THE RHETORIC OF PHILANTHROPY: SCIENTIFIC CHARITY AS MORAL LANGUAGE

Richard Lee Klopp

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_____
Richard B. Gunderman, M.D. Ph.D, Chair

_____
Dwight L. Burlingame, Ph.D.

Doctoral Committee

_____
David M. Craig, Ph.D.

February 27, 2015

_____
Philip Goff, Ph.D.

DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my father William Kirk Klopp. On the rare occasion that I was up early in the morning, my most consistent memory of my Dad was of seeing him hunched over some books and papers at his desk. When I asked what he was doing the answer was always “studying”. Dad, you passed away too soon. But since you left, I too, have been “studying”.

I would also like to dedicate this work to Robert (Bob) Payton. I had the immense privilege of being part of the Center on Philanthropy when Bob was still among us. Some of the directions pursued in this dissertation emerged from conversations with Bob, and in a real sense the questions raised in this dissertation were Bob’s questions.

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Richard Lee Klopp

THE RHETORIC OF PHILANTHROPY: SCIENTIFIC CHARITY AS MORAL LANGUAGE

To take at face value the current enthusiasm at the idea of marshaling science to end human social ills such as global poverty, one could easily overlook the fact that one hundred fifty years prior people were making strikingly similar claims as part of a broad movement often referred to as "scientific charity" or "scientific philanthropy". The goal of this dissertation is to contribute to our knowledge of the scientific charity movement, through a retrieval of the morally weighted language used by reformers and social scientists to justify the changes they proposed for both public and private provision of poor relief, as found in the Proceedings of the Annual Assembly of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections (NCCC). In essence I am claiming that our understanding of the scientific charity movement is incomplete, and can be improved by an approach that looks at scientific charity as a species of moral language that provided ways to energize the many disparate and seemingly disconnected or even contradictory movements found during the period under study. The changes enacted to late 19th century philanthropic and charitable structures did not occur due to advances in a morally neutral and thus superior science, but were born along by a broad scale use of the language of scientific charity: an equally moral yet competing and eventually more compelling vision of a philanthropic future which held the keys to unlock the mysteries of poverty and solve it once and for all. When viewing scientific charity as something broader than any particular instantiation of it, when pursing it as a set of languages used to promote social science's role in solving human problems by discrediting prior non-scientific attempts, one can begin to see that the reformist energies of late 19th century

social thinkers did not dissipate, but crystalized into the set of background assumptions still present today.

Richard B. Gunderman, M.D. Ph.D., Chair

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

AEA:	American Economics Association
AJS:	American Journal of Sociology
APSA:	American Political Science Association
ASA:	American Sociological Association
ASS:	American Sociological Society
ASSA:	American Social Science Association
COS:	Charity Organization Society
JSS:	Journal of Social Science
NCCC:	National Conference on Charities and Correction
NCSW:	National Conference on Social Welfare

CHAPTER ONE

Science and Charity, Strange New Bedfellows

INTRODUCTION

Back to the Future

The "Make Poverty History" coalition was launched in 2005 with the words of Nelson Mandela, who, addressing over 20,000 people in Trafalgar Square said: "Like slavery and apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings."[1] In the forward to Jeffrey Sachs's 2005 New York Times Bestseller *The End of Poverty*, Bono, U2's front man rocker and founder of "The One Campaign", a global initiative to end world poverty, writes about how Sachs's work presents a radical new paradigm shifting idea: that it is within the grasp of the current generation to "finish out the job" of eliminating poverty. Bono writes of the excitement of being "the first generation to outlaw the kind of extreme, stupid poverty that sees a child die of hunger in a world of plenty, or of a disease preventable by a twenty-cent inoculation." … "The first generation that can end a corrupt relationship between the powerful and the weaker parts of the world which has been so wrong for so long." … "We can be the generation that no longer accepts that an accident of latitude determines whether a child lives or dies…"[2] During an October 1, 2013 address Dr. Jim Yong Kim, President of the largest global multilateral development organization, the World Bank, laid out what pundits called a bold *new* plan of action: "The fact that more

[1] BBC News, "In Full: Mandela's Poverty Speech", BBC (accessed May 23 2009).
[2] Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty : Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006). P. xiv.

than a billion people live on less than $1.25 a day in 2013 is a stain on our moral conscience. We must help lift people out of poverty without delay, without prejudice, no matter the circumstance, no matter the locale."[3] The June 1st – 7th 2013 edition of The Economist magazine sports a cover that reads: Towards the End of Poverty. Inside, an article entitled "Not always with us", reports that current progress in the fight to end poverty is in reach in our life times because our understanding of poverty, as a social problem, has been transformed:

> Thanks partly to new technology, the poor are no longer an indifferentiated mass. Identification schemes are becoming large enough – India has issued hundreds of millions of biometric smart cards – that countries are coming to know their poor literally by name. This in turn enables social programmes to be better targeted, studied and improved. … Poverty used to be a reflection of scarcity. Now it is a problem of identification, targeting and distribution. And that is a problem that can be solved.[4]

At first glance there might not seem to be anything odd at all to these claims to "our generation's" ability to use science to end social ills, until one stops to remember that these same claims were made by 19th century reformers and social scientists who worked, as one 19th century social scientist said: to "…seek out, analyze, classify, and record a vast number of facts regarding the poor and poor-relief" since it was

[3] Global poverty measurement is nothing if not controversial. Economists from both the right and left have continously challenged the Bank's income-based calculations. From the right, economists like Xavier Sala-i-Martin of Colombia University and Maxim Pinkovskiy of MIT have argued that the Bank's estimates are significantly overstated, which would mean that the effects of globalisation are even better for the world than the Bank itself realizes. From the left the economist-philosopher duo Sanjay Reddy and Thomas Pogge have argued that the Bank methodolgy is unreliable and as such under-estimates global poverty by up to 40 percent. One can follow these debates on blogs such as www.triplecrisis.com, where the authors state that China alone acounts for the numbers being hailed by the Bank, while the number of people living below the $1.25 a day line outside of Chica actually rose by 13 million between 1981 and 2008, and that a more accurate headline would have read: "Numbers in poverty plunge in China over the past three decades from 1981-2008, while rising marginally in the rest of the world."

[4] "Not Always with Us," *The Economist*, June 1 - 7, 2013 2013.

"…characteristic of the new or scientific charity as opposed to purely emotional philanthropy that it regards poverty as an evil to be assailed in its causes."[5]

This contemporary push to "finish out the job of eliminating poverty", makes one wonder when the task was first started. To take at face value the early 21st century enthusiasm at the idea of marshaling science to end human social ills such as global poverty, one could easily overlook the fact that one hundred fifty years prior people were making strikingly similar claims as part of a broad movement often referred to by the catch-all title of "scientific charity" or "scientific philanthropy".[6] Just as science had provided solutions to the problems of transportation and communication, it should now be able to yield the same for the problems of poverty. In 1889, at the 16th annual National Conference of Charities and Correction (NCCC)[7], a member asked: "Why are some people rich and others poor? Why is Nature so bountiful to one man and so niggardly to another? In a land running over with plenty, we find a multitude of people unable to earn their bread. Why should these things be? And have we ourselves done anything to cause them? We ask with a new ambition to conquer human suffering, as the steam-engine and

[5] A. G. Warner, "Scientific Charity," *The Popular science monthly* 35, no. 1 (1889).
[6] These terms are used interchangeably in the literature. If there is a discernable difference it is that the term "scientific philanthropy" is the broader term, while the term "scientific charity" became increasingly used by and thus associated with the charity organization movement and the NCCC conferences.
[7] The proceedings of this conference were issued under the earlier names of the Conference as follows: 1874, Conference of Boards of Public Charities; 1875-1879, Conference of Charities; 1880-1881, Conference of Charities and Correction; 1882-1916, National Conference of Charities and Correction; 1917-1956, National Conference of Social Work; 1957-, National Conference on Social Welfare. Since this disseration will be dealing with the early years of the *Proceedings* I will refer to them as the *National Confernce on Charities and Corrrection Proceedings*, the longest running name for the conference. When referring to the corpus I will use the phrase the "NCCC Proceedings" or just "the *Proceedings*", and when refering to specfic years I will use the scheme used by the University of Michigan which curates the dignitized Proceedings collection: Author name, NCCC *year* XXXX : *page number*.

the telegraph have conquered time and space."[8] Edward T. Devine, Schiff Professor of Social Economy at Columbia University, a man involved in many different dimensions of scientific philanthropy wrote in 1899: "There is no charity in which anybody of standing and a moderate degree of brains believes except scientific charity. Unscientific charity is clearly as absurd and indefensible as unscientific medicine."[9] Devine summarized the widespread outlook of his time that a "new charity" was being birthed out of "the revolt against the charity of the old view" - "the old view, founded upon wisdom and experience", and the new view "radical in its desire to get to the root of all social problems" which conceived of "misery and crime and disease as eradicable".[10] He wrote that the "new view [of charity] is many sided, for it seeks to 'see life steadily and see it whole.' The home, the factory, the school, the church, and the playground are all within its range. Disease, misery, and crime are seen, but seen in their true proportions, as a dark border land into which constantly new streams of light and energy are pouring with promise of ultimately taking possession".[11]

Central Argument

To date interpretations of scientific charity have not been pursued at much depth, and it is too often presented as part of a retrogressive reformist theory and practice displaced by superior university-based social science. While acknowledging the reform

[8] Glendower Mrs. Evans, "Scientific Charity," in *The National Conference of Charities and Correction*, ed. Isabel C. Barrows (San Francisco, California: Boston: Geo. H. Ellis, 1889). P. 24.
[9] John Louis Recchiuti, *Civic Engagement : Social Science and Progressive-Era Reform in New York City* (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).
[10] Edward T. Devine, *Social Forces* (New York: Survey Associates, 1914). P. 9-11.
[11] Ibid.

origins of American social science, scholars have focused their energies on the emergence of the scientific professions and have left its relationship to the origins and presentation of the scientific languages of reform aside. The goal of this dissertation is to contribute to our knowledge of the scientific charity movement, by a retrieval of how the reformist social scientists of the NCCC used morally weighted language to justify the changes they proposed for both public and private provision of poor relief, as found primarily in the *Proceedings* of the NCCC and related primary and secondary source materials.[12] In essence I'm claiming that our understanding of the scientific charity movement is incomplete. At times it is hard to remember that the American research university and the social sciences are the children of reformist philanthropy, not something of a different species.[13]

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[12] I introduce two important phrases here that I describe in great detail throughout pages to follow: "reformist social scientists" and "morally weighted language". While many interpreters have wanted to read later distinctions between "reformers" and "social scientists" back into the literature of the ASSA and NCCC, I prefer to use a designation that tries to render how the men and women of the ASSA and NCCC spoke about themselves: as social scientists pushing unabashedly reform agendas. Morally weighted language is a phrase that recognizes that scientific language is not neutral even when presented as based in science and thus better than previous morally weighted language.

[13] Roy Porter et al., *The Cambridge History of Science* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Peter Wagner, Björn Wittrock, and Richard Whitley, *Discourses on Society : The Shaping of the Social Science Disciplines*, Sociology of the Sciences (Dordrecht ; Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991); Peter Wagner, *A History and Theory of the Social Sciences : Not All That Is Solid Melts into Air*, Theory, Culture & Society (Unnumbered) (London, England ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2001); Edward T. Silva and Sheila Slaughter, *Serving Power : The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert*, Contributions to the Study of Education, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984); Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Peter T. Manicas, *A History and Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (Oxford Oxfordshire ; New York, USA: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Henrika Kuklick, "The Organization of Social Science in the United States - the Sociologists of the Chair: A Radical Analysis of the Formative Years of North American Sociology (1883-1922) by Herman Schwendinger and Julia R. Schwendinger: The Legacy of Albion Small by Vernon L Dibble: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas Haskell. ," *American Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1976); Henrika Kuklick, "Restructuring the Past: Toward an Appreciation of the Social Context of Social Science," *The Sociological Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1980); K. M. Baker, "The Early History of the Term 'Social Science'," *Annals of Science* 20, no. 3 (1964).

The unique contribution of this thesis is the proposal that scientific charity can be helpfully viewed as a moral language that provided a way to energize the many disparate and seemingly disconnected or even contradictory movements found during the period under study. I chose the site of the American Social Science Association (ASSA) and its most important creation, the National Conference on Charities and Correction (NCCC), since it was the main location where people from perspectives public and private, personalistic and environmental, investigating and agitating, academic and practitioner, objective and advocate, settlement and Charity Organization Society (COS) movement, professional and practitioner, etc. came together to present and discuss the new sciences of the social.[14] In particular I want to trace out the moral visions of those who used scientific charity language through the images, stories, and concepts used by key figures and institutions brought together at the NCCC as they attempted to make their arguments for a science of charity plausible. I pay particular attention to the ways in which older forms of charity were discredited, and the new philanthropy and its scientific techniques were heralded through the telling of subtraction stories.[15]

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[14] In 1865 The American Association for the Promotion of Social Science was founded in Boston, Massachusetts, by several high-profile academics, including William B. Rogers, Thomas Hill, George S. Boutwell, Francis Lieber, Erastus O. Haven, Mary Eliot Parkman, David A. Wells, Emory Washburn, Caroline Healey Dall, Samuel Eliot, F. B. Sanborn, Joseph White, George Walker, Theodore W. Dwight, and James J. Higginson. The founding constitution shows that association had the desire to play a convening role right from the start. American Social Science Association., "Constitution, Address, and List of Members of the American Association for the Promotion of Social Science, with the Questions Proposed for Discussion: To Which Are Addded Minutes of the Transactions of the Association," ed. American Social Science Association. (Boston: Wright & Potter, Printers, 1866).

[15] I borrow the term from Charles Taylor and his work in the philosophy of science. A subtraction story is any theory which attempts to explain modernity by human beings having lost, or sloughed off, or liberated themselves from certain earlier, confining horizons, or illusions, or limitations of knowledge. What emerges from this process–the rise of university-based social science–is to be understood in terms of underlying features of human nature which were there all along, but had been impeded by what is now set aside. Against this kind of story, Taylor has steadily argued that Western modernity, including its social science, is the fruit of new inventions, newly constructed self-understandings and related practices, and can't be explained in terms of perennial features of human life. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), P. 22.

Older forms of charity were presented as based in outdated theories of superstitious and/or metaphysical speculation, outmoded models of pauperizing practice such as indiscriminate forms of charity and relief, and results, which, despite good intentions, ended up causing the misery those older forms of charity, were supposed to alleviate. I also look into how the idea(s) of science is positioned in the presentation of the power of the sciences to find solutions to human social problems, and I argue that the conflation between the natural and budding social sciences legitimized a science of charity reform.[16] The scientific "new charity" or "new philanthropy" offered a fact-based biological theory of human development, up-to-date models of statistically coordinated forms of charitable practice, and through the deployment of the new preventive and root-cause-finding charitable theory and practice, promised the end of social problems such as the problem of pauperism in America.

If successful this dissertation will extend currently available scholarship by providing a deeper and more nuanced look at scientific charity in its native context: the scientific reformist fervor of the Gilded and early Progressive Ages. By studying the growth of the idea that science could be used to solve human's problems and thus social problems, I wanted to learn more about how various strands of reform (charity, social

[16] The social sciences relied on the success of the natural sciences both in the academy and in popular culture for their influence, a part from any sort of empirical proofs of their validity. This thesis is contested by historians of science, but is generally considered to hold merit. "Many late Victorians hoped that social as well as technological problems could be solved by using the methods of the prestigious physical sciences. It has been said that 'faith in science' and a concern for morality were the two defining characteristics of Victorian philanthropic enterprises." (Quoting Gertrude Himmelfarb in *The Age of Philanthropy*) Kathleen Callanan Martin, *Hard and Unreal Advice : Mothers, Social Science, and the Victorian Poverty Experts* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), P. 6. "What is so marked about American social science is the degree to which it is modeled on the natural rather than the historical sciences…"Ross, P. 3. For more on approaches that modeled social mechanisms on analogies to physics, meteorology, and biology see: Siegwart Lindenberg, "Homo Socio-Oeconomicus: The Emergence of a General Model of Man in the Social Sciences," *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 146, (1990).

science, social work) became so deeply committed to the idea that science could be used to reveal the root causes of individual human's and society's problems and provide methods through which these problems could be eradicated. While scholars have noticed the shared history of charity/philanthropy and the social sciences in 19th century American reform, they quickly move on to identify the mechanism(s) by which to explain the separation using theories of control, resources, authority, gender, power, politics, religion, etc. While acknowledging the fine work of scholars who have contributed to our knowledge of **why** the social sciences separated from reform (Professionalization by authority - Wiebe, by scientific objectivity – Furner, by interdependence – Haskell, by exceptionalism – Ross, etc.) I am more interested in looking into **how** the claims of the power of science to yield the answers to human social problems was presented and made so much sense to so many.

Scientific Charity: Movement or Milieu?

Often referred to, yet almost never explained, scientific charity is a confusing jumble. Attempts to associate the movement with a "thing", such as a particular COS or particular person like Carnegie or specific institution like the Russell Sage Foundation, are understandable due to the complications of studying scientific charity as intellectual history. Claims to a charity or philanthropy that would now be scientific were simultaneously trumpeted by those involved in late 19th century reform, the social gospel movement, the creation of American social science, the creation of professional social work, the creation of the social science departments in American universities, the creation

and enlargement of the American foundation, the Charity Organization Societies, the Settlement movement, the creation of a host of new professional associations, and the many other civic and political organizations working in education, penal reform, charity reform, medicine, etc. that offered new and purportedly scientific means by which human social problems could be rationally apprehended and dealt with in preemptive fashion. Of course, the rise of the "scientific" across the 19th century is a well-known phenomenon in and of itself. (See Figure One)

The claim of this dissertation is not that this relationship between science and the goals of charity/philanthropy was *actually* new; after all it was the 12th century philosopher Maimonides who said: "Anticipate charity by preventing poverty."[17] Instead my research focuses on descriptions of the broad appeal to science common to the 19th century founding logic assumed by so much of what we know today in the United States as charitable institutions, social welfare infrastructure, the social sciences, and philanthropy. I'm interested in how scientific charity *presented* itself as new apart from any sort of empirical proof of either anything being specifically wrong with older forms of charity or anything being specifically better about the newer forms being espoused. The belief that science had the ability to improve charity functioned more as a rallying cry for the need for improved methods to confront the stress put on traditional charitable networks and institutions. They built it so they would come.

[17] Mark Dowie, *American Foundations : An Investigative History* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 2001), P. 1.

To date, there is no book-length treatment of the subject.[18] Searches for the term "scientific charity" in 19th century literature reveal that the movement had widespread appeal. For example, searches that I conducted in the Proquest database of American Periodicals 1740 - 1940 reveals thousands of entries related to science and charity, with a noted increase in the period under study here: 1865-1909. Between 1740 and 1840 only 1936 references in 1495 publications were noted, while between 1840 and 1900 alone, in the same number of publications, there were 11, 365 references. Using the Google Ngram Viewer tool and searching for usage of "scientific charity" between 1840 and 1900, one notices the definite increase starting around 1874, the year of the NCCC inaugural meeting.[19] The issues that were central to the interests of scientific charity, such as "pauperism", were also prominent during the same time frame in these publications. (See Figure 2)

Until recently what we have learned about the phenomenon called "scientific charity / scientific philanthropy" was presented by scholars interested in the history of the social science professions. Their tendencies were to present scientific charity as synonymous with the Charity Organization movement at the NCCC and the creation of the field of social work, or present it as the parallel stream of proto-social science at the ASSA's professional associations and the creation of university-based sociology. I want to claim that scientific charity could be usefully understood as more of a milieu than any specific movement, where powerful new ideas about the trajectory of American

[18] I survey the work that has been done on the topic in my literature review found in chapter two.
[19] The Google Ngram Viewer is a phrase-usage graphing tool which charts the yearly count of selected n-grams (letter combinations), [n] words, or phrases, as found in over 5.2 million books digitized by Google Inc (published between 1500 and 2008). The words or phrases (or ngrams) are matched by case-sensitive spelling, comparing exact uppercase letters, and plotted on the graph if found in 40 or more books.

philanthropy were theorized, discussed, and promoted. The Charity Organization movement and the movement to create social science disciplines were subtexts to the main story: the belief that a point in human and societal evolution had been reached where social problems could be scientifically understood and brought under control. But before we can investigate this milieu and what was spoken there, we need to further situate scientific charity.

Masking Reform

Scientific charity was more than just a late 19th century conservative aberration in the long march towards the full flowering of progressive reform based in social scientific discoveries.[20] The problem with scientific charity as nothing more than proto-Social Work or proto -Sociology, is that this account can leave the impression that the moral intentions of reform were left behind when the ASSA and the COS structures were abandoned, leaving in its place a value-free science of the social. And so for example, the eugenics movement can appear in historical accounts as an aberration, instead of the continued progression of scientific philanthropic reform begun much earlier in the 18th

[20] The Baconian theme of social transformation through science coupled with the unique American political opportunities seemed to indicate a never ending upward climb towards the fulfillment of their divinely ordained place in history and the world. The Civil War had thrown this common sense belief into confusion, and the ASSA was a place where the restoration of America to its potential was discussed. For more on the background to Gilded Age ideas of progress see: James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory : Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); David W. Noble, *The Progressive Mind, 1890-1917*, Rev. ed. (Minneapolis, Minn.: Burgess Pub. Co., 1981); Ernst Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress : The Significance of Protestantism for the Rise of the Modern World*, 1st Fortress Press ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986); Geoffrey Blodgett, "A New Look at the American Gilded Age," *Historical Reflections* 1, no. 2 (1974); Stephen Pimpare, *The New Victorians : Poverty, Politics, and Propaganda in Two Gilded Ages* (New York: New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton, 2004); James B. Salazar and ebrary Inc., "Bodies of Reform the Rhetoric of Character in Gilded Age America," in *America and the long 19th century*(New York: New York University Press, 2010).

and 19th century and continuing to gain steam well into the 20th century despite a certain dislocation from its ideological reformist roots.[21] The logic that powered scientific charity did not end when the gentry intellectuals of the ASSA and their reformist brew of old-school Political Economy and social up-lift work were pushed aside in 1909 and as the Charity Organization Society (COS) movement lost credibility in the eyes of university-based social scientists. Scientific charity also functioned as a moral language of social reform, primarily based on a moral appeal to replace older inefficient/ineffective forms of charity with newer scientifically improved forms, which continued to expand, like the NCCC itself, into the 20th century. Interpretations of the movement to improve public and private charitable methods in mid to late 19th century America conflate scientific charity with the rise of the Charity Organization Society movement and its application of the concept, and are thus quick to associate the end of the scientific charity movement with the demise of both the ASSA and the rending asunder of objectivity and advocacy by the separate growth trajectories of professional social work and academic sociology.

Scientific charity seems to have functioned as a mid-way point, allowing social thinkers and practitioners to move from charity, by way of a charity that would now be scientific, to a science that would still be charitable, and then on to the disciplinary splits that authors like Furner, Haskell, and Ross make central to their accounts of professionalization. Peter Novick has suggested this approach, when he points out that "much of what passed for professionalization was superficial", and so the shift from amateur ameliorative social science (scientific charity) and objective social science

[21] Daniel Lowenfeld, "The International Origins and Popularization of Eugenics" (St. John's University (New York), 2011).

(university-based Sociology for example), was not as fixed as many interpreters of the 19th century would have it.[22] By passing too quickly over this terrain (1865 – 1909) it is easy to think that the ameliorative purposes of charity were shown to be unscientific and thus discarded by the younger social scientists now armed with German PhDs, eager to be paid for their services in the new universities and university departments. Professionalization and social control narratives have this tendency. Paying attention to how the changes happened, might give us insight to these same claims very much in the headlines today, asking us to believe (and contribute), for example, to the global initiatives of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and their globalized formula convinced that private philanthropy applied scientifically will end poverty…this time around.

I am not the first to critique these simple dichotomist historical narratives: examples include James Leiby starting in the 1960s, Henrika Kucklick and Robert L. Church in the 1970s, Silva & Slaughter in the 1980s, Lawrence Goldman in the 90s, and since the 90s a growing list of critical studies like those of Mary Jo Deegan.[23] These

[22] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream : The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), P. 48.

[23] Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain : The Social Science Association, 1857-1886* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); James Leiby, "Amos Warner's American Charities 1894-1930," *The Social Service Review* 37, no. 4 (1963). See also: A. Lawrence Goldman, "Exceptionalism and Internationalism: The Origins of American Social Science Reconsidered," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 11, no. 1 (1998); Kuklick, "Restructuring the Past: Toward an Appreciation of the Social Context of Social Science." Kuklick, "The Organization of Social Science in the United States - the Sociologists of the Chair: A Radical Analysis of the Formative Years of North American Sociology (1883-1922) by Herman Schwendinger and Julia R. Schwendinger: The Legacy of Albion Small by Vernon L Dibble: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas Haskell. ." Edward T. Silva and Sheila Slaughter, "Prometheus Bound-the Limits of Social Science Professinalization in the Progressive Period (Silva and Slaughter).Pdf," *Theory and Society* 9, no. 6 (1980).

scholars and others mentioned in my literature review have all explored to what degree "the apparent division between 'amateur' social scientists in 1880 in the ASSA and 'professional' social scientists in universities a generation later masks an essential similarity in the reformist aims of both groups."[24] The social context of those brought together at the NCCC was broader than the intra-academic search for disciplinary legitimacy. For example, in the case of the emergence of Sociology, the struggle for authority was not carried out "as a self-contained and homogenous intellectual community but as occupants of a distinct position among many other positions in this struggle. In particular, they were part of a broader field of sociology that included practical workers in charities, public administration, applied research and reform."[25]

19th century social science was an amalgam of forces pulling in different directions; but each direction attempted to legitimize its claims as the more scientific fulfillment of the historic philanthropic disposition of mankind. For Franklin Sanborn of the ASSA social science was "…neither a science nor an art, but a mingling of the two, or of fifty sciences and arts, which all find a place in it".[26] And those at universities struggled with the same "…unresolved ambiguity in the meaning of social science

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See also the fist chapter in: Stephen P. Turner, *American Sociology : From Pre-Disciplinary to Post-Normal*, Sociology Transformed (2014).

[24] Robert L. Church, as quoted in: Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain : The Social Science Association, 1857-1886* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), P. 333

[25] Daniel Breslau, "The American Spencerians: Theorizing a New Science," in *Sociology in America : A History*, ed. Craig J. Calhoun(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), P. 43.

[26] The use of "art" and "science", not being linked to professional classes, still retained the classic distinctions of science as accumulated knowledge and art as applied skill. This distinction can be seen in the entry for Art in the Encyclopedia of Social Reform, entitled "Asrt and Social Reform", where "art" is "the producing of good work". *Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (New York, London: Fundk & Wagnells Company, 1897), s.v. "Art and Social Reform."

itself."[27] The first line of the first address at the first annual meeting of the American Sociological Society (today the ASA) was a disclaimer by Lester Ward in which he acknowledges that yet in 1906 the issue of whether sociology was an actual science was still unresolved, before proceeding to mount his defense that it should be thus considered.[28] American's discovery of and ideas on the relationship between social science and charity underwent monumental changes during the mid to late 19th century. But a simple story of the defeat of older, idealistic, and metaphysical understandings of social problems like poverty by a set of newer, positivistic, and scientific understandings due to a superiority of their science has many problems that will surface in the course of this dissertation.

So what was it in the imagination of so many mid to late 19th century American reformers that led them to think that science provided "new" and presumably better ways to conceive of and to obtain the ends of charity and philanthropy? What were the distinguishing marks between a science of charity and the emergent social sciences during this period? What was scientific charity to those who first named it? Attempts to answer these questions, leads one immediately back to the institutions where those claims were first publically voiced and theorized…the ASSA and the NCCC. Virtually all histories of social science, social work, and philanthropy give a passing nod to the inaugural role of those brought together by the ASSA and perhaps even more importantly the NCCC. So why is there still not a single book focused specifically on the history of

[27] "…neither a science…": "The Work of Social Science in the United States: A Report by F. B. Sanborn, General Secretary of the Association," *The New York Times*, May 23, 1874 1874. "…unresolved ambiguity in…": Recchiuti, P. 39.
[28] Lester F. Ward, "The Establishment of Sociology," in *American Sociological Society*, ed. ASS (Providence, Rhode Island: The University of Chicago Press, 1906).

either of these institutions? Virtually all historical accounts currently available in the field of philanthropic studies mention the importance of Scientific Charity/Philanthropy. So why is there still not a single book focused specifically on the history of this movement/idea to which so many late 19th century institutions claimed allegiance? I hope to have at least probed these questions by the conclusion of this dissertation and to have offered a tentative definition of scientific charity/philanthropy that rescues it from its simple association with any one particular movement, i.e. the Charity Organization Society.

BACKGROUND CONTEXT

Old and New in the Fields of Philanthropy

Indeed scientific approaches to charity were just one part of the broad cultural adjustment to advances in industrial technology brought about by scientific discoveries, to the displacement of religious authority, and to the influence of evolutionary theories of human society happening in America at the time. The times seemed ripe for a new break from the "ancient" past believed to still refrain human society from its fullest flowering. Comparisons between "old" and "new" abounded in late 19th century literature of all sorts.[29] Dorothy Ross writes: "Progressive era social scientists filled their writings with a

[29] Walter Licht, *Industrializing America : The Nineteenth Century*, American Moment (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Laura Otis, *Literature and Science in the Nineteenth Century : An Anthology*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford, UK ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Carroll W. Pursell, *The Machine in America : A Social History of Technology*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Dana Seitler, *Atavistic Tendencies : The Culture of Science in American Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

sense of discontinuity and turned away from the outmoded past…No sooner did these theorists enter history, as it were, than they turned against the past."[30] The empirical investigations of these changes being proposed and experimented with only came later, as the social sciences and social work actually sorted themselves out across the 20th century. For example, even though 19th century social scientists generally theorized the need for a statistical approach to understanding social problems like poverty, what they referred to as "statistical" reports were simple collections of facts, community surveys, and charity registration information.[31] The 19th century social science of poverty displays "*a priori* reasoning without testable hypothesis, argument from anecdote, use of ideal types as evidence, and a tendency to predetermine the outcome of survey results through decisions made in the design and classification phases."[32] The use of probability and statistical methodologies in the social sciences wasn't in place until the 20th century.[33]

In a chapter entitled "Scientific Charity" in the 1889 book *Problems in American Society*, Joseph Henry Crooker, a well known 19th century Unitarian minister, explains to his readers that there was a "profound and radical difference between ancient charity and modern charity". Crooker goes on over the next few pages to outline the hallmarks of this difference, and finds that in olden times the work of charity was unorganized, merely palliative, and not focused on preventing the causes of pauperism and wretchedness. This

[30] Dorothy Ross, "Modernist Social Science in the Land of the New/Old," in *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences, 1870-1930*, ed. Dorothy Ross(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). P. 193.
[31] See for example: R. L. Dugdale, *"The Jukes"; a Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease and Heredity*, 3d ed. (New York,: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1877).
[32] Martin.
[33] In a 1929 lecture Bertrand Russell said that: "Probability is the most important concept in modern science, especially as nobody has the slightest notion of what it means." There is a large literature on the history of statistics, probability and the social sciences. For one of the most significant recent contributions: Daniel Courgeau and ebrary Inc., "Probability and Social Science Methodological Relationships between the Two Approaches," in *Methodos series v. 10*(Dordrecht [Netherlands]: Springer, 2012).

transition from ancient to modern charity was due mainly to three causes: 1) First, the administration of charity was transferred from ecclesiastical to secular agencies. The Church occupied a position and clung to a method which made progress in the care of the poor impossible as long as the poor were under her control. Civil authorities, applied a new spirit and policy to the problem, and the growth of a new charity was made possible. 2) Second, the humanitarian sentiment, which rose to power over a century ago, spread abroad a new view of man and society. The perfectibility of human nature became a watchword; aspirations toward improvement arose; reverence for human society as a realm of divine order developed; a higher estimate was placed upon property: these and other convictions led people to take a new view of poverty, and to make new efforts for the relief of the poor and the prevention of pauperism. 3) Third, the growth of the scientific spirit stimulated investigation, and men began to ask questions and make inquiries. "Why are there so many beggars? What are the causes of all this distress? Can the sources of this misery be removed?"[34]

This vision of scientific charity was not the minority view of one minister. It is echoed by many others including Daniel Coit Gilman, president of Johns Hopkins University who, in summarizing the presentations at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition's International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropy (ICCCP), wrote: "If humanity is still far from having worked out 'a science of charity', it has taken the first steps toward the establishment of a systematic and trustworthy system; it has undertaken to collect the facts and make some generalizations upon the information thus

[34] Joseph Henry Crooker, *Problems in American Society; Some Social Studies* (Boston,: G. H. Ellis, 1889). P. 62-63.

brought together…In social as in bodily ailments the art of healing must be based upon ascertained facts and on accumulated experience."[35]

The Reformist Social Science of the ASSA and NCCC

Any search into the 19th century meanings of scientific charity, leads one to an institution known as the American Social Science Association (ASSA). The ASSA brought together a wide coalition of people who were inspired by the thought that new developments in science provided tools that could be used to reconfigure society in such a way as to cure social problems much like science was being put to the service of improvements in the medical, industrial, and seemingly in just about every other field. Central to scientific charity was the belief that humans had finally reached a point in their individual and societal development from which social problems like poverty could be understood, and through the application of proper technique, made a thing of the past. ASSA members were instrumental in launching the National Conference on Charities and Corrections (NCCC) in 1874 to explore practical implementation of the new social science findings.

Scientific charity was an outgrowth of the same fertile soil from which emerged the social sciences. Commenting on 19th century social scientists, John Louis Recchiuti recently wrote: "Academically trained social scientists hoped not merely to manage

[35] Daniel Coit Gilman, "The Organization of Charities: Being a Report of the Sixth Section of the International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropy," in *International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropy*, ed. Daniel Coit Gilman (Chicago: The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore The Scientific Press, London, 1893).

poverty but to end it."[36] To advocate for a charity that was scientific was to point out the "unscientific" nature of the preceding philanthropic traditions. Or, as George William Curtis, Esq. of New York, president of the American Social Science Association, put it in his address to the 1874 conference (the year the NCCC was inaugurated):

> All advance from barbarism to civilization is social science. The spirit that seeks higher conditions of life and wider knowledge is its minister. Five hundred years ago, a wise and pious citizen of Florence observed that three times within his remembrance one of the church towers of the city had been stuck by lightning, and he thought that he perceived that what was needed for a proper protection was to place upon the summit of the tower a choice selection of holy relics. Four centuries later Dr. Franklin went out one afternoon, with his kite and key, in the face of a thunder-cloud, and solved the problem. That is the spirit of the student of social science. He is not satisfied with holy relics as a conductor of lightning, and would stimulate the public mind to work with kite and key in the face of the blackest clouds of tradition and ignorance, and solve the problems of the public well-being.[37]

Commenting on what she refers to as the "Gilded Age Crisis" and the ASSA, Dorothy Ross wrote in 1991 that for those involved in determining the purposes of the social sciences in 19th century America, their "overriding concern was to show that the social sciences could reconfirm the traditional principles of American governance and economy and replace religion as a sure guide to the exceptionalist future."[38] Replacing religion meant reminding it of its social obligations through a return to its true Christological and eschatological meanings.[39] Social science involved a secularizing

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[36] Recchiuti. P. 57.
[37] George William Curtis, *Journal of Social Science*, no. VI (1874). P. 33.
[38] Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science*. P. 64.
[39] George M. Marsden and ebrary Inc., "Fundamentalism and American Culture," (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Mark A. Noll, Nathan O. Hatch, and George M. Marsden, *The Search for Christian America* (Westchester, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1983). For insight into the struggle over who would legitimately speak for sociology, and the creation of "sociological publics" that excluded undesirable religious publics see: M. S. Evans, "Defining the Public, Defining Sociology: Hybrid Science--Public Relations and Boundary-Work in Early American Sociology," *Public Understanding of Science* 18, no. 1 (2008).

perspective[40], and the ASSA brought together many of the intellectuals who were in search of naturalistic grounds upon which to found new directions for the sciences of man, as the older explanations of man and man's problems rooted in metaphysical and historical traditions of thought were being challenged. The search for universal laws that governed human wellbeing intensified; what one speaker at the NCCC meeting in 1885 called "the working out of a general law of social science, - the law that the defective classes are to be considered, not as objects of punishment, but of treatment; diseased persons to be cured, or persons in danger of disease to be protected, quarantined, or disinfected. This law is especially applicable to scientific charity…"[41]

The literature on the ASSA and NCCC has theorized the political differences that motivated conservative and progressive divisions in the history of the rise of scientific charity. However, proponents of both private and public solutions to poverty appealed to and applied the principles of scientific charity. Science held the power to make both public relief and private charity more efficient and effective. And so Henry George, a popular 19th century American writer, politician and political economist, seen as a forerunner to progressive and libertarian political ideology, wrote and spoke of the wide spread appeal of a charity which could be "scientific" and get to the systemic root cause of the persistence of poverty. At the opening meeting of the Anti-Poverty Society May 2, 1887, George intoned: "The poverty that festers in the heart of a great, rich city like this,

[40] The word "secularizing" here is to be understood in its 19th century context: meaning the appearance of new options for thought and practice not requiring the magisterial sanction of the church, but not necessarily meaning opposed to religion.

[41] National Conference on Social Welfare (U.S.) et al., "Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, at the Twelfth Annual Session Held in Washington, D.C., June 4-10, 1885," (Boston: Press of Geo. H. Ellis, 1885). P. 316.

comes not from the niggardliness of the Creator, but from the injustice of man, and it would be a sin in us and a shame if we did not try to strike at it in the very roots".

Part of the attraction to scientific charity was its claims to finding the root causes of human social problems such as poverty. Mrs. Glendower Evans, a Boston socialite, spiritualist and eventual socialist, speaking at the 1889 NCCC meeting found that a charity that claimed to be modern would be subject to a double demand: "- first, to understand the causes of poverty, and, second, to remove the poverty itself, to help the poor to be no longer poor –."[42] Or take the preface of the 1914 book entitled *The Abolition of Poverty* by Jacob Harry Hollander, professor of Political Economy at the Johns Hopkins University which states: "The purpose of this little essay is to set forth the needlessness of poverty. Like preventable disease, economic want persists as a social ill only because men do not desire sufficiently that it shall cease. There is still much mumbling of old commonplaces, and it has seemed worth while to emphasize anew this definite corollary of modern political economy, that the essential causes of poverty are determinable and its considerable presence unnecessary."[43] Later in the 20th century, Frank Bruno, commenting on the 1884 NCCC meeting, summarized it this way: "Many of the leaders of the conference accepted the implications of a scientific approach to social work problems. They acted on the tacit assumption that human ills – sickness, insanity, crime, poverty – could be subjected to the study and methods of treatment … As a result of the adoption of this scientific attitude, conference speakers and programs

[42] Evans. P. 26.
[43] J. Bernard Mannix, *Heroes of the Darkness* (London,: S. W. Partridge & co., 1911).

looked forward toward progress…"[44] But perhaps nowhere can the changing configurations of the relationships between science and charity be more acutely seen than in ideas and practices brought together by the NCCC.

METHODOLOGY

Scientific Charity as a "Moral Language" of Scientific Reform

Scientific charity is best described as a moral language that allowed different parts of American reform to relate to one another and participate in building different components of the "new philanthropy". Similar to the term "shared language" used by Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine in the Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics (2010), I favor the use of the concept of "moral language".[45] I use the term in much the same way it is used by David Craig in his recent book *Health Care as a Social Good.*[46] Scientific charity language provided a moral impetus under which many disparate reformist causes could cooperate and conflagrate, which is one reason that those involved have most often been lumped into one "movement". In fact, scientific

[44] Albert R. Roberts and Gilbert J. Greene, *Social Workers' Desk Reference* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). P. 1116.

[45] Despite the considerable differences in practices and their acceptance in the radically different cultures where it was promoted, eugenics became what these authors call a "shared language and ambition" which allowed the differences to be bridged. Alasdair McIntyre's "practices" and Charles Taylor's "social imaginaries" might also be usefully applied to scientific charity, but I settled on what I take to be the simpler structure of "moral language", since it matches more closely to what I try to show is happening during this transitional period. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, Oxford Handbooks (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[46] Craig shows how everyday expressions such as "private health benefits" functions as a moral language reflecting assumptions about how health care should and should not be provided. 19th century reformist social scientists discussed the new scientific theories of the provision of charitable benefits using moral languages as well. David Melville Craig, "Health Care as a Social Good Religious Values and American Democracy," (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014).

charity/philanthropy could be hardly described as a movement. It had no agreed upon definition, methodology, or authoritative center. Yet virtually all agents of American reform and social science appealed to its central idea: that progress in the social sciences was yielding techniques through which social ills like poverty could be ended. The fluidity and malleability of scientific charity's ideas and practices is what made it so useful for 19th century purposes of institution building.

It was a moral language that allowed for intramural conversation as well as dispute. It was a logic that served as transitional medium for mid-to-late 19th century reformers involved in the shifts from the Gilded Age reforms, still anchored in religious forms of charity, to the positivism of the modern Progressive Era social sciences. Except for a few dissenters, scientific charity was one dimension of the "languages" of the common ameliorative social logic assumed by most, if not all, late 19th century movements which we will discuss in this dissertation. Despite the many disagreements between amateur and professionalizing social scientists, charity organizers, social gospelers, foundations, and politicians present at the NCCC, scientific charity provided a common language that enabled conversation across the philanthropic, economic, political, and spiritual dialects in use.[47] Unfortunately, it is this malleability that has also made scientific charity hard to trace, which is perhaps why so few have tried.

[47] For example, the term "sociological" could be applied to a wide variety of activities ranging from the emergent work of academic disciplines to attempts to rid neighborhoods of the "demon of drink". At this point in time sociology was claimed by many different voices each trying to argue for the explanation of social behavior and other social phenomenon in the late 19th and early 20th century." Lindenberg, "Homo Socio-Oeconomicus: The Emergence of a General Model of Man in the Social Sciences," P. 730.

Scientific charity was not expressed in social scientific theory, but in stories, images, and legends.[48] Although only partial I would like to think that my methods are an attempt to offer a first salvo of what Stephen Pimpare has called for: a genealogy of scientific charity philosophy.[49] At least since Berger and Luckmann, scholars have paid attention to the notion that human identity is formed as we learn to navigate our way around dense moral "webs of interlocution"; or in other words, humans use language to articulate our conceptions of the features of the moral frameworks that seem particularly important to us in the construction of the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves.[50] Social constructionist perspectives of history are not Platonic in their view of reality (idealism), but they consider the physical elements of the social world secondary in importance to the intellectual elements which infuse the physical elements with the meanings that they have for people. So for example, in the case of scientific charity, the structures of a particular COS are better understood when the ways in which people

[48] Laura Otis, Historian of Science at Emory University, provides another example of this type of methodology. See: Laura Otis, *Membranes : Metaphors of Invasion in Nineteenth-Century Literature, Science, and Politics*, Medicine & Culture (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). According to Otis, "the notion of a split between literature and science, of a gap to be bridged between the two, was never a nineteenth-century phenomenon." Indeed, "the two commingled and were assessable to all readers," and "scientists quoted well-known poets both in their textbooks and in their articles for lay readers, and writers…explored the implications of scientific theories." "As a growing system of knowledge expressed in familiar words, science was in effect a variety of literature." In nineteenth-century periodicals, magazines, and newspapers, "articles on scientific issues were set side-by-side with fiction, poetry and literary criticism." Otis, *Literature and Science in the Nineteenth Century : An Anthology*; Laura Otis, *Organic Memory : History and the Body in the Late Nineteenth & Early Twentieth Centuries*, Texts and Contexts (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Laura Otis, *Networking : Communicating with Bodies and Machines in the Nineteenth Century*, 1st pbk. ed., Studies in Literature and Science (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011).

[49] Stephen Pimpare, "Reexamining Scientific Charity," *H-Net: Humanities and Social Science Online* H-Net Reviews(2013). h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=39601 (accessed April 5, 2014).

[50] Karl E. Smith and ebrary Inc., "Meaning, Subjectivity, Society Making Sense of Modernity," in *International comparative social studies,*(Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010); Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self : The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989); Gabriel Peters, "Explanation, Understanding and Determinism in Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology," *History of the Human Sciences*, (2013). Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality : A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990). See also "moral vocabularies" in: David Melville Craig, *John Ruskin and the Ethics of Consumption*, Studies in Religion and Culture (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006).

involved in the movement convince themselves that scientific change was somehow creating new abilities in humans to be and act in fundamentally more practically philanthropic ways than their predecessors. The seemingly concrete structures of things like the ASSA or the NCCC are actually indeterminate and need always to be interpreted against a larger framework or horizon of meaning. Another term for what I'm trying to understand in this dissertation is: "intersubjective beliefs", or the shared assumptions that enable practice because they provide the "sense making" context necessary for human action. Moral languages carry along our intersubjective beliefs as we voice them, explain them, defend them, and rally others to their ends.

These sorts of approaches to history are sometimes called social constructionist or constructivist theories and methods. Constructionists generally agree with Max Weber that they need to employ interpretive understanding (*verstehen*) in order to analyze social action, but would disagree about the extent to which it is possible to emulate the scientific ideas of the natural sciences and produce scientific explanations based on hypotheses, data collection, and generalization. In this paradigm, social scientists do not discover universal "final truth" about the world. The only truth claims that can be made from this approach are limited to the subjects under study and are always contingent and partial interpretations, themselves part of a larger sense-making operation of some sort. Thus the need for this deeper look into what the reformist social scientists of the NCCC said to one another about what they considered to be possible and necessary about a science of the social.

The social world of the 19th century includes various intellectuals, political entities and policy, churches, charity reformers, social workers, programs, schools, and of course institutions like the American Social Science Association and the National Conference on Charities and Corrections (the meetings from which the NCCC *Proceedings* are drawn). The value of this approach lies in its concentration on the retrieval of the lived conditions of those passing through the momentous changes going on in the 19th century as scientific charity came to have meaning. It takes at face value the scientific languages used, and trades out explanation in hopes of a richer description of the moral issues that were in play at a pivotal stage in the evolution of philanthropy. The approach is meant to question the flattened a-cultural approaches too often found in the history of philanthropy through which we attribute the process of historical change to certain people and/or institutions alone, to decontextualized social theories, or even more popularly, the tendency to write the history of philanthropy as the history of wealthy industrialists who created large foundations. This can leave us with historical descriptions of philanthropy, which are too thin, to borrow a concept from Clifford Geertz.[51] My hope is that this reconstruction of some of the languages of scientific philanthropy, while always partial, can still yield helpful perspectives from which to understand the transformations of late 19th century philanthropy in America.

By interpreting scientific charity as a moral language one can extend the traditional accounts of this particular history which tend to make a lot of the displacement of the "old views of charity" by the new supposedly more scientific views; telling a story of the triumph of the university-based social sciences over the increasingly marginalized,

[51] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures; Selected Essays* (New York,: Basic Books, 1973).

and non-scientific, approaches to the solutions of social problems carried out by "reformers".[52] Central to this view is a certain historical positioning of the ASSA, as either an institution to be ignored, or an institution whose demise is given as the prime example of the transfer of "authority" from the social philosophers of the ASSA to the social scientists of the new research universities; the disenfranchisement of this older institution due to its inability to accommodate the new scientific methods. But this view of the ASSA doesn't do justice to the simple fact that the distinction between the realms of "reform" and "social science" and the social roles of "reformer" and "scientist" was still not clear in the 19th century. Many would argue that it still isn't.[53]

Benefits of Scientific Charity as Moral Language

By interpreting scientific charity as a moral language, one can better see how a shared allegiance to scientific charity, a simultaneously practical and theoretical idea, allowed the different directions taken by reform to be successful. The ASSA was successful at promoting conceptions and networks of activity that supported the spread of scientific charity. In my account the NCCC was the primary initial venue at which those involved in the disparate pieces, like those involved in different professional societies born out of the ASSA for example, spoke with one another, and that they were able to do

[52] For the most influential example of this style of narrative see: Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, Johns Hopkins paperback ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). Haskell begins the conclusion to his book: "Few people in the twentieth century have every look at the articles and reports published by the American Social Science Associations; nor would anyone trying to solve current social problems profit much by doing so."

[53] Evans, "Defining the Public, Defining Sociology: Hybrid Science--Public Relations and Boundary-Work in Early American Sociology."; John F. Galliher and James M. Galliher, *Marginality and Dissent in Twentieth-Century American Sociology : The Case of Elizabeth Briant Lee and Alfred Mcclung Lee*, Suny Series in Deviance and Social Control (Albany: State University of New York, 1995); Turner.

so by being united by a common vision of scientific charity, while differing on the formal and locational (delivery mechanisms) for this reform. And though the ASSA closed its doors in 1909, the questions that it considered to be central to social science had already been moving in two directions both of which it promoted: one being what was to become the professional world of social work (applied sociology), and the other being the new university-based social science departments (sociology). Yet when looking at the use of scientific charity language, both venues can be seen as different types of reform instead of reform and something other or better than reform.

STRUCTURE: REVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One: Science and Charity, Strange New Bedfellows

This chapter introduces the reader to an overview of the purpose, central argument, structure, and methodology of this dissertation. The concept of scientific charity as a moral language is presented. The goal is to orient the reader to the entire dissertation. Some initial information about the topic is presented to situate the reader in the 19th century context explored in this work.

Chapter Two: The Literature of Scientific Charity at the ASSA and NCCC

This chapter provides a review of the literature with a specific focus on the scholarship that has provided insight on the ASSA, the NCCC, and scientific charity/philanthropy in general. I start with an overview of the sources used for this dissertation. Next I delve into the broader literature as a contribution to future

scholarship, since it is not a small task to assemble these resources. I hope that it allows for an easier handling of these topics by those who take this line of research further. The goal here was to provide a broad view of the literature, divided into the literature that looks at the ASSA and the literature that looks at the NCCC. Due to the disciplinary split between Sociology, Social Work, and other social sciences, one has to reconstruct our historical knowledge of the ASSA and NCCC found in the secondary literature in this way. I then provide what I consider to be a helpful bibliographic motif, which further introduces the reader to the context. A brief history of the ASSA and NCCC is included, to help situate the literature review as well as the chapters to follow.

Chapter Three: The Continuity of Reform

In this chapter we take a deeper look into Thomas Haskell's account, since it has been almost paradigmatic for the interpretation of scientific charity since it was originally written in 1977. My objections to some of his points in *Emergence* provide a helpful transition into the succeeding chapters, since I make my points through the deeper look into the membership and topics covered at the NCCC. Haskell's account turns on the closing of the ASSA as proof of the victory of academic social science over reform. I show that the NCCC records, which Haskell largely ignores, provide keys to simpler explanatory alternatives. My account allows for a closer inspection of scientific charity, by listening to its promoters.

Chapter Four: The Cruel Dominion of Superstition

This chapter explores the following question: If older forms of charity were

unscientific, what evidence was marshaled against them by those assembled at the NCCC? My research shows a striking consensus around a justification of the need to either replace or modify the older forms of charity through an appeal to: 1) assumptions about the failures of outmoded historic charity models, 2) a focus on the deleterious effects of indiscriminate almsgiving, and 3) the pauperizing powers of indiscriminate giving to the poor. I look at these three explanatory bundles that function as justification for the changes they imagined, as period intellectuals engaged in social scientific discussions which attempted to harmonize period understandings of the human and human society with new discoveries in the sciences. This chapter will focus on an exploration of the moral visions and the images, stories, and languages used by key figures and institutions brought together by the Association. We'll look at how the relationship between science and charity were understood as reflected in the founding documents, the early meetings, the correspondence, presentations, and other important historical dimensions of the men and women who assembled at the NCCC. I pay particular attention to the ways in which older forms of charity were discredited through the telling of subtraction stories.[54] This chapter will spend some time updating previous interpretations of the demise of the ASSA, and argue for a simpler and hopefully more promising interpretation. I present the idea that scientific charity as "new and improved reform" functioned as a malleable language which allowed reformist energy to mingle

[54] I borrow the term from Charles Taylor and his work in the philosophy of science. A subtraction story is any theory which attempts to explain modernity by human beings having lost, or sloughed off, or liberated themselves from certain earlier, confining horizons, or illusions, or limitations of knowledge. What emerges from this process–the rise of university-based social science–is to be understood in terms of underlying features of human nature which were there all along, but had been impeded by what is now set aside. Against this kind of story, Taylor has steadily argued that Western modernity, including its social science, is the fruit of new inventions, newly constructed self-understandings and related practices, and can't be explained in terms of perennial features of human life. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, P. 22.

and empower the emerging social sciences and social work.

Chapter Five: The Fulcrum on Which the Lever Can Act to Move the Dead Weight of Pauperism

This chapter extends the exploration started in the preceding chapter by picking up the interrelated question of how justifications based on a positive construal of the powers of science worked. This chapter explores the question: If newer forms of charity were better (scientific), what evidence (proof) was marshaled for them by those assembled at the NCCC? I pay particular attention to how the physical sciences were conflated with the emerging social sciences, as a strategy to justify new models of charitable provision, how statistics were positioned as a new mathematical language of the social, and how the powers of science to find cures for the root causes of human social ills was presented and discussed. Discrediting older forms of charity was prelude to establishing what these reformers considered to be new forms of charity. I pursue the idea that scientific charity functioned as a moral language, and show how quantitative information was positioned to tell the moral story of triumphant science over the diseases of the social. This chapter digs deeper into the NCCC conference that brought together public intellectuals, religious reformers, social workers, political scientists, economists, historians, theologians, medical professionals, politicians, sociologists, public servants, criminologists, educators, and the list goes on. Their main purpose was to discuss what could be summarized in the phrase "scientific charity". By undervaluing the information of the NCCC *Proceedings* many interpretations of scientific charity and the social

sciences, or more particularly the relationship between the two, are not as well rounded as they could be.

Chapter Six: What Sort of Problem is it that Poverty is Still With Us?

In this chapter I highlight what I take to be important questions that are raised by deeper investigation into scientific charity. I make recommendations for further study, and provide some interesting paths that I hope other research might follow. I recommend caution in overly confident appeals to the relationship between science and charity, which seems as popular today as when it was first imagined during the period covered by this research. Paying attention to how the arguments for a closer relationship between science and charity were made, teaches us to recognize important dimensions of the ongoing relationship between objectivity and advocacy: reform in scientist's clothing.

CONCLUSION

The structural core of the contemporary American Third Sector is most often traced to societal changes that began in the 19th century.[55] For one thing, what we know today as the "nonprofit" organization, although having much deeper roots largely in Western Europe, was functionally formed out of the events we look at in this dissertation. In fact, much of the historical research into the American philanthropic sector, quite naturally traces that history by following the development of the institutions that made, and still make up, the sector. However, as soon as one turns to the historical record of

[55] Olivier Zunz, *Philanthropy in America : A History*, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012). Robert Hamlett Bremner, *The Discovery of Poverty in the United States*, Philanthropy and Society (New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 1992).

mid to late 19th century philanthropy, one is immediately confronted by what the Bernard's labeled: "the Social Science Movement". The uncovering of the history of American philanthropy is still in its infancy. This appears to be due to the fact that this history is part and parcel of the history of the rise of contemporary American social science and the professionalization of what was, for the bulk of western cultures, the divisions of moral and natural philosophy: political economy and social economy. In America the early development of what has come to be known as the academic disciplines and the associated professions of "economist", "sociologist", and "political scientist" has it origins in antebellum moral philosophy and amateur[56] social science. The social philosopher was not replaced by the social scientist as quickly as some have let on. (See Figure 3)

The industrial America that expanded at a vertiginous rate following the Civil War generated new, and to many, alarming forms of old questions about the nature of human good and the political, religious and economic requirements of social cohesion. These questions emerging, as they did, from the seeming chaos of the burgeoning cities, massive intercontinental displacements of peoples, and the first inklings of the global complexities brought about by the new forms of transportation, communications, and commerce appeared to have exposed the shortcomings of the theretofore accepted explanatory boundaries of moral philosophy and, as it relates to my purposes here, the ancillary understandings of the role of charity and charitable institutions. To date the

[56] Furner takes pains to point out that the use of the word "amateur" does not carry the meaning of sub-part in comparison to "professional" in the current dialectical usage of the term, but instead suggests instead different institutional affiliations, motives and work routines. See Furner, M. O. (2011). *Advocacy and objectivity : a crisis in the professionalization of American political science, 1865-1905*. New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Publishers, page 4 footnotes.

history of this period in philanthropic studies has focused almost entirely on the "easy pickings" of the institutional changes that took place during this time, for example, the rise and growth of institutional forms like the American Foundation.[57] For example, from a glance at the National Philanthropic Trust's "History of Giving" online timeline, one can see that it is built around a list of when and who started an undifferentiated list of nonprofits, which doesn't even include institutions like the ASSA or the NCCC.[58] However, these histories can often become more an explanation of the importance (and influence) that this institutional form (i.e. the foundations) still carries in American (and perhaps global) society rather than being an explanation of what was important to those 19th century social scientists (amateur and professional) who created the possibility of the range of new ideas from which these institutions took flight. In Philanthropic Studies too much of the writing on the roots of contemporary American philanthropic institutions continues to be caught between accounts about whatever the rich and powerful decide to do, i.e., Joel Fleishman's *The Foundation: A Great American Secret* (2009), and the trinity of the new social history themes of power, gender, and race, i.e., George Fredrickson, Lori Ginzberg, and Paul Boyer's work and others who want to dismiss

[57] David C. Hammack and Helmut K. Anheier, *A Versatile American Institution : The Changing Ideals and Realities of Philanthropic Foundations* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2013); Robert A. Gross, "Giving in America: From Charity to Philanthropy," in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, ed. Lawrence Jacob Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie(Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Robert Hamlett Bremner, *Giving : Charity and Philanthropy in History*, 1st pbk. ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 1996); Merle Eugene Cutri, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History* (New Brunswick, N.J.,: Rutgers University press, 1963); Raymond B. Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New Brunswick, [N.J.], U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 1989); Peter Max Ascoli, "Julius Rosenwald the Man Who Built Sears, Roebuck and Advanced the Cause of Black Education in the American South," in *Philanthropic and nonprofit studies*(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Ruth Crocker, *Mrs. Russell Sage : Women's Activism and Philanthropy in Gilded Age and Progressive Era America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Marcos Cueto, *Missionaries of Science : The Rockefeller Foundation and Latin America*, Philanthropic Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

[58] National Philanthropic Trust, "The History of Giving" nptrust.org/history-of-giving/timeline/1800s/ (accessed January 12, 2014 2014).

Gilded Age charity reforms as merely elitist social control and a "conservative aberration in the great American reform tradition."[59]

What does this have to do with philanthropic studies? If nothing else, I hope that it helps us avoid what the development economist William Easterly in his most recent book, *The Tyranny of Experts*, calls the "blank slate view", or the view that history is not a valuable source for understanding the contemporary claims to a scientific philanthropy. In an era of globalized humanitarian philanthropy, where solutions to social problems have again become the prime focus of many public and private institutions, I think there is reason to be much more skeptical of the appeals to science's abilities to end any social ill "once and for all".

Late 19th century charity reformers were being called upon to support a new vision of charity that was based on scientific understandings of the natural world, which had only recently been stretched to include the interior world of the human. The assumption that as the older views of charity were pealed back, the chrysalis of modern scientific solutions to social problems would emerge like a butterfly to finally take its beauteous flight, was to ignore the violence and pestilence yet to come in the 20th and 21st Centuries. Better to assume that what we are witnessing at the end of the 19th century is the displacement of one set of moral frameworks that helped generations of people make sense out of their social worlds, was being displaced by another set of moral frameworks.

[59] Joan Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer : The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997). P. 2. "The literature or organized charity has gone back and forth between condemning it as a form of social control of the poor, and defending it as the precursor to modern charity methods." Deborah S. Skok, "Organized Almsgiving: Scientific Charity and the Society of St Vincent De Paul in Chicago 1871 - 1918," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 16, no. 4 (1998): P. 20.

The new set was communicated by telling a story of the superiority of science and applicability of science to the social problems of the day. Let us listen to the stories these people were telling themselves about themselves and allow it to raise questions about the philanthropic tales we continue to tell ourselves about ourselves today.

CHAPTER TWO

The Literature of Scientific Charity at the ASSA and NCCC

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a review of the literature with a specific focus on the scholarship that has provided insight on the ASSA, the NCCC, and scientific charity/philanthropy in general. I start with a quick review of the primary source materials that informed my research. This is followed by a chronological view of the literature, divided into the sources that look at the ASSA and the literature that looks at the NCCC. In fact there are many literatures that pick up aspects of the transitions in philanthropic understandings and institutions upon which this dissertation is focused, including: 19th century history, Victorian Studies, studies of the early American foundations, nonprofit studies, the history of social welfare and poor relief, the history of the social sciences, the history of Sociology and other specific disciplines, the history of medicine, religious history, church history, women's studies, the history of education and formation of university departments, and the philosophy of science, etc. However, the main bodies of literature most often pursued by scholars in quest of understanding changes in the conceptions and practices of 19th century American charity are those tracing the history of the rise of Sociology and Social Work. The distinction between these two is not always clear. As Craig Calhoun has written: "In the late nineteenth century, sociology was less an emerging specialization than a central intellectual perspective for the social sciences in general (and the social sciences included applied

social reform and philanthropy). For some it was the synthesis, for some the foundation."[60] Due to the later disciplinary split between sociology, social work, and other social sciences, one has to reconstruct our historical knowledge of the ASSA and NCCC by ferreting it out of the more disciplinary focused histories. The literature review in this chapter is organized accordingly.

In order to delimit my research, and to provide a helpful guide to further research, I have focused my attention on a cross-section of the 19th century historical literatures that, for whatever broader purpose, spend time on the institutions, movements, and ideas I am interested in learning more about: the ASSA, the NCCC, and scientific charity. Following the review of the ASSA and NCCC literature we will take a closer look at the NCCC Proceedings, since they play a prominent role in my research. I conclude by formulating a helpful framework designed to situate the literature of the history of sociology and social work, that I have found helpful for research on scientific charity.

MY SOURCES

Periodicals and Other Sources

For my primary source material I have used the ASSA published journal called the Journal of Social Science (JSS) from 1869 to 1909. I have online access to the electronic copies of this journal. Searching the journal is also aided by a useful index-by-author of every article published between 1869 and 1901 in Appendix B of Thomas

[60] Craig J. Calhoun, *Sociology in America : A History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), P. 19.

Haskell's PhD Dissertation entitled: *Safe Havens for Sound Opinion: The American Social Science Association and the Professionalization of Social Thought in the United States, 1865 – 1909*.[61] I have also consulted the other prominent charity magazines and journals of the period under study: *Lend a Hand*, *Charities Review*, *The Commons*, *Charities and the Commons*, and *Survey*, as well as other 19th century periodicals.

Additional periodical materials were culled from the ProQuest Historical Newspapers[62] archive online as well as the extensive collections of 19th century social welfare information found in the Columbia University Social Work Agency Collection which contains, among many other interesting 19th century artifacts, materials from the National Conference on Charities and Correction, 1874-1916, the University of Minnesota Social Welfare History Archives[63], the Simmons College Charities Collection[64], the textbooks and curriculum used by the early social science departments, the ASSA papers part of the Caroline Healey Dall Papers at the Massachusetts Historical

[61] Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1973; University Microfilm no. 73-14,903). Haskell added this index to the 2nd Edition of *Emergence* in 2000.

[62] Digitizing just the New York Times, from the first issue in 1851, involved scanning, digitizing, zoning and editing over 3.4 million pages from microfilm into digital files. The full collection of ProQuest Historical Newspapers™ contains over 25 million digitized pages.

[63] The Social Welfare History Archives has acquired over 200 collections of organizational records or personal papers. The collections chronicle the development of a broad range of activities. Included are the classic social services offered to particularly vulnerable classes of persons, e. g., the economically dependent, recent immigrants, migrants and refugees, unwed mothers, abused and abandoned children, the aged, and the developmentally and physically challenged. Beyond these are causes and services aimed at the broader community, many of them not traditionally included in a narrow definition of social welfare: child-rearing advice for parents, recreation programs, community planning, arts programs, preventive health, and family planning. Because of the problem-solving mindset of the service field, the collection as a whole tends to stress times of crises. Coverage is richest in--but not limited to--times of war, depression, or other types of social and economic dislocation.

[64] The Charities Collection is composed of the donation made by The Boston Children's Aid Society of their Library to the Simmons College School of Social Work (SSW) in 1911, and the collection of Donald Moreland. The Charities Collection contains annual reports, pamphlets, and sermons of private charities, public welfare agencies, and hospitals in Boston, throughout Massachusetts and the eastern United States, and England, from the 1790s to ca. 1950. The SSW maintained this distinct collection in their library. As a result, the Charities Collection is significant not only for its content, but also as a piece of history reflecting the social work curriculum at SSW during the first half of the twentieth century.

Society[65], and finally a wide range of primary and secondary source material mentioned in the bibliography.

NCCC Sources

I have also made extensive use of the archives of the NCCC *Proceedings* 1874 – 1982, accessible online.[66] This archive contains the proceedings of a century's worth of deliberations of those at the center of the scientific re-organization of charity. The recent (2005) digitization of the NCCC *Proceedings* allows researchers to search across the entire corpus to analyze trends in ideas from 1874 to the late 20th century. Searches focused on the early years are helped by Alexander Johnson's 1907 publication of the first cumulative index to the first thirty-three volumes of the proceedings of the annual meetings, the *Cumulative Index of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, and the 1908 publication of a thematic concordance entitled, *A Guide to the Study of Charities and Correction by Means of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction Using Thirty-four Volumes 1874 – 1907.* The NCCC *Proceedings* are an important, yet often overlooked, link to the social science ideologies generative of the "end of poverty" logic that characterized the broader scientific charity movement.

[65] Caroline Healey Dall, The Microfilm Edition of the Caroline H. Dall Papers, 1811-1917 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1981).
[66] These proceedings were issued under earlier names of the Conference as follows: 1874, Conference of Boards of Public Charities; 1875-1879, Conference of Charities; 1880-1881, Conference of Charities and Correction; 1882-1916, National Conference of Charities and Correction; 1917-1956, National Conference of Social Work; 1957-, National Conference on Social Welfare.

ASSA Sources

Interestingly enough there has only been one full-scale book that attempts to deal with the history of the ASSA. It was written by Thomas Haskell in 1997, and is entitled: *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth century Crisis of Authority*.[67] There has been quite a lot of academic work done more generally on the history of American social science and of the rise of the academic professions, such as sociology for example.[68] Very little of this academic work goes into detail on the ASSA, but some provide more information than others on the early years.[69] As to the number of American dissertations containing significant treatment of the ASSA I could only find six, and only three of the six are dedicated primarily to the subject; and one of the three is Thomas Haskell's Ph.D. thesis.[70] The historical texts used

[67] A second edition of Haskell's book was published in 2000. Apart from a new preface and the edition of the Index of the JSS materials he created for his dissertation in 1973, there is nothing new in this edition.

[68] There is a Social Science History Association that publishes a journal called The Journal of Social Science History.

[69] Henry Louis Gates and Anthony Appiah, *Zora Neale Hurston : Critical Perspectives Past and Present*, Amistad Literary Series (New York: Amistad : Distributed by Penguin USA, 1993). Brian Inglis, *Science and Parascience : A History of the Paranormal, 1914-1939* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1984). Richardson, Theresa R., and Fisher, Donald. (1999) *The Development of the Social Sciences in the United States and Canada: The Role of Philanthropy*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 279 pages. Thomas B. Inglis, *Inglis Family History* (San Jose, Calif.: Rapido Press, 1976). Brian Inglis, *The Hidden Power* (London: J. Cape, 1986). Marta Aleksandra Balinska, *Une Vie Pour L'humanitaire : Ludwik Rajchman, 1881-1965*, Collection "L'espace De L'histoire" (Paris: La Découverte, 1995). Steven G. Brint, *The Future of the City of Intellect : The Changing American University* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002); Bruce Mazlish and ebrary Inc., "A New Science the Breakdown of Connections and the Birth of Sociology," (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). Robert L. Church, "Economists as Experts: The Rise of an Academic Profession," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone and Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies.(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974). Scott Gordon, *The History and Philosophy of Social Science* (London New York: Routledge, 1991). Lynn McDonald and ebrary Inc., "The Early Origins of the Social Sciences," (Montr©*al: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).
Calhoun. Calhoun recognizes and writes about the connections between sociology and organizations like the ASSA.

[70] "Educational language policy and the role of advocacy among English Language Professionals in the United States: An historical and case study analysis", by Mallett, Karen Elizabeth, Ph.D., Purdue University, 2009, 224 pages.
"Cool and calm inquiry": Women and the American Social Science Association, 1865—1890, by Fuller, Kathryn Wagnild, Ph.D., Indiana University, 2001, 260 pages.

in Philanthropic Studies, such as *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, edited by Lawrence Friedman and Mark McGarvie; Robert Bremner's volumes on the topic including *The Discovery of Poverty in the United* States; and *Philanthropy in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia*, all contain brief mentions of the topic, but with no development of the subject. There is however a wealth of little known primary literature found in various archives around the United States. The ASSA records are found held by the Whitney M. Young, Jr. Memorial Library of Social Work, Columbia University, New York, where the card catalogue of this archive was photocopied into a ten-volume index. The University of Chicago holds a copy of this index, and I have consulted it there. The earliest historical account of the ASSA appeared in *The Origins of Sociology*, by Jesse and L. L. Bernard in 1943.[71] Luther Bernard was compiling

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"Community, bureaucracy and social relief: An institutional analysis of organizational forms in New York City, 1888-1917", by Mohr, John Watson, Ph.D., Yale University, 1992, 346 pages.
"Origins of the Social Studies Curriculum: 1865-1916" by LYBARGER, MICHAEL BRUCE, Ph.D., The University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1981, 356 pages.
"Safe Havens For Sound Opinion: The American Social Science Association and the Professionalization of Social Thought in the United States, 1865-1909", by HASKELL, THOMAS LANGDON, Ph.D., Stanford University, 1973, 405 pages.
"Frank B. Sanborn And the American Social Science Association", by KROPP, SIMON FRED, Ph.D., The University of Arizona, 1962, 475 pages.

[71] I borrowed this assertion from a 2001 Ph.D. thesis by Kathryn Fuller. *The Routledgefalmer Reader in History of Education*, Readers in Education (London ; New York: Routledge, 2005). However, my research to date would confirm that this is only partially correct. For example in 1909, Franklin Sanborn delivered a lecture on the history of the ASSA which can be found here: Clifford L. Renschler, John J. Pouch, and Donald M. Cox, *Novel Forms of Carbon : Symposium Held April 27-May 1, 1992, San Francisco, California, U.S.A*, Materials Research Society Symposium Prooceedings, (Pittsburgh: Materials Research Society, 1992). Patricia Lengermann and Gillian Niebrugge write in their 2007 article in The American Sociologist: "Work done by other scholars intent on other issues can still give the meso historian the evidence needed to establish connections among one's subjects or the embeddedness of one's micro social topic in macro social trends. For instance, tracing the relationship between sociology and social work required an examination of the role of the Ur-association, the American Social Science Association (ASSA)–the organization which helped birth all the social science professions in the US. Two indispensable secondary data sources on the ASSA are L.L. and Jessie Bernard's monumental 1943 work The Origins of American Sociology, which meticulously documents sociology's beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century's mobilization to solve social problems through the development of a social science, and Thomas Haskell's specific study of the ASSA, The Emergence of Professional Social Science (1977). These secondary sources were as important as the primary data of the ASSA Journal which contained both papers presented and minutes of meetings." Brian Inglis, *Natural and Supernatural : A History of the Paranormal from Earliest Times to 1914* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977).

information for the purpose of writing the history of sociology (which he never did) and after Bernard's death this data was used by Robert C. Bannister who wrote the book *Sociology and Scientism: The American Quest for Objectivity, 1880 – 1940*, courtesy of the Luther Lee Bernard Archives. Unfortunately, Bannister only mentions the ASSA, but his work is useful as it focuses on the individuals involved in the rise of academic social science. Mary O. Furner, Edward T. Silva and Sheila A. Slaughter, and Dorothy Ross, have produced works with valuable information on the ASSA.[72] Lawrence Goldman has provided some interesting background on the relationship between the ASSA and its British counterpart.[73] The Franklin Benjamin Sanford papers (1845 – 1936) shed some insight into one of the founders of both the ASSA and the NCCC. Thomas Haskell highlights Sanborn's importance when he recounts that from the founding of the Association in 1865 to Sanborn's resignation as secretary in 1898, no other individual gave it half as much time, energy, or character.[74] The relationship between the ASSA and the Johns Hopkins University and the almost merger between the ASSA and JHU was mined for information pertinent to my research using the Gilman (Daniel Coit) 1831-1908 Papers (1773-1942) Special Collections held at the Milton S. Eisenhower Library of The Johns Hopkins University.

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[72] Bernard L. Garmire et al., *The Police & the Community*, A Supplementary Paper of the Committee for Economic Development (Baltimore,: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).
Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science*. Gates and Appiah.

[73] Goldman, "Exceptionalism and Internationalism: The Origins of American Social Science Reconsidered."; Goldman.

[74] Thomas Langdon Haskell, "Safe Haven for Sound Opinion, the American Social Science Association and the Professionalization of Social Thought in the United States, 1865-1909" (Thesis, Stanford University., 1973).

Other Sources Consulted

The other primary and secondary sources are too many to list and discuss in this chapter. I will summarize the main ones in the literature review which is to follow. Please consult the extended bibliography to see the full list of sources used in the research done for this dissertation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following is a broader review of the ASSA & NCCC focused literature, showing the chronological development of the various authors who have contributed to our knowledge of these institutions and their influence.

Although historians recognize the ASSA as the founding institution for much of what was to become American social science, there is relatively little known about it.[75] What is known about the ASSA has to be pieced together from archival materials, the organization's journal the JSS (The Journal of Social Science), and from works that, while pursuing other topics, position the ASSA in their accounts for a variety of purposes. There is something to be said about the academic silence surrounding the founding institution of the American social sciences. One immediately wonders how it

[75] A search for "American Social Science Association" in dissertation titles in the ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I database reveals only 3 entries, one of which was Haskell's PhD dissertation. The same search in abstracts only adds one more to the list. The same search using the broadest parameters nets 146 entries. Between 1950 and 2000, there were on average 4.8 dissertations per decade that mentioned the ASSA. Between 2000 and 2010 there have been 122. From my browse of the 146 entries only 4 have any real focus on the institution *per se*.

could be that such an important part of the history of social science's roots in charitable/poverty reform has never been fully explored. Gertrude Himmelfarb ran into the same problem while researching the idea of poverty in England: "I soon discovered that it [poverty and the attempts to get rid of it] was not a recognized subject of historical research – that while much had been written about poor laws and social reforms, about conditions of work and standards of living, there was little or no discussion, and certainly no systematic study, of the idea of poverty underlying either the reforms or the conditions."[76]. Fortunately, into a similar gap in the American story stepped scholars such as Furner, Haskell, and Ross and the others mentioned in this review.[77]

The ASSA in the Literature[78]

In 1936, Frank Bruno's *The Theory of Social Work* touched on the Association, but only as the backdrop to the creation of the National Conference on Charities and Corrections.[79] There were no other mentions of the ASSA of note until Jesse and Luther Less Bernard wrote what Alan Sica, in Craig Calhoun's massive *Sociology in America: A History* has called "the first truly indispensable work of history proper, remaining seminal even today" [80]: the Bernard's 1943 publication of T*he Origins of Sociology: The*

[76] Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty : England in the Early Industrial Age*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1984), ix.
[77] The Furner, Haskell, Ross trio appear in many accounts looking at the history of the ASSA and the NCCC. I'm not convinced that it is entirely due to the quality of their work, but might be due to the fact that so few have treated these organizations in the context of emerging social science as thoroughly as these three. For example see Waugh's bibliographic note in *Unsentimental Reformer*: Waugh, P. 259.
[78] Although very often found together, I divide the literature into ASSA & NCCC focused groupings, as a methodology designed to illuminate the purposes of this dissertation.
[79] This was followed up by the 1948 publication of *Trends in Social Work, 1874 – 1956: A History Based on the Proceedings of the National Conference on Social Work, which gives more details about the ASSA.*
[80] Calhoun.Page 730.

Social Science Movement in the United States.[81] Their work was responsible for bringing the ASSA back to the attention of historians with interest in the development of the social sciences in America. The Bernards presented the Association as a non-radical venue for reform minded thinkers and practitioners, and catalogues a variety of facts about the organization. Already in 1930 Luther Lee Bernard, a Washington University sociologist, was problematizing the little explored, but generally accepted, view that the American version of the discipline of Sociology had started when the likes of Albion Small at the University of Chicago picked up the baton from August Comte. A motivated sociologist, Bernard found courses on sociological subjects like "The Ends and Uses of Society" at the College of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) in 1754 and "Humanity" in 1794 at Columbia College. But the Bernards were telling a story about the origins of American sociology, locating it as they did in a broad social movement for progressive reform in the decades immediately following the American Civil War.[82]

The Association is referenced again in 1951 in Howard W. Odum's *American Sociology*, although his work was borrowed from the Bernards'. R.M. William's contribution entitled "Sociology in America" in *Social Science in America: The First Two Hundred Years* (1976) by Bonjean *et al* is on lend from Odum's borrowing. The purportedly radical Marxist account of the genuine history of American Sociology by Herman and Julia Schwendinger in *The Sociologists of the Chair* (1976) does not even

[81] L. L. Bernard and Jessie Bernard, *Origins of American Sociology; the Social Science Movement in the United States*, Crowell's Social Science Series (New York,: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1943).
[82] Calhoun, P. 73.

mention the ASSA.[83] Irwin Unger's 1964 *The Greenback Era: A Social and Political History of American Finance, 1865 – 1879* contains some minor details of the Association and it founders, by noticing their links to *laissez fair*e economic policy. Roy Lubove produced *The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work As a Career, 1880-1930* in 1965. In the book Lubove traces the evolution of social workers from philanthropic volunteers to the bureaucratic professionals of the 1930s. He finds that specialization, professionalization and bureaucracy explain the transition. Walter Trattner wrote *From Poor Law To Welfare State: A history of Social Welfare in America* in 1974. Trattner's work is like a primer on the history of social welfare in America. He traces the attitudes toward the poor in America, which alternated between the pauper as defective in need of treatment and a helpless victim of social conditions out of control. Mary O. Furner's 1975 *Advocacy & Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905* focuses on the rise of economics as the first of the social science disciplines to create its own identity independent of the ASSA. Furner's book reveals that she is most likely the first person to have spent considerable time with what archival materials existed on the ASSA, and as such, contains what might be the first serious historical work on the Association *per se*. As with other treatments of the ASSA, the organization only serves as backdrop to the fuller purposes of her research. It is important to note that apart from the first years when the JSS contained the NCCC *Proceedings*, Furner overlooked the NCCC materials.[84]

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[83] Harold Silver, "In Search of Social Science: Review Of: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas L. Haskell.," *History of Education Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1979).

[84] Furner appears to have been the first to consult the Franklin B. Sanborn Collections at the Concord Free Public Library and the Library of Congress. She also makes extensive use of the ASSA's main publication, The Journal of Social Science (JSS), as well as the archives of the many professional societies that were

The basic story of the rise and fall of the ASSA is a story sketched by the only full book on the topic of the ASSA: Thomas Haskell's 1977 publication of *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-century Crisis of Authority.*[85] Haskell took Robert Wiebe's "search for order" and turned it into "the crisis of authority".[86] Yet even here, it is significant to note that the main purpose of the book was not the history of the ASSA, but to review and propose changes to current theories about the professionalization and the emergence of the social science disciplines. Haskell positions the ASSA in his account as an example, perhaps the key example, of the different trajectories of reform and professional social science. From Haskell we learn that after an official beginning in 1865 the organization's energies were spent by 1909 when it closed its doors. Haskell's book was a publication of his PhD research, by far the best (though only) book on the topic of the ASSA, yet still leaving out the NCCC materials. Twelve years after the publication of *Emergence,* the head librarian of the Yale Law School, Morris L. Cohen, discovered a trunk in the basement full of ASSA records. At the time of *Emergence* it was believed that these records had not survived. In a new edition (2000) of *Emergence* Haskell had a chance to comment in the new preface on what these records changed about his understandings of the ASSA. In short, although Haskell admits to only having the chance to spend 3 days with the new materials, Haskell is sticking by his 1977 account. Haskell has now had a few decades to

launched out of the ASSA. It is important to note that the NCCC materials were not readily available yet, and not used at all by Furner.

[85] The second edition came out in 2000 with a new preface by Haskell, as well as a helpful new appendix listing all articles appearing in the Journal of Social Science from 1869 to 1901. A Library of Congress search conducted for this dissertation in 2013 confirms that this is still the only full book dedicated to this topic.

[86] Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*, [1st ed., The Making of America (New York,: Hill and Wang, 1967).

defend himself against the main criticism of the book, which has been that it overlooks women and gender.[87] Unfortunately even with the 1989 find of the last ASSA materials, the ASSA records are not complete, reflecting on Franklin Sanborn's lack of organization in record keeping.[88] Items in the collection from the 1870s and 1880s are rather scant, and there is practically nothing from the 1890s on.[89] Haskell was aware of the scanty work done on the topic prior to his publication, as his bibliography reveals.

As previously mentioned, scholars such as Henrika Kucklick and Robert L. Church confronted various parts of Furner's and Haskell's theses during the 70s, with others weighing in during the 80s using new critical methods such as William Leach and Eric Foner[90], with the most complete critique coming from the work of Silva and Slaughter's 1980 *"Prometheus Bound: The Limits of Social Science Professionalization in the Progressive Period"* and again in their 1984 *Serving Power: the Making of the Academic Social Science Expert.*[91] Their work represents a Marxist and Social Exchange theory interpretation of the Association. These authors provide a withering critique of what they considered to be the "premature closure" of the literature on the social forces shaping the rise of the social science expert, calling professionalization theory (Furner,

[87] Helene Silverberg, *Gender and American Social Science : The Formative Years* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998); William Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union : The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1980).
[88] Sanborn's sons burned most of his records upon his death. It is believed that this would have included the bulk of his ASSA and NCCC records. The ASSA records found in 1989 are scant, focused on non essential materials, and don't add anything new to our knowledge of the organization unfortunately.
[89] Haskell.Page IX.
[90] Leach; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction : America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, 1st ed., The New American Nation Series (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).
[91] Silva and Slaughter, *Serving Power : The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert*; Edward T. Silva and Sheila Slaughter, *Serving Power : The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert*, Contributions to the Study of Education (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984); Edward T. Silva and Sheila Slaughter, "Promethus Bound: The Limits of Social Science Professionalization in the Progressive Period," *Theory and Society* 9, no. 6 (1980).

Haskell, Ross, Bledstein) a "congratulatory occupational self-justification becoming, finally, an ideology for all mental workers".[92] We learn a lot from them about how expertise comes to be, but not that much about the internal logic of the ASSA and its members.[93] Dorothy Ross weighed in on the topic in 1991 with *The Origins of American Social Science* and again in a book she edited in 1994 entitled *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences, 1870-1930.* Ross notes that American social science was modeled on the positivistic trends in 19th century natural science, making it distinct from the European models, which tended to be more historical. American social science was "scientistic" and so is the general outlook with which Ross writes. Ross ignores the then available NCCC records.

In 1994 Michael Katz wrote *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*.[94] More of a tracing of the long standing tradition of political dissatisfaction with the public welfare debate, and perhaps his own dissatisfaction, Katz provides a helpful synthesis of the history (and failures) of social service provision in the United States.[95] The latest contribution is by Brent Ruswick's 2013 *Almost Worthy: The*

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[92] Silva and Slaughter, "Promethus Bound: The Limits of Social Science Professionalization in the Progressive Period," P. 784.

[93] For more on the professionalization debate see: Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism : The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1976); Novick.

[94] For more on Katz's work: Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform; Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass.,: Harvard University Press, 1968); M. B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); M. B. Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academic Press, 1983); M. B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse : A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor : From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*, 1st ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989); Michael B. Katz and ebrary Inc., "Improving Poor People the Welfare State, the "Underclass," and Urban Schools as History," (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995).

[95] Similar, but very short treatments is a diverse array of books, such as: Jeffrey P. Sklansky and ebrary Inc., "The Soul's Economy Market Society and Selfhood in American Thought, 1820-1920," (Chapel Hill:

Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917.[96] Ruswick follows Indianapolis social reform leaders to show how theories of poverty influenced how charity organizers interacted with the poor. Ruswick's work might be an example of some of the most extensive use of the NCCC materials to date. There were many others who have looked at this history, but the works listed here, if only briefly, touch upon the ASSA and NCCC specifically. Despite the fact that "…all the social sciences in the United States established academic and professional bases for themselves within the ASSA, by secession from it, or in opposition to it", there is still not enough known about it.[97] Most draw from the JSS, from the writings of the founders and illustrious members[98] of the ASSA including the long-standing secretary, Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, but most have virtually ignored the NCCC *Proceedings*[99]. Perhaps the fact the NCCC records have only been available in digitized form since 2005 might have been a factor in these authors' choices of sources; however, as I make the case elsewhere, this might also be interpreted as demonstration of the significance of the NCCC being downplayed, since the main 19th century narrative of the division between sociology and social work groups

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University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Wagner et al; Gary J. Dorrien, "Social Ethics in the Making Interpreting an American Tradition," (Chichester, U.K. ; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

[96] Brent J. Ruswick, "Almost Progressive: The American Scientific Charity Movement's Reconsiderations of Pauperism" (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006); Brent Ruswick, "Just Poor Enough: Gilded Age Charity Applicants Respond to Charity Investigators," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 10, no. 3 (2011); Brent Ruswick, *Almost Worthy : The Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917*, Philanthropic and Nonprofit Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

[97] Silver, "In Search of Social Science: Review Of: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas L. Haskell.," P. 277.

[98] I have used the list published in this introductory look back at the first 40 years of the ASSA, which includes Frank Sanborn, Charles W. Eliot, William Cullen Brant, Theodore W. Dwight, Francis Bacon, Charles Francis Adams, Edward Atkinson, Louis Agassiz, J. Elliot Cabot, William M. Evarts, U.S. Grant, James Garfield, E. L. Godkin, Horace Greeley, William Jay, William Lloyd Garrison, John Sherman, Charles Sumner, Francis W. Walker, David A. Wells, Robert C. Winthrop, Dorman B. Eaton, George William Curtis, and Daniel C. Gilman. H. Holbrook Curtis, "The Birth of the National Institute of Social Sciences," *Journal of the National Institute of Social Sciences* 1, no. 1 (1915). P. 10.

[99] I fill out this list of ASSA sources later in the chapter with a list of the primary work dealing with the ASSA since the 1990s.

the NCCC as part of social work, and thus overlooked by scholars interested in the history of sociology and the social sciences.

The NCCC in the Literature

The first person to notice the importance of the history of the NCCC was Frank Dekker Watson, with his 1911 University of Pennsylvania thesis entitled: "*The Charity Organization Movement in the United States: A Study in American Philanthropy*".[100] Dekker is also in part responsible for the subsequent conflation of the scientific charity and the COS movement. An interesting feature to Watson's work was that part of his sources were interviews with early shapers of charity organization and the NCCC such as: Edward T. Devine, Alexander Johnson, Mary E. Richmond, and Zilpha D. Smith, which most likely influenced his association of scientific charity with that movement. Luther L. and Jessie Bernard's *Origins of Sociology: The Social Science Movement in the United States* provided some NCCC coverage as well, while broadening the understanding of scientific charity as part of the emergence of social science.

The first "official" historian of the NCCC, Frank Bruno, on the occasion of the 75th annual meeting, was commissioned to write the history of the NCCC and produced

[100] In 1963 Milton D. Speizman who worked with the NCCC literature for his dissertation in History wrote: "An interesting view of "scientific charity" at work can be had in the annual reports of the Committee on Charity Organization at in the Proceedings of the National Conference on Charities and Corrections, especially those from 1881 – 1889." Milton David Speizman, "Attitudes toward Charity in American Thought, 1865-1901" (Tulane University, 1962). As a professor, he later supervised another dissertation I found helpful: Julia B. Rauch, "Unfriendly Visitors: The Emergence of Scientific Philanthropy in Philadelphia, 1878-1880" (Bryn Mawr College, 1974). There have been only 3 dissertations with the term "scientific charity" in the title, and Rauch's is the only dissertation with the term "scientific philanthropy" in the title.

the book *Trends in Social Work 1874 – 1956: A History Based on the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (1948). Eight years later the historian Robert Hamlett Bremner, with his 1956 publication of *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* brought a new level of academic interest to the subject. The year 1956 was also important as it marked the end of the name "National Conference of Social Work" and the inauguration of the name the conference bore until its end: the "National Conference on Social Welfare". The stated reason for the change was the broadening of the topics covered by the conference. This information is contained in the foreword to the second edition of Frank Bruno's work, where Louis Towley added some chapters to bring the volume up to date.

Bremner's research and writing rightly marks the early beginnings of the 20th century revival of academic interest in the history of social welfare as actually written by 18th and 19th century authors who labored under the headings of political and social economy now called "social welfare".[101] Although the NCCC only survived another 30 years, the shift to "social welfare" signaled a renewed interest in historical and philosophical approaches to poverty, charity, and philanthropy after a long domination of positivistic social science research. The field of social work started to develop historical questions, and during the same year as Bremner's book, 1956, the Social Welfare History Group was organized by the Council on Social Work Education through the collaboration of the American Historical Association, the National Association of Social Workers, and

[101] For a good historical treatment of the development of "political economy" I recommend the journal from Duke University Press: "History of Political Economy". The shift from political economy to "economics" is believed to be the influential textbook entitled *Principles of Economics*, by Alfred Marshall in 1890.

the Council on Social Workers.[102] From the perspective of social welfare, in 1964, Dr. Clarke A. Chambers launched the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota; motivated by the difficulty he had doing research in the field in the 1950s due to lack of sources. In 1974 Clarke's research in this arena provided a foundation for the centenary retrospective of the work of the NCCC since 1874 in *A century of Concern*.[103] Bremner continued his research and writing with *American Philanthropy* (1960), and *The Public Good: Philanthropy and Welfare in the Civil War Era* (1980). Merle Curti, who participated in the Social Welfare History Group, published two articles on the history of American philanthropy. Curti, recognized as seminal to the establishment of the American fields of intellectual history and the "new social history", promoted research into poverty, social welfare, and philanthropy through the myriad doctoral dissertations he supervised over his career. Along with Nathan E. Cohen's *Social Work in the American Tradition* (1958) and Gisela Konopka's *Eduard C. Lindeman and Social Work Philosophy* (1958) these fledging historical works prompted a new interest and a set of new methods that met with the new political and social questions of the 1960s. Of the 95 bibliographic entries of the history project designed by the National Conference on Social Welfare called *A century of Concern 1873 – 1973,* only four are from the 1950s, 66 from the 1960s, leaving 25 for the 1970s. Of course, the bibliography itself dates to the early 1970s, but this speaks to the rapid growth, yet limited nature, of the historical literature of the field during the 1960s.

[102] The organizing group included Robert Bremner, Clarke Chambers, Blanche Coll, Ralph and Muriel Pumphrey, Verl Lewis, and Karl and Elizabeth de Schweinitz.
[103] Clarke A. Chambers and National Conference on Social Welfare., *A Century of Concern* (Columbus, Ohio: National Conference on Social Welfare, 1974).

From the 1980s forward, scholarly attention by Americans to this history has continued to increase, along with the introduction of new methods of scholarship. A great bibliographic resource for the more recent secondary literature is found in the back of Lawrence Friedman and Mark McGarvie's book *Charity, Philanthropy and Civility in American History* and as such I will not detail it any further here.[104] Another well-researched bibliographic aid can be found in Chapter Three of Craig Calhoun's *Sociology in America:* Thrice Told: Narratives of Sociology's Relation to Social Work, by Patricia Lengermann and Gillian Niebrugge. They divide the literature written by sociologists, historians of social science, and social workers on the emergence of the social sciences, social work, and charity/philanthropy into three ideological camps: a natural history, a social history, and a critical history, which function like transparencies, that when superimposed one over the other create a fuller picture of what was happening as the differentiation between sociology and social work (reform) occurred.[105] I will return to these interpretive narratives in the conclusion chapter.

In particular this dissertation is indebted to perspectives provided to me by the following works: Mary O. Furner's *Advocacy & Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science 1865 – 1905* (1975); Thomas Haskell's *The Emergence of Professional Social Science* (1977), and Dorothy Ross' *The Origins of American Social Science* (1991) and *Modernists Impulses in the Human Science 1870 – 1930* (1994). These three authors have done the most work with the ASSA & NCCC literatures to date, as it regards the particular interests of this dissertation: understanding

[104] Gross. P. 413.
[105] Calhoun, P. 63.

the claims of scientific charity. Furner's book came first, and focused on the American Economic Association, itself an early offshoot of the ASSA. Her account pits the professionals seeking academic positions and their creation of a specialized education in economic theory against the amateurs of the ASSA interested in application of knowledge through what they took to be empirical methodologies. The advocacy of the ASSA slowly gave way as the collection of social welfare and academic groups and their societies found a better home in the university for the "science" based theory and practice they wanted to pursue. This resulted in the removal of advocacy from the increasing objectivity of academic practice, which for Furner is a severing to be mourned. Haskell's work, based in a similar modified social control approach, positions the ASSA as the bastion from which largely New Englander upper-middle class elites defended their economic, social, and politico-cultural positions of authority in society. The growing interdependence of human life created a crisis of authority, which motivated some to create the ASSA as a response to interdependence by reinforcing the bulwarks of the authority originally afforded them as members in the professional classes to which they belonged. Their efforts were in vain, as universities offering a new venue for the professionalization of specialized disciplines, became the authoritative place for those seeking scientifically oriented careers. And so, the ASSA lost its *raison d'être* in a struggle for control over the authority to provide "sound opinion" for the issues of the day. Ross, mostly following Haskell's work, criticizes the ahistorical nature of American interpretations of the rise of the social sciences in the 19th century. Unlike developments in the disciplines in Europe, American social scientists, motivated by beliefs in American exceptionalism, turned towards naturalistic and scientistic methods as they attempted to

build bulwarks against the social upheaval they experienced. In chapters three and four I attempt to update and extend these interpretations of the ASSA, by focusing on how these reformists social scientists justified these changes to themselves and thus to the broader public.

THE NCCC PROCEEDINGS: A LOOK INSIDE

Beginning in 1874, the National Conference on Charities and Corrections met annually to provide a platform for leaders of "the State Boards, the charitable societies and the institutions" who "come together fresh from the actual work of administering public institutions, caring for the poor, or studying sociological questions" in order to "originate new ideas and formulate new principles…the embodiment of contemporary thought, gaining strength with the increase of intelligent ideas." In order to "straightway set off to put them in practice, only to return next year with new experiences for farther comparison."[106] The published conference proceedings, containing copies of the lecture presented, reports given, and discussions noted were widely distributed around the United States and to some extent abroad. An analysis on the contents of the Proceedings reveals some interesting patterns.

[106] Hastings H. Hart, "President's Address: The Relation of the National Conference of Charities and Correction to the Progress of the Past Twenty Years.," in *National Conference of Charities and Corrections*, ed. Isabel C. Barrows (Chicago, Illinois: Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Library, 1893), P. 1.

The People of the NCCC Proceedings

The 1907 *Cumulative Index of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (Volume 1 to 22 Inclusive)* compiled by Alexander Johnson covers the proceedings of the first thirty-three years of the conference.[107] As such it provides an interesting window into the early years of the NCCC. My analysis of the *Index* shows that 191 people made a contribution at the conference more than once in the 33 years covered by the *Index*. Of those 191, 38 (19.89 percent) were listed as Doctors, 32 of the 191 (16.75 percent) were women, and 5.76 percent were listed as Reverends. To understand the relative influence of these contributors, I distinguish between their conference presentations, reports they delivered as representatives of their home state, and reports they delivered as members of the various NCCC committees upon which they served. (See Figure Six) Assuming that those who delivered presentations were more thoroughly involved or had more expertise in the subjects for which the conference met, a sort of the data I complied from the *Index* shows that of those who presented more than five times, only two were women and they both presented six times each: Carlotta Russell Lowell (daughter of Josephine Shaw Lowell) and Dr. Anne B. Richardson. The group of those presenting at least five times contains two more women: Mrs. Florence Kelley and Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln; so 16.6 percent of the group of twenty-four people who presented at least fives times were women. If we include all those who presented more than once at the conference as recorded in the *Index,* a total of 145 people, of which 13 were women, which means that 8.965 percent of this group were women. If we

[107] Alexander Johnson, *The Social Welfare Forum. A Guide to the Study of Charities and Correction by Means of the Proceedings of The...Conference...Using Thirty-Four Volumes, 1874-1907* (Indianapolis?: 1908).

included not just presentation but also State Reports and Committee Reports, then the top female contributor would be Miss Mary E. Perry, who although only doing one conference presentation, delivered 12 State Reports during the period covered by the *Index.*[108] When looking at the top ten presenters, it is notable and understandable that they all served as presidents of the conference for at least one of the years. (See Figure Four) Only one of the top ten is listed as a Reverend. Of course, many of the late 19th century reform leadership had received ministerial training, and many had practiced as well at some point. From my research it appears that about half of the group of top ten presenters had been practicing ministers at some point in their professional lives. Of the total group of people listed as active in the conference in the *Index* only 5.76 percent were listed as ministers. From a group that includes the top 100 contributors, only seven were listed as Reverends. In that same group there were 17 doctors, and 16 of that group were women.

The Topics of the NCCC Proceedings

My analysis of the 1907 *Index* included research into the frequency of treatment received by the various topics discussed at the NCCC meetings as recorded in the *Proceedings* and as indexed by Alexander Johnson. (See Figure Five) As you can see from the table, the top concerns of these reformers, stated as problems, were contained in

[108] If including only presentations, the top female contributors were: Mrs. C.R. Lowell – 6, Dr. Anne B. Richardson – 6, Mrs. Florence Kelley – 5, Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln – 5, Miss Julia C. Lathrop – 4, Elizabeth C. Putnam – 4, Mary E. Richmond – 4, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper – 3, Mrs. Virginia T. Smith – 3, Mrs. Emily E. Williamson – 3. Lathrop, Putnam, and Richmond appear in this dissertation. For more information on the women's involvement at the ASSA and the NCCC see: Kathryn Wagnild Fuller, "Cool and Calm Inquiry: Women and the American Social Science Association 1865 - 1890" (Indiana University, 2001).

the formulaic trio: defective, dependent, and delinquent classes. The topic of Insanity and Feeble-mindedness (at times combined with categories such as the "idiotic", the "epileptic", and at times mixed with designators such as "deaf, dumb, and blind" as well) had 232 entries in the *Index*.[109] It was the most frequently discussed topic at the NCCC. The subject of Insanity alone appears 150 times in the *Index*. The second most discussed topic at the NCCC was reform of criminality and crime. The topics of criminality, prisons, reformatories, probation, and asylums appear a total of 184 times. The third most frequently discussed theme at the NCCC was children. Topics including child labor, delinquency, child savings, juvenile courts, and other matters related to children and was referenced 183 times.[110] From Weber's formal analysis of the modern bureaucratic state to Foucault's archeology of the disciplinary society, many have noticed these foci of the late 19th century reformers.

In 1908 Alexander Johnson published a companion guide to the *Index.*[111] Johnson's stated motivation for doing this work was to make the abundant supply of materials contained in the NCCC *Proceedings* available for the study of "Applied Sociology", which he mentions was common in the institutions of higher education in the United States by that time. The organization of the guide itself is an exhibit of what the divisions of scientific charity were thought to be, reflecting as it did both Johnson's understandings as well as those who assembled at the meetings of the NCCC. The guide

[109] The figure 193 entries was derived by combining the 150 entries for Insanity, 13 entries for Imbeciles and Idiots, and the 46 entries for Feeble Minded (Blind, Care of, Epileptic, Idiotic, Etc.)
[110] The figure of 183 entries was derived by combining the 161 entries for Children (Child Labor, Problem, Delinquency, Savings) and the 22 entries for Juvenile (Courts, Crime, Delinquency, Etc.) as seen in Figure Five.
[111] Johnson.

was organized into nine "books" or chapters. Books one and two dealt with the organization of the State Boards of charity, the NCCC itself, and municipal and country matters related to charities and corrections. Book three is entitled: The Defective and the Insane. Book four is entitled: Children and Juvenile Delinquency. Book five is entitled: Disease and Cure, and was about medical charities, hospitals, and nursing. Book six: Crime and Penalty, Vice, Vagrancy, Etc. Book seven: Poverty and Relief. Book eight: Social Betterment and Reform. Book nine, entitled "Miscellaneous", was about the scientific study of charities and correction, veterans' affairs, and the conference sermons. Book seven (Poverty & Relief) begins with a chapter (Chapter 30) entitled: Poverty and Pauperism: Causes and Prevention. This section contains 4 pages of references to NCCC presentations, reports, and discussions on the topic. The stated causes of poverty and pauperism and the proposed solutions are roughly the same in every entry.

For Dr. Nathan Allen at the 1878 conference the causes of crime were to be located in the neglect of children, intemperance, and bad heredity. Pauperism was due to ignorance, intemperance, neglect of children, licentiousness, and conditions of birth and disease. Thus crime and poverty were linked, and instead of being made better had been exasperated by bad prisons and bad methods of relief. The solutions were to be found in the improvement of physical organization and the extension of knowledge.[112] For Josephine Shaw Lowell, at the 1879 conference, the control of vagrant and vicious women in a new type of reformatory institution was a means of preventing pauperism.[113]

[112] Dr. Nathan Allen, NCSW 1878: 111. Ibid. P. 243.
[113] Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, NCSW 1879: 189. Ibid. P. 244.

The regulation of marriage was proposed as a way to prevent pauperism.[114] Although the use and understandings of statistics were not very advanced at the NCCC, it would be wrong to think that presentations on the causes and prevention of poverty were nothing more that elitist moralizing. Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, who had just returned from the University of Halle in Germany with a Ph.D., and who was Professor of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania from 1896-1907 gave an address at the NCCC meeting in 1899 entitled: "The Causes of Poverty". In his address he reminded the conference that: "We must always guard ourselves against the tendency to confuse causes and conditions. Many things which we sometimes enumerate as causes are really conditions of poverty rather than causes."[115] The solution was better data collection and statistical analysis. Yet, even a more refined understanding of the use of statistics, does not preclude the stories that the findings are positioned to tell. For example, Lindsay provides as excellent examples of these newer and more reliable methods of getting to the source problems of poverty: Dugdale's *The Jukes* and McCulloch's *Tribe of Ishmael,* now considered to be foundational classics of Eugenic literature. And so at the NCCC, as already stated, the most important issue was the problem of defective humans. This was followed by a close tie between the issues of delinquency and dependence for second and third place in terms of the focus given to these issues at the annual NCCC events. Later in this dissertation we will see these themes on prominent display at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 by looking at the contents of the 1893 NCCC meeting, as well as parallel charities and corrections exhibitions at the Fair.

[114] Dr. A Reynolds, NCSW 1879: 210. Ibid. P. 244.
[115] National Conference on Social Welfare. Committee on Reports from States., *Reports from States* ([n.p.,: 1899). P. 369.

AN INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK

It appears that the history of the ASSA and the NCCC was doomed to slip through the cracks opened up by the stories told by sociologists, social workers, and historians of the social sciences, each focused on their particular interpretive bent and related methodologies. The ASSA was perhaps too scientific for what was to become social work and too social for what was to become scientific work. Professionalization accounts like those of Furner, Haskell, and Ross focus on the discontinuity of older forms of scientific explanation and social change. Their visions of the 19th century transformations have increasingly been criticized. In chapter one I mentioned wanting to present scientific charity in a way that extends and hopefully improves approaches which too closely aggregate it with the COS movement and the professionalization of the social science professions. In the book produced for the occasion of the 100-year anniversary of the American Sociological Association, Patricia Lengermann and Gillian Niebrugge, provided a summary of the literature that has tried to intepretpret the distinctive 19th century social science which "engaged intellectuals, advocates, and administrators on the basis of a broadly shared concern with social problems and social change."[116] These authors provide a way to piece the literature together by tracing three narratives of the emergence of professional Sociology and Social Work. These narratives are: a natural history, a social history, and a critical history.[117]

[116] Calhoun, P. 10.

[117] This framework is borrowed from: Patricia Lengermann and Gillian Niebrugge, "Thrice Told: Narratives of Sociology's Relation to Social Work," in *Sociology in America : A History*, ed. Craig J. Calhoun(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Natural History Narratives

The natural history narrative is a reference to the meta-narratives of the founding of the disciplines, prominent across most of the 20th century, and still found today in introductory and theory courses of the disciplines.[118] Born out of the disciplinary boundary disputes, as academic departments distanced themselves from one another and from reform, by the 1920s separate founding stories were being told, and the dual-narrative had taken root.[119] Recent versions of this pattern have started to drop the inevitability of this pattern as historians continue to recover the interconnectedness of this period.[120] "From then on, each would exist in the other's narrative typically as an absence, unseen and unreflected upon…"[121] Lack of attention to underlying connections, allowed for the dichotomist founding stories to continue their influence on understandings of the history of organizations like the ASSA and the NCCC. It also accounts for the neglect of these institutions in historical scholarship. This story has such power that the early social history narratives repeated this basic structure, while writing to improve other dimensions of our understanding of this history. For example: Furner's account equates the development of social science with the development of the hard

[118] Lengermann and Neibrugge claim that the natural history account has held such sway in Sociology that the History of Sociology section wasn't established until 1999, and that, amid protests that these topics were already dealt with in the Theory section. History of Sociology texts are still texts primarily the history of sociological theory. (e.g., Collins and Makowsky 1998; Coser 1971/1977; Ritzer and Goodman 2004; Turner, Beeghley, and Powers 2002).

[119] The problem has been noticed for some time: Earl E. Klein, "The Relation of Sociology to Social Work - Historically Considered," *Social Forces* 9, no. 4 (1931).

[120] For example: Lisa Anderson and ebrary Inc., "Pursuing Truth, Exercising Power Social Science and Public Policy in the Twenty-First Century," in *Leonard Hastings Schoff memorial lectures*(New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). Or by tracing Thorstein Veblen's career this author helps us understand the amalgam of the "old reformism" with historical research and analysis, under the leadership of Andrew Dickson White, president of the ASSA, and AHA, and co-founder of Cornell University. Erik S. Reinert and Francesca Lidia Viano, *Thorstein Veblen : Economics for an Age of Crises*, The Anthem Other Canon Series (London ; New York, NY: Anthem Press, 2012), P. 139.

[121] Lengermann and Niebrugge, P. 71.

science of economics and uses the ASSA as what Harold Silver in his review called a "backcloth"; and Ross' account of the formation of social science is essentially a history of ideas located in the academy.[122]

The natural history narrative, and its rendering of the ASSA and NCCC, was both picked up and perpetuated by Watson (1911) and to some degree Bruno (1948). Bremner's *From The Depths* (1956) as well as his later work is likely the most influential example of a natural history narrative, presenting as it does the development of sociology and social work as having developed separately; social work having grown up out of charitable attempts to alleviate poverty and other social dysfunction through practical means and sociology has emerged phase-like out of successively better theoretical understandings of the nature of the social from Comte, Darwin, and Spencer through to Marx, Durkheim, and Weber. In Bremner's contribution to the 1977 Filer Commission he presents late 19th century charity as one more stage in the inevitable progression towards the recognition of the rights of the poor to public assistance.[123] The Bernards' work, by pursuing "social science" as a category, signaled a shift to another lens through which to view this history: the social history narrative.

[122] Silver, "In Search of Social Science: Review Of: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas L. Haskell.."

[123] Robert Hamlett Bremner, *Private Philanthropy and Public Needs: Historical Perspective*1977. Vol. 1: History, Trends, and Current Magnitudes. P. 89.

Social History Narratives

The social history narratives followed the social constructivist view of history making, and functioned as a critique of the dominant historical narrative approach. The historical work done by Furner (1975), Haskell (1977/2000), Leach (1980) Trattner (1979); the sociological work done by Bernard and Bernard (1943), Oberschall (1972), Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1974), Turner and Turner (1990); and social work perspectives by Bruno (1957), Leighninger (1987), Popple and Reid (1999) stands as examples of various applications of this approach. Julia B. Rauch's dissertation "Unfriendly Visitors: The Emergence of Scientific Philanthropy in Philadelphia, 1878-1880", one of the few dissertations focused on scientific charity and using a mixed quantitative and qualitative methodology, contained a solid call for more socially situated historical research.[124] The social history narrative follows a basic pattern which interprets this history in three movements.

The first movement: 1865 – 1890 as the period of common beginnings characterized by what the Bernard's work presented as a "social science movement".[125] The second movement: 1890 – 1921 as the movement that solidified the transition underway following the 1874 beginnings of the NCCC up to the establishment of the American Association of Social Workers, signaling the definitive "divorce" of sociology

[124] Rauch.

[125] From the launch of the ASSA, to the fostering of the NCCC and Charity Organization in its midst, to the establishment of social science courses and departments at American colleges and universities, this narrative attempts to describe what the natural history narrative takes for granted, while searching for explanatory mechanisms such as professionalization (Furner) and interdependence (Haskell) to describe what Haskell calls "the transit of authority from laymen and amateurs to professionals…in an urbanizing, industrializing society that made some people receptive to expert advice about human affairs and gave others the confidence to offer such advice." As quoted in: Lengermann and Niebrugge.

and social work one from the other.[126] The third movement: 1921 to the present as a period in which the relationship between social work and sociology as well as the broader landscape of the social sciences is being worked out through the successive moods of the academic trends that influence the scholars doing the history making. However, the social history narratives quickly passed over the ASSA/NCCC in order to fulfill their purpose of emending the natural history accounts. Haskell's book on the ASSA, wasn't really about the ASSA, and distorts the ASSA and ignores the NCCC to maintain the storyline of the emergence of social science.[127]

The trend, as the most recent literature points out, including Lengermann and Niebrugge's work, is in the direction of 1) recognizing and retrieving the common origins that were obscured by the natural history and to some degree the social history narratives, and this through the 2) development of critical history narratives, and 3) renewed interest in the way scientific language was positioned by social philosophers turned social scientists, sociologists, and social workers to create new platforms for the reforms that they lead. In other words, by probing below the seemingly natural division of social work as "advocacy" and sociology as "objectivity", scholars are able to focus on how science became a universal language of social change, which in this dissertation I want to say was one of the vital roles played by the NCCC, allowing the ASSA reforms to live on much

[126] This was paralleled in sociology by the 1921 publication of Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess's *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* which provided a natural history narrative of the disciplines origins while clearly stating that: "Sociology, so far as it can be regarded as a fundamental science and more than mere congeries of social-welfare programs and practices, may be described as the science of collective behavior." As quoted in: ibid. From a common beginning in which sociology and social work were viewed as two sides of the same social science coin, this period is characterized by the carving out of two separate professionalizing identifies.

[127] "Haskell assumes without argument that 'research' can be professionalized and 'reform' cannot. Michael Shudson, "Review Of: The Emergence of Professional Social Science," *Journal of Social History* 12, no. 4 (1979).

longer than officially recognized by the natural history narrative or as sometimes portrayed in the social history narratives.

Critical History Narratives

And finally, the critical history narrative as described by Lengermann and Niebrugge started in earnest around the 1980s and using the lenses of politics, gender, and power came up with new lines of interpretation. As examples they offer their own work in *The Women Founders: Sociology and Social Theory, 1830-1930* (1998) and "Back to the Future: Settlement Sociology, 1885-1930" (2002), as well as work these two authors claim as important sources in Deegan's *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School* (1998) and *Race, Hull-House, and the University of Chicago* (2002) and Reinharz's *Feminist Methods in Social Research* (1992). These authors also provide a fuller list of critical history narratives from feminist perspectives.[128] To their list I add: Linda Gordon's *Pitied but Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890 – 1935* (1994), Eileen Janes Yeo's *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (1996), Kathryn Wagnild Fuller's work in "*Cool and Calm Inquiry": Women and the American Social Science Association, 1865-1890* (2001), Kathleen Callanan Martin's *Hard and Unreal Advice: Mother's Social Science and the Victorian Poverty Experts* (2008), and Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley's latest: *Charlotte Perkins Gilman* (2013).[129] Another important work in this line was

[128] Lengermann and Niebrugge, P. 94.
[129] Fuller; Eileen Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science : Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996); Martin. Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918* (New Brunswick (U.S.A.): Transaction Books, 1988); Mary Jo Deegan, *Race, Hull-*

offered in 1997 by Joan Waugh in: *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell.*[130] Waugh unearths the story of the earliest and well-known female proponent of Gilded Age scientific charity, while rejecting the social-control hypothesis and critical perspectives that would classify Lowell as retrogressive and overly allied with the patrician males of the ASSA.[131]

These critical history narratives criticize both the historical and social narratives at many points. One of the core critiques centers around a historical reinterpretation of the settlement movement as "the radical middle" that "practiced sociology, social work, and social science as "the science of reform".[132] Forgotten by sociology due to its lack of formal theory and considered suspect by social work due to its ties to university sociology, these scholars are projecting the settlement movement as a motif that paints a truer picture of the past that, by bypassing the "objectivity as social science versus advocacy as social work" debate, ends up providing powerful holistic images of potential

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House, and the University of Chicago : A New Conscience against Ancient Evils (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2002). Patricia M. Lengermann and Jill Niebrugge-Brantley, *Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, The International Library of Essays in Classical Sociology (Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate, 2013); Patricia M. Lengermann and Jill Niebrugge-Brantley, *The Women Founders : Sociology and Social Theory, 1830-1930 : A Text/Reader* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998); Patricia Madoo Lengermann and Jill Niebrugge-Brantley, "Back to the Future: Settlement Sociology, 1885-1930," *The American Sociologist* 33, no. 3 (2002). Linda Gordon, *Pitied but Not Entitled : Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935* (New York Toronto: Free Press ; Maxwell Macmillan Canada ; Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994); Linda Gordon and University of Wisconsin--Madison. Institute for Research on Poverty., *Social Insurance and Public Assistance : The Influence of Gender in Welfare Thought in the United States, 1890-1935*, Discussion Paper / Institute for Research on Poverty ([Madison, Wis.]: Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin--Madison, 1991).

[130] Waugh; Joan Waugh and City University of New York. Center for the Study of Philanthropy, *From Charity to Politics : Josephine Shaw Lowell, Scientific Charity, and the Origins of Women's Political Activism in New York City, 1870-1890*, Working Papers / Center for the Study of Philanthropy (New York: Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, 1992).

[131] Waugh works to criticize the historical studies which have "dismissed Gilded Age reform as a conservative aberration in the great American reform tradition, and have, in Geoffrey Blodgett's words, "facilitated a swift mental passage from the grandeur of the Civil War to the excitement of the Progressive Era." As quoted in: Waugh, P. 2. Waugh rejects the portrayal of postwar reformers as "genteel elitists who were more concerned with defining and preserving their social status than with changing the status quo." Ibid. P. 2.

[132] Lengermann and Niebrugge, P. 109.

new arrangements within the social sciences for contemporary research, practice, and new political action (advocacy). My research adds to the critical perspectives, by retrieving not just the common origins of social scientific attempts to solve social problems but also the languages used in the endeavor. Professionalization narratives can leave the impression that the social science of the universities is somehow "truer" than the social science of the reformers, which is to misunderstand that, for the most part, they were both drawing from the same social science ideologies and associated languages.

CONCLUSION

As Peter Manicas has written: "Unlike pears and porcupines, the disciplines of the social sciences are not 'natural kinds'. They exist only by virtue of beliefs and practices created by historical agents working with materials at hand. And their social construction began in earnest in America only some one hundred years ago." The opportunity to be aware of the historiography of our subject(s) should be welcomed in Philanthropic Studies. Lawrence Friedman points out that historical perspectives in philanthropic studies have too often been provided by "participants in other callings who have sensed its importance", and not taken up in earnest by students of philanthropy themselves. But he blames the weaknesses of the work in this field on the reticence of professional historians to "enter the fray in philanthropic studies for fear of connections with amateurs". This "self-inflicted marginality" has led to the propensity of amateurs to characterize philanthropy rather inaccurately as an "entirely institution-based third sector

that has always existed in America…"[133] The fluidity of institutional life at this phase of the development of what Americans considered to be sociology, social work, social science, social betterment, social gospel, etc. would be hard to overstate. Locating scientific charity is like trying to nail Jell-O to a tree. The easiest thing to do is conflate it with one of its applications such as Charity Organization, since the COS movement was the major promoter of scientific charity ideology in America. By arguing that the heart of scientific charity was a common vision of the power of science to unveil the previously misunderstood causal problems, and that this vision generated a web of interlocution that generated the justification for the multiple directions of both reformers and social scientists, all seeking the bottom of the causal well: the first cause of the human misery known as poverty.

[133] Gross.

CHAPTER THREE

The Continuity of Reform

INTRODUCTION

Languages both give shape and are shaped by the context in which they are spoken. This chapter looks at one of the most influential explanations of the context of scientific charity: Thomas Haskell's work in *Emergence.* Until recently the literature of scientific charity has been almost exclusively written from the perspective of historians interested in the emergence of the social sciences and Haskell's book is no different. Indeed scientific charity is one of the important threads running through the history of the emergence of the social sciences in America. Yet despite the fact that sociology and social work began as part of the same "general impulse for social science that emerged out of the reform activism of the mid-nineteenth century", the history making of these independent disciplines has too often treated these common origins too expediently.[134] This has obscured the continuity of the reformist energies that powered these emerging fields. There is gap in our understanding of the reformist assumptions of social science that powered changes in philanthropic theory and practice into and across the 20th century. The recovery of the NCCC for our understandings of the transposition of reform into academic disciplines and practical social welfare institutions helps fill this gap. An approach that sees scientific charity as language-like in the way it functioned, allows us to better understand how new developments in philanthropic practice can be carried along - riding the wave of already accepted cultural norms. This view might help us better

[134] Lengermann and Niebrugge, P. 63.

understand the reformist scientific charity in the current "end of poverty" global humanitarian movements.

Why is this important? What happened to the ASSA and how we position the NCCC in our accounts of the relationship between emerging social science and scientific charity, goes to the heart of how we define our understanding of scientific charity. If scientific charity is to be associated with retrogressive theories and practices such as the COS movement and the dying throws of the reformist social science of the ASSA and NCCC, then one can believe that the moralism of the 19th century was killed off by superior social science along with the ASSA itself. Was scientific charity a reformist aberration, dying with the ASSA, or, functioning as a moral and shared language, did it survive? I'm promoting the idea that as a language (or set of languages) the reformist core of scientific charity was used in a moral manner across disciplinary, cultural and professional boundaries, carried forward by the progressive hopes of ending poverty through scientific means. In this scenario the continued quest for genetic-based philanthropic interventions like selective abortion or conservative anti-welfare philanthropic interventions is not surprising, but are instead representative of long standing currents in the flow of moral visions of the human / societal good and the role of philanthropy in conceptualizing and securing that good.

In this chapter I want to show how my methods relate to and extend standard accounts of scientific charity and the growth of the social sciences, as a way to continue to explore scientific charity as well as advocate for the viability of this approach. I start

with making important distinctions between scientific charity and the movements that used its languages. I then single out Thomas Haskell's influential social history narrative for deeper analysis, by trying to find evidence for and against his professionalization hypothesis in the ASSA / NCCC records. I'm looking for further demonstration of how the languages of scientific charity functioned as a moral language across the divisions and groups that the professionalization dialectic requires.

SCIENTIFIC CHARITY DISTINCTIONS

Disaggregating Scientific Charity and the COS

Much of the work to date on scientific charity equates the term to the COS practice of making private charity more effective by organizing the growing cacophony of private charitable agencies and introducing rational "scientific" methods of efficient relief distribution aimed at reducing inter-agency fraud as well as intra-agency program duplication and other inefficiencies. (See Figure Seven) This common association of the term is so widespread that references to examples could fill a book.[135] Starting with Watson in 1911 through to Ruswick in 2013, one cannot embark on a serious investigation of 19th century reform without immediately being confronted by the COS movement and its vigorous use of scientific charity terminology. The COS was hugely popular and almost a philanthropic fad. It quickly took up a prominent place in the NCCC from where it was the dominant thrust in social welfare reform in the United States

[135] Charles Loch Mowat, *The Charity Organisation Society, 1869-1913: Its Ideas and Work* (London,: Methuen, 1961).

during the Gilded Age.[136] At least since the 1956 publication of Robert Bremner's *From the Depths*, and his 1956 companion article entitled "'Scientific Philanthropy', 1873-93", few have challenged the line: "The scientific philanthropy movement began as a protest against the unsatisfactory operation of public and private relief agencies during the depression of 1873-78."[137] But what was the nature of this "unsatisfactory operation"?

In *American Philanthropy* Bremner interpreted the scientific charity of the COS as the 19th century culmination of the "constant effort of American humanitarians since the days of Cotton Mather…to restrain and discipline, not to expand, the charitable impulse."[138] But this view masks what others have seen as a "charity boom"; an overabundance of charitable response and provision in response to the new "wage earning poor" of the industrial economy exacerbated by the rolling economic crises of the epoch, as well as the upward slope of both public and private forms of social welfare spending from the founding onward, momentary ups and downs being equal.[139] Some scholars take more time than others to connect American shifts to European precedents, allowing us to question the basis upon which one could describe 19th century scientific

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[136] Rauch.
[137] Robert H. Bremner, "Scientific Philanthropy," *The Social Science Review* 30, no. 2 (1956): P. 168.
[138] Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 2nd ed., Chicago History of American Civilization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
[139] Peter Dobkin Hall, *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector and Other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit Organizations* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992); Peter Dobkin Hall, "A Historical Overview of Philanthropy, Voluntary Associations, and Nonprofit Organizations in the United States, 1600-2000," in *The Nonprofit Sector : A Research Handbook*, ed. Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); United States. Bureau of the Census., *The Statistical History of the United States, from Colonial Times to the Present = Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); United States. Bureau of the Census. [from old catalog] and United States. Bureau of the Census., *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington,: For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1960); Susan B. Carter, *Historical Statistics of the United States : Earliest Times to the Present*, Millennial ed., 5 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

charity as an American movement at all.[140] Some have presented more complex and nuanced understandings of scientific charity which point to its broader meanings.[141] More recently others have been trying to fill the gap in the literature by focusing on the scientific element of scientific charity, and as such have been expanding our understanding of the relationship between how social science developed both inside and outside of the academy.[142] In any case, since the 1970s, scholarship has provided new perspectives on what had previously appeared to many as a matter of purely antiquarian interest.

> The dominant narrative had become a sort of Whig history of social policy, in which the benighted notions of our moralizing ancestors had yielded to the progressive policies of the welfare state. From the perspective of the era of Welfare Reform, however, the story looks very different. To anyone who does not unquestioningly accept them, the obvious survival of many of those "benighted notions" requires

[140] Samuel Mancher, "The Influence of Romanticism on Nineteenth-Century British Social Work," *The Social Service Review* 38, no. 2 (1964). Stephen T. Ziliak, "Kicking the Malthusian Vice: Lessons from the Abolition of "Welfare" in the Late Nineteenth Century," *The Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 37, no. 2 (1997). Goldman, "Exceptionalism and Internationalism: The Origins of American Social Science Reconsidered." Martin. A. W. Vincent, "The Poor Law Reports of 1909 and the Social Theory of the Charity Organization Society," *Victorian Studies* 27, no. 3 (1984); Himmelfarb.

[141] David C. Hammack, Stanton Wheeler, and Russell Sage Foundation., *Social Science in the Making : Essays on the Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1972* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1994); Elizabeth N. Agnew, *From Charity to Social Work : Mary E. Richmond and the Creation of an American Profession* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Crocker; Waugh; Waugh and City University of New York. Center for the Study of Philanthropy; Ruswick, "Just Poor Enough: Gilded Age Charity Applicants Respond to Charity Investigators."; Ruswick, *Almost Worthy : The Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917*; Ruswick; Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science*; Kenneth L. Kusmer, "The Functions of Organized Charity in the Progressive Era: Chicago as a Case Study," *The Journal of American History* 60, no. 3 (1973); Stuart A. Kirk and William James Reid, *Science and Social Work : A Critical Appraisal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[142] Fuller; Mary Jo Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918*, 1st pbk. ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1990); Deegan, *Race, Hull-House, and the University of Chicago : A New Conscience against Ancient Evils*; Ellen F. Fitzpatrick and ebrary Inc., "Endless Crusade Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform," (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Kenneth L. Kusmer and ebrary Inc., "Down & out, on the Road the Homeless in American History," (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Michael B. Katz and Thomas J. Sugrue, *W.E.B. Dubois, Race, and the City : The Philadelphia Negro and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Kuklick, "Restructuring the Past: Toward an Appreciation of the Social Context of Social Science." Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, "Back to the Future: Settlement Sociology, 1885-1930."

> explanation, which must begin with the origin of the notions themselves.[143]

It seems increasingly clear that scientific charity was the expression of seismic cultural shifts, and not fully captured as a facile prelude to social work and/or sociology. Scholarship is returning to this period to reexamine this incredibly rich and transitional period of the history of philanthropy.[144] A more nuanced understanding of late 19th century reformers' language of scientific charity's abilities to solve human social problems illuminates our understanding of how similar assumptions might function today. As such this dissertation argues for the viability of seeing scientific charity as a set of languages and not just a privatizing COS social control methodology, and that this is an improvement of current understandings as it allows one to enquire into the logic of the idea that science could be marshaled to solve human's social problems.[145]

Disaggregating Scientific Charity and the Social Science Professions

Between the late 1950s and the 1990s, literature on the ASSA and NCCC was bent on tracing the 19th and early 20th century growth and differentiation of the social science and social work professions: i.e. advocacy and objectivity, social work and

[143] Martin, P. 1-2.
[144] Henrika Kucklick, "Restructuring the Past: Toward an Appreciation of the Social Context of Social Science," *The Sociological Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1980). There is more to come on this in the literature review in chapter two of this dissertation.
[145] Stephen Pimpare reviews one of the most recent contributions to scholarship on this topic, Brent Ruswick's *Almost Worthy*, and writes that Ruswick should have done more to offer "a genealogy of scientific charity philosophy, which would make a fascinating study." Pimpare, "Reexamining Scientific Charity".

sociology, etc.[146] When mentioned, scientific charity is presented as a pre-scientific model for the conducting of professional activities, and the COS provides the ready example.[147] Although accurate enough in terms of what was to transpire in the professions across the 20th century, these interpretations obscure the fact that the reformers who gathered at the NCCC, including the COS activists, were not primarily motivated to create professions, but to eliminate the need for any such social appendages in the first place. Science could be used to strike at the roots of social problems, through the deployment of applied philanthropy, eliminating the needs for charity all together.[148] It is ironic that professional social work was the result, since if a movement at all, scientific charity began as the movement to make social work obsolete, not found it as a new profession.[149] Initially friendly visiting was to heal the growing rift between the rich and poor, not create a new industry. Yet by 1897, charity organizers like Mary Richmond were signaling the need for specialized training and career-like structures for what was to become social work.[150]

The story of the emergence of the academic social sciences is very much the story of the transition from the amateur social science of reformers to positions of professional

[146] Earl E. Klein's article shows to what degree sociology and social work's common roots in charity and philanthropy had been forgotten or obscured. See: Klein, "The Relation of Sociology to Social Work - Historically Considered."
[147] See chapter two: Science and Social Work: A Historical Perspective in: Kirk and Reid, P. 26.
[148] "Scientific Philanthropy," *The North American*, Tuesday December 26, 1882.
[149] The irony can be found in the first pages of the first book on the topic of the COS, Watson's 1922 publication of *Charity Organization Movement in the United States*, where one finds reference to the fact that the goal was the "abolition of poverty" alongside the tracing of the growth of the social work profession.
[150] Mary Ellen Richmond, *Friendly Visiting among the Poor; a Handbook for Charity Workers* (New York,: The Macmillan Company; etc., 1899); Mary Ellen Richmond, *Social Diagnosis* (New York,: Russell Sage Foundation, 1917).

authority held by the new academic scientists.[151] This story of what Mary Jo Deegan (1988) called "[a] little bit of history, a dash of political economy, and a pinch of social amelioration [that] comprised the general hodgepodge of the 'field'." has been much told.[152] Yet this story, following Deegan, has also been much criticized. Roy Lubove (1965) noticed that in the 19th century "scientific social work remained an elusive ideal rather remote from reality".[153] And despite all the talk about the "well defined principles" of charity organization, its most prominent supporters had a hard time describing what exactly those were, beyond the adaptation of the principles of "scientific management" to charity work.[154]

By focusing on Haskell, I take up arguments for and against the professionalization metanarratives, as I seek to explore the gap between the rhetoric and practice of scientific charity found in the deliberations of the NCCC. Starting in the 1960s the welfare debates that have polarized the American political right and left, had the salutary effect of propelling scholars *en masse* back to what they saw as the readily available late 19th century movement to privatize charitable provision.[155] Seeking clarity

[151] Use of the words "amateur" and "professional when applied to the late 19th century confuse more than they clarify the way social scientists operated from multiple bases for a variety of purposes.
[152] Deegan, *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892-1918*.
[153] Roy Lubove, *The Professional Altruist; the Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930*, A Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University (Cambridge,: Harvard University Press, 1965), P. 20.
[154] For example Josephine Shaw Lowell's 1884 *Public Relief and Private Charity*, which according to Kirk & Reid: "wrote of the 'well defined principles' of the new science of charity in the preface to her book, the book itself contains no references to any such principles – or to scarcely anything else, for that matter, that could be identified as methodologically scientific." Kirk and Reid, P. 28.
[155] In his Introduction to the 1992 edition to *From the* Depths, Walter I. Trattner pulls no punches on the motivation of Bremner's (and his) research: "As Bremner said in the 1950s, more not less government action is needed; the continuation of poverty now, as then, is a matter of choice." Bremner, *The Discovery of Poverty in the United States*; Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women and Philanthropy in the United States, 1790-1990*, Curriculum Guide #1 (New York, New York: The Graduate School & University Center, City University of New York, 1998).

on contemporary political debates by trying to locate historical sources and origins to serve as examples has a long history.[156] Haskell's influential *Emergence* reinterpreted and gave new life to the standard ASSA/NCCC accounts.

HASKELL'S PROFESSIONALIZATION HYPOTHESIS

The professionalization hypothesis is a social history narrative which, as it regards our subject, states that the reformist social science of the ASSA/NCCC disappeared as it was discredited by more objective and thus superior forms of academic social science, and that this "crisis" generated both the need and the impetus for the creation of professional institutional roles in the modern research university. In simple terms the subjective perspectives of mid 19th century reforms of the ASSA/NCCC based in tradition, were replaced by objective perspectives based in science. For example, Haskell's influential book makes the case that organizations like the ASSA were made obsolete by the new departments of sociology on campuses around the United States. Convinced of the death of the reformist ideas that powered scientific charity, Haskell positions the ASSA as the "ideal type" proxy for this trend. Unfortunately, Haskell ignores the fact that while the ASSA did in fact close its organizational doors in 1909, the heart of reform continued to thrive through the NCCC which motored on for another century, as well as through the many professional associations spawned by the ASSA itself. In other words the closing of the ASSA is not a good indicator for what was happening in the transition between "amateur" social science and "professional"

[156] Manicas.

university-based social departments. The "death of the ASSA narrative" leaves one with the impression of a greater cleavage than actually existed.

Professionalization narratives thrive on a portrayal of a gulf between the modes of theory and practice of late 19th century social thinkers/practitioners and "us".[157] For example, Haskell's *Emergence* begins with an introductory chapter entitled: "What Happened in the 1890's?" Following Talcott Parsons, H. Stuart Hughes, and Morton White, Haskell starts his book by establishing the 1890s as "a decisive boundary in cultural history, a division between two different constructions of social reality, two quite different modes of understanding man's nature, his relations in society, and his place in the cosmos."[158] While Haskell's theory provides a convenient historical receptacle labeled "reform" into which one can chuck late 19th century and 20th century aberrations to scientific progress; making the scientific progress of the early foundations, the growth of public social welfare programs, and the creation of the global humanitarian movement seems like, well, "progress". What one gains in convenience one looses in the ability to see the pervasive and ongoing reformist energies deployed via the new philanthropic forms across the 20th century right up until today.

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[157] Gary R. Lowe and P. Nelson Reid, *The Professionalization of Poverty : Social Work and the Poor in the Twentieth Century*, Modern Applications of Social Work (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1999); J. A. Jackson, *Professions and Professionalization*, Sociological Studies (London, England) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Robert B. Townsend and ebrary Inc., "History's Babel Scholarship, Professionalization, and the Historical Enterprise in the United States, 1880-1940," (Chicago ; London: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[158] Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), P. 1.

The central argument of this dissertation is that allowing ourselves to understand scientific charity as a language (or set of languages) helps in recovering elements of the story that have been glossed over; the primary element being the ways in which the belief that scientific charity had the power to end poverty was common to *both* reformist and academic social scientists alike. Where Haskell sees disruptions, others have seen continuity.[159] Scientific charity and social science emerged as part of the same phenomenon and although many have attempted to outline the connections, Haskell's professionalization hypothesis was by far the most influential, and we can learn more about how the language of scientific charity was referenced and employed by digging into Haskell's seminal ideas.

Haskell's particular account centers on accounts of the exclusion of the reformist social philosophers of the ASSA, replaced by a more scientifically / academically situated group of professional social scientists. Haskell provides what he calls "an interpretation of the last generation of "amateurs", a speculative inquiry into the reasons for their demise, and an assessment of the larger meaning and cultural significance of their displacement by the first generation of professional social scientists. By the 1890s "serious social thinkers" were to be found in the university from which they authoritatively dispensed "intelligent social opinion". "Thus, for Haskell, 'professional social science' constitutes both a style of thought and the institution necessary for it."[160] Haskell's hypothesis at its core is: That the ASSA died in 1909 "largely because its

[159] Even during the heyday of the social narratives there was suspicion that there might be more to the story (Leiby, Goldman, Kucklick, Katz, Deegan, Foucault).
[160] Donald M. Scott, "The Mystique of Professionalism," *Reviews in American History* 6, no. 3 (1978): P. 299.

internal structure and mode of inquiry were not compatible with the new conditions of intellectual authority" and so the reformers of the ASSA and their attempts to establish an institutional home for "sound opinion" was defeated by the "rise of professional academic social science, underway in the 1880's and in full swing by the 1890's…"[161] Although never operationalized by Haskell himself, the hypothesis contains a few key elements; take these elements out and the hypothesis fails. If Haskell is right, then by the 1890s one would expect to find: 1) A significant and growing difference between the organizational allegiances and memberships (groups) of amateur reformers and professionalizing social scientists, as well as 2) a significant difference between the intellectual pursuits (topics) covered by amateurs and professionals when they were together in their groups.[162]

Eliot Freidson found that Haskell elaborates a set of interesting and interpretive ideas: 1) that the public could no longer give credence and support to the ASSA because its work was based on such obsolescent explanations, 2) because they employed fewer voluntaristic paradigms and 3) because they organized themselves into distinct,

[161] Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, P. 24-25.

[162] Silver faults Haskell first and foremost for not taking into consideration the self-descriptions of the people he studies. "Sanborn's own declared motives, his reasons for helping to found the Association, and his expectations of it, are made explicit in the annual reports of the Board while Sanborn remained secretary… the changing emphasis of discussion in the Association's departments is apparent in the papers published in its Journal of Social Science, but Haskell does not analyse these systematically. This is a serious failure in an attempt to understand the work of the association." Silver also points out Haskell's "grossly negligent and misleading" understanding of the ties between the American ASSA and Europe. Also, Haskell displays a historical over-confidence in his references to pre-professional social scientists as 'superficial', 'quixotic', 'glib', 'amateur' and the like. Silver turns Haskell's accusation of the ASSA founder's assumptions about social science as "simplistic" back upon him, and says that Emergence's author's "effort to come to terms with complex changes and ideologies disintegrates on the vantage ground, the arrogance, of the present." Silver, "In Search of Social Science: Review Of: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas L. Haskell.," P. 206ff.

disciplined groups, the social science disciplines gained credibility in the eyes of the public.[163] Haskell's emphasis was on the creation of a distinct identity through the formation of specialized communities. So membership lists and looking at who participated is an important point upon which to analyze Haskell's ideas.[164] Gerard W. Gawalt thinks that Haskell missed the opportunity for the analytical use of the membership, officer, and contributor rolls of the ASSA and the JSSS to actually substantiate his claims with something more than "impressionistic evidence".[165] I decided to take Gawalt up on the challenge thirty-five years later and see how Haskell's theory fares.

Operationalization of Haskell's Professionalization Hypotheses

Haskell's narrative relies on at least two main points: One is the severing of the relationship between the social philosophers of the ASSA and the social economists of the NCCC. The second main point was that there was a large and growing disparity between the social scientists Haskell considers to be "amateurs" and those he calls "professionals". In what follows I operationalize these two hypotheses and look for substantiation in the membership lists and topical indexes of the related materials.

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[163] Haskell edited a book: *The Authority of Experts: Studies in History and Theory* (Interdisciplinary Studies in History.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1984. Pp. xxxix, 278. In a review of the book by Nobert C. Brockman in The American Historical Review Nobert writes: "Eliot Freidson, whose essay sets the tone of the debate and poses its central questions, states boldly, "I think it is fair to say that scholarship concerned with the professions is in an intellectual shambles" (p.5).

[164] Eliot Friedson, "The Perils of Professionalism," *The Hastings Center Report* 8, no. 3 (1978).

[165] Gerard W. Gawalt, "The Emergence of Professional Social Science, by Thomas L. Haskell: A Review," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9, no. 3 (1979).

TESTING HASKELL'S HYPOTHESIS: MEMBERSHIPS

A Split Between the ASSA and NCCC

Emergence contains a couple of pages on the topic, in which Haskell is making the case that the ASSA was running into problems of credibility and authority already in the 1870s, and he positions the creation of the NCCC as an example of an early breakaway over differing approaches to social science. For Haskell the fact that the ASSA and NCCC decided not to hold their annual meetings at the same time and place was proof that "charity workers found the Association [ASSA] too abstract."[166] The question is whether or not the creation of the NCCC represents a theoretical rift among 19th century social scientists, or a continuation and further practical application of the ideas and plans of the ASSA. Haskell positions the creation of the NCCC as evidence of a split. His interpretation of the decision was based entirely on Andrew E. Elmore's (President, Wisconsin State Board of Charities and Reform) comments, and seems to ignore the importance of the rift that existed between Sanborn and Elmore and their ongoing argument over the origins of the conference.[167] Remember, Sanborn was the main secretary of the ASSA and the motor behind the NCCC from the beginnings of both organizations until his own death in the early 20th century. Sanborn saw the twin

[166] Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, P. 138.

[167] Haskell lifts Elmore's statements referring to the disappointment of the theoretical nature of the Detroit conference of 1875, and makes a case for the rejection by an entire group of "charity workers" of the entire group represented by the "Association". Haskell mentions the Wisconsin boycott of the 1878 conference, but fails to notice that this is actually is more proof that this was Elmore and his state's beef with Sanborn, than commentary on the state of the relationship between reform and social science in the 1870s.

institutions as mutually supporting and serving the overall purpose of creating forums for new developments in social science theory and practice.

Alan Creutz sees the problem as: "Haskell does not measure the extent to which the ASSA and its ideology permeated society" … "it does not appear in Haskell's analysis to be related to the reform movements of the progressive era."[168] Carried to an extreme social history narratives like Haskell's have lead some scholars, like Robert Bannister to claim: "The founders of the organization [ASSA], led by such men as the social worker Frank Sanborn, made no significant contribution to sociological theory."[169] But, as Harold Silver has pointed out, this is to miss the significance of what the reformist social scientists of the ASSA and the NCCC considered to be sociological. While acknowledging the difficulties of making sense of a major social phenomenon ignored by earlier historians, Silver faults Haskell for not taking into consideration the self-descriptions of the people he studies, like Franklin Sanborn. "Sanborn's own declared motives, his reasons for helping to found the Association, and his expectations of it, are made explicit in the annual reports of the Board while Sanborn remained secretary…the changing emphasis of discussion in the Association's departments is apparent in the papers published in its Journal of Social Science, but Haskell does not analyze these systematically. This is a serious failure in an attempt to understand the work of the association."[170] Silver also points out Haskell's "grossly negligent and misleading"

[168] Alan Creutz, "The Matrix of Professionalism: Three Recent Interpretations," *Michigan Law Review* 77, no. 3 (1979): P. 648.
[169] Robert C. Bannister, "Review Of: The Emergence of Professional Social Science," *Acta Sociologica* 22, no. 1 (1979): P. 94.
[170] Silver, "In Search of Social Science: Review Of: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of

understanding of the ties between the American ASSA and Europe. Haskell displays a historical over-confidence in his references to pre-professional social scientists as 'superficial', 'quixotic', 'glib', 'amateur' and the like. Silver turns Haskell's accusation of the ASSA founder's assumptions about social science as "simplistic" back upon him, and says that *Emergence*'s author's "effort to come to terms with complex changes and ideologies disintegrates on the vantage ground, the arrogance, of the present."[171]

Testing the First Hypothesis

Haskell's first hypothesis can be stated as: After the year 1879 significantly fewer NCCC members participated in the annual ASSA meetings and vice-versa. To test the hypothesis I compared the membership lists prior to and after the purported watershed year of 1879.

Officers: I compared the 1909 list of ASSA officers from the JSS from that year, with the list of NCCC presidents from 1879-1909 and found that following the 1879 split, 50 percent of the NCCC presidents remained members and active at the ASSA. This would give us reason to question Haskell's assertion. Additionally I found that 60 percent of the 1909 list of ASSA leaders retained their membership and participation in the NCCC after 1879. The rift Haskell noticed hardly seems like proof that "theory and practice could not mix" or that the "charity workers" of the NCCC found the ASSA to be too abstract.

Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas L. Haskell.," P. 279ff. .

[171] Ibid., P. 280-281.

Officers: I also found that 60 percent of the ASSA officers (1909 list) appear in the NCCC *Proceedings* as contributing members for all years under study (1874-1909). This is the same frequency as these same leaders are found in the ASSA's main publication: the JSS. If ASSA leaders pulled away from the NCCC, it certainly doesn't show in the records of their continued contributions to the NCCC meetings. Again, this would seem to indicate caution when interpreting too large of a gap between the ASSA and the NCCC. There is no indication that the ASSA was abandoned by the more practically minded NCCC, and the records of the ASSA and NCCC don't support the supposed rift as the smoking gun to a "crisis in authority".

Committees: Presumably those who served on committees might have been more engaged with the institutions they were serving. Assuming that to generally be the case, I used the pre-1879 list of standing committees (1877-78) and compared it to the 1879 (Chicago) list of committees (first year after split with ASSA) and found that 40 percent of the committee chairs appointed by the ASSA the year before stayed active in the NCCC after the breakup. This committee turn over rate is the same found throughout the history of the institution, so does not signal any abnormal change. I noticed that committee chairs were not necessarily chosen for their involvement but perhaps more for their influence judging by their public roles as a group (example of Howard Potter, wealthy industrialist), so I selected the next committee members mentioned on the lists and ran the same comparison and found that ALL stayed as members of their committees

except for three; two who still retained their membership but as non committee NCCC members, and one who switched committees.

Presenters: I also compared the top ten contributors at the NCCC meetings to the membership lists of the JSS. I wanted to see if those most involved in doing presentations of various sorts at the NCCC were also involved in the ASSA following the 1879 decision to meet separately. Sixty percent of the frequent presenters appear as contributors to the ASSA meetings and journal as well.

The examples Haskell uses don't hold up to scrutiny. Of course this does not in and of itself disprove Haskell's hypothesis, but it does confirm that the membership lists of the ASSA and NCCC do not support the idea of a deep ideological rift between NCCC members and ASSA members. Instead the NCCC can be viewed as one of the successful programs instituted by the ASSA; a forum for the practical implementation of what they considered to be social science, which at the time, very much involved the ameliorative purposes of reform. By and large the professional university based social scientists were present at the NCCC, in the same way that NCCC members were present in the new professional societies which emerged out of the ASSA/NCCCC network. In making too great a distinction between social science and reform, Haskell ends up leaving the reader with misguided impressions about both. In the 1890s social science was not yet the differentiated science that it was to become in the 1920s and beyond. In the period under study for example, the role of sociology still was not clear and included the blending of positivism, organicism, and individualism. Although the first course in sociology was

taught by William Graham Sumner at Yale in 1875, in 1890 Albion Small who was to head the Department of Sociology at Chicago later that decade, had just changed the focus of the core course at Colby College to "moral science" and "sociological philosophy" which covered "descriptive sociology", "statical sociology", and "dynamic sociology".[172] Small in his paper for the 1909 AJS meeting writes: "Wherever or not there is, or ever will be, a science of sociology…", demonstrating the unsettled nature of academic social science even much later than the 1890s.

A Split Between the Academic and Amateur Social Science

The second main point upon which Haskell's hypothesis rests is the division he makes between groups of reformist social scientists which he refers to as "amateurs" and university-based social scientists which he calls "professionals". Haskell even draws criticism on this interpretive maneuver from his fellow "professionalization" theorists: Furner and Ross. Ross rejects Haskell's interpretation of the more scientific nature of professionals.

> In the end he [Haskell] tries to account for the greater credibility of the new professionals by claiming that they were more given to impersonal, scientific explanation than the ASSA. As the time of shifting authority, in the 1880s, when that explanation would have to hold, I find this claim extremely dubious. He can make the claim only by using William T. Harris, the most thorough idealist of the ASSA stalwarts, as an example. But what if we compare Andrew D. White, Carroll Wright and Simon Newcomb – surely a representative cross-section of the ASSA –with Richard T. Ely, John Bates Clark and Henry Carter Adams, founders of the American Economic Association? Ely, Clark and Adams may have seemed more credible because they had learned abroad some vocabularies

[172] John P. Drysdale and Susan Hoecker-Drysdale, "The History of Sociology: The North American Perspective," in *21st Century Sociology : A Reference Handbook*, ed. Clifton D. Bryant and Dennis L. Peck(Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2007), P. 32.

> for dealing with the problems of modern industrial society – vocabularies which the others lacked. But one would be hard pressed to find more evidence of impersonal causal explanation in the later group, or more attribution of individual moral responsibility in the earlier one.[173]

She criticizes Haskell for having not dealt with "power" even though proximate and distant causation is all about power as she says, all about the control that humans can exert over their social environment.

For Furner Haskell's work "perpetuates the progressive bias of some earlier treatments of the ASSA, slights certain ASSA purposes, and distorts the sources of the academic professionalization that ultimately prevailed."[174] Furner writes that Haskell, by making connections between modernization and professionalization carries forward the mistakes of the former. "Haskell imposes a rigidly deterministic, norm-attribute model of professionalism that requires acceptance of interdependence as a paradigm – a nonactivist, scholarly orientation toward a reference group of other inquirers ('the community of the competent') who alone are capable of making neutral, meritocratic judgments…"[175] Haskell's interpretations of the ASSA just don't hold up to scrutiny. Furner summarizes: "For the crucial period from the mid-1880s to the late 1890s, it is simply not possible to distinguish between the ASSA as reformist and emerging academic professionals as dispassionately scientific."[176]

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[173] Dorothy Ross, "Professionalism and the Transformation of American Social Thought," *The Journal of Economic History* 38, no. 2 (1978): P. 496-97. Underlining not in the original, but added to emphasize the linguistic nature of Ross' analysis.
[174] Mary O. Furner, "Review Of: The Emergence of Professional Social Science," *American Journal of Sociology* 85, no. 5 (1980): P. 1290.
[175] Ibid., P. 1291.
[176] Ibid.

Alan Creutz analyses the differences between Mary Furner and Haskell's version of professionalization, and points out that: "Haskell rejects Mary O. Furner's idea that university social scientists were merely retreating from social action. Haskell argues rather that the two groups were conceptually distinct and based their methods on a more complex view of interdependent society."[177] More careful examination of membership lists shows that Haskell's gulf just was not as clear or as large as he imagined. A simple comparison, from my own research, shows that of the eleven leaders of the AEA in 1893, nine of the eleven (82precent) appear in the JSS, six were members of the ASSA, five were active members who presented papers at the ASSA, and three of the active members also served on committees.[178] Silva and Slaughter looked for a clear rift between reformist advocacy (service) and objectivity (scholarly pursuits) within the members of the new professional organizations. They found that, for example, when looking at two of the professional associations birthed out of the ASSA: "Over 60precent of the American Economic Association (AEA) and American Political Science Association's (APSA) leadership engaged in service, and approximately 45 percent of the sociologists did the same."[179] Interest and involvement in the new university venues for the academic pursuit of social science did not signal the death of reform. The Report of the Proceedings of the 1893 AEA meeting held in Chicago mentions the "…other congresses of special interest to members, notably the Social Science Congress…"[180] Professionals and amateurs continued to intermingle past the 1890 watershed Haskell tries to establish.

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[177] Creutz, "The Matrix of Professionalism: Three Recent Interpretations."
[178] For the AEA list I use the Chicago meeting notes found in the 1893 Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science., Volume 4.
[179] Sheila Slaughter and Edward T. Silva, "Service and the Dynamics of Developing Fields: The Social Sciences and Higher Education Studies," *The Journal of Higher Education* 54, no. 5 (1983): P. 487.
[180] Association American Economic, *Report of the Proceedings at the Fifth Annual Meeting ... 1892*, Its Publications,V.8, No. 1 ([Baltimore]: 1893), P. 618.

Unfortunately, Haskell ignores the fourth department of the ASSA - Social Economy - which ironically was Sanborn's committee, and from which the NCCC was born. It appears as if ignoring the NCCC is one of the reasons that Haskell didn't pick up on continuity of reform, which was a movement much broader than the ASSA, and instead made the ASSA's death synonymous with the death of reformist sentiments. But is that what really happened?

Testing the Second Hypothesis

Haskell's second hypothesis can be restated as: By the 1890s professional social scientists had taken up residence in universities and had turned their backs on reform, leading to the eventual death of the ASSA in 1909. If this were the case then one would expect to find a large disparity between the memberships of the ASSA/NCCC and the professional associations that had, according to Haskell, turned their backs on Sanborn's institutions. To test this hypothesis I compare the memberships and topics of the amateur and professional groups. For the group of amateurs I use the membership lists and topics found in the ASSA's JSS 1869 – 1909 and the NCCC *Proceedings* 1874-1909 as indicative of what "amateur" social scientist considered to be important dimensions of the science of the social. For the group of professionals I use membership lists and topics found in the American Journal of Sociology (AJS) from its founding in 1895 to 1909 and the *Papers and Proceedings* of the American Sociological Society (ASS) from its founding in 1906 to 1909 as indicative of what "professional" sociologists considered

important dimensions of the science of the social. If Haskell is right, then one would assume to see marked differences between the membership lists and intellectual pursuits (topics) of the two groups.

For the key figures of the amateur group I used the 1906 list of ASSA leaders from ASSA annual meeting found in the JSS for that year, and for the key figures of professional group I used the list of the 1906 founders of the ASS found in the ASS *Papers and Proceedings*. In the case of key figure textual appearances I found that the groups were remarkably overlapping. Forty percent of the key professional figures (ASS) appear in the amateur's JSS and 80 percent appear in the NCCC *Proceedings*. This means that, taken together as a "group" on the average 60 percent of the names of the professional social scientists appear in the amateur group's main literature, either because they were in attendance or because their work was being referenced and discussed. This demonstrates why I maintain that by basing his conclusions of the growth of social science on the ASSA alone, Haskell over estimates its distance from professionalizing social science. It is interesting to note that while 80 percent of the key professional group members appear in the NCCC *Proceedings*, only 40 percent appear in the JSS, where we find both the proceedings and journal of the ASSA. By looking just at the ASSA, and making it representative of "reform", scholars like Haskell and the many who have followed him, could be overstating the professionalization hypothesis. The NCCC was supposedly even more practically oriented, less academic, and more focused on moral reforms. Yet we find that 80 percent of the founders of the American Sociological Society appear in the records of the NCCC, some of them prominently. The names of

men like Franklin (Professor of Sociology at Columbia University and Vice President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science) and Samuel Lindsay (Professor of Sociology at University of Pennsylvania, President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and member of the American Economic Association) appear 30 and 51 times respectively.[181] By focusing only on a couple of Gidding's quotes arguing for a marked difference between ASSA social science and the new scientific sociology, Haskell positions Giddings as a prime example of the younger German-trained major voice in exposing the retrogression of the ASSA.[182] This misrepresents Giddings, who, lest we forget, authored the introduction to Dugdale's *The Jukes*, and who others called "no German philosopher" due to the propensity of his method of "injecting the results of his analysis as new wine into old bottles".[183] The two who don't appear in the NCCC records (nor the JSS) are Lester Ward the famous Sociologist never associated with a university and David C. Wells the chair of Social Science at Dartmouth College. By linking the ASSA and the NCCC, one gets a more acute sense of the cross pollination between groups, thus allowing for the idea that these groups were not as homogenous as the professionalization hypothesis would require.

I also looked at the key amateur figures and analyzed their appearances in the literature of the professional group. I found that 47 percent of the amateur names appeared in the professional group's literature, while 53 percent of the amateur names

[181] Granted I don't include a detailed analysis of the appearances, and total numbers of appearances of the key professional figures are far greater in the ASJ and ASS *Papers and Proceedings*, but this is to be expected. The surprising thing is that they appear at all and sometimes prominently in the so-called amateur group's meetings.
[182] Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, P. 202 - 210. .
[183] Clarence H. Northcott, "The Sociological Theories of Franklin H. Giddings," *The American Journal of Sociology* 24, no. 1 (1918): P. 1-2.

appear in the their own literature. Several conclusions might be drawn: 1. The so-called amateurs were only slightly less present in the professional groups judging by appearances in their literature, as they were in their own. 2. Almost 67 percent of the names of the amateur group appear in the AJS, the professional journal, which would allow us to further question the supposed chasm between amateur and professional social science during this time. An analysis of the nature of a person's presence in the other group's literature reveals a mixture of references to the person's contributions to scientific charity and/or social science theory and/or practice, presentations done by the particular person either captured in the *Proceedings* or a written contribution to a journal, or most often just simply a reflection of the person's membership in both groups.

Finally, I compared the 1906 American Sociological Society (ASS) membership list with the NCCC membership lists *(1874-1909)* and found that 35 of the 115 ASS founding members were members of the NCCC. One could interpret this as low interest on the part of professional social scientist in the amateur organization, except further research reveals that 13 of the 35 were actively involved in committee work. Haskell leaves one with the impression that by the 1890s no self-respecting academic sociologist would be caught being involved with the sorts of reformist activities supported by the Franklin Sanborn's and their clubs. Analysis of the membership lists, taken together with the other findings, give us reason to question Haskell's hypothesis.

Of course, more in-depth research is warranted, but there is enough here to raise questions. I push the question further by 1) looking at the topics and doing analysis to see

if even though the organizations shared members and participated in each other's meetings, perhaps while there they talked about very different things…one set of topics being the interest of amateurs and the other the interests of professionals, and 2) looking at more recent literature to see if anyone has noticed this seeming discrepancy.

TESTING THE HASKELL HYPOTHESIS: TOPICS

According to Haskell's hypothesis, by 1890, we should find a divergence in the topical pursuits of amateurs and professionals. Of course, the divergence could be one of degree of depth, or degree of scientific treatment; Haskell is not clear on this point since he didn't seem to have done this level of analysis of the organizations he used in his narrative. However, taking the rest of *Emergence* into account, it is clear that Haskell's argument requires a high degree of disparity in causal explanations of social problems, which should be discernable in the subjects covered by the two groups. I use the same materials to represent the groups of amateurs and professionals as I did to analyze the membership lists. To test the hypothesis I compare the most frequently addressed themes at the NCCC 1874-1909 with topics addressed at the ASS meetings (ASS P&P) 1906-1911 and then the ASJ. The most frequently addressed NCCC topics are: children's issues, insanity, and prisons in that order. (See Table Two) In the ASS P&P I found that while interest in insanity and prisons (defectives and delinquents) was not as prominent as in the NCCC *Proceedings* for the same years, the level of interest in children's issues was similar. So the groups did differ on the specificity of topical focus, yet this would be expected; why start a separate association if your interests were being satisfied by

participation in the ASSA/NCCC "amateur" groups. However, a comparative analysis of the 1906 – 1909 JSS and the ASS P&P for the same years shows that both groups were interested in sector definitions, the issues of families, cities, legislation, race, and education. (See Table Two)

I pursued this line of research a bit further by comparing the topics covered by the AJS and the ASSA JSS for the year 1909, the fourth year of the AJS and final year of the ASSA. The final year of the ASSA the meetings covered 1) Labor Legislation and Economic Progress and 2) The Problems of Labor Legislation Under our Federal Constitution. For that same year the AJS contained similar topics such as: 1) The Influence of Income and Standards of Life, 2) A Study of the Early History of Child Labor in American, 3) and The Chicago Employment Agency and the Immigrant Worker.[184] In fact topics such as "The Redemption of the Unfit" and "Biblical Sociology" were covered by the ASS and not the ASSA as might be expected. I also compared the first years of the AJS with the topics covered by the historical retrospective at the NCCC meeting in Chicago, 1893. I found that the list of topics covered at this historical session of the NCCC, was hardly different than the list of topics covered in the meetings of the American Sociological Society. A full representation of these topics would be too large to include in this dissertation, but these data are readily available and cited in the bibliography.[185]

[184] See Table Three for the full list of the AJS 1909 topics.
[185] I compared the topics covered at the NCCC meeting in 1893 to the topics covered in the first six years of the ASS meeting papers and the *Proceedings*, as well as the first decade of the American Journal of Sociology, and using broad categories such as definitions of social science, crime, legal aspects, mental illness, religion, and practical field work, found little difference. Naturally the AJS was more academic since it was a journal and not a set of conference Proceedings, but caution seems advisable in using labels of "professional" and "amateur" to indicate quality levels.

This is not to say that topical differences didn't exist between the proxy amateur group and professional group. It should be obvious that the ASSA and the NCCC did not pursue exactly the same intellectual goals as the ASS. The groups were not the same, nor where their writings. However, taken together with the membership information reviewed above, there is reason to doubt scholarship that assumes a net qualitative difference between the intellectual production of those Haskell calls "amateurs" and those he refers to as "professionals". Those distinctions only came much later in the 1920s, once academic sociology has decided upon its methods, as did social work. Since we now know that what appeared to be a sure objective foundation for sociology and social work of the 1920s was again questioned starting in the 1960s signaling a return to its social reformist (advocacy) roots, it is not as hard for us as it might have been for Haskell writing in the 1970s to discern the continuation of reform in what was passing itself off as science.[186]

BEYOND HASKELL: UNSATISFACTORY PROFESSIONALIZATION NARRATIVES

[186] In *The Impossible Science*, Stephen Park Turner and Jonathan H. Turner also catalogue the moral concerns that fueled both the reform movements and professional associations following the Civil War. The authors add to the "crisis of authority" narrative and point to the "interesting relationship between sociologists and reformers became riddled with tensions between the establishment of sociology as a science, still regarded with trepidation by some, and the demands for social reform led by religious reformers, particularly (pp. 12-15)." As quoted in: Drysdale and Hoecker-Drysdale, P. 31. Stephen P. Turner and Jonathan H. Turner, *The Impossible Science : An Institutional Analysis of American Sociology*, Sage Library of Social Research (Newbury Park, Calif. ; London: Sage, 1990). Henrika Kulick is one of many who criticized the Turners' treatment of the relationship between reform and social science: "So infrequently do the Turners provide us with identification of their sources…" "Without evidence to the contrary, the reader is bound to assume that much of this book is disciplinary folklore…" Henrika Kuklick, "Review Of: The Impossible Science: An Institutional Analysis of American Sociology," *Isis* 83, no. 1 (1992).

Masking Reformist Agendas

One problem with an overestimation of the gap between professional and amateur social science is that it masks the reformist agendas of both groups. Daniel Breslau has pointed out that the social context of those brought together at the NCCC was broader than the intra-academic search for disciplinary legitimacy. The struggle for authority was not carried out "as a self contained and homogenous intellectual community but as occupants of a distinct position among many other positions in this struggle. In particular, they were part of a broader field of sociology that included practical workers in charities, public administration, applied research and reform."[187] Peter Novick has suggested that "much of what passed for professionalization was superficial", and that the shift from amateur ameliorative social science (scientific charity) and objective social science (university-based Sociology for example), was not as fixed as many interpreters of the 19th century would have it.[188] As mentioned previously others have critiqued the simple dichotomist historical narratives: examples include James Leiby starting in the 1960s, Henrika Kucklick and Robert L. Church in the 1970s, Silva & Slaughter, William Leach, Eric Foner, and Leiby again in the 1980s, Lawrence Goldman in the 1990s, and since the 1990s a growing list of critical studies like those of Mary Jo Deegan, and Patricia Lengermann & Gillian Niebrugge.[189] These scholars and other mentioned in my literature review have all explored to what degree "the apparent division between 'amateur' social

[187] Breslau, P. 43.
[188] Novick, P. 48.
[189] Leach; Foner; Henrika Kucklick, "The Organization of Social Science in the United States," *American Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1976); Kucklick, "Restructuring the Past: Toward an Appreciation of the Social Context of Social Science."; James Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); James Leiby, "Charity Organization Reconsidered," *Social Service Review* 58, no. 4 (1984); James Leiby, "The Moral Foundations of Social Welfare and Social Work: A Historical View," *Social Work* 30, no. 4 (1985); Church.

scientists in 1880 in the ASSA and 'professional' social scientists in universities a generation later masks an essential similarity in the reformist aims of both groups."[190]

Haskell's main proof of the split between academic and amateur social science turns on his interpretation of John's Hopkins Gilman's refusal to merge with the ASSA. For Michael Shudson, Haskell's idea that President Gilman found research to be capable of professionalization while political agitation was not, is "…at best, inelegant. Haskell explains the *rise* of the ASSA by increasing interdependence in society and then explains the beginning of its *decline* by the same cause." … "Haskell assumes without argument that 'reform' cannot professionalize. Lenin would have disagreed, and so, before him, would the Charity Organization Societies of England and the United States." … "It is presented as some sort of sociological law of nature: it is not argued and its meaning not explored."[191] Haskell sides with the first professionals in rejecting amateurs for locating "…causation too close at hand, too near the surface of events…".[192] David Noble criticized Haskell on this point: ""The reader is left with the impression that by 1914 all confusion had gone out of American academic life because intellectuals had adjusted so well to the urban-industrial realities of interdependence. Noble, however, believes that the values and intentions of the first professionals were important to the choices they

[190] Goldman, P. 333; Leiby, "Amos Warner's American Charities 1894-1930." See also: Goldman, "Exceptionalism and Internationalism: The Origins of American Social Science Reconsidered."; Kuklick, "Restructuring the Past: Toward an Appreciation of the Social Context of Social Science." Kuklick, "The Organization of Social Science in the United States - the Sociologists of the Chair: A Radical Analysis of the Formative Years of North American Sociology (1883-1922) by Herman Schwendinger and Julia R. Schwendinger: The Legacy of Albion Small by Vernon L Dibble: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas Haskell. ." Silva and Slaughter, "Promethus Bound: The Limits of Social Science Professionalization in the Progressive Period." See also the fist chapter in: Turner.

[191] Shudson, "Review Of: The Emergence of Professional Social Science."

[192] Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, P. 241.

made and the structures they built. He would argue against Haskell's essentially passive model."[193]

By interpreting scientific charity as a moral language one can better see how a shared allegiance to scientific charity, an amalgam of practical and theoretical ideas, allowed the different directions taken by reform to be successful. In my account the NCCC was the primary initial venue at which those involved in the disparate pieces, like those involved in different professional societies born out of the ASSA for example, spoke with one another, and that they were able to do so by being united by a common vision of scientific charity, while differing on the formal and locational delivery mechanisms for this reform. From this perspective the ASSA can be seen as having accomplished its founding purposes, and living on through the myriad of institutions it founded. This is certainly the perspective of Franklin Sanborn, who Haskell lampoons more than reads.[194]

From another perspective on this period of time, there is good reason to interpret the closing of the ASSA as proof that it had successfully accomplished its ends. Henrika Hukclick writes that "one can interpret the ASSA's decline as a consequence of its success in achieving its purpose." According to Kucklick this part of Haskell's thesis could be explained using Michel's "iron law of oligarchy", which states that when

[193] David F. Noble, *America by Design : Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1977), P. 319.
[194] Haskell's take on Sanborn is misguided. He makes Sanborn's farewell words in 1909 at the dissolution of the ASSA to stand for the entire history and forward momentum of everything the ASSA accomplished. He ignores extended texts of Sanborn's where Sanborn recognizes the problems that Haskell thinks only come later via professional sociologists. For example see Sanborn in the JSS Volume 43, page 13 in a presentation entitled: "Past and Present in Social Science".

organizational power is monopolized by a single generation, it is highly probable that the association will die with it. She thinks this is what happened to the ASSA.[195] Kuklick provides balance to social history narratives like Haskell's, and can be see in the conclusion to her review of Furner and Haskell:

> Historians need to take social science ideas seriously in order to write about them, to treat them in intellectual as well as institutional terms; whether or not early social science represents high culture, it provided explanation of human affairs which had important *consequences* regardless of their accuracy. Social scientists obviously take their own ideas seriously, but they might better comprehend them if they recognized them not as timeless truths but as historical products. Honest histories would demonstrate that the 'best' ideas don't invariably prevail; at the very least, a realistic analysis of the past might produce a greater degree of critical detachment in the present.[196]

Kucklick's 1980 article includes an analysis of the limits of the professionalization theories of Furner (1976), Bledstein (1976), Veysey (1965), Wiebe (1967), and Haskell (1977). "Interpretation of the development of academic disciplines as exemplifications of a mechanistic model of 'professionalization' – as but one manifestation of the inexorable advance of 'rationalization' in an ever-'modernizing' world – represents a new, paradoxically relativist variant of 'whiggism' (Kucklick, 1976)." … "The two essential features of 'whiggish' intellectual history are persevered in a new form. First, it is assumed that subsequent to 'professionalization' the boundaries of a field are fixed, although not by any experimental verification of a coherent realm of inquiry but by bureaucratic structure; hence the current problematic of a discipline is

[195] Kuklick, "The Organization of Social Science in the United States - the Sociologists of the Chair: A Radical Analysis of the Formative Years of North American Sociology (1883-1922) by Herman Schwendinger and Julia R. Schwendinger: The Legacy of Albion Small by Vernon L Dibble: Advocacy and Objectivity: A Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905 by Mary O. Furner: The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth Century Crisis of Authority by Thomas Haskell. ."
[196] Kucklick, "The Organization of Social Science in the United States," P. 141.

projected backwards in 'presentist' fashion, made an essential component of its initial charter. Second, it is assumed that occupational security within the university permits scholars to operate according to a 'pure research' ethos and, therefore, to make progress towards the solution of disciplinary problems unhampered by 'external' direction."[197] Kucklick recognized several defects inherent to this new variant of whiggism, and argued that it would be hard to make the case that the academic security provided sociology by the creation of social science professions has permitted sociology to make steady progress toward resolution of fundamental problems, as the professionalization model projects.

One could get the impression from Haskell's book that the professional social scientist immediately retreated into their statistical laboratories, withdrawing from any social action whatsoever. This is to negate the deep connections that only grew between sociology and social work across the 20th century. Silva and Slaughter in their study of the AEA, APSA, and ASS 1885-1921 found that "the specialties that were most likely to be established in separate, well-regarded departments by the close of WWI were those whose faculty were deeply engaged in service to society. Service allowed social scientists to act as 'experts', bringing research skills to bear on pressing social problems. In this capacity, they were able to demonstrate the utility of their new science and claim public and private resources for its support."[198] These authors show that there was specialization prior to any academic demand, as social science experts were sought out because they

[197] Kucklick, "Restructuring the Past: Toward an Appreciation of the Social Context of Social Science," P. 13.
[198] Slaughter and Silva, "Service and the Dynamics of Developing Fields: The Social Sciences and Higher Education Studies," P. 482.

supplied the community at large with objective solutions to the problems already widely accepted as problems. These authors basically reverse the polarity of Haskell's thesis, as suggested by Kirkpatrick's review a few years prior.

Haskell cannot be faulted for not having access to digitized archival data that those writing after the 1980s began to have. Dorothy Ross's review of Silva and Slaughter's *Serving Power* reveals an interesting fact: that the work they did on the "useful data complied on the social background and differential public involvement [service] of the leadership of the ASSA and the three professional organizations [AEA, APSA, ASS]" had not been complied yet in 1985.[199]

Donald M. Scott thinks "that the ASSA is unable to carry the interpretive burden placed upon it" by Haskell.[200] Although the ASSA's organizational purpose has expired, this doesn't mean that authority formerly held by the ASSA automatically transited to the disciplines. For Scott, Haskell's account gets the fundamental purposes of the ASSA wrong. Haskell's analysis of the ASSA's demise as evidence of a crisis of authority misses the broader point: that the crisis resolved by professional social science was more a crisis of belief than one of public legitimacy. The academic disciplines were addressing emerging professional communities, while the ASSA sought to establish sound social opinion in order to promote a scientific base and legitimacy "as an agency of public, rather than sectarian, doctrinal, or partisan good." Scott argues that: "to talk of a transit of authority from the ASSA to the disciplines is to confound different kinds of thought and

[199] Dorothy Ross, "Review Of: Serving Power: The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert, by Edward T. Silva and Sheila A. Slaughter," *Contemporary Sociology* 14, no. 5 (1985): P. 623.
[200] Scott, "The Mystique of Professionalism," P. 300.

different kinds of authority." Scott thinks "it could be argued that the disciplines gained authority over a kind of thought which the ASSA had never really contained and that the ASSA lost its public legitimacy, not to the disciplines or even the universities, but to other kinds of public agencies."[201] I think that this is what the NCCC records points out, as those "public agencies" were present and promoted in that venue, and became a formidable generator of reformist social science activities as we have seen in this dissertation. This should be counted to the ASSA's credit, and not told as a story of its demise.

CONCLUSION

The search for scientific solutions to human problems did not die with the ASSA but continued forward due to the successful transmission of the main assumptions of scientific charity: that what had previously been mysteries would now be made known through the advance of the sciences of man. Haskell's narrative of the eclipse of reformist social science (and thus scientific charity), because of its internal structure and mode of inquiry, was not compatible with the new conditions of intellectual authority, and, therefore, the "rise of professional academic social science, underway in the 1880's and in full swing by the 1890's" explains important dimensions of this history while occluding others. Haskell describes interdependence this way: "By the term 'growing interdependence' I mean to refer to something quite exact: that tendency of social integration and consolidation whereby action in one part of society is transmitted in the form of direct or indirect consequences to other parts of society with accelerating

[201] Ibid., P. 302. .

rapidity, widening scope, and increasing intensity." … "What I mean by the term 'interdependence' is involvement in a network of intense dependencies that is regional or global in scope, and which includes vast numbers of people, most of them strangers who will never encounter each other on a face-to-face basis."[202] In his footnotes Haskell explains more deeply:

> The typological dichotomy established here between autonomy and interdependence obviously overlaps and parallels to some extent the classic characterizations of Tönnies (*Gemeinshaft – Gesellschaft*), Weber (traditional – rational), Durkheim (mechanical – organic solidarity), and Cooley (primary – secondary groups). On the overlap between these and other typologies, see C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), 152-153; Edward Shils, "The Contemplation of Society in America," in *Paths of American Thought*, ed. A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., and M. White (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), 398-399; and Gladys Bryson, *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945), 171-172. Despite similarities, the concept of interdependence seems to me a preferable formulation if one is concerned with the intellectual consequences of modernization – and especially the rise of the social sciences – because it immediately reveals the impact of social change upon causal attribution, and, hence, upon explanation.[203]

Obviously, the ASSA did close its doors. I find, along with others, that there is a much simpler explanation less reliant on the interdependence metanarrative. The internal structure of the ASSA was simply no longer necessary, since its theoretical concerns were now taken up by the various associations it spawned in which ASSA members participated, while its practical concerns were dealt with through its creation of the NCCC, a forum for those interested in both public and private application of "practical sociology". Or as one critic of Haskell's use of "interdependence" put it: "In fact, one

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[202] Dorothy Ross, "Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Historical Review* 89, (1984).
[203] Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*.p. 29.

may justifiably take the reverse view; certainly one may ask which causes which and not come up with the Haskell's answer."[204] It is misleading to assert that the ASSA's mode of inquiry went out of fashion once and for all since as we have seen in this chapter that mode of inquiry (topics) and its actual inquirers (memberships), were still active in the "professional" academic social science settings and vice-versa not to mention the resurgence of this mode of enquiry in postmodern thought.

Our understandings of scientific charity are obscured by two main factors. One is that, as the literature review reveals, scholars who have looked into this history have almost exclusively been interested (until recently) with professionalization and the creation of the university social science departments and professions of which they themselves are a part. From this approach, scientific charity is a variant of reform and is not worth further study since it withered away alongside its host COS and primary institutional home, the ASSA. One can then ignore the ASSA and its main creation: the NCCC and just jump straightaway to the first instance of non-reform, which Haskell takes to be the professional associations populated by young German PhDs who were busily creating homes for themselves in the new academic social science departments. In this narrative, scientific charity is an aberration in the emergence of professional social science; with professional social science being the arrival point or objective of the long march to finding the root causes of human social problems. Economics, political science, and sociology replace charity and provide a better way to understand and solve human social problems. The theory and practice of charity becomes a social science.

[204] Evron M. Kirkpatrick, "Review Of: The Emergence of Professional Social Science," *The American Political Science Review* 73, no. 3 (1979): P. 876.

Secondly, once scientific charity is labeled as "reform" and brushed away by the story of the triumphant rise of university social science, assumptions concerning the neutrality of social science make it difficult to assess the relationship between these new modes of questioning and power, gender, morality, etc. What the NCCC reveals is inter-relatedness and continuity that challenges perspectives like Haskell's which is based on disruption and crisis. This is what allows for perspectives like the one for which I am arguing: that it is better to see this period as a time of competing moral stories, not just the singular story of science winning over archaic visions of moralistic reform. In other words reform did not die along with the institutional death of the ASSA. In fact, by passing too quickly over the way reform functioned and lived on in the scientific visions for social betterment, what Geoffrey Blodgett's called the "swift mental passage from the grandeur of the Civil War to the excitement of the Progressive Era", one ends up distorting the relationships that existed and continued to exist between supposedly "amateur" and "professional" contexts.[205]

Arguing for Continuity

Misinterpretation of the distance between the ASSA and NCCC can distort interpretations of both institutions and their constituencies. Haskell's narrative wants to see academic sociology taking over from the amateur reformers, political economists and social philosophers of the ASSA, and social work taking over from the amateur charity organizers and social economists of the NCCC. They ignore that for all practical purposes

[205] Blodgett, "A New Look at the American Gilded Age," P. 231.

the ASSA and the NCCC functioned as extensions of the same institutional thrust, which I refer to as reformist social science. These accounts too quickly bury amateur reformist impulses in the coffin of the ASSA and miss that these energies continued forward with the NCCC and its ongoing contact with social science and social work. Perhaps the most complete critique of this problem is found in the work of Silva and Slaughter's 1980 "Prometheus Bound: The Limits of Social Science Professionalization in the Progressive Period" and again in their 1984 *Serving Power: the Making of the Academic Social Science Expert.*[206] These authors provide a withering critique of what they consider to be the "premature closure" of the literature on the social forces shaping the rise of the social science expert, calling professionalization theory (Furner, Haskell, Ross, Bledstein) a "congratulatory occupational self-justification becoming, finally, an ideology for all mental workers".[207]

Narratives like Furner's and Haskell's have all suffered from their almost exclusive use of the ASSA, and, as we saw in chapter two, the almost complete ignoring of the NCCC. We should take Franklin Sanborn at his word when he reminded members of the NCCC and the ASS of the link between the ASSA and the NCCC in his final speech on the history of the ASSA at the 1909 ASS meeting. From his perspective, the Conference had been extending the influence of the ASSA under the leadership of ASSA presidents such as Eliot, Curtis, Gilman, Benjamin Peirce, General Eaton, David Wells, Andrew White, Francis Wayland, Dr. Kingsbury, and Dr. William T. Harris. This isn't

[206] Silva and Slaughter, *Serving Power : The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert*; Silva and Slaughter, *Serving Power : The Making of the Academic Social Science Expert*; Silva and Slaughter, "Promethus Bound: The Limits of Social Science Professionalization in the Progressive Period."
[207] Silva and Slaughter, "Promethus Bound: The Limits of Social Science Professionalization in the Progressive Period," P. 784.

hard to believe, since apart from occasional incidents of discord that Haskell has pointed out, the ASSA promoted the NCCC as part of the network it envisaged in article XII of its founding constitution: "Whenever other associations shall be formed in other parts of North American, it shall be the policy of this Association to co-operate with them so far as possible. For this purpose, the Executive Committee is empowered to call a convention of these associations, or to send delegates to such a convention."[208]

Closer attention should be paid to the presentations and discussions at the NCCC, a venue which was started as a movement to bring together state boards of charity and health for progressive action on public charity and social hygiene, and which quickly grew into the premier forum for discussion on public and private forms of charity organization, penal reform, educational reform, political reform, and many other dimensions of the quest for a more scientifically based approach to social problems and coordinated efforts to end the growth of poverty in America. The NCCC helps us avoid a too easy dichotomization into advocacy versus objectivity, reform versus science, and charity versus philanthropy. For example, it allows us to question Robert Gross' interpretation of scientific charity. For sure, as Gross says, reformers thought they had found the formula for "eliminating the problem of society that beset particular persons" and thus "philanthropy aims to usher in a world were charity is uncommon – and perhaps unnecessary", but situating this reforming tendency as a charity-philanthropy dialectic does damage to the way the options would have appeared to these 19th century reformers.

[208] Association.

[209] There were not two traditions; there were hundreds if not thousands of traditions. While it makes for neater categorization, the real damage this view does is that it pulls the 19th century person apart while neglecting the distinguishing characteristics of the "new charity" or philanthropy that these reformers themselves claimed: the purposeful replacement of traditional and often religious forms of charity by a purportedly superior scientific and more genuinely efficient religious form of the same along with the seemingly absolute conviction of having arrived at a point in human history where social problems could now be solved once and for all.

That new communities of enquiry were created there can be no doubt, but Haskell argues that these new communities obliterated the older ones. Current scholarship gives us reason to doubt that, and to see instead the building of new communities onto the platforms provided by the older ones. Patricia Lengermann and Gillian Niebrugge's work has shown how the emerging academic fields continued to draw energy from reform activism throughout the 19th and into the 20th century.[210]

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[209] One cannot make too much of the historical meaning of Encyclopedia entries, but it is interesting to note that the entry for "philanthropy" in the 1931 edition of *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* reads "See Charity", while the 1968 *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* contains an article on philanthropy but none on charity. This might point to the conclusion that the problem with Gross' historiography of charity/philanthropy is more chronological. There is no doubt that "charity" as a concept picked up negative connotations beginning at least in the 19th century and carried forward. However, this should not be interpreted as the secularization of philanthropy in the 19th century, since this does not do justice to the extent to which the progressive ideas that were changing charity in the late 19th century were brought about by people with a social imaginary that cannot be understood apart from religion. Alice O'Connor's *Poverty Knowledge* (2002) does a much better job at tracing the complex history of the relationships between science and distinctions made between charity and philanthropy. Lawrence Jacob Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie, *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).P. 30.

[210] Lengermann and Niebrugge; Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, *The Women Founders : Sociology and Social Theory, 1830-1930 : A Text/Reader*.

The relationship between emerging social science and attempts to develop scientific approaches to charity are not "cleared up" by my account. In fact, they are revealed as more complex than many histories show. Scientific charity was simultaneously an assumed methodology borrowed from the natural sciences, a way to describe the inter and intra agency organization of charities on the municipal, state, and national level, a set of historical myths that provided functional legitimacy to increased coordination between public and private agencies, a way to move away from religious forms of charity without jettisoning religion, and much more. What we know today as the social science disciplines emerged from this fertile mixture of reformist energies propelled by a newfound confidence that the keys to the mysteries of human social aberrations, were now going to be solved. As Craig Calhoun wrote in *Sociology in America* (2007) concerning 19th century social science: "Theirs was not first and foremost an interest in research or knowledge for its own sake but instead for dealing with social (and sometimes personal) problems. Once the disciplinary project launched, however, advancing sociology became more often an end it itself. This did not go uncontested."[211] By the turn of the new century the reformist social scientists brought together by the NCCC were starting to realize the complexities of their vision, and their moral languages of scientific charity were starting to be pushed to their explanatory limits.

[211] Calhoun, P. 10ff. Calhoun believes that over emphasis on professionalization narratives can be traced to mid-twentieth century "professionalizers of sociology" who rewrote the history of the discipline as they "resisted identification of sociology with social reform and even more with socialism; most sought distance from applied fields, including social work. They invested in a vision of science as incremental progress towards the goal of positivist truth." Ibid., P. x.

What Haskell's narrative does capture for those interested in the history of scientific charity is how quickly understandings of human social problems were changing and that new causal explanations were being required. The words, concepts, stories, and metaphors that had been relied upon to propel the social scientific revolution from its onset, were starting to come up short, as differing interpretations of the language arose. In 1865 getting to the "root cause" of a human "social problem" appeared as the "natural" result of proper data analysis and better organization. Haskell opens up a brilliant line of questioning on how "By habitually locating causation outside man's intending, conscious mind, the younger generation of social thinkers adopted a moral perspective that made man appear neither as praiseworthy nor as blameworthy as he did to the founders of the ASSA."[212] The new generation of social scientists, many with newly minted German PhDs, had started to take positions of prominence in the emerging social science departments around the United States, and were beginning to probe the meaning of "root causes" and the formulas of the ASSA/NCCC, especially as the promised solutions did not seem to be forthcoming. Getting to the root causes of human social problems was still the objective. What changed was the methods to be deployed to get to those root causes. Current attempts to solve global social problems are rooted in self-understandings of the men and women of the ASSA and the NCCC. We could learn a lot more about the latest movements to end poverty, by spending time with those who first thought it possible.

Having now discussed the context for the deployment of the moral language of scientific charity, we can now turn to an analysis of the declensions of the language itself.

[212] Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, P. 242. .

CHAPTER FOUR

The Cruel Dominion of Superstition

INTRODUCTION

By definition "reform" means to re-shape or to somehow change for the better. Reform implies that what went before was somehow misshapen or somehow in need of change. It also implies the superiority of new forms that somehow improve or meliorate the inferior ones it seeks to replace or somehow transform.[213] To people interested in the history of philanthropy, one of the most commonly referenced strands of 19th century American reform is known as "scientific philanthropy" or "scientific charity". Yet scientific charity is often categorized as a retrogressive phenomenon and its claims to science are brushed aside and too often not explored at any depth.[214] Recent scholarship is re-evaluating the relationship between the emergence of academic sociology and 19th century reform, and is discovering an "intimacy" that propelled the success of both sociology and social work.[215] As one of the most recent scholars to treat the topic wrote:

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[213] Lorien Foote, *Seeking the One Great Remedy : Francis George Shaw and Nineteenth-Century Reform* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003); Wiebe; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform; from Bryan to F. D. R*, 1st ed. (New York,: Knopf, 1955).

[214] For one prominent example of such treatment see: Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse : A Social History of Welfare in America*. Katz, like others, conflates scientific charity with the COS, and thus focuses on the emphasis to create a relief bureaucracy more interested in studying and sorting the poor than helping them. The claim of COS interpreted as "retrogressive phenomenon" comes from: Kusmer, "The Functions of Organized Charity in the Progressive Era: Chicago as a Case Study."

[215] "American sociology emerged out of a large universe of non-academic reform organizations, primarily in connection with measures to reduce 'dependency', but including a vast array of 'progressive' causes. These organizations and the movements they represented made knowledge claims and presented themselves as experts, but were oriented to public education, standards, and regulation. Early attempts to use universities as advocates of reform produced hostile responses; skepticism about the possibility of mixing advocacy with scholarly objectivity persisted. Academics themselves attempted to distinguish themselves from reformers, and to claim rights as 'professionals'. An attempt to create a reform 'school' in New York did, however, have impact, but at the same time showed that this model could not be applied within universities." Turner, P. 6. See also: Deegan, *Race, Hull-House, and the University of Chicago : A*

> The creation of professional social science in the universities out of amateur organizations like the American Social Science Association has received the preponderance of historical attention. Those histories document professional social scientists casting social reforms, charity workers, and other amateurs out of the scientific pale in the 1890's, as wary professors distanced themselves from the amateurs' various reform agendas and seemingly unsophisticated social analysis. … Historians have written far less about charity reformers' interest in science and their application of it and virtually nothing to suggest that they might have created scientific knowledge or in any way altered the course of science's development in the United States. … An approach that takes seriously the scientific context of scientific charity, however, reveals a more complex and historically significant movement.[216]

My project is an exploration into "charity reformer's interest in science and their application of it", by identifying some of the powerful currents that made it so appealing to both the amateur and professionalizing social scientists of the ASSA and NCCC. This chapter in particular tries to understand how older forms of charity were discredited and viewed as needing to be reformed.[217] In this chapter, I trace out the moral languages used by those who assembled at the ASSA's NCCC to justify the idea(s) that something was wrong with traditional understandings of poverty and charity.[218] The following chapter picks up the related question of how justifications based on a positive construal of the powers of science amplified and extended the claims of scientific charity.

I take 19th century intellectual activity at face value, and so it stands to reason that if those assembled at the NCCC thought that older forms of philanthropy/charity were in

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New Conscience against Ancient Evils.

[216] Ruswick, *Almost Worthy : The Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917*, P. 28.

[217] Thomas Haskell pointed out that discrediting traditional systems of belief created a new market for expert advice in human affairs. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, P. 44.

[218] In 1879, 25 representatives of State Boards of Charities and Corrections met and decided to branch off from the ASSA, and it was at this piont that the name was changed to the National Conference of Charities and Correction, a name it bore for nearly forty years. The schism was amicable and there continued to be an overlapping membership between the two associations.

need of replacement because they were unscientific, then there would most likely be some evidence or justification marshaled against the older forms of unscientific philanthropy and/or charity. I start by showing that few were the voices making the case for the unaltered continuation of older (religious) forms of charity in the marketplace of ideas.[219] My research into the archives of the JSS, NCCC, and secondary documentation shows a striking consensus around a justification of the need to either replace or modify the older forms of charity through an appeal to: 1) assumptions about the failures of outmoded historic charity models, 2) a focus on the deleterious effects of indiscriminate almsgiving, and 3) the individual and social dangers associated with the pauperizing powers of indiscriminate giving to the poor. I look at how these three explanatory bundles functioned as justification for discrediting traditional forms of charity, as period intellectuals engaged in social scientific discussions which attempted to harmonize traditional understandings of charity with new discoveries in the physical sciences.[220] I suggest that by not identifying scientific charity too closely with the movements that used its concepts, but instead by viewing it as a widely available lexicon of metaphors, phrases, and words, one can better query its use by all those who thought science could transform charity for the better, both then and now.

OUTDATED MODELS OF CHARITY

The Cruel Dominion of Superstition

[219] Stanley Wenocur and Michael Reisch, *From Charity to Enterprise : The Development of American Social Work in a Market Economy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Thomas E. Woods, *The Church Confronts Modernity : Catholic Intellectuals and the Progressive Era*, Religion and American Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).
[220] Edward Cummings, "Charity and Progress," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 12, no. 1 (1897).

Despite divergent positions on religion, NCCC members were remarkably united in their active discrediting of older religious forms of charity.[221] The superstitions upon which past charitable structures reposed were being knocked away by the discovery of the laws that governed human nature and society heretofore shrouded in the metaphysics of religious and philosophical speculation.[222] A sense that there was something wrong with older forms of charity was in the air; as one local newspaper reported: "The new form of dealing with the problem of charity superseded one that for many centuries had bred and propagated pauperism and was peculiarly calculated to decimate the manhood and self-respect of all who were so unfortunate as to come within the radius of its misguided bounty."[223] General James A. Garfield, 20th President of the United States in 1881, and active ASSA member demurred at the 1869 meeting of the ASSA: "Society is an organism whose elements and forces conform to laws as constant and pervasive as those which govern the material universe; and the study of these laws will enable man to ameliorate his condition; to emancipate himself from the cruel dominion of superstition,

[221] The NCCC members were largely Protestant. The *Proceedings* between 1874 and 1909 record 21 conference sermons. Presbyterian and Congregational ministers tied for the most sermons during this period, with 4 each; Episcopal and Methodist ministers are second with 3 each, Unitarian, Catholic, and Baptist ministers are third with 2 apiece, and the 1909 conference sermon was given by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Catholics in general maintained an ambivalent relationship with scientific charity, especially its discrediting of almsgiving, on the grounds of theological differences and different historical valuations of tradition. Martin; Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement : The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford [Oxfordshire] New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1988); Boyd Hilton and ebrary Inc., "A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783-1846," (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Clifford S. Griffin, "American Benevolent Societies and Ante-Bellum Crusade against the Church," *The Catholic Historical Review* 47, no. 3 (1961); John F. Qunn, "Father Mathew's Disciples- American Catholic Support for Temperance 1840 - 1920," *Church History* 65, no. 4 (1996); Woods; Dorothy M. Brown and Elizabeth McKeown, *The Poor Belong to Us : Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); Skok, "Organized Almsgiving: Scientific Charity and the Society of St Vincent De Paul in Chicago 1871 - 1918."

[222] In one example the church was described as "too attached to its own traditions, too sure of its own ways, spurning the suggestions of sociology, psychology, ethnology, scientific charity…"Herbert Welch, NCCC 1908:74. Metaphysics were always referenced in the negative. P. Brice, M.D., NCCC 1889:82

[223] "Scientific Charity," *Rocky Mountain News*, Thursday June 23, 1892.

and from countless evils which were once thought beyond its control, and will make him the master rather than the slave of nature."[224]

Traditional charitable forms were accused of incompetence of method, but often worded so as to imply ignorance and not willful subversion.[225] As W. P. Fishback, a prominent Indianapolis lawyer, and philanthropic community leader, in his welcome address to the 1891 NCCC gathering said:

> Poverty, disease and vice are the three great ills that afflict mankind. These ills can be tracked to man's ignorance and misconduct. … The pious notions once entertained by many, and still cherished by a few, that human suffering is an essential part of the Creator's plan, that the sharp contracts between pinching poverty and inordinate wealth are to be perpetuated, finds no lodgment in the minds of enlightened and thoughtful men. … Hitherto philanthropic effort has been, in the main, empirical, erratic, impulsive. There has been zeal, but a zeal not according to knowledge. Your organizations deal with social problems in a scientific spirit.[226]

A well-intentioned Christian philanthropic tradition was lifted out of the barbarisms of history and portrayed as the life-blood of an American philanthropy which, while preserving a Christ-like brotherly power to heal the diseases of mankind, could now be improved or brought to millennial fulfillment through the discoveries of science, interpreted as the discoveries of the original designs of God for humans and society.[227]

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[224] James A. Garfield, as quoted by Prof. Francis Wayland of Yale College at the 1882 ASSA meeting, JSS 1882:4

[225] "True religion" was to be accomplished by new methods revealed by science which says to "first collect your facts", and these social facts are best collected through intimate knowledge brought about by direct contact with the poor, the techniques of which were being promoted by President Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, and Mr. Warner, author of *Scientific Charity* and *American Charities.* P. B. Flint, NCCC 1889:240

[226] W. P. Fishback, NCCC 1891:4

[227] For a detailed example see : Rev. J. M. Buckley's conference sermon : NCCC 1906 :11 For more on this theological transition: Cecil E. Greek, *The Religious Roots of American Sociology*, Garland Library of Sociology (New York: Garland Pub., 1992); Steven Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers : America's Pre-*

Building upon and branching out from the evangelical revivalism best known for it's early to mid 19th century abolitionism, more rational and social attitudes emerged in later part of the century concerning religion's role in the problems facing society. Intellectuals, frustrated by the hegemony of the traditional interpretations of theology and moral philosophy in the universities, read widely and formed discussion clubs where they honed their arguments, later to appear in speeches, articles, books, and university courses, promoting a more liberal attitude towards a variety of sources of extra-biblical ethical wisdom.[228] Others worked to renew theology from the inside. The New Theology associated with Andover Theological Seminary "would recognize a 'new relation to natural science', ignoring the 'long apparent antagonism' between 'the kingdoms of faith and of natural law', and advocate for the validity of extra-biblical moral sources based in science and a broader social application of the gospel of Christ – or as Theodore Munger said: an understanding somewhere between Calvin and Spencer.[229] Social Gospel arguments attempted to refocus religious energies away from an individualistic focus on

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Civil War Reformers, The American Moment (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). Mark A. Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World : The History of North American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002); Mark A. Noll and ebrary Inc., "The Civil War as a Theological Crisis," in *The Steven and Janice Brose lectures in the Civil War era*(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Noll et al; Marsden and ebrary Inc; Paul S. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More : Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*, Studies in Cultural History (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming : American Premillennialism, 1875-1982 : With a New Preface* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Ernest Robert Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism; British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago,: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[228] For example Chauncey Wright, leading member of the Metaphysical Club, argued that religious faith should be considered beyond argument. Religion satisfied an emotional need that was not to be understood rationally. Morality, on the other hand, is social and conventional and unlike religion, must be enforced publically based on rational reasoning. Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 1st ed. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), P. 212.

[229] Ronald C. White and Charles Howard Hopkins, *The Social Gospel : Religion and Reform in Changing America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), P. 33; Theodore Thornton Munger, *The Freedom of Faith*, 1 vols. (Boston, New York,: 1883).

"original sin" towards active opposition to social evils like concentrated wealth and power. University of Pennsylvania economist and chair of the Wharton School, active member of the NCC, and social gospeler, Simon N. Patten, said that his phenomenally successful book *The Social Basis of Religion* (1911) was to identify "religion, not with morality, but with the social reaction against degeneration and vice."[230]

I find no sustained defense of traditional religious charitable giving models in the *Proceedings* for the dates 1874 to 1909, nor any rebuttal or correction of this idea for the entire history of the NCCC. [231] Most seemed to have either agreed or disagreed in silence with statements such as John Spalding's in 1903: "Emerson says that America is God's great charity to the race; but true religion, working with the added power which science gives, is greater than America, and will purify, ennoble, and transform our life in some likeness to the divine ideals which as yet we but simply discern."[232] For example Simon N. Patten, wrote that "The crust of religious tradition and the doctrine of total depravity have kept the social anticipation of modern races from assuming a religious form", and so worked to shift the focus on doctrine from "the traditional basis to the realm of social

[230] Simon N. Patten, *The Social Basis of Religion*, American Social Progress Series (New York,: The Macmillan company, 1911), P. 244. "Early in the century, economist Simon Patten had emerged from the Social Gospel to conceptualize abundance as an attribute of the American century. As Patten had explained it in his The Social Basis of Religion (1911), economic scarcity produced both the old economic thinking and the old individualist Christianity, with its emphasis on sin, sorrow, and suffering. Modern industrial society instead required cooperation to distribute the social surplus and eliminate poverty." This passage continues to explain the reach of Patten's ideas via his students such as Edward T. Devine, Frances Perkins, and Rexford Tugwell. Olivier Zunz, *Why the American Century?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). See also: Zunz, *Philanthropy in America : A History*.

[231] The NCCC was influenced by what has been called "Social Gospel" religious leaders such as Francis G. Peabody, Washington Gladden, Charles Henderson, William Jewett Tucker, Graham Taylor, Walter Rauschenbusch etc. I chose not to include information on this very important movement simply because it has been well researched and written about. See for example: Munger, P. 33; White and Hopkins. See Walter Rauschenbusch's conference sermon, NCCC 1912:12.

[232] John Lancaster Spalding. NCCC 1903: 23

science".[233] Concepts of original sin were not necessary being abolished as much as they were being updated to include the sins of gross inequality, the avarice of industrial capitalism, and a host of social evils that appeared to them as tearing away at the social stability that religious institutions relied upon.

Active Discrediting of the Past

The problem with the older religious forms of charity is that they functioned under partial knowledge, guided as they were by the superstitions of centuries of encrusted religious traditionalism that obscured the true vision of the universal humanitarian and scientific philanthropy waiting to be released. The social scientists of the ASSA, and the social science being worked out at the NCCC, argued for the new by trafficking in discontinuity with the past.[234] ASSA and NCCC members were intent on finding the root causes of the social problems previously judged as mysteries, or as an 1881 contribution to the JSS had it: "The advance of civilization, for instance, points out scientific principles which enable us to struggle successfully against, and exterminate, diseases that once we could not understand. Yellow fever is a good illustration of this point. For centuries feeble and unavailing efforts had been made to annihilate this scourge, but not until modern civilization furnished the means and science the weapons

[233] White and Hopkins.
[234] Simon N. Patten, *The Premises of Political Economy; Being a Re-Examination of Certain Fundamental Principles of Economic Science* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott company, 1885); Simon N. Patten, *The Theory of Prosperity* (New York, London: The Macmillan Company; Macmillan & Co., ltd., 1902); Simon N. Patten, *Heredity and Social Progress* (New York, London: The Macmillan company;Macmillan & co., ltd., 1903); Simon N. Patten, *The New Basis of Civilization*, American Social Progress Series Ed. By S. Mcc. Lindsay ... 1 (New York, London, Macmillan & co., ltd.,: The Macmillan company;, 1907); Simon N. Patten, *Product and Climax*, The Art of Life Series (New York,: B.W. Huebsch, 1909); Patten, *The Social Basis of Religion*.

were its ravages successfully checked."[235] Dorothy Ross, a key contemporary scholar in this area wrote: "Progressive era social scientists filled their writings with a sense of discontinuity and turned away from the outmoded past…No sooner did these theorists enter history, as it were, than they turned against the past."[236] Emerging from the carnage of the American Civil War, and not knowing that their Gilded Age and Progressive dreams would soon be confronted on even larger battlefields, those in search of something solid upon which to re-found the American social project were less interested in models from the past and more interested in investigations into what modern science might have to offer.[237]

The "modernism" of the ASSA was a social progressive view of the ability of humans to use scientific knowledge, practical experimentation, and technology to reshape (reform) their environment.[238] The energy required to pursue the positive changes being imagined, required the telling of certain historical stories designed to demonstrate and inspire the need for progressive change. Religion penetrates the presentations and discussions of the NCCC, but the focus was on new practical solutions to physical and social problems. F. H. Vines in a 1901 NCCC lecture talked about the "undemonstrable theological systems" of old which were being traded out for a reading of the Bible which was said "to contain a sociology, or theory of human relations" or secular alternatives in

[235] Dr. Walter Channing, JSS 1881:90
[236] Clifford E. Clark, "Religous Beliefs and Social Reforms in the Gilded Age: The Case of Henry Whitney Bellows," *The New England Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1970); Crocker; Pimpare, *The New Victorians : Poverty, Politics, and Propaganda in Two Gilded Ages*; Ruswick, "Just Poor Enough: Gilded Age Charity Applicants Respond to Charity Investigators."; Salazar and ebrary Inc.
[237] F. B. Sanborn, "The Work of Social Science," *Journal of Social Science* 8, (1876); E. L. Godkin, "Legislation and Social Science," *Journal of Social Science* 3, (1871).
[238] Ross, "Modernist Social Science in the Land of the New/Old," P. 183.

the "sciences of man".[239] As John Louis Recchiuti has recently pointed out: "Some intellectuals of the era rejected modern science; some saw science as requiring a commitment to materialistic or naturalistic ontology; others believed that science could neither infuse life with meaningful purpose nor account for the world of the spirit. But with the advent of graduate programs in social science a structured secular alternative to the clergy's authority had arisen"[240] The ways in which poverty presented itself in a population could now be studied, and instead of palliation, like yellow fever, cures could be found and applied.[241] Social problems were not due to the curses of gods, but were disease like and could be effectively studied and cured.

Although impossible to quantify the extent, there is reason to believe that the NCCC's dim view of historical modes of charity was picked up and disseminated publically through period media. American newspapers mentioned the new methods of charity a handful of times in the first decade of the NCCC's existence (1870s), but by the turn of the century had increased its coverage to thousands of references.[242] In a Rocky Mountain News article announcing the coming NCCC meeting in 1888 scientific charity was presented as a "vital principle" – "an economical phase of the modern method of

[239] F. H. Vines, NCCC 1901:15

[240] A cleavage between the religious views of the NCCC and the growing academic social science centers appears to have some merit. A 1906 survey of religious affiliation of persons working in social work, charities, and social settlements reported that 74 percent claimed to be communicants of a church. The same survey, by the American Institute of Social Service, found that 92 percent of COS workers were members of a faith community, while the same was true of only 88 percent of social settlement workers. And 1913 academic social science was secularizing according to a study done by James Leuba of the 1913-1914 *American Men of Science,* which found that majority of faculty did not believe in God or immortality. Art Berman, *Preface to Modernism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

[241] The concept of social disease and epidemiological models is still being discussed today. See: Recchiuti, P. 25.

[242] Search terms: "scientific charity", "charity organization", and "charities and corrections" in the Pro Quest Historical Newspapers online archive: August 30, 2014. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/96910032?accountid=7398

dealing with the problem of hereditary pauperism". The article explains how we have learned from Mrs. J. Shaw Lowell, A.G. Warner, Henry Fawcett, and Charles W. Smiley (all proponents of scientific charity) that "the day is past" for the old Christian maxims of self-abnegating benevolence and indiscriminate almsgiving. " 'The poor we have always with us,' has been deemed an unfortunate saying, because the saying has helped to make it true. Mr. Smiley suggests that it should have read 'Under the beneficent sway of wisdom the poor shall cease to exist among you,' as it was said 'The Wolf and the lamb shall lie down together'."[243] Prior to the 1892 session of the NCCC a local paper presented scientific charity as "science and philanthropy directed by a higher standard of intelligence" which came to the rescue, by substituting the "crude ideas" of the past with the "preventive, reformatory, and curatives agencies", advances which constitute "a conspicuous phase of modern progress and one of surpassing importance." Scientific charity "repudiates the theological tradition" through an enlightened charity that understands "that pauperism, in its legitimate senses, is something to be abolished, and not a condition to be fostered by ill-advised treatment."[244]

Ignorant Methods and Dependence

Older forms of charity were ignorant of the dependence-creating nature of their methods. Modern understandings of human development and progress, freed from the whims of superstitions and divine chance, revealed the problematic social effects of the

[243] N. Krieger, "Epidemiology and Social Sciences: Towards a Critical Reengagement in the 21st Century," *Epidemiologic Reviews* 22, no. 1 (2000).
[244] Herbert B. Adams, "Notes on the Literature of Charities," in *Conference on Charities* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Murphy & Co, 1887), P. 42.

dependence of certain classes of humans upon others.[245] Rectifying this required turning traditional notions of Christian charity on their head.[246] After all, when the natural systems of human civilization are understood, poverty, like other components in the biological struggle for survival, could be viewed as having the corrective ability of teaching thrift and providence, unless cut short by "indiscriminate, unorganized, unsystematic charitable efforts."[247] The problem wasn't that the poor existed, but was instead those systems of charity that perpetuated the existence of poverty by standing in the way of modern scientific progress. In an 1887 serial publication called the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Herbert Baxter Adams writes: "If one would really understand the movements of social science and organized charities in the nineteenth century, he should at the outset grasp the fundamental fact that, for eighteen centuries, the charitable and legislative efforts of society have been pauperizing instead of elevating men."[248]

The focus shifted from the moral implications of the existence of poverty in general, to the process by which the worse forms of poverty, or pauperism, could exist in a modern society. Evolutionary theory bolstered this view, at the extreme introducing a social Darwinism into the lexicon of social science and causes of poverty, but for most

[245] Franklin H. Giddings, Professor of Sociology, Columbia College New York, asks in his presentation in 1896 if the term "social class" is a scientific category. He works out a Darwinian theory of social phenomena and sentiment. NCCC 1896:110

[246] Each NCCC meeting included a sermon, and these sermons were a combination of inspiration and exhortation designed to promote the idea that scientific discoveries in the social sciences only confirmed a more effective methodology for the broader application of an updated religiously motivated charity. "Every fundamental principle adopted by the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and the institutional and individual works which it commends are anticipated, supported and illustrated by the life, the spirit, the precepts of Christ." Rev. J. M. Buckley, NCCC 1906:11

[247] Dr. A. Reynolds, NCCC 1879:219

[248] Cornelia J. Cannon, "Philanthropic Doubts," *The Atlantic Monthly*, (1921): P. 290.

reformers simply bolstering the commonly accepted idea that nature functioned via a self-regulating pedagogical harshness. Dependence was an indication of the inability to progress naturally, and older forms of charity kept rather than delivered the poor from their state of dependence.[249] Peter Bryce, first superintendent of the Alabama Insane Hospital (founded 1861) and protégé of Dorothy Dix, speaking to the 1889 NCCC crowd said that: "The study of mind by metaphysical methods has heretofore, through the thousands of years that it has been attempted, proved utterly barren of all practical results. Any attempt, in fact to unravel the complex phenomena of the mental processes, without the bright light which modern science, and especially the Darwinian theory of development, throws upon it, would be as fruitless of results as the study of physiology without a knowledge of comparative anatomy."[250]

The *Proceedings* demonstrate a significant gap between the theory of the "new philanthropy" and the statistics used to supposedly prove the practical success of scientific charity methods. The General Manager of the St. Louis Provident Association, W. H. McClain delivered a report on research into the "causes of dependence resulting from defective character" by "a careful reading of one thousand cases take promiscuously from our files", roughly two-thirds of the case load handled in the first six months of the association's fiscal year. In only 17.8 percent of the cases was defective character shown to be the cause of dependence. According to the case files the causes of dependence in the 17.8 percent of cases were determined to be: Intemperance – 22.4 percent,

[249] In the 1880 U.S. Federal Census, a supplemental schedule called "Dependent, Defective, and Delinquent Classes" was included. This schedule included different forms to enumerate the following classes of individuals: Insane, Idiots, Deaf-mutes, Blind, Paupers and Indigent persons, Homeless children, and Prisoners.
[250] P. Bryce M.D. NCCC 1889:82

Inefficiency – 21.3 percent, Shiftlessness – 14 percent, Immorality – 12.9 percent, Stupidity – 7.8 percent , Improvidence – 7 percent, and Ignorance – 5.9 percent. McClain summarized his finding by admitting that it is impossible to prove "that any of these causes may be the underlying cause of any or all of the others", but that these dependents were "the prey of superstition and the victims of greed" and that "it took but little effort to trace back existing conditions of distress to their germ in ignorance."[251] Many presentations like this one used the concept of "scientific" to describe the collation of survey information, and the numbers were interpreted to support *a priori* scientific charity conclusions.[252]

Understanding the biological connections between insanity, crime, and pauperism allowed for better sorting of the "defectives" which in turn, allowed the development and application of programming that stopped and when possible prevented the dependence of those able-bodied poor who just needed to work. The reformist social scientists of the NCCC were convinced of the necessity for biological explanations of human problems, but differing theoretical opinions arose as they tried to ward off the dependence of the delinquent and defective classes. Some warned that just as in nature certain class gradations were given over to parasitically living off others, the social body has its share of parasitic attachments sucking away its lifeblood. In 1888, the Rev. Oscar C. McCulloch reviewing his book *The Tribe of Ishmael: A Study in Social Degradation* published the following year, proposed a biological metaphor to describe the pauper:

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[251] W. H. McClain, NCCC 1907:352

[252] "When we consider the ancestry of Victorian poverty research, a tendency toward this type of *a priori* thinking is clearly evident. Keynes, who greatly admired his predecessor in the development of under consumption theory, points out that the Malthus *Essay* is essentially "*a priori* and philosophical in method" despite attempts in the later editions to dress the theory up with facts and numbers." "Scientific Charity."

> The Sacculina is a minute organism which is found attached to the body of the hermit crab. It has a kidney-bean-shaped body, with a bunch of root like processes through which it sucks the living tissues of the crab. It is known as the Sacculina. It is a crustacean, which has left the free, independent life common to its family, and is living as a parasite, or pauper. The young have the Nauplius form belonging to all crustacea: it is a free swimmer. But very soon after birth a change comes over it. It attaches itself to the crab, loses the characteristics of the higher class, and becomes degraded in form and function. An irresistible hereditary tendency seizes upon it, and it succumbs. A hereditary tendency I say, because some remote ancestor left its independent, self-helpful life, and began a parasitic, or pauper, life." "…the Sacculina stands in nature as a type of degradation through parasitism, or pauperism.[253]

Left unchecked, older charitable methods, unscientific as they were, were thought to unwittingly contribute to the pauperization of the poor. How else could the existence and growth of poverty alongside the enormous increase in wealth and standards of living provided by industrialization be accounted for? One of the great discoveries of scientific charity was the malevolent effect of misguided Christian benevolence.

Improper Methods and Pauperization

Giving could interfere with the natural order of things, which left alone had a tendency to teach its harsh lessons of survival. Charles Richmond Henderson, University of Chicago Sociologist and Chaplain, defended the idea of a new charity, a scientific rational philanthropy, that was actively "supplanting instinctive, short-sighted amiability, and is aiming at sanitation, education, segregation, elimination." The distinguishing feature of the new charity was that it "thrives in an environment of science". "It knows

[253] Rev. Oscar McCulloch, NCCC 1888:159

more than the old charity."[254] For Henderson, reflecting an oft-repeated view at the NCCC, one of the key causes of pauperism was misplaced benevolence, a chief culprit being the Christian tradition of almsgiving. Christian attempts at philanthropy could get in the way. "Sectarian almsgiving, a sort of ecclesiastical (I refuse to say religious) bribery, is to blame for the pauperization of many a family in our cities. Missions vie with each other for the opportunity of destroying the self-respect and self-help of poor families, by distributing old clothes and fitful supplies of groceries, while they refuse persistently to cooperate through the Association of Charities in wise measures for exterminating the cursed disease of pauperism."[255]

Churches were accused of being hypocritical in the way they dealt with the poor. Temperance workers who worked to dissuade the existence of houses of vice and saloons, wouldn't think twice about "the copper tossed to the beggar" when they knew "that he will use it for an immoral purpose."[256] S.M. Jones suspected that much of the motivation to charity of the rich was prompted by a popular gospel of prosperity. At the 1899 NCCC meeting he told the story of a gambler who practiced charity in hopes to garner God's favor in improving his hand. Jones contrasts this with "real benevolence" – justice shown to everyone mediated by government, so that "the thing now called charity will be known only as a relic of a distressing stage of civilization that the race has happily passed by."[257]

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254 C. H. Henderson, NCCC 1897:332
[255] Martin, P. 96.
[256] C. S. Grout, NCCC 1900:253
[257] S. M. Jones, NCCC 1899:133-134. Or as expressed by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise in 1909: "We have had effective injustice and ineffectual charity; we would have effective justice and effectual charity." NCCC 1909:29

Older forms of charity were ignorant of the biological sources and dynamic links between vice, crime, and pauperism. John Spalding at the 1903 NCCC meeting said: "As disease is largely preventable, we believe that vice, pauperism, and crime are also preventable. The law of causation is universal; and, the cause being known, the finding of the remedy ought to lie within the reach of intelligence and love."[258] The NCCC was the site of some of the first American discussions about the social and legal implications of understanding certain forms of insanity, criminality and even alcoholism as medical and not moral in nature.[259] Throwing off the shackles of "priestly superstition" was necessary in order to apprehend the "causes wholly natural and beyond their control" of those suffering from diseases of the mind as well as the body.[260] In another presentation the scientific treatment of mental disease was presented as a return "to those scientific and humane measures practiced by heathen philosophers and physicians three and four thousand years ago" after centuries of the "ancient superstitions" of the Christian church that thought insanity was a sign of demonic activity.[261]

Based as it was in non scientific views of the human and human social problems, older forms of remedial charity both knowingly and unwittingly conspired to keep the poor available for the symbiotic relationship between the need of the Christian to do good

[258] John Lancaster Spalding. NCCC 1903: 20
[259] Already in 1869 advances in the treatment of alcoholism as a disease was promoted as a form of scientific philanthropy. Charles Richmond Henderson, *An Introduction to the Study of the Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Classes* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Company,), microform.
[260] Dr. L. A. Tourtellot, NCCC 1876:67
[261] Mr. Lord, NCCC 1879:84

works and the need of the pauper to feed his children.[262] Mary Richmond, traced out the three historical phases of charitable progress as: "The phases of indiscriminate relief, of individual service, and of social service." The first phase was inaugurated and sustained by the "spirit of the mediaeval church" which had "encouraged charitable giving as a species of fire insurance. The poor, when they were thought of at all, were too likely to be regarded as a means of saving the giver's soul."[263] The mechanism of this system rooted in superstition was believed to be the indiscriminate distribution of relief (alms). Phase two was a reference to the better yet, but still unscientific initiatives of reformers too focused on private means of improving the moral conditions of paupers, reformers who needed to move to the third and final stage of rationally structured and organized scientific charity in which both public and private means were reconstructed for the benefit the whole of society. [264]

INDISCRIMINATE CHARITY

Unwise Giving and Pauperism

Scientific charity wasn't about doing away with all forms of poor relief by those assembled at the NCCC, but it was very much focused on the belief that new "scientific" methods now existed which could remove the "indiscriminate" nature of traditional

[262] For a detailed look into an influential NCCC member's understanding of the transition from old to new forms of charity see: George F. Shrady, "Hospital for the Paralyzed and Epileptic," *The Medical Record: A Semi-Monthly Journal of Medicine and Surgery* 4, no. March 1, 1869 - February 15, 1870 (1869).
[263] Edward T. Devine, *Misery and Its Causes* (New York,: The Macmillan company, 1909).
[264] For more detail on the fears of indiscriminate charity see: Richmond, *Friendly Visiting among the Poor; a Handbook for Charity Workers*, P. 7.

charity, which often did more harm than good. Through giving to the pauper outside of an officially sanctioned institutional accountability structure, the person's character could be brought to ruin.[265] The statement that "Indiscriminate almsgiving is the bane and nutriment of pauperism" summarized the common view at the conference.[266] This view held strong throughout the period under study (1874-1909). At the turn of the century George Wilson could say that: "Indiscriminate relief-giving, undoubtedly, is a more potent factor in creating and perpetuating pauperism than anything else carried on in the name of charity."[267] In a presentation entitled: "Organized Charities", the Rev. C. G. Trusdell, Commissioner of Public Charities for Illinois in 1885, presented the principles of scientific charity as the polar opposite of indiscriminate almsgiving, in pursuit of the grand question of the age: "how to do the most good for the unfortunate and dependent or defective classes without injuring them or society."[268]

Although indiscriminate giving was considered to be the prime cause of pauperism in COS ideology, as others pointed out, if the scientific charity finger could be turned around to point at the COS, one might find that "it is as bad charity to give indiscriminately to charity organizations as to individual cases of need."[269] Having located the prime causal culprit, quantifying the scope and scale of the problem became prominent at the NCCC. Proof of the nefarious effects of types of giving that pauperized

[265] In the both the British and American welfare systems non-institutional relief was known as "outdoor relief and as many have shown, this form of charitable provision was considered by many to be pauperizing. This was a very important topic at the NCCC as Trattner and Katz's work in particular has pointed out. For a period understanding of the positions on outdoor relief see: Benjamin Soskis, "The Problem of Charity in Industrial America, 1873-1915" (Columbia University, 2010).
[266] Dean Hart, NCCC 1887:384
[267] George Wilson, NCCC 1900 :257
[268] Rev. C. G. Trusdell, NCCC 1885:329
[269] A. W. McDougall, 1907:377

provided motivation for the increase in "statistical" language at the NCCC.[270]

The *Proceedings* are chocked full of the counting and recounting of the "statistics" of the work of state boards and private charities, and the net effect of all these numbers was supposed to "prove" that scientific charity's theoretical core was on target, as public and private pauper roles decreased (outdoor relief) and rationalized institutional methods increased in their improved (scientific) care and segregation of the permanently defective and thus dependent. Facts were data points, responses to surveys, government statistics, charity numbers tallied, and historical accounts of past charitable schemes. We are witnessing the 19th century birth of the quantitative social sciences, yet it is important to note that these "statistics" were mostly just assembled numbers used to justify forgone assumptions.[271] Referring to 19th century statistics one recent commentator wrote: "they use much more space proposing and justifying the new science than they do actually realizing it."[272] Scientific charity included the idea that quantitative approaches would yield social epidemiological-like data, which would then help reformers better coordinate public and private efforts to put an end to the social disease of pauperism once and for all.

[270] The word "statistics" was is found 2044 times in the Proceedings between 1874 – 1909. The annual conference provided the opportunity for "reports" from the State Boards, various NCCC committees, and represented charity organizations, and these reports were full of numbers from case files and surveys. For a rare and interesting questioning of the "improper use of statistics" see: Miss Kate Holladay Claghorn, NCCC 1909:234

[271] Charles A. Ellwood, "Public Outdoor Relief," *The American Journal of Sociology* 6, no. 1 (1901).

[272] Robert C. Bannister, *Sociology and Scientism : The American Quest for Objectivity, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

A Problem Both Public and Private

Private forms were on the whole to be preferred by NCC members, but not without reforms that would readjust the central purpose of charity from palliative expressions of religious virtue, to practical implementation of scientific methods considered to be an even more fulfilling manifestation of the Christian *telos*, through its ability to end human misery once and for all. Public forms, in partnership with the private, would attain new levels of effectiveness through cooperation with business, the new trusts, and emerging academic training that was providing political and social recommendations based on inductive examination of the social facts. Scientific charity's mission was to correct the evil propagated in the world by the benevolent impulse of the human race. Charles W. Smiley described in Popular Science Monthly that having moved from the biological necessity of the survival of the fittest, the moral philosophers of the Christian era, in which the treatment of others was valued equally with self, had created another problem: the inability to distinguish between justifiable egoism and unjustifiable egoism. Moral progress was described as a historical transition from excessive egoism of primitive man, through the indiscriminate altruism of the Christian era, and now arriving at the final stage: justifiable egoism and discriminate altruism, or in other words: scientific charity, with its ability to care for and protect the whole of society by seemingly harsh treatment of certain individuals within that society.[273]

A scientific approach could at once better penetrate into the individual failings of humans, while simultaneously offering systemic remedies through better societal

[273] Breslau, P. 39.

organization. The motivation to reorganize the activities of the traditional almsgiving "remedial" private charities was predicated on the belief that they were ineffective at best and harmful at worse. Public relief was slated for better coordination with systems like that of the voluntary friendly visitor to simulate a level of familial accountability to the charitable arrangement; reforms to all charitable provision were cast in the language of scientific improvements through greater understanding of the actual problems, better systematizing of proposed solutions, and the promise of superior preventative implementation over the palliative measures still too often found.[274] Stephen Ziliak's research into the Indianapolis COS showed the failure of both public and private charity to bring about the stated goal of independence as measured by successful exits of the charity rolls via employment. He also showed the tight coordination between private and public means driven by Indianapolis' political, business, and religious reformers' fears of dependence and dedication to the abolition of indiscriminate charity.[275] The organization of charity was "the scientific method applied to the social suffering in our towns and cities", and its main work is to warn the public against indiscriminate charity.[276]

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[274] The literature of the English poor law debates acted as source materials for much of the NCCC discussions. From Malthus, Mill, Spencer and more directly through the work of Thomas Chalmers, Samuel Richard Bosanquet, Thomas Mozley and Frederick Oakeley, the ASSA and NCCC members inherited the views that pauperism grew in proportion to dependence upon relief that was not indexed to community inclusion and productive labor. Although they were the first to see poverty as a problem of labor, they were also convinced of personalistic and business-like administration of relief based on sorting out the truly deserving from the imposters. "Scientific Charity."

[275] Thomas Chalmers and Henry Hunter, *Problems of Poverty : Selections from the Economic and Social Writings of Thomas Chalmers D.D* (London ; New York: T. Nelson, 1912). Ziliak's work pointed out the fundamental contradiction in theory of both sides of the contemporary welfare debate's interpretations of 19th century changes in relief. "Liberal and socialist scholarship since Dickens has figured the middling classes a crowd of Scrooges before Marley's Ghost. Tiny Tim suffers in their stinginess, which is taken to be a *prima facie* case for governmental intervention. On the other hand, conservative scholarship has elevated the Ladies Bountiful and the Andrew Carnegies, who, when left alone, share generously in their bounty, but whose beneficence does not produce negative effects. And yet private charity cannot be in in one time and place both small and harmful and large and unharmful." P. 6.

[276] Oscar C. McCulloch, NCCC 1885 :341

Gifts directed for the relief of the poor through either ecclesiastical or governmental taxation were considered to have largely failed in Europe; and Americans considered their context to be well suited for experimentation with new models. [277] Both public and private forms were equally targeted, discussed, and slated for proposed solutions.[278] In *Public Relief and Private Charity* (1884) Josephine Shaw Lowell wrote about the "principles underlying our science" of the modern methods of charity: "There are persons who argue that compulsory or public relief in all its forms, tends in the end to do harm, by diminishing prudence and industry…but they forget, apparently, that there are in every community, persons who cannot maintain themselves, and who have no friends upon whom they have a claim, and that it would not be well, even for others, that these should be driven to desperation by the absolute pressure of want…"[279]

By holding in check the pauperizing influences of remedial charity based in superstitions, the way was now cleared to get to the roots of the causes of pauperism and exterminate it once and for all.[280] Edward Devine, a COS stalwart wrote extensively to

[277] Stephen T. Ziliak, "Essays on Self-Reliance: The United States in the Era of "Scientific Charity"" (The University of Iowa, 1996).

[278] Like Ziliak, Waugh, and Ruswick, others have focused on the case of Indiana. Milton Gaither thought that the success of state-based bureaucratic preventative measures undertaken "suggests that at least in this regard progressivism was more potent than standard accounts have noted." He mentioned the standard history of philanthropy like Robert Bremner's *American Philanthropy,* which "chronicles the shift from charity to organized philanthropy and from amateur almsgiving to scientifically managed care, but it does not explain how this shift came about. If it is true that "it was the spread of this scientific approach" that impressed reformers as "the great humanitarian achievement of their day," then it would seem important that the historian investigate how this spread was accomplished." Congrès International d'Assistance Publique et de Bienfaisance Privée, *Receuil Des Travaux Du Congrès International D'assistance Publique Et De Bienfaisance Privée Tenu Du 30 Juillet Au 5 Août 1900*, Exposition Universelle De 1900 (Paris: Secrétariat Général du Congrès, 1900).

[279] Milton Gaither, "The Rise and Fall of a Pedagogical Empire: The Board of State Charities and the Indiana Philosophy of Giving," *Indiana Magazine of History* 96, no. 4 (2000). See also her contribution on the same topic: NCCC 1895:44.

[280] Part of what reformers were starting to realize and discuss was the need for State level administration over the traditional American system of municipal organization inherited from the British. See: Hugh F. Fox, NCCC 1901:106

help both private and public charity associate and cooperate in search of effective relief.[281] Franklin Sanborn, who almost single handedly administered the ASSA, edited the JSSS, and founded the NCCC, from his first writings argued for the need for public forms of relief.[282] One should not forget that the ASSA itself and in particular the NCCC was the creation of the new State Boards of Charity bent on improving public administration of what they saw as growing social problems and poverty.[283] It was now up to them to complete the task of identifying and removing out the roots of misguided schemes of philanthropy in which degeneracy and dependence could grow and spread.

Contagion and Quarantine

Stamping out the "unwise" methods of charity would not only rescue the fellow man, but would protect the wider society from the spread of pauperism, that like a disease could be caught upon exposure, but could be cured by scientific quarantine and treatment. "Crime, pauperism, and social contagion are daily placing in jeopardy the person and property of every citizen of the commonwealth."[284] The concept of "social contagion" was promoted at the NCCC meetings, and in parallel so were new understandings of the duty of charity to protect the worthy poor and society at large from the degrading effects

[281] Josephine Shaw Lowell, *Public Relief and Private Charity*, Questions of the Day. No. Xiii (New York & London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884), P. 3.
[282] Franklin Sanborn, "Indoor and Outdoor Relief", NCCC 1890:80
[283] Joan Waugh, referring to the work of Paul T. Ringenback's *Tramps and Reformers* writes that it is impossible to estimate how many unemployed people needed aid at the time, but that has not kept many from attempting to provide numbers to show how many people suffered when public aid was cut off. See for example: Edward T. Devine, *The Practice of Charity; Individual, Associated and Organized*, Hand-Books for Practical Workers in Church and Philanthropy (New York,: Lentilhon & company, 1901). Barry J. Kaplan, "Reformers and Charity: The Abolition of Public Outdoor Relief in New York City: 1870-1890," *Social Service Review* 52, (1978).
[284] H. W. Charles, NCCC 1909:454

of pauperism that led to dependence. By exposure to other dependents "the once honest pauper catches the contagion" and stoops to living on the generosity of others.[285] The honest poor (deserving, worthy) were not the problem; "but the pauper who has the ability, and refuses the opportunity, to support himself and his family, who has lost his manhood and his independence, is a dangerous element in society, and must be dealt with accordingly. It is our duty to protect ourselves while there is time."[286] Dr. R. T. Davis, from the Department of Social Economy on Pauperism in the City of New York, reported that due to inflation caused by "the business panics" and the growing disparity between the rich and poor, a large number of workingmen with their families had been thrown into pauperism. The cause for alarm was not just the increase in poverty, but the fear that "The pauperizing influences, however, of this indiscriminate charity reached beyond these classes."[287] Environmental and personal views of poverty mingle here, as Davis went on to describe how extravagant habits during times of prosperity (lack of frugality) has made these paupers penniless in the time of depression. Hereditary and genetic causes of pauperism were proposed as scientific, without agreement on proposed solutions. New scientifically engineered asylums, hospitals and prisons were under construction around the country, and their proper management filled many papers and discussion at the NCCC, and the "humane treatment" and "cure" of the defective and delinquent classes was undertaken on a grand scale.

[285] Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, NCCC 1877:53
[286] Henry E. Pellew, NCCC 1879:220
[287] Dr. R. T. Davis, NCCC 1874:75-76

Nature Versus Nurture

While virtually all those assembled at the NCCC agreed that older forms of charity needed to be amended due to the non-scientific nature of the indiscriminate practices of American charities, this is not to say that there was agreement on the motivations and methods for the changes being proposed.[288] Environmental and personalistic views as to the sources and solutions of the problem of pauperism were both present at the NCCC. For some, individual character was the causal root of pauperism. In a presentation entitled "Scientific Charity" Mrs. Glendower Evans thought that the problem with older forms of charity was that "alms to the improvident do not even relieve their materials needs, for by no device can we permanently stand between a man and his own character. Others can never take as good care of him as he could take care of himself; and indiscriminate charity is by its very nature insufficient and uncertain, - it first encourages a man to be idle, and then keeps him on the verge of starvation."[289] Thrift, savings, and other schemes designed to cut at the individual level problems were frequently discussed.[290] Following the example of the Black Heath Mendicity Society in England, vouchers were proposed, or "mendacity tickets" as they were called.[291] Seemingly harsh measures aimed at individual failings were considered to be "tough love" approach and a more enlightened humanistic philanthropy. For example, making all

[288] Debates concerning the personal versus the social causes of poverty have been traced by following the different positions taken by the settlement movement, which insisted more on the causal connections between the condition of the poor and industrial and legislative defects. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor : From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*; Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State : A History of Social Welfare in America*, 6th ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1999).
[289] Mrs. Glendower Evans, NCCC 1889:27
[290] Other intra-agency schemes discussed: fuel and food savings societies, burial societies, industrial schools, day nurseries, provident dispensaries, and recreation societies.
[291] Dean Hart, NCCC 1887:348

but the most destitute pay for their hospital fees was important according to Henry M. Hurd, M.D. (Johns Hopkins Hospital) since an equitable amount would preserve the self-respect of the patient. "Charity given unnecessarily and indiscriminately is demoralizing. It begets thriftlessness and improvidence, and leads to pauperization."[292]

For others the root cause of pauperism was the injustice ingrained in the competitive system of modern industry. In a presentation entitled "Charity or Justice, -Which?", the Hon. S. M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, questioned the "slipshod, make-shift character of our whole miserable social system, conceived in the iniquity of a denial of brotherhood relations with our fellow-men, founded upon the injustice of using our fellow-men for purposes of profit, and then bolstering it up by the petty frauds that we carry on in the name of charity…"[293] Extending the work of Furner, Haskell and Ross, Brent Ruswick has provided a compelling overview of the complex transition from personalistic to environmental moral views of the roots of pauperism, by highlighting the work of Oscar McCulloch of the Indianapolis COS.[294]

For many others, both individual and environmental perspectives appear mixed together in the same presentations. The NCCC *Proceedings* reflect a widely shared view that public relief had the wrong intention but the right methods, while private remedial charities had the right intentions but the wrong methods. Scientific charity reformers recognized this as a problem of coordination of sympathies and systems and worked to realign the growing bureaucracies and expanding national wealth more efficiently. It was

[292] Dr. Henry M. Hurd, NCCC 1890:162
[293] Mayor, S. M. Jones, NCCC 1899:349
[294] Ruswick, *Almost Worthy : The Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917*.

not easy to demarcate the difference between a pauper worthy of assistance and one who was not. This is one reason why charity organization's promise of better interagency coordination and interagency systematization was such a compelling selling point. Unsure of the causal mechanisms and just where the pauper's hereditary character flaws ended and contagion imitating from the physical, social, and policy environment begin. Most reformist social scientists colored on both sides of the lines. Charles Henderson, prominent NCCC member and Christian sociologist, was both a key figure in the drive for compulsory universal health insurance and member of one of the early Eugenic societies, the American Breeder's Association.[295]

The Worthy and Unworthy Poor

Often viewed negatively due to its basis in class, race, and gender the concept of the "unworthy poor" masks the fact that for period reformers, the ability to discern a segment of the poor who were poor by no fault of their own, or worthy, was one of the important steps towards the political rights of the poor and the recognition of the systematic or environmental causes of certain forms of poverty. Not seeing the poor "as one lump" was presented as a scientific advance to them, and doing away with "the arbitrary lump methods for dealing with men" was necessary for truly preventative means to be discovered.[296] Once traditional almsgiving charities were either abolished or brought under the organizing supervision of associated charity regulation, the new

[295] Carl N. Degler, *In Search of Human Nature : The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), P. 43; Ruswick, *Almost Worthy : The Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917*, P. 144.
[296] Raymond Robbins, NCCC 1905:161

preventative charity of the future would start to take effect and the real work of charity, which is to remove the need for it, could be undertaken.[297] The very language of "charity" was changing, "reshaped from a material and merciful domain to that of Victorian character and social science. … The cure for pauperism demanded a renewed faith in the distinction between the "worthy" and "unworthy". But the spirit of the times asked science not religion, to find the solution."[298] At the first meeting of the NCCC in 1874, in a report on pauperism in the city of New York, Dr. R. T. Davis said that: "The first duty of a community like the American is not to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but to prevent people from being hungry and naked."[299] According to the report, the answer came through educational and preventive charities, not the traditional almsgiving charities. Relief should always be connected to work, careful site visits (case work) should be conducted to sort out those truly deserving of charity from those whom would be further pauperized by it, displacements of people from parts of the country (the East) where paupers were in abundant supply to parts where labor is needed.[300]

Much has been made elsewhere about reformers' distinctions between the worthy and unworthy poor. Most late 19th century definitions of the unworthy boiled down to whether the pauper was willing to work or not.[301] This was the reason for the wide spread

[297] This idea pre-dates organized charity, and can be found for example in the influential work of Henry Fawcett (1871) in *Pauperism: Its Causes and Remedies*. Fawcett made a distinction between the voluntary poor and involuntary poor.
[298] Robert Hunter, "The Relation between Social Settlements and Charity Organization," *The Journal of Political Economy* 11, no. 1 (1902); Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley, "Back to the Future: Settlement Sociology, 1885-1930."; Deegan, *Race, Hull-House, and the University of Chicago : A New Conscience against Ancient Evils*.
[299] Dr. R. T. Davis, NCCC 1874:75-76
[300] Ziliak, "Essays on Self-Reliance: The United States in the Era of "Scientific Charity"", P. 46.
[301] Louise Seymour Houghton, "Wanted: A Test for Pauperism," *The North American Review* 147, (1888): P. 347-348.

technique of the "work test" (also called the wood yard and/or work house); a way for the person in need of relief to prove their industriousness and thus qualify for assistance by chopping wood which would then be sold to support the activities of the charity.[302] Yet even the strongest proponents of character-based definitions of poverty, were not calling for the abolishment of public systems, but for their reform and perhaps even more accurately their greater coordination and usage of what they considered to be the new scientific principles able to remedy if not end the social problems in question.[303] Scientific charity had revealed the nexus of the social problem: the social disease of pauperism.

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[302] For a period explanation of the work test see: Elizabeth A. Segal and Stephanie Brzuzy, *Social Welfare Policy, Programs and Practice* (Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock, Publ., 1998); Ruswick, *Almost Worthy : The Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917*; Ruswick; Priscilla Ferguson Clement, *Welfare and the Poor in the Nineteenth-Century City : Philadelphia, 1800-1854* (Rutherford [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985); Trattner; Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums; Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1963); Ruth Richardson and ebrary Inc., "Dickens and the Workhouse Oliver Twist and the London Poor," (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Walter Licht, *Getting Work : Philadelphia, 1840-1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992). Amos Griswold Warner, *American Charities; a Study in Philanthropy and Economics*, Library of Economics and Politics (New York,: T. Y. Crowell, 1894); Rev. S. Humphreys Gurteen, *A Handbook of Charity Organization* (Buffalo, New York: Self Published The Courier Company, 1882); Alfred Kadushin and ebrary Inc., "Supervision in Social Work," (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). The work test could be accomplished by having industries attached to the COS, often wood-yards for men and laundries for women. These industries served several purposes including providing income to the charitable organization, the establishment of a workfare arrangement in exchange for relief, as well allowing the charity supervisors to sort out those with willingness to work (the worthy) from the lazy (the pauperized unworthy). As discussions in the 1881 NCCC *Proceedings* point out, schemes to employ the poor were harder to work out in practice than in theory. (NCCC, 1881:113) The wood-yard was the most common since it was easy to set up and required little skill. However, it was recognized that while "giving able-bodied applicants a chance to earn their temporary food and shelter" the COS related industries were not the same as genuine employment. Actually work relief has been traced back to 16th century England, was known in Colonial America, and was not really a new method. It was perhaps the commercial nature of the business and the new conceptions of employment that obscured this from the view of 19th century COS reformers. The NCCC records contain several discussions concerning work schemes such as Washington Gladden's *What To Do With the Workless Man,* at the 1899 conference. (NCCC 1899:141)

[303] Felix Driver, *Power and Pauperism : The Workhouse System, 1834-1884*, 1st pbk. ed., Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Mary E. Burns, "The Historical Development of the Process of Casework Supervision as Seen in the Professional Literature of Social Work" (Thesis, University of Chicago., 1958).

THE ROOTS OF PAUPERISM

Pauperism as Disease

The consideration that pauperism was "disease like" was novel, and an important part of the scientific charity bundle of ideas. For Lowell the ability that science provided "to strike at the root of the matter – the prevention of pauperism" required knowing the "cause of the disease in a particular individual", which even in cases where the individual could not be cured, "may help us ward off the disease from his neighbor, or to stamp it out."[304] The new insights of scientific charity, and its cause-revealing powers, could confidently state: "No truth in human history is more self-evident, than that if we would remove evils, whatever may be their nature, their primary causes must first receive attention. And, in order to do this successfully, their origin, or roots, must be made our careful study, and be exposed and set before the public in such a variety of ways that proper means will be employed to eradicate them."[305] Science once fully deployed could get to the bottom of the root causes for the very existence of the delinquent and the defective, allowing for new methods to be devised to free humans from dependence upon the caprices of the charitable schemes of gods and governments. The process by which humans slipped downward from their full humanity into the less-then-human condition of the pauper was becoming clear.[306] In 1916 Edward T. Devine could write: "If we think of

[304] Dr. A. Reynolds, NCCC 1879:211
[305] Nathan Allen, M.D. NCCC 1878:80
[306] Quite a few books had been published on the topic prior to and during the early years of the NCCC: Robert Pashley, *Pauperism and Poor Laws* (London,: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852); R. C. Waterson and YA Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), *An Address on Pauperism, Its Extent, Causes, and the Best Means of Prevention : Delivered at the Church in Bowdoin Square, February 4, 1844* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1844); Henry Fawcett, *Pauperism: Its Causes and Remedies*

pauperism as mental disease or mental defect, and of poverty which is not pauperism as an economic and social condition, the former to be eliminated or relieved by eugenic and sanitary measures acting on the individual, the later to be eliminated or mitigated by economic progress and social reform, resulting in greater efficiency and more just relations, we are at least thinking in scientific terms, and relying upon remedies which science can examine and assess."[307] At the twelfth annual conference the Conference President opined that in the same way that mankind learned about the laws that govern the physical world from the science of the persecuted Galileo, the moral world was now learning about the laws that govern the degraded and defective classes from the scientific advances being described and shared at the annual NCCC meetings. By studying social problems at their root it has now been "shown that the sources of mental, physical, and moral aberration are so nearly related that the association of the two subjects is eminently appropriate. Ignorance, indolence, intemperance, uncontrolled anger, and licentiousness originate alike a large part of the crime, insanity, idiocy, physical defect, and pauperism

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(London & New York: Macmillan and Co., 1871); R. L. Dugdale and Correctional Association of New York., *Special Visit to County Jails and Special Study of Crime and Pauperism in the "Jukes"* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1875); Richard Louis Dugdale, *"The Jukes"; a Study in Crime, Pauperism, Diseases, and Heredity; Also, Further Studies of Criminals*, 3d ed, rev. ed. (New York,: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1877); Gonzalvo C. Smythe and YA Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), *Influence of Heredity in Producing Disease and Degeneracy; the Remedy. Insanity, Inebriety, Crime and Pauperism Considered as Physical Diseases; Acquired Physical Conditions Transmitted to Offspring; an Unprejudiced Discussion of the Alcohol Question; All Sin Reduced to a Physical Basis* (Indianapolis,: W. B. Burford, printer, 1891); William Tallack, *Penological and Preventive Principles, with Special Reference to Europe and America, and to Crime, Pauperism, and Their Prevention; Prisons and Their Substitutes; Habitual Offenders; Conditional Liberation; Sentences; Capital Punishment; Intemperance; Prostitution; Neglected Youth; Education; Police*, 2d and enl. ed. (London,: Wertheimer, Lea & co., 1896); George C. Bennett, *Paupers, Pauperism and Relief-Giving in the United States* (New York: Lockwood press, 1896); Edward T. Devine, *Pauperism: An Analysis; a Paper Submitted in Section Viii, Public Health and Medical Science, of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington, December, 1915* (New York,: New York School of Philanthropy, 1916); Charles L. Brace, "Review of Books on Pauperism on Elberfeld and Works by Emminghaus, Moreau-Christophe, Baron De Watteville, Fawcett, and the Reports of the State Boards of Charity of New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.," *The North American Review* 120, no. 247 (1875); Salazar and ebrary Inc.

[307] Edward T. Devine, *Pauperism: An Analysis, Studies in Social Work*, No. 9. New York School of Philanthropy (January 1916), P.5.

with which society is afflicted; if not directly, indirectly; if not in the first generation, in the second."[308] The focus on children as the locus of prevention grew.[309] Adult paupers were a scourge to be sorted, treated, and quarantined if found untreatable, but their children received the benefit of 19th century Victorian sentimentality of family and children.[310]

Pauper Children and Child Saving

Older forms of charity, via the pauperizing effects of indiscriminate charity, were actually a danger to the future viability of society and the human race. Whether the sources of degeneracy and delinquency be environmental or hereditary, the ability of scientific charity to cut the resultant dependence off at its roots led to the development of a litany of schemes to save children and thus prevent the disease from taking root and spreading.[311] Perhaps the complications of leading such reforms with adults led to a natural focus on children.[312] Especially vulnerable yet savable were the children in this imaginary, since they could more easily be managed via strategies of quarantine and

[308] Philip C. Garrett, NCCC 1885:13
[309] The *Proceedings* 1874-1909 contain almost 30,000 references to the word "child" and its derivatives.
[310] Driver; Charles E. Rosenberg, Janet Lynne Golden, and Francis Clark Wood Institute for the History of Medicine., *Framing Disease : Studies in Cultural History*, Health and Medicine in American Society (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992); G. S. Rousseau et al., *Framing and Imagining Disease in Cultural History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
[311] See the NCCC contributions of Elizabeth C. Putman, Trustee of the Massachusetts State Primary and Reform Schools and Auxiliary Visitor of the State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity. NCCC 1888:287, 1883:477, 1884:123, 1890:190. For a bibliography on the study of children see: E. Clifton, NCCC 1897:316.
[312] Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor : Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century*, Family, Sexuality, and Social Relations in Past Times (Oxford [England] ; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991); Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, 2nd ed., Studies in Modern History (Harlow, England ; New York: Pearson Longman, 2005); Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations : Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (London: Virago Press, 1995).

segregation as well as be more easily treated since they had not been exposed as long to the contagion.[313] "Diseased and enfeebled parents beget diseased and enfeebled children, and this is as true of the mind as of the body."[314] Children born in public institutions were to be removed so that the "evil propensities which they have received from their parents" might be thwarted and the child guided "back to the path of virtue".[315] State board action prompted at the NCCC secured new legislation in the State of New York (1880) guaranteeing that pauper children would not be committed to almshouses where they would risk further exposure.[316] The social problems being imagined here are motivated by a fear of a contagion and focused on the prime environmental site of exposure to social disease: the pauper and "pauper children".[317]

The risk of pauperism was so great that even honest, thrifty, clean, and normally hard working people who had fallen unto hard times (the worthy or deserving poor),

[313] Linda Gordon, "Single Mothers and Child Neglect," *American Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (1985); John R. Sutton, "<Bureaucrats and Entrepreneurs: Institutional Responses to Deviant Children in the United States, 1890-1902s," *The American Journal of Sociology* 95, no. 6 (1990); Robert H. Bremner, *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History* (Cambridge, Mass.,: Harvard University Press, 1970); Sherri Broder, *Tramps, Unfit Mothers, and Neglected Children : Negotiating the Family in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Kristoffel Lieten and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Child Labour's Global Past, 1650-2000*, International and Comparative Social History, 1420-5297 (Bern ; New York: Peter Lang, 2011); John E. B. Myers, *Child Protection in America : Past, Present, and Future* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Anthony M. Platt and Miroslava Ch©*vez-Garc©*a, *The Child Savers : The Invention of Delinquency*, Expanded 40th anniversary ed., Critical Issues in Crime and Society (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2009); C. Spencer Richardson, *Depedent Delinquent and Deffective Children of Delaware* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1918); Alice Boardman Smuts, Robert W. Smuts, and ebrary Inc., "Science in the Service of Children, 1893-1935," (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Anna Garlin Spencer and Charles Wesley Birtwell, *The Care of Dependent, Neglected, and Wayward Children; Being a Report of the Second Section of the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, Chicago, June, 1893* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1894).

[314] Rev. R. W. Hill, NCCC 1877:233

[315] Mrs. C. R. Lowell, NCCC 1879:200

[316] For an account of similar action in Indiana see: Hon. Mayor Thomas Sullivan (Indianapolis), NCCC 1891:2

[317] The phrase "pauper children" occurs 57 times in the *Proceedings* between 1874 and 1909.

through contact with the "defective, dependent, and delinquent classes"[318], could be "infected" and debased; brought down to the level of the pauper-criminal.[319] Eugenic practices that would keep the pauper families from reproducing their kind at all were, if not extensively, at least actively discussed. In the same way that science had remanded the link between insanity and demonic possession to "the limbo of the absurd", modern understandings of a human's moral powers has now shown that the "faithful reproduction of ancestral traits" was the surest source of pauperism, and studies like Dugdale's *The Jukes* and McCulloch's *The Tribe of Ishmael* were thought to be leading the way to scientific solutions.[320] Children should be removed from defectives and delinquent parents before dependency had set in.[321] Sterilization of defectives was "righteous if resorted to for the sake of the child."[322] "As a result of the determination that every child that is born shall live…we are beginning to see that the question of who gets born is a vital one."[323]

Child saving efforts as they were called regrouped humane societies which functioned as a proto-child services agencies, a multiplicity of schemes to relocate pauper children out of slums to the country, infant nurseries (crèches), kindergartens, and training programs for pauper children, all designed to create programs aimed at

[318] This was an actual statistical category of the American census in the late 19th century. It was a widely used phrase as the title to Charles R. Henderson (Professor of Social Science at the University of Chicago) book demonstrates: Michael D. Morris, *Microscopic and Spectroscopic Imaging of the Chemical State*, Practical Spectroscopy Series (New York: M. Dekker, 1993).
[319] For more history on the social constructions of the classes of paupers, including Marx and Engle's *lumpenproletariat* see: Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, "Charity Organization," *The Charities Review* 5 - 6, no. July and August 1897 (1897).p. 387
[320] P. Bryce, NCCC 1889:79
[321] Mrs. Clara T. Leonard, NCCC 1879:170 ; Dr. A. G. Byers, NCCC 1880 :177 ;
[322] Report from the Committee on Colonies for and Segregation of Defectives, NCCC 1903:253
[323] Joseph Lee, NCCC 1906:280

disallowing adult paupers to "propagate their parasitical blood or teach their accompanying vices, and would give their children a chance to begin life under better teaching and with better opportunities."[324] To one participant it was "a crime against humanity" to bring children into the world only to "abandon them to the tender mercies of society."[325] Methods successful in physical hygiene were applied to "moral hygiene" and eventually in the early 20th century "social hygiene" movement, and purity of mind, body and social context for children commanded the attention of public policy and private interventions.[326] Like human bodies the social body could be attacked and weakened by pathogens like pauperism; and the process of social disease through which entire societies could sink into the state of pauperism was becoming clear.[327]

The Process of Pauperization

Presenters and discussants at the NCCC presented the process of pauperization as "a conjunction of moral weakness" on the part of the recipient of charity, activated by the supply-side problem of the "unwise alms on the part of the donor".[328] While some variability was present, the process downward from independent life into pauperism, known as "pauperization" followed several well-known steps.[329] Nathaniel Rosenau, in

[324] Albert O. Wright, NCCC 1897 :4
[325] J. F. Charles and D. B. Mills, NCCC 1889:421
[326] Henderson.
[327] Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals : A Social History of Moral Regulation*, Cambridge Studies in Law and Society (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[328] Edward T. Devine, NCCC 1906:9
[329] The *Proceedings* from 1874 – 1909 contain 4710 references to the word "pauper" and its derivatives. This was a major focus of those assembled at the NCCC. References to "pauper" and "pauperism" from the 1500s until today spiked in the mid-17th century and again in the mid to end of the 19th. Pauperization as a term only appeared in the 1820s and experienced extensive growth in usage through the 1930s. (Google Ngram Viewer) Alexander Johnson's *Guide* provides a useful summary of the NCCC's work on the

an exposition of charity organization given to the 1889 World's Expo in Paris, as well as in an NCCC presentation in 1891, summarizes the process as well as the perils of pauperization.[330]

> The man who falls from independence to dependency invariably loses the desire for higher things, otherwise his ambition. The desires of the impoverished diminish, as his vitality is weakened by advancing years. This means, first, neglect of education; second, loss of the property sense and of the desire to accumulate property; third, disregard of parental duties; fourth, contentment with poor dwellings, meager and improperly prepared food, and insufficient clothing, fifth, the loss even of the desire for cleanliness. These various steps in the degradation of the human being are accompanied by the progressive loss of pride, which fosters dishonesty and immorality.
>
> Neglected education results in a useless if not a dangerous citizen, with uncontrollable passions, and the inability to make proper use of the franchise. Loss of the property sense develops the thief. Loss of the desire to accumulate property renders one indifferent to the welfare of society. Contentment with poor dwellings, poor food, and poor clothing becomes evident in shattered constitutions. Loss of habits of cleanliness breeds disease. And loss of morality leads to crimes against the person, to the social evil with its accompanying illegitimacy, and to the drink habit with its attendant sapping of vitality.[331]

Rosenau's "social evil" is the pauper themselves, a quite different use of the concept of social evil from that of the social gospelers'.

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process of pauperization and the preventative solutions proposed at the conference. Devine, *Social Forces*; Drew Sawyer, *Social Forces Visualized : Photography and Scientific Charity During the Progressive Era* (New York, NY: Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, 2011); Edward Seguin, *Rapport & Mémoires Sur L'éducation Des Enfants Normaux Et Anormaux* (Paris: F. Alcan,), microform; Charles W. Eliot, "The American Social Hygiene Association," *Social Hygiene* 1, (1914); Rosenberg et al; Rousseau et al; Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*.

[330] Rosenau was from one of the first COS's to appear in the United States, Rev. S. H. Gurteen's Buffalo COS. Gurteen had been associated with the London COS before moving to Buffalo in the early 1870s. He is credited as being one of the prime movers in getting the US movement off the ground. See David C. Hammack who quotes Roy Lubove who said that COS leaders like Gurteen "imposed a blend of Malthusiaism, Manchesterian economics, Social Darwinism, Romanticism, and the crude hereditary biology of McCulloch and Dugdale" upon the ideas and practices of late 19th century charity using a "vast amount of rhetoric concerning the importance of a thorough understanding of the background of each case of dependency, combined with a series of preconceived moral judgments and presuppositions about the character of the poor and about human nature." Michael Katz has shown that the COS had a certain range to it, and Gurteen would epitomize the part of the movement that very much saw the source of the problem of poverty as with the individual and his or her moral state as evidenced by a willingness to work. Johnson.

[331] Nathaniel Rosenau, NCCC 1891 :361

Not all participants took such a dim individualistic view but many presentations of pauperization resembled Rosenau's.[332] From his Paris presentation, it was clear that what made the scientific approach superior was "qu'elle découvre la cause de la pauvreté et l'application de telles mesures réparatrices, que la pauvreté sera tout à fait supprimée."[333] For Richard T. Ely, Johns Hopkins University, research such as Richard L. Dugdales's *The Jukes,* a survey of poor houses by the New York State Board of Charities, Oscar McCulloch's *The Tribe of Ishmael*, and a study of pauper families in Berlin by Court Pastor Stocker showed that the process of pauperism involved "heredity and environment, producing weak physical, mental and moral constitutions".[334]

Some questioned the seriousness of pauperization: "Too much is made of pauperization. Relief charity, we must not forget, deals largely with the inert and characterless; and, as Badalia Herodsfoot says in Kipling's story, "You cawn't pauperize them as 'asn't things, to begin with. They're bloomin' well pauped already." We cannot hope to cure the deadly moral disease of pauperism by simply withholding help. We must deal with the causes that produce and multiply these inert and downward-tending organizisms."[335] Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Robert Hunter, and many others championed environmental causes in increasing ways at the NCCC, with propositions of

[332] Hammack et al.
[333] [333] Translation: …could discover the cause of poverty and reparative measures, so that poverty could be totally suppressed. G. A. Kleene, "The Problem of Medical Charity," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 23, no. May (1904).
[334] H. Derouin, A. Gory, and Fernand Worms, "Congrès International D'assistance," in *L'Éxposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris: Rongier & Cie, 1889).
[335] Rev. James M. Pullman NCCC 1899:487 For a withering critique of the COS; "To them Poverty is a crime, to be punished; to us, Organized Charity is a worse one." Richard T. Ely, "Pauperism in the United States," *The North American Review* 152, (1891): P. 402-403.

housing reforms, whole neighborhood social management, and settlement solutions.[336] Not only did criticism of the COS' application of scientific charity come quickly it also came from close in: Samuel Barnett, a British reformer known for his involvement with Toynbee Hall, the fist university settlement (Jane Addams' inspiration for Hull House, Chicago) in England, who through his wife, was associated with Octavia Hill, who along with Helen Bosanquet founded the London COS in 1869. This close association is what make Barnett's words all the more noticeable when he wrote, fifteen years after the launch of the London COS, that: "'Scientific charity,' or the system which aims at creating respectability by methods of relief, has come to the judgment, and has been found wanting." He summarized the state of philanthropy by noting that charitable societies pauperized from giving, churches made hypocrites of the poor, and "the crowning work of scientific charity is the working man too thrifty to pet his children and too respectable to be happy." The earthly paradise that science was to bring had turned into the ability of the poor to "belong to a club, to pay for a doctor through a provident dispensary, and to keep themselves unspotted from charity or pauperism."[337] Social gospelers of the NCCC were critical of the harshness of some scientific charity applications.[338] Disagreements however, though important, were functional; everyone at the NCCC thought that science held the key to finally unlocking the mysteries of poverty, and the languages used to discuss solutions were the many registers of scientific charity.[339] We'll look deeper into criticisms of scientific charity in the following chapters.

[336] Konrad Bercovici, *Crimes of Charity* (New York,: A. A. Knopf, 1917).
[337] Johnson, P. 306.
[338] Walter Rauschenbusch, NCCC 1912 :12
[339] Jane Addams was the first woman to act as President of the NCCC. Sklansky and ebrary Inc.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen in this chapter, for those brought together by the NCCC, older forms of charity were largely characterized as based in superstitions and thus outmoded. New models of charity, based on science, were offered as better. Exactly how a science of charity would provide a better model is the subject of the following chapter. Stories, metaphors, and statistics were constantly evoked for the purpose of actively discrediting older, and particularly religious forms of charity. The problem with older forms of charity was stated to be their ignorance of the pauperizing effects of their indiscriminate giving. A scientific charity, which studied the poor rather than just relived them, was revealing that both public and private forms of unscientific relief were responsible for the growing contagion of pauperism in America. The epidemiology of pauperization was providing "facts" about the environmental and hereditary factors of this powerful social disease; a public health menace that could pull healthy (productive) members of society down into dependence. Scientific charity had revealed the upward sloping path of brotherly uplift based on restoring citizens to productive labor. Systems were discussed and designed to classify the defective and delinquent, in order to apply scientific methods, which through changes in organization, institution building, and quarantine, could eradicate the process of pauperization and guard the share of relief due the worthy poor, for the benefit of the wider society.

This chapter queries the presentations and discussions of those brought together by the ASSA's NCCC, in search of how justifications of the idea that older forms of

charity were bad (unscientific) seemed to "work"; how did this bundle of ideas get itself across by and to those who were assembled by the NCCC? It's a question about how the language of scientific charity was used in ways that led people to believe that older forms of charity where somehow defective and needed to be replaced. Despite differing points of view at the NCCC on public-private provision, individual or environmental sources and solutions to social problems, and the many operational specifics that were constantly discussed at the annual conferences, there seemed to be almost unanimous participation in the discrediting of "old" forms of charity.

The answer provided by this chapter is that those who assembled at the NCCC had already accepted the basic presuppositions of scientific charity and seemed to have no real resistance to the propositions made about the problems, limitations and failures of older methods of relieving and caring for the poor. This was the case because the ideology of scientific charity, i.e. the belief that science had the power to discover the root causes of human individual and social problems was broadly thought to be self-evident. As Daniel Breslau has shown, it was the cooperation between the new professional sociologists working within the university where they fought for material causality based on empirical research and statistics, and the social organizers and practical workers of the NCCC that made both successful.[340] For all the differences, both

[340] Spencer's writings of influence in America included: Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics, or, the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and the First of Them Developed* (London: John Chapman, 1851). To see American Sociologists' treatment of Spencer see: Lester F. Ward, "The Political Ethics of Herbert Spencer," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 4, (1894); Albion Woodbury Small, *General Sociology an Exposition of the Main Development in Sociological Theory from Spencer to Ratzenhofer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press etc., etc., 1905). For general information on Spencer's influence in 19th century America see: Paul Elliott, "Herbert Spencer and the Origins of the Evolutionary Worldview in British Provincial Scientific Culture 1770-1850," *Isis* 94, no. 1 (2003); Max Hocutt, "In Defence of Herbert Spencer," *The Independent Review* XII, no. 3 (2008); Jonathan H. Turner,

professionalizing sociologists and the activists of the NCCC, shared a Spencerian conception of social problems.[341] In effect, Spencer had given reform activism a coordinating role in the broader context of social science, and "The sociologists were successful to the extent that they found powerful allies in a broader movement that was sympathetic to their dual goals of reforming curricula along scientific and practical lines, and giving practical work in social services and corrections an academic, scientific basis."[342] Scientific charity pre-dated the COS' American implementation, and so rather than a COS generated scientific charity, the record actually points to the opposite: a scientific charity assumed in America, which then helps to explain the existence and rapid spread of the COS.[343]

The moral language of scientific charity was firmly ensconced in America prior to the COS's operationalization of the concept. This helps explain the rapid expansion of the charity organization adaptation of scientific charity: Americans were already convinced. [344] This association between scientific charity and charity organization did serve to

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Herbert Spencer : A Renewed Appreciation, Masters of Social Theory (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1985).

[341] As Howard Hopkins points out in his biographical sketch of Walter Rauschenbusch: "Another 'ruling idea' was (2) that society is better described by the analogy to an organism than any other way. Indebted to Herbert Spencer at this point, these men thought of human interrelationships as 'vital and organic'…"Walter Rauschenbusch, *A Gospel for the Social Awakening; Selections from the Writings of Walter Rauschenbusch*, A Haddam House Book (New York,: Association Press, 1950), P. 14. Daniel Breslau has argued that for the period of time under study here "Spencer's sociology was Sociology, providing the only institutionalized definition of their disciple, within which they were obliged to work." The gender exclusion that kept NCCC members and reformers like Jane Addams outside of the professional class of Sociologists should not obscure the influence of Spencer on her and other reformer's ideas.

[342] Breslau, P. 55.

[343] Recognition that both the Charity Organization Society and the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (AICP) were "part of the much broader 'scientific charity' movement, and approach to charity that involved not only helping but also studying the poor" is starting to emerge. From the Photography and Scientific Charity online exhibit. Columbia University Libraries. 2014.

[344] Although there are many, a good example of how the conceptual heart of scientific charity was already in place prior to the civil war can be traced by following the life of one of the key proponents of scientific

popularize the concept, as it was actively marketed by COS leaders. Some have wanted to see the term "charity" as being gradually replaced by the term "philanthropy" in the 19th century; but this can be misleading.[345] Scientific philanthropy is actually the older term. In England, in the 1820s and 30s one finds uses of the term, to describe the public benefits of advances in science, like new discoveries to protect and preserve human life.[346] In the 1840s the term is used to describe the triumph of science over popular denunciations of the benefits of chloroform when first discovered, as it was believed that its use in childbirth was linked to "idiocy". [347] The term "scientific philanthropy" is used to vindicate the new profession of "mental science" by dissuading period appeals to metaphysics in the study of early Psychology and Mental Pathology and "to place physiology and mental and moral philosophy in the same position as positive science reached by induction." [348]Theological works used the term to describe the glorious achievements of modern science applied to charity in "abating somewhat the deep misery" of blindness which "shuts up the soul of the sufferer in a perpetual prison house" and "he sinks into a condition of utter mindlessness" … " a sad wreck of humbled and defaced humanity." [349]

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charity, Josephine Shaw Lowell, in the work of Joan Waugh, who rescues Lowell from those who see only retrogression, social control, and a too close alliance between Lowell and the patrician males who surrounded her. Breslau, P. 55. Other examples include: Franklin Sanborn, Samuel Gridley Howe, Dorothy Dix and Francis Leiber.

[345] Waugh; Waugh and City University of New York. Center for the Study of Philanthropy.

[346] Gross.

[347] "Friends' Monthly Magazine / Vol. Ii, No. Vi. Sixth Month, 1831," (Bristol: Wright and Bagnall, 1831), P. 169; Colin Mackenzie, *One Thousand Experiments in Chemistry; with Illustrations of Natural Phenomena; and Practical Observations on the Manufacturing and Chemical Processes at Present Pursued in the Successful Cultivation of the Useful Arts* (London,: Printed for Sir R. Phillips and Co., 1821), P. xxvi.

[348] "Literary and Scientific Society of Edinburgh - 1848-9," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine for 1849*1849, P. 52.

[349] Forbes M.D. Winslow, "Modern Scepticism," *The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology* 4, (1851): P. 304.

Prior to the COS, scientific charity was part of the broad search for improvements to human society by the emerging social sciences. As previously seen, the ASSA was really just a copy of the British "National Association for the Promotion of Social Science" founded in 1857. Lawrence Goldman has pointed out the historical yet overlooked significance of this institution and the spread of the idea "that social knowledge could be assimilated and organised on the model of natural science but that, properly understood and synthesized, it would inevitably provide a basis for social reform."[350] As Josephine Shaw Lowell reminds readers in her article *Felix Qui Causam Rerum Cognovit* (happy whom knows the cause) for the Charities Review in 1893, that they should be grateful that they live in an age where the connections between causes and their consequences can be so easily traced, as this was not so in the past.[351] Social problems became amendable to social scientific understanding and thus solution. The race for the cure was on. The long quest to find the sources of poverty – from the potions of the alchemists, the idealized forms of the early philosophers, the disputations of the theologians, the formulations of the moral philosophers, and the arithmetic of the political economist – a day had finally dawned in which the social economists turned social scientists had, if not located the sources, had at least shown that in the same way that the secret of the world of virology has been unlocked and small pox eradicated, the solution to poverty was now a matter of time, technique and money.[352] Civic organization, legislation, official professional legitimization, and increased bureaucracy seemed to be

[350] Daniel Moore, "The Deaf Man Cured," in *The Golden Lectures, Second Series: Forty Seven Sermons*(London: James Paul, 1859), P. 418.
[351] Charities Review, 2, Nov 1892 to June 1893, P. 420.
[352] The influence of the advances in medical sciences on the social imaginary that powered 19th century reform is the topic of a full dissertation in itself. For more information on the history of small pox and the cultural significance of its eradication see: Goldman, P. 18. The term "social economists" was the term used in France for the political economist, and it appears in America at times as those political economists interested in social economy, a term found in the founding documents of the ASSA and used at the NCCC.

the methodological way to express the new charity. An important historian of the Progressive Era, Robert Wiebe wrote: "The heart of progressivism was the ambition of the new middle class to fulfill its destiny though bureaucratic means".[353] With the sources of poverty located, rational methods of bureaucratic control became the obvious tools with which to extract the cancer of pauperism from the public body.

Past methods were ineffectual due to their basis in an understanding of human nature routed in metaphysical speculations and not the new evolutionary sciences of man. As one conference presenter put it: "Filled now with a sense of power, we turn from our conquests over the physical world to ask if our social order may not likewise be the result of forces which may be understood, and therefore modified." "No longer the blind instrument of an inscrutable necessity, Man, by cooperating with Nature, could rule the forces which before ruled him."[354] By collecting, organizing and interpreting sociological information, scientific charity was providing new methods that avoided the dependencies of the older forms. Ross' criticism of the "shallow historical vision, and technocratic confidence", characteristics which make "American social science ahistorical and scientistic" is well taken.[355] Ross also describes the dominant motif of "impatience" with the 18th century forms and the 19th century sensibilities that industrial conditions had rendered obsolete, by proponents of new scientific reforms who "turned against the

[353] Wiebe.
[354] Mrs. Glendower Evans, NCCC 1889:24
[355] Charles Carroll Bonney, *World's Congress Addresses : Delivered by the President, the Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney, Ll.D., to the World's Parliament of Religions and the Religious Denominational Congresses of 1893 : With the Closing Addresses at the Final Session of the World's Congress Auxiliary*, The Religion of Science Library (Chicago: Open Court Pub. Co., 1900).p. 81.

past."[356] Scientific charity is relief work instructed by the "modern school of humanitarians, who are also men of science."[357] In the next chapter we turn to these new methods to explore the functioning of the moral language of the positive construal of the power of science to permanently solve human socials problems.

[356] Samuel A. Barnett, "The Universities and the Poor," *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review*, February 1884 1884.
[357] Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science*, P. 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Fulcrum on Which the Lever Can Act to Move the Dead Weight of Pauperism

INTRODUCTION

In chapter four, scientific charity was presented as a moral language that provided a commonly drawn upon set of historical perspectives, metaphors, and phrases, allowing those who gathered at the NCCC to speak and work together to bring about changes to public and private relief. Older forms of charity, said to be based on superstitions and metaphysical approaches to the sciences of man, were loosing their ability to provide an explanatory framework for the social problems that Americans were experiencing.[358] In this chapter we will be looking at the ways in which scientific charity language evoked positive images of the power of science to provide solutions to the social problems of the day. Like Professor Richard Ely who in his introduction to *Political Economy* (1889) welcomed the new science of charity and called it "sorely needed, for the old-fashioned almsgiving is a curse", the reformers and social scientists of the NCCC were glowing in their reports of the new scientifically oriented charity.[359] Yet questions remained. What generated the confidence amongst the late 19th century reformist social scientists of the NCCC that there were scientific methods available for application to social problems?[360]

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[358] This is what Thomas Haskell has referred to as "receding causality" in: Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*.

[359] Richard T. Ely, *An Introduction to Political Economy*, Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. (New York,: Chautauqua Press, 1889).

[360] The NCCC brought together reformers, social scientists, social scientists who thought they were doing reform, reformers who thought they were doing social science, etc. I use the term reformist social scientists to describe the average participant at the NCCC between 1874 and 1909, since these definitions were still fluid at the time. I try to avoid the arbitrary and anachronistic division of "amateur" and "professional".

What positive construal of science appeared convincing enough to generate such widespread acceptance of the belief that a science of charity was an improvement over the past? What scientific evidence was marshaled as proof of the power of science to explain and solve social problems?

In this chapter I attempt to answer these questions by showing that scientific charity was promoted at the NCCC by 1) a conflation between the natural and social sciences which served to authenticate the ability of science to get to root-causes and propose curative solutions; 2) through common access to languages of efficiency as instantiated by charity organization, the languages of statistics; and 3), allegiance to a scientific fulfillment of the vocation of religious philanthropy to heal disease and position America as a leader in a new era of global scientific humanitarianism. This chapter digs deeper into the NCCC conferences that brought together public intellectuals, religious reformers, social workers, political scientists, economists, historians, ministers, theologians, medical professionals, politicians, sociologists, public servants, criminologists, and educators as they searched for definition and solution to the social problems of their time.[361] In chapter five we'll see the basic notions of scientific charity and those who promoted it continue on through the transitions towards a more professional social science.

[361] I use the term "reformist social scientist" to characterize the typical NCCC member. Others have noticed the same thing: "Side by side, sometimes in the same man, there was strong desire to create a community of the competent and an equally strong desire to contribute to remedying society's ills. … The ASSA was a combination of reformers and scientists…an uneasy combination – not unknown today – of those who primarily wished to understand society and those who primarily wished to improve it. There often was little distinction between scientific inquiry and reformist activism." Evron M. Kirpatrick, "The Emergence of Professional Social Science, by Thomas L. Haskell: A Review," *The American Political Science Review* 73, no. 3 (1979): P. 875-76.

CONFLATION

The NCCC records reveal a general acceptance of the conflation between advances made in the natural sciences since the 17th century and the ability of the methods developed in that context to be ported to the sciences of the human in order to better explain and solve social problems.[362] Traditional distinctions between the natural world and the human collapsed under the weight of new anthropological and biological interpretations of the origins of species and materialist definitions of human life and human sociality.[363] A conflation occurs when the actual differences between distinct items or ideas disappear, and the items or ideas falsely or inappropriately appear to be sharing a single identity.[364] The achievements of the natural sciences since the 17th

[362] This conflation was powerful enough to even worry some of its proponents, like Washington Gladden who wrote about the "tendency to carry the methods and maxims of physical science into this realm, to make Biology not merely the analogue of Sociology, but identical to it…"Washington Gladden, *Applied Christianity; Moral Aspects of Social Questions* (Boston and New York,: Houghton, Mifflin and company, 1886), P. 248. Calling this a conflation doesn't mean that the distinctions between meaningful human actions and causal explanations of physical events were collapsed into the social or that the idea that the human sciences were inherently distinct from the natural sciences disappeared. It is to say that the men and women who took up the designation of social scientist laid aside the philosophical conversations and pursued a more practical science of social action. That practical social action needed an easy to understand application of science, and it was found in borrowing concepts, metaphors, and images from the work done in the technological, physical, and medical sciences and applying them to the world of the social. Wilhelm Dilthey and Ramon J. Betanzos, *Introduction to the Human Sciences : An Attempt to Lay a Foundation for the Study of Society and History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988).

[363] Donald Polkinghorne and NetLibrary Inc., "Methodology for the Human Sciences Systems of Inquiry," in *SUNY series in transpersonal and humanistic psychology*(Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983); Hubert L. Dreyfus, "Why Studies of Human Capacities Modeled on Ideal Natural Science Can Never Achieve Their Goal," in *Rationality, Relativism, and the Human Sciences*, ed. Joseph Margolis, Michael Krausz, and Richard M. Burian, Studies of the Greater Philadelphia Philosophy Consortium (Dordrecht ; Boston: M. Nijhoff, 1986); Taylor, *Sources of the Self : The Making of the Modern Identity*.

[364] David L. Rennie, "On the Rhetorics of Social Science: Let's Not Conflate Natural Science and Human Science," *The Humanistic Psychologist* 23, no. 3 (1995). According to Henrika Kucklick: "Research in both the history and sociology of science has focused on the natural sciences, but when research has dealt with the social sciences it has treated them in identical fashion. This approach seems justifiable in analysis of the social sciences because they derived from the differentiated natural sciences, in some measure, and because they were deliberately styled after the natural sciences, not the lest because common patrons supported the initial institutionalization of both types of inquiry. (Ben-David and Collins, 1966; Ryding, 1975; Jensen. 1970; Haskell, 1977; 68-74)" Kucklick, "Restructuring the Past: Toward an Appreciation of the Social Context of Social Science," P. 6.

century in terms of science's ability to apprehend and thus create technologies for control over the physical world, coupled with the popularity of the materialist anthropology of Darwin, generated the common sense idea that these same tools of understanding could be fitted for explanation and control of the human and thus social world as well.[365]

Social philosophers such as Comte and Spencer, for lack of any practical experimental materials, developed their social scientific theories through conflation with the physical. [366] Walter F. Willcox, American statistician, Cornell School of History and Political Science (also President of the American Statistical Association 1911-1912, and American Economic Association 1915), explained:

> In default of any sufficient material within their special field, some of them have sought to import generalizations from without, and impose them upon social science as expressions of its highest laws. History, physics, and biology have been laid under contribution. So Auguste Comte sought to supplement the physics of heavenly bodies, or astronomy, the physics of masse on the earth, or physics in a narrower sense, the physics of atoms and molecules, or chemistry, the physics of cells and organs, or biology, by a physics of human beings living in groups, which he called social physics, or sociology, while from history he drew his great and fundamental law of three successive states, theological, metaphysical, and positive, or scientific.[367]

Carried to an extreme, theories of unilineal social evolution developed as a conflation of sociologic and anthropologic theories proposing that Western European

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[365] As NCCC member and Columbia sociologist Franklin Giddings wrote: "We need men not afraid to work; who will get busy with the adding machine and logarithms, and give us exact studies, such as we get from the Psychological laboratories, not to speak of the biological and physical laboratories. Sociology can be made an exact quantitative science." From Recchiuti, P. 3. Letter in reply to a questionnaire reported in L. L. Bernard, "The Teaching of Sociology in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 15, no. 2 (1909).

[366] According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Science, August Comte can be considered the first philosopher of science. Michel Bourdeau, "Auguste Comte", Stanford University plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/comte (accessed July 18, 2014 2014).

[367] Walter F. Willcox, NCCC 1895:87

culture was the apex of human socio-cultural evolution. The specter of social Darwinism and other fears related to the abuses of biology by social scientists such as those outlined by Richard Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (1944) were not yet of great concern for those at the NCCC. Promoting the legitimacy and potential of adapting scientific methods to cure social problems was of paramount concern and considered an all-important task at hand for NCCC members.

SCIENTIFIC CHARITY AS METHOD

19th century social science gained credibility through borrowed methods, buying time to work out a consistent set of its own. The ASSA and the NCCC were formed to carry forward the work of demonstrating, both in theory and in practice, that there could be such a thing as a science of the social.[368] The idea that there were law-like causal principles beneath the social context of humans appears as non-controversial in the ASSA and NCCC records, or as Frank Watson reported: "These younger men and women shared the 'growing belief that human society is an organism, under a law of development, and subject to conditions of health and disease which can be ascertained, and, in large measure at least, controlled'."[369] The influence of Comte and Spencer's reinforcement of the positivistic paradigm of science among American social philosophers and social scientists is well documented.[370] By the mid 19th century it was

[368] William Jewett Tucker, "Social Economics," *The Andover Review*, (1889).
[369] Frank Dekker Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States; a Study in American Philanthropy* (New York,: The Macmillan Company, 1922), P. 334.
[370] For a well documented historical overview of these developments and their relationship to 19th century American reform see the first three chapters in: Calhoun. For more on Comte in particular see: Gillis J. Harp, *Positivist Republic : Auguste Comte and the Reconstruction of American Liberalism* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995). Gordon. Vincent Guillin and ebrary Inc., "Auguste

commonplace to believe that knowledge of the physical world must be grounded in such positive observation and experimentation, and following Darwin's ground breaking 1859 publication of *Origins of the Species,* the human and social world was now to be subjected to the methods of the natural sciences.[371] The positive approval of the application of scientific methods to social problems provided the milieu in which gestated the widespread belief that poverty could be brought under efficient control if not ended entirely. American philanthropy and charity has held tenaciously to some version of this basic set of assumptions since.

The reformers and social scientists of the NCCC bolstered the image of the emerging science of charity by making inferences about the power of social science that took advantage of the privileged position of the natural sciences among 19th century Americans. Professor Daniel Coit Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins University, likened the investigation into scientific charity done at the NCCC to an "entering wedge, - a wedge of which you cannot compute the force. It is going deeper and deeper. Instead of going through the same inquiries year after year, by and by we shall know certain facts and laws as definitely as we know the facts or laws of physics and chemistry; but this is

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Comte and John Stuart Mill on Sexual Equality Historical, Methodological and Philosophical Issues," in *Studies in the history of political thought,*(Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009); Andrew Wernick and ebrary Inc., "Auguste Comte and the Religion of Humanity the Post-Theistic Program of French Social Theory," (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Beryl Satter, *Each Mind a Kingdom : American Women, Sexual Purity, and the New Thought Movement, 1875-1920*, 1st pbk. printing. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

[371] Martin Hollis, *Models of Man : Philosophical Thoughts on Social Action* (Cambridge [Eng.] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Andrew Dickson White, *The Warfare of Science* (London: H.S. King,), microform; Andrew Dickson White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (London: Macmillan,), microform. Geoffrey Martin Hodgson and Geoffrey Martin Hodgson, *The Evolution of Institutional Economics : Agency, Structure, and Darwinism in American Institutionalism*, Economics as Social Theory (London ; New York: Routledge, 2004). Charles A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems* (New York, Cincinnati,: American book company, 1910); Charles Taylor, *Philosophy and the Human Sciences*, Philosophical Papers (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

going to take a deal of time."[372] Dr. James Walk in a presentation on medical charities lauded the fact that "it is coming to be recognized, "that there is a science of charity, and when that science takes its place among the studies to which the best minds devote their noblest powers, we may hope to see as great and beneficent a revolution in our treatment of poverty, as physical science has wrought in our relation to inanimate nature."[373] At the 30th (1904) NCCC meeting the conflation is still evident in the words of Robert W. De Forest: "Ignorance, which might only a little while ago have been some excuse, is no excuse to-day, for charity, that is the means of expressing our love for our fellowmen in action, has become a science. Though not an exact science, it to-day has its axioms, and many of its propositions admit of as precise demonstration as those of geometry."[374]

There are hundreds of such examples of this conflation in the ASSA and NCCC records, which leads to a more fundamental set of questions. Was this just talk, or was there actual demonstrable proof of the beneficial use of the methods of the physical sciences for the creation of a science of the social – a science of charity? Were NCCC presenters commenting on scientific findings and if so what sorts of data were they working with? What evidence did presenters at the NCCC meetings muster to support these claims? Which natural science languages, stories, and metaphors were referenced? The NCCC records contain several sets of legitimizing words, phrases and concepts that were widely used to give evidence of allegiance to already accepted assumptions and

[372] Daniel Coit Gilman, NCCC 1898:434
[373] Dr. J. W. Walk, NCCC 1884:434
[374] Robert W. De Forest, NCCC 1904 :8. De Forest was the attorney of Margaret Olivia Sage, of the what is considered to be the oldest general-purpose foundation in the United States: The Russell Sage Foundation. For the interesting history and links with scientific charity see David Hammack's work: Hammack et al.

norms about the powers of science. One linguistic set functioned as a foundational story for the power of scientific charity (Elberfeld), one provided an American example of practical success of the scientific methods (Charity Organization), and others provided methodological, spiritual and existential support to the scientific charity programs being promoted as well as hope for the future.

Languages of History

NCCC participant's confidence that there could be a scientific charity with the ability to prevent poverty was supported by references to successful charity reforms made in Europe, starting with Elberfeld, Germany. At first glance it might not make much sense that an example from the beginning of 19th century Germany would lend credibility to American social thinkers at the end of that century concerning their progressive and futuristic vision of scientific charity reforms. Dorothy Ross explains this sort of ahistorical and technocratic recreation of the historical world: "Through most of the nineteenth century, thinkers in Europe and the United States believed that scientific and historical knowledge would provide synthetic and normative foundations for modern life of the kind that philosophy and religions had traditionally provided."[375] Following Ranke and Arnold, 19th century reformers and social scientists needed to point to trans-historical and universal correlations between Elberfeld and models of reform like the COS; as such

[375] Dorothy Ross, *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences, 1870-1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), P. 1.; ibid., P. 171ff.; Ross, "Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America." On the 19th century transition from Natural History to the Social Sciences and common sense understandings of the human: Scott Atran, *Cognitive Foundations of Natural History : Towards an Anthropology of Science* (Cambridge [England] ; New York, Paris: Cambridge University Press ; Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1990).

borrowings were period attempts to give critical historical depth and thus credibility to the American movement.[376] If the social universe moved in the same clockwork fashion as the physical universe, then scientific research involved finding law-like patterns like the ones discovered at Elberfeld which could be reliably implemented anywhere. Compared to reliance upon prayers, burning candles and the whims of gods, these inductive methods were considered to be a net scientific improvement.[377]

The Elberfeld system was a municipal poor relief system developed in the early and mid 19th century beginning in Elberfeld, Germany in which unsalaried almoners were chosen by the public to investigate applications for relief and to supervise the ongoing needs of recipients. [378] The Elberfeld system made a great foundational story for both the American reformers and social scientists of the NCCC as it brought together both elements of systemic organization as well as communal solidarity. In his summary of the German system, Amos Warner, in *American Charities*, points out that both public administration (outdoor relief) AND private charities were both open to abuse, and both needed to be reformed. For Warner the superior (scientific) organization of both the Elberfeld system in Germany and the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* in France were examples

[376] Wallerstein has pointed out that "for the three so-called nomothetic disciplines (economics, sociology, and political science) the object was said to be the discovery of the 'laws' that explained human behavior. … But it was nonetheless a study of the 'real' world based on the assumption that one could not derive such knowledge deductively from metaphysical understandings of an unchanging world." Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *Unthinking Social Science : The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1991), P. 19-20. Ross describes Ranke's influence in: Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science*, P. 71.

[377] See section on Historiography in: A. R. Ten Cate, *Oral Histology : Development, Structure, and Function*, 4th ed. (St. Louis: Mosby-Yesr Book, 1994), P. 33; Barry Gower, *Scientific Method : A Historical and Philosophical Introduction* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1997).

[378] For more on the Elberfeld system's application in Germany see: George Steinmetz, "Regulating the Social the Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany," in *Princeton studies in culture/power/history*(Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

of successful modern public administration of charities.[379] Professor Henderson in *Modern Methods of Charity* (1904) distilled the system into three core points: "(a) individualization, (b) the visitors have a voice in the determination of means, (c) decentralization"…all this supported by "a thoroughly organized, well-regulated business management."[380] Apparently the introduction of business principles to nonprofit management started prior to the 1990s.

The *NCCC Proceedings* (1874-1909) contain fifty references to the scheme spread across the years under study. The Elberfeld system (or methods as they were sometimes called) and the COS movement functioned as background validation for American reformers that the application of science to charity was yielding an improvement over the charity of old.[381] When 19th century reformers traced the origins of scientific charity, they pointed back to Elberfeld.[382] Period understandings of the scientific method meant that the social scientists of the ASSA and NCCC needed facts gathered by observation of actual social changes of the sort they were advocating for in

[379] Warner, P. 243.
[380] Charles Richmond Henderson, *Modern Methods of Charity; an Account of the Systems of Relief, Public and Private, in the Principal Countries Having Modern Methods* (New York,: Macmillan, 1904), P. 5. .
[381] Ruswick, *Almost Worthy : The Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917*, P. 15.
[382] Frank Dekker Watson relates an account of the influence of Elberfeld being the founding model for the Philadelphia German Relief Society in 1873 through local knowledge of the work of Chalmers in Scotland and Octavia Hill and the London COS. Watson claimed that the Philadelphia organization was the first unofficial COS in America. Watson. p. 176. Many other NCCC members mentioned the foundation model of Elberfeld: Joseph Henry Crooker. Mowat. p. 9. Also, in an article entitled "Origins of Scientific Charity" for the Lend A Hand magazine, January and February 1889; Miss Zilpha D. Smith point to the influence of Elberfeld on the Boston COS via Octavia Hill of the London COS. W. Walter Edwards, "The Poor-Law Experiment at Elberfeld," *The Contemporary review, 1866-1900* 32, (1878).; Mary Richmond traces the roots of American charity to models in Hamburg and Elberfeld Germany, via Ozanam in Paris, Chalmers in Scotland, Edward Denison in Britain, etc. Mary Richmond, NCCC 1901:298; Bill's New Encyclopedia of Social Reform (1908) mentions the system in two articles by Dr. Edward T. Devine. For more on German borrowings at this time: J. Herbst, The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Scholarship. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965. Jesse Macy, Jesse Macy: An Autobiography. Katherine Macy Noyes, Ed. Springfield, IL and Baltimore: Charles C. Thomas, 1933. See also: Joseph Henry Crooker, "The True Origin of Modern Methods of Scientific Charity," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 74, no. 294 (1917).

the United States. American charity organizers inherited the ties to Germany from the British COS models they copied.[383]. For lack of any American scientific experiments to point to, the social scientists of the ASSA & NCCC in effect borrowed a German experiment, itself previously borrowed by the British COS.[384] Charles B. P. Bosanquet published *London: Some Account of it's Growth, Charitable Agencies, and Wants* in 1868, and it included an account of the Dr. Chalmer's model in Glasgow and the Elberfeld system.[385] On most accounts, the first official COS in America was started by S.H. Gurteen in Buffalo in 1877 after he had spent time visiting the London COS. He mentions the influences of Octavia Hill and others in introducing him to the Elberfeld system in his book *A Handbook of Charity Organization* (1882).[386] He also references an 1868 article by W. Walter Edwards in the Contemporary Review, a first hand account of the Elberfeld system following an exploratory visit by Edwards.[387] Gurteen criticizes the system in that it did not put an end to pauperism, but seemed convinced that his more scientific adaptation in America would.

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[383] The origins of the ideas behind organized charity came from a system tried in Hamburg and made known and copied by Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow in 1819, via a pamphlet by one of the Hamburg leaders Baron Kaspar von Voght (*Letter to a some friends of the poor in Great Britain)* published in 1796, and again in 1817. The British COS movement was influenced by Chalmers' implementation of the Hamburg system

[384] William Chance, "Children under the Poor Law Their Education, Training and after-Care, Together with a Criticism of the Report of the Departmental Committee on Metropolitan Poor Law Schools," (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1897). Great Britain. Local Government Board, *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Local Government Board. 1888-89* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1889).

[385] Correction and Philanthropy The International Congress of Charities, "General Exercises of the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy," in *The International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy*, ed. John M. Glenn and Joseph P. Byers (Chicago, Illinois: The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore; The Scientific Press, Limited, London, 1893). p. 41.

[386] Watson. p. 176.

[387] Gurteen. p. 113. Gurteen's writings were influential in the creation of the link between the COS and the concept of a charity that could be "scientific". Others have explored this link. See for example: James J. McFadden, "Disciplining the "Frankenstein of Pauperism": The Early Years of Charity Organization Case Recording, 1877-1907," *Social Service Review* 88, no. 3 (2014).

The Elberfeld system was interpreted and presented as foundational proof that a scientific approach could deliver a community from the evils of indiscriminate charity, which as we saw in the previous chapter was "one" if not "the" major preoccupation of the NCCC. Professor Charles R. Henderson, University of Chicago sociologist, speaking at the 1893 ICCCP conference, pointed to a powerful social force in the world that was being furthered by at least two systems worth noting: the Elberfeld methods and the association of charities (the COS movement).[388] The combination of solid organization and the good will of people willing to befriend the pauper, was the correct recipe for those "who for centuries have been going down and the weight of centuries of heredity is upon their shoulders. We cannot befriend them by simply flinging a gift to them in passing. We must do the best we can, until, perhaps a wider outlook may open in the years to come and the government be induced to use its instrumentalities to assist in the work."[389]

In effect the Elberfeld system introduced tighter forms of monitoring and assistance to the poor as "the cornerstone of an overall strategy of increased discipline of the poor, intended to force an orientation towards the labor market and to combat welfare dependency".[390] In Elberfeld and for NCCC reformist social scientist the end of successful welfare was "self support" through work, and so they mined the German system for its emphasis on modern bureaucratic organization, public policy, and

[388] Henderson studied in Germany, but after the time of this conference. He obtained a Ph.D. in economics and statistics. Most of the leading figures in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago prior to 1915 had studied in Germany, including Albion Small, George Herbert Mead, Charles Zueblin, and W.I. Thomas. Gilman. P. 5ff.
[389] Charles R. Henderson in: The International Congress of Charities.
[390] Geoff Eley, *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870-1930*, Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany (Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press, 1996), P. 322.

community voluntarism which had the double benefit of providing justification for a more sympathetic and relational treatment of the poor while reducing the costs of poor relief across the board, through the use of volunteers.[391] For NCCC members here was a proven model that could be adapted to the United States: a rational (scientific) modern preventative system which coordinated state-church-community intervention in order to decrease the numbers on public assistance (welfare) and ensure the protection of the work ethic perceived to be vital to industrial societies.

Languages of Prevention

Scientific charity offered the hope that relieving poverty could be replaced by preventing poverty. The Elberfeld mythos grew as it provided foundational proof that public private partnerships using rational means could curb poverty's advances. The *Proceedings* are chocked full of references to poverty's advance, its army-like tactics and corresponding war on poverty. It was a plague, scourge, and a blight that needed to be fended off by a cure, a vaccine or some form of preventative social inoculation.[392] NCCC members made a lot out of scientific charity's ability to prevent social disease by curing it or cutting it off at its root. Agreement as to exactly what the root of the "root cause" was turned out to not be as easy to identify as the ASSA founders had imagined.[393] In 1908 Lillian Brandt of the New York COS described the preventive fervor in the

[391] Frederick Almy, NCCC 1904:122; Richmond, *Friendly Visiting among the Poor; a Handbook for Charity Workers*.
[392] For an example of how this language occurs throughout the Proceedings see: Hon. W. E. Stanley, NCCC 1900:411. The phrase "preventive work" appears throughout to describe scientific charity.
[393] Haskell makes the inability of the ASSA to provide an authoritative answer to increasingly scientific questions the main reason for its death in 1909.

following way: "A genuine anxiety to get at the underlying causes of poverty has been characteristic of the 'new' charity of the last thirty-five years, often disparagingly designated as 'scientific'."[394] The underlying causes included individual morality, physical defects, and systemic maladjustment.

Charities and Corrections were linked in the minds of NCCC members. Science was showing that due to individual character flaws paupers preyed on society in the same way that criminals preyed on society, and they were very often the same persons.[395] For Mrs. L. R. Wardner of Anna, Illinois there had been too much money wasted by both social-scientists and philanthropists mired as they were in their "extreme conservatism" and their policies designed to care for and reclaim the criminal rather than focus on preventing the primary causes of criminality in the person.[396] Scientific philanthropy would have the courage to focus on the cure instead of remediation of the social disease by following science wherever it lead. For Wardner this meant recognizing the hereditary and environmental nature of pauperism and the duty of the state to "take charge of, care

[394] Brandt's piece was the earliest and most complete critique of the confused methods of the reformist social scientists at the NCCC. In the same passage quoted above she wrote: "The difficulty of fixing on one cause, out of the many existing circumstances which might be regarded as causative, led to the practice of assigning 'principal' and 'subsidiary' causes; and some scrupulous students [a reference to A. G. Warner's *American Charities*, pp.42-45 is referenced in her footnotes] went so far as to grade the contributing causes on a scale of ten. This method was hailed as scientific; it was lauded at many a national conference; it was advocated and used by the most advanced and 'scientific' leaders in philanthropy and social research; and only within the last few years has any objection been made to it. … Although objections were not based at the outset on any abstract conviction of the unsoundness of the method, it was because of the difficulties which were encountered in its application that is unscientific character became apparent." Lilian Brandt, "The Causes of Poverty," *Political Science Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (1908): P. 638-39.

[395] The "tramp problem" personified the amalgam of crime & poverty, as one member explained: "These vampires who prey persistently on our social system, and who manage to subsist despite the efforts of sociologists and legislators and magistrates to suppress them. … Better for society that the deserving poor should be left to struggle along in their misery, and that the unworthy be allowed the privilege of starving, than that the vicious methods of dealing with the poor as practices in other days should be suffered to continue with all deplorable consequences, which are so palpable to every student of social science." Rev. E. R. Donehoo, NCCC 1885:327

[396] 19th century reformers such as Wardner, often cast as members of a conservative gentry class by later 20th century writers, considered themselves and their ideas and actions to be progressive and avant-garde.

for, and control these dependent children, - girls as well as boys, - taking them, not only from the poorhouses, where all become contaminated mentally, physically, and morally, but from the streets of our great and small cities, and even from the vile, unprincipled, debauched, drunken parents, who are rearing them by teaching and example to a familiarity with vice, that will sooner or later take them beyond the reach of help…"[397] Like Wardner, Henry E. Pellew of New York, after strongly advising the assembly "to systematize a mode of dealing with the very first germs of the disease", promoted industrial training as the way to attack the "root of the evil" and in that way supply "the fulcrum on which the lever can act to move the dead weight of pauperism." As we saw in chapter three, with the emphasis on "child saving", it made economic sense to stop the spread of pauperism by investing in measures that didn't allow pauper children to grow into pauper adults capable of reproducing their kind.[398]

For others, the causes of pauperism were due to physical disability, and like Dr. James Knight, found "that the most common and primary cause of pauperism is, in the majority of cases, stern necessity, a loss of mental and physical ability to labor, - often that of impending starvation; hence compulsory pauperism from unavoidable physical affliction."[399] Frank Fetter, of Cornell University, in a presentation on the need for industrial insurance, argued that American philanthropy has matured past its youth-like phase characterized by the extremes of being both "lavishly charitable and cruelly thoughtless" to an understanding that "when the factory hand works in the midst of

[397] Mrs. L. R. Wardner, NCCC 1880:178
[398] The term "preventive" appears hundreds of times throughout the *Proceedings*. For a typical use see: Hon. William P. Letchworth, NCCC 1884:15
[399] Dr. James Knight, NCCC 1882 :246

dangerous machinery, it is to turn out things of use and beauty for thousands of homes."[400] This required the ability provided by scientific charity of course – the sorting out of the insurable from the uninsurable: "The one class – the abnormal – must be segregated, protected, socially and humanely sterilized; the other, the normal, need in the main an effective system of insurance."[401] Insurance schemes became increasingly popular at the NCCC as the causes of pauperism appeared increasingly to be the result of unjust economic and labor arrangements.[402]

Others focused on the systemic causes of poverty. The need for legislative changes to enhance the rights of women as a means of solving child poverty was proposed and discussed at the NCCC gatherings.[403] The labor problem was increasingly prominent at the NCCC as the participants became aware of the growing numbers of wage earning poor (working poor) in American cities.[404] The relationships between labor, pauperism and crime were constantly probed at the NCCC. At the 5th annual event (1879) Carrroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, said that the labor question was "so broad, has so many ramifications, that for its aims, its work, its character, the American Social Science Association might as well be called the American

[400] Frank Fetter, NCCC 1906:469
[401] *Ibid.*, 1906 :468
[402] Amos Butler, Secretary of the Board of State Charities of Indiana was a strong proponent of the progressive idea of federal, state, and municipal pensions: Amos Butler, NCCC 1906:470.
[403] Madame Concepcion Arenal, NCCC 1885:175
[404] The shift from private to increasingly public means of charitable provision is the most studied part of late 19th century reform, as it was of contemporary interest to scholars from the 1970s forward. Although I include those resources in my literature review in Chapter Two, I don't pick up this theme here. For more from one of the most prominent scholars of this ilk: Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History*; Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse : A Social History of Welfare in America*; Katz, *The Undeserving Poor : From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*; Katz and ebrary Inc.

Association for the Discussion of the Labor Question."[405] At the 1896 conference Robert Treat Paine mused: "Can we wonder at their war-cry, 'Justice, not charity,' when we know as well as they do that four or five dollars a week will not give a shop-girl fit food, raiment, and bed…" … "Can we wonder that labor leaders refuse in their wrath to be satisfied when, out of the big gains men make in business by hiring girls at low wages, their wives devote trifles for convalescent hospitals or midnight missions for the victims of such a system? Salves for sin and suffering will no longer suffice."[406] Proponents of settlement methods were increasingly vocal at the NCCC about the ability of their methods to dig deeper into the roots of poverty and provide preventive measures.[407]

Most often though, the records of the NCCC show a mixture of the various root-causes as moral, physical, and systemic. To take but one example: In 1890 Dr. Hal C. Wyman presented an examination of 57 of the 62 Michigan county poorhouses, which showed that pauperism was caused in individuals by intemperate drinking, intemperate eating, bad economy in the purchase and preparation of foods, and indolence and general shiftlessness while the environmental causes of pauperism in the same study found those to be: disease, insanity-idiocy-imbecility, old age, and childhood.[408] Convinced as they were of the inefficient ways of the older forms of charity they had rejected, NCCC members strained to show proof of the efficiency of scientific charity. If they couldn't sort out the root causes of poverty, efficient control and collaboration between the

[405] Carroll D. Wright, NCCC 1879:151.
[406] Robert Treat Paine, NCCC 1896:11
[407] Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States*, P. 128-129; Maurice Hamington, *The Social Philosophy of Jane Addams* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Jane Addams, *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (New York,: The Macmillan Company, 1912).
[408] Dr. Hal C. Wyman, NCCC 1890:204-207

scientific researchers engaged in the methodological study of the spread of the disease seemed within their grasp.[409]

SCIENTIFIC CHARITY AS SUPERIOR EFFICIENCY

Languages of Organization

NCCC participant's confidence in the power of scientific charity was further bolstered by references to the successful charity reforms made in Britain and the United States by the Charity Organization Societies; essentially an updated application of the successful Elberfeld system.[410] The COS was touted as having devised scientific methods able to curb inefficient forms of private and public charity through the institution of new configurations in public and private charitable provision, new relationships between the rich and poor, and more effective uses of new found American capital. As welfare historian Theron Schlabach has shown: "…it was not until the late nineteenth century, when the COS leaders codified some of their predecessors' ideas and injected them into

[409] According to Lilian Brandt those engaged in the application of scientific charity included charity organization societies, the NCCC members, university professors, and the superintendents of the almshouses and other similar institutions, instigated by the US Census Bureau. Brandt, "The Causes of Poverty."

[410] Gurteen; Hunter, "The Relation between Social Settlements and Charity Organization."; Charles D. Kellogg, "History of Charity Organization in the United States," in *The International Congress on Charities, Corrections and Philanthropy*, ed. Daniel Coit Gilman, The Organization of Charities being a Report of The Sixth Section of the International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropy (Chicago: The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, The Scientific Press, Limited, London, 1893); Verl S. Lewis, "The Development of Teh Charity Organization Movement in the United States, 1875-1900: Its Principles and Methods" (Case Western University, 1954); Charles S. Loch, *Charity Organization* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1890); "Economic Aspects of Charity Organization," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 14, no. July; Mary Ellen Richmond and Fred S. Hall, *A Study of Nine Hundred and Eighty-Five Widows Known to Certain Charity Organization Societies in 1910*, Russell Sage Foundation Charity Organization Department Publication C O 34 (New York city,: Charity organization department of the Russell Sage foundation, 1913); Watson; York, "Charity Organization."

the context of turbulent institutional change and growth, that their approach became a significant historical force in America. For the last quarter of the nineteenth century and into the first decade of the twentieth, COS ideas dominated not only the societies themselves, but they swept the NCCC and became the conventional wisdom of American attitudes toward welfare. Even persons not connected to the charity organization societies frequently were spokesmen for the COS philosophy."[411]

Stories told about the COS's success are marbled throughout the *Proceedings*, with only a few instances of dissention. The COS was a supra-charitable agency, also known as "associated charities", with a governing body made up of a spectrum of public and private leaders of institutions dealing with the welfare of the poor. Oscar McCulloch who brought the scheme to Indianapolis said that it was to "measure the work to be done and inaugurate schemes for doing it, which would be as wise and successful as the business methods and plans of its members."[412]

Organization meant better inter-agency coordination through registration of the poor to prevent imposture. Case files were prepared and maintained on applicants and recipients of relief and their families.[413] The systematic division of cities into districts, a method inherited from Elberfeld, was another COS strategy for charity organization and

[411] Theron Schlabach, "Rationality & Welfare: Public Discussion of Poverty and Social Insurance in the United States 1875-1935", Social Security Administration ssa.gov/history/reports/schlabach.html (accessed May 17 2012 2012).
[412] Rev. Oscar McCulloch, NCCC 1880:122. "Associated Charities".
[413] Nathaniel Rosenau invented the vertical filing cabinet based on the system of cards that he used to keep track of the case files at the Buffalo COS. He introduced the vertical filing cabinet to the world in 1893 at the World Columbian Exposition.

cooperation. As such the COS tale built upon the Elberfeld mythos and provided substance to the conflation under discussion here.

The NCCC *Proceedings* shows that the greater meaning for American reformers and social scientists of the NCCC, was that scientific methodologies allowed for the causal cores of universal models, like Elberfeld and the COS, to be extracted and put to practical use by scientifically minded reformers. Just as in the physical sciences, facts needed to be collected, and from these facts scientists could deduce the underlying law-like principles from which solutions could then be constructed. Knowing the causes of social diseases would allow for preventative methods to be designed and deployed. Paradoxically, the philosophical assumptions about science buried within the methodology of the COS were never publically questioned, as they were largely assumed by most of those involved in social welfare during this time, even though the methodologies themselves were drawing increasing fire. As the movement tried to set up this coordinating infrastructure around the US, the rationality of its objective ends were increasingly called into question.[414] NCCC *Proceedings* were increasingly filled with reports and statistics of "success" from the field, which over time started to reveal an American social context that was in actuality showing itself resistant to the centralized and universalizing methods of the COS. The settlement movement and the movement to professionalize trained social workers, both outgrowths of the charity organization

[414] Schlabach.

milieu, started to provide alternative methods, themselves claiming a more scientific understanding and application of social welfare techniques.[415]

The 19th century COS movement in America had its critics both then and now.[416] 20th century critical studies have focused on its strategies of elite social control. Roy Lubove had it that COS proponents "imposed a blend of Malthusianism, Machesterian economics, Social Darwinism, Romanticism, and the crude hereditary biology of McCulloch and Dugdale upon the Christian love and brotherhood which theoretically inspired all benevolent efforts…" and "Michael Katz's judgment is equally harsh: 'charity organization was more than a way of repressing pauperism, of putting an end to indiscriminate almsgiving…it was a bureaucratic resolution of tension over sex roles among the well-to-do in the Gilded Age."[417] However, the incredibly resilient ideas of

[415] Domenica M. Barbuto, *American Settlement Houses and Progressive Social Reform : An Encyclopedia of the American Settlement Movement* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx Press, 1999); Katharine Bentley Beauman, *Women and the Settlement Movement* (London ; New York, New York: Radcliffe Press; In the U.S.A. and Canada distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1996); Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors : Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Ruth Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order : The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Mina Julia Carson, *Settlement Folk : Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Judith Ann Trolander, *Professionalism and Social Change : From the Settlement House Movement to Neighborhood Centers, 1886 to the Present*, Columbia History of Urban Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Werner Robert Valentin Picht and Lilian A. Cowell, *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement* (London,: G. Bell and sons ltd., 1914).

[416] A New York Times section headline on January 15, 1894 read: 'Progress' Has Criticism; Thinks that the Charity Organization Society Has Outlived Its Name.

[417] Hammack et al., P. 9. See for example the presentations and discussion on the topic of Public and Private Relief at the NCCC conference of 1896, Mrs. C. R. Lowell, NCCC 1896:45ff. For an opposing view to that of Lubove and Katz see: Leiby, "Charity Organization Reconsidered."; Waugh; ibid.; Joan Waugh, "Introduction to the Philanthropy Classics Access Project Edition," in *The Philanthropic Work of Josephine Shaw Lowell*, ed. Peter Dobkin Hall and Richard Magat(New York: The Macmillan Company, 2006). In reality charity organization was a transnational phenomenon, and better understood when viewed as an extension of European developments in the social sciences that cut their teeth on attempts to explain the persistence and growth of poverty in modern societies. See for example: "The Work of Social Science."; "A New Chapter in Charity Organisation," *LSE Selected Pamphlets (1885)*; Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg, *The Nonprofit Sector : A Research Handbook*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Yeo. Haskell critiques and goes beyond simple "social control" and "class interests" explanations in: Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of Humanitarian Sensiblity, Part

scientific charity outlived its host: the American COS experiment, and if anything, as social scientists professionalized, reformers and scientists redoubled their efforts to create a science of charity through reformulated theories, techniques, and networks.[418] No one doubted the potential of scientific charity, even as NCCC records start to show admission of the failure of the simplistic applications of Elberfeld and COS strategies to the American context. Root causes receded; prompting even more thoroughgoing dedication to developments in quantitative methods as statistics seemed to provide new opportunities for the quest for solutions to social problems.[419]

Languages of Statistics

If scientific charity functioned as a moral language, then statistics was its most widely used dialect. Statistics at the NCCC were used to incite fear as well as demonstrate success, both strategies designed to kindle reform action. Scientific charity appeared as "scientific" to late 19th century social thinkers when it was accompanied by the legitimizing addition of statistical details. The scientist of charity was a "new variety of expert, one who has at the same time the sense of numbers and the sense of social values."[420] The idea that there could be a science of charity was itself dependent upon the idea that the social world could be laboratory-like and the experiments of applied

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I," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (1985); Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of Humanitarian Sensiblity, Part Ii," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (1985).

[418] An extensive 1911 New York Times interview with W.F. Persons of the New York COS entitled: "The Poor Need Not Always Be With You: The abolition of a large portion of the city's penury a mere scientific problem already partially solved" is a testament to the continued existence and power of the scientific charity bundle of ideas and practices.

[419] "As causes recede…the realm of inquiry must expand and the conditions of satisfying explanation must change. Common sense fails and the claims of expertise gains plausibility. Explanation itself becomes a matter of special significance, because the explainer promises to put his audience back in touch with the most vital elements of a receding and increasingly elusive reality." Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*, P. 44.

[420] Kate Holladay Claghorn, NCCC 1908:251

research could yield data which would, when subjected to the methods of science, yield positive knowledge about the patterns (laws) from which solutions could be generalized.[421] The practical social workers of the state boards, private charities, COSs, and settlements would provide the social laboratory and source of the data required for the generation of statistical materials required for the construction of sociological theory and practice.[422] At the NCCC statistical methods were the techniques that, if scientifically applied, would get to the root causes of social problems and provide the building blocks for the world of the future that Gilded Age progressives believed to be within their grasp.

Although the idea of political arithmetic, social accounting and demographic research dates back to the 17th and 18th Centuries and to the early to mid 19th century developments of the statistical societies, the mid to late 19th century saw the development of new quantitative methods as well as the growth of the social survey concept most often associated with the works of Charles Booth in England and Dugdale, McCulloch, and Du Bois in the United States.[423] Recent work on the history of statistics and its relationship to

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[421] Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Notes on the History of Quantification in Sociology - Trends, Sources and Problems," *Isis* 52, no. 2 (1961). Stephen M. Stigler, *Statistics on the Table : The History of Statistical Concepts and Methods* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999). Stephen M. Stigler, *The History of Statistics : The Measurement of Uncertainty before 1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986). Carter; Anders Hald, *A History of Mathematical Statistics from 1750 to 1930*, Wiley Series in Probability and Statistics. Texts and References Section (New York: Wiley, 1998); Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986); David Salsburg, *The Lady Tasting Tea : How Statistics Revolutionized Science in the Twentieth Century* (New York: W.H. Freeman, 2001). Libby Schweber, *Disciplining Statistics : Demography and Vital Statistics in France and England, 1830-1885*, Politics, History, and Culture (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

[422] Julia C. Lathrop, NCCC 1894:313

[423] By the late 1890s reformers had been introduced to the "statistical approach" in the work of R. L. Dugdale's *"The Jukes": A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease and Heredity* (1888); Amos G. Warner in *American Charities* (1894) which investigated the causes of poverty by tabulating the results he collected from charity organization visitors in Baltimore, Boston, New York, Buffalo, and Cincinnati; C. S. Loch's work on poverty in London, and a German study by Bömert of 77 German cities in *Armenwesen in 77 Deutschen Stadten* (1886). William Dwight Porter Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Social Reform; Including Political Economy, Political Science, Sociology and Statistics, Covering Anarchism, Charities, Civil*

social reform has shown that "statistical methodologies usually arise in conjunction with social and political drives" as was the case, for example, when Charles Loch (London COS secretary) played an instrumental role in inspiring the development of a new multivariate technique prompted by his frustrations with the conclusions of Charles Booth's *The Aged Poor in England and Wales.*[424] Later 20th century historians of social science interpreted *The Jukes* and *Tribe of Ishmael* studies through the lens of Social Darwinist racial eugenics. However, it is important to recognize the incredible influence they had on the development of a science of charity through the largely unopposed core assumption: that statistical methods were acting as legitimizer of eugenic social policy.[425] Franklin Giddings considered that at the time it was first published (1875), *The Jukes* was the "best example of scientific method applied to a sociological investigation" ever published.[426] In 1911 an article in the Quarterly Journal of Economics called for recognition of "the debt of eugenics to scientific philanthropy in the United States" due to the "fruitful studies of degeneracy" such as Dugdale's *The Jukes*, McCulloch's *Tribe of Ishmael,* and the *Proceedings* of the NCCC and American Prison Association.[427] The end

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Service, Currency, Land and Legislation Reform, Penology, Socialism, Social Purity, Trades Unions, Woman Suffrage, Etc, 3d ed. (New York,: Funk & Wagnalls, 1897), P. 1072.

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[425] Daniel J. Denis and Kara R. Docherty, "Late Nineteenth Century Britain: A Social, Political, and Methodological Context for the Rise of Multivariate Statistics," *Electronic Journal for History of Probability and Statistics* 3, no. 2 (2007); Nathaniel Deutsch, *Inventing America's "Worst" Family : Eugenics, Islam, and the Fall and Rise of the Tribe of Ishmael* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Lois A. Cuddy and Claire M. Roche, *Evolution and Eugenics in American Literature and Culture, 1880-1940 : Essays on Ideological Conflict and Complicity* (Lewisburg, Pa. London: Bucknell University Press; Associated University Presses, 2003); Ruswick; Christine Rosen, *Preaching Eugenics : Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Paul A. Lombardo, *A Century of Eugenics in America : From the Indiana Experiment to the Human Genome Era*, Bioethics and the Humanities (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2011); Bashford and Levine.

[426] R. L. Dugdale, *The Jukes, a Study in Crime, Pauperism, Diseases, and Heredity*, 4th ed. (New York London,: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1910), P. iii.

[427] *Modern Refrigerating Machinery, Its Construction, Methods of Working and Industrial Applications; a Guide for Engineers and Owners of Refrigerating Plants*, 1st ed. (New York,: J. Wiley & sons; [etc.), P. 34.

of WWII quelled eugenics but American notions of charity had been forever transformed. The quantification of poverty, and focus on root-causes, and the continued popularity of efficient organization of charitable provision are the legacy of this radical yet generative period of American history.[428]

Statistics on both individuals as well as social contexts were produced and debated at the NCCC as well as elsewhere. The statistical findings collected for and presented at the annual NCCC meetings were pointing to more complex and environmental causes of pauperism than the ASSA founders had first imagined.[429] For example, Amos Warner's piece for the American Statistical Society's journal in 1889 entitled: "Notes on the Statistical Determination of the Causes of Poverty" presents the results of the survey work of Booth (London), COS statistics presented at the NCCC meetings, McCulloch's *Tribe of Ishmael,* Dugdale's *Jukes,* and summarizes their findings as all pointing towards "the conclusion at first reached, that the study of individuals leads us to dwell upon character as a factor in causing poverty, but that if we search far enough we find that the primary cause is environment."[430] Even those who rejected the implications of studies such as *The Jukes* and *Tribe of Ishmael* supported its basic methodology as central to the new scientific charity.

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[428] Professor Charles H. Henderson, University of Chicago in his presidential address to the 1899 session of the NCCC said: "In the case of the feeble-minded the principle of social selection may be said to control all methods. Everything is subordinated to the end of closing out the stock of a hopelessly degenerate line. We sometimes use the hard word "extermination". … In this field we have an illustration of the social values of statistics and records which some so-called "practical" people affect to despise. The studies of families of degenerates in New York and Indiana may be cited as typical examples of the importance of exact and scientific histories of the wards of society, if we are to guide legislation by facts rather than by hasty guesses and crude speculation." C.R. Henderson, NCCC 1899:163.

[429] Ruswick.

[430] A. G. Warner, "Notes on the Statistical Determination of the Causes of Poverty," in *Publication of the American Statistical Association*(Boston: W. J. Schofield, Printer, 1889), P. 19.

The stated purpose of Dugdale's methods was to determine how much of crime and public dependence resulted from heredity and how much from environment. Franklin H. Giddings, in his introduction to the fourth edition of *The Jukes*, tried to temper overly deterministic interpretations of the work, and emphasized that Dugdale's conclusion was that changes in environment can go as far as to "eradicate even such deep-rooted and wide-spreading growths of vice and crime as the 'Jukes' group exemplified.[431] Yet this didn't stop the growing enthusiasm from the 1880s through to the 1930s for deterministic and socially oriented hereditarianism. The influence of Rev. Oscar McCulloch's *Tribe of Ishmael* has been well documented due to Indiana's pioneering involvement in American eugenics.[432] One historian describing this period wrote: "In the last quarter of the nineteenth century publicists, physicians, proto-social scientists, and social workers had already applied hereditarian explanations to the analysis of almost every visible social problem. Hereditarian explanation of human behavior had the virtue of seeming to embody the concepts and prestige of science, while at the same time being devoid of certifiable content. – a remarkably functional combination that made hereditarianism usable in a wide variety of social contexts."[433]

The bulk of the statistical materials presented at the NCCC meetings fell into two categories: statistics on degeneracy which were largely lists of various mental illnesses and the supposed causes collected from prisons, asylums, and state boards of

[431] Dugdale, *The Jukes, a Study in Crime, Pauperism, Diseases, and Heredity*, P. iv.
[432] McCulloch's role in the eugenic extremes taken by those inspired by his work is contested. Elsa Kramer, "Recasting the Tribe of Ishmael: The Role of Indianapolis's Nineteenth-Century Poor in Twentieth-Century Eugenics," *Indiana Magazine of History* 104, (2008).
[433] Rosenberg et al., P. 49.

health/lunacy and statistics on relief which were largely lists of pauper cases categorized by cause and used to show the success of welfare-to-work programs of the COS. At every meeting of the NCCC, state boards reported out to the larger group from their collected statistics from that year. One can see the increasing sophistication of members understanding of statistics at the NCCC. In 1907 there were discussions about the need for national standards for proper comparability in the stats reported by states at the annual conference. Frederick L. Hoffman, a statistician from Prudential Insurance Company, delivered a lecture in which he reprimanded the statistical methods at the NCCC: "Probably no other branch of social science is more in need of trained intelligence than what is generally comprehended under 'poor law administration' and 'poor law reform'. There is an immense amount of irresponsible and guesswork opinion upon this subject, which can only be set aside by a trustworthy and impartial presentation of the actual facts."[434]

Of course, this is not to say that these methods were well understood and applied by NCCC members. Clare De Graffenried, US Depart of Labor, pointed out in her presentation in 1896, when she said that the impression the conference left on her was that "while great importance is attached to preventative measures, and, above all, to charity organizations and childsaving societies, yet these societies confront effects, and not causes."[435] Long before Lilian Brandt's critique in 1908, the problem with the NCCC's understanding of statistics had been pointed out, when at the 1890 event Nathaniel S. Rossman said: "All the societies are at work trying to reduce pauperism, and

[434] Frederick L. Hoffman, NCCC 1907:132
[435] Clare De Graffenried, NCCC 1896:101

all are succeeding in a measure. But nobody has yet been able to lay down a general rule for work; nobody has yet been able to give general causes for destitution, because reliable figures, covering any considerable portion of our population, have not yet been furnished upon which premises can be based. A cardinal principle of scientific charity is to search out causes of distress, in order that work may be begun at the foundation of the trouble. Yet, with all the facilities and opportunities in the hands of the seventy-eight societies in the United States, nothing has ever been given to the economist of sufficient basic value for the study of sources of poverty".[436]

The records demonstrate that the statistical science of the NCCC was a patchwork of data from State boards, COS registers and case files, and a variety of survey projects, thus garnering the withering criticism of people like Edward L Youmans from his platform at the *Popular Science Monthly,* who wrote: "So far from promoting social science, we should rather say that social science is just the subject which it particularly avoids. It is an organization for public action, and most of its members, hot with the impulses of philanthropy, are full of projects of social relief, amelioration, and improvement. Of pure investigation, of the strict and passionless study of society from a scientific point of view, we hear but very little…"[437] Youmans was arguing for an even more thoroughgoing quantification of social science, based on a more radical positivism, believing that the ASSA & NCCC just did not go far enough. In both cases statistical

[436] Nathaniel S. Rossman, "Charity Statistics," *Publications of the American Statistical Association* 2, no. 11 (1890).
[437] Mary O. Furner, Organization of American Historians., and American Council of Learned Societies., "Advocacy & Objectivity a Crisis in the Professionalization of American Social Science, 1865-1905," (Lexington: Published for the Organization of American Historians [by] The University Press of Kentucky, 1975).

knowledge was the answer, despite disagreements over the relative boundaries of "pure investigation".

SCIENTIFIC CHARITY AS MORAL SOURCE

Languages of Morality

For members of the NCCC scientific charity's search for solutions to social problems was presented as a quest with both national and spiritual significance.[438] Late 19th century charity literature is so thick with biblical allusions, concepts, and metaphors

[438] The distinctions between social Christianity, charity organization, what was then called social science, social activism, and general reform are not easy to establish. Some notable attempts which I consulted for this dissertation would include Mark Hutchinson and John Wolfe's *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (Cambridge University Press:2012); William Reginald Ward's *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (1992), *Christianity Under the Ancien Régime, 1648 – 1789* (1999), and *Early Evangelicalism: A Global Intellectual History, 1670-1789* (2006); Mark Noll's *The Work We Have To Do: A History of Protestants in America* (Oxford University Press:2002), *God and Mammon: Protestants, Money, and the Market, 1790-1860* (Oxford University Press:2001), and *One Nation Under God: Christian Faith and Political Action in America* (Harper Collins, 1988); George Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford University Press:2006), *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (Oxford University Press:1994); Nathan O. Hatch's *The Democratization of American Christianity* (Yale University Press:1989), Ronald C. White and C. Howard Hopkins' *The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America* (Temple University Press:1976); Kathleen D. McCarthy's *American Creed: Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700-1865* (University of Chicago Press:2005); Cecil E. Greek's *The Religious Roots of American Sociology* (Garland Publishing:1992); Frank Prochaska's *Christianity & Social Service in Modern Britain* (Oxford Press:2006); Keith Robbins' *The Dynamics of Religious Reform in Northern Europe, 1780-1920: Political and Legal Perspectives* (Leuven University Press:2010); George O'Brien's *An Essay on The Economic Effects of the Reformation* (IHS Press:2008); M.J.D. Roberts' *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886* (Cambridge University Press:2004); Dorothy M. Brown and Elizabeth McKeown's *Poor Belong to Us : Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (Harvard University Press:1998); Larry Frohman's *Poor Relief and Welfare in Germany from the Reformation to World War I* (Cambridge University Press:2008); William A. Galston and Peter H. Hoffenberg's *Poverty and Morality: Religious and Secular Perspectives* (Cambridge University Press:2010); Elizabeth H. Turner's *Women, Culture and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920* (Oxford University Press:1997); Kathleen Callanan Martin's *Hard and Unreal Advice: Mothers, Social Science and the Victorian Poverty Experts* (Pallgrave McMillan:2008); Larry Friedman and Mark McGarvie's *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* (Cambridge University Press:2002; and Gary Dorrien's *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Imagining Progressive Religion, 1805 – 1900* (Westminster John Knox Press: 2001)

that it is hard to discern the boundaries between an "applied religion" and "applied sociology".[439] As the progressive economist Richard T. Ely wrote in his paper entitled "Christianity as a Social Force, delivered at the 1893 World Parliament of Religions, the church was to be seen as "a universal anti-poverty society."[440] Religious historian Robert Handy wrote about the surprisingly little tension in the late 19th century between Christian denominational trends and national religious ideals of civilization.[441] A recent article on the topic in the Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare, referring to the period under study here as "The First Faith-Based Movement" states:

> At the dawn of the Progressive era, the first generation of modern social reformers in America constructed compelling arguments for activism in the social sphere that were replete with the intertwined symbolism of nationalism and liberal Protestantism. In the closing decades of the 19th century, the boundaries that distinguish disciplines within the social sciences had not yet been established, and there was a remarkable degree of collaboration between academics, Protestant clergy and prominent figures in the settlement movement. Whatever their primary institutional allegiances, reform minded individuals attended the same conferences, worked together on completing studies and were united by the shared vision that the so-called scientific study of social problems could bring about a new era, where poverty would be gradually eliminated, along with its attendant social pathologies.[442]

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[439] "One of the most striking aspects of late 19th century poverty theory in Britain is the vigorous survival of religious ideas in the world of apparently secular thinkers. … This is very much in keeping with Owen Chadwick's observation that during the late 19th century, as adherence to religious declines, 'nearly everyone, agnostic or not, assumed that the morality which they inherited was absolute and must be preserved, even though the creed evoked with it might be dropped." Americans followed this trajectory at a delayed pace. Martin, P. 30.

[440] John Henry Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions; an Illustrated and Popular Story of the World's First Parliament of Religions, Held in Chicago in Connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893*, 2 vols. (Chicago,: The Parliament Publishing Company, 1893), P. 1056-61.

[441] As mentioned in: Amy Kittelstrom, "The International Social Turn: Unity and Brotherhood at the World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 1893," *Religion & American Culture* 19, no. 2 (2009): P. 251. Steven Sritt, "The First Faith-Based Movement: The Religious Roots of Social Progressivism in America (1880-1912) in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* XLI, no. 1 (2014).

[442] Leiby, "The Moral Foundations of Social Welfare and Social Work: A Historical View."; Mark A. Noll, *America's God : From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

The reformist social scientists of the NCCC criticized religious forms of charity while simultaneously drawing power from their continued and growing role in American society. It is estimated that between 1870 and 1918 the total number of churches in the country experienced a 221 percent increase, from 70,000 to 225,000.[443]

As two sides of the same coin, NCCC members critiqued older forms of religious charity as we have seen in chapter four, in order to clear the way for new forms of non-sectarian philanthropy based on science.[444] They lobbied for a new scientific basis for social explanation and action broader than the one offered by traditional religion and they argued for the undoing of religiously controlled charitable provision as confirmed and sometimes even impassioned religionists.[445] In their own terms their motives were secular in one 19th century meaning of the term: non-ecclesiastically ordained.[446] But one must not confuse secular motives in charity with nonbelief. For example there was little appetite in the United States for Comte's positivism once applied to the creation of a religion of humanism. As Own Chadwick described it: "The complicating fact for the late nineteenth century was the claim that you could have morality without Christianity while the morality which you must have was Christian morality. … To found a new religion is not a little thing. To found a new religion in the middle nineteenth century, in the

[443] Sritt, "The First Faith-Based Movement: The Religious Roots of Social Progressivism in America (1880-1912) in Historical Perspective," P. 79. Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005 : Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005).
[444] Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion : Society and Faith since World War Ii*, Studies in Church and State (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).as mentioned in Sritt, 2014.
[445] See: "Co-operation of the Churches", by Rev. C. R. Henderson in NCCC 1884:80.
[446] When asked how much time was given to the religious element at Hull House in Chicago, Richard Ely, a noted promoter of "Christian sociology" answered: None. We believe it is our religious duty to be unreligious in that sense." Richard Ely, NCCC 1897:474.

generation of Marx and Feuerbach, is a still bigger thing. And to claim to found a religion out of modern science is the biggest thing of all."[447]

NCCC members appear convinced that the powerful apparatus of both private and public institutions had proven themselves to be incapable of putting aside dogmatic adherence to ineffective policies of the past for dealing with the poor.[448] The new philanthropy, free of traditional attachments, would bring the true love of Christ to its millennial fulfillment through the application of the best of science to the worst of human suffering.[449] The institutions of church and government were too politically beholden and corrupt to be able to take advantage of the emerging social sciences to solve what they saw as the growing social problems of their day.[450] In a paper read at the annual conference in 1892 entitled: "Why Should Religious Societies Co-operate with Charity Organization Societies?" the author explains that while religious bodies have been responsible for a large part of the poverty in the world due to their improper methods,

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[447] Maurice S. Lee and ebrary Inc., "Uncertain Chances Science, Skepticism, and Belief in Nineteenth-Century American Literature," (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Clark, "Religous Beliefs and Social Reforms in the Gilded Age: The Case of Henry Whitney Bellows."

[448] Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century : The Gifford Lectures in the University of Edinburgh for 1973-4*, Gifford Lectures (Cambridge [Eng.] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975). Watson, P. 12-13.

[449] The Problem of Charity, *The Charities Review,* ed. Francis Greenwood Peabody, (accessed 30/05/2009); Francis Greenwood Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question: An Examination of the Teaching of Jesus in Its Relation to Some of the Problems of Modern Social Life* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900).

[450] As Susan Stokes has shown, 14 of the 16 most contested U.S. Congressional elections happened between 1861 and 1903. Jean B. Quandt, "Religion and Social Thought: The Secularization of Postmillennialism," *American Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (1973); Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science*; George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield, *The Secularization of the Academy*, Religion in America Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Arthur J. Vidich and Stanford M. Lyman, *American Sociology : Worldly Rejections of Religion and Their Directions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Edward Cummings rails against the "machine" of corruption, the true enemy of reform. For more on reform as directed against the excesses of both private AND public institutions instead of public INSTEAD of private see: Susan Carol Stokes, *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism : The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, P. 281. Leiby, "Amos Warner's American Charities 1894-1930."; James Leiby, "Social Work and Social History: Some Interpretations," *The Social Service Review* 43, no. 3 (1969); Leiby, "Charity Organization Reconsidered."

they can fulfill their true missions of genuinely helping the poor by joining forces with their local COS. So the COS doesn't supplant the church, but is a vehicle that allows churches to rediscover their true vocations.[451] In one report entitled "Statistics of Pauperism", competition among churches and charitable societies for public funds was to blame for the continued degradation of the poor and statistics were cited to show that the 20,000 living by misdirected charity in New York were garnering seven million dollars a year from public and private relief to maintain what the report called "the most degraded and corrupting class in the city."[452]

If older forms of charity required keeping the poor in their poverty in fulfillment of the second most often quoted verse in the *Proceedings,* Matthew 16:11 "ye have the poor always with you", then the new forms of science-based charity required exactly the opposite, or what the first most quoted passage in the *Proceedings* promoted: the parable of the Good Samaritan.[453] NCCC members, who were largely middle to upper class Protestants, accommodated a scientific worldview by maintaining a confidence in scientific charity further bolstered by references to the continued affirmation that religion in general, and Christian faith in particular, was compatible with social science.[454] The link between the development of 19th century social theory and the re-interpretation of the Bible along scientific lines has long been noticed, or as one recent author has it: "Sociology derives positivist method from an early-nineteenth-century revolution in

[451] George B. Safford, D.D. NCCC 1892:430ff. Paper read by Rev. S. A. Eliot.
[452] Dr. R. T. Davis, NCCC 1874:83
[453] References to the Good Samaritan appear 92 times in the Proceedings 1874- 1909.
[454] Watson.

Bible interpretation. This unlikely source in turn invests a deliberately mundane enterprise with divine purpose."[455]

An analysis of the conference sermons at the NCCC offers many examples of the provision of Biblical language and references used to justify the marriage of social and spiritual progress. For one conference sermon preached in 1909, charity or social service was presented as applied religion and churches that failed to emphasize the social needs of the times were not practicing true religion.[456] A recent commentator wrote: "During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, economics, political science, and sociology all emerged in American universities as the result of the influence of the Social Gospel.[457] The leaders in all three disciplines were "social Christians" who saw their work as central to showing the truth about American society and the need for reform."[458] Governor Bishop opened the 5th annul NCCC conference reminding the crowd that: "Your purpose is to unite science with love; to vindicate human myopathy at the bar of educated reason; to make religion and political economy co-operants in the alleviation of

[455] Eleonore Stump and ebrary Inc., "Wandering in Darkness Narrative and the Problem of Suffering," (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Susan L. Mizruchi, *The Science of Sacrifice : American Literature and Modern Social Theory* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), P. 128; Susan L. Mizruchi, *The Rise of Multicultural America : Economy and Print Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), P. 128.

[456] Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, NCCC 1909:20ff.

[457] Prior to 1890 only seven church-affiliated schools had adopted sociology as a topic, but by 1900 136 of the 469 church-related colleges has an offering in sociology, compared to 91 of the 214 non-denominational schools. Congregationalists were most favorable to launching sociology (17 out of 22 schools), follow by Presbyterians (22 of 74), Methodists (40 of 99), Baptists (18 of 62), and Catholics (6 of 81). R. H. Popkin, "The Philosophical Basis of Modern Racism," in *Philosophy and the Civilizing Arts : Essays Presented to Herbert W. Schneider*, ed. Herbert W. Schneider, Craig Walton, and John Peter Anton(Athens: Ohio University Press, 1974).

[458] Greek, P. 69. The spectrum at the NCCC ranged from socially interested person to social gospel adherent to Christian socialist. The lines were fluid, not all were interested in religion per se, but there is no indication of any anti-religious dissension in the *Proceedings* 1874-1909.

human suffering" and to "strike at the root of the matter, and seek to devise ways and means by which many of the causes of suffering may be removed…"[459]

Languages of Medicine

Another commonly evoked imagery for the power of science to root out and solve social problems was a wide range of medical metaphors.[460] Hospitality, and the hospital had already enjoyed many centuries of prime charitable significance.[461] In the same way medical research had discovered new ways to inoculate populations against physical disease, the new social experts were able to find ways to "pursue causation, to track it down" and rid society of social ills such as pauperism.[462] For Charles Frederick Weller, Chairman and Secretary of the Associated Charities of Washington, D.C, the scientific purposes of charity were the same as those of modern medicine: to relieve, cure, and prevent distress. Weller said: "A practitioner of either science fails in proportion as he falls behind his profession in the ability to diagnose diseases correctly and to apply properly the best-known remedies"…and so…"What is needed now for the advancement

[459] Hon. R. M. Bishop, NCCC 1879:2

[460] Variations of the term "medical" appear over 3000 times in the *Proceedings* in the years under study. This was perhaps in part due to the presence of physicians such as Dr. Stephen Smith of New York, and Dr. J.B. Chapin, superintendent of the Willard Asylum at the inaugural NCCC meeting in 1874. State boards of health, and eventually a national board of health, were outcomes of the ideas and plans shared at the NCCC meetings.

[461] Bradley W. Bateman and H. Spencer Banzhaf, *Keeping Faith, Losing Faith : Religious Belief and Political Economy*, History of Political Economy (Durham, N.C. ; London: Duke University Press, 2008).

[462] Thomas Haskell wrote that the first and perhaps most critical contribution of the interdependence shaping late 19th century culture was that it provided for expert advice in human affairs by discrediting traditional systems of belief and making way for the scientific enquirer to become a "man of extraordinary importance" whose task is to pursue causation, to track it down." Kevin C. Robbins, "The Nonprofit Sector in Historical Perspective: Traditions of Philanthropy in the West," in *The Nonprofit Sector : A Research Handbook*, ed. Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg(New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

of charity is the study of the poor."[463] Charity workers were "social physicians who are dealing with a complicated social disease.[464]

The *Proceedings* categorized social diseases as including: insanity, trampery, vagrancy, tuberculosis, pauper dependency, alcoholism, social injustice, economic dependence, crime, poverty, and pauperism.[465] Even the criticism that the COS had become a relief agency during the industrial depression of 1896, was countered in medical terms:[466]

> When an accident occurs to the human frame, a wise physician will seek to keep the body in a condition as nearly normal as possible until the bad results have disappeared. We who, as members of the Charity Organization Society, come to be social physicians in spite of ourselves, need to bear the analogy in mind. To keep the social condition as nearly normal as we can in time of depression, to improve it incidentally if we may, but to keep it normal until the depression is over, to make no residuum of paupers who shall prey upon the community, an affliction to themselves and to others, when more nearly normal conditions again prevail, - this is our task.[467]

The medical sciences had made great strides in remedying physical disease, and even more importantly using scientific knowledge and techniques for preventing disease from happening at all.[468] The idea of curing diseases slipped from the medical lexicon

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[463] Charles F. Weller, NCCC 1903:269
[464] Professor C. R. Henderson NCCC, 1896:76
[465] From a search in the P*roceedings* for the term "social disease" yielding 23 instances.
[466] The NCCC record refers to this period as an "industrial depression", although it is has been called the "Panic of 1896which saw a drop of 25.2 percent in business activity and an 20.8 percent drop in trade and industrial activity. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science : The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority*.P. 42-44.
[467] Philip W. Ayres, NCCC 1896:98
[468] "Marie and Pierre Curie's work with radioactivity and radium opened new vistas of biomedical diagnosis and cure. Between 1897 and 1910 human blood groups were classified, the whooping cough bacillus was isolated, viruses were identified, diagnostic tests for diphtheria, syphilis, and tuberculosis were developed, a typhoid vaccine was discovered, and aspirin went on sale. From Victor Zarnowitz and ebrary Inc., "Business Cycles Theory, History, Indicators, and Forecasting," in *Studies in business cycles v. 27*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Quoted in John Louis Recchiuti, "Science and

into the social. Social physicians prescribed social remedies while working on discovering an "exhaustive social diagnosis, since in the same way that people had to digest food and even cure indigestion before there were physiologists to tell them how, and society has to do many difficult things which as yet the sociologist has not explained."[469] Terms like "social surgery", "doctoring society", and "social medicine" appear in the NCCC records. In a presentation on the prevention of feeble-mindedness, Dr. George H. Knight, Superintendent of the Connecticut School for Imbeciles, quoted Dr. Maudsley who had written: "It is certain that lunatics and criminals are as much manufactured articles as are steam-engines and calico-printing machines, only the process of the organic manufactory are so complex that we are not able to follow them. They are neither accidents nor anomalies in the universe, but come by law and testify to causality; and it is the business of science to find out what the causes are, and by what laws they work."[470] And so the search was on to discover the root-causes of social disease.

The social scientists of the NCCC were convinced of the applicability of the methods of science to the social world of humans. They were less certain of what precisely those methods were, and how they might be applied to human social problems. Apart from appeals to the positive proofs provided by historical precedent (Elberfeld) and the statistical successes of the COS, the *Proceedings* show a futuristic element to the way the power of a science of the social and/or charity was expressed. There seemed to be no

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Technology," in *American Decades: 1910-1919*, ed. Vincent Tompkins et al.(Detroit: Gale Research -Gale Cengage Learning, 1994).

[469] Professor H. H. Powers, NCCC 1896:124

[470] Dr. George H. Knight, NCCC 1899:307

doubt that the methods once applied would be successful but there was growing recognition that the actual law-like principles that the application of scientific method was to distill had not yet been discovered in full. Scientific charity became increasingly presented as "in process" as compared to a given self-contained system based on Elberfeld and the COS. At the third annual (1876) NCCC event the Governor of New York, Samuel J. Tilden, after rhapsodizing over the march of scientific progress of the past three centuries, praised the reformist social scientists of the ASSA and NCCC and its intelligent belief that "the complex phenomena of society – its grand tides of movement, its successions of changes, growth and decay of populations, mortality, pauperism, crime – are capable of being reduced to formula, being analyzed, studied and stated in the results of your discoveries. … I am quite sure that the application of the same philosophy which has achieved such grand results elsewhere will astonish you; will astonish everyone by the results which it will attain in this new department of which it will be applied."[471]

CONCLUSION

Various formulations of the word "science" appears over two thousand times in the NCCC *Proceedings* (1874-1909), which is an average of five references to science per page. Historical scholarship of the 19th century has unanimously taken note of the period's devotion, some would say obsession, with science. Scientific discoveries cascaded into all spheres of life: advances such as the scientific explanations of the origins of human life by Lemark, Wallace, and Darwin; Pasteurs' vaccines, Mendeleev's

[471] Samuel J. Tilden, NCCC 1876:10-11.

periodic table of elements, the Industrial Revolution's machine powered inventions of every sort, Edison's phonograph and electric light bulb, Faraday's electromagnetic theories which revolutionized physics, and the list goes on and on. The many different modes of knowing and experiencing this rapid change are a subject that scholars have been sorting out since.[472] This extraordinary period of the heyday of science served as the backdrop to the growth of the ASSA and NCCC and the attempt of these organizations to understand and solve social challenges.

In effect, the NCCC was a halfway point for the social questions/knowledge inherited from Political Economy and Social Economy on the way to the founding of institutions and professional arrangements that make up modern charities still with us today.[473] Even though there was still no definite agreement on what a science of the social might be and by what professional means these methods might be carried out, the NCCC became the premier national platform for academic and practical social thinking and social activism of the final decades of the 19th century.[474]

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[472] Recchiuti, *Civic Engagement : Social Science and Progressive-Era Reform in New York City*, P. 18.

[473] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Essential Tension : Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); Thomas S. Kuhn and Ian Hacking, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Fourth edition. ed. (Chicago ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012). Danièle Demousiter, "Social Economy as Social Science and Practice: Historical Perspectives on France," in *Eleventh World Congress of Social Economics* (Albertville, France: 2004); Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty : An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Donald Winch, "The Emergence of Economics as a Science, 1750-1870," in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed. Carlo M. Cipolla(London: Fontana/Collins, 1973). Donald Winch, *Wealth and Life : Essays on the Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1848-1914*, Ideas in Context (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[474] By 1900 227 American colleges out of the 683 surveyed included the teaching of sociology. "Bibliography of Economic and Political Writings 1865-1900," *American Literature* 15, no. 4. Ira Howerth conducted a survey in 1894 and discovered 40 professors in the US teaching something akin to Sociology, but despite agreement on the legitimacy of the science of Sociology and the need for University departments devoted to its study, Howerth called the respondent's understanding of the subject the "chaotic condition of social thought." J. Graham Morgan, "The Development of Sociology and the Social Gospel in America," *Sociological Analysis* 30, no. 1 (1969). L.L. Bernard found that by 1909 there were almost 400

Some have accused the period of scientism.[475] Luther L. Bernard could write in 1919: "We, as scientific workers in sociology, are so definitely launched upon the trend toward objectivism and definiteness of method that it is needless to argue in its defense."[476] Whatever else NCCC participants thought they were doing, the record amply demonstrates that almost without exception they were confident that their collected work was part of the unfolding development of a science that was engaged in delivering new and improved methods of charity. Their efforts gave a scientific *raison d'être* to new forms of charity, and that shape, having long outlived its late 19th and early 20th century applications, is still apparent today in the continued search for scientific solutions to social problems.

The growing consensus of the late 19th century was that the dependence of the "defective and delinquent" classes could be averted by what they referred to as "scientific" categorization and organization of relief measures undertaken by state and private charities. The idea that misguided generosity only multiplied the demand of the

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colleges and universities teaching sociology, almost double the 1900 figure. In the same survey Bernard found 55 full-time sociologists and an additional 372 professors teaching the subject. Ira W. Howerth and YA Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress), *An Introduction to Sociology : Syllabus of a Course of Six Lecture-Studies*, University of Chicago, the University Extension, the Lecture-Study Department (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1895).

[475] For more on the history of the concept see: J. Graham Morgan, "Women in American Sociology in the 19th Century," *Journal for the History of Sociology* 2, no. 1 (1980); Bernard, "The Teaching of Sociology in the United States."

[476] Tom Sorell and ebrary Inc., "Scientism Philosophy and the Infatuation with Science," in *International library of philosophy*(London: Routledge, 1991); Susan Haack, *Defending Science--within Reason : Between Scientism and Cynicism* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2003); Joseph Margolis, *The Unraveling of Scientism : American Philosophy at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Iain Cameron and David O. Edge, *Scientific Images and Their Social Uses : An Introduction to the Concept of Scientism*, Science in a Social Context (London ; Boston: Butterworth, 1979); Friedrich A. von Hayek and Max Eastman, *Scientism and the Study of Society* ([London,: The London School of Economics and Political Science, 1944); John James Wellmuth, *The Nature and Origins of Scientism*, The Aquinas Lecture, (Milwaukee,: Marquette University Press, 1944).

"pauper class" was a progressive idea shared by most at the NCCC.[477] Driven by developments in the social sciences, and accentuated by the rolling economic crises felt hard in the growing American cities of the late 19th century, uncoordinated and indiscriminate chartable giving (almsgiving) was being replaced by schemes to organize public and private interventions aimed at alleviating poverty. Pauperization, the process by which the contagious disease of pauperism could cross the boundaries between the worthy poor and those undeserving of assistance, was now believed to be understood and scientific principles and practices of identification, quarantine, and elimination of the social disease could be deployed for the protection of individuals as well as to repair increasing social disparities.

While the charity organizers positioned themselves as the main practitioners of the scientific methods of charity, many other groups argued and rallied for various applications of science to a whole range of social problems[478] Despite differences between those representing the State Boards and those managing private charitable organizations/networks, differences between the younger German trained sociologists and the older gentry intellectuals of the ASSA, and differences between the COS leaders and the founders of the settlement movements, all those who met at the NCCC shared a vision for a science of charity which at long last was providing what they took to be an improved methodology by which social problems could be factually understood and solved once and for all. Yet the NCCC *Proceedings* point to the fact that confidence in

[477] L. L. Bernard, "Objectivism in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology* XXII, (1919).P. 305.
[478] Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings : Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), P. 213.

the methods of science outpaced any coherent definition or empirical observation of those methods.

The social scientists and reformers brought together by the NCCC shared moral languages that allowed them to work together to promote scientific charity despite any clear definition or empirical proof of its existence. Believing they had inherited scientific methods that had been tested in Europe, improved in the United States, and showing great progress in the fight against inefficient and uncoordinated public and private charitable provision the reformist social scientists of the NCCC saw no reason not to hope that the end of poverty was in their grasp, through the scientific apprehension of extreme poverty (pauperism).

CHAPTER SIX

What Sort of Problem Is It That Poverty Is Still With Us?

INTRODUCTION

If time travel were possible and Jeffrey Sachs were to suddenly appear on stage at one of the late 19th century NCCC conferences and listed the social problems that the Columbia University Earth Institute deals with around the globe in 2015, I am not sure that anyone would have believed him. Scientific charity and the "new philanthropy" that it spawned was slated to quickly solve these problems once and for all through the mere application of known scientific principles and procedures. That extreme poverty would still be with us in the 21st century would have made no sense. However, the root-cause-finding language that Sachs would use to make his case for a continued 21st century commitment to scientific charity would have sounded contemporary to 19th century ears.

The central argument of this dissertation is that scientific charity can usefully be viewed as a moral language that provided a sort of "Swahili" or trade language that allowed for seemingly disconnected and even contradictory movements to speak to one another. I have shown that the core of this language(s) was the belief despite any evidence to the contrary that, human social problems would give up their final secrets under the all-penetrating gaze of science. Differences between science and reform were imagined and constructed more than discovered. Divisions made between science and

reform, is what L. Goldman has called a false construction.[479] The emergence of 19th century social science was spawned as a series of successive attempts at a more effective philanthropy. An older set of moral frameworks that had helped generations of Americans make sense out of their social worlds was being forcibly displaced by another set of moral frameworks required to make sense of the social world coming into view in the late 19th century. The new set got itself across by providing a language of the superiority of science and applicability of science to the social problems of the day; social imaginaries already well ensconced among reformist social scientists of the period.

The moral language of scientific charity allowed for a shift in the fundamental stance to poverty from one of acceptance to one of conflict. Poverty was now a "social problem".[480] Poverty no longer made sense in an age of science. A science of the social was the solution to the suffering humans had previously accepted as fate or divine order. Human suffering itself was dislodged from its position in a philosophical and theological cosmology and resituated in the domain of the biological and human sciences. A genuine love of humankind (philanthropy) could no longer be a mere palliation of a person's suffering, but had to become a root-cause eradicating intervention. Across religious, political and disciplinary divides, the "new philanthropy" was rapidly becoming the language in which charity had to be discussed. Even those who continued to see spiritual

[479] Philip Abrams, *The Origins of British Sociology, 1834-1914; an Essay with Selected Papers*, The Heritage of Sociology (Chicago,: University of Chicago Press, 1968). Lawrence Goldman, *Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain : The Social Science Association, 1857-1886*. As quoted in: Felix Driver, "Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 13, no. 3 (1988); Goldman.
[480] Hillel Schwartz, "On the Origin of the Phrase "Social Problems"," *Social Problems* 44, no. 2 (1997).

significance in suffering had to recast its importance, as it was no longer to be taken for granted.[481]

Since humans and their societies were subject to law-like natural orders, the job of philanthropy was now to discover those laws, develop solutions, and then apply them broad scale. People like Andrew Carnegie, Olivia Newton Sage, Julius Rosenwald, Edward Harkness, and John D. Rockefeller acted upon a shared faith in scientific charity and used its language(s) to found a bevy of new institutions focused on the efficacy of directing their fortunes at changes in public policy, the creation of the American research university, and eradication programs based on scientific approaches to what they viewed as societal problems.[482] The formula of the new philanthropy proposed that solutions to social problems were now an issue of proper funding and scientific technique.

John Louis Recchiuti's second chapter of his book on 19th century social science and progressive-era reform, *Civic Engagement* is entitled: From Noblesse Oblige to Social Reform in the "New Philanthropy" of "Scientific Charity".[483] The chapter points out what others have noted: that the "new philanthropy" of our era isn't really new. It dates back at least to the 19th century where the term appeared to designate a more scientific way of going about the work once subsumed by the term "charity". With the stunning advances in western science and technology of the 18th and 19th Centuries, to

[481] John R. Hinnells and Roy Porter, *Religion, Health, and Suffering* (London ; New York, New York: Kegan Paul International ; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1999).
[482] Bruce R. Sievers, *Civil Society, Philanthropy, and the Fate of the Commons*, Civil Society : Historical and Contemporary Perspectives (Medford, Mass. Hanover N.H.: Tufts University Press ; University Press of New England, 2010).
[483] The chapter is about Josephine Shaw Lowell (rumored to have read John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* three times on her honeymoon), who among many other things opened a "school of philanthropy" in 1989 to train young Americans in the practical application of social science in social work.

many social thinkers there appeared to be an inevitability to the idea that one could profitably apply those same scientific techniques to humans and their societal relationships. Science appeared to be the perfect tool to get to the root causes of human social problems and perhaps solve them once and for all.[484] The late 19th century "was a time, as historian T. J. Jackson Leaders has observed, when leading academics sought 'to create and put to use a new "science of man" that reflected their own experience and aspirations more accurately than the evangelical ethos had done.'"[485] This desire for a "new philanthropy" was heavily influenced by the idea, as Robert Bannister has pointed out: "that the natural and social sciences were (or should be) governed by similar concepts and methods. In one form or another, of course, this idea went back at least a century to August Comte's proposal for a 'positive' science of society."[486]

What is striking is to what degree this is still one of the essential pillars of present day philanthropy. What Barry Karl and Stanley Katz write about philanthropic foundations in the early 20th century – that they 'sought out the root causes of social problems and developed strategies for their solution' – could have been taken verbatim out of the annual report of a contemporary foundation that practices strategic philanthropy.[487] When viewing scientific charity as something broader than any particular

[484] Brian Ross's work on turn-of-the-century Cleveland shows that not everyone adopted such a rosy view of the "new philanthropy"…charging it with pauperizing as much as the older forms of charity it sought to replace. As quoted in: Robert L. Payton and Michael P. Moody, *Understanding Philanthropy : Its Meaning and Mission*, Philanthropy and Nonprofit Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008). See Ross's interpretation of this part of Cleveland's history online: http://publications.ohiohistory.org/ohstemplate.cfm?action=detail&Page=0108155.html&StartPage=145&EndPage=161&volume=108&newtitle=Volume%20108%20Page%20145

[485] Recchiuti, *Civic Engagement : Social Science and Progressive-Era Reform in New York City*, , 22.

[486] Bannister, *Sociology and Scientism : The American Quest for Objectivity, 1880-1940*, , 4.

[487] See for example: Samuel H. Bishop, "The New Movement in Charity," *American Journal of Sociology* 7, no. 5 (1902).Page 153.

instantiation of it, when pursing it as a set of languages used to promote social science's role in solving human problems by discrediting prior non-scientific attempts, one can begin to see that the reformist energies of late 19 the century social thinkers did not dissipate, but crystalized into the set of background assumptions still present today. One can now understand that the alliance between the university-based development economist Jeffrey Sachs and the rock star Bono is a contemporary variant of the same admixture of advocacy and objectivity found at the NCCC. The proliferation of social science based academic programs in social work, international development, development economics, and nonprofit management are the latest extensions of the quest begun in earnest by those assembled at the ASSA and NCCC. The application of business principles to philanthropy is nothing new; and who was Jane Addams if not a social entrepreneur. The quasi obsession with data based approaches to human suffering that one finds in the presentations of Hans Rosling, and the global attempts at ending poverty are applications of the same formula put forward at the NCCC: that solutions to poverty are in our grasp...if only we could find and spend the appropriate amounts of money.[488]

SO WHAT?

I have put forward what I consider to be a new approach to understanding scientific charity. So what does a different take on scientific charity teach us? What is the contribution to knowledge and value of this approach?

New Perspectives on the Epistemology of Poverty

[488] http://www.gapminder.org/

To begin with it seems evident that a scientific understanding of poverty signaled an epistemic shift in regards to the nature of poverty itself. A way to understand epistemological changes is to think that the opening up of new possibilities in thought naturally involves the closing off of older possibilities. In the case of the 19th century, poverty was no longer something to be endured but could now be viewed as a set of sociobiological problems that could be solved. 19th century Americans were eager to gain industrial hegemony while avoiding a Dickensian future. That class-based poverty was revealed to be an aberration by new definitions of egalitarian moral philosophy in the 17th and 18th Centuries, and that economic (or capital) based poverty, or what is often referred to as "relative poverty", became *du jour* in the 19th is a well-documented phenomenon.[489]

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[489] Charles Bradlaugh, "Poverty," in *archive.org* (London: Austin & Company, 1879); Jean Calvin, 1509-1564, "On the Relative Merits of Wealth or Poverty.," *Southern Presbyterian Journal* Vol. 11, April 1, 1953, pp. 5., (1953.); Chalmers and Hunter; Mark R. Cohen, "Introduction: Poverty and Charity in Past Times," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXV, no. 3 (2005); Kate Crassons, *The Claims of Poverty : Literature, Culture, and Ideology in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010); Katrien De Boyser and ebrary Inc., "Between the Social and the Spatial Exploring the Multiple Dimensions of Poverty and Social Exclusion," (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); William A. Galston and Peter H. Hoffenberg, *Poverty and Morality : Religious and Secular Perspectives*, The Ethikon Series in Comparative Ethics (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Bronisław Geremek, *Poverty : A History* (Oxford ; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1994); Himmelfarb; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion : The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1991); Brian Inglis, *Poverty and the Industrial Revolution* (London,: Hodder & Stoughton, 1971); Gavin Roger Jones and ebrary Inc., "American Hungers the Problem of Poverty in U.S. Literature, 1840-1945," in *20/21*(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Gareth Stedman Jones, *An End to Poverty? : A Historical Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History*; Lowe and Reid.; Scott J. Myers-Lipton, *Social Solutions to Poverty : America's Struggle to Build a Just Society*, Great Barrington Books (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2006); Alice O'Connor, "Poverty Knowledge Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U. S. History," in *Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America series*(Princeton, Ewing: Princeton University Press, California Princeton Fulfillment Services [Distributor], 2002); Stephen Pimpare, *A People's History of Poverty in America*, The New Press People's History Series (New York: New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton & Co., 2008); Brian S. Pullan, *Poverty and Charity : Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400-1700*, Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, Hants. ; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1994); Sachs; Gunja SenGupta and ebrary Inc., "From Slavery to Poverty the Racial Origins of Welfare in New York, 1840-1918," (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Jyotsna Sreenivasan, *Poverty and the Government in America : A Historical Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2009); Warner, "Notes on the Statistical Determination of the Causes of Poverty."; Winch, *Riches and Poverty : An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750-1834*; Stuart Woolf, "The Poor and How to Relieve Them: The Restoration

Yet by the mid 19th century in America, on the heels of the Civil War, past attempts to understand societal inequalities and solve them were showing themselves to have failed. Re-imaging the nature of poverty using the tools of science, allowed poverty to be viewed as "a solvable problem", and allowed for a new enthusiasm to grow. Previous solutions to poverty from priests to poor laws had failed because they were not based in a scientific view of the human and society. This time, armed with new tools, "we would get it right" for sure. Poverty was now a problem that, rather than best attacked in its aftereffects could be cut off at its roots. The microscope replaced the telescope. Advances in evolutionary, anthropological, and biological theories allowed for new conceptualizations of historical views of poverty. Psychological, economic, and sociological theories allowed for new conceptualizations of poverty legislation, containment & control, and even eradication.

A New Field of Poverty Research

Scientific charity raised old questions in new ways, and although the emergence of the social sciences from these questions did generate what we know today as independent disciplines and professions, this was not yet clear in the late 19th and early 20th century. When the ASSA was founded the idea of a specialized professional social scientist was merely that: an idea.[490] Terms such as "charity", "philanthropy", "social improvement", "social science", "social work", "sociology", "human sciences", "social

Debate on Poverty in Italy and Europe," in *Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento : Essays in Honour of Denis Mack Smith*, ed. Denis Mack Smith, John Anthony Davis, and Paul Ginsborg(Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[490] Brian Ross, "The New Philanthropy: The Reorganization of Charity in Turn-of-the-Century Cleveland" (Case Western Reserve, 1989).Page 24.

economy", and "political economy" were used during the 18th and 19th centuries in a rather imprecise and sometimes interchangeable manner. For people living during the 19th century there was no accepted list of discrete areas of research called the "social sciences" and there was no "sociology" in the sense of a field of study in a university recognizable as such today.[491] It would be a mistake to take the 1892 founding of the United States' first department of sociology at the University Chicago as an indication that there was a corresponding unified field of study.[492] A brief look at Albion Small's syllabus for his course on Sociology at the University of Chicago makes the wild variety of what was considered "sociology" at that point readily apparent.[493] There was however a marked peak in the belief that scientific research could provide the solutions to social problems, if the data that science requires could be professionally collected, analyzed, and implemented. That belief, central to scientific charity as we have seen in this dissertation, was foundational to the creation of professional social science. Essentially science provided new moral sources: the hope that science could discover and end the root causes of human suffering, i.e. poverty. Samuel H. Bishop, in a 1902 article for the American Journal of Sociology (University of Chicago) entitled "The New Movement of Charity", mused that one of the most interesting things about the 50 year history of modern charity in the 19th century was that it was in philanthropy, or what he called "the

[491] In Peter Wagner's *A History and Theory of the Social Sciences* the author traces the early rise and quick demise of sociology's classical phase. "While it is true that intellectuals strove to establish a science of society at academic institutions in this period, their project ultimately proved to be a failure." Page 7.
[492] Even this is contested. The University of Kansas offered a course in sociology as early as 1890 and a department of History and Sociology starting in 1891.
[493] Alan Sica, "Sociology at the University of Kansas, 1889 - 1983," *The Sociological Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1983).

charitable side" that the scientific spirit and principles first worked themselves out more consistently than "on any other side" of the changes taking place in the 19th century.[494]

Poverty was now a problem, and problems are answers to the question: What is social science for?[495] That poverty is something that science could end, served as justification for the creation of social science fields. Funded by wealthy philanthropists in search of understanding and control of the social world, the American research university was born.[496] Scientific charity was the progressive era transition towards philanthropic theories and practices based in social scientific understandings of the human and of human social problems. "Social science was not… just an intellectual mixture of history, the physical sciences, physiology, and political economy. It had a practical vocation: to regenerate society…"[497] Social workers would collect data, that university-based professionals could study, to then be re-applied by social workers to progressively unearth and root out social problems.[498] Social experimentation appeared as a viable idea, replacing an allegiance to risk avoidance via support for traditional social arrangements. Poverty and the poor became of topic of research and successive theories vied for explanatory prominence. For example Franz Boaz, whose cultural anthropology work

[494] Curtis, "The Birth of the National Institute of Social Sciences." Page 598 – 599.
[495] Schwartz, "On the Origin of the Phrase "Social Problems"."
[496] Theresa R. Richardson, *The Century of the Child : The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1989); John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); John R. Thelin, *Essential Documents in the History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014).
[497] Mary Pickering, *Auguste Comte : An Intellectual Biography*, 3 vols. (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), P. 294.
[498] Klein, "The Relation of Sociology to Social Work - Historically Considered."; Leslie Leighninger and ebrary Inc., "Creating a New Profession the Beginnings of Social Work Education in the United States," (Alexandria, VA: Council on Social Work Education, 2000); Lubove, *The Professional Altruist; the Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930*; Philip R. Popple and Leslie Leighninger, *Social Work, Social Welfare, and American Society*, 8th ed. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2011); Wenocur and Reisch; Lengermann and Niebrugge. See also Wilcox, NCCC 1894:86-93 for a period explanation.

was a critique of prior sociocultural theories of evolution, applied his approach to exhibits when he was hired to assist Frederic Ward Putnam, director and curator of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University, who had been appointed as head of the Department of Ethnology and Archeology for the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.[499] Boas arranged for fourteen Kwakiutl aboriginals from British Columbia to come and reside in a mock Kwakiutl village, where they could perform their daily tasks in context. It was the potlatch tradition of these aboriginals that Marcel Mauss discusses in his *Essai sur le don*, where he references the work of Boaz. If nothing else, a growth industry for researchers was perhaps the most direct result of scientific charity.

New Directions for Humanitarianism

The epistemology of scientific charity also created a new set of humanitarian expectations. When poverty is part of the furniture – a naturally occurring part of the system – then it is not a phenomenon that presents itself as deserving of any particular or specialized attention. When poverty becomes a problem amendable to social scientific understanding and solution, it is interesting to think about what that epistemological shift meant and still means. Social thinkers were asking these questions at the turn of the 20th century. In 1893, at the ICCCP conference in Chicago, as part of the first day's opening sessions, Dr. Francis G. Peabody of Harvard University delivered an oration entitled *The Problem of Charity.* Peabody launches the conference with a reflection on a set of questions: "What is this phenomenon of charity, I inquire, in which each of us has his

[499] The Problem of Charity; Francis Greenwood Peabody, *The Social Museum as an Instrument of University Teaching*, Publications of the Department of Social Ethics in Harvard University, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1911).

special part? What is the nature of this field of service which we see stretching away about us on so many sides? How can we define the work with which modern charity undertakes to deal? What is the problem of charity?"[500] While the literature on scientific charity that stretches from Haskell to Ruswick helps us search for clues concerning the public versus private responses to the "problems of charity", they miss the more fundamental shift to a view which makes charity a "problem" of any sort at all. As a "problem to solve" the continued presence of poverty created new expectations for public policy, for civil society, and for nonprofits to come into being.

Although the political motif might change, the fundamental shape of "poverty as social problem to be fought" has remained consistent, carried along by the languages of scientific charity. Robert Treat Paine, responding to a set of papers on the topic of the English poor laws and charity in Britain and Belgium, commented again on what he thought was the hinge of the entire topic of the section: the public treatment of pauperism: "…if we can teach the people, if we can convince the socialists, if we make the clergy of all denominations understand, that this lax relief is demoralizing and injurious, we shall accomplish marvels." Paine, and other American reformers by unanimously expressing their concerns regarding the dangers of public relief, were essentially saying that the problem of pauperism could be solved through proper education, the right politics and control of religious extremism: Scientific charity would be illuminated by enlightened teaching based on rational statistics and data-based understandings of the pauper problem (teach the people). Scientific charity would be able

[500] The Problem of Charity.

to shed light on the proper political allegiances to ensure the support of legislation for the reforms needed (convince the socialists). Scientific charity would finally get religionists to give up on their indiscriminate charity based on archaic and non-scientific traditions of giving (make the clergy understand that this lax relief is demoralizing), allowing for the institution of a rationally ordered and systematically controlled charity, that while retaining the personal warmth of moral convictions for the fellow in need, would willingly participate in the bureaucratic measures through which the progress of American society would not be set back by the rising tide of social problems. The basic shape of these arguments sounds familiar even today.

New Forms of Measurement

To study poverty one had to figure out how to measure it. We have seen how statistical techniques became increasingly important as the essential tools of the social scientists.[501] The poor man became part of explanations of "economic man".[502] Tools like the social survey grow out of the need for such measurement.[503] Economic questions

[501] Salsburg; Stigler, *Statistics on the Table : The History of Statistical Concepts and Methods*.
[502] Harold Demsetz, *From Economic Man to Economic System : Essays on Human Behavior and the Institutions of Capitalism* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "The Revenge of Homo Economicus: Contested Exchange and the Revival of Policital Economy," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 1 (1993).
[503] Martin Bulmer Kevin Bales and Kathryn Kish Sklar, ed. *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective* (2012).

related to poverty were included for the first time on the national census instrument.[504] Practice and training in proper data collection became part of social work.[505]

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

When scientific charity is not too closely identified with the COS or the emergence of professional social science, one can more easily see the evolution of charitable forms as succeeding progressions of moral stories, one replacing the other as newer moral visions win out over older ones. From this vantage point we can question the scientific charity paradigm in which our contemporary assumptions concerning poverty are formed.

The new moral horizon of the eradication of poverty is certainly a different sort of ethical commitment than the older modes, which in various ways, were designed to accommodate inequalities including poverty. Philanthropic studies could become an important lens through which to better understand the historical trajectories of charitable thought and practice. More recently sociology is being replaced by economics as the leader in the search for the root causes of problems such as poverty.[506] The growth of international philanthropy requires sharper focus on how the current structures evolved.

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[504] Campbell Gibson, Kay Jung, and United States. Bureau of the Census. Population Division., "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States, 1850 to 2000," in *Population division working paper no. 81*(Washington, DC: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau, 2006).

[505] Leighninger and ebrary Inc; Lowe and Reid.; Mark Peel and ebrary Inc., "Miss Cutler and the Case of the Resurrected Horse Social Work and the Story of Poverty in America, Australia, and Britain," in *Historical studies of urban America*(Chicago ; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[506] K. S. Jomo and Erik S. Reinert, *The Origins of Development Economics : How Schools of Economic Thought Have Addressed Development* (New Delhi; London ; New York, New York: Tulika Books ; Zed ; Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave, 2005).

Since scientific charity is still the predominant mode of much of contemporary philanthropy, better knowledge of the self-descriptions of the full array of the scientists of charity could only be instructive. Historical narratives of science like Haskell's that too quickly discredit late 19th century scientific charity leave important questions unexplored.

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

If scientific charity can be usefully viewed as a language which many have used and many still use to express their confidence in the abilities of science to solve human social problems; then future research could be usefully conducted on some of the following issues:

1) Further research into the lives of the members of the ASSA, the NCCC, and the first professional organizations that grew out of the ASSA/NCCC networks. The archives are readily available with increasingly digital format access. More research on women and other under-studied groups who contributed to the creation and management of the ASSA and the NCCC is needed.
2) Research into the ways in which the ideas of scientific charity were represented when put on display at the World Fairs and other such events. These are incredibly rich sources for the study of the social construction of American charity, and have hardly been touched by research to date.
3) Research into the early social science departments that would not dismiss their descriptions of the type of science they thought they were doing, but that would mine

it for its essential period meanings would be very useful for students and researchers trying to understand the emergence of the social sciences.

4) Econometric research that would pull together the amazing amount of data that exists in the proceedings of these late 19th and early 20th century institutions. Recollecting this data and using the array of contemporary statistical tools available to us today could yield fascinating results related to the social scientific claims being made in this literature. I know of no such research underway presently.

5) More studies like Ruth Crocker, Stepen Ziliak, and Brent Ruswick's on the Indianapolis COS, studies that focus on one particular institution, would be a great contribution. Deeper understanding of how individual institutions functioned allows for spending time digging into the roles played by that institution in the local environment in which it operated.

6) And finally, but in my view perhaps even most importantly, philanthropic studies could benefit from encouraging philosophical approaches to the transitions through which American philanthropy passed as it secularized from the 17th through to the 21st century. We need to ask more penetrating questions of current scientific charity assumptions imbedded in our public and private charitable structures. For example, the philosopher Charles Taylor has asked some provocative questions concerning the moral sources of contemporary philanthropy when he writes:[507]

> First, there are the core loci, so to speak, the points of crisis in our world today. For example, humanitarianism. I don't think that it is an

[507] Alan Wolfe has said that for sociologists, "there is no more important philosopher writing in the world today than Charles Taylor". In: Stephen P. Turner and Paul Andrew Roth, *The Blackwell Guide to the Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Blackwell Philosophy Guides (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003). We've already seen Craig Calhoun's recognition of Taylor, and his work has been acknowledged by respected scholars such as Isaiah Berlin, Raymond Boudon, Jacques Bouveresse, Clifford Geertz, Jürgen Habermas, Paul Ricoeur, Richard Rorty, Alasdair McIntyre, Hebert Dreyfus, and many others.

> exaggeration to say that no previous civilization has accepted the obligation to help human beings, wherever and against all, as our contemporaries have. There are campaigns, fund-raising committees, and international operations against hunger, illness, natural disasters, inter-state actions for preventing genocide; and so on and so forth. All of this might seem meager in the face of the needs, dangers, and the crimes effectively committed. But we are the first generation of humanity to take on the tasks, at least to the extent that we perceive them.
>
> But we sense that all is not well within the immense humanitarian 'industry'. For example, we maintain enormous flows of contributions with the help of often irresponsibly used media images. Spectacular events, affecting images, keep the money rolling in, but there are often more pressing needs elsewhere, and we have to either re-allocate the public's contributions elsewhere without telling them or inflect the priorities of action in order to follow public emotion.
>
> But behind these concrete problems there is something more profound. We have assumed, as a culture, a morality of compassion and beneficence that is perhaps beyond our emotional capabilities. It demands a devotion, an understanding, gifts of self-overcoming that we do not possess. That is what we need in order to be ready to attend to true needs, even when we are not immediately drawn to them.[508]

EPILOGUE

The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (WCE) in Chicago was the first world's fair at which there was an extensive attempt at putting the results of scientific charity on display. The leadership of the NCCC was selected to organize the exhibitions.[509] The moral languages which had been used to speak a science of charity into existence, were

[508] Charles Taylor, "Mutations Culturelles Et Transcendance À L'aube Du Xxie Siècle," in *Mutations Culturelles Et Transcendance À L'aube Du Xxie Siècle*, ed. Pierre Gaudette et al.(Québec: Faculté de théologie et de sciences religieuses, Université Laval, 2000).

[509] The first full-fledged appearances of "social economy" at the Expositions happened in 1889, at the World's Exposition in Paris. Richard Waterman, "The Social Economy Exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1900," in *Monographs on American Social Economics*, ed. Herbert B. Adams(Boston, Mass. USA: Wright & Potter Printing Company, 1900). There were some attempts at including elements related to social economy prior to 1889, such as Frederick Le Play's domestic economy exhibit at the 1855 Expo, and the contest held at the 1868 Expo for people, organizations or localities who had developed new ways of promoting the moral, material, or intellectual well being of people. Adolphe Démy, *Essai Historique Sur Les Expositions Universelles De Paris* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1907).

brought out of the realm of discussion and debate and made tangible. A new charity that would now be scientific was one that "studies" and "investigates" and "conducts experiments into" the social conditions of paupers as well as other social problems. As A. G. Warner put it: "It is characteristic of the new or scientific charity as opposed to purely emotional philanthropy that it regards poverty as an evil to be assailed in its causes. It does not merely pity poverty, but studies it. It believes that a doctor might as well give pills without a diagnosis, as a benevolent man give alms without an investigation".[510] The very structure of the WCE grounds and the experience it was intended to generate was a study in ordered, mathematical, and technical precision.[511] "The White City", writes historian Donald L. Miller, "seemed to suggest a solution to almost every problem afflicting the modern city."[512]

The Fair was an extended work of social construction or as one author on the topic has called it: A Grand Illusion.[513] By virtue of the overall desired affect of the WCE, the exhibitions had to reflect the upward progress of mankind in general, and the industrial and technological superiority of America in particular. The charities and corrections (social economy) exhibits of the anthropological building and the mile long 600 feet wide Midway Plaisance linking Washington Park to Jackson Park were

[510] A. G. Warner, "Scientific Charity," *The Popular Science Monthly* 35, (1889). p.490.
[511] The *World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* Guide book by Trumbull White and William Ingleheart reported that the Bureau of Charities and Corrections and the Bureau of Sanitation and Hygiene, which together occupied 30,000 square feet in the Anthropological Building, exhibited the "great philanthropic societies of the world, charitable organizations, prison reform societies, societies for the prevention of cruelty, cookery schools, etc., all have their exhibits." The text judges that there are "suggestions for work of many lifetimes" for "the sociologist who is seeking means of benefiting the human race." Trumbull White and William Igleheart, *The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* (Philadelphia, St. Louis,: P.W. Ziegler & co., 1893). P. 403.
[512] Donald L. Miller, *City of the Century : The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996). P. 147.
[513] Neil Harris and Chicago Historical Society., *Grand Illusions : Chicago's World's Fair of 1893* ([Chicago]: Chicago Historical Society, 1993).

originally designed to be complementary: the Midway to be a "living exhibit" of the primitive peoples of the world connected to the "dead exhibits" explaining the evolutionary path of mankind from such primitive states to the pinnacle of civilization, technology, and might we add "scientific charity" which the gleaming exhibition halls in the distance were meant to symbolize. These were not exhibitions of poverty as it was, but exhibitions in the moral and scientific control over poverty; poverty as we need it to be.

The chaos of mass immigration, polluted factories and cities, civil wars, race problems, labor upheavals, financial depressions, and all the accompanying social upheaval readily apparent just past the confines of the White City created the need to believe in the white washed vision of the future of poverty and its diseases on display at the WCE. Somewhere out there these problems were being solved, and here was an example that I could walk through, touch, smell, see, eat, etc. The systematization, the cleanliness, the order, the structure, the statistical facts, and many other elements blended to generate the illusion that allowed people to disbelieve the obvious as portrayed just a few years later in Upton Sinclair's Chicago of *The Jungle;* holding up instead a portrayal of the solutions science had already or soon would deliver for the creation of world free of the woes of the past. For a brief moment in time, on six hundred acres overlooking Lake Michigan, between the 1st of May and the 30th of October 1893, the world as late 19th century Americans wanted it to be was real. But only for moment. Later that same year the United States went into the worst economic recession it had ever experienced, the Panic of 1893, swamping the systems of both public and private welfare. And who

could have imagined as world leaders strolled arm in arm down the Midway, that just a few short years later they would be facing each other across the bloody battlefields of WWI. It is perhaps prophetic that on January 9, 1894 the New York Times reported: "The White City In Flames: Fire Destroys The Fairest of the Beautiful Buildings. Peleus, Goddess of Fire, waved her torch over the White City tonight, and in a few hours the most beautiful architectural creation of modern times was totally destroyed, and the largest and most imposing of any age was a blackened and smoking ruin."[514]

Scientific charity is a 19th century story that modern North Atlantic peoples told themselves about themselves and the all-penetrating power of their science. May we never tire of asking ourselves the real question: What is it about our understandings of philanthropy that needs the current stories we tell ourselves about ourselves.

> His mind would hang upon the worst possibilities; he saw Ona ill and tortured, Marija out of her place, little Stanislovas unable to get to work for the snow, the whole family turned out on the street. God Almighty! would they actually let them lie down in the street and die? Would there be no help even then—would they wander about in the snow till they froze? Jurgis had never seen any dead bodies in the streets, but he had seen people evicted and disappear, no one knew where; and though the city had a relief bureau, though there was a charity organization society in the stockyards district, in all his life there he had never heard of either of them. They did not advertise their activities, having more calls than they could attend to without that. (Excerpt from *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair)

[514] "The White City in Flames," *The New York Times*, January 9, 1894 1894.

Table One: Meetings Places and Presidents

MEETING PLACES AND PRESIDENTS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

Year	Place	President
1874	New York	John V. L. Pruyn
1875	Detroit	John J. Bagley
1876	Saratoga	Samuel J. Tilden
1877	Saratoga	John V. L. Pruyn
1878	Cincinnati	R. M. Bishop
1879	Chicago	George S. Robinson
1880	Cleveland	Roeliff Brinkerhoff
1881	Boston	Frank B. Sanborn
1882	Madison, Wisconsin	Andrew E. Elmore
1883	Louisville	Frederick H. Wines
1884	St. Louis	William Pryor Letchworth
1885	Washington	Philip C. Garrett
1886	St. Paul	William Howard Neff
1887	Omaha	H. H. Giles
1888	Buffalo	Charles S. Hoyt
1889	San Francisco	George D. Gillespie
1890	Baltimore	A. G. Byers
1891	Indianapolis	Oscar C. McCulloch
1892	Denver	Myron W. Reed
1893	Chicago	Hastings H. Hart
1894	Nashville	Lucius C. Storrs
1895	New Haven	Robert Treat Paine
1896	Grand Rapids	A. O. Wright
1897	Toronto	Alexander Johnson
1898	New York	William Rhinelander Stewart
1899	Cincinnati	Charles R. Henderson
1900	Topeka	C. E. Faulkner
1901	Washington	John M. Glenn
1902	Detroit	Timothy Nicholson
1903	Atlanta	Robert W. De Forest
1904	Portland, Maine	Jeffrey R. Brackett
1905	Portland, Oregon	Samuel G. Smith
1906	Philadelphia	Edward T. Devine
1907	Minneapolis	Amos W. Butler
1908	Richmond, Virginia	Thomas M. Mulry
1909	Buffalo	Ernest P. Bicknell
1910	St. Louis	Jane Addams
1911	Boston	Homer Folks
1912	Cleveland	Julian W. Mack

Table Two: 1906 – 1909 Topics presented and discussed at the ASSA and ASS annual meetings, from their Proceedings.

ASSA JSS 1906 - 1909	ASS P&P Topics 1906 - 1911
1906	1906
Past and Present in Social Science (Sanborn)	The Establishment of Sociology
Address on Municipal Ownership	How Should Sociology be Taught as a College or University Subject
Criminal Courts in General	Wester Civilization and the Birth-Rate
Influence of Dampness of Soil and Climate	Points of Agreement among Sociologists
Individual Factors in Hygiene	The Fine Arts of Dynamic Factor in Society
Cremation of the Dead	Social Consciousness
History and Results of Food Legislation	Social Darwinism
Health of Employees in Industrial Establishments	Constitution of the ASS
Causes and Antededents of Disease	
The Theory of Tainted Money	1907
Scrutiny of Gifts for Religion	Social Classes in Light of Modern Sociological Theory
Gifts for Education and Philanthropy	The Basis of Social Conflict
The Pathology of Education and of Teachers	Competition
The Biology and Pathology of Modern Life	Is Sectionalism in America Dying Away?
Physical Side of Educational Pathology	Is Race Friction between Blacks and Whites in the United States Growing and Inevitable?
Special Education for Backward Children	The Significance of the Orient for the Occident
1907	Is Class Conflict in America Growing and Inevitable?
The Human Side of Immigration	Are Contradictions of Ideas and Beliefs Likely to Play an Important Group-Making Role in the Future?
The Immigration Problem	
The Sifting of Immigrants	1908
Encouraging Immigration to the South	The Family and Social Change
Railroads and the Immigrant	How Home Conditions React Upon the Family
Some Phases of the Work of the Canadian Department of Immigration	The Effect on Woman of Economic Dependence
The Distribution of Jewish Immigrants	The Relations of Social Diseases to the Family
Proposed Legislation on Immigration	The Influence of Income on Standards of Life
Regulation of Corporations	The Family in a Typical Mill Town
The Abuse of the Contingent Fee	Results of the Pittsburgh Survey
Educational Work in Juvenile Reformatory Institutions	Are Modern Industry and City Life Unfavorable to the Family?
Education in Prison Schools	Rual Life and the Family
Education in Corrective and Reformatory Institutions	Some Questions Concerning the Higher Education of Women
The Education of the Immigrant by the Educational Alliance	How Does the Access of Women to Industrial Occupations React on the Family
The Work of the New York Schools for the Immigrant Class	Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil
Educational Preparation of Italian Emigrants	How Far Should Member of the Family be Individualized?
1908	How Far Should Family Wealth Be Encouraged and Conserved?
Industrial Democracy at Home and Abroad	1909
International Socialism: Its Aims, Methods, and Progress	Religion and Mores
The Progressive Inheritance Tax	History of the ASSA
Policies, Reaction, and the Constitution	Changes in the Census Methods for the Census of 1910
The Drift of Events	The Outlook for American Statistics
The Relation of Public Education to the Peace Movement	The Social Marking System
The Relation of Teachers to the Cause of Peace	The Psychological View of Society
The Relation of College Men and Women to the Peace Movement	Outline for a Theory of Social Motives
Education for Peace, In Its Ethical Relations	The Study of Homeric Religion
The Peace-Teaching of History	The Role of Magic
	Influence of Superstition on the Evolution of Property Rights
1909	Notes on the Recent Census of Religious Bodies
Mother of Associations: A History of the ASSA	The Teaching of Sociology
Labor Legislation and Economic Progress	Sociology and the State
The Problems of Labor Legislation Under Our Federal Constitution	The Sociological Stage in the Evolution of Social Sciences

Table Three: American Journal of Sociology, 1908-1909 Topics.

AJS 1908-1909

The Chicago Employment Agency and the Immigrant Worker
A Study of the Early History of Child Labor in America
The Family and Industry
The Redemption of the Unfit
Rural Life and the Family
The Influence of Income on Standards of Life
The Voices of Pigeons Regarded as a Means of Social Control
The Nationalism of a Chinese Student
Natural Selection in Sociology
The Self-Supporting Woman and the Family
Results of the Pittsburgh Survey
Is Freer Divorce an Evil?
How Far Should the Members of the Family be Individualized
The Sociological Warrant for Vocational Education
A Suggestion on the Negro Problem
How Home Conditions React upon the Family
Sociology, Psychology, Geography
Are Modern Industry and City Life Unfavorable to the Family?
Industrial Insurance
How Far Should Family Wealth Be Encouraged and Conserved?
The Problem of Poverty and Pensions in Old Age
Is the Freer Granting of Divorce an Evil?
Social Work for the Family
The Evolution of Religion from the Psychological Point of View
The Marring of the Marriage Bond
Is Freer Divorce an Evil?
Life in the Pennsylvania Coal Fields
The Relations of Social Diseases to the Family
The Civic Control of Architecture
Individualization of Members of the Family
How Far Should the Members of the Family Be Individualized?
Higher Education of Women and the Family
The Assets of the United States
Is Freer Divorce an Evil?
The Effect on Woman of Economic Dependence
Is the Family on Trial?
The Meaning of Sociology
Is Freer Divorce an Evil?

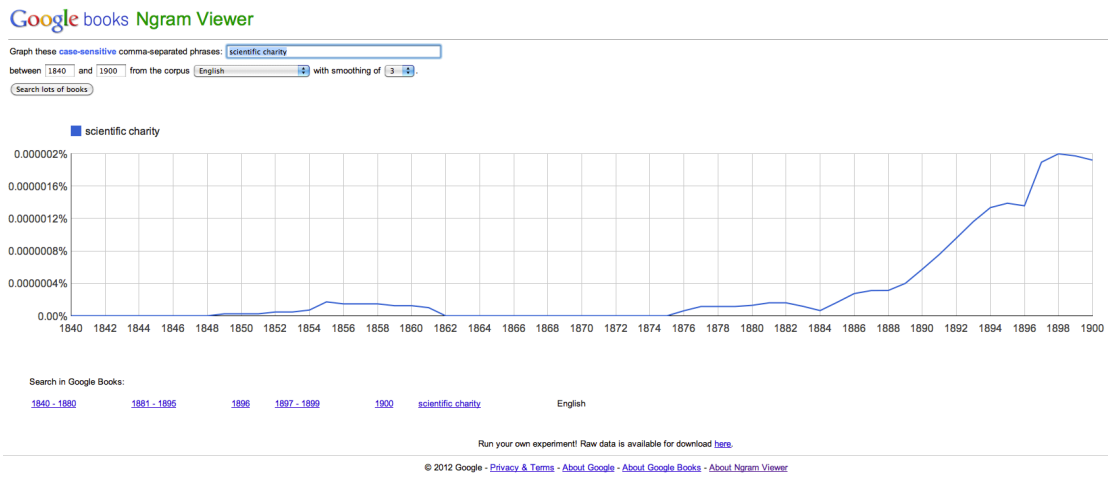
The Minnesota System in Charitable and Correctional Institutions
How Far Should the Members of the Family Be Individualized?
The Family and Social Change
The Effect on Woman of Economic Dependence
Biblical Sociology
Access of Women to Industrial Occupations
Some Questions Concerning the Higher Education of Women
The Relation of Social Diseases to the Family
Municipal Review for 1907-8
The Effect on Woman of Economic Dependence

FIGURES

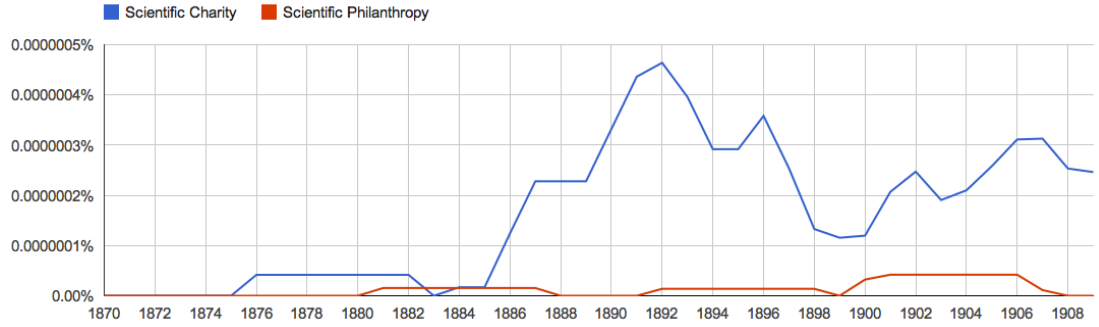
Figure One: The use of "scientific" as adjective between 1800 and 2000. (Google Books Ngram Viewer)

Disclaimer: The causal link between language use and the statistical patterns found in published materials is not necessarily linear. Google's Ngram tool can "offer a window into shifts in human language and society by substantiating putative trends formerly described only qualitatively and offering new questions and potential areas of inquiry, particularly when interpreted within an informed historical context." http://hazine.info/2014/01/11/google-ngram-for-historians/

Figure Two: “Scientific Charity” between 1840 and 1900. (Google Books Ngram Viewer)

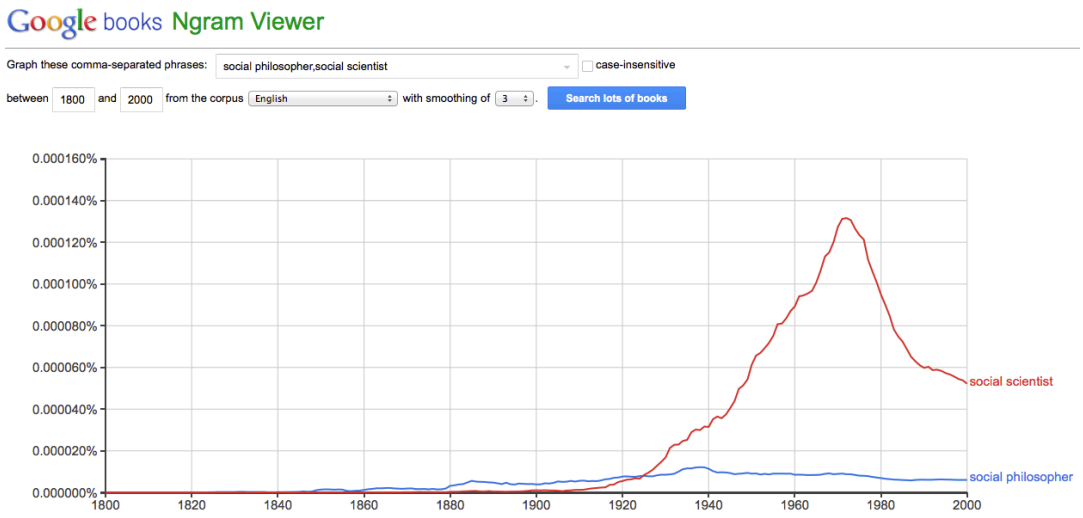


“Scientific Charity” and “Scientific Philanthropy” between 1800 and 1909



“Pauperism” between 1500 and 2000

Figure Three: “Social Scientist” and “Social Philosopher” between 1800 and 2000. (Google Books Ngram Viewer)



“Social Scientist and “Social Philosopher” between 1800 and 1900

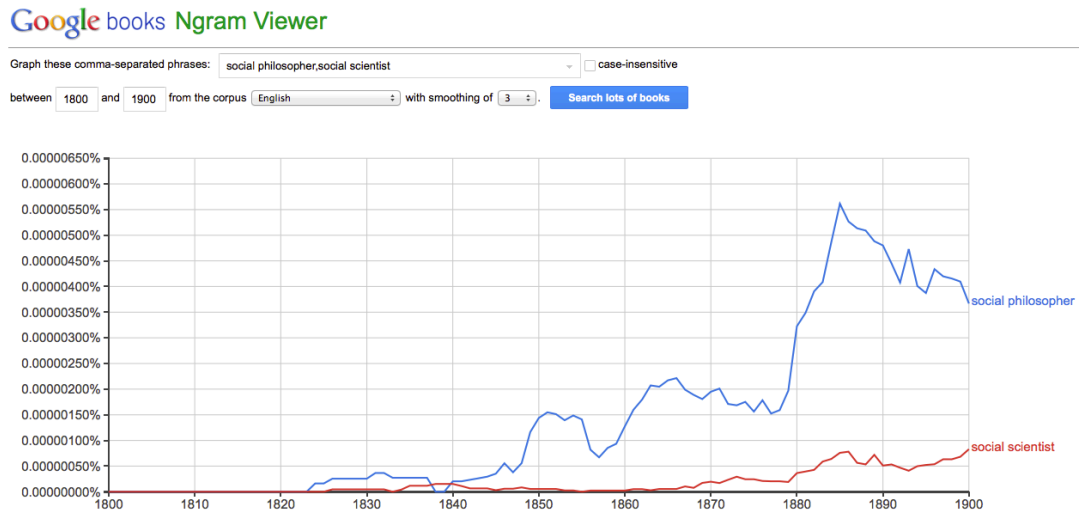


Figure Four: Top 25 Presenters to the NCCC annual conference as recorded in the 1907.

Cumulative Index of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (Volume 1 to 22 Inclusive) compiled by Alexander Johnson.

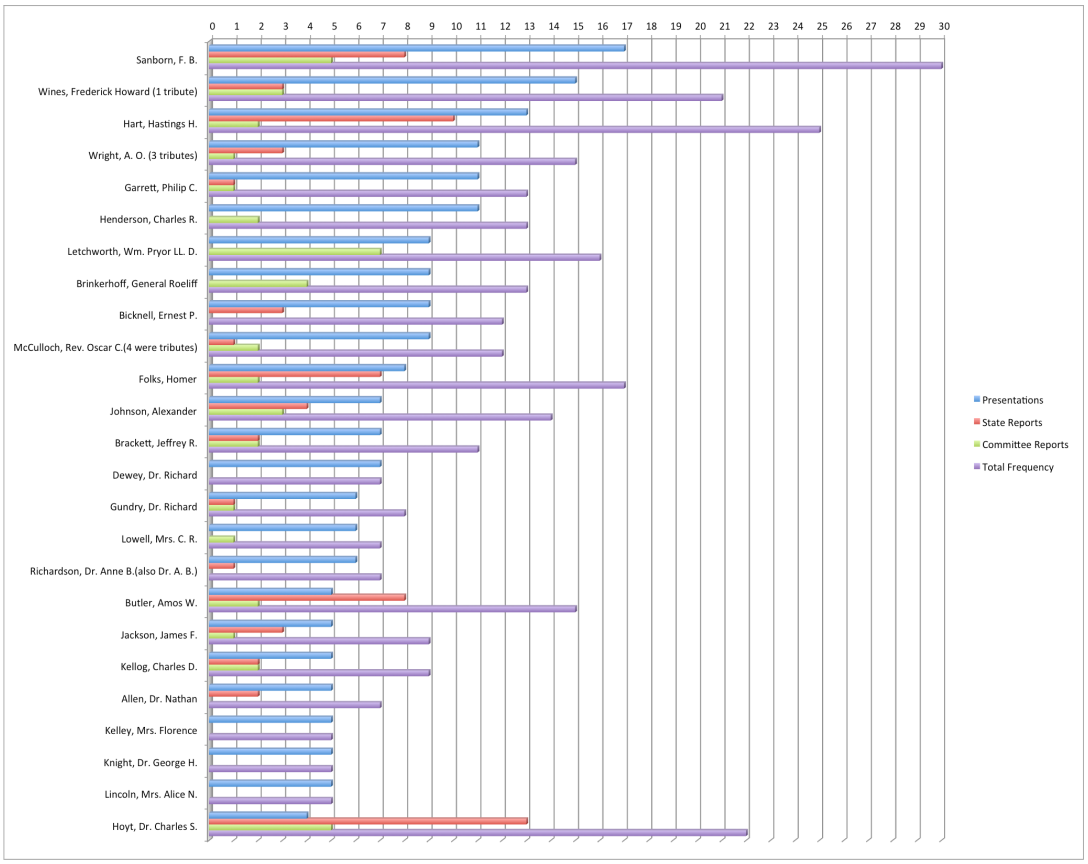


Figure Five: Frequency of topic coverage as recorded in the 1907.

Cumulative Index of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (Volume 1 to 22 Inclusive) compiled by Alexander Johnson.

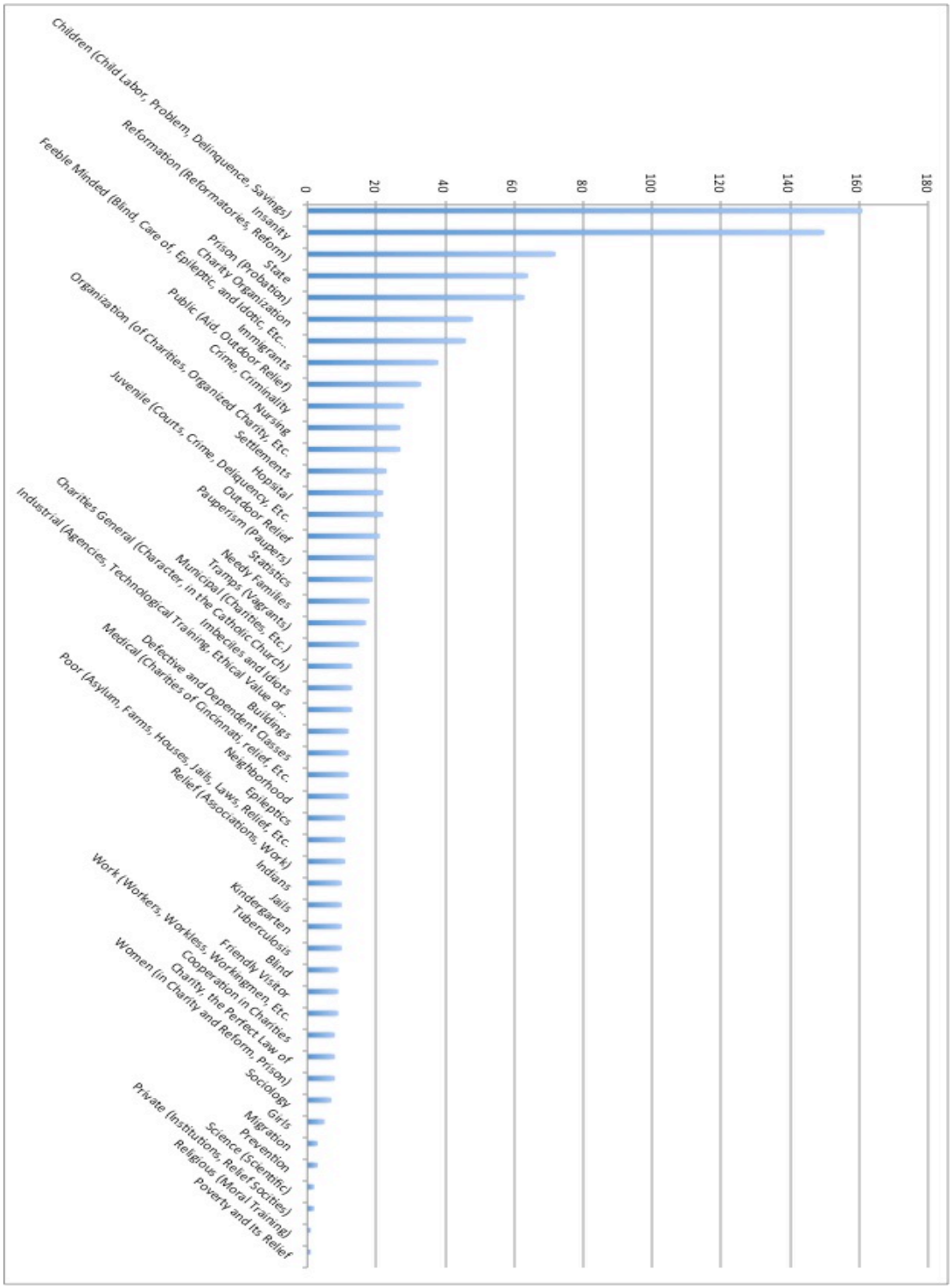


Figure Six: Top 25 Contributors to the NCCC annual conference as recorded in the 1907.

Cumulative Index of the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (Volume 1 to 22 Inclusive) compiled by Alexander Johnson.

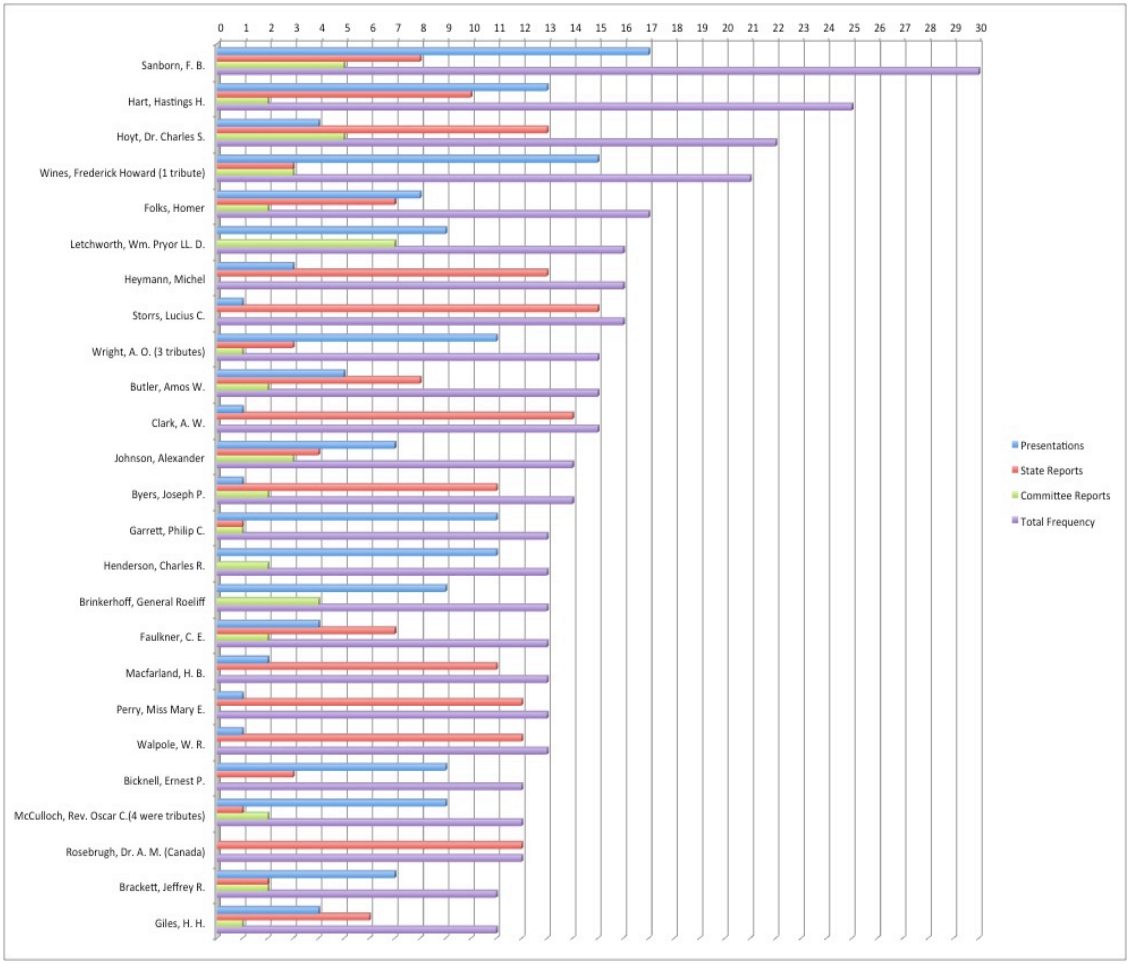
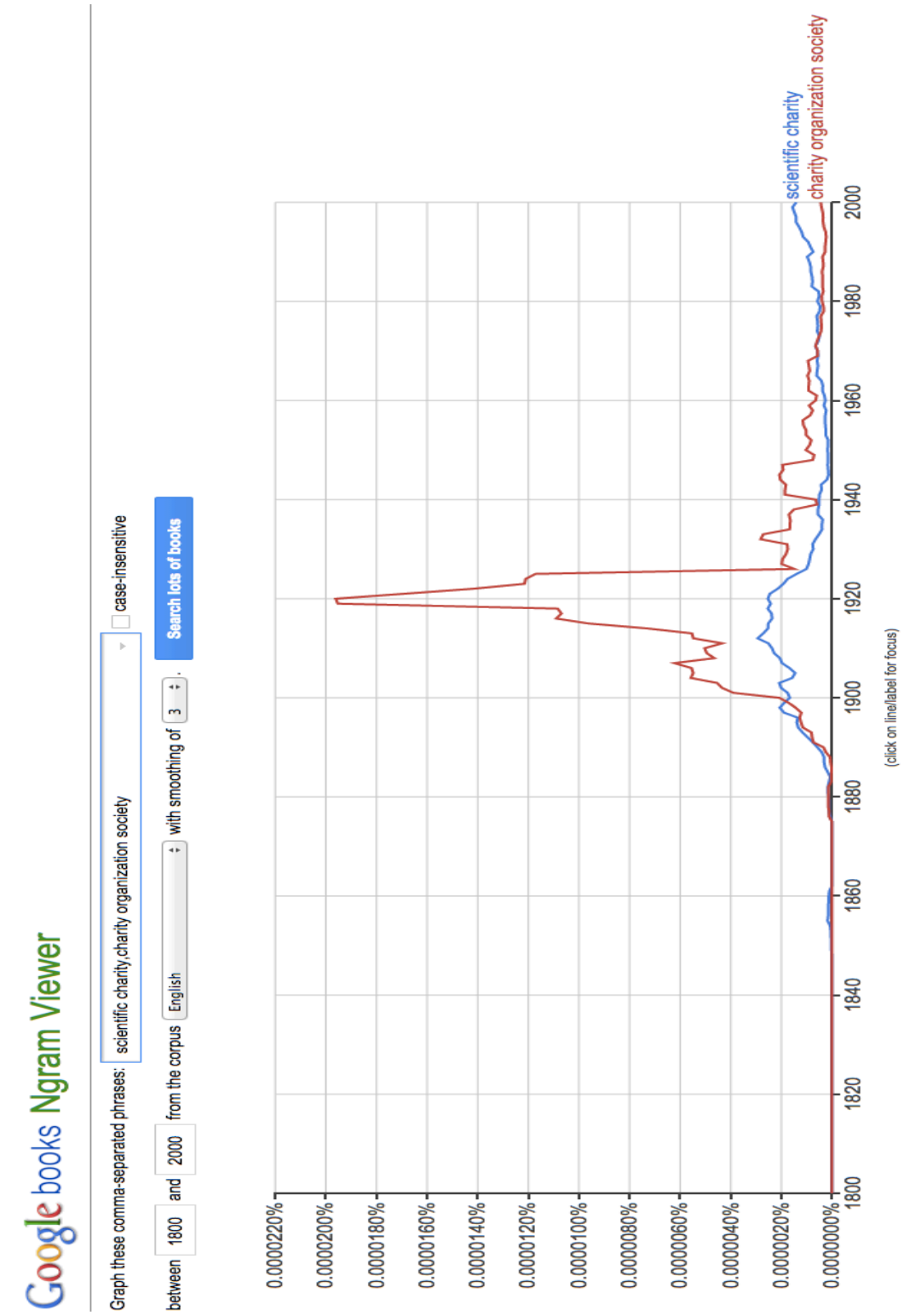


Figure Seven: Frequency of the term “scientific charity” versus “charity organization society” 1800 – 2000. (Google Books Ngram Viewer)



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Zunz, Olivier. *Philanthropy in America : A History* Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Richard Lee Klopp

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Philanthropic Studies, Indiana University. May, 2015.

M.A. in Theology, Laval University, May 2007.

B.A. in International Ministries, Moody Bible Institute, May 1987.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Chief Executive Officer, Water for Good, June 2010 to present.

Faculty, Professor of Leadership and Management for the International Development Program at Andrews University, 2008 to present.

Associate Director, Lake Institute on Faith & Giving at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, Indiana University, 2007 to 2010.

Adjunct Professor, School of Public and Environmental Affairs at IUPUI, 2007 to 2008.

Executive Director, H2O Africa Foundation, 2006 to 2008

Executive Director, Team Québec, 1993 to 2005

Principal, AVENIR Consulting, January 1993 to present.

PUBLICATIONS / PRESENTATIONS

"Good Intentions and Poor Results: John Steinbeck's Lessons on Humanitarian Aid.", with Dr. Richard B. Gunderman. In *The Conversation*, March 25, 2015.

"The Altered Landscape of Giving Has Both Good and Bad News.", with Dr. William Enright. In *Church Executive Magazine*, January 2010.

"Congregations and Religious Organizations in Economic Tough Times", Webinar Series in partnership with the Alban Institute, 2009.

"International Giving." Panel presentation at Notre Dame University's Mendoza College of Business's Nonprofit Roundtable discussions with MBA and NPA students, February 23, 2009.

“Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Philanthropy in Plato’s Republic.” Presentation of unpublished paper at ARNOVA 2006 Conference in Chicago, Illinois.

“Findings from the Lake Institute on Faith and Giving and the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University Greater Indianapolis Congregational Giving Survey.” Public presentation in September 2006.

“Overcoming Epistemology: Charles Taylor’s Theory of Secularization.” Presented at the Laval University Theology and Philosophy Colloquium sponsored by the Faculty of Theology and Religious Sciences at Laval University, Québec, Canada. April, 2005.

ACADEMIC AWARDS

“Prix du Séminaire de Québec" and “Best MA” prize from Laval University, on my Master Thesis on the philosophy of Charles Taylor and the Ethics of Global Humanitarianism.

SERVICE

Advisor, Point Innovate / TIFIE Humanitarian. 2007 to present.
Advisory Board Member, International Development Program, Andrews University, 2010 to present.
Board Member, Servlife International, 2009 to 2011.
Board member, The Institute for Affordable Transportation, 2009 to 2011.
Board Member & Mentor, The Institute for Christian Thought. 2005 to 2008.
Founding Board Member, the Centre for Assistance of Refugees, 2003-2005.
Founding Board Member, Building Capable People Québec, 2000 – 2005

LANGUAGES

Fluent in English
Fluent in French