that supported mechanical ventilation and the thirty cubic foot rule.[117] In this period, however, Chicago maintained its previous stipulation of twenty-five.

Observing and enforcing legal requirements was difficult; local practice was more realistic and varied, with the Chicago Board of Education distributing local memoranda that highlighted basic and unscientific ways to maintain ventilation. In 1919, for example, the board recommended that to 'secure good ventilation… all windows in every school should be opened for three minutes at least once every hour, except in severe weather.'[118] Similarly, in Manchester, it was seen as prudent to remove the children from a classroom on a fine day and send them to the playground so the room would have a chance to be 'aired'.[119] In general this should highlight the necessity to view design and construction as the beginning of the

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[113] F.W. Hart and N.L. Engelhardt, 'Housing the schools' in *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago,* p.84.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., p.85.
[117] Ibid., p.87.
[118] The Board of Education of the City of Chicago, *The Elementary Schools: the Teaching of Reading,* Bulletin no. 16 (August, 1919).
[119] MEC, *General Survey,* p.37.

production of the school environment, rather than the end. After construction came the maintenance of the school, which relied on a large workforce of engineers, electricians, plumbers, janitors, and window-washers.

In Chicago it was the responsibility of the Engineer-Custodian to see that classrooms were heated to between sixty-five and sixty-eight degrees, and that when the outdoor temperature was below sixty degrees, that the ventilation system was operated at full capacity.[120] General duties included examining heating apparatus, boilers, masonry, pumps, engines, blowers, electrical, sewerage, pumping and gas fitting, steam fitting and boiler repairs, air washers, filters, humidifiers, and more. These responsibilities were disseminated through pamphlets published by the Board of Education, like 'Instructions to Engineer-Custodians' and 'Rules, Regulations, and Salary Schedules of Engineer-Custodians' – though, as school superintendent G.F. Womrath noted, 'Few of these pamphlets and bulletins could be found at the school buildings.'[121] The role of the janitor was of great importance to the school environment, and was regulated and directed. The janitor of the Chicago school system was tasked with keeping buildings clean and sanitary through sweeping, mopping, dusting, washing and cleaning; keeping the grounds in good condition through mowing and watering the grass, shovelling snow, and sweeping the sidewalks and driveways; and doing 'all other janitor work not herein specified.'[122] The success of the school system was not just dependent on the quality of its teaching and administrative staff, but of its maintenance department too. Bearing in mind the high cost of replacing old buildings altogether, a large proportion of the education budget therefore was spent on the improvement of existing schools. In Chicago the outlay on maintenance was especially high; in 1932 the budget

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[120] G.F. Womrath, 'The operation of the school law', *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago*, p.149.
[121] Ibid., p.150.
[122] Ibid., p.149

allowed for $4,622,281 – approximately thirty-seven per cent of the education budget.[123] Between 1924 and 1927 in Manchester £125,000 was allocated to spend on the replacement of old and unsuitable furniture, external repairs to school buildings, equipping schools with heating systems, and the improvement of sanitary accommodation.[124] By May 1927, following the installation of systems in thirty-two school departments, all of the municipal schools in Manchester had been provided with central heating.[125]

While the design of schools recognised the importance of environment, and education authorities attempted to improve school buildings, in practice this was hard to achieve. Part of the problem was that the rate of construction could not match demand for new schools, especially under the recurring issues of depression, economy, and, in the case of Chicago, insolvency.[126] Following the First World War in Britain there was such urgency for school accommodation that old army huts were converted, and quickly-built schools of wood on brick foundations were constructed.[127] As the *Manchester Guardian* quipped in reference to the city's temporary schools in 1924, some buildings had been 'temporary' for so long that 'the name has lost its significance.'[128] Examples of 'perished ironwork for the wind to enter by and play about the scholars legs' and 'coke stoves… there to parch the throat' caused considerable outrage.[129] Cecil George Stillman's overview of British school building in 1949 was damning. Apart from the insufficient achievements in the last years before 1939, he described the nation's schools as 'a pathetic reflection of the high ideals envisaged in the many Acts passed in the forty years since the inauguration of the Board of Education.'[130] Too

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[123] Calculated from the maintenance budget for 1932, and average education budget for the seven years prior to 1932, $12,525,179. Hart and Engelhardt, 'Housing the schools', p.58 and p.69.

[124] GMCRO: 352.042 M12, The City of Manchester, *Epitome of Proceedings of Committees,* vol. 41, 1923-4, MEC, The Programme, 17th March 1924, p.324.

[125] Ibid., vol. 44, 1926-27, MEC, The Programme, 2nd March 1924, p.424.

[126] Herrick, *The Chicago Schools*, p.187.

[127] Clay, *Modern School Buildings* (1929), p.16.

[128] 'Manchester's dilapidated schools', *MG* (24th March 1924), p.9.

[129] Ibid.

[130] C.G. Stillman and R.C. Cleary, *The Modern School* (London, 1949), p.17.

little had been demolished or modernised, and 'many' remained 'squalid, insanitary, and not far removed from the status of slums.'[131] Even in the 1960s over half of the primary schools in Britain had been built before 1903, and did not have the same attention given to design in the opening decades of the twentieth century. Twenty-six per cent, for example, were still without warm water supply for pupils, while twenty-five per cent lacked a central heating system.[132]

The situation in Chicago in the 1930s was particularly disconcerting to educators, with a comprehensive investigation of education concluding that the city was 'burdened with a considerable number of very old buildings.'[133] While seventy new structures were built in the ten years before a survey carried out in 1931, constituting twenty per cent of all school buildings, the general picture was unedifying.[134] This report decided that eighty-nine buildings were below 'the dead-line of service, safety, or justified further investment' and that 139 schools were 'below approved standards of educational adequacy' but could be saved with adequate investment and improvement.[135] As Hommel has pointed out, it was in the immigrant and black neighbourhoods that the oldest and most dilapidated school buildings could be found. In 1932, for example, on average fifty-four per cent of local grade schools were more than thirty years old; for black schools this time was eighty-two per cent.[136]

In old schools and new schools too, technological systems always had the capacity to not work properly, or to break down completely. When this happened, the school environment suffered. At Crane Junior College, for example, independent investigation found that 'the ventilating system does not prevent the accumulation of stale air in corridors and

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[131] Ibid.
[132] M. Seaborne, *Primary School Design* (London, 1971), p.8.
[133] Hart and Engelhardt, 'Housing the schools', p.15.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid., p.11.
[136] Homel, *Down From Equality*, p.62.

classrooms.'[137] To combat this, electric fans were placed in some rooms 'to make possible bearable working conditions'.[138] Temperature was a particular concern. In an investigation of the Chicago Normal College carried out in the early 1930s, 'a considerable number of the radiators were either stone cold or were knocking and thereby causing disturbance.'[139] In general, the temperature of rooms in the Normal College varied between fifty-five to eighty-eight degrees Fahrenheit.[140] Overall, these researchers in Chicago found that 'most' of the classrooms in the school system were from two to eight degrees above the standard seventy degrees.[141]

Maintaining the classroom temperature was also a problem in Britain, where it was still common for schools to be closed due to inadequate heating in the 1930s.[142] Even the new and modern 'open-air' schools of the period, heralded as the answer to school design, had issues with heating. A study carried out by two doctors, Vernon and Bedford, measured the temperature of children's heads, hands and feet in classroom conditions. They observed that the efficiency of children in three unheated 'open air' schools was half that of heated schools not of the 'open air' design. Carried out with a view to proposing guidelines for factories, the report, published by the Industrial Board of Health in 1930, concluded that hand temperatures less than 75 degrees Fahrenheit affected dexterity, and the pupils speed and skill in writing, drawing, and other manual tasks like knitting.[143] Another study, carried out by researchers in the Department of Industrial Physiology, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, supported these conclusions. Investigating semi open-air schools, heated by electric panels,

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[137] M.H. Stuart and D.H. Eikenberry, 'Secondary education in Chicago' in *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago,* p.301.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid., p.259.
[140] Ibid., p.258.
[141] Womrath, 'The operation of the school law', p.219.
[142] 'Heating and ventilation in Schools', *The Lancet* (12th April 1930), p.817.
[143] 'When Schools Are Too Cold', *MG* (24th March 1930), p.10. For full report see H.M. Vernon, T. Bedford and C.G. Warner, 'A study of heating and ventilation in schools', *Report of the Industrial Health Research Board,* no. 5 (1930).

they ascertained that the level of heat imparted was insufficient to give adequate warmth to children during the winter months of the year.[144] As the *Lancet* recognised in 1930, 'the problem of heating and ventilation in… schoolbuildings is not yet solved.'[145]

Furthermore, as Frank Trentmann and Vanessa Taylor have recently argued, it is important to look at the 'everyday practices and politics' that these technologies and discourses provoked.[146] Both pupils and teachers could react in unseen ways that rebelled against predetermined aims. In the Chicago Normal College, for example, in which it was deemed that most rooms 'were too warm', the surveyors found it significant that some of the offices contained 'small portable heaters of various types.'[147] Whether this was due to the personal preferences of the inhabitants, or the breakdown of the boiler system, it shows that the imposition of a system based on scientific guidance, like heating, did not guarantee its success or acceptance. Designs could also be purposefully subverted, as Malcolm Seaborne has detailed in a study of post-Second World War Britain. In one school he investigated, classrooms were designed without a fixed chalk-board or focal point where the teacher could stand. Yet a teacher in one classroom disregarded this, fixing to the wall a large piece of brown paper on which to chalk.[148] In another school, two classrooms had been separated by a wide opening instead of doors, to encourage the allocation of resources between classrooms. Teachers in these classrooms did not agree with this sharing of space however, and moved furniture into the gap in attempts to isolate their working spaces.[149]

Children also had ways and means of inscribing their own agency onto schools, and should therefore be viewed as 'social actors… who use and interpret material culture on their

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[144] G.P. Crowden, M. Heterington and W.R. Luxton, 'A comparative study of the physiological effects on children of school heating by hot-water radiators and by radiant heat from electric ceiling and wall panels', *Epidemiology and Infection,* 33, no. 02 (1933).
[145] 'Heating and ventilation in schools', *The Lancet*, p.817.
[146] V. Taylor and F. Trentmann, 'Liquid politics: water and the politics of everyday life in the modern city', *Past and Present*, 211 (2011).
[147] Stuart and Eikenberry, 'Secondary education in Chicago', p.258.
[148] Seaborne, *Primary School Design,* p.4.
[149] Ibid.

own terms'.[150] Playground environments, as Marc Armitage has shown, could be used in varying ways. Depending on the shape and location of school buildings, these spaces had varying degrees of hidden nooks and crannies where children could play in the ways they wished.[151] This was especially concerning to educators, since playtimes were seen as 'essentially anarchistic, difficult to control and a place of negative learning experience.'[152] Material technologies that featured in the playground environment, like a drainpipe, could take on very different functions; in Yorkshire, for example, the game of Block, where children either hid or chased each other, used the 'Long Black Pipe' as the starting point or 'base' of the game.[153] Annegret Staiger, in a similar vein, has emphasised Foucault's contention that though we may live in a disciplinary society, it does not necessarily mean we are disciplined, and just because technologies of power are omnipresent, it does not mean they are omnipotent.[154] Staiger details the ways therefore in which students have staked a claim to the territory of the school through defacing, or 'tagging', walls with graffiti. By subverting the established physicality of the school, its environment becomes not one where the student was simply observed and made the loci of power, but one where the student could recognise, reveal, and challenge the intentions of school authority.[155] The resulting repainting of school walls, and inevitable re-graffiti, provided a 'renewable opportunity' for both school authorities and students to assert their power, yet reinforce each other's agency at the same time.[156]

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[150]M. Gutman and N.D. Coninck-Smith, 'Good to think with – history, space, and modern childhood' in *Designing Modern Childhoods,* p.2.

[151] M. Armitage, 'The influence of school architecture and design on the outdoor play experience within the primary school', *Paedagogica Historica,* 41, no. 4-5 (2005), p.539 and p.547.

[152] Ibid., p.538.

[153] Ibid., pp.548-549. Most teachers in these schools were unaware of the role of the drainpipe in the context of this game.

[154] A. Staiger, 'School walls as battle grounds', p.557.

[155] Ibid., p.568.

[156] Ibid*.,* p.569.

Conclusion

Education in Chicago faced substantial problems between the wars. By 1929 the Board of Education owed $101,525,000 to banks, $49,115,000 to other sources, and was obligated to interest payments of $4,000,000 each year.[157] When the Great Depression hit, the school system inevitably could not cope, and turned to making drastic economising cuts that were opposed widely in the city.[158] Even before the depression health provision and education in Chicago was not consistent; many schools operated on an individualist basis, with little interference from the Board of Education. In his report for the academic year of 1936-1937, the Superintendent of Schools summarised that 'Health service is not strictly the duty of schools', with its responsibility instead being an 'educational program, [through which] the child is motivated to secure a periodic dental and medical examination through the home and outside agencies.'[159]

As Charles Webster has also proposed, in the case of Britain, we should be careful of concluding that the school medical service was an overwhelming success. Assessing the service against the backdrop of the 1930s depression, he warns that the positive official reports from the Board of Education did not correlate with negative evidence of malnutrition coming from independent expert sources based on a variety of methods of investigation.[160] Dental health was one area of 'undisguised and conspicuous failure'. Webster calculates that there was less than one dentist for every ten-thousand children, fewer than half the number recognised as the necessary minimum, and that the uptake of treatment was never more than forty per cent due to restrictions on age and area.[161] Even taking Webster's criticisms into

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[157] Herrick, *The Chicago Schools*, p.187.
[158] Ibid., pp.188-215.
[159] Chicago Board of Education, *Report of the Superintendent of Schools of the City of Chicago for the year ending June 11, 1937* (Chicago, 1937), p.137.
[160] C. Webster, 'The health of the school child', p.78.
[161] Ibid., p.76.

account however, the school medical service in Manchester had certainly grown exponentially in the period.

In physical exercises as well as the wider curriculum and experience of school, distinctions of gender and race were reinforced rather than challenged. Shirley Pendergast has shown how competitive athletics prioritised energy, action and size, and was particularly suited to the notion of the active, dominant, male body.[162] As Welshman notes, most of the literature produced by social reformers and educators in Britain concerned the physical education of boys rather than girls. Of the literature aimed specifically at girls, physical education was seen to support existing gender binaries; as Mary Johnstone wrote in 1924 of Britain, physical education would help girls to do housework 'with most ease, in the shortest time, saving strength, avoiding strain, banishing monotonous thought, applying her brains to her problems.'[163] In the US 1900-1940, Martha Verbrugge has argued, the notions of the female body and physical education were complex, and, I would elaborate, more multifaceted than that of male bodies. Women's bodies, for example, could be regarded as 'disadvantaged, but still trainable; women's skills as limited, yet important; [and] women's sports as tame compared to men's, but challenging in their own right.'[164] Racial and ethnic difference in Chicago was also a particular problem. In a study of black children and Chicago's schools between 1920 and 1941, Homel has exposed how 'black education in Chicago… reflected the influences that limited black life in general – confinement to a ghetto, employment discrimination, and crime, disease, and family disorganization.'[165] Rather than simply mirroring these issues, the schools reinforced them, through the racism of teachers and

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[162] S. Pendergast, '"Throwing like a girl… but catching like a boy': some thoughts on gender and embodiment in secondary school', *Children, Health and the Body Conference – Conference Papers* (Department of Child Studies, Linkoping University, Sweden, 26th April, 1996), p.9 quoted in Gleason, 'Disciplining the student body', p.209.
[163] Welshman, 'Physical culture', p.62.
[164] Verbrugge, 'Recreating the body', p.302.
[165] Homel, *Down From Equality,* p.x.

textbooks. As Homel concludes, 'because the schools were products of white middle-class society, they reduced rather than expanded opportunities for groups like Chicago's blacks.'[166]

We must be careful of proclaiming the triumph of the school as the embodiment and teacher of citizenship values. In Chicago especially, plagued with money worries, stagnating teaching practices, and institutionalised racism, it is not surprising that the school was not the perfect bearer of technological solutions to citizenship; the intervention of experts, from educators to engineers, did not guarantee the success of techno-political solutions to social problems like citizenship.[167] Factors outside their control, or what we might see as alternative discourses of race, gender, and economy could frustrate the most theoretically possible techniques. While education may have been moving towards a practice that considered the child as a constitutive part of a wider community, and not just as an individual, this did not mean that children were an undifferentiated mass. Whatever its failures, the interwar school still exemplifies the move away from individualist and classically liberal conceptions of citizenship, based on traditional education, towards one that focused on the idea of cooperation, community, and the body, due to the negative effects of the modern city. Within this was a focus on the municipally and state created environment that treated the citizenship mass as a whole, woven together, rather than simply as individuals. When this was realised in the constructed environment of the school, it was made very clear by educators that this was the specific aim. In other areas of social policy, this intention was more obscure. Schools, however, were not the only physical structures built by government that had the capacity to create healthy citizens, and children were not the only citizens conceptualised in terms of health. Chapter Seven turns to the case of public housing in this period, where the responsibilities and environment of citizenship was also engineered and reflected.

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[166] Ibid.
[167] Vernon, 'The ethics of hunger', p.4.

Chapter Seven

Public Housing, Materiality, and Citizenship

Continuing the environment-led approach used in Chapter Six, this chapter shows how the design and management of public housing both contained and produced the discourse of healthy citizenship, utilising the knowledge gained by associations and government from investigations into the damaging effects of the slums. For the US a 'discourse of disaster dominates discussions of public housing'; this is particularly evident in the focus of the failure of housing in Chicago, particularly from the 1950s, due to racist policies, poor management, and the disintegration of housing stock.[1] Using oral histories of tenants, managers and planners, J.S. Fuerst however has claimed that the late 1930s and the 1940s were, in fact, a relative 'paradise' of community interaction and stability. He laments the fact that most 'studies of community-building rarely mention the constructive role of the federal government in the past… [or] concrete examples of successful outcomes.' In particular, 'No book has described the contributions of public housing to Chicago's working class.'[2] Using Fuerst's oral histories and other materials this chapter will engage with this first period of public housing in Chicago. Studies of Manchester have covered the beginning of council

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[1] E.G. Goetz, *New Deal Ruins: Race, Economic Justice, and Public Housing Policy* (Ithaca, 2013), p.2; R. Biles, 'Nathan Straus and the failure of US public housing', *Historian,* 53, no. 1 (Autumn, 1990). For Chicago see, in particular, D. Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster: the Unravelling of Chicago Public Housing* (Chicago, 2009) and S.J. Popkin, *The Hidden War: Crime and the Tragedy of Public Housing in Chicago* (New Brunswick, 2000). For other works on Chicago see D. Bowly, *The Poorhouse: Subsidized Housing in Chicago 1895-1976* (Carbondale, 1978); Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*; M. Ensdorf and K. Pilat (eds), *The Promise of Public Housing 1936-1983: Photographs from the archives of the Chicago housing authority and the Chicago historical Society* (Chicago, 2005).
[2] J.S. Fuerst, *When Public Housing Was Paradise: Building Community in Chicago* (Westport, 2003)*,* p.xvi.

housing to the present day.[3] The Wythenshawe Estate, built in the 1930s, in particular has provided a key focus for historians.[4] Due to this extensive coverage the focus here will instead be more on the formative years of Manchester's housing policy in the 1920s, when the initial difficult and contested process of building and managing housing was first undertaken.

Studies of domestic house interiors have usually concentrated on spatial and architectural characteristics, rather than the actual material fabric.[5] Historians of gender have analysed how the articulation of women's concerns were incorporated or ignored in housing layouts, due to the notion of the woman as housewife: houses were designed to facilitate the effective division of labour.[6] While tenant health has been considered, there is little analysis of the technical systems and their attributes – like heating, lighting, and ventilation - that enabled the tenant to form particular habits. By looking at these mundane systems, agency is located less in the politics of the central or local state, or the grand ethos of planners and intellectuals, and more in the recommendations of engineers, technicians, architects, and managers. While politicians and planners shaped the field in which experts worked, their impact on the everyday reality of housing was based on the expertise of professionals.

Section one traces the origins of housing design ideology, realised in systems and material choices, back into the late nineteenth and early-twentieth century, when concerned citizens and reformers investigated the social and material conditions of the 'slums'. Section

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[3] Shapely, *The Politics of Housing;* J. Dale, 'Class struggle, social policy and state structure: central-local relations and housing policy, 1919-1939' in J. Melling (ed.), *Housing, Social Policy and the State* (London, 1980).

[4] A. Hughes and K. Hunt, 'A culture transformed? Women's lives in Wythenshawe in the 1930s' in *Workers' Worlds*; M. Hollow, 'Suburban ideals on Englands interwar council estates', *Journal of the Garden History Society,* 39, no. 2 (2011) and Olechnowicz, 'Civic leadership and education for democracy'.

[5] M. Swenarton, *Homes Fit For Heroes: the Politics and Architecture of Early State Housing in Britain,* (London, 1981). A particularly notable exception is A. Ravetz, *The Place of Home: English Domestic Environments, 1914-2000* (London, 1995), Chapter Seven in particular.

[6] For Britain, see B. McFarlane, 'Homes fit for heroines: housing in the twenties', in Matrix (ed.), *Making Space: Women and the Man-Made Environment* (London, 1984), and for Manchester, Hughes and Hunt, 'A Culture Transformed'. For Chicago, see Flanagan, *Seeing with their hearts,* pp.89-96.

two assesses the impact and incorporation of these ideas upon house design when the ability to plan and administer housing schemes was politically and economically viable, in the 1920s for Britain and the late-1930s for the US.[7] This section also assesses how observations of slum life informed the practice of housing management – an important part of the day-to-day expression of authority, and the ways that state and society believed the working-class citizen should live in this period. The final section will reveal how the imbued logic of material systems could fail, both literally and ideologically, as well as how tenants could engage with systems as a form of material politics. By looking at this relationship of people to material systems, I hope to recover 'the world as lived by people', rather than 'reinscribing a view of the world according to experts.'[8]

Material Concerns

Studies carried out at the local level informed the logic of the design and management of public housing when it became politically and economically possible under national legislation. In the widespread debate on the degeneration of cities at the turn of the twentieth century in Britain, housing in particular was highlighted. Slum conditions, according to social reformers and politicians, produced a weak and unhealthy population; if the slums could be removed, the physical stock of the nation could be improved.[9] Again, this reflected the national efficiency debate elaborated in Chapter Five. Large suburban cottage estates as

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[7] The literature on housing policy is expansive. I have found Shapely, *The Politics of Housing* and S. Merrett, *State Housing in Britain* (London, 1979); and G. Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago, 1996) to be the best overviews.

[8] Trentmann, 'Materiality in the future of history', p.302.

[9] H. Jones, *Health and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London, 1994), p.7; D. Bayliss, 'Revisiting the cottage council estates: England, 1919-39', *Planning Perspectives,* 16 (2001), p.171; M. Hollow, 'Housing Needs: Power, Subjectivity and Public Housing in England, 1920-1970', PhD Thesis (University of Oxford, 2011), p.47.

outlined in the Garden City vision were one popular answer to the 'housing question'.[10] In Manchester the 'terrible legacy' of the Victorian period, and its poorly planned and dilapidated housing, informed city council housing plans for a 'brave new world'.[11] Following several important investigations in the middle of the nineteenth century, the twentieth century again brought housing in Manchester to the forefront of civic consciousness.[12] In the US in the early twentieth century, as Gail Radford and others have detailed, there was a wave of criticism from urban reformers disturbed by the failure of either philanthropic or commercial developers to provide adequate living conditions for poorer members of society.[13] Much of this criticism was influenced by the burgeoning Garden City movement, as ideas of urban planning crossed national borders.[14] US investigations into housing made clear reference to the conditions in other cities and other countries – England, especially.[15] Progressives highlighted the growth of immigrant slums, worrying that they provided a seedbed for radicalism, undermined citizenship, created an unhealthy workforce, and spread disease and crime.[16] In both countries the lack of air and light in the slums became widely and explicitly linked to the weakened health of urban inhabitants, with health reformers calling for a new design for environments.[17] The sum of the investigations taking place in this context, described in this section, was a discourse of health and citizenship that

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[10] Swenarton, *Homes fit for Heroes;* S. Meacham, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (London, 1999); A. Howkins, 'The discovery of rural England' in *Englishness: Politics and Culture*; F.H.A. Aalen, 'English origins' in S. Ward (ed.), *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future* (London, 1992).

[11] Shapely, *The Politics of Housing,* p.85.

[12] Kay, *The Moral and Physical Condition ;* Cooke-Taylor, *Notes of a Tour;* Faucher, *Manchester in 1844;* Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class.*

[13] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, p.31. Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City,* p.31.

[14] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp.31-34. S. Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: the Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (Oxford, 1990); D. Schaffer, 'The American garden city: lost ideals' in *The Garden City: Past, Present and Future*; D. Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America: the Radburn Experience* (Philadelphia, 1982); and Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings,* p.69 and p.179.

[15] R. Hunter, *Tenement Conditions in Chicago: Report by the Investigating Committee of the City Homes Association* (Chicago, 1901), p.51.

[16] J.A.E. Argersinger, 'Contested visions of American democracy: citizenship, public housing, and the international arena', *Journal of Urban History,* 36 (2010), p.794.

[17] D. Freund, *American Sunshine: Diseases of Darkness and the Quest for Natural Light* (Chicago, 2012), p.8; Carter, *Rise and Shine,* pp.33-34.

permeated civic culture and provided the basis for local government housing design and management.

Social reformer and later Manchester councillor T.H. Marr's report on *Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford,* produced for the Citizens' Association for the Improvement of the Unwholesome Dwellings and Surroundings of the People in 1904*,* made a clear link between the material degeneration of housing and the ability of perceived slum inhabitants to live healthy and moral lives.[18] This was framed in terms of capabilities of citizenship and national efficiency. Lack of water provision made it difficult for tenants to clean their houses, and was thus damaging for health and character development.[19] The cold temperature of houses, with defects like flimsy walls and peeling plaster, and lack of decent heating systems, affected health and vitality. Coldness also had other effects, like the closure of all windows and sources of air in order to obtain warmth, which led to poor ventilation and stagnant air.[20] These conditions were displayed in photographs in Marr's report, which drew attention to the darkness of houses, the need for repair, unsuitable or shared utilities, and crowded conditions. Considering the importance of the links between children, health, and the environment, it is unsurprising that the majority of his photographss also included local youths.

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[18] T.H. Marr, *Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford: a Report Prepared for the Citizens' Association for the Improvement of the Unwholesome Dwellings and Surroundings of the People with the Aid of the Executive Committee* (Manchester, 1904). The Association was made up of councillors, reverends, settlement workers, and academics.
[19] Ibid.*,* p.44.
[20] Ibid., p.39.

Figure 7.1: Children gather round the photographer visiting the slum, St. Michael's Ward c.1904

Source: T.H. Marr, *Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford: a Report Prepared for the Citizens' Association for the Improvement of the Unwholesome Dwellings and Surroundings of the People with the Aid of the Executive Committee* (Manchester, 1904), pp.36-37.

**Figure 7.2: Photograph of the slum district of Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester.
Caption reads: 'A narrow street. Houses dark.' c.1904**

Source: Marr, *Housing Conditions,* pp.42-43.

Figure 7.3: St Michael's Ward, Manchester, slum area. Caption reads 'A court with eleven houses. Note tap, closets and ash boxes. Closet doors torn from their hinges.'[21]

Source: Marr, *Housing Conditions,* pp.46-47.

While Marr showed sympathy for slum-dwellers, and recognised that the root of the problem lay in poverty, he followed the city's Medical Officer in blaming the 'ignorance prevalent among large masses of the population' for the insanitary conditions, arguing that 'Many houses which we have examined would have been wholesome dwellings but for the carelessness and dirtiness of the tenants.'[22] This reflected the wider blame placed on tenants in this period, as propagated by social reformers like the influential Octavia Hill.[23] Yet, for Marr, poor housing conditions were also part of a vicious circle of 'Poor physique, impaired

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[21] Ibid., pp.46-47.
[22] Ibid., p.16 and p.102.
[23] A.S. Wohl, 'Octavia Hill and the homes of the London poor', *Journal of British Studies,* 10, no.2 (1971), p.113.

health, and premature senility; drunkenness, sexual immorality and other vice; betting and thriftlessness; [and] decay of family life and lack of civic spirit.'[24] The notion of poor environment as the key element in forming the health and behaviour of city-dwellers in this period also permeated Ebenezer Howard's Garden City ideal, and the investigations of other social reformers like Seebohm Rowntree and Charles Booth.[25]

In 1901 the City Homes Association of Chicago carried out a similar investigation into the 'evils' of the tenement housing, building on other investigations of the nineteenth century.[26] On the advice of the social settlements, the Bureau of Charities, the Visiting Nurses' Association, and with uniforms from the Department of Health that gave sanitary inspectors the right to enter tenements, a committee including progressives Jane Addams and Robert Hunter investigated the 'worst' sanitary districts of the city. The aim of this 'scientific, thorough, and exhaustive' report was the creation of 'accurate knowledge', to form 'the basis for future reform'.[27] The main insanitary conditions were 'darkness, lack of air, uncleanliness, and poisonous gases.'[28] Poor ventilation, compounded by overcrowding, caused considerable concern, since 'emanations from the body and foul air' could not leave the house.[29] Rotten floors, leaky roofs, and damp wallpaper meant it was 'almost impossible to keep such houses clean'.[30] Facilities for bodily washing were also lacking. In one district of 21,812 people, only 164 bath tubs were found – twenty-four of which were in one recently

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[24] Ibid., p.9.
[25] Hollow, 'Housing Needs', pp.53-58 for a discussion of the Garden City movement on the conceptualising of the tenant. S. Rowntree, *Poverty: a Study of Town Life* (London, 1901); C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 3rd ed., (London, 1902).
[26] For the rise and fall of municipal inspection into tenement conditions in Chicago in the late nineteenth century, see M. Garb, 'Health, morality, and housing: the "tenement problem" in Chicago', *American Journal of Public Health,* 93, no. 9 (2003). See also Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto,* p.22. *Hull-House Maps and Papers: a Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, Together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing out of the Social Conditions* (New York, 1895) Chapter Four in particular.
[27] Hunter, *Tenement Conditions*, p.14. Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, pp.27-41.
[28] Hunter, *Tenement Conditions,* p.73.
[29] Ibid., p.73.
[30] Ibid., p.94.

erected apartment building.[31] The results of 'insanitary housing conditions' were 'handicaps in the competitive struggle which drag families into a condition of painful and degrading dependence upon public charity… reduce industrial efficiency, promote exhaustion and weariness' and caused 'the growth of a large, dependent class.'[32] The final section of the report drew attention to the high death rate in English cities, and argued that 'if the current tendencies in Chicago be not checked, Manchester conditions will become Chicago conditions.'[33] This report left 'no doubt' that the city had a housing problem, placed the blame on the lack of regulation from municipal authorities, and attempted to create a climate of reform.[34]

A 1912 report by the Civics Committee of the Chicago Woman's Club made similar points. In common with Marr's observations on the responsibility of the inhabitants for their own conditions, the Committee blamed the laziness of the poor and the experience of being a new immigrant: 'Hundreds of… women fall into apathetic slovenliness… from sheer confusion and sense of helplessness in a strange land.'[35] Conditions were predictably grim: 'antiquated plumbing… walls defaced and begrimed, plaster falling and roof leaking…often leaky pipes…windows… too decayed to open…The absolute absence of sunshine from rooms… and many other roots of squalor and wretchedness'.[36] For the Chicago Woman's Club the answer was increased municipal regulation.[37] Importantly, the report included bright flash-photography that visually penetrated the dark rooms, revealing the relationship between tenants and their environment. This made the report even more shocking to contemporaries,

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[31] Ibid., p.108.
[32] Ibid., p.146.
[33] Ibid., p.160.
[34] H.L. Platt, 'Jane Addams and the ward boss revisited: class, politics, and public health in Chicago, 1890-1930', *Environmental History,* 5, no. 2 (2000), pp.200-202. Much the same conditions were found in a revisit report of 1911. S.P. Breckinridge and E. Abbott, 'Chicago housing conditions, IV: the West Side revisited', *American Journal of Sociology,* 17, no .1 (1911).
[35] Civics Committee of the Chicago Woman's Club, *Tenement Housing Conditions in the Twentieth Ward* (Chicago, 1912), p.4.
[36] Ibid., p.7.
[37] Ibid., p.7.

in much the same way as the work of housing reformer and photographer Jacob Riis in New York.[38]

Figure 7.4: Dilapidated housing in Chicago's twentieth ward. Caption reads 'Kitchen of chicken slaughtering apartment.'

Source: Civics Committee of the Chicago Woman's Club, *Tenement Housing Conditions in the Twentieth Ward* (Chicago, 1912), p.10.

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[38] J. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York, 1890) and *Children of the Tenements* (New York, 1903) in particular. See also M. Stange, *Symbols of Ideal Life: Social Documentary Photography in America, 1890-1915* (Cambridge, 1989).

Figure 7.5: Dilapidated and cluttered kitchen in Chicago's twentieth ward slum.

Source: Chicago Woman's Club, *Tenement Housing Conditions in the Twentieth Ward,* p.13

Attention given by women to the effect the conditions of insanitary housing on the practices of the housewife was an important part of the debate and reports leading to the plans of the Tudor Walters Committee in 1918, the basis of interwar state housing in Britain. With the appointment of a progressive Women's Housing Sub-Committee, which 'bore the stamp of women in the labour movement', the question was approached in a 'consciously feminist way'.[39] Working-class women were visited and interviewed as to their ideal requirements of a home, with their comments forming a significant element of the Committee's recommendations. The 'new feminists' accepted a 'broadly patriarchal view of women as wives and mothers', but had working women's support in their approach to the health of women and children. Existing housing defects informed possible future designs; the

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[39] Mcfarlane, 'Homes fit for heroines' pp.26-28.

Committee demanded a separate workroom for food preparation and cooking, as well as a separate bathroom and front parlour; and fixtures that would save labour, like hot and cold running water, and a kitchen range that was easy to clean.[40] Hot water was particularly important, since having to boil water to carry to baths or sinks was 'a serious addition to the housewife's burden.' This strain on the housewife's time left her without 'either opportunity or energy to attend to other household tasks or to secure any form of recreation for herself.'[41] While many of the suggestions of this advisory committee were in practice not implemented, the implication was clear; public housing should 'fit the house *better* to the traditional roles of housewife and mother' rather than question 'the potentially oppressive nature of this role.'[42]

The Tudor Walters investigation also held twenty-six meetings of the full committee, questioning seventy-one witnesses, including town planners, architects, social reformers, representatives of labour associations, and academics. Sub-Committees also met on thirty-nine occasions, receiving informal evidence from seventy-eight witnesses, while 'valuable expert opinion' was given by letter from architects, contractors, engineers, surveyors and others.[43] When the Committee made its recommendations it was based on the expertise of these witnesses, yet its logic struck a chord with the numerous social surveys carried out on a local level too: cleanliness, ease of use, and health, were paramount. Importantly, the report was in part produced by Raymond Unwin, the continuing representative of the Garden City movement. The scullery, it was recommended, should be well-lit with a window for ventilation, and equipped with a sink thirty to thirty-six inches long with a draining-board on

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[40] Ibid., p.29.
[41] Ibid., p.34.
[42] Ibid., p.36. See also E. Darling, 'A citizen as well as a housewife: new spaces of femininity in 1930s London' in H. Heynen and G. Baydar (eds), *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender* (London, 2005).
[43] Local Government Board, *Report of the Committee appointed by the president of the local government board and the secretary for Scotland to consider questions of building construction in connection with the provision of dwellings for the working classes in England and Wales and Scotland and report upon methods of securing economy and despatch in the provision of such dwellings* [henceforth Tudor Walters Report] (London, 1918), p.4.

the left-hand side, and a table on the right-hand side. Such arrangements would save 'labour and confusion' as pots and pans could 'be laid down within easy reach on the right-hand side… washed up in the sink, and then laid down to drain on the left-hand side.[44]

Facilities for cleaning the body were also vital, and the Committee maintained that 'every house, where there is a water supply laid on, should be provided with a bath.'[45] While there was debate about the placement of this bath, and its connection to a hot water supply, its inclusion was vital. The attributes of materials were important, though the report recognised that economic considerations and local customs would inform the choices made by housing committees. In the living room, parlour and bedrooms, 'warm and quiet flooring' was 'desirable'. This was not important in the larder and scullery, however, where it was instead 'a floor which can readily be kept clean, which has no crevices and which will not suffer either from wet or grease' that the Committee recommended. For the latter, 'harder red or buff quarries' were 'generally preferred to a plain concrete finish'.[46] Similar considerations for ease of cleaning were made for cupboards, and the plastering of walls.[47]

Christopher Addison, Minister of Reconstruction (1917-1919) and Minister of Health (1919-1921), appointed the Tudor Walters Committee and was the key figure behind the ensuing Housing, Town Planning, &c. Act 1919. Addison had absorbed the ideology of national efficiency, and maintained that national health was the central foundation of a 'sane and well-ordered political future.'[48] This logic was evident in the Act, and Addison pushed local authorities to work with local medical and sanitary officials to ensure housing was efficient, healthy, and met the physiological and biological needs of the individual.[49] While social investigations, the Tudor Walters Report, and its published recommendations in the

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[44] Tudor Walters Report, p.31.
[45] Ibid., p.32.
[46] Ibid., p.60.
[47] Ibid., p.65 and p.67.
[48] Hollow, 'Housing Needs', pp.49-51.
[49] Ibid., p.52.

Housing Act of 1919 and *Housing Manual* (1919), provided an important general ethos and specific spatial elements and visual exteriors, the reality of municipal housing in Britain varied widely, and was subject to local conditions of expertise and ideology. Local authorities made the key decisions, and were given freedom in choosing furnishings and fixtures, or implementing different types of heating and ventilation systems.

In Chicago by the 1920s local government was also starting to get more involved in housing. In 1925 the Department of Public Welfare published its own study of 'living conditions for small-wage earners', 'Negro and Mexican migrants' specifically, and emphasised similar findings. Only thirteen per cent of the 1526 houses visited had the combination of sinks, toilets, baths and electricity, and eighty-five per cent of tenants had nothing but stove heat. Many bathtubs, where they existed, were not used, as they had only a cold tap. Along with the squalid interior, the effect of these conditions was to 'lower a family's previous standard of living or at most fail to stimulate it to strive toward a higher scale of home life.'[50] Such research continued up until the moment federal housing was introduced in the mid-1930s, since little housing reform to alleviate conditions was actually implemented. Reformers in the US continued to draw upon Progressive investigations into slums, as well as being influenced by the rapid growth of government subsidised public housing in Europe.[51] The fullest investigation into Chicago's conditions was published in the midst of this debate in 1936; edited by Edith Abbott, it covered the history, development and present condition of Chicago's tenements, with essays written by faculty and students in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago over a twenty-five year period.[52] The observations and conclusions were the same as earlier studies: lack of running water, let alone heated water; an absence of bath tubs; poor ventilation; peeling plaster; dark

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[50] E.A. Hughes, *Living Conditions for Small-Wage Earners in Chicago* (Chicago, 1925), p.26. See also Committee on Sub-Standard Housing, *The Chicago Program for Demolition and Rehabilitation of Sub-Standard Housing Report submitted to his honor Mayor Edward J. Kelly* (Chicago, 1935).
[51] Argersinger, 'Contested visions', p.796.
[52] E. Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago, 1908-1935* (New York, 1970 [1936]).

rooms; and awful toilet facilities.[53] Abbott highlighted the difficulty of maintaining cleanliness in dilapidated houses, rather than criticising immigrant habits as earlier reports did, and praised the habits of the women who endured such conditions: 'That these women of the tenements so often succeed in making their miserable flats into real homes is evidence of their courage and their almost inexhaustible patience.'[54]

From the early part of the century, housing had been an issue raised by concerned women in Chicago and the US more generally.[55] In the 1920s, female activists found their campaign to make housing a municipal priority in Chicago blocked by apathy or hostility, or 'the power of men to shape solutions to their own economic and political advantage.[56] While Mayor Dever created an advisory Housing Commission in response to housing concerns, it had little power or money, and was controlled not by government, but by commerce, industry and real estate interests.[57] In the 1930s, while there was legislation to clear slums, Abbott saw it as 'inadequate'- especially since the Department lacked 'a staff of inspectors large enough and competent enough to enforce such legislation as it exists.'[58] As she stated, 'very few improvements have come as a result of these efforts.'[59] Public housing required, therefore, federal intervention. Perhaps the most influential work leading to the introduction of state housing in the US was by architect and planner Catherine Bauer.[60] Bauer's 1934 book, *Modern Housing,* a description of British and Continental Europe housing programs, had considerable impact on the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, the first of the New Deal housing agencies, in the context of housing needs during the Depression. Key to the European housing schemes, in Bauer's opinion, was the creation of new kinds of

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[53] See chapters 'Tenement dwellers without the conveniences of modern life' and 'Tenement dwellers who live in darkness: the problem of light and ventilation'.
[54] Ibid., p.223.
[55] Flanagan, *Seeing with their Hearts,* pp.89-96. Argersinger, 'Contested visions', pp.797-798.
[56] Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago,* p.174.
[57] Ibid*.,* p.174 and Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto,* pp.251-254.
[58] Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago,* p.ix. See 'Tenement-house legislation in Chicago' chapter especially.
[59] Ibid., p.ix.
[60] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp.59-83.

modern housing, constructed for use instead of profit.[61] The use of internal space was vital: sunlight, effective ventilation, and privacy.[62] As Rodgers has noted, the New Dealers were buoyed by Britain's economic recovery, noting its correlation with investment in public housing. They also took on the slum-clearance ideology of 1930s Britain, arguing for the public benefits of replacing crime and disease-breeding social environments.[63] When this combined with contemporary investigations of slum conditions by associations at the local level, pressure for creating healthy houses for urban dwellers became increasingly powerful. In Edith Elmer Wood's *Recent Trends in Housing,* which surveyed Chicago housing investigations, and the settlement worker organised National Public Housing Conference, both in 1931, the established rhetoric of the evils of the slum was merged with the failure of the housing market and social instability of the Depression to present a new call for state-provided housing.[64] As Bradford Hunt has noted, the 1937 Housing Act in the US was 'the product of more than a half-century of work by progressive reformers – public health officials, settlement house leaders, and other activists – to shape public opinions about urban slums.'[65]

Civic activists continued to influence housing discourse in Manchester after national legislation, making links between poor material conditions and the formation of bad habits, and the inability to attain citizenship in a poor house. The early 1930s saw a flurry of reports, carried out under the umbrella organisation of the Manchester and Salford Better Housing Council, into the conditions of the poor, especially in 'clearance areas' designated by the 1930 Housing Act. This council was a fundamental part of the city's vibrant civic culture, operating as a pressure group, encouraging municipal authorities to intervene in the

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[61] Ibid., p.76.
[62] Ibid., p.76-77.
[63] Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings,* pp.473-477.
[64] E.E. Wood, *Recent Trends in Housing* (New York, 1931), p.20 and Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster,* p.20. Bowly, *The Poorhouse,* p.17.
[65] Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster,* p.17.

conditions of the poor. [66] Specifically, they quantified the lack of utilities like water and heat, and the difficulties of keeping a clean and healthy house due to structural considerations and the struggle to clean certain materials. In the 1931 examination of Angel Meadow and Red Bank by the Red Bank Study Group, [67] investigators drew attention to the 'most common defects' of 'general dampness, leaking roofs, bad condition of plaster, ill-fitting doors and the presence of rats and beetles' as well as lack of hot-water.[68] Much of the same conditions were found in the Chortlon-upon-Medlock area by the St. James', Birch, Fellowship, also in 1931; this report concluded by chastising the inactivity of Manchester's citizens in allowing 'conditions which make it very difficult and well-nigh impossible for these poor families to keep even moderately healthy, clean and decent', expressing surprise 'That so many do grow up to be good, healthy citizens, with infinite patience and perseverance keeping up a constant warfare against their disgusting conditions'.[69] In the 1931 report of the St. Matthias' Ward, Salford, the Salford Women Citizens' Association were particularly concerned with 'the question of what is a fit house from the point of view of the practical housewife.'[70] Lack of hot water, and a poor material environment, meant wholesome conditions could only be maintained with extreme difficulty. That many tenants succeeded 'in living a highly respectable life and keeping their houses or rooms clean, comfortable, homeley[sic] and even attractive… in dismal and squalid surroundings' surprised the surveyors.[71] The sum of these investigations was continued pressure for the removal of such property and transference of its

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[66] Shapely, *The Politics of Housing,* pp.110-112.

[67] The investigators consisted of a school teacher, a settlement worker, a secretary of the Industrial Christian Fellowship, a secretary of the Student Christian Movement, and a minister of religion. The study covered 381 houses and a block of 14 flats, containing 580 families. Manchester and Salford Better Housing Council, *Angel Meadow and Red Bank: Report of a Survey Undertaken in Part of St. Michael's and Collegiate Wards of the City of Manchester by the Red Bank Survey Group* (Manchester, 1931),

[68] Manchester and Salford Better Housing Council, *Angel Meadow and Red Bank,* p.7.

[69] Manchester and Salford Better Housing Council *, Some Housing Conditions in Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester: a Report by the Housing Investigation Group of the St. James', Birch, Fellowship Manchester* (Manchester, 1931), p.15.

[70] D.L. Pilkington, 'Introductory Note' in Manchester and Salford Better Housing Council *, Housing Conditions in the St. Matthias' Ward, Salford, A Survey by the Salford Women Citizens' Association* (Manchester, 1931).

[71] Ibid., p.15.

inhabitants into municipal housing – even though the majority of the 'slum-dwellers' did not wish to leave.[72]

By the 1930s in both Chicago and Manchester, social reformers were less inclined to apportion blame to the tenant, instead focusing on the dilapidation of the material environment. The logic of these social investigations was clear; remove the 'slum-dweller' to a materially superior house, and their behaviour would change accordingly. As G.H. Gray, architect and city planner in the US, noted in his 1946 book on *Housing and Citizenship,* 'given improved conditions of living, nine out of ten of the slum population will rise out of a slum way of living…Because a wholesome sunlit home environment is fundamental to clean, efficient living and loyal citizenship, good housing is a matter of national concern.'[73] In the literature produced by the Chicago Housing Authority [CHA], formed in 1937 by municipal government to take over New Deal created housing tenements and to build new housing projects, civic culture attitudes were internalised. In a 1941 pamphlet they stated that one in every five homes in Chicago was substandard: 'either physically unfit for human habitation, lacking toilet, bath, and running water, inadequately heated or insulated, poorly ventilated and dark, or extremely overcrowded.'[74] These conditions bred 'disease, crime, and social ills' and prevented 'large portions of our population from having minimum standards of living and from becoming healthy citizens.'[75] These ideas were implicitly apparent in the photographs of slum housing CHA employees took in the 1930s, which showed disordered, crowded, dark, unclean, and dilapidated rooms. In comparison, photographs of new CHA

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[72] Ibid., pp.120-121. In the St. Mathias ward of Salford, for example, of 817 householders who gave definite replies, 498 (61 per cent) were not willing to move – most due to the necessity of being near work; unwilling to leave the neighbourhood due to social ties; and the impossibility of paying more rent. *Housing Conditions in the St. Matthias' Ward, Salford, A Survey by the Salford Women Citizens' Association* (Manchester, 1931), p.19.
[73] C.H. Gray, *Housing and Citizenship: a Study of Low Cost Housing* (New York, 1946), pp.1-2.
[74] Chicago Housing Authority, *Low Rent Housing in Chicago* (Chicago, 1941), p.1.
[75] Ibid*.,* p.3.

managed projects were bright and ordered, surrounded by plants, with the windows thrown open to the fresh air.[76]

Figure 7.6: Southside Chicago tenement housing, crowded and dilapidated room, photograph taken by CHA staff, c.1930s.

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Source: 'Architectural Perspectives in the History of Chicago's Public Housing', *Roosevelt University.* Accessed online, 12th April 2013, http://www.roosevelt.edu/CAS/CentersAndInstitutes/NewDeal/HistoryFair/PublicHousing/Architecture.aspx

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[76] D. Bradford Hunt, 'Photography and the history of the Chicago Housing Authority' in *The Promise of Public Housing 1936-1983,* p.1.

Figure 7.7: Broken and filthy toilet, photograph taken by CHA staff, c.1930s.

Figure 7.8: the new Lathrop Homes, photograph taken 13th August 1938.

The answer, therefore, was 'hot water heating systems with radiators, refrigerator, gas-stove, bath, laundry-sink, and adequate cupboard and storage space in each home.'[77] Elizabeth Wood, first executive director of the CHA, was even more explicit. As a former caseworker for the Chicago United Charities who had witnessed the human costs of the slums during the depression, she took on board the civic culture discourse of slum degeneration and citizenship.[78] In a lecture to the Illinois Committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce in 1941, she declared that the deterioration of the slums affected inhabitants physically and socially; the CHA therefore took 'the poor family from the slum, puts it in decent housing,

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[77] Chicago Housing Authority, *Low Rent Housing in Chicago,* p.15. See also 'Better housing makes better citizens', *Chicago Defender* (20th June 1942) and Chicago Housing Authority, *Children's Cities* (Chicago, 1945), p.2.

[78] Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster*, p.36.

and attempts to make an asset out of the family and out of the neighbourhood.'[79] While the legislation for public housing was created at the central level, therefore, it was the discourse of the urban environment and citizenship that influenced its form. The next section of this chapter discusses what the material design of 'decent housing' in Chicago and Manchester was, and how these spaces were managed to encourage certain types of citizenship behaviour.

House Design and Material Choices

In both local and national investigations, a conceptualisation of the 'bad' house was used to display the negative effect of the slums on the bodies and habits of urban inhabitants. When the chance to rectify these problems became politically viable it was through attention to material systems and details. An ideal house could 'make specific kinds of agency or capacity possible' through technology: to be clean, healthy, productive, and, above all, a good citizen.[80] As Gray stated, if the aim of public housing was 'the creation of a wholesome family environment' that would enable 'good citizenship', housing needed to be more 'than the minimum required for sanitation; it must be such as makes possible efficient housekeeping, wholesome family life, and wholesome neighbourhood life.'[81] For Chicago in this period it was through the local management of property, utilities and tenants that this was realised; while the federally funded Public Works Administration Housing Division used local architectural firms and building contractors, they were closely supervised,[82] and local housing authorities had 'little impact on decisions in their own cities'.[83] The first three projects therefore, opened in 1938, were constructed by federal government agencies, though

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[79] CHM: Bulletin, Chicago Housing Authority, HD7288.78.U62, *Chicago Housing Authority Bulletins,* 1 no. 6 (1st May 1941), p.2.
[80] Otter, *The Victorian Eye*, p.19. Gray, *Housing and Citizenship,* p.197.
[81] Gray, *Housing and Citizenship,* p.197.
[82] Radford, *Modern Housing for America,* p.99
[83] Ibid*.,* p.105.

their plans show a clear attention to details of light, warmth, and ventilation.[84] Furthermore, their management after construction was turned over to the municipal Chicago Housing Authority who, as this section will show, utilised the notions of health and environment in their day-to-day management of properties.[85] In Britain, however, city councils had more scope to control the initial building phase.

In the minutes for the Housing Committee of the City Council in Manchester the consideration of materials was a consistent part of the Committee's day-to-day activities. Furnishings and fittings were selected based on characteristics like endurance, ease of cleaning, and aesthetic qualities, referencing the importance in social surveys of creating an environment that was easy to maintain and productive to live in. Choices were made after negotiation between the City Architect, the Housing Committee, the Women's Advisory Sub-Committee, and the central state mediated through the Housing Commissioner.[86] The move to appoint an advisory committee of women was supported at the central level by Addison and the Ministry of Health, detailed in a circular, December 1919. On the advice of the Housing Advisory Council they believed that 'women should have an opportunity of expressing their opinion' on the proposed lay-out of houses and open spaces, the arrangement of internal fittings, and the provision of lighting and heating.[87]

In 1920, the Manchester's Women's Advisory Committee, reflecting the preoccupation with the lessening of women's work, requested 'that all fittings in the cottages, principally door furniture and taps, should be in a material that will not require polishing.' Taking on board this suggestion, the City Architect recommended 'either hard wood or dull

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[84] National Archives in Washington: Maps and Plans of Housing Projects, PWA 1933-36, Illinois Projects, RG 196, 330\20\1\3-5.

[85] The first three projects were the Jane Addams Houses on the Near West Side; the Julia C. Lathrop Homes on the North Side; and the Trumbull Park Homes on the far South Side.

[86] Hughes and Hunt, 'A culture transformed?', pp.82-84

[87] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee , vol. 1, 'Circular 50, Ministry of Health', 3rd December 1919, p.8.

wrought iron'. For kitchen and bathroom taps he was advised that, though the metal could be oxidised or bronzed at a cost of 1s6d. per tap, this would not be of a 'permanent character' and would wear off in a few years. Consequently, he recommended the use of brass or gun-metal. The Housing Committee read these reports and suggestions, approved their contents, and selected the use of brass for taps.[88] Other examples include the provision of hooks in cupboards, for the efficient use of space, and the avoidance of 'unnecessary grooving around the windows of the houses' to lessen the accumulation of dust.[89] Maintaining this environment was a large part of the Committee's activities; in 1934, 127 painters, twenty-two joiners, eighteen plumbers, twenty-nine bricklayers, four electricians, and three plasterers were employed by the council on the existing property of the estates; Manchester's municipal housing by this point consisted of over 23,000 houses across fifty-one estates.[90]

Even a towel rail could be imbued with meaning; the process of negotiation around its inclusion in housing schemes in Manchester provides a neat example of the relationship between political arbitration and material considerations. In February, 1921, the Women's Advisory Sub Committee recommended that 'provision be made in the bathroom for drying towels, preferably in the form of a wooden roller fixed to the wall running the full length of the room, thus encouraging tidiness and avoiding damage to the walls by the knocking in of nails.'[91] After consulting the Building Types Sub-Committee the Director of Housing, agreed, and recommended the Committee adopt the proposal after seeking the sanction of the Housing Commissioner of the Ministry of Health regarding 'the comparatively small cost'.[92] The following month the secretary to the Housing Commissioner replied that, due to cost, he

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[88] Ibid., 'Non-Polishing Furnishings and Fittings Memorandum', 29th March 1920, p.141.
[89] Ibid., 'Women's Advisory Sub Committee', 3rd May 1920, p.169.
[90] Ibid., vol. 16, 'Maintenance Staff', 11th June 1934, p.142 and vol. 17, 'Staff', 12th November 1934, p.3.
[91] Ibid. vol. 2, 'Women's Advisory Sub Committee', 21st February 1921, p.180.
[92] Ibid., 'Building Types', 7th March 1921, p.194.

was 'unable to authorise… the provision of Towel Rods'.[93] While this led to protests from the Women's Advisory Sub Committee,[94] the Commissioner was unrepentant, stating: 'Towel Rails in Bath Rooms are of the nature of tenants fixtures. These fittings, therefore, cannot be charged to the Housing Scheme.'[95] This issue lay dormant for ten months, until the Women's Advisory Sub-Committee and the Housing Director came to a compromise: 'a fascia or 3" rail to be fixed on the partition wall to which tenants themselves if they so desired could attach a towel rail' at the lesser cost of 'about 5/- to 6/- per house' to be borne by the Committee.[96] In this way the views of health, environment, and citizenship propagated by civic culture informed the Women's Advisory Sub Committee in its insistence on fixtures and fittings.

Consideration of materiality was an important part of housing in Chicago, too. When selecting new tenants, the condition of the dwellings from which they originated was a large part of the procedure. In the *Manual of Operation*, an internal document of 1940 which the CHA gave to housing inspectors, a points-based system was used to judge the eligibility of slum-dwellers.[97] While each housing project had certain requirements – like 'families shall include children of seventeen years of age or less, except that ten per cent of the families in each project may consist of adults only' – each case was judged individually using the form *CHA 140.* Six different categories made up the interviewers check-list, with a total of one-hundred points based on the extent of dilapidation distributed across the categories: type and use of structure and dwelling, five points; condition of structure, twenty points; rooms, light and ventilation, fifteen points; equipment and facilities, fifty points; other factors, five points;

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[93] Ibid., 'Housing. Labor Saving Taps and Towel Rod, Recommendations of Women's Advisory Sub-Committee', 21st March 1921, p.216.
[94] Ibid. vol. 3, 'Women's Advisory Committee', 9th May 1921, p.2.
[95] Ibid., 'Towel Rails in Bath Rooms', 11th July 1921, p.46.
[96] Ibid., vol. 4, 'Towel Rail' 7th April 1924, p.229.
[97] Harold Washington Library Center Municipal Reference Collection [hereafter HWLCMRC]: Chicago Housing Authority, Cx H84 1940xa, *Tenant Selection Regulations and procedures [Manual of Operation]* (1940).

and neighbourhood, five points. Applications scoring less than twenty-five points were rejected; deferred and accepted only if the pool of applicants was depleted for scores of between twenty-five and forty-nine; and placed in a pool to be accepted if scoring fifty or more points. Factors influencing points included the adequacy of natural light and ventilation; the presence of dampness or odours; the sufficiency of cooking facilities; and the provision of a flush toilet, a private bath, and facilities for hot water.[98] Alongside the material conditions of selection there was a moral consideration of the habits and practices of potential tenants, often expressed through a judgement of their relationship to the physicality of their dwelling. As Tom McDade, a housing manager for Ashburn Homes on the Southwest Side of Chicago, recalled: 'We endeavoured to be quite selective. In a home visit you checked under the bed, and you'd expect that there might be today's or yesterday's debris under there, but if it was last week's, we didn't want them.'[99]

In the advertisement pamphlet for the first three projects built in Chicago in 1938 – the Jane Addams Houses, Julia Lathrop Homes, and Trumbull Park Homes – it was explained that Chicago citizens needed better housing if their present home was 'dark, damp, leaks or… [is] badly in need of major repairs'; 'without plumbing, a private water closet' or with the 'plumbing… out of order'; 'without your own cooking facilities or… without proper flues for stoves'; or, above all, 'If your general living conditions are injurious to the health of any of your family.'[100] The pamphlet then described the idealised nature of the new homes, highlighting in particular the modern fixtures and fittings that gave a domestic and environmental benefit:

> Each apartment or home has plenty of windows – all are provided with electric lights
> and steam heat radiators, floors easy to care for, closets, storage space, fully equipped

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[98] Ibid., pp.1-13, and Appendix A, pp.1-13.
[99] Fuerst, *When Public Housing was Paradise,* p.23.
[100] HWLCMRC: Chicago Housing Authority, Cx H84 1942xe, D*o You Know About the Jane Addams Houses? The Julia C. Lathrop Homes? The Trumbull Park Homes?* (1942), p.4.

Kitchen containing cupboards, refrigerator, stove, two-part laundry sink; Bath Room with medicine case, built-in bath-tub; hot running water; airy, outside Bedrooms; and sunny cheerful Living Rooms.[101]

These logics were tied up with notions of gender and the position of the housewife and homemaking as the responsibility of citizenship, a position supported by the distribution of information pamphlets by Federal government detailing nutrition, gardening, and looking after the family.[102] In the handbooks given to new tenants the CHA elaborated on the consideration given to using certain practical materials to construct the interior of the house: 'The kitchen sink, wash stand, bath tub, and toilet bowl have white, hard, smooth, glazed surfaces, not only for appearance sake, but to make them easier for you to clean.'[103] Similarly, 'The flooring in each dwelling is of a polished terrazzo, which, if properly cared for, will present an excellent appearance and give adequate service.'[104] For the Cabrini homes, a wholly CHA project, new methods of construction were developed for the floors. Instead of the 'regular fireproof concrete floor made of cement and sand, a sort of terrazzo floor was made by using various degrees of crushed limestone… and concrete.' After being ground smooth with machines, 'a beautiful, smooth floor' was 'economically made in a single operation' with the characteristics of being 'most serviceable, most sanitary, and least expensive to maintain.'[105]

For Altgeld Gardens, built by the CHA in 1945, the tenant was reminded to 'Remember that cleaning compounds, corrosive cleaning solutions, or even fruit juices will roughen the surfaces and make them much harder to clean' and to clean the kitchen work

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[101] Ibid., p.3.

[102] C.M. Winchell, 'For the homemaker: homemaking as a phase of citizenship', *The Journal of Home Economics,* 14, no. 1 (1922). See A.W. Satterfield, 'Publications Disseminated by the U.S. Government During the Early 20th Century for the American Housewife: a Selected Bibliography', MSc thesis (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2005).

[103] HWLCMRC: Chicago Housing Authority, Cx H84 1944xa, *Handbook for Residents of Altgeld Gardens*, p.7.

[104] Ibid., p.13.

[105] 'New construction methods save time and materials in CHA housing project', *CT* (23rd August 1942), p.10.

table and kitchen cabinets with a 'soft, soapy cloth, wiped with a soft cloth soaked in clean water, and dried with a soft cloth.'[106] Tenants were also advised to facilitate the circulation of hot air by keeping the radiators clear, and to turn off radiators before considering it necessary to open windows.[107] The manual ended by stating 'THIS WHOLE COMMUNITY WILL BE AS WHOLESOME AS YOU MAKE IT AND WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT YOU ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE IT A SUCCESS.'[108] As well as manuals, the process of tenant education began on the day they moved in; the housing manager explained the rules of tenancy, showed the family how to use the new equipment, and informed the tenant that 'the public housing program is to enable him to better himself both economically and socially.' This required prompt payment of rent and 'the fullest cooperation in care of the property.'[109]

In Manchester there were seventeen basic rules and conditions of tenancy. These included: children not allowed to play on stairs, in the passages, balconies or in the laundries of flats; passage floors, closets, sinks, entrance lobbies and balconies to be swept every day before 10.00am, and washed every Saturday before 6.00pm; and tenants to be responsible for cracked or broken glass panes.[110] This advice was replicated in the generic tenant manuals provided by a small amount of publishing houses across Britain in this period and used by countless local authorities, showing that notions of gender and domesticity were considerably ingrained.[111] The Manchester Housing Committee had been willing to use these manuals, alongside its own guidelines, but their production was not economically viable.[112] As well as tenant manuals, the Housing Committee was prepared to place direct reminders in the houses

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[106] *Handbook for Residents of Altgeld Gardens*, p.12.
[107] Ibid., p.12.
[108] Ibid., p.16.
[109] HWLCMRC: Chicago Housing Authority, Cx H84r, Annual Report to the Mayor, 1941, pp.24-25.
[110] Shapely, *The Politics of Housing,* p.119.
[111] See, for example, Wednesbury Corporation, *The Tenants' Handbook. A Reference Book for Municipal Tenants in Wednesbury* (London, 1934), published by EJ Burrow and Co; and Tyldesley Urban District Council, *The Municipal Tenants' Handbook* (Gloucester, 1939), published by the British Publishing Company.
[112] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee, vol. 19, 'Tenants Handbook', 13th July 1936, p.67 and vol. 20, 'Proposed Tenants Calendar', 19th July 1937, p.107.

of tenants. In 1920, for example, the Women's Advisory Committee recommended that a notice be hung over each bath stating 'THESE TAPS DO NOT NEED POLISHING BUT SHOULD BE KEPT DRY'.[113] While it has not been possible to ascertain whether this memorandum was followed, the Ministry of Health supported advice and demonstration as a means to ensure tenants maintained their home in the correct way.[114]

Before the 1920s the argument for housing management had been made, drawing on the influential management tradition of Octavia Hill and her emphasis on directly attempting to elevate the morals of tenants in relation to their new homes.[115] In 1904 Marr stated that there was 'little use in providing good houses if the people who are to live in these houses do not know how to use them rightly, or if, by self-indulgence or from other causes, they nullify the benefit of good and wholesome surroundings.'[116] In the 1930s this logic was followed by the Ministry of Health, and Society of Women Housing Managers, who considered it unsurprising that the former slum-dweller did not know how to live in their new home, and supported the use of 'good management' to teach the tenant to 'cultivate his garden', use 'new and mysterious appliances', and, 'in short so raise his domestic standard that he may profit fully by his new surroundings'.[117] Tenants, particularly those not meeting the expected standards, were to be closely supervised.[118] The neo-Marxist Sean Damer has viewed the surveillance and inspection this entailed as blatant 'social control of public-sector tenants… firmly located in contemporary class relationships and class ideology.'[119] Originating in the investigations undertaken by Medical Officers of Health and continuing in the practices of housing managers, Damer has argued, a discourse of 'social hygiene' – 'an economic science

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[113] Ibid., 'Women's Advisory Sub Committee', 26th April 1920, p.157.
[114] Ministry of Health, *The Management of Municipal Housing Estates, Report of the House Management and Housing Associations Sub-Committee of the Central Housing Advisory Committee* (London, 1939), p.25.
[115] Wohl, 'Octavia Hill', p.113.
[116] Marr, *Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford*, p.101.
[117] Ministry of Health, *The Management of Municipal Housing Estates,* pp.8-11.
[118] Ibid., p.24.
[119] S. Damer, 'Engineers of the human machine': the social practice of council housing management in Glasgow, 1895-1939, *Urban Studies,* 37, no. 11 (2000), p.2007.

that has the human capital or material as its object, the latter's production or reproduction, its conservation, its utilisation, and its output' – was created.[120] This was achieved through inspection of housing and tenants; housing managers were the 'laboratory assistants in the great sociological experiment which was geared to the social reproduction of compliant – and clean and healthy – male industrial workers'.[121] Just as important however, as this chapter has shown, was the role of housewives in the creation of this environment.

Surveillance was apparent in Manchester; the Council was unique in training its own property managers for seven years, to the standard of professional qualification, in slum clearance, disinfestation of property, identification of verminous houses, and building construction.[122] The qualified rent collector, dressed in a uniform complete with city coats of arms, could then use 'notices to quit' to either discipline tenants into improving, or removing them altogether.[123] Although the majority of notices were for arrears of rent, there were many occasions of the untidiness of the house being cited,[124] and also notices for bad language, causing disturbance,[125] and even vague 'complaints of rowdyism'.[126] When it came to inspecting potential tenants for the city's new estates, the conditions of 'clearance areas' under the legislation of the 1930 Housing Act were particularly important. In collaboration with the Public Health Department and the Medical Officer of Health, housing inspectors in Manchester inspected the old houses as well as tenants for vermin infestations.[127] Property and inhabitants were then treated before being allowed to relocate to Corporation housing.

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[120] Ibid., drawing on J. Donzelot, *The Policing of Families: Welfare versus the State* (London, 1979).

[121] Damer, 'Engineers of the human machine', p.2022.

[122] Ministry of Health, *The Management of Municipal Housing Estates,* p.17.

[123] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee, vol. 14, 'Special Sub Committee re Clothing of Rent Collections', 14th March 1932, p.39; 'Rent Collectors and Investigators. Provision of Clothing', 12th September 1932, p.189; 'Staff-Uniform Clothing', 14th November 1932; and 14th November 1932, p.231; and vol. 20, 'Tenancy Section – Uniform Clothing' 13th December 1937, p.219.

[124] Ibid., vol. 12, 'Notices to Quit', 8th December 1930, pp.52-53.

[125] Ibid., 'Notices to Quit',11th May 1931, p.201.

[126] Ibid., vol. 13, 'Notice to Quit', 21st August 1931, p.47.

[127] Ibid., vol. 16, 'Disinfestation of Persons and Articles', 9th January 1934, p.56.

In the US, housing management was seen as a particularly important part of public housing schemes, and was also influenced by the Octavia Hill tradition.[128] As Gray described in 1946, management was 'the art of diplomacy'. The highest goal of public housing was to create and maintain a 'moral and spirit of cooperation which makes each project an organized civic group, a neighbourhood, a field where the seeds of good citizenship are planted and nurtured'; this goal rested not in the hands of politicians and planners, but in the housing manager.[129] This was a responsibility the National Association of Housing Officials [NAHO], based in Chicago, took seriously. As well as its principal periodic publication, *NAHO News,* it also sent, without charge to authorities who requested it, a four-page newsletter titled *Housing Management Bulletin.*[130] With the cooperation of local authorities and the United States Housing Authority, the NAHO also organised demonstrations and training in housing management.[131] The physical aspect of public housing was vital to management, since the problems of maintaining and operating the physical plant 'cannot be divorced from those of tenant relations without causing an unending series of troubles.'[132] In 1944 the NAHO elaborated on this issue, highlighting 'good layout, design, and construction' but also the negative effects of 'Poor maintenance and careless management, devoid of understanding and skill in the handling of tenant relations'.[133]

In terms of tenant-landlord relations, housing managers were keen to impress upon tenants the importance of maintaining their new homes as a key part of loyal citizenship. In the tenant manual for Altgeld Gardens, constructed in 1945 to provide homes for war workers

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[128] R. H. Bremner, 'An iron scepter twined with roses: the Octavia Hill system of housing management', *Social Service Review*, 2 (1965).

[129] Gray, *Housing and Citizenship,* p.214.

[130] C. Woodbury (ed.), *Housing Yearbook* ([National Association of Housing Officials], Chicago, 1939), p.222.

[131] Ibid*.,* p.223.

[132] A. Goldfeld, *Diary of a Housing Manager* (National Association of Housing Officials, Chicago, 1938), p.v. Goldfeld was a housing manager for Lavanburg Homes on the lower east side of New York. As well as publishing his diary, the NAHO used it in their management training courses.

[133] *Housing for the United States after the War* (May 1944, Publication No. N193) [National Association of Housing Officials], p.12.

and their families in the Calumet area of Chicagoland, the housing manager welcomed new tenants with 'an excellent opportunity to enrich your daily lives.'[134] To do this, however, tenants had to comply with the 'common rules of behaviour'. These included keeping a quiet environment; placing milk bottles or food containers away from windows and 'other places subject to public view; not hanging clothes out of windows; preserving the trees, shrubs, lawns and vines; keeping the garbage pail lined with paper; and not putting 'garbage, grease, or even coffee grounds in your kitchen sink.'[135] While Damer's argument for social control has elements of truth, I would argue that surveillance and discipline were secondary adjuncts to the realisation of housing authority's goals through the primary practice of creating a decent environment through benign technologies. As the final section of this chapter will show, however, the reality of such an environment was not as simple as its ideology.

Systems and Material Realities

The previous sections of this chapter have shown from where the logic of the interior of council housing originated, in both its imagining and quantifying of tenants and their housing, and how this was then conceptualised in design and use of specific materials, and the ways that this message was disseminated to tenants in the form of manuals and management. There is, however, another side to this issue. Firstly and perhaps most simply: things break.[136] Systems and the materials of which they consisted were temperamental. This was particularly apparent in Manchester under the immediate post-war conditions of expensive building materials and labour scarcity.[137] Services and materials could also be used/abused in ways not foreseen by planners. In this respect I utilise the framework laid out

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[134] *Handbook for Residents of Altgeld Gardens*, p.2.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Trentmann, 'Materiality in the future of history', p.300.
[137] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee, vol. 4, 'Condition of Houses', 8th November 1922, pp.8-9.

by Vanessa Taylor and Frank Trentmann, who have criticised the early proponents of the material turn for missing the 'crucial dynamics of flux, agency and contestation in everyday material politics', arguing that historians must 'connect the study of politics with that of everyday life as a variegated field of practice, agency and creativity, rather than of control, alienation and reproduction'.[138] This can be achieved by analysing what tenants did with new technologies, and how these interactions shaped their materially embodied selves, practices, and relationships.[139]

The attempt to provide a clean and continuous supply of hot water to two of Manchester's earliest estates, Blackley and Gorton Mount, offers a case study of these themes. In December, 1919, the Housing Committee opted to implement a centrally heated hot water supply, a 'complete novelty',[140] describing the advantages to tenants as being not only a constant supply of hot water, but also consequent 'greater cleanliness' and 'less cleaning and firing'.[141] In April of the following year, the Committee elaborated by highlighting the advantages to the housewife in a saving of her labour of carrying coals and cleaning. Due to the house also being provided with a gas cooker and gas copper, there was no need to use the open fire during the summer months, leading to 'absolutely smokeless' houses, an important achievement given the links made in this period between the slums and the 'dirt, gloom, and ill-health' of smoke.[142] A central station was established to heat the water to approximately 150 degrees Fahrenheit, then distributed through lagged mains to the houses on the estates, directly to sinks and the bath. While the Tudor Walters Report had stated that housewives wanted a basin with hot and cold running water, this was 'often

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[138] Taylor and Trentmann, 'Liquid politics', p.203.
[139] Trentmann, 'Materiality in the future of history', p.290.
[140] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee, vol. 2, '[Plumber's dispute minutes]', 13th December 1920, p.128.
[141] Ibid., vol. 1, 'Central Hot Water Supply, Blackley Estate', 15th December 1919, p.12.
[142] Ibid., 'Report of the Housing Committee: Blackley Estate Housing Scheme Central Hot Water Supply', 26th April, 1920, p.165; Ibid., vol. 16, 'National Smoke Abatement Society', 8th January 1934, pp.60-61.

dispensed with'.[143] As Alison Ravetz has described, 'countless anecdotes of families moving from the 1920s onwards confirm that they revelled in simply being able to turn a tap and soak. 'Mothers said their children were 'bath daft'. They'd be in there every night if you'd let them'.[144] A bath with a direct hot-water supply then was unusual, and, according to the housewives the Committee surveyed, worth the extra charge of 1s 3d on the rent.[145]

By December, 1922, the system had begun to run into difficulties. Reporting to the Council, the City Architect noted that the water on the Gorton Mount Estate was 'highly discoloured with rust.' He attributed this to the tendency of the carbonic acid in the water to attack the iron of the pipes when heated, leading to the formation of bicarbonate of iron. When this bicarbonate of iron was mixed with the excess of oxygen in the water, introduced by aeration when water entered the tank, hydrated oxide of iron was formed, also known as rust. Price's technological solution to this problem was to introduce lime into the system, which deposited itself on the pipes, and thus intervened between the carbonic acid and the iron, preventing the formation of rust and enabling the cleanness of water.[146] Yet there continued to be problems with the colour of the water and, by 1926, complaints were beginning to make their way into the public press. Unsurprisingly, the Committee now felt it was 'of great importance that the water supply to these Houses should be satisfactory in every way'.[147]

Amongst the complaints about discolouration were letters from tenants to the Housing Manager that highlighted the advantages of the hot water system. Mr. John Armstrong, for example, wrote on behalf of him and his wife to express their 'strongest support' for 'the

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[143] Ravetz, *The Place of Home*, p.138.
[144] Ibid.
[145] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee, vol. 1, 'Report of the Housing Committee: Blackley Estate Housing Scheme Central Hot Water Supply', 26th April 1920, p.165.
[146] Ibid., vol. 4, 'Central Hot Water Supply Gorton Mount Estate', 18th December 1922, p.14.
[147] Ibid., vol. 7, 'Report of Messrs. G.N. Haden and Sons Ltd. Heating and Electrical Engineers, Manchester', 10th January 1927, p.100.

existing arrangements' as 'an immense improvement on the old system' in spite of 'the grumblers who seem to delight in placing every possible stumbling block in the way of improvement.'[148] Mr. Harold V. Ward, of Blackley, also expressed satisfaction, arguing that the discolouration was 'simply the residue of iron from the pipes' and 'quite harmless'. While 'disagreeable and unsightly' the advantages of hot water meant there was no real complaint to be made.[149] As the decade progressed, however, other defects in the system became apparent, like a greater than expected loss in temperature during circulation, and water not being delivered in the upper storeys of some houses.[150] Various experts suggested or tried to implement improvements to the system, with an especially thorough investigation carried out by T. Roland Wollaston, a Consulting Engineer from Manchester.[151] These investigations and improvements, including extensive cleaning of the whole system, involved shutting down the central hot water system, and leaving tenants without hot water, leading to rent rebates being given.[152] In 1929, the Committee announced that they were 'satisfied, after exhaustive enquiries that the Central Hot Water Systems on the above estates are now in a proper condition'.[153] By May 1931, however, only one boiler was working, despite three boilers being 'essential for the proper working of the system'.[154] Later that month the Committee resolved that 'Notwithstanding strenuous efforts to obtain a satisfactory supply and after many alterations' they had 'reluctantly' decided to discontinue the systems.'[155] Hot water remained on the estate, but was now provided through 'individual house fireback boilers', a more economical if less controllable supply.[156] In 1937 the now disused Blackley Hot Water

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[148] Ibid., vol. 6, 'Letter from Mr. John R. Armstrong, 185 Mount Road, Gorton', 17th March 1926, p.169.
[149] Ibid., vol. 6, 'Letter from Mr. Harold V. Ward, 63 Cecil Road, Higher Blackley', 25th March 1926, p.169.
[150] Ibid., vol. 8, 'Central Hot Water Supply Gorton Estate', 12th December 1927, p.142.
[151] Ibid., 'Gorton Central Hot Water Supply', 10th January 1927, p.101.
[152] Ibid., vol. 9, 'Official Hot Water Supply, Gorton and Blackley Estates', 14th January 1929, p.220.
[153] Ibid., vol. 10, 'Central Hot Water Supply, Blackley and Gorton Estates', 13th November 1929, p.224.
[154] Ibid., vol. 12, 'Blackley Estate Central Hot Water Supply', 4th May 1931, p.186.
[155] Ibid., 'Contracts Sub Committee', 11th May 1931, p.192.
[156] Ibid.

Station, a visible failure of one attempt to encourage certain types of citizenship practice, was modified and reborn as a Community Centre – a slightly ironic conclusion, perhaps.[157]

Tenants were not uninvolved recipients in this process; they had the ability to engage with the system and the politics of provision. This meant that utility systems were not just tools of discipline and control, but also sites of conflict and resistance.[158] In a basic sense, tenants were free to use this water supply as they pleased, a right they clearly exercised. In April of 1920, before the scheme was put into operation, the Committee calculated that 'twenty-five gallons per day of water at 150 degrees will provide fifty gallons of water at the temperature required for a hot bath', a reasonable figure, they suggested, based on evidence from similar schemes in Liverpool and Glasgow.[159] By May 1925, however, the Committee noted that, calculated from a sample of 300 houses over the course of twelve months, the quantity consumed per day averaged about fifty-five gallons, 'more than double the original estimate'.[160] In 1926 the City Engineer suggested scraping the pipes, and introducing a preservative into the water, to raise the temperature and stop the discolouration respectively. In this way the tenants would need less hot water and would not run the water until it went clear, thereby 'reducing to some extent the consumption.'[161]

In general, the specific logic of design could be ignored or subverted. As Ravetz has noted in relation to how sash windows were meant to allow the control of heat and ventilation: 'people forgot that the sash window was designed to perform technical functions… In the course of time, sashes were broken and not replaced, and the mechanisms forgotten.'[162] In Manchester the Women's Advisory Committee noted in 1926 that, with the

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[157] Ibid., vol. 20, 'Conversion of Blackley Hot Water Station into a Community Centre', 12th April 1937, p.27.
[158] Trentmann, 'Materiality in the future of history', p.300.
[159] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee, vol. 1, 'Report of the Housing Committee: Blackley Estate Housing Scheme Central Hot Water Supply', 26th April 1920, p.165.
[160] Ibid., vol. 5, 'Central hot Water Supply, Blackley Estate', 11th May 1925, p.205.
[161] Ibid., vol. 6, 'Gorton Mount Housing Estate Hot Water System', 15th June 1926, p.216.
[162] Ravetz, *The Place of Home*, p.130.

lack of a transom, tenants were discouraged from opening windows at night due to the excessive draught, wet curtains and carpets. This, they lamented, made ventilation – a priority of public housing - 'a matter of extreme difficulty'.[163] Eventually, after much wrangling, the Committee decided to not replace the windows but instead to fix two pins to all casement windows so they could open slightly without letting in the rain.[164] This solution was not satisfactory to the Women's Advisory Committee, however, and the debate carried on without resolution.[165]

While some written support was given to the council, it was more common for tenants to complain, and engage in the material politics of everyday life using citizenship and entitlement as the discourse through which they articulated their demands.[166] When the central hot water supply failed in 1922, the Gorton Mount Tenants' Association successfully petitioned the Committee for a reduction in rent for the time the service was not working.[167] Unforeseen consequences of the implementation of the central hot water system also gave opportunities for the exercise of tenant rights, for example, when the system leaked and caused the house to be damp, or when rats were gaining entrance to houses along the concrete ducts in which pipes were laid.[168] Unsurprisingly, the latter was especially distressing to tenants. Ernest Southworth, of the Gorton Estate, wrote directly to the Housing Committee in August of 1921, highlighting that his wife 'was on the point of a nervous breakdown', and arguing that 'surely' they were 'entitled' to something to be done due to the amount of rent

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[163] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee, vol. 6, 'Building Types Sub Committee', 10th May 1926, p.199.

[164] For the debate between various women's councils and committees, see Ibid., vol. 7, pp.97-98. For the solution, see Ibid., vol. 7, 'Top Lights', 14th March 1927, *HCM*, vol. 7 (14 Mar 1927), p.153.

[165] Ibid., vol. 8, 'Top Lights', 12th March 1928, p.232. For the extensive and varied deliberations by the Tudor Walters Committee on windows and ventilations, see *Tudor Walters Report*, p.65.

[166] Taylor and Trentmann, 'Liquid politics', p.203. Shapely places this sort of consumer activism as more of a feature of post-Second World War and 1960s, especially. Shapely, *The Politics of Housing,* p.126.

[167] GMCRO: Housing Committee, GB127.Council Minutes/Housing Committee, vol. 3, 'Complaint of Condition of Hot Water supply, Gorton Mount Estate', 27th November 1922, p.251.

[168] Ibid., vol. 4, 'Dampness, Blackley Estate', 19th March 1923, p.49.

they paid.[169] Tenants also drew attention to the failure of utility systems when it infringed on their enjoyment of their new home. In 1922 residents from the Clayton Estate submitted a petition directly to the Housing Director, arguing that the fumes from gas fires, used to supplement the inefficient heating system of the council, was causing drowsiness and headaches. These were 'not frivolous complaints', argued the residents, 'when the health of our wives and children and ourselves is in danger'.[170] In this case the Committee responded immediately, and removed the defective heating apparatus, substituting it for the 'ordinary' heating method of coal fires. These are just a small selection of complaints; other issues included rotten floors, exposed concrete flooring, extreme damp, and burst pipes.[171] Tenants therefore were drawing attention to how public housing was failing in its goals to provide a healthy and comfortable environment.

Chicago's public housing projects drew fewer overt complaints, yet a form of material politics was still in operation, reflected more in the close contact and negotiation of citizenship responsibility in relation to maintaining the physical environment of housing. Former residents of Chicago's projects have spoken 'repeatedly – and approvingly – about the strict rules of the early CHA.'[172] As Fuerst has argued, 'participants in this nuanced and intriguing past were politically aware, socially conscious, motivated, and disciplined.'[173] Part of the negotiation of citizenship responsibility between the tenant and the CHA was in the maintenance of property. As Oscar C. Brown Sr, the first manager of the Ida B. Wells Homes in 1941, recalled of his tenants: 'I asked them, "Are you agreeable that we're going to make this thing work?" And they all said yes. So I said, "You've contracted among yourselves that we will make a success of this thing."'[174] For Brown an important part of this relationship

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[169] Ibid., vol. 3, 'Presence of Rats on Gorton Estate', 26th August 1921, p.91.
[170] Ibid., 'Individual Heating Apparatus Clayton Estate', 6th February 1922, p.151.
[171] Ibid., vol. 5, 'Alleged Defects in Houses', 7th July 1924, p.33.
[172] Fuerst, *When Public Housing was Paradise,* p.4.
[173] Ibid., p.xvi.
[174] Ibid., p.11.

was positive reinforcement of tenant actions, like sending out letters to the whole project if he saw a man shining his windowsills.[175] Brown's paternalistic style of management seemingly worked: Leon Hamilton, resident in Ida B Wells between 1941 and 1950, described Brown as 'motivated' and recalled how 'he let you know what the rules were. And your family followed those rules.'[176] Maintenance of environment was a joint endeavour; as Ted Greenhalgh described, managers also 'cleaned the stairway, scrubbed it on our hands and knees, and did all the things that tenants were expected to do.'[177] Bennie L. Crane, who moved into Ida B. Wells aged seven in 1943, also highlighted this: 'Our administrators took care of the communities. Everybody was accountable… They encouraged the planting of flowers, and our complaints were addressed and answered.'[178]

When tenants recalled moving into public housing in Chicago it was the new environment, as compared to their old house, that was at the forefront of their memory. Bennie L. Crane, for example, described the 'roach-infested, vermin-infested', crowded nature of his former house, and compared it to the 'new shiny stoves and refrigerators' and 'spacious, clean and well-lit' nature of Ida B. Wells.[179] Leon Hamilton highlighted similar aspects of the 'ultramodern' housing, like central heat, refrigerators, and modern stoves.[180] Certainly, while public housing was not particularly attractive or luxurious, it was far more sanitary and modern than slum dwellings.[181]

The benefits of these fixtures and services were balanced with civic duty. Leon went on to describe the shared responsibilities for cleaning, and the pride the children felt in meeting the expectations of housing managers.[182] Melvin Wilson, who moved into Ida B

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[175] Ibid., p.11.
[176] Ibid., p.53.
[177] Ibid., p.25.
[178] Ibid., p.23.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid., p.52.
[181] Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City,* p.88.
[182] Fuerst, *When Public Housing was Paradise,* p.53.

Wells aged six in 1940, also drew attention to the rules, and respect: 'If the janitorial staff told you to do something, there was no question as to whether or not you were going to do it, because it was understood that they were in a position of authority.'[183] There is an issue with conflicting oral testimony with historical reality, with its tendency towards nostalgia or possible exaggeration. This problem is compounded when we consider the nature of the collection from which they originated – a book that was trying to assert that the New Deal was 'a period of great advancement in social welfare programs', while taking umbrage with the fact that 'Americans seem to believe that ameliorating the weakness of the market should be attempted only indirectly, through a minimal regulatory state and not an activist one.'[184] Oral histories here were not solely revealing a past, but trying to influence a future as well. It is likely that dissenting opinions of Chicago housing in this period existed, though, for archival reasons, they are hard to ascertain.[185] Certainly, there was no mention of the white-rioting when the CHA attempted to move African-American families into white-dominated projects in the 1940s.[186] Yet these oral histories offer a partial glimpse into the relationship between housing managers and tenants in Chicago housing before the later colossal collapse described so vividly by Bradford Hunt.

Conclusion

Public housing did not reach those most in need and those, consequently, that civic culture was most concerned about in terms of 'national efficiency' and citizenship. In Manchester, this was most obviously due to housing catering to the upper working class, rather than the

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[183] Ibid., p.64.
[184] Fuerst, *When Public Housing was Paradise,* p.xvi.
[185] As Bradford Hunt notes regarding the records of the CHA: '…much material has been lost over various moves, floods, and managerial changes. Records before 1955 are slim.' Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster,* p.301.
[186] T.A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago 1890-1945* (New York, 2003), p.153.

very poor.[187] Provision and management of utilities was also never consistent across Manchester's schemes. Some estates had central hot water supplies, others did not. In Chicago, the poor were, at first, perhaps incorporated better: in 1941, for example, the CHA claimed that 'not a single family was refused a dwelling in any of the Chicago Housing Authority Projects because of low income during the last two years'.[188] Certainly, by 1945, this was no longer the case; a third of those from slum clearance could not afford public housing rents.[189] African-Americans, despite the public statements of the CHA, received less than their justified 'quota', and projects also remained racially segregated by official policy.[190] It was also the failure to build enough property, at least in the period studied, that limited public housing's impact.[191] The logics of the 'council housing experiment', however, remain clear; the environment created and managed by municipal authorities in Chicago and Manchester was one that tried to encourage certain types of behaviour and responsibility. In this sense it was just another extension – alongside public festivals, schools, and civics education - of the arm of the national and local state into the body and mind of the urban inhabitant.

It is difficult to argue that public housing had the ability to truly provide equal citizenship, especially in Chicago. As Leon Hamilton, of the black housing project, Ida B. Wells, poignantly lamented:

> We had our hair combed and parted right. We were cleanly scrubbed and we had done
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> well in school. But when we got out there and we hit the real world, it was not

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[187] Shapely, *The Politics of Housing,* p.119. Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State,* p.193.

[188] CHM: Bulletin, Chicago Housing Authority, HD7288.78.U62, *Chicago Housing Authority Bulletin,* 1, no. 2, 31st December 1941.

[189] Hunt seems to take the statement of the CHA at face value. Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster,* p.50. Lawrence Vale, however, has challenged the CHAs claim using a letter sent from Wood to federal officials. See L. Vale, 'Housing Chicago: Cabrini-Green to Parkside of Old Town', *Design Observer* (20th February 2012).

[190] Guglielmo, *White on Arrival,* pp.153-154.

[191] With the opening of the first three PWA projects in the city - the Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop and Trumbull properties - 28,000 applications were made. Only 2414 of these applications were selected. Chicago Housing Authority, *The Chicago Housing Authority: Manager and Builder of Low-Rent Communities* (Chicago, 1940), p.29.

allowing us to do the jobs that we were capable of doing. In a way, Ida B. Wells was just like the experimental biosphere that they had going for a time. We were reared in this biosphere. Then they opened the door and said, "Well, go ahead out!" And they didn't tell us there was no oxygen out there.[192]

As Hamilton neatly summarised, limited municipal intervention targeted towards encouraging good health and behaviour struggled to overcome the inherent racism and segregation of life in Chicago. This became even more apparent in the decades following the Second World War in the US, leading to the decline of notions of citizenship based on the city. In Manchester the link between citizenship and the identity and power of the city also waned after the Second World War, even though it was not experiencing the same racial tensions. The final chapter of this thesis will assess why the interwar model of citizenship did not last and why, after a period of considerable similarity, notions of citizenship in Manchester and Chicago went in different directions.

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[192] Fuerst, *When Public Housing was Paradise,* p.57.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion: the Limits of Interwar Urban Citizenship

This thesis began by discussing the different notions of citizenship apparent in the interwar period, highlighting the historiographical dominance of democratic, political, and national conceptions. In the main body of the study I provided an alternative to this analysis, arguing that we must still recognise the importance of the local, the municipal, and the urban in both the ideologies and realities of citizenship. Municipal government, cooperating with local associations and the growing apparatus of central government, attempted to create environments and relationships that fused the notion of citizenship with healthy bodies and the spirit of urban community. Taken together, these arguments make a case for the continued fundamental importance of the 'urban variable' in the interwar period.[1] The experience of the city and the discourses that consequently emerged affected notions of citizenship far beyond the urban, and as such must be included in any discussion of national citizenship in the period.

As I have shown, there was a great deal of experiential convergence between Manchester and Chicago. Importantly, they shared a similar notion of civic culture that arose from their former status as 'shock cities', and contemporary ideas of being forward-thinking and progressive. While municipal government was weaker in Chicago, due to corruption and legal and financial obstacles, in both cities the ideology of egalitarian government providing services for all was used to tie citizenship to the urban environment. This was apparent in the

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[1] See Daunton, 'Introduction' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Vol. III,* p. 54-55; I.S. Black, 'Modernity and the search for the urban variable', *Journal of Urban History*, 32, no. 3 (2006).

civic festivals that used the city and its governance as a symbol of pride, and in civics education, which used the idealistic benefits of municipal provision as the basis of the connection between the local state, the citizen, and the urban.

Similar concerns in Manchester and Chicago about the effects of the city also framed how civic culture approached the relationship between the urban, the body, and behaviour. This was especially evident in the construction of youth citizenship, which evolved from the degeneration debate of the late nineteenth century to rail against the modern features of leisure in big cities in the 1920s. The result was similar activities provided by associations that attempted to create alternative types of leisure for youths. Again, in the 1930s, the radical potential of the unemployed in both cities, though more feared than real in Manchester, gave increased emphasis to the importance of providing stability in the urban environment. This local critique of the urban environment, when combined with a strong transnational debate about the purposes of state intervention, also informed the development of schools and public housing; the unhealthy body created by the city was to be remedied through activities and environments attentive to the physiological attributes of children and tenants. This was realised not just in the physical structures of housing and schools, but also in the ways that children and tenants were managed. Citizenship in both cities therefore concentrated on the importance of health and urban cohesion.

There were, however, significant divergences. The development of the relationship between associations and the central and local state was not coterminous; in Manchester the connections between voluntarism and government developed in a more piecemeal fashion across the first half of the twentieth century. In Chicago, while there were elements of this link in the 'associative state' of the 1920s, it was through the rapid implementation of federal funding in the 1930s that the relationship was truly solidified. Certainly, however, in both cities, central government by the end of the 1930s worked with and through the established

local networks that emphasised community and citizenship. In other ways, the realisation of citizenship policies was hindered by local circumstances. In Chicago, the power of the schools was severely limited by the financial insolvency of the city government; this issue was less apparent in Manchester. In public housing, while governmental ideology was similar, the implementation in Chicago was smaller, and the initial process more controlled by the central state. While the notion of citizenship was similar, therefore, the implementation of policy was affected by the specific circumstances of each city; further comparative research on other 'types' of cities could therefore enrich our understanding of how a dominant discourse of citizenship was not just adopted, but adapted as well.

The most important divergence between the two cities studied here was the engrained issue of race in Chicago, which, in comparison, was not significant in Manchester. As this concluding chapter will show, segregation and racism in Chicago directly undermined the interwar conception of citizenship, leading to its replacement in the post-war period with a rights-based model. Yet in Manchester too, the interwar notion of urban citizenship, based on the relationship between the individual and the local state, and the responsibility of cooperative behaviour, was also succeeded by a more national and rights-based ideology. By looking at how the interwar notion of citizenship crumbled in the post-war period, and how the experiences of Manchester and Chicago significantly diverged, the specificity of the health and behaviour based model can be seen still more clearly.

From Urban Liberal Citizenship to Welfare State Social Democracy

In 1935, the centenary year of the Municipal Corporations Act, a volume celebrating the history and achievements of local government in Britain was published by the National

Association of Local Government Officers.[2] For these authors in *A Century of Municipal Progress*, edited by academics in the London School of Economics and Political Science, the previous century of local government had been 'the greatest British achievement of the last hundred years.'[3] Municipal intervention had banished diseases like tuberculosis, halved the infant mortality rate, safeguarded the urban inhabitant and his property, and provided cheaper utilities for all.[4] The future of local government was bright; looking to the next centenary, the authors predicted an 'unlimited vista of future usefulness and expansion' while local government service would 'grow substantially in size, in status, in *esprit de corps,* [and] in professional excellence.'[5]

Manchester government in the interwar years supports this story of success, and directly challenges historian John Griffith's contention that, by 1914, 'citizenship discourse had left the city, soon to be followed by civic leaders'.[6] Civic leaders and councillors showed foresight and courage in planning schemes like civic airports and public housing, and continued the civic legacy initiated in the nineteenth century. Manchester's governors invested in the future of the city, and entwined initiatives with discourses that placed the city and its government at the forefront of citizenship formation. This is evident in chapters on civics education, housing, and schooling. In Manchester, citizenship in the interwar period had not left the city; it had become focused upon it, and dependent on the representation of the egalitarian municipal that secured the life and freedom of the citizen. Centralising trends of the period however were even more apparent following the Second World War.[7] Progressive councils like Manchester were victims of the general unwillingness of many

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[2] H.J. Laski, W.I. Jennings, and W.A. Robson (eds), *A Century of Municipal Progress, 1835-1935* (London, 1935).
[3] J.L. Hammond, 'The social background 1835-1935', Ibid*.,* p.37.
[4] H.J. Laski, W.I. Jennings, and W.A. Robson, 'Introduction', Ibid*.,* pp.11-12.
[5] Robson, 'The outlook', Ibid*.,* p.463.
[6] Griffiths, 'Civic communication in Britain', p.17.
[7] M.J. Daunton, 'Payment and participation: welfare and state-formation in Britain 1900-1951', *Past & Present ,* no. 150 (1996).

councils to respond to new powers in the interwar years, and with the reformist mood following austerity, 'ministers were tempted to by-pass local government altogether'.[8] Financing of local government services continued to shift away from rates and trading incomes towards government grants, weakening the independence of municipalities and strengthening the control of central government.[9] More importantly, under the Labour government of 1945-51, services that were previously a fruitful area of municipal investment, like gas, electricity, and healthcare, were nationalised and overseen by regional boards. One key aspect of interwar citizenship was the joining of the local state and the citizen through municipal provision; the rise of the central welfare state eroded this connection significantly.

During the Second World War voluntarism in Manchester was strong. The District Provident Society acted as a base for enquiries; organised other charities; and still gave funds for unemployment relief. In 1941 volunteers visited 1966 homes of servicemen to discuss and deal with problems, and more than two-thousand interviews were conducted at its office, which became 'regarded as the place where mothers, wives and children can come for sympathy and help', like a writing service for wives wishing to contact Commanding Officers and Regimental Paymasters about the difficulties of allowances.[10] While recognising that the post-war period might bring new problems, the 1943 report maintained that 'whatever policy in the field of social services is eventually adopted by the Government, there will be a need for the friendly help of societies' like the DPS.'[11] Many associations however did not survive the centralising shift. The Manchester Surgical Appliances Society, for example, was no longer necessary after provision for appliances was made through the 1944 Education Act and the 1947 National Health Act; it disbanded in 1948.[12] When voluntarism came into direct conflict with welfare that was universal and comprehensive, voluntarism and state expansion

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[8] Davis, 'Central government and the towns', p.282.
[9] Doyle, 'The changing functions of urban government', p.311.
[10] *DPS Annual Report,* 1941.
[11] Ibid.*,* 1943, p.5.
[12] *MSAS Annual Report,* 1948, p.4.

could not co-exist, and the state invariably took over the role.[13] William Beveridge, the architect of the post-1945 welfare state, still hoped for a continuance of voluntary action.[14] Yet voluntary organisations were 'perceived as supplementary, or at best complementary, to the state'[15] which was now the majority provider of health and education, landlord to more than fifteen per cent of all households, and the administrator of a comprehensive national insurance scheme for the vast majority of the country.[16] While voluntary associations worked alongside the Manchester Welfare Services Committee, formed in 1948, they were directed by the central state.[17] Negotiation of responsibility in the mixed economy of welfare continued, and local associations continued to remain important, but had, like municipal government, seen the highpoint of their role as the purveyors of welfare.[18]

Fundamental also were the notions that central government legislation projected. Previously the nascent forms of the welfare state were constructed around limited interventions in the lives and health of those on the margins of society, aiming to enable the working class to attain the type of social citizenship that fitted them into society, partly through self-improvement, though with the guidance of local government and cooperating voluntary associations.[19] With the emergence of a comprehensive welfare system after 1945, controlled through a centralised national bureaucracy, welfare was articulated as a universal legal right of citizenship, shorn of the corresponding responsibility it had when the 'state's

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[13] Finlayson, 'A moving frontier', p.199.

[14] Beveridge's hopes were 'tinged with pessimism' due to the redistribution of income since the First World War, increase in leisure time, and declining influence of the church; these factors discouraged the impulse and ability to volunteer. Hilton and McKay, 'The ages of voluntarism', p.1.

[15] Lewis, 'The voluntary sector', p.16. Hilton and McKay, 'The ages of voluntarism', p.6

[16] B. Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State: Social Welfare in England and Wales, 1800-1945* (Basingstoke, 2004), p.9.

[17] City of Manchester Welfare Services Committee, *1948-1958: a Decade of Civic Welfare* (Manchester, 1959); J. Gaddum, *Family Welfare Association of Manchester and Salford: a Short History 1833-1974* (Manchester, 1974), pp.26-29; E. White, *A History of the Manchester and Salford Council of Social Service, 1919-1969* (Manchester, 1969), pp.23-35.

[18] Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State,* p.17. Hilton and McKay, 'The ages of voluntarism'; Daunton, 'Payment and Participation', p.215.

[19] D. Gladstone, *The Twentieth-Century Welfare State* (Basingstoke, 1999), p.31.

activities on behalf of the poor' had been 'viewed as charitable or philanthropic.'[20] While previous forms of intervention had elements of the doctrine of social democracy, taken here to mean the universal rights received as the benefit of citizenship, it was still entwined with liberal conceptions; in poor relief in Manchester, where the DPS infused new social welfare with the old spirit of self-improvement and deservedness, or, conversely, in housing, where the municipal provided the tools of liberal self-improvement, yet tenants articulated their social 'rights' to material provision.[21] With the Family Allowances Act 1945, security given under the National Insurance Act of 1946, and universal healthcare under the National Health Service Act of 1946, the liberal agenda of 'divorcing provision from the Poor Law' was completed, and the notion of social democracy gained consensus, lasting until the late 1970s.[22] In T.H. Marshall's classic argument these 'social rights' represented 'the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society.'[23] Importantly, these were given to *all* those marked as citizens and members of a *national community,* rather than based on performance – though, in reality, Beveridge's welfare state was a weak version of Marshall's model, as in practice there were still tiers of citizenship based on race and gender with 'some more equal than others.'[24] Nonetheless, citizenship in its ideal was now a universalised relationship between the individual and the national welfare state, a 'form of social integration' based on 'a

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[20] W.B. Cohen, 'Epilogue: the European Comparison' in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History,* p.411.

[21] Trentmann and Taylor argue that 'The material politics of everyday life played a vital role in expanding the mode of politics from taxation to provision' and illuminate 'the transition from liberalism to social democracy.' Trentmann and Taylor, 'Liquid politics', pp.203-204.

[22] M. Powell and M. Hewitt, *Welfare State and Welfare Change* (Buckingham, 2002), pp.35-36 and p.38. Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State,* p.287.

[23] T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class, and other Essays* (Cambridge, 1950), p.72.

[24] Powell and Hewitt, *Welfare State and Welfare Change,* pp.40-41. G. Esping-Andersen, 'Three worlds of welfare capitalism' in C. Pierson and F.G. Castles, *The Welfare State Reader,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2006), pp.162-163.

common level of 'material enjoyment'', with the voluntary and the municipal relegated to bit-part actors.[25] Citizenship was now defined as more rights than responsibilities.

Nationalism also continued to emerge.[26] This was realised especially under the conditions of the Second World War, as it exaggerated 'the significance of the nation as a source and object of identity', and thus called upon citizens to unite in defence of 'their supposedly common "way of life".'[27] The BBC led in the dissemination of this identity, with increasing cohesiveness after the 'impreciseness' of citizenship conceptions in the interwar period.[28] It was easier for the BBC to define national character as the citizen with duties to the state when the nation was under attack.[29] Following the end of hostilities this feeling of Englishness was at its apex. As Peter Mandler has argued, contemporaries believed 'the wartime experience had vindicated longer-term assumptions about the national character, which could thus be safely projected into the future.'[30] Books like George Orwell's *The English People,* and a collection of essays on *The Character of England*, both published in 1947, celebrated this English spirit.[31] Manchester's city government did continue to attempt to construct a grand municipal narrative in the immediate post-war period, through a civic documentary and fantastical city plan. Yet these visions were a hazy reflection of reality, and were difficult to implement in the recovery from post-war austerity.[32] City councils and local

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[25] Stapleton, 'Citizenship versus patriotism', p.171. Marshall's work has been criticised for being British-centric, and for treating the case of the white working-class male as being universal. M. Mann, 'Ruling class strategies and citizenship', *Sociology,* 21, no. 3 (1987); N. Fraser and L. Gordon, 'Contract versus charity: why is there no social citizenship in the United States?', *Socialist Review,* 22 (1992); M. Cohen and M. Hanagam, 'Politics, industrialization and citizenship: unemployment policy in England, France and the United States, 1890-1950', *International review of social history*, 40, no. 3 (1995).

[26] C. Harvie, 'The moment of British nationalism, 1939-1970', *Political Quarterly*, 71 (2000).

[27] S.O. Rose, 'Sex, citizenship, and the nation in World War II Britain', *The American Historical Review*, 103, no. 4 (October, 1998), p.148.

[28] Nicholas, 'From John Bull to John Citizen', p.39.

[29] Ibid*.,* p.45. See also T. Haggith, 'Citizenship, nationhood and empire in British official film propaganda, 1939-1945', *The Right to Belong.*

[30] P. Mandler, *The English National Character: the History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (Bury St Edmunds, 2006), p.197.

[31] G. Orwell, *The English People* (London, 1947) and E. Barker, *The Character of England* (Oxford, 1947), as identified by Mandler, *The English National Character,* p.199.

[32] C. Wildman, 'A city speaks: the projection of civic identity in Manchester', *Twentieth Century British History,* 23, no. 1 (2012), p.80. R. Nicholas, *City of Manchester Plan* (London, 1945), p.1. C. Perkins and M.

associations undoubtedly still played important roles in the lives of urban dwellers in the post-war period, especially as the implementers of the welfare state and reconstruction.[33] Yet, with the continuing rise of the central state, 'traditional local elites no longer had an influence on local policies, and civic tradition (including civic beautification) was lost'.[34] National identity and social rights were now dominant in the discourse of citizenship; the heyday of the municipal, and of liberal self-improvement, had ended.

The Failure of Urban Citizenship and the Rise of Civil Rights

In contrast the end of the interwar period in Chicago saw a rise in responsibility for municipal government. In July 1936, after the withdrawal of federal funds, city government was given the responsibility for the poor affected by economic depression. Roughly six per cent of the population, or 191,284 people, were supported by City public funds; by 1939, this reached a peak of 278,000, dropping to 23,500 after the war.[35] City government recognised that social welfare was explicitly linked to citizenship, taking on the attitudes of those voluntary associations working alongside federal agencies in the 1930s. Welfare meant 'a sound investment in terms of better health and better citizenship; prevention of crime, juvenile delinquency and other forms of social disintegration.'[36] Between 1936 and 1947 the new Department of Welfare expended $239,187,877, of which taxpayers of Chicago contributed an average of thirty-four per cent through a special mill levy on real estate, the rest coming from state funds derived from a cigarette tax.[37] More generally, the changes that Herbert Hoover implemented during the early 1930s helped overcome the earlier problems of public

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Dodge, 'Mapping the imagined future: the roles of visual representation in the 1945 city of Manchester plan', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester,* 89, no. 1 (2012).

[33] Wildman, 'A city speaks', p.82; K. Young and N. Rao, *Local Government since 1945* (Oxford, 1997).

[34] P. Shapely, 'Governance in the post-war city: historical reflections on public-private partnerships in the UK', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2012), p.2.

[35] City of Chicago, *Chicago's Report to the People, 1933-1946* (Chicago, 1947), pp.147-150.

[36] Ibid., p.150.

[37] Ibid., p.151.

finance. After being 'lured' by federal loans, state legislatures liberalized public finance laws, and passed enabling statutes giving municipalities power to finance their own projects using anticipated income as collateral for borrowing.[38] Roosevelt and the Public Works Administration during the New Deal further encouraged this liberalisation of municipal finance laws.[39] The creation of the Chicago Transit Authority in 1945, and consequent purchase of the city's elevated railway system and street railways for a combined total of $87,000,000 in 1947, illustrated the potential of this change, achieving a goal which municipal ownership advocates in the 1920s had dreamed.[40] After the Second World War, when private capital markets had recovered, local government was able to generate income from private capital rather than federal government, 'opening the floodgates' for local public enterprise.[41]

Yet non-governmental organisations remained important. Associations were again vital during the war, especially for their contribution to the home front.[42] Association House maintained that people in big cities like Chicago needed to be educated in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in order to ward against foreign ideas.[43] Following the Second World War there was a huge increase in charitable organisations in the US seeking tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service – fifty-thousand in 1950, more than 250,000 by the mid-1960s, and more than a million by the mid-1980s. The American welfare state centralised the gathering of tax revenues and formulated policy, yet 'delegated the implementation of federal programs to states and localities and, through tax incentives that

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[38] Radford, 'From Municipal Socialism', p.885.
[39] Ibid., p.886.
[40] G. Krambles and A.H. Peterson, *CTA at Forty-Five: a History of the First Forty-Five Years of the Chicago Transit Authority* (Oak Park, 1993).
[41] Radford, 'From municipal socialism', p.887.
[42] Putnam, *Bowling Alone,* p.54. See also J.M. Blum, *V was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York, 1976), which assesses the utilisation of the home front by the federal government.
[43] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 4, Board of Directors Association House Minutes, 1st April 1939-1940, [untitled document], p1.

encouraged charitable giving, to private non-profit organizations.'[44] By the late 1960s a National Federation of Settlements survey in thirty-four cities found that settlements in over half had contracted with the federal office of economic opportunity to provide four programs: Neighbourhood Youth Corps, Neighbourhood Service Centers, Early Childhood Education, and Neighbourhood Organization. In Chicago, settlements in the early 1970s showed a high degree of uniformity and reflected the funding priorities of federal agencies.[45] Voluntarism was still important, therefore, but tied closely to federal policy. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to look much further ahead, it is worth noting that, after a supposed 'golden age' of civic engagement from 1940 to 1960, Robert Putnam has traced a significant rise in 'civic malaise' – as he argued in the influential *Bowling Alone: Civic Disengagement in America* in 1999 – though this has been extensively challenged.[46]

Regardless of the continuance of local state and associational power, citizenship discourse in the US underwent vital changes in the post-war period, due to the direct failure of the interwar conception of citizenship I have discussed. By focusing on the city and its community as the key definer of citizenship, elites hoped to bracket urban strife. Similarly, by providing certain material environments, like schools, citizenship based on bodily health was theoretically open to all. Implicit in citizenship policies was the absence of vocal emphasis on race; idealistic urban citizenship ignored that Chicago was a segregated city.[47] In civics education, the notion of the provisions of municipal government explicitly ignored that provision was unbalanced between neighbourhoods and areas. The Black Belt in the south-

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[44] Hall, 'Resolving the dilemmas of democratic governance, p.31.

[45] Hall, *Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Innovation,* p.7.

[46] Putnam, *Bowling Alone,* p.25. For example, see P. Paxton, 'Is social capital declining in the United States? A multiple-indicator assessment', *American Journal of Sociology,* 105 (1999); J. Wilson, 'Volunteering', *Annual Review of Sociology,* 26 (2000); F. Baumgartner and J.L. Walker, 'Survey research and membership in voluntary associations', *American Journal of Political Science,* 32 (1988); T. Rotolo and J. Wilson, 'What happened to the 'long civic generation?' explaining cohort differences in volunteerism', *Social Forces,* 82 (2004); R. Anderson, J. Curtis, and E. Grabb, 'Trends in civic association activity in four democracies: the special case of women in the United States', *American Sociological Review,* 71 (2006).

[47] Spear, *Chicago;* E.F. Frazier, *The Negro Family in Chicago* (Chicago, 1932).

side of the city was crowded, expensive, and dilapidated, with higher rates of mortality, morbidity, juvenile delinquency, and crime.[48] In talking of 'community' and 'the people' it ignored segregation – a hypocrisy that cannot have escaped adult education students using civics materials in segregated classes during the 1930s.[49] Furthermore, civics education created racial hierarchies by identifying legitimacy with 'whiteness and middle-class and elite status' in both teaching materials and the background of teachers.[50] In several of the sites of citizenship I identify the effects of inequality can be seen. In education, school buildings in black areas were substantially worse, and lessons and teachers were often racist. In 1920 black students and teachers were mostly integrated, yet by the Second World War they were rigidly segregated.[51] Similarly, in youth recreation, provision was much weaker in black areas; 'all but a handful' of settlement houses and boys' clubs were for whites only, and the rest were for blacks 'exclusively'.[52] In public expressions of unified urban citizenship like the Pageant of Progress and Boys' Week, there were no 'official' recognitions of segregation, and concurrent issues, like the alleged racism of the American Citizenship Foundation during Boys' Week, or the Ku Klux Klan mass-meeting during the Pageant, show that civic pride provided only a superficial façade to deeper divisions.

While Chicago was 'a city with a tradition of assimilating immigrants', large-scale African-American migration after 1915 reinforced a 'color-line' that divided the city into black and white.[53] Both ethnic groups of European heritage and African-Americans started 'economic life at the bottom' with their 'first homes in the slum areas', and being 'looked

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[48] St. Clair Drake, 'Profiles: Chicago', *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 17, no. 5 (January, 1944), p.265.
[49] CHM: Association House of Chicago Records, 1899-1972, MSS Lot A, Box 3, Folder 5, Monthly Report, February 1939. The monthly report for February, 1939, stated: 'whites and blacks must be kept separate'.
[50] Gidlow, *The Big Vote,* p.143; C. Greer, *The Great School Legend: a Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education* (New York, 1972), p.80; M. Olneck, 'Americanization and the education of immigrants, 1900-1925: an analysis of symbolic action', *American Journal of Education,* 97, no. 4 (1989), p.399.
[51] Homel, *Down From Equality*, p.x.
[52] Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, p.346.
[53] T.B. Neary, 'Black-Belt Catholic space: African-American parishes in interwar Chicago', *US Catholic Historian,* 18, no. 4 (2000), p.15. This story can be complicated by looking at the experiences of other non-white migrants, like Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, who occupied a distinctive yet fluid position in the postwar city. L. Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago, 2012).

down upon by those who got there first.' During this process, European newcomers 'readily acquired American racial attitudes' and non-black immigrants were eventually assimilated and socially accepted.[54] For African Americans this did not happen; the job ceiling condemned them to unskilled work and the relief rolls during depression, residential segregation kept them in the black ghetto, and the color-line preserved social segregation and set 'the limits of advancement in politics and other non-economic hierarchies.'[55] By the 1940s older immigrant groups, like Italians, began to demand rights and privileges as whites, defined in violent opposition to sharing neighbourhoods with African-Americans.[56] White immigrants could assimilate to the form of citizenship that gave them the rights to the city; black migrants could not.

This failure was especially evident in housing. Already by 1914 a virtually all-black ghetto on the South Side of the city had taken shape.[57] During the interwar years property owners' associations, several craft unions, and 'blatant anti-Negro' groups 'aggressively attempted' to keep African-Americans segregated from white residential areas, making it near impossible to leave the ghetto.[58] As well as the threat of violence and refusal to sell or rent, whites used racial deed restrictions and restrictive covenants to legally restrict owners from selling or leasing their property to members of specific racial groups.[59] By 1939 between fifty to eighty per cent of Chicago's land area was covered by these legal restrictions.[60] With the expansion of city government housing powers from the federal state after the Second World War, segregation was actually reinforced. As 'public housing monoliths' were increasingly erected, old racial enclaves were given a new and visual permanence; by 1959, a US

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[54] Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto*, p.160.
[55] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, p.756.
[56] Guglielmo, *White on Arrival*, p.146.
[57] R. Biles, 'Race and housing in Chicago', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 94, no.1 (2001), p.32.
[58] Drake, 'Profiles: Chicago', p.262. Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto,* p.180 and pp.162-180.
[59] W. Plotkin, '"Hemmed in": the struggle against racial restrictive covenants and deed restrictions in post-WWII Chicago', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 94, no. 1 (2001), p.32.
[60] See Ibid., pp.44-45 for debate of this figure.

Commission on Civil Rights had designated Chicago as the nation's most residentially segregated city.[61] Of the fifty-one public housing sites approved by the city council between 1955 and 1966, forty-nine were in ghetto areas of the Near West, South, and Near North Sides.[62] Conditions were horrific, contrasting sharply with the early utopian visions discussed in Chapter Seven. With increasing maintenance problems and escalating violence the Robert Taylor Homes, opened in 1962 with almost all of its 27,000 residents African American, became 'a national symbol of public housing failure' by the 1970s.[63] While recent work has highlighted the myriad reasons why public housing in the city failed, the Taylor Homes nonetheless revealed the lacklustre capability of municipal environments like public housing and schools to provide the conditions in which urban-dwellers, especially blacks, could be incorporated into the city.[64] Both the sites of interwar urban citizenship and its ideological expressions were therefore incapable of overcoming racial tensions that underlined the social, economic, and political context of the city.

African-Americans increasingly challenged this 'second-class status' in the interwar period.[65] The Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People shaped a new mind-set of militant and unswerving commitment to racial equality.[66] Attorney Richard Westbrooks, through his 'Legal Helps' column in the *Defender,* articulated a theory of African American citizenship that saw all black Chicagoans as equal under the implied equality of local law.[67] During the depression 'radical and militant organizations'

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[61] Biles, 'Race and housing in Chicago', pp.34-35 and p.36. A. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960* (New York, 1983).
[62] Biles, 'Race and housing in Chicago', p.37.
[63] D. Bradford Hunt, 'What went wrong with public housing in Chicago? A history of the Robert Taylor Homes', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* 94, no. 1 (2001), p.96.
[64] Ibid.
[65] C.R. Reed, *The Chicago NAACP and the Rise of Black Professional Leadership, 1910-1966* (Bloomington, 1997), p.viii; S. Nance, 'Respectability and representation: the Moorish Science Temple, Morocco, and black public culture in 1920s Chicago', *American Quarterly,* 54, no. 4 (2002); H. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: the Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (New York, 1978).
[66] Reed, *The Chicago NAACP,* p.viii and p.127.
[67] J.E. Black, 'A theory of African-American citizenship: Richard Westbrooks, the great migration, and the Chicago Defender's "legal helps" column', *Journal of Social History,* 46, no. 4 (2013).

adopted 'a dual agenda embracing both economic relief and the protection of civil rights', enlisting 'the racially conscious black population' to challenge the economic status quo.[68] In 1930, black newspaper *The Chicago Whip* led a 'Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work' campaign to challenge racist hiring policies.[69] In private housing, a combination of civil rights organisations, liberal politicians and reform groups led an extensively publicised campaign against the covenants used to enforce residential segregation.[70] Associations like the Urban League changed from a 'traditional role of accommodating reform' into 'activist protest' organisations.[71] Alongside these expressions of dissent, African-Americans grew in political power. Increased black majorities in a number of wards led to more blacks holding political office and, in 1928, Chicago's South Side elected the first black congressman from a northern city.[72] Thompson, ever the opportunist, recognised the growing black vote and awarded a disproportionate number of city appointments to blacks, to the extent that white critics nicknamed city hall 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'[73] During the Second World War black dissent grew. In 1942 the Congress of Racial Equality was formed in Chicago, using sit-ins and other protests to challenge discrimination in Chicago restaurants and places of recreation.[74] With the wartime demand for labour, 'more and more' opportunities became available to African-Americans as their economic confidence increased; subsequently, calls for equality matured.[75] African-Americans capitalised on Roosevelt's 'V for Victory' campaign for democracy abroad, to create a 'Double V for Victory': victory for democracy and victory against racism at home.[76] For both male servicemen and female war workers, war

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[68] C.R. Reed, *The Depression Comes to the South Side: Protest and Politics in the Black Metropolis, 1930-1933* (Bloomington, 2011), p.96.
[69] Ibid., p.67.
[70] Plotkin, '"Hemmed in"'.
[71] Reed, *The Depression*, p.67.
[72] Teaford, *The Twentieth-Century American City,* p.57.
[73] Ibid.
[74] A. Meier and E.M. Rudwick, *CORE: a Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968* (New York, 1973).
[75] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis,* p.765. Reed, *The Chicago NAACP*, p.127.
[76] M.T. Shockley, 'Working for democracy: working-class African-American women, citizenship, and civil rights in Detroit, 1940-1954', *Michigan Historical Review,* 29, no. 2 (2003), p.127.

duty formed the basis for a new justification and demand for constitutional rights; 'not for concessions, not for small gains, but for *equality*.'[77]

These demands were increasingly important as Chicago's black population grew rapidly during the 1940s by seventy-seven per cent (278,000 to 492,000) and by another sixty-five per cent in the 1950s (to 813,000).[78] A type of citizenship that could not provide equality to this large segment of the city's population was outdated. Thus, as Schudson has argued, 'in the post-war world, the struggle of blacks for inclusion in the body politic would prove the fountainhead for a new understanding of citizenship.'[79] The urban remained important as the focus of social rights of access, with public transport famously providing the tipping point in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955, when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat for white passengers. As the influential Chicago sociologist St. Clair Drake stated in 1945, 'it is in the cities that the problem of the Negro in American life appears in its sharpest and most dramatic forms. It may be, too, that the cities will be the arena in which the "Negro problem" will finally be settled.'[80] The city was fundamental in the changes African-Americans wanted: the abolition of the job ceiling; adequate housing; unsegregated access to places of public accommodation; and the protection of African Americans and whites to associate together socially.[81]

With its segregated status and massive African-American population, Chicago became a key site in this struggle.[82] The Coordinating Council of Community Organizations [CCCO], founded by the Urban League, NAACP and others, comprised of forty affiliates by

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[77] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis,* p.765. Shockley, 'Working for Democracy', p.127. also N.A. Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War,* rev. ed. (New York, 1993); C.M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: the Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, 1995); and L.P. Scot and W.M. Womack, *Double V: the Civil Rights Struggle of the Tuskgee Airmen* (East Lansing, 1994).
[78] Biles, 'Race and housing in Chicago', p.32.
[79] Schudson, *The Good Citizen,* p.231.
[80] Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis,* p.756.
[81] Ibid., p.753.
[82] A.B. Anderson and G.W. Pickering, *Confronting the Color Line: the Broken Promise of the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago* (Athens, 1986); J.R. Ralph, *Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Cambridge, MA, 1993).

1965, and sought to harness emerging protest energies, organising opposition to segregationist schools especially.[83] In 1965 the CCCO joined with Martin Luther King's Southern Leadership Conference to launch the Chicago Freedom Movement, with the aim of ending slums and campaigning against housing discrimination in Chicago.[84] Yet rather than these issues being solved through urban identity, the 'rights revolution' mostly took place in the courts: a 'new avenue of national citizen power'.[85] The result of this change therefore was a growing acceptance that citizenship was guaranteed by the federal government.[86] The civil rights movement therefore confirmed the importance of the legal and constitutional basis of citizenship; if models of patriotism, local or national, could not secure the rights of citizens, the official mechanisms of the state had to come into action. This rights-based discourse became increasingly important not just for African Americans, but for the rights of women and minority groups as well.[87]

Unlike Britain, this was not a social democratic rights vision of citizenship; the focus was instead on civil rights.[88] Indeed, the lack of a comprehensive social democratic programme in the immediate post-war period was due to the inability of the federal government to overcome racism and meet 'altered demands in a racially mixed, urban, modernizing society.'[89] As Ira Katznelson has recently and persuasively suggested, the American state constructed during the New Deal embodied this racism, being engineered as it was by a Congress dominated by Democrats from the Jim Crow South. Confronted with 'fear itself' as liberal democracies came under assault in Europe, inherent white supremacy and in-egalitarianism was a compromise for the radical and experimental state that responded to the

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[83] Ralph, *Northern Protest,* p.17 and p.65.
[84] Ibid., p.55.
[85] M. Schudson, *The Good Citizen,* p.232 and p.250.
[86] Ibid., p.258.
[87] Ibid., p.264.
[88] Fraser and Gordon, 'Contract versus charity: why is there no social citizenship in the United States?', pp.45-65.
[89] A.R. Williams and K.F. Johnson, 'Race, social welfare, and the decline of postwar liberalism: a new or old key?', *Journal of Planning Literature,* 15, no. 3 (2001).

crisis of capitalism and secured global power. Liberal democracy was therefore preserved partly at the expense of black equality.[90] While some social aspects were apparent in the postwar US state, particularly through the creation of Social Security, 'social citizenship remained weak… compared with that in England and other western European nations.'[91]

Conclusion

In summary, the interwar period in Manchester and Chicago witnessed a specific and similar form of citizenship. The urban environment was crucial for its role in creating the interwar citizenship debate, and its consequent possible potential for creating citizens. Municipal government was also vital, both in creating and disseminating narratives that placed the city at the forefront of citizenship, and in working with voluntary associations to realise this narrative in the minds and bodies of urban inhabitants. Of course, past models of citizenship did not vanish as newer models arose.[92] Liberal self-improvement, a key part of nineteenth-century elite citizenship, remained in the interwar period, though extended to the working class and realised through figurative and literal state structures, like welfare relief, schools, and houses. While many of the mechanisms, facets, and expressions of this relationship remained following the Second World War it had clearly lost its status as the dominant discourse. At this point, the experiences of Manchester and Chicago diverged. In Britain, as the provision of welfare became almost completely controlled by national government, the emphasis on the special relationship between municipal government and the citizen was less tenable, as the national welfare state succeeded the municipal, and the social of Marshall's classic conception was at least partly realised. In the US, the moves toward legal civil rights made city-based narratives of belonging seem outmoded and unable to solve the engrained

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[90] I. Katznelson, *Fear Itself: the New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* (New York, 2013).
[91] Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, p.54.
[92] Schudson, *The Good Citizen,* p.294.

problems of segregation and racism. Consequently, in both countries, the city and its governance became the backdrop, rather than the vanguard, in the processes of creating citizens.

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