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### 3. The origins of the settlement model of public administration: stories of women pioneers

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#### INTRODUCTION

A Ph.D. student in the 1970s studying the history of public administration would encounter Woodrow Wilson and the importance of separating politics and administration. Students in the predominately male classroom would learn that Public Administration (PA) emerged as a way to rectify the abuses of the spoils system as it sought to uncover a science of administration. PA brought values like economy and efficiency to remedy a corrupt system. Most classes were taught by male professors and the vast majority of articles found in the leading journals and course syllabi were authored by men (Condit and Hutchinson, 1997). Also, very few programs offered courses in nonprofit administration (Wish and Mirabella, 1998).

The Ph.D. class of the 2020s looks very different. It is now filled with a diverse set of students and faculty. Nonprofit administration is well accepted and ingrained in the curriculum. Women are still less prevalent in PA scholarship and in their representation as journal editors. They are also less likely to be represented in PA textbooks and the syllabus of courses. Although serious inroads have been made, the history and designated forerunners of PA are largely white males. This is changing slowly (Evans, 2018; Edwards et al., 2019; Feeney et al., 2019; Hatch, 2018; Schachter, 2017; Scutelnicu and Knepper, 2019).

Camilla Stivers's (2000) landmark book, *Bureau Men, Settlement Women* first revealed a buried "alternative" PA vision articulated by women of the Progressive Era. The task of recovering this lost historical perspective has not been easy or straightforward. Mary Guy (2011) insightfully characterized the history of women in PA as one where women acted within their highly circumscribed sphere of influence and then pushed those boundaries in spite of daunting barriers. This chapter examines an early history of PA and captures the stories of women who pushed these boundaries.

The rich (her)story of women in public administration is depicted by tracing themes, theories and public problems that tie the narratives together. This chapter takes as a starting point the generation before the progressive reformers, with the work of Britain's Florence Nightingale and the women managers of the United States Sanitary Commission. Nightingale and her American sisters were active practitioners of public administration as they focused on the health and safety of soldiers during war. They made a difference and tilled the soil so that the settlement women had the freedom and skills to formulate the "alternative" view of public administration, which PA scholars have been recovering over the last 30 years.

The chapter then examines the settlement movement and a few key pioneering women of public administration who lived and learned at Chicago's Hull House – Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop and Frances Perkins. These women are just an important few who bridged theory and practice and articulated this alternative view. Table 3.1 highlights the

Table 3.1 *Women pioneers of public administration and selected works*

Person/Years	Contributions to PA	Original work related to PA
Early Period		
Florence Nightingale (1820–1910)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- First woman to run a Military Hospital</li> <li>- Hospital Administration Reform</li> <li>- Professionalized Nursing</li> <li>- Sanitary Commission Author</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Notes on Matters Affecting the Health, Efficiency and Hospital Administration of the British Army</i> (1858)</li> <li>- <i>Notes on Nursing</i> (1922 [1860])</li> <li>- <i>Army Sanitary Administration and its Reform</i> (1862)</li> <li>- <i>Notes on Hospitals</i> (1863)</li> </ul>
Mary Livermore (1820–1905)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Branch Manager, U.S. Sanitary Commission</li> <li>- Noted national speaker – women’s rights</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>My Story of the War</i> (1995 [1887])</li> <li>- “Cooperative Womanhood in the State” (1891)</li> <li>- “Massachusetts Women in the Civil War” (1895)</li> </ul>
Women originators’ alternative view of public administration		
Jane Addams (1860–1935)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Founder, Hull House</li> <li>- Noted national speaker on progressive reform</li> <li>- Garbage Inspector/nonprofit executive</li> <li>- Feminist pragmatist</li> <li>- Coordinated research HHMP*</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>Democracy and Social Ethics</i> (1902)</li> <li>- “Problems of Municipal Administration” in <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> (1905)</li> <li>- <i>Newer Ideals of Peace</i> (1907)</li> <li>- <i>Twenty Years at Hull House</i> (1910)</li> <li>- <i>My Friend, Julia Lathrop</i> (2004 [1935])</li> </ul>
Florence Kelley (1859–1932)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Resident, Hull House</li> <li>- State Inspector of Workshops and Factories, Illinois</li> <li>- General Secretary, National Consumers Union</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “The Sweating System” in HHMP* (1895)</li> <li>- “Wage Earning Children” in HHMP* (1895)</li> <li>- <i>Some Ethical Gains through Legislation</i> (1905)</li> <li>- <i>Modern Industry: In Relation to the Family, Health, Education, Morality</i> (1914)</li> </ul>
Julia Lathrop (1859–1932)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Resident, Hull House</li> <li>- Illinois State Board of Charities</li> <li>- First director, Children’s Bureau</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- “The Cook County Charities” in HHMP* (1895)</li> <li>- “Income and Infant Mortality” in <i>American Journal of Public Health</i> (1919)</li> </ul>
Frances Perkins (1880–1965)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Resident, Hull House</li> <li>- Secretary, New York City Consumers’ League</li> <li>- Industrial Commissioner, N.Y.</li> <li>- U.S. Secretary of Labor</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>People at Work</i> (1934)</li> <li>- “Fair Labor Standards Bill” in <i>American Federationist</i> (1937)</li> </ul>

Source: \* Residents of Hull House, *Hull House Maps and Papers*, 1895.

contributions made by these and other influential women. It also provides examples of their public administration-related publications.

## PEGGY’S STORY

Before beginning, I digress to tell a story. In the 1990s, my sister, Peggy Beltrone became the first women elected to the County Commissioner of Cascade County Montana. She encountered many obstacles; for example, her fellow commissioners were skeptical about adding the problem of teen pregnancy to the agenda. They were incredulous about her request to purchase a desktop computer. As months and years passed, I saw her engage in many programs that advanced the interest of women and children in her county. She used her computer to stay connected to fellow reformers, often women, who supported her agenda. Little did I realize that Peggy’s experience echoed the stories of the early women in public administration who created the lost *alternative vision* of public administration.

Drawing on their experience and duty as caregivers, these pioneers identified new public problems, particularly around families and children and organized communities to create safe and healthy streets, water, homes, communities and workplaces. Even while they were working to establish their right to vote, they drew on and nurtured existing women's service clubs and other networks to effectuate change. They questioned the almost absolute application of laissez-faire policies, developing instead a feminist perspective incorporating an ethic of care, sympathy and an expanded inclusive notion of democracy. But, also, the insights and truths of the situation were often communicated through stories, although data and evidence were valued tools that forwarded their larger agenda. The next sections set the context and tell the stories.

## WAR, NURSING AND SUPPLIES (1850–65+)

During the 1850s and 1860s, Sanitary Commissions of Britain and the U.S.A. provided women with leadership positions and opportunities to contribute to the health and safety of soldiers. During the Crimean War (1853–56) Great Britain suffered grave losses as it fought Russia in Turkey. Grossly unsanitary hospitals and a supply system bound by red tape left the British unprepared to properly treat the sick and wounded (Woodham-Smith, 1951, p. 99). The British Sanitary Commission was a response to the disaster. Florence Nightingale was called upon to remedy the situation. In the process she made her mark on public administration.

Nightingale and her band of nurses were instrumental in slowing the death-by-disease rate. Wounded and diseased soldiers needed care as well as clean, supplied and ventilated hospitals. She used a "rational approach to public administration based on evaluative statistics" (McDonald, 2004, p. 86). Nightingale authored British Sanitary Commission Reports documenting how high initial death-by-disease rates were reduced with better hygiene, fresh air, good food and proper supplies (Woodham-Smith, 1951, pp. 204–6).

British Sanitary Commission reports and Nightingale's role in turning things around were widely covered in the U.S. press. The United States faced similar problems as the Civil War (1861–65) began. Further, the scale of the disaster was so overwhelming that military supply, battlefield care and hospitals were woefully inadequate. The United States Sanitary Commission, a nonprofit relief, hospital/camp inspection organization was modeled after the British experience. Ladies' aid societies were called on to provide supplemental supplies and nurses. Regional hubs, run by women, coordinated the network of soldiers' aid societies, sending clothing, bedding, food, medicine and nurses to the front (Shields and Rangarajan, 2011).

In official reports of the United States Sanitary Commission, Charles Stillé credits Florence Nightingale with stimulating reforms that saved thousands of lives. Using the British Sanitary Commission as a model, the U.S.A. officially authorized a temporary, nonprofit organization to inspect hospitals as well as provide nurses and supplemental supplies. This organization raised over \$25 million to address the largest disaster the U.S.A. had ever encountered. Novice, willing, effective and caring women administrators took the helm (Stillé, 1866, p. 490).

**Florence Nightingale (1820–1910)**

Florence Nightingale, born in 1820 to a wealthy family, became a noted statistician, leading authority on hospital administration, and passionate reformer who transformed nursing. As a child, her intellect and interest in mathematics was indulged as was her desire to care for the sick in her rural community. Responding to a call to serve the Lord she focused her attention on care for the sick in public hospitals that served the poor. Drawn to the new field of statistics, she found data and developed something like experimental science to reduce suffering and save lives. She gained expertise in hospital administration by managing a small hospital that served sick, distressed gentlewomen (Woodham-Smith, 1951).

During the Crimean War (1853–56), news of extraordinarily high disease rates among soldiers reached an angry citizenry. Her friend, Lord Herbert, the Secretary of War, asked her to investigate and mitigate the situation. He believed, “there is but one person who would be capable of organizing and supervising such a scheme” and pointed to her “*power of administration ...*” (cited in Woodham-Smith, 1951, p. 88).

She and 38 women nurses journeyed to Scutari, Turkey, charged with fixing an inept bureaucratic system. She faced a paralyzed and complicated transport and supply system filled with elaborate, confusing rules designed to prevent fraud (Hobbs, 1997, p. 53). Her administrative prowess battling the “monster” red tape and releasing needed supplies was legendary (Richards, 1911, p. 91). Her authority was constantly challenged by male military officers, who questioned and opposed women in leadership positions.

In the mid 1800s, British public hospitals relied on uneducated, poor, middle-aged women (often assumed to be former prostitutes) to tend the sick. This practice stigmatized and marginalized nursing, a position Nightingale knew was instrumental to a properly functioning hospital (Woodham-Smith, 1951). Drawing on the “caring mother” metaphor, she argued that hospitals needed trained respectable caregivers to heal the sick (Shields and Rangaragan, 2011). She campaigned tirelessly for nursing reform. Her (still in print) *Notes on Nursing* (1860) and the nursing school she established are among her most notable accomplishments. Nursing reform became a foundation of a larger strategy to bring evidence-based decision-making to patient care and hospitals.

Nightingale the statistician was dedicated to evidence-based decision-making. She pioneered the development of “survey instruments always vetted by experts and pretested” (McDonald, 2001, p. 68). Her use of statistics to reveal trends in hospital or community mortality was altogether new. Her tables and graphs let lawmakers see at a glance the problems she identified and led to her admission to the Royal Statistical Society (Reef, 2016). She got the science right and made it accessible to a wide audience including “senior civil servants who made and administered the laws” (McDonald, 2001, p. 68).

She was also skilled at analysis of misguided administrative processes. For example, she was able to show how regulations mandating that hospitals use shirts, towels and underwear from a soldier’s pack resulted in critical shortages. The rules failed to consider how easily belongings could be lost in battle. The problem was confounded by additional regulations mandating “the contents of the kits could not be replaced” (Nightingale, 1858, p. 73). Hence, a common occurrence – wounded soldiers separated from their pack – combined with misguided regulations led to a rupture in the supply chain.

Nightingale’s focus on care, justice and data-driven decisions mirrors the alternative vision of public administration developed in the 1890s by the settlement women. She introduced

sanitary science, data analysis and experimental design to hospital administration. She brought sympathy and caring to human suffering, and emphasized the dignity of wounded soldiers and their caregivers. Nightingale's bottom-up view of administration demonstrated that army hospitals were more effective if their policies emphasized care. The British experience and Nightingale's pathbreaking role became a model for a new Sanitary Commission run by Yankee women during the American Civil War.

### **The United States Sanitary Commission**

Chapin Hall was filled with ladies who came together to inquire how the charity of women could best serve her country in its impending peril. (Brayton and Terry, Cleveland Branch, USSC, 1869, p. 17)  
Until our civil war, it was considered inevitable that for every soldier killed in battle four must die of disease ... In the Crimean War seven-eighths of the mortality of British troops was due to disease. ...  
But during our national struggle, for every soldier who fell in battle only two died of disease, – the splendid result of the beneficent work of the commission. (Mary Livermore, 1895, p. 587)

Civil War history was written by men enamored with military strategy and battlefield prowess. A large, temporary relief agency run by women merited scant attention, so the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) became a footnote of the war. Further, official historians such as Stillé (1866) minimized the role of women in their official reports. The Civil War was the largest disaster to befall the U.S.A. With its \$25 million budget, the USSC provided critical supplemental supplies and nurses to the war effort. This was an enormous sum. By comparison, in 1855, total federal expenditures were \$60 million (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1949, p. 300). The experiences and successes of this expansive and eclectic organization were quietly transformative, particularly with reference to women in public administration (Giesberg, 2000).

The army of the North began with twenty-thousand men and quickly grew to two million. A hundred-fold increase in any organization would strain existing systems. Volunteer organizations stepped in to meet enormous basic supply gaps. Ladies' aid societies, which flowered during the nineteenth century, gave women a chance to provide supplies when flood or fire devastated local families. Home mission societies, sewing circles, women's church groups and other charitable organization were transformed into a network of 7,000 soldier's aid societies that became the backbone of the USSC (Brayton and Terry, 1869).

Inspired by the British Sanitary Commission and the work of Florence Nightingale in the Crimea, Americans petitioned their government for a Sanitary Commission. Nightingale's (1922 [1860]), recently released, *Notes on Nursing* was highly regarded, widely read and used by women throughout the U.S.A. Florence Nightingale had paved the way for U.S. women to support the war effort in an organized and significant way (Giesberg, 2000; Shields and Rangarajan, 2011). Dorothea Dix, who was put in charge of recruiting nurses, mandated that only mature women take these positions. Hence, the nurses of the USSC were generally old enough to be the soldiers' mothers. These mature, strong women used their authority as "mothers" to shake up dangerous hospital routines to ensure wounded soldiers (their surrogate sons) had good food, clean bedding, fresh air and proper care (Silber, 1995).

Lincoln authorized the U.S. Sanitary Commission in June of 1861 and according to official historian Robert Stillé (1866, p. 169), "the task of aiding the government in this matter, seemed to devolve peculiarly on the women of the country." The USSC women pushed the boundaries of their very circumscribed sphere of influence as they "invented new ways to serve the troops, created administrative structures, mastered the challenges of transcontinental collaboration



and reconceptualized the role of government” (Shields and Rangarajan, 2011, p. 40). With the exception of the U.S. Post Office, the Sanitary Commission was the first organization to penetrate the federal system and knit together the U.S. as a continental power (Stillman, 1998; Tise, 2013).

Woman’s role in the early nineteenth century was highly circumscribed. The ideal woman focused on her family by providing clean clothes, good food and tender care. She was restricted from the (male only) public sphere which included politics and markets. This division was often supported by both women and men. For example, it was assumed women lacked executive abilities. Their tendency toward petty gossip was used to illustrate this point (Livermore, 1891). The Civil War provided women with an opportunity to uproot stereotypes and serve the public:

While they were working for the relief of the army, women studied the policy of government, and learned what tremendous issues were at stake. ... Not only did these women broaden in their views; they grew in practical and executive work. They learned how to cooperate intelligently with men; became an expert in conducting public business, in calling and presiding over public meetings, even when men made a large part of the audience; learned how to draft constitutions and bylaws, to act as secretaries and committees; how to keep accounts with precision and system; how to answer, indorse, and file letters; how to sort their stores and keep accurate account of stock; they attended meetings with regularity and promptness, and became punctilious in observance of official etiquette; in short, they developed rapidly a remarkable aptitude for business, on which men looked and wondered. “Where were these superior women before the war?” (Livermore, 1891, p. 286)

The women of the USSC were innovative reformers who expanded their role and redefined how to care for soldiers. They fought scurvy among recovering soldiers with large gardens in the hospital grounds. They supplemented acute care by opening convalescent homes to serve disabled troops and used fundraising skills honed in church bazaars to organize huge sanitary fairs that added millions to Commission revenue (Livermore, 1995 [1887], p. 412). Like Nightingale, branch managers used a “‘scientific approach’ to reform, one that emphasized organization, efficiency and professionalism” (Venet, 2005, p. 73). For example, they sent surveys to local volunteers asking for ideas to improve and expand services.

The success of the USSC relief efforts dispelled longstanding negative stereotypes about women’s abilities. It helped unleash and revive women’s energies. After the Civil War, women successfully opened colleges to women, formed temperance coalitions, invigorated the suffrage movement and successfully proposed policies to help women and children. According to Giesberg (2000, p. 11) the USSC is the missing link between “female activism of the first half of the century and the mass women’s movements of the late 19th and early 20th century.” The USSC experience activated women like Mary Livermore who used her pen and voice to tell women it “was their destiny to play a greater role in public life” (Venet, 2005, p. 7).

### **Mary Livermore (1820–1905)**

This is the first example of cooperative womanhood serving the state the world had ever witnessed.  
(Mary Livermore, Northwestern Branch Manager, USSC, 1891, p. 285)

Prior to the American Civil War, Mary Livermore participated in the abolition movement and helped her husband edit a small newspaper. As the Northwest Branch Manager of the USSC she often left her home base in Chicago and traveled to planning meetings in Washington D.C.,

battlefields, and hospitals (often on transport ships filled with wounded soldiers). She nursed the sick and wounded, raised money by organizing large Sanitary Fairs and coordinated with other leaders at the national level. When learning that she could not sign a contract to rent space for the Chicago Sanitary Fair, she had a revelation. She was working to free slaves while she herself was denied many similar rights. She vowed at that moment to work for women's rights at the war's end. She spent the rest of her life fulfilling that pledge (Giesberg, 2000; Shields, 2004).

After the war, she was a sought after and gifted speaker, often asked to tell stories from her Civil War experience. Frederick Douglas offered high praise: "The most eloquent and able speakers in Congress today do not speak with more self-possession or assurance of fitness than [Mary Livermore]" (cited in Livermore, 1995 [1887], back cover). Her audiences, filled with veterans who credited the USSC nurses and supplies with saving their lives, were captivated by Livermore's stories. Her motivation for speaking, however, was to disarm prejudice and make the case for a broad spectrum of women's rights.

As mentioned earlier, women in public administration often use stories to communicate about and achieve reform. Livermore was exceptional at this. Her acclaimed book *My Story of the War* vividly depicted the ways women nurses worked to ensure the sick and wounded received proper care. For example, she told of how nurse Mother Bickerdyke, frustrated that "supplies for the sick and wounded were stolen continually" set a trap for the "rascals." She mixed tartar emetic with some stewed peaches and set them out to cool. Soon she found cooks, table waiters, ward masters and stewards "retching and groaning" in fear they were poisoned. She chastised the culprits for eating the patients' food, threatened them with a "worse time" if they continued stealing and solved the problem (Livermore, 1995 [1887], p. 481). *My Story* captures a cornucopia of adventures that shed light on women's expanded role as military nurses and managers.

In 1869, John Huy Addams, state senator and father of Jane Addams, wrote to his new wife, Anna, from Springfield describing a lecture featuring Mary Livermore and Elisabeth Cady Stanton. He was impressed by Livermore's articulate, organized presentation and by her convincing arguments in favor of women's suffrage. It is possible to imagine his daughter, the nine-year-old Jane, listening to her beloved father praising a strong, articulate woman and her arguments in favor of expanding women's rights (Knight, 2005, p. 63). We will see that the *alternative vision* of public administration, developed by women during the Progressive Era, was propelled by the talented leadership of Jane Addams.

## ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (1890S–1940S+)

Women such as Nightingale and Livermore laid a foundation for the alternative view of PA articulated by the settlement women. The tangible legacy of the hidden, alternative view of PA can be seen in child labor laws, workplace safety inspections, playgrounds, juvenile courts, federal agencies (Children's Bureau and Women's Bureau), social security disability, and healthier communities (clean water/sewers). Their legacy can also be found in the many books, journal and magazine articles, government reports, and speeches they authored. Scholars in public administration have barely scratched the surface of this written legacy. Table 3.1 points out a few of these important and neglected works.

Women's role in public administration grew as they tackled the problems of industrialization and urbanization. Women throughout the country worked to clean up cities and workplaces in order to make the environment safe, particularly for women and children. They did this through many different kinds of networks, most notably women's civic clubs. Women constrained by lack of overt political power worked together to introduce reforms into their community (Skocpol, 1992). They were able to legitimately claim authority over the traditional maternal sphere – children, the sick, women and cleanliness. For example, they organized community-wide clean-up campaigns known as “Soap and Water Days” and a “War on Flies” to educate local citizens about their health hazards (Seaholm, 1988). They often leveraged this maternal authority to persuade their husbands, brothers or fathers to donate space for a library or playground. As with the Sanitary Commission, massive networks of women's nonprofit organizations were an often-hidden engine of reform. Women were not allowed to vote much less run government organizations. Hence, the alternative view of public administration is distinguished by the use of private nonprofits as their home base and springboard. Hull House was among this diverse patchwork of nonprofit organizations used by women to change their communities and reform public policy.

Eventually, these reforms led to “municipal housekeeping” as a model of local governance and “industrial citizenship” as a response to dangerous and unhealthy factories (with particular focus on child labor). Both approaches incorporated an ethic of care, data-informed decisions and a commitment to social justice. Reform-minded women argued that cities and urban workplaces were unhealthy, dirty spaces where activities, primarily relegated to the women's or family sphere, were ignored. Cities should be run like a caring household, and industrial workspaces should not be filled with children, nor be dangerous for employees or produce smallpox-laden coats.

Camilla Stivers's (2000) *Bureau Men, Settlement Women* was the first book to make the case for the “alternative,” feminist-inspired model of PA. She did this by contrasting the settlement women's perspective with the male founders of PA who worked for the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. She showed how each had a unique world view; the “bureau men” were devoted to a model of city as business, science, efficiency, professionalization, expertise and objectivity; the “settlement women,” on the other hand, viewed the city as a home focused on caring, improving living conditions, the involvement of citizens and humanizing government processes (p. 16).

A similar transformation occurred in sociology. Many faculty at the University of Chicago's sociology department worked closely with Hull House residents often on progressive reform like child labor laws. Hull House women even offered courses in the department although the women were never on tenure track. When Sociology moved toward positivism and a more objectivist stance, it distanced itself from the reform perspective championed by settlement women. Eventually, the University of Chicago moved the women faculty to the newly created social work department (Deegan, 1988). Modern remnants of the alternative view of public administration can be found in social work (Shields, 2017).

Hindy Schachter (2011) has made a compelling case that Stivers (2000) may have drawn the lines too sharply between bureau men and settlement women (some bureau men lived in settlement homes and some settlement women worked for the bureau). There is no doubt, however, that the alternative vision of PA explicated by the settlement women did not move forward through the 1940s to 1990s as part of public administration's historical legacy. This represents



a significant “step-back” that Mary Guy (2011) identified as part of the uneven trajectory of women in public administration.

DeLysa Burnier (2008a) postulates that the academic public administration community, composed mainly of men, was just more interested in the contributions of the bureau men and wrote about them during the 1940s and 1950s. The progressive reforms advocated by the men were unlike the policy reforms attributed to the women’s model. After the First World War, as the Bolshevik revolution unfolded, policy reforms advocated by women and the settlement movement itself came under suspicion (Shields, 2017). Civil service reform and professionalization of public administration would not be subject to the same kind of scrutiny.

## THE SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT

The U.S. settlement movement began within and exploited this environment. Each settlement house was a network within layers of networks. By the 1890s, many upper-class women were college educated. They, like Jane Addams, were called to move outside the bounds of their home and serve society by living in urban communities where the problems were at their worst.

U.S. women adapted a Settlement House model that originated in Britain, where young upper-class men lived in poverty-stricken urban environments with the goals of helping the residents. This top-down model brought reform through expertise (Addams, 1910). The women who led the U.S. settlement experience adopted a more democratic, bottom-up and practical model, whereby they worked closely with their, usually immigrant, neighbors to address community needs. Settlement homes offered single women a safe and reputable space to expand women’s roles in shaping the policies of the community (Shields, 2017). Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr moved to Chicago and established Hull House in 1889 (the second settlement in the U.S.A.). By 1913, there were over 400 settlement homes in the country (Koerin, 2003, p. 55). Settlement workers understood the value of, and tapped into, what Gabriele (2015, p. 393) describes as, “democratically anchored governance networks” of women’s clubs. Settlement houses also nurtured these networks by providing an alternative to a saloon for larger meetings, which reform organizations such as women’s suffrage and labor organizations took advantage of.

Hull House was uniquely influential in conceptualizing the alternative view of public administration. Jane Addams, a remarkably versatile leader, is also recognized by philosophers as a founder of feminist pragmatism (Seigfried, 1996). Philosopher Maurice Hamington (2009) characterized Hull House as an incubator of feminist philosophy. It provided an environment where women could debate, muse and synthesize, and make sense of their urban life through the lenses of feminine experience. Addams gave the theoretical underpinning of feminist pragmatism to Municipal Housekeeping (Addams, 1907) making it much more than a slogan. Addams also mentored and nurtured an inner circle (i.e., Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, Edith Abbott and Sophonisba Breckinridge). These women went on to lead reform movements and take responsibility for implementing policy as public administrators.

Municipal Housekeeping, linked to urbanization, was an important component of the women’s alternative vision of Public Administration. Libraries, playgrounds, clean water, sewer systems, and juvenile courts are examples of successes. “Industrial Citizenship” captured the reforms targeted at the unregulated industrial workplace (McGuire, 2011). This included

problems of child labor and workplace safety (for both worker and consumer). Campaigns to improve safety in factories led to, for example, Florence Kelley's position as the first State Inspector of Factories and Workshops for Illinois. Like Municipal Housekeeping, Industrial Citizenship traced its roots to a maternal, caring, participatory, relational perspective.

It should be noted that, like Florence Nightingale, the settlement women were interested in evidence-based reform and policy. They also were keenly aware of the problems, including inefficiency, of crony-based hiring (Addams, 2004 [1935]). *Hull House Maps and Papers*, the first book produced by Jane Addams and the residents of Hull House (1895) was filled with baseline data. The authors pioneered urban geography by mapping the neighborhood around Hull House in concert with a Department of Labor formal effort to collect data on urban slums. The book recognized the value of baseline information and data from factory inspections. *Maps and Papers* is also an example of qualitative field work filled with analysis and compelling stories of the women, children and men who lived and worked in the neighborhoods around Hull House.

### **Jane Addams (1860–1935)**

Jane Addams was influenced by a remarkable father who broke the law to help slaves escape, and had a reputation as being incorruptible in the Illinois state senate (Knight, 2005). As the owner of a mill and president of a bank, John Huy Addams was the most prominent citizen of Cedarville, Illinois. Jane Addams's pregnant mother died in a snowstorm after successfully delivering a millworker's child, leaving two-year-old Jane the youngest of five living children. Jane modeled her parent's courage and life of service.

Like Nightingale, she was drawn to confront societal problems well outside the family sphere. Almost a decade after graduating from Rockford Seminary, she found her path while visiting the London Settlement House, Toynbee Hall. She and Ellen Gates Starr opened Hull House in 1889. Addams described the settlement as

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. It insists that these problems are not confined to any one portion of a city ... From its very nature it can stand for no political or social propaganda. It must, in a sense, give the warm welcome of an inn to all such propaganda, if perchance one of them is found an angel. The one thing to be dreaded in the Settlement is that it loses its flexibility, its power of quick adaptation, its readiness to change its methods as its environment may demand. It must be open to conviction and must have a deep and abiding sense of tolerance. It must be hospitable and ready for experiment. It should demand from its residents a scientific patience in the accumulation of facts and the steady holding of their sympathies as one of the best instruments of that accumulation. (1910, pp. 125–6)

This description illustrates Addams's feminist pragmatism, which supported and propelled the alternative view of public administration (Shields, 2003).

As a highly regarded democratic theorist, Addams focused on participatory democracy which complements representative democracy (Elshtain, 2002). She used these principles as Hull House programs bubbled up from the expressed needs of the community. Her version of democracy included concepts like sympathetic knowledge, an ethic of care, inclusiveness, community of inquiry, social ethics, peace and lateral progress. Corrupt and inefficient policy was a concern because it undermined broader social justice goals (Shields, 2006; Hamington,

2009; Shields and Soeters, 2017). Her perspective is clearly an alternative to the focus on efficiency that dominated the bureau men's approach to public administration.

In an *American Journal of Sociology* article, she expressed concerns about existing municipal governance structures that undermined a sense of public duty, which was observed as smelly, dirty, garbage ridden, nearly unlivable environments (Addams, 1905). She analyzed why municipal governments were often oblivious to the needs of families crediting an earlier puritan ideal that prioritizes property rights over human life. Addams criticized city government's focus on penalties, coercion and "remnants of military codes" as well as the survival of the fittest belief systems that directed policy (p. 427).

She made the case that municipal governance would improve if the right to vote was extended to women in city elections (Addams, 1907). Women's longstanding role as house-keeper and mother provide them with the experience and temperament to deal with many urban problems by using the home as a model for city government. She presents a model of a caring city government equipped to manage functions of government using creative social equity arguments. Addams "linked social justice and public administration via a duty of the strong toward the weak and through her expansive notion of democracy" (Shields, 2017, p. 61).

Like Livermore, Addams (1910) was a skilled storyteller. Her best-selling autobiography *Twenty Years at Hull House* is filled with compelling stories. The hidden dangers of urban life were recounted through the story of a young factory worker led to prostitution by a loan shark. In another story she recounts how neighborhood women woke at 5 a.m. and followed garbage carts in order to document the corrupt practices that resulted in their filthy streets.

She played a crucial role in finding, nurturing and mentoring women who would cross boundaries and manage important nonprofit and governmental agencies. Groundbreaking, passionate practitioners such as Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop and Frances Perkins were profoundly influenced by Addams. Their stories follow.

### **Florence Kelley (1858–1932)**

This aspect of governmental responsibility was unforgettably borne in upon me during the smallpox epidemic ... when one of the residents, Mrs. Kelley, as State Factory Inspector was much concerned in discovering and destroying clothing which was being finished in houses containing unreported cases of smallpox. (Addams, 1910, pp. 310–11)

And of all Florence Kelley's sins against convention none – not even her socialism and pacifism, her championing of sex equality and religious freedom, her fight for children and democracy – none cost her more fair-weather friends than her demands for the rights of twelve million Americans who were black. (DuBois, cited in Athey, 1971)

The two quotes above, one by Jane Addams remarking on Florence Kelley's role in factory inspection and public safety toward the beginning of Kelley's career and the other by W.E.B. DuBois praising her commitment to social justice and the rights of African Americans, at her memorial service, capture the diverse ways Kelley contributed to public administration. Florence Kelley showed up on the doorsteps of Hull House in December 1891 with three small children. She was running from an abusive marriage and needed shelter and employment. "Jane Addams was happy to assist" (Knight, 2005, p. 227). Kelley and her three children moved into Hull House and she was soon working on an Addams' project – a labor bureau that helped unemployed women find work.

As a college-educated, world traveler and daughter of a Congressman committed to social justice, Kelley was an unlikely refugee. She brought with her a passion for reform, an understanding of politics, and a willingness to organize and lobby leaders for change. Her interest in socialism and the problems of the worker focused her energy on industrial and worker issues. She spearheaded the “Industrial Citizenship” component of the Alternative View of Public Administration and started the “social justice feminism movement” (McGuire, 2019, p. 232).

She was Illinois Inspector of Factories and Secretary General of the nonprofit National Consumers League. In one, industrial regulation occupied her time; in the other, she used lobbying and the purchasing power of Consumers League members to eliminate child labor and other workplace dangers. Her influence extended through mentorship of Julia Lathrop, the first director of the Children’s Bureau and Labor Secretary Frances Perkins (first woman U.S. Cabinet Secretary) (Martin, 1976; Sklar, 1995).

Florence Kelley’s arrival at Hull House “galvanized us all into more intelligent interest in the industrial conditions all about us. She was especially concerned for the abolition of child labor and the sweating system” (Addams, 2004 [1935], p. 82). Louise Knight (2005) credits Kelley with motivating Addams to move beyond serving the neighborhood to social and political activism.

Kelley was also dedicated to discovering facts about a situation. So, while she was a hard-charging champion for reform of the workplace, she also collected data that illustrated the situation on the ground and that could suggest alternative ways to redress these problems. She was an architect of and contributor to *Hull House Maps and Papers* (Kelley, 1895).

Hindy Schachter (2002) notes that settlement women, like Kelley, who was a member of the Taylor Society, were drawn to scientific management because it provided evidence that could be used to promote social justice policy change (e.g., long hours produced fatigue that led to lower productivity and other inefficiencies). Science and the search for efficiency provided women with a “rationale for action that did not require physical power or electoral politicking – two domains outside the conventional female sphere” (p. 572). Scientific management became a tool to enhance social justice. George Frederickson (1980, p. 37) is famous for directing PA toward social justice and questioning the role of efficiency in public administration. “To say that a service may be well managed and that a service may be efficient still begs the question: Well managed for whom? Efficient for whom?” The answer to this question and a steadfast commitment to social justice can be found in the works and writings of the alternative vision of PA and, in particular, to Florence Kelley.

### **Julia Lathrop (1858–1932)**

I have never known anyone who was so sensitive for the honor and evenhanded justice of public administration and who so persistently regarded inclusiveness as part of the ideal of public service. (Addams, 2004 [1935], p. 66)

We are still indifferent to the quality of public service ... . Public business has vastly increased in scope since the first civil service laws were written in the United States ... . The present juncture with the growing tendency to enact social legislations is crucial in its need of a new public conscience as to Public Administration. (Lathrop, cited in Addams, 2004 [1935], p. 53)

While Florence Kelley was known for her often fiery passion and commitment to reforming policy, Julia Lathrop understood and appreciated the role of public administration in reforming the system. Lathrop used her remarkable ability to show and evoke sympathy even “from the

most unpromising human mind” to effectively garner support for her reform efforts (both within and outside the system) (Addams, 2004 [1935], p. 117). The ability to make change from the inside also necessitated that public agencies were disentangled from crony hiring practices and were able to serve the needy with efficient administration and trained staff. Thus, Lathrop urged a separation of politics and administration. At the same time, she believed politics and administration should be bridged because administrators should be free to seek reforms and engage in politics that would improve the lives of the, often powerless, people they served (p. 117).

In the winter of 1888/89, Jane Addams returned to her alma mater, Rockford Seminary, sharing her experience and dreams for Hull House. Julia Lathrop, an audience member, inspired by Addams’s message soon became a resident of Hull House. A Vassar graduate and daughter of a progressive Illinois State Congressman, she quickly became an expert on asylums, poorhouses and publicly funded orphanages. She became an inspector for Cook County Charities, which had jurisdiction over the above. She moved to the state level as a member of the State Board of Charities.

She also had a passion for children and the youth. During her 20 years as a resident of Hull House she helped establish the first juvenile court. Although not well known outside Illinois, with the support of Jane Addams she was appointed chief of the newly founded Children’s Bureau, becoming the first woman to head a federal bureau (Lindenmeyer, 1997, p. 28).

Julia Lathrop contributed a chapter on Cook County Charities for *Hull House Maps and Papers*. Her chapter is a combination of field work and data showing the size and scope of various institutions that served the poor and insane. She notes early on that “Thrift is an ineffective insurance against emergencies” (Lathrop, 1895, p. 143). This chapter answers the question “what happens when the power of self-help is lost?” (p. 143). Charitable institutions such as the “infirmity, the insane asylum, the hospital and detention hospital” serve those who have “touched the bottom” (p. 145). She was “shocked by the crudeness of the management” (p. 160). Her description of conditions at these institutions is reminiscent of Florence Nightingale’s assessment of the hospital at Scutari, as was her call for trained nurses in the insane asylum: “The comfort, the recovery, the lives, of all these thousands of dependent people, hang upon the knowledge, the kindness, the honesty, and good faith of those hired to care for them” (p. 161). The ethic of care was dependent on proper training.

### **Frances Perkins (1880–1965)**

When the first nomination, that of Miss Frances Perkins, to the Industrial Commission was handed down from the Senate desk, state Senators were quick to say that their debate on the appointment was not because the Governor’s appointee was a woman. Rather they dragged in arguments to the effect that Miss Perkins, by not taking her husband’s name, had shown herself a radical, hence ought not to have the office. It was a blow to many a politician, and in various centers where patronage is looked for, when the \$8,000 job went to a woman. (Murry, 1919, p. 1)

As Franklin Roosevelt’s Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins achieved notoriety as the first woman Cabinet member in U.S. history. Her interest in the problems of the dangerous industrialized workplace began when she was a senior at Mt. Holyoke. She attended a lecture by Florence Kelley and learned of the settlement movement and the Consumer’s Union charge to stop child labor and halt the abuses of sweatshops (Martin, 1976, pp. 55–6). She followed her heart and before long was in Chicago, a resident of Hull House, at Jane Addams’s table,



helping women pieceworkers collect wages illegally withheld by their employer. According to Meredith Newman (2004, p. 85), Perkins's "Hull House experience set the course of her life" – one that was dedicated to social reform.

Perkins later worked for Kelley as the executive secretary of the New York Consumers Union. In that role she inspected bakeries, lobbied for safer workplaces, and met and became a trusted friend of Al Smith, a young legislator, close ally of Franklin Roosevelt and future Governor of New York. Perkins witnessed the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire and worked with Smith to improve working conditions. This eventually led to her appointment to the state's Industrial Commission (Martin, 1976).

Frances Perkins straddled the Progressive and New Deal Eras. Her experience inspecting factories led her to run the New York Department of Labor when Franklin Roosevelt was governor. She also enjoyed a good relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt, who also volunteered at settlement homes. She moved to the Secretary of Labor position when Roosevelt became president. At the Department of Labor, one of the most corrupt federal institutions, she reorganized the department, established a merit system, and spearheaded significant New Deal legislation (Newman, 2004, p. 89).

She also faced significant push back from many fronts because she was a woman. Labor unions opposed her nomination, maintaining that her seat was unofficially reserved for a union leader. She was belittled by the press, received hate mail, and faced impeachment and congressional opposition (Burnier, 2008a, p. 417). Frances Perkins surely pushed the boundaries of women's penetration into public administration. DeLysa Burnier (2008b) uses Perkins as a key example of the way the field of public administration during the 1940s to 1960s buried women's contribution to the movement.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has traced the accomplishments and told a few stories of early women pioneers in public administration. Although it was not stressed in the narrative, all of the women pushed against forms of patriarchy that sought to maintain a status quo where women's views and scopes of influence was limited to the home. Sometimes, patriarchy took the form of a loving family looking out for their daughter; at other times, it masked sexism and fear that men would lose their position of power.

Women skillfully used their ability to organize within their community and across state and national boundaries to reform policies that fell within a neglected women's sphere (children, health). Events like the Civil War offered ways for American women to quickly move outside their restricted sphere of influence and demonstrate administrative talent. Drawing on women's experience and their ability to organize, they began to forge a different kind of public administration – one that used an ethic of care as a basis for action. Their notion of action included organizing to address immediate needs. It also encompassed investigating underlying questions such as why were babies dying in such great numbers? What were the consequences of children working in factories? Why were members of the community chronically poor and unhealthy? Why was smallpox spreading into the larger community? This bottom-up approach imbedded solutions within the community and relied on fact-finding and science. Furthermore, science and empirical research were tools linked to social justice and an ethic of care that incorporated the long-run vision.

After the Civil War, a new generation of college-educated women was drawn to serve beyond the constraints of their home. The immigrant-filled cities of the 1890s were places of severe poverty, crime, infectious disease and dangerous workplaces. Filthy, congested urban streets and crowded tenement homes and factories were particularly dangerous for children. Women such as Jane Addams, Florence Kelley and Julia Lathrop organized to effect change and used the settlement movement as a catalyst for reform. They also drew on existing civic-minded women's organizations and reform movements. Like the women of the USSC, they transformed nonprofit organizations into democratic engines of reform and discourse as they took feminine lenses to large public problems. In the process they articulated an alternative vision of public administration. Contemporary public administration has much to learn from their insights and experiences.

The alternative vision of PA is valuable because first, it provides PA with a more accurate perspective of our shared past, one that incorporates the voices of women and includes policies focused on the concerns of women and children. Second, the women pioneers of PA can provide inspiration to current and future students of PA. The alternative view demonstrates the historical, reformist role of women in public administration, which could shape the vision and discussion in the PA classroom. PA's heritage contains diversity, new ways of knowing and new questions. Third, it demonstrates the importance of nonprofit and voluntary organizations to the origin story of PA.

History is also a source of lessons that have contemporary relevance. First, each of the women highlighted in this chapter anchored their leadership in an ethic of care. Florence Nightingale, Mary Livermore, Jane Addams, Florence Kelly, Julia Lathrop and Frances Perkins all drew strength and wisdom from the connection they felt to those they served. Their many different styles show that caring ethical leadership can take many forms, providing a host of examples for contemporary leaders. Second, they linked care ethics to scientific processes and findings. Policies devoted to health and safety can and should view care and science as partners with the ability to address ongoing public problems. Policy approaches during the 2020 pandemic suggest that the connection between care and science is poorly understood.

Third, these women showed that effective social justice-related reform was connected to bottom-up perspectives that accounted for the needs and experiences of the people they served. Expertise was more valuable when it engaged the community. Finally, it shows that an efficiency/equity tradeoff is a false dichotomy. Efficiency and science-based administration can work to achieve goals of social justice.

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