

Sustaining Tradition and Making a Difference: Jane Addams's Writing on Memory

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is to present a largely present unknown contribution of Jane Addams, one of America's first female sociologists and the first American woman to receive the Nobel Prize, to sociology of memory. It analyses Addams's book *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1917) where she directly addressed the issues of memory, its functions and the links between memory and emotions. In this work, Addams aimed to show how memory raises consciousness, restores dignity and gives life meaning. Addams's pioneering thinking about a power inherent in memory, brings to our attention the dual role memory as a reconciler to life and as a motor of change. Such an understanding of memory's power can be interpreted as the conceptualization of memory as a means of the sustaining tradition and making a difference.

Keywords: Addams, Memory, Sociology of memory, Old women 's memory, Memory, Mead

1. Introduction

Jane Addams (1882-1935) as one of America's first public intellectuals, one of its most accomplished social reformers, one of its first female sociologists and one of its most pragmatic ethicists. Addams was also the first American woman to receive the Nobel Prize. Her idea of civic activism, her emphasis on moral sensibilities and on the role women in public life as well as her ability to connect thought and action are well expressed in her eleven books and many articles (Appendix 1). Here however, I am especially interested in Addams's book *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1917) where she directly addressed the issues of memory, its functions and the links between memory and emotions. Addams also approached the question of the significance of memory in *The Excellent Becomes the Permanent* (1932), the book which she wrote near the end of her life. There she expressed her conviction that 'well lived lives are a deposit of hopes and faithfulness to those who live on, but only in so far as they are remembered' (Bethke Elshtain, 2002a:174). According to Addams, labour and service 'were the only answers she could offer to death' (Brown 2004: 14), thus only by remembering our exemplary forefathers, we grant them permanency. Hence, the aim of the book of eulogies, *The Excellent Becomes the Permanent*, was - by illustrating what 'exemplary lives' can achieve - to inspire in readers confidence to 'work for change' (Addams 1932:133). *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1917), on the other hand, aimed above all to show how memory raises consciousness, restores dignity and gives life meaning.

Although in the last decades the sociological literature on aging has been increasing and although there are some sociological studies of old people's life stories (for example, Coleman et al., 1998) and some anthropological studies of aging and life stories (for example, Myerhoff's *Life's Career- Aging*), there are no many sociological studies devoted to grasping the uniqueness of old people's memories and their relations to the past. Thus, despite the fact that in by 2017 there will be almost two million more people aged 65 to 84 and a half a million over 85 in the UK (*The Observer*, 25.02.07, p. 16), we still do not know enough about the working of old people's memories. Moreover, with dementia becoming one of the main problems in the Western countries (for example, in the UK dementia affects one in five people over 80 years of age and one in 20 aged over 65; *Observer*, 25.02.07, p. 16), we tend to, when talking about older people's memory, focus mainly on the impact of the loss of memory on the ageing population. With exception of some literary works (for example, Anita Brookner's novels) and some interdisciplinary efforts (such as Draaisma's *Why Life Speeds up as You Get Older*), other than dementia problems and aspects of old people's memory are not so frequently discussed.

Thus, Addams's approach deserves a special attention as it sheds lights on various ways in which old people's memories shape their lives and tells us about how old people recall their past experiences. What Addams brings to our attention is not the forgetfulness of old age or the tendency of old people's to associate everything with their youth but rather the fact that old women tend to search for a chance to have a look back on their lives with hope to find the values that have determined their lives. Addams, through 'affective interpretation' of others' needs and motives' (Addams quoted in Brown 2004:6) shows memory as a means of upholding of societal patterns and demonstrates how women's remembering hearts are 'keepers of a tradition of social amelioration' (Bethke Elshtain, 2002b:249). Her method of

‘sympathetic understanding’ and interpretations of myths and legends makes *The Long Road of Woman’s Memory* ‘an exercise in cultural and interpretive anthropology’ (ibid). Moreover, today, Addams’s approach, rooted in her crossing and expanding disciplinary boundaries, seems to be more than ever relevant in the field of memory studies. In what follows, I will try to reconstruct her ideas on the role of memory in woman’s life and to show how her theory’s emancipatory accents shed lights on our understanding of memory. In order to grasp the originality of her thoughts on this topic, I first look at Addams’s achievement as a public intellectual, scholar and social reformer.

2. Jane Addams’s Long Road to Contemporary Sociology

Jane Addams’s life, which spanned across the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, intertwined with crucial social, economic and political developments in the nineteenth century American society. She was one of the first generations of college women who witnessed the rapid expansion of industry and urbanization as well as the rise of populism, progressivism and socialism. Addams began her public life in 1889, when in a poor section of Chicago she, together with her friend Ellen Starr, opened a settlement house, known as Hull-House. It was her visit to London’s Toynbee Hall, the first social settlement devoted to educating the working classes, that gave Addams an idea for Hull-House. Hull-House quickly grew into an entire city block of buildings which were used every day by hundreds of migrants. The settlement was not a philanthropic project. It, apart from providing Addams with a possibility to help others, offered her vocation and possibility to perform of ‘the duties of good citizenship’ (Addams [1893] 2002:45). Hull-House was also Addams’s creative solution to the dilemma how to ‘be a respected and respectable single women with authority and with engrossing, satisfying work, while fulfilling her family obligation and her friends’ (Brown 2004: 110). For Addams the settlement was ‘an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city’(Addams [1893] 2002:16). Hull House, as a result of its pioneering services, became a thriving social, cultural and intellectual centre (Appendix 2) and this achievement gave Addams and her co-workers ‘a strong sense of being pioneers’ and ensured her ‘leadership in the national settlement movement’(Davis 1973:93).

Addams’s work with the ethnic communities in Hull-House drew her attention to problems faced by migrants, especially migrant women. She established herself a prominent advocate for immigrants in the middle of national anti-immigration sentiments and as a promoter of compromise in the midst of waves of labour protests and strikes. Practically, all major reforms of the progressive era benefited to some degree from Jane Addams’s support and involvement. By the end of the nineteenth century, Addams’s role as the founder of Hull-House and as the reformer, together with her increasingly important role in many local and national organizations and her lecturing and publishing on topics related to Hull-House, ethics, democracy, civic responsibility and social cooperation, established her high national visibility and status. Addams solidified her reputation as the country ‘the most admired woman’ (Knight, 2005:xvii) by publishing in 1910 a book about her experience in Hull-House. *Twenty Years at Hull House* immediately became a classic and it is still recognised as one of the best examples of autobiography. The recollection of her life in the settlement house helped ([1910] 1925:162) to realize that she learned in Hull-House ‘wisdom to deal

with a man's difficulties come only through some knowledge of his life and habits' and that the only way to bring about alternations for the good is to quicken moral sensibilities'.

Hull House introduced Jane Addams not only to the reform movement but also initiated her relationship a wider world of scholarship. The settlement house, which was a focal point of interest for many social scientists, provided her with various links to the University of Chicago. With the academics' appreciation of the engagement with wider community, Addams's collaboration with the University of Chicago led to the creation of a forum for intellectual debates between people from different backgrounds. According to her, without such an engagement in 'mutual interpretation', there could not be no true conversations and real exchange of views (Addams [1910] 1925:160). Addams's collaboration with the University of Chicago also initiated her career as a sociologist. She not only contributed to study contemporary society in the way initiated by Robert Park but she also collaborated with Dewey, Mead, and Thomas (Deegan, 1988). The Chicago sociology's retreat 'into the present' (Elias quoted in Burke 2005:11) directed Addams's attention to investigations of her city, its slums, ethos and problems. In 1895, as a result of her close relationship to the academy, Addams and her co-workers in Hull-House published *Hull-House Maps and Papers*, fundamental sociological survey of sweatshops, tenement housing, the preventable diseases and ailments in the neighbored (Appendix 3). At the same time, her links with pragmatists contributed to her development of 'interpretative sociology' (Ross, 1998) and her input into pragmatist theory. 'She is an exemplary case of how pragmatism, like feminism, internally disrupts artificial and counterproductive disciplinary boundaries' (Seigfried, 1996: 45). Addams was also an outstanding 'interpreter of practical sociology' (Levine, 1971:90) who believed that social justice could be only achieved through understanding others' feelings and ideas. Her interpretative social thinking was already visible in her first book, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902). In this book, Addams combined a powerful cultural and political critique of American industrial society with a positive and practical vision of its democracy. She argued that a new social ethics was needed to resolve social conflicts and to address the problems of life in modern cities. Addams also insisted that society should develop a higher type of collective social morality in which the individual 'shall be willing to lose the sense of personal achievement, and shall be content to realize his activity only in connection with the activity of the many' (Addams, 1902: 275 and 206). Addams, after asserting that the idea of democratic government was the most valuable contribution the USA made to the moral life of the world, declared that she believed in progress as a process of social change. Yet, she understood that such social change leads to the expansion of social participation and requires detail knowledge of life. 'Life', she wrote in *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 'consists of processes as well as results, and failure may come quite as easily from ignoring the adequacy of one's method as from selfish or ignoble aims'(Addams, 1902:176).

This emphasis on moral sensibilities was also the important element of Addams's approach to the issue of women's role in society and of her account of the role of memory in initiating progressive social change, such as laying down foundations for a more peaceful world. Stressing the achievement of contemporary societies in developing 'cooperative and experimental science' (Addams quoted in Randall 1964: xx) which promising that change could be achieved not only by use of force and grants women the important function in

securing a general welfare and the democracy, Addams became an active and prominent supporter of the right of women to vote. She also engaged in activities of various international women organization working for the world peace. Already in 1907 she published a book *Newer Ideals of Peace*, in which, drawing on her experience from living together of migrants from different countries in Hull-House, she promoted the idea of cooperation of all nationalities on international level for a common good. Even the American entrance of the WWI did not change Addams's anti-war views, thus subsequently, she 'who has been an American heroine, representative of all the best of American democracy', overnight was transformed 'into a villain by her opposition to the war' (Davis, 1973: 251). In the first years of the war, Addams was labelled as a traitor, was harassed, ostracised, called subversive, came under government surveillance and was vilified in the press (Stenersen et al 2001:108). The hostility towards her declined, especially after she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her work 'for peace and human brotherhood' (Koht [1931] 2005:1). As Addams slowly regained her national reputation as America's best-known and most widely acclaimed woman public intellectual, praised for 'a channel through which the moral life of her country flowed' (Spanish, 2002:5).

Although Addams was very popular during her life and although Addams 'identified herself as a sociologist' (Seigfried, 1996: 45), until recently social scientists have not shown much interest in her input to sociology. Addams's contribution for a long time was unknown and not included into the histories of sociology. The main reasons responsible for her long invisibility in sociology are not only ones connected with the persistence of Addams's representation as a cofounder of Hull-House, reformer and social worker but also ones making rather difficult to confine her work to a single discipline. A resulting confusion, as 'sociologists relegate her to amateur reformism, at best to the status of a social worker', while philosophers consign Addams to sociology (Seigfried, 1996: 45), means that Addams's unique to input to pragmatism remains not acknowledged.

In the last several years a number of new books reintroducing Addams's contribution back to sociology has been growing (Appendix 4). In a recently published *Fifty Key Sociologists*, edited by John Scott (2007), Addams is presented as 'one of the most important female sociologists who ever live' (Deegan 2007:3). Addams is portrayed as a feminist pragmatist and as 'a recognized world leader with a sweeping mind, personal charisma and an innovative intellectual legacy' (ibid). Yet in spite of this recent wave of interest in Addams's work, there is still no comprehensive study of her contribution to sociology or a general overview of her social theory. In short, despite the increased number of books bringing Addams back to modern sociology, the importance of her intellectual contribution is still not fully appreciated.

3. Remembering Hearts of Old Women

Addams's thoughts on the role of memory and its links with emotion can be especially appreciated in her book *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1917), which was published when Addams began to speak out against the war, thus when her national fame started to fade away. Several factors prompted Addams to write *The Long Road of Woman's Memory*. Firstly, she was always paid attention to women's views, intuition and ideas. Already in her early speeches she stressed that 'women's intuition was 'one of the holy means given to mankind

in their search for truth' (Brown 2004:94). Secondly, through her many years at Hull-House she had an opportunity to notice several tendencies common to all old people when they spoke of their past experiences (Addams 1917: ix). Thirdly, Addams was interested in and passionate about women's dramatic recollections of their hardship. Fourthly, while listening to memories of European women affected by the First World War, she caught a glimpse of a conflict between women's two basic instincts (the protection of their children's lives and the loyalty to a wider community) and therefore wanted to show how these contrasting attitudes are exposed in the process of remembering. Finally, Addams also encountered a mythical story of the Devil Baby and it was this primordial myth that directly triggered her thoughts on old women's remembering.

The story of the 'Devil Baby' is the central and opening story in *The Long Road of Woman's Memory*. It is told in two chapters, with the first chapter, entitled 'Women's memories – transmuting the past', being one of Addams most famous essays. This chapter was 'so much in demand that she included it into two of her books' (Bethke, 2002b:376). The second chapter, 'Women's memories – reacting on life, as illustrated by the story of the Devil Baby', uses this mysterious story to demonstrate memory's vital power of selection. Jane Addams's conversation with old women excited by this story helped her to crystallize her thoughts and ideas on the working of 'women's remembering hearts' and to understand how memory controls old women lives, which seem to very much rooted in the past, seen as 'much of more importance than the mere present'(Addams 1917:15). Listening to old women's memories also allowed her to 'look at group emotion and the deeply felt need to make sense of thing morally, to be assured that things happen for a reason'(Bethke, 2002b:175).

The knowledge of the Devil Baby's existence 'burst upon the residence of Hull-House one day when three Italian women, with an excited rush through the door, demanded that he be shown to them' (Addams, 1917: 2). Unable to conceive them that he was not there, Jane Addams resigned herself to listen to stories about the Devil Baby's cloven hoofs, his pointed ears and diminutive tail. Following this occurrence, for next six weeks, Hull-House was visited by a stream of old women who came to see the Devil Baby. During this period of excitement and sociability, Jane Addams realized that there were several ethnic versions of this story; in the Italian version, the Devil Baby was a son of a religious girl married to a non-believer, in the Jewish account the Devil Baby was connected with the tale about the father of six daughters who preferred to have a devil than another daughter. 'The vivid interest of so many old women in the story of the Devil Baby may have been an unconscious, although powerful testimony that tragic experiences gradually become dressed in such trappings in order that their spent agony may prove of some use to a world which learns at the hardest; and that strivings and sufferings of men and women long since dead, their emotions ... are transmuted into legendary wisdom' (Addams, 1917:21). The story of the Devil Baby 'stirred their minds and memories as with magic touch' (Addams, 1917:4).

As the tale 'put into their hands the sort of material with which they were accustomed to deal', the old females were convinced that the tale would secure them a moment of importance at home and that they 'enjoyed a moment of triumph'(ibid:8). They believed that they could use the magic tale, similar to ones that they used to discipline their children, to get attention and respect from members of their families, neighbours and others, and therefore to increase their

social visibility and importance. The story provided these old women with the last hope not only that somebody would listen to them but also that it may 'at least sever as a warning', while affording material for an exciting narrative' (ibid :22). While not expecting anything from life, these women still hope for a 'quiet endurance which allows the wounds of the spirit to heal' (ibid :11). Their demand for 'assurance that theirs was moral universe' (Bethke Elshtain, 2002b:179). Addams's (1917:23) hours of listening to old women's memories led her to realize 'the sifting and reconciling power inherent in Memory itself'. Many of those who came to see the Devil Baby experienced numerous traumas in their lives. Yet, 'even the most hideous sorrows which the old women related had subsided into the paler emotion of ineffectual regret, after Memory had long done her work upon them; the old people seemed, in some unaccountable way, to lose all bitterness and resentment against life, or rather to be so completely without it that they must have lost it long since' (Addams, 1917:11). The fact that these women recalled their past traumas with calm, emotional composure and without bitterness, illustrates the appeasing power of memory, its power to 'increase the elements of beauty and significance and to reduce all sense of resentment (ibid : 24) .

In chapter 2, 'Women's memories – reaction on life as illustrated by the story of the Devil Baby', Addams (1917:23), feeling to be well informed on how to use 'the fairy tale with children' and realizing a total lack of 'pedagogical instructions for the treatment of old age', documents the narrative needs of old women who saw the story 'as a valuable instrument in the business of living'(ibid:25). The tale of the Devil Baby incited the women to put their experiences more 'vividly than they had hitherto been able to do'. When Memory 'has done her work upon them', their stories, regardless how tragic they were, still were 'bringing relief to the surcharged heart' (ibid: 27). To Addams's surprise, even in 'the most of the most tragic reminiscences, there remained that something in the memories of these mothers which has been called the great revelation of tragedy, or sometimes the great illusion of tragedy; that which has power in its own right to make life palatable and at a rare moments even beautiful'(ibid :52). Memory's appeasing and reconciling power is connected with memory inherent capability to sustain the spirit by easing the 'inconsistencies and perplexities of life' and by melting things 'down into reminiscence' and transmuting pains and sorrows into stories (ibid: 33-52). Addams's (1917:xiv) conversations with old women convinced her that memory's selective capabilities, which express themselves in 'natural blurring of nonessentials and the consequent throwing into high relief of common human experiences', are responsible for softening and idealizing visions of the past. Noticing old females' tendency to the idealization of the past, Addams (1917: ix) quotes Euripides: 'Memory, that Memory who is the Mother of the Muses, having done her work upon them'. According to Addams, old women's lives existed in their memory narratives, which were transformed in such a way so they could answer women's moral anxieties and transfigure their unsatisfactory lives, their past miseries into coherent and moral tales. Observing various ways in which old people try to ensure an ethical character to their lives taken as a whole, Addams wondered how best to help them to realize this quest for the unity of their memory narrative.

Following chapters illustrate different functions of memory by looking at recollections of traumas connected with personal tragedies, misery at work and anguish caused by the war. Chapter 3, 'Women's memories - disturbing conventions' is based on conversations held with

women about their experience in family, while Chapter 4 , ‘Women’s memories – integrating industry’ is based on conversations held with women about their experience in the labour market. They demonstrate that ‘reminiscences of the aged, even while softening the harsh realities of the past, exercise a vital power of selection which often necessities an onset against the very traditions and conventions commonly believed to find their stronghold in the minds of elderly people’(Addams, 1917: ix). Both these chapters document less appealing, but still essential, functions of memory. In Chapter 3 Addams contrasts the function of women’s long memory as a reconciler to life, as revealed by the visitors to the Devil Baby, with the function of memory as a ‘social disturber’. Listing to memories of family lives, Addams discovers that memory’s power of selection helps the process of change as people’s desire to ‘perfect the past’ tends to ‘establish a new norm’(Addams, 1917:Xiii). Yet, the memory’s role in interpreting and appealing life for the individual as well as its role as a selective agency in social reorganization are not only not mutually exclusive and also capable of supporting each other. The Chapter 3, as the previous chapters, illustrates that mutual reminiscences perform a valuable role in developing a spirit of community as selective memories are used to create common traditions, identities and to ‘cherish the good in others’(Addams, 1917:65-67). The same integrating function of memory is presented in Chapter 4, in which we meet working women who, ‘under the domination of that mysterious autobiographical impulse’, recalled their hard working lives and ‘monstrous social injustices’ (Addams, 1917: xii). While listening to their recollections, Addams (196:85) was astonished not so much by the observation that memory could integrate the individual experience into a sense of relation with more impersonal aspects of life, but also by the fact that ‘larger meaning had been obtained when the fructifying memory had had nothing to feed upon but the harshest and most monotonous of industrial experiences’. This function of memory not only to integrate of the individual experience into larger unities but also to offer an interpretation of life and enlarge of the horizon, places memory among ‘the great essentials’ of human lives (Addams, 1917:xv).

The puzzling capacity of memory to locate and explain individual experiences in the context of wider social trends was brought to Addams’s attention in her conversations with women during her visit to Europe in 1915. In Chapter 5, ‘Women’s memories – challenging war’, Addams (1917:xiv) reconstructed recollections of women who experienced traumas of the WWI and who ‘sat shelterless in the devastating glare of Memory’. These mothers’ memories exemplified a pain of their inner struggle as they ‘had found themselves in the midst of that ever – recurring struggle, often tragic and bitter between two conceptions of duty one which is antagonistic to the other’, that is duty to the State and their families (Addams, 1917:118). While illustrating the women’s efforts at spiritual adjustment necessitated by the war and the conflict between their loyalty to their nations and their maternal instincts, these memories also revealed that these women’s ‘feelings had been hurt’, that their ‘very conception of human nature had received a sharp shock and set-back’ (Addams, 1917:138-140). In order to generalize many women’s experiences and memories, Addams paints portraits of two women whose sons were killed in the war. The first portrait is of women who is ‘the sophisticated, possibly over sophisticated mother’ and the second one is of the simple Italian peasant women (ibid: 135). The first mother, whose son was a professor of industrial chemistry, in her

reminiscences tried to cope with his death as well as with his last message to her that ‘science herself in this mad world had also become cruel and malignant’(ibid: 125). These words from her son’s last letter to her, together with a later acquired knowledge that he was consulted on the process of manufacturing of deadly gases, prompts this mother to blame the state which she viewed as the ‘alien and hostile thing’ (ibid : 125). Yet, she tried to free her son’s memory from any charge of lack of patriotism. Following various lines of reminiscence she claimed that ‘these modern men of science are red-blooded, devoted patriots’ (ibid : 125). At the same time, by revolting against the wars, she showed ‘one of those overwhelming impulses belonging to women’(ibid: 133). Yet her claim to the rights to express her basic maternal impulse to preserve her son’s life, did not lead this woman to reject the importance of her son’s devotion to the nation and its interest.

The second women presented ‘a clear case of that humble internationalism which is founded not upon theories, but upon the widespread immigration of the last fifty years, interlacing nation to nation with a thousand kindly deeds’ (ibid: 137). This mother, being familiar with both rhetoric of comradeship (as her killed son had been a Socialist) and with general ideas of internationalism (as her brother settled happily in California) was troubled by the question of what happened to the universal solidarity. Despite the fact that her memories of a friendly universe were threatened, she had remained faithful to the cause of moral unity and did not reject the social claim, the duty to the nation. Her inner struggle illustrates the validity of the both claims; women’s deepest instinct that their children should live and their loyalty to the nation. Addams (1917:140) concludes that the suffering mothers ‘feel the stirring of the old impulse to protect and cherish their unfortunate children, and women’s haunting memories instinctively challenge war as the implacable enemy of their age-long undertaking’. As occasionally these ‘heart- broken women would ignore the strident claims of the present and would insist that the war was cutting at the very taproots of the basic human relations so vitally necessary to the survival of civilization’ (ibid), women’s memories could be seen as challenging war and thus preparing the ground for culture of peace.

Addams’s idea of the function of memory as the imperative of peace and her twofold attribution of memory; to one’s close relations and to others, resembles Margalit’s (2002:93-105) idea that obligations to remember are generated by the types of relations that we have with other people. In the ‘thin’ reactions, that rely on some aspect of being human, such as being a woman, the obligations depend on nothing other than our shared humanity and the fact that other human beings can be in need and entitled to our aid. On the other hand, in the ‘thick’ relations that are grounded in attributes, such as being parents, friends or lover, obligations to remember depend on a special relationship with others; something rooted in a shared past or shared memory. Generalizing Addams’s observation on the grieving women’s memories, we can say that it illustrates that there is no symmetry between the duty to remember, which is nourished by the closed types of relations, and a more universal duty to forget. Addams’s idea that only by remembering we can construct the future and build a peace world for next generations comes close to Ricoeur’s (1999:9) understating of the asymmetry between remembering and forgetting which stresses that the duty to remember keeps ‘alive the memory of suffering over against the general tendency of history to celebrate victors’ (Ricoeur 1999:9).

In the last chapter of *The Long Road of Woman's Memory*, (Chapter 6, 'A personal experience in interpretative memory'), Addams recalled how her memories of childhood were recovered in Egypt and her almost mystical sense of unity with the past inspired by ancient monuments of Egypt. She notes that the unexpected revival in her memory of long-forgotten childhood experiences may have been partly due to the fact she was taught about the ancient Egypt's tombs as a child and therefore she approached them with a certain sense of familiarity (Addams, 1917:141-5). Addams's (1917:168) involuntary remembering prompts her to suggest that through the unexpected reactions of memory to the records of human history, we experience feelings of unity and continuity of the life. The importance of memory therefore is reinforced as we thrust upon memory 'the sole responsibility of guarding for the future generations, our common heritage of mutual good-will'(Addams, 1917:xv). Furthermore, Addams's memories of her childhood, as evoked by the Egyptian monuments, allowed her to discover not only a feeling of the continuity with the past but also the feeling of the authenticity of reality. In contrast to Freud's (1996) feeling of unreality which overtook him when he was visiting the Acropolis, Addams thinks that the meaning of our experience materializes in memory and what we call reality is a certain relationship between sensations of and memories which surround us at the same time. Finally, Addams, like Proust (1989, part 3:905), seems to think that being free from 'the order of time' is miraculously liberated and open to future

4. Conclusion

In *The Long Road of Woman's Memory*, Addams, following George Elliot's claim that the souls of human beings are 'widening toward the past' (Bethke, 2002a:175), documented the importance of memory in human life. The book illustrates Addams's pioneering thinking about memory and her interesting ideas about a power inherent in memory. She was one of the first social scientists who insists on the social importance of memory, seen as 'Protean Mother, who first differentiated primitive man from the brute; who makes possible our complicated modern life so daily dependent on the experiences of the past' (Addams, 1917:xv). Jane Addams's thoughts on the working of and the role of memory were developed a decade before the publication of Maurice Halbwachs's ([1926]1950) main work on collective memory. Halbwachs, like Addams, argued that people create a common past for themselves with a help of their constitutive narratives. Also Addams's view of memory narrative as providing the mechanism for thinking about past and her idea that discourse about the past brings us into contact with the experiences or perspectives of others, position her as a predecessor of Halbwachs who is considered the founding father of contemporary sociology of memory.

Addams, moreover, was also one of the first sociologists to write about various functions of memory. Noticing a tendency to an idealization, almost to a romanticism, in old people's memories, she brings to our attention memory's important role as a reconciler to life as well as memory's power to challenge existing conventions. She provided evidence of memory's activity as a selective agency in sustaining tradition and in social reorganization. Addams's theory, like Mead's theory, can be interpreted as the conceptualization of memory as a means of upholding the existing order and as a motor of change. She, in a similar vein to Mead (1929: 235), who wrote that 'the past which we construct for the standpoint of the new

problems of today is based upon continuity which we discover in that which has arisen and it serves us until the rising novelty of tomorrow necessitates a new history', believed that in the context of change, conditions of insecurity could be routinized by the reconstruction of the past in such a way as to assimilate it into a meaningful flow of events. Addams, a feminist pragmatist who claimed that past arose in such a way as to enable 'intelligent conduct to proceed' against situational problems (Mead, 1932:xiii, 29), believed, like Mead, that memory is selective and that people use the past to give meaning to the present. Another aspect of Jane Addams's approach, which today is behind the popularity of her theory, is her interdisciplinary treatment of memory. One of main feature of such a cross-disciplinary approach was coupling of the appreciation of memory as the means for transcending subjectivity with the recognition that narratives as not only providing a break from mundane life and causing excitement and sociability but as also serving as an essential mediator for social change.

Jane Addams (1917: xii) acknowledged that all human beings are under 'the domination of that mysterious autobiographical impulse', by which she understood that all people are naturally narrative and narrativity is crucial to good life. This idea that a basic condition of making sense of ourselves is that we grasp our lives as narrative and have an understanding of our live as 'an unfolding story', resembles Charles Taylor, Alasdair MacIntyre and Ricoeur's observations. Addams's recognition that life narratives are based in memories was a result of her comprehension that without memory the self is lost and that memory ensures the depth of human existence. Furthermore, Addams, long before Jean-Francois Lyotard (1983) pointed out to small and forgotten stories as the alternative to *grand narratives*, brought to our attention the importance of untold narratives of a marginalized group, that is, migrant women.

Addams's hopes that humanity could solve its problems and progress to a more peaceful and cooperative existence were rooted in her assumption that remembering is a moral act requiring moral clarity. Stressing that history does not only change by violence means, Jane Addams grants memory the essential role in initiating social change, understood as accumulative process in which the present and the past reconcile themselves to one another and to societal needs. According to her, culture's need for change and stability could be answered with a help of memory as the present is constituted by the past which, at the same time, must be seen as being anchored in the present. Stressing the role of memory in the adjustment of old views and standards into a new reality, Addams described the dangers of failing to make such a change or alteration. 'Our chief concern with the past; is not what we have done, not the adventures we have met, but the moral reaction [we have] to bygoneevents'(Addams, 1917:101). Her idea that memory plays an important role the process of social change has recently been revitalized in the theory of the politics of memory which grants collective memory the essential role in human experience (Schwartz, 2000).

Addams asserted that the main non violent methods or mechanisms for organizing and improving society are both education and cultivation of the democratic public culture, both deeply shaped by with power of memory. In other words, according to her, remembering plays the essential role in the coordination of emotional commitment and ordering moral values. The importance of the cultivation of public emotions in order to guard societies

against divisions and conflicts has been recently argued by Nussbaum (2013). Nussbaum, like Addams, recognizes that by cultivating appropriative sentiments societies can achieve strong commitment to worthy projects of social change. Thus, according Jane Addams as well as to Nussbaum (2013), to ensure social justice and well-being of all requires societies to develop an education that cultivates the emotional commitments to community and to support the public political culture which preserves these sentiments. Addams's appreciative recognition of the significance of the connections between memory and justice and her concern about the preservation of democratic values provide much evidence of her relevance to today's sociology of memory.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Jane Addams's works

Jane Addams wrote prolifically on a wide range of issues for scholarly journals and for mass-circulation magazines, such as *Ladies Home Journal* ('a politically serious magazine at the time'), *McClure's* and *American Magazine* (Elshtain, 2002a:xxv). Some of her most important books are; *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902). *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907), *Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922). *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (1917). Recently her writings have been collected in Bethke Elshtain, J. (2002) *The Jane Addams Reader*. New York : Basic Book and in Addams., J.(1960) *A Centennial Reader*. New York Macmillan.

Appendix 2: Hull House

Hull House was not only the first social settlement in Chicago, but also first social settlement in the United States with men and women in residents, it established first public baths in Chicago, it had first public playground in Chicago, established first gymnasium in Chicago, established first little theatre in the United States, established first citizens preparation classes in the United States, established first gymnasium in Chicago, established public kitchen in Chicago, established first college extension course in Chicago and established first free exhibits in Chicago and first group work school and first public swimming pool in Chicago (Bethke, 2002a:xix).

Appendix 3: Hull-House Maps and Papers

Hull-House Maps and Papers was the pioneering study of a working class neighbourhoods in American city. With its publication, Addams and her collaborators 'created American urban sociology as the empirically rigorous study of the conditions of urban life' (Bethke Elstain 2002a:xxxv) . *Hull-House Maps and Papers* stimulated further research on Chicago and other city and over years provided Addams with data on urban conditions to press for further reforms. (Davis, 1973).

Appendix 4: Recent publications on Addams :

Bethke, E. J. (2002a). *The Jane Addams Reader*. New York : Basic Book.

Bethke, E. J. (2002). *Jane Addams and the American Dream of Democracy*. New York: Basic Books.

Bethke, E. J. (1995). *Democracy on Trial*. New York: Basic Books.

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Seigfried, C. H. (1999). Socializing Democracy. Jane Addams and John Dewey. *Philosophy of the Social Science*, 29(2), 207-230. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/004839319902900203>

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