

paternalism and pluralism

immigrants and social welfare in gary, indiana, 1906-1940

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In recent years, some historians have identified inherent contradictions in the history and practice of American social welfare. Ostensibly created to aid the poor and provide for the needy, social welfare agencies and institutions have often served other and sometimes opposite purposes—indoctrinating or socializing children, Americanizing immigrants, serving up heavy doses of religion or morality, enforcing social order among the poor and in general acting as instruments of social control. In 1959, historian Ralph E. Pumphrey suggested this dual thread in American social welfare history. Both “compassion” and “protection,” he noted, had traditionally motivated philanthropists and reformers; humanitarian concern for the poor and suffering was often balanced by “fear of change or . . . fear of what may happen if existing conditions are not changed.” Several studies of nineteenth-century social welfare developments have offered similar conclusions, suggesting that benevolence had very important latent functions in a society undergoing rapid social change. More recently, social work scholars Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward have conceived of the contemporary welfare system in similar terms. In their book, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, they contend that historically relief systems have served two crucial purposes: first, to maintain social and civil order, and second, to force the poor to work. Denying that government welfare policies have become progressively more liberal and humane, the authors argue that relief has simply been an effective way of manipulating the poor, keeping them orderly, and pushing them into low-income, menial jobs.¹ The conflicting patterns and purposes suggested by these studies have not yet been fully explored by historians of American social welfare. We would like to offer here, however, some evidence which sub-

stantiates the divergent themes sketched out above—conclusions based upon an analysis of the ideologies and programs of several social agencies working with immigrants in Gary, Indiana, during the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Much like other institutions, social welfare agencies working with immigrants in Gary and elsewhere usually reflected the predominant values of American society. In many cities, the urban settlement house provided the newcomer with his first contact beyond the ethnic community. Yet because of the particular value orientation of the people who ran such institutions—a value orientation which prized sobriety, industriousness, thrift, obedience, honesty, cleanliness, piety, patriotism and the “American way”—settlement house work generally served the interests of American society more than those of the immigrants themselves. In vigorously promoting Americans ideals and values, these institutions, to borrow from Pumphrey’s analysis, served “protective” goals, often under the guise of “compassionate” programs. To be sure, professionally trained settlement workers in nationally known agencies like Hull House, the Chicago Commons and the Henry Street Settlement displayed a humane and sympathetic attitude toward the newcomers; but the typical settlement was a religious mission staffed by church personnel and non-professionals. Immigrants often regarded these settlement workers with suspicion, language barriers frequently proved insurmountable, and the Protestant missionizing of such settlements undermined social work among a primarily non-Protestant clientele.² In working among the steel city’s immigrants, Gary’s several settlement houses typified the nativist paternalism inherent in the history of American social welfare.

By contrast, the work of another local institution—the International Institute of Gary—reflected the humanitarian thrust of immigrant social welfare. In a city where nativist and Americanization demands established the public parameters of immigrant life, the International Institute’s uniqueness lay in its efforts to support and preserve immigrant cultures and traditions. Seeking opportunity or escaping oppression, the immigrants brought little with them but their cultural heritage. Confronted with harsh demands for conformity and submission to American ways, newcomers found adjustment to the American city an exceedingly difficult process. Most of Gary’s immigrants were transplanted rural laborers or small farmers, fruit growers and fishermen unfamiliar with urban life or factory work. They faced severe language problems as well as a kind of cultural shock. Like many industrial cities with large communities of foreign-born residents, Gary became an arena of cultural and ethnic conflict. Challenging established opinion and practice, the International Institute countered the nativist-dominated Americanization policies of the settlements, offering instead an early program of cultural pluralism.³ Thus, Gary—and the distinctly different immi-

grant-helping agencies it spawned—provides an ideal laboratory to examine the functions of immigrant social welfare.

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Founded in 1906 by the United States Steel Corporation on the southern shore of Lake Michigan, Gary grew rapidly as an industrial city. Although it was the largest planned company town in the United States, Gary nevertheless developed a sprawling slum of shacks, boarding houses, tenements, and bungalows on its unplanned “south side”—a section within the city limits but owned by private and speculative real estate interests rather than the steel company. The eastern and southern European immigrants who thronged into this section before the restrictive quota laws of the 1920’s gave Gary its special character. They came largely from Poland, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Italy, Greece and the Balkan nations. When European immigration slowed during the twenties, Gary experienced large influxes of Mexicans and southern Blacks as well. By 1930, the city’s population surpassed 100,000; 48.7 percent of the city’s residents in that year were immigrants, or had one or more foreign-born parents; Blacks, primarily from the lower South, comprised another 17.8 percent of the population (see Table 1).⁴

Within a decade of its founding, Gary had two social settlements in crowded immigrant neighborhoods on the south side. One of these, the Gary Neighborhood House, began in 1909 as a Presbyterian-sponsored kindergarten for immigrant children. The program quickly expanded to handle the community’s multiple social needs, while construction of a large new building in 1912 provided facilities for traditional settlement house activities. Methodist women in Gary supplied the initial impetus for the second agency, the Campbell Friendship House, which opened in 1914, a few blocks away. Located amid “dreary shacks and tenements

TABLE I
Population of Gary, Indiana

	1910		1920		1930	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Native White -----	4,480	26.7	16,519	29.8	33,635	33.5
Foreign-born White -----	8,242	49.0	16,460	29.7	19,345	19.3
Native White, one or more Foreign-born Parents -----	3,681	21.9	17,065	30.8	26,012	25.9
Other races -----	16	.1	35	.1	3,512*	3.5
Black -----	383	2.3	5,299	9.6	17,922	17.8
Totals -----	16,802	100.0	55,378	100.0	100,426	100.0

* Mexican immigrants made up 3,486 of the total listed under “other races” in 1930.

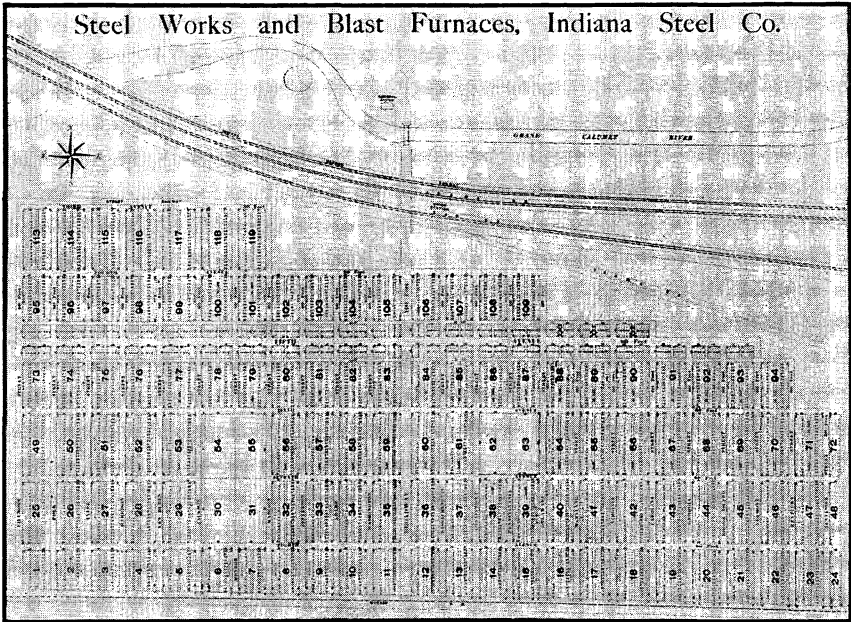
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, **Thirteenth Census of the United States, II, Population** (Washington, D.C., 1913), 568; U.S. Bureau of the Census, **Fourteenth Census of the United States, III, Population** (Washington, D.C., 1922), 297; U.S. Bureau of the Census, **Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population, III, Part 1** (Washington, D.C., 1932), 715.

stretching away for blocks in every direction,” each settlement hoped to become a kind of “social lighthouse” in the “polyglot and congested” neighborhood it served.⁵

Religious purposes and missionary programs strongly marked both settlements. Methodist and Presbyterian ministers usually served as directors of the two institutions.⁶ Despite the overwhelming number of non-Protestants among Gary’s newcomers, many Neighborhood House and Campbell House programs sought to Americanize immigrants by making them Protestants. The Neighborhood House, for instance, conducted Bible study classes and Protestant Sunday schools in several languages for immigrant children. Week-day church schools, established in the settlements under a public school release-time plan, served many nationalities but taught Protestant doctrines. By the 1920’s the settlement held Presbyterian services weekly in English, Italian, Slovak, Hungarian, Spanish and Russian. The settlement’s workers distributed Bibles among immigrants on the south side. When the house created an employment agency, people attended week-day religious services while waiting at the settlement for jobs.⁷ At Campbell House—which promoted what one observer described as “Christian Americanization of foreign peoples”—settlement residents held Sunday schools, vacation Bible schools and weekly church services.⁸

Beyond Protestant proselytizing, both settlements began a number of practical social programs for south side immigrant families. Thus, the Neighborhood House provided day and night nurseries for working mothers, playground facilities, legal aid, employment assistance, a savings bank program, laundry facilities, “much used” public baths, and free drinking water to those without it at home. To promote public health in the community, the settlement developed a visiting nurse program, medical and dental clinics, and classes in home hygiene, sanitation, diet and nutrition, and child training. It also fostered “enrichment” activities for children and adults: recreational programs, team sports, hobby clubs, and classes in cooking, sewing, dressmaking, wood working, metal working and various crafts. Vacant lots adjacent to the house supplied plots for neighborhood vegetable gardens. During the Great Depression of the 1930’s, the house served as a neighborhood relief center. In addition, the settlement served as a temporary shelter for new arrivals in the city, renting small rooms to those without friends or relatives until they found permanent housing.⁹

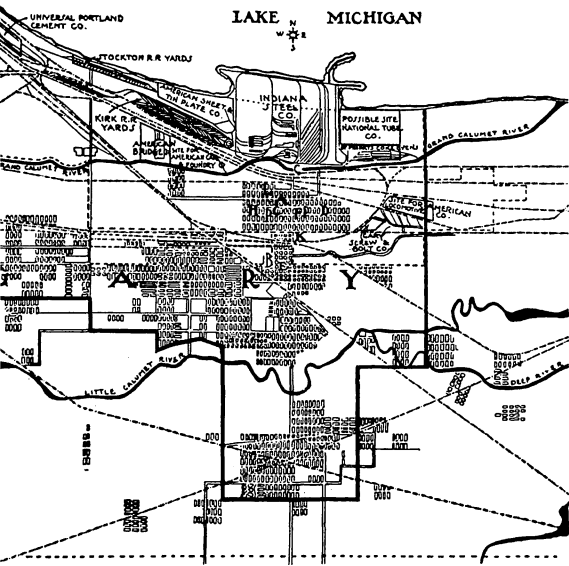
Campbell House had similar programs, including day nurseries, home visiting, health clinics, vaccination stations, library and gymnasium activities, and classes in domestic science, cooking, sewing, music, crafts and other subjects. The settlement provided weekly movies, encouraged community singing programs, held occasional neighborhood picnics, and supplied baths, work, even hair cuts. During the Depression, Campbell House functioned as a community relief center and conducted a sub-



PLAN OF GARY'S FIRST SUBDIVISION, 1906: Laid out by the Gary Land Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, Gary's First Subdivision reveals close adherence to the traditional gridiron plan. Two major traffic arteries—Broadway running north-south and Fifth Avenue running east-west—served as the axis of the company plan. And while the names of these two streets reflected the pretensions of the town's builders, the rigid gridiron pattern ignored current and innovative thinking about city planning, imposed a dreary uniformity on the city, and determined its future physical form (Source: Gary Public Library).

sistence garden program for about 500 families. By 1931 the settlement also sponsored five separate Boy Scout troops for Polish, Russian, Croatian, Greek and Black youths.¹⁰ The practical programs of the Neighborhood House and Campbell House generally eased adjustment of immigrant newcomers to the new and sometimes frightening conditions of the industrial city. Unquestionably, the settlements provided essential and needed services.

Yet, these very same programs, in many instances, sought to Americanize the immigrant, to wean adults and children—especially children—away from the old culture by introducing them to and indoctrinating them with American customs, values and ideals. English classes became opportunities for “special instruction . . . in the duties of American citizenship.”¹¹ Campbell House was founded, according to a short history of the settlement written in 1943, as a center “where the work of Americanization could be carried on.”¹² Children in the Neighborhood House day nursery assisted the “matron” in sweeping, cleaning, setting the table, washing dishes and other tasks. “In this way,” wrote the settlement head in 1920, “many are learning habits of industry and thrift



MAP OF GARY CIRCA 1913: By this date, Gary's population surpassed 20,000 and the city had spilled out beyond the confines of the Gary Land Company's First Subdivision, shown here just south of the Indiana Steel Company plants. The dispersal of population to the "south side"—the large unplanned sections beyond the First Subdivision—was encouraged and speeded by the housing policies of the Gary Land Company. Except for one group of fifty frame structures, the housing in the First Subdivision was reserved entirely for U.S. Steel's primarily native American managers, clerical personnel, foremen and skilled workers. High rents and housing costs further kept unskilled and low-paid immigrant workers out of the "north side," as this section came to be called. Thus, European immigrants, Mexicans and Blacks were forced into Gary's sprawling slum to the south (Source: Graham Romeyn Taylor, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs* [New York: D. Appleton, 1915], 171).

at a very impressionable age." A similar rationale underlay the settlement's employment bureau; immigrant women hired as domestics could "get a glimpse into American homes and are able to learn from them [American housewives] as well as receive pay for their services."¹³ A short historical sketch of the Neighborhood House written in 1945 declared that the main purpose of the settlement has always been "to furnish educational, religious and moral training." Nursery schools in the settlements, conducted under WPA auspices during the late 1930's and early 1940's, were labeled "institutes of social behavior to develop habit patterns for good citizenship." Cooking classes taught immigrant women how to prepare only American foods.¹⁴ The missionary zeal of Sunday schools, Bible classes and Protestant church services in the settlements revealed disregard and contempt for traditional immigrant religions. Aware of poverty, disease, bad housing and social disorganization in immigrant communities, the settlement workers sponsored programs to counter these difficulties. But too often the goal of Americanization turned these same programs into forces of cultural destruction.

In contrast to many non-denominational settlements in the United States during the progressive era, Gary's social centers did little to preserve immigrant culture and traditions. To be sure, some ethnic associations met regularly at the settlements. However, few of these groups fell under the supervision or guidance of settlement workers; they simply used the house as a convenient gathering place and had no other formal

connection with the settlements.¹⁵ Occasionally, the settlements sponsored concerts of immigrant music and singing, but these events were few and far between. Although settlement religious activities were often organized along ethnic lines, these can hardly be construed as efforts at cultural preservation. Rather, they attacked traditional immigrant religions. Thus, in their pervasive paternalism, in their continual efforts at immigrant assimilation, and in their implicit denial of the worth of old world cultures in the new world environment, Gary's Protestant settlements became active and rigorous forces for Americanization.¹⁶

As zealous in pursuing religious and Americanization goals, the Catholic-sponsored Gary-Alerding Settlement originated in 1917 with the aid of a \$100,000 contribution from the United States Steel Corporation. (It might be noted that U.S. Steel made numerous similar, but smaller, donations to immigrant churches and other community agencies as a means of fostering American values among newcomers and promoting their own form of social order.) The steel company also donated a large lot on the south side, on which a forty-room settlement house went up in the mid-twenties, complete with bowling alleys, gymnasium, auditorium, medical center, game and craft rooms, and a chapel. Headed from its beginning by a Gary Catholic priest, Father John B. DeVille, the house was jointly named after Elbert Gary of U.S. Steel and Bishop Henry Alerding of the Fort Wayne Catholic Diocese (which included Gary).¹⁷

The Gary-Alerding House had many programs similar to those of the Protestant settlements: recreational and educational activities, work with delinquents and orphans, and youth programs emphasizing music, dramatics and crafts. During the Great Depression, the house opened a soup kitchen and served hot lunches to school children. In its practical social services, the Gary-Alerding Settlement hardly differed from the Neighborhood House and Campbell House.¹⁸

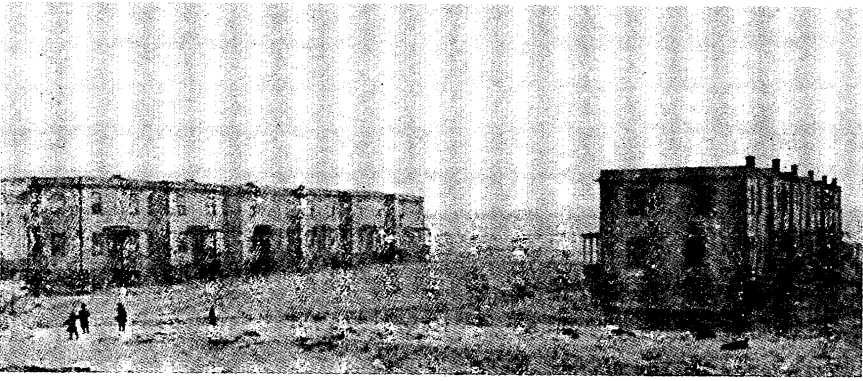
The underlying rationale, however, for many of these various activities was distinctly religious. Jessie M. Vogt, a YWCA worker from New York who surveyed Gary's social agencies in 1933, described the settlement this way: "the work seems to be rather largely of a religious nature, at least the emphasis is decidedly Catholic." Nuns from the order of the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ handled the teaching and social work of the settlement, along with a few paid workers. The settlement's St. Anthony's Chapel accommodated separate Italian, Mexican, Spanish and English-speaking Catholic congregations. In the 1920's Father DeVille formed the Catholic Instructional League at the Gary-Alerding House to conduct week-day church schools under the public school release-time plan. By the mid-twenties, ten centers staffed by settlement teachers handled more than six thousand students each week.¹⁹ If the Protestant settlements would Americanize Gary's newcomers by making them Presbyterians and Methodists, the Gary-Alerding

House pursued the same goal by reaffirming and strengthening the immigrants' Catholicism. Since many immigrants, including Roman Catholics, had fallen away from traditional religious affiliations and many—Mexicans, for example—had strong anti-clerical traditions in the old country, missionary goals in the settlements represented imposition of American authority, and therefore American values, upon the center's Catholic clientele.

The Gary-Alerding House also had a vigorous and undisguised Americanization program. Founder and director Father DeVille headed Gary's city-wide Americanization campaign during the nativist hysteria of the Great Red Scare. He guided the settlement along the same path. As late as 1924, according to DeVille's monthly newsletter, *The Good Samaritan*, the settlement spent much of its energy in "counteracting the socialistic and bolshevistic tendencies of certain elements among the foreigners." Dedicating the new settlement building in 1924, Jesuit Father Frederick Siedenburg noted the special duty of social workers "to lead these foreign-born brothers into the path of patriotism and true Americanism." Americanization classes were held at the settlement from the beginning for Hungarians, Poles, Italians, Mexicans and other Catholic immigrants. Nor did the nativist emphasis on Americanization end with the intolerant twenties. In a 1938 newspaper report, settlement director Father Frederick Westendorf repeated the goal of character building, citizenship and conformity, this time for second-generation children: "the sooner the boy accepts the civil and social customs in this new country of his parents adoption, the sooner he will become a sober, responsible citizen." Religious and political aims clearly predominated at the Gary-Alerding Settlement.²⁰

Gary's settlements, then, differed markedly from the non-denominational social centers in large American cities well-described in Allen Davis' *Spearheads for Reform*. In contrast to Chicago's Hull House, New York's Henry Street Settlement or Boston's South End House, Gary's Protestant and Catholic settlements consciously promoted immigrant cultural destruction; they sought to erase ethnic backgrounds and make newcomers into Americans. Workers at each steel city settlement often responded in humane and sympathetic fashion to immigrants and their problems; many settlement programs dealt with very practical concerns. But, the emphasis on religious proselytizing made the Gary settlements more urban missions than altruistic immigrant social centers. At the same time, the excessive concern for Americanization tempered sympathies, denied the worth of old country traditions and values, and encouraged, even demanded, conformity and submission to American ways.

By the 1930's, Gary's settlements had become ineffective as agents of immigrant assimilation. By that time, immigration restriction laws of previous years almost entirely cut the flow of new arrivals. During the



"HUNGARY ROW" about 1910. Among the earliest houses in Gary, fifty wooden-frame structures of the type shown here were built by the Gary Land Company on the northeast corner of the First Subdivision for immigrant workers. In order to meet the twelve to thirteen dollar per month rent the steel company charged for these houses, poorly paid immigrants with families soon turned these structures into boarding houses serving the overwhelmingly male population. In 1909, one critical observer reported that thirty-eight of these dwellings (containing 152 rooms) housed 428 people, most of them lodgers sleeping in shifts. As the population of the area soared, "Hungary Row" soon became unsanitary, run-down and garbage-strewn. The company promptly evicted immigrant tenants and boarders, replacing them with more prosperous American families who agreed to take no lodgers. In 1916, these structures were torn down and replaced with more substantial residential dwellings for officials of the adjacent American Locomotive Company factories (Source: above, Gary Public Library; below, Taylor, **Satellite Cities**, 191).



early twenties, European immigration had slowed, Mexico providing the largest single group of newcomers during that decade. Even more significant in undermining immigrant activities in the settlements, Black migration from the south had displaced immigrant communities on Gary's south side, now called the "central district" as Poles, Serbs, Greeks, Russians and others moved further south to the Glen Park section of the city, or to emerging ethnic enclaves on Gary's northeast side.

War-time steel mill labor demands stimulated Black migration after 1914, while national prosperity during the twenties sustained high levels of steel production and thus the Black movement as well. By 1930 the Black population of Gary reached about 18,000. Excluded from the better housing on the north side, Blacks moved into the slums, shacks, and tenement apartments on the south side where most immigrants had

lived since the city's origin in 1906. Common poverty created integrated neighborhoods. Unlike the city's present segregated residential pattern, for a time European immigrants, Mexicans, and Blacks lived side by side. Yet continued Black migration through the 1920's, although it brought temporary integration to immigrant districts, eventually speeded the dispersal of ethnic whites south to Glen Park and nearby suburbs.²¹

Neighborhood changes resulting from these migration patterns caused consequent alterations in settlement house participation. During the mid-twenties, settlement constituencies became increasingly Black. Gary's fourth settlement—the John Stewart House—although strangely located in a Polish neighborhood, had been founded by Methodists in 1920 exclusively for Blacks. With the exception of Americanization activities, its programs matched those of the other three social centers.²² As Blacks moved into the south side, and as white immigrant groups moved out, the other settlements opened their programs to Blacks as well. By 1926, for instance, sixty-six per cent of the Campbell House district was Black, and the settlement had hired a Black social worker. When Jessie Vogt of the National Board of the YWCA visited Gary in 1933, Blacks predominated in the activities of each of the three formerly immigrant-oriented settlements.²³

Despite these changes beginning in the mid-twenties, the settlements tried to retain their hold on the declining numbers of immigrants and immigrant children in their neighborhoods. At first, because of the racist attitudes of early settlement leaders and, as a consequence, developing hostilities of east and south Europeans against Blacks and Mexicans, classes, team sports and other activities were segregated. In the 1930's, according to Jessie Vogt, the Neighborhood House tried to limit the proportion of Blacks in settlement activities, "in order that they might have time for work with the people of the different nationalities."²⁴ By the late thirties, these efforts had been abandoned, a change typified by the Campbell House decision in 1940 to terminate some older programs (the Sunday school was closed, for instance) and emphasize "a Christian solution to Gary's race problem."²⁵ Unlike settlements in some cities, Gary's social centers did not follow immigrant constituencies to new neighborhoods; rather, they eventually adjusted to a new clientele and worked for racial cooperation and harmony.

During the years of Gary's early growth—also the years of heaviest immigration—the social settlements became important institutions in ethnic neighborhoods. Their health, educational and recreational programs aided immigrant adjustment. But paternalism undermined many positive activities. Settlement workers tried to foster cleanliness, thrift, industriousness, sobriety and other socially desirable traits. They promoted adherence and submission to established American ideals and values. They did nothing to encourage ethnic pride or preserve immigrant heritages. Unlike settlements elsewhere, ideas of conformity and

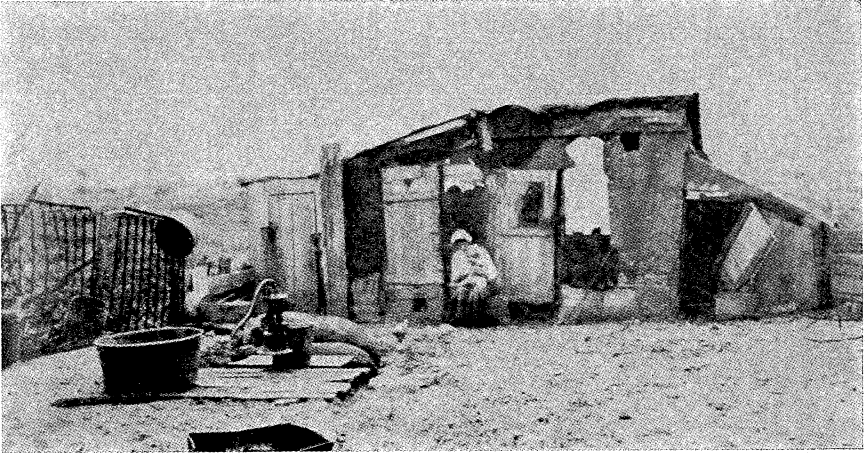
assimilation rather than those of “cultural pluralism” underlay the social settlement rationale in Gary. Until migration patterns altered the ethnic make-up of south side neighborhoods, the settlements served simultaneously as conscious agents of cultural destruction and Americanization.

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If Gary’s settlements urged immigrants to become Americans, another institution—the International Institute of Gary—encouraged them to retain their languages and cultures, to be proud of their heritage. The Gary Institute was one of nearly sixty such agencies established by the YWCA in the years after 1910.²⁶ For two decades after its founding in 1919, the Gary organization worked actively in the immigrant communities, promoted cultural pluralism and defended newcomers against nativist attacks. The Institute became less effective by the 1940s;²⁷ but during its most active years, it countered the blatant and denigrating Americanization programs of the settlements and fostered immigrant cultural preservation.

The first International Institute—that in New York City—began as a YWCA experiment in 1910 under the direction of settlement worker Edith Terry Bremer. Within five years additional Institutes had sprouted in Trenton, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and Lawrence, Massachusetts. The Institute movement proliferated at the end of the war, when the YWCA’s War Work Council transformed itself into a Department of Immigration and Foreign Communities, with the initial objective of assisting immigrant women and girls in the United States. The National Board of the YWCA urged formation of local Institutes in industrial cities with heavy ethnic populations, and by 1920 fifty-five Institutes had been established.²⁸

Over several decades, Edith Terry Bremer became the national spokesman for the International Institutes and for immigrant welfare generally. Her writings established the philosophy and the goals of the Institute movement. Drawing upon Progressive Era thinking, she envisioned every Institute “as a conscious venture in the new democracy.” The purpose of the movement was “the cultivation of a new social class—the class of mankind, which finds its likeness transcending its unlikeness of nationality or race.” Rather than demanding assimilation or Americanization, Bremer promoted an early form of cultural pluralism. “We believe,” she wrote in an important statement of purpose in 1923, “there is no richer material for cultural growth than that which can be saved for the foreigner out of his own inheritance.” Thus, programs had to be devised to preserve the immigrant heritage, transmit the old culture to the second generation in America, and foster good will and understanding between newcomers and native Americans.²⁹



IMMIGRANT HOUSING in the Shack Colonies of the South Side, circa 1920: Housing for the work force—the great bulk of it from eastern and southern Europe—became a serious problem early in Gary's history. Excluded from the better housing of the more fashionable north side by company policy and high rents, many immigrant families set up housekeeping in the numerous shack colonies which sprouted on the unregulated south side. These typical scenes suggest the tenuousness of America's promise as a land of opportunity (Source: Above: Elizabeth Hughes and Lydia Roberts, **Children of Preschool Age in Gary, Ind.** [U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 122, 1925], facing pages 20, 21. Facing: Gary Public Library).

The work of the Institutes generally conformed to the objectives articulated by Edith Terry Bremer. Institute workers went beyond the original idea of aiding foreign-born women and girls and began working with immigrant communities as a whole. They engaged in traditional settlement house tasks, handled immigrant problems as case workers and attempted to ease the transition to American society. They aided in



the citizenship process, serving as mediators between newcomers and government agencies. And they paid special attention to the “second generation problem”—the family disorganization which prevailed when immigrant children became caught between loyalties to the old culture and the appeal of the new.³⁰

Beyond these practical tasks, Institute workers—usually immigrants themselves—saw their most important function as fostering cultural identity and a positive self-image among immigrant newcomers. They built consciousness and pride in the immigrant heritage and encouraged inter-ethnic cooperation and understanding. They urged newcomers to retain their language and their customs while simultaneously learning American ways. At the same time, they encouraged Americans to understand immigrant traditions and recognize ethnic contributions to American life. These were especially significant objectives during the post-World War I years, when nativism, the “Great Red Scare” and the movement for immigration restriction intensified ruthless Americanization demands.³¹

Under the direction of social worker Agnes B. Ewart, Gary’s Institute began in 1919 in a south side library basement. Four nationality workers (as the Institute called its immigrant social workers) made up the

staff—one each for the Polish, Czechoslovakian, Bulgarian and Italian communities of Gary. Mexican, Serbian and Greek nationality workers were added by the mid-twenties. These workers, who spoke several languages and handled other ethnic groups as well as their own, attempted to serve immigrant needs, preserve ethnic identity and promote mutual understanding and respect among ethnic groups and between natives and newcomers.³² International Institutes objectives and methods, especially the use of immigrant social workers, were recognized as new and unorthodox. “Existing social workers had never approached the problem from our angle,” Gary’s Bulgarian nationality worker Luba Tzvetanova wrote in her monthly report for September 1919. “Their basis has been plain charity, very often with utter lack of sympathetic understanding for the party concerned.” The Institute worker hoped to be “a friend in every day life first, and then a friend in need.” Even so, immigrants at first regarded the Institute with the same suspicion the social settlements had received. As one nationality worker in Gary put it in 1920, “the people can’t understand why we should come here to help them, and not expect to get anything out of it.”³³ Gradually overcoming suspicions, the Gary International Institute soon made itself an indispensable community agency.

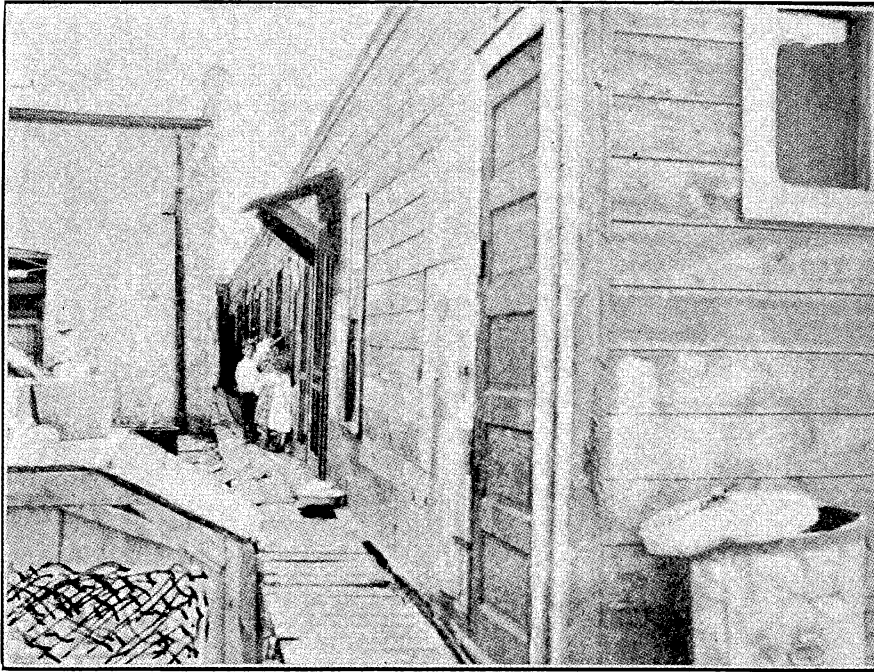
The work of the Institute fell into several general categories: individual and family case work, group activities, cultural programs, educational work, recreational programs and social reform efforts. Throughout the Institute’s first twenty years, nationality workers spent the largest part of their time doing case work in the immigrant communities, handling as many as five or six hundred individual cases each month. These cases dealt primarily with legal and technical difficulties in connection with immigration and citizenship. But the whole range of human problems became the domain of Institute workers, as their monthly reports show. During September 1920, for instance, nationality workers visited immigrants in jails and hospitals, served as a clearing house for information about legal needs and social services, acted as employment agents, located relatives in Europe and the United States, wrote and translated letters in many languages, interceded with immigration authorities and other governmental agencies at every level on behalf of newcomers, even secured a divorce for an immigrant woman whose husband loved “good times,” which “he carried in a bottle in one of his big coat pockets.” Except in a very tangential way, these case work activities did not overlap with those of the church-related settlement houses. They were addressed to real immigrant needs and they displayed none of the paternalism evident in the programs of other social welfare agencies.³⁴

While case work took up most of the Institute’s attention, group work in Gary’s immigrant communities followed closely. The Institute movement built on the belief that preservation of the immigrant heritage

was crucially important in the creation of a more democratic American society. Thus, building ethnic consciousness through group activities became one of the organization's most significant tasks. Gary's Institute worked closely with local affiliates of such national organizations as the Polish National Alliance, the Sons of Italy, the Serb National Federation and the Croatian Catholic Union. Nationality workers also went out into the community to help organize a host of local ethnic associations: mutual aid societies, dramatic and musical groups, and political, women's and children's clubs. The Institute threw open its facilities to these groups, serving as a central gathering place for organized ethnic activities on the south side. In 1924, seventy-two different groups held 472 meetings at the Institute, with a total attendance of 14,582.³⁵ In addition, the Institute provided rooms for immigrant weddings, christenings, parties and holiday celebrations. Moreover, Institute workers attended immigrant churches, participated in numerous activities in the ethnic communities and met regularly with immigrant leaders. Through these group activities, the Institute fostered a sense of ethnic identification and promoted immigrant culture.³⁶

To achieve these same objectives, each International Institute emphasized cultural programs based on immigrant traditions. Rejecting prevailing demands for conformity and submission to American ways, the Institutes sought to preserve and enhance the immigrant heritage by sponsoring ethnic concerts, dances, festivals, pageants, plays and exhibits. Such programs were considered important for several reasons: American culture would be broadened and enriched; for the immigrants themselves, participation in these activities built pride in one's heritage; and for the second generation—the American-born children of the immigrants who too often “scornfully cast aside the colorful language and symbolic customs of their forefathers” and “all too rapidly assimilated the movie, jazz and the gutter speech of the modern American city”—these programs could provide a bridge to the past.³⁷ Along the same lines, the Gary Institute sponsored lectures on the art, literature and history of native countries, as well as foreign-language classes for American-born children of immigrants. Ethnic cultural programs at the Institute eased adjustment to industrial America for newcomers from rural villages while simultaneously helping them resist total orthodoxy and Americanization.³⁸

A series of educational programs supplemented Institute cultural programs, case work and group activities. Some of these educational programs were designed to help immigrants adjust to life in the United States. Thus, nationality workers organized English classes, both at the Institute and in immigrant homes, for Italians, Russians, Poles, Greeks, Mexicans, Romanians and others. Conducted throughout the twenties, these classes multiplied during the depression years when immigrant workers lost their jobs in the idled steel mills. While the Institute re-



sisted rigorous Americanization, it saw only advantages in teaching immigrants helpful language skills.³⁹

Other Institute programs sought to build harmony and understanding in the community by educating immigrant groups about one another. Considering the establishment of mutual respect among nationality groups one of their most important aims, Institute workers brought men, women and children of different backgrounds together for a variety of activities: dances, dinners, concerts and the like. When the Institute formed an Advisory Council in 1930, leaders from various nationalities met regularly to share in Institute decision-making. In the 1930's, the Institute sponsored a series of "Nationality Nights," the avowed purpose being "to break down nationality antagonisms" and to create "a just pride" in ethnic heritages. Institute programs, therefore, not only built immigrant pride and self-respect, but encouraged toleration and inter-ethnic understanding—a formidable task given long traditions of hostility based on old country religion, politics and regional loyalties.⁴⁰

Throughout the intolerant twenties, the Institute also tried to temper nativist bigotry by familiarizing Americans with immigrant traditions and contributions. As executive director Maude Polk wrote in her annual report for 1921, "We often feel that our biggest job is in educating American-born Americans in knowing and appreciating the foreign-born American." Thus, the Institute sponsored regular gatherings of American and immigrant women and invited the public to festivals and exhibits, local newspapers publicized Institute activities, and nationality workers spoke on Institute work at meetings of the PTA and other Gary organizations.⁴¹ During the early thirties the Institute sponsored a series of "Know Your City Tours" in a major effort to temper nativist intolerance and build community solidarity. Seeking to explain immigrants and their customs to others, each tour focused on a single na-

BARRACK APARTMENTS and Tenements on the South Side: The absence of an effective company housing policy for the bulk of Gary's industrial workers created opportunities for real estate developers and builders on the south side. The Gary Land Company had established regulations on lot usage and types of buildings in the First Subdivision, but no such restrictions affected south side promoters. Meeting the housing demand, they quickly put up block after block of shoddy frame houses and barracks-like apartments. A typical barracks building (top, circa 1913) was eighteen feet wide and one hundred feet long and divided into apartments of two rooms, each nine feet square. Without running water or any other modern facilities, these apartments rented for as much as nine dollars per month—a hefty sum considering that the average steel worker earned 16.7 cents per hour in 1912. Outdoor privies and a pump for drinking water (top photo, lower left corner) jointly occupied the back end of the lots. Many such barracks-type buildings were constructed on adjacent lots, leaving narrow passageways between structures (see cover and middle photo, circa mid-1920s). In the absence of municipal services on the south side, these walkways quickly filled up with garbage and filth. The bottom photo (circa mid-1920s) shows a more traditional type of tenement housing, also popular among south side builders. Most of these tenements were badly overcrowded, for scarce housing and exploitative rents meant that most occupants took in boarders (Source: Top: Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, 199; cover, middle and bottom, Hughes and Roberts, *Children of Preschool Age in Gary, Ind.* [U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 122, 1925], facing pages 18, 19).

tionality; groups covered included Greeks, Lithuanians, Mexicans, Russians, Romanians, Hungarians, Italians, Serbians, Croatians, Czechs, Poles and Assyrians. A typical tour began at the YWCA with a talk by one of the community leaders, went to the ethnic neighborhood by bus, visited immigrant churches, listened to speeches by priests and other spokesmen, and ended at one of the immigrant association halls for songs, folk dances and native food specialties. Aware that most of the “tourists” were native Americans, immigrant leaders often used their speaking opportunities to build a positive image of the newcomers in Gary. On the Greek tour, for example, lawyer George P. Rose described Gary’s Greeks in terms nativists could understand: “there are no communists among them. They work long hours. They don’t believe in unions.” On the other hand, a few tours revealed bitter inter-ethnic divisions, sometimes defeating the Institute’s aim of creating sympathetic understanding of immigrant groups. During the Russian tour, a speaker at the Russian Orthodox Church defended the czarist regime as a “democratic monarchy,” while radical speakers at the Gary Workers’ Center argued the case for soviet communism. Despite these occasional debates and shouting matches between immigrant splinter groups, the Institute considered the “Know Your City Tours” successful and continued to sponsor them periodically.⁴²

Beyond these varied educational programs, Gary’s International Institute actively promoted a number of urban political and social reforms. Nationality workers combined reform fervor with social welfare goals, for example, by openly fighting widespread political corruption in municipal administration and campaigning for introduction of the city manager plan. They cooperated with other social agencies in public health and recreation efforts, encouraged “Big Sister” work as an antidote to delinquency among second-generation girls and made several significant social surveys, including an extensive study of housing in the growing Black ghetto on Gary’s “unlovely south side.”⁴³ During the Great Depression, the Institute became a relief center of sorts as well, providing immigrants with food, clothing, employment and legal assistance. Notably, the Institute interceded with local relief officials, who too often discriminated against the foreign-born.⁴⁴

The Depression caused some observable changes of emphasis in Institute programs. As the economic crisis worsened, nativist hysteria intensified. Using the press and national magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post* as a soapbox, anti-alien spokesmen simultaneously blamed immigrants for the depression, for depriving American workers of jobs and for driving up relief expenses.⁴⁵ These national patterns were duplicated in Gary, where unnaturalized immigrants became vulnerable to the new forces of intolerance. Mexican aliens in Gary were particularly targeted as an objectionable group by Gary’s new nativists. Denied welfare and deprived of jobs in the steel mills, the Mexican community

faced an American Legion sponsored drive for “repatriation”—a forced and involuntary expulsion to the homeland. Gary’s native American population, led by the local press, the steel company, municipal government, and welfare officials, all supported repatriation as a method of “constructive relief.” International Institute workers fought this new expression of nativist bigotry and racism.⁴⁶

Not surprisingly, most of the Institute’s work during the thirties focused on naturalization. By 1936, seventy percent of all Institute cases dealt with such problems. But financial difficulties beset the Institute; in contrast to the 1920’s, when as many as seven full-time nationality workers staffed the Institute, the agency had only one full-time and a few part-time workers during most of the thirties. Many Institute activities were curtailed during these years. Group work and cultural programs languished, as citizenship and naturalization problems absorbed almost the total energies of the Institute’s limited staff. As executive secretary Esther Tappan noted in 1939, “We have been so overwhelmed with requests for assistance on naturalization that everything else gets pushed in the background.” Nevertheless, the Institute served as a clearing house for information on citizenship, publicized new alien legislation, explained the laws to confused immigrants and handled the complicated paperwork connected with the naturalization process.⁴⁷ Special efforts were made to protect the harried Mexican community, although with limited success (about half of Gary’s Mexicans—some 1,500—were sent back to Mexico).⁴⁸ The Depression, therefore, significantly altered International Institute programs, for limited finances undermined what had been one of the agency’s most innovating tasks—the promotion of ethnic identity and cultural pluralism.

The renewed nativism of depression years served to consolidate immigrant defenders on the national level, resulting in changes in institutional affiliation for the Gary Institute. Early in 1933 the national board of the YWCA approved dissolution of its Department of Immigration and Foreign Communities (which had supervised the work of International Institutes) and helped sponsor formation of a new independent national organization for work with immigrants—the National Institute of Immigrant Welfare. The reasons for the split seemed logical and compelling. The YWCA had designed its programs, largely group activities, for women; but the International Institutes dealt with families, rather than with foreign-born women exclusively, and by the 1930’s group activities had virtually been abandoned in favor of case work. Moreover, the YWCA had a distinctly Protestant rationale, while the clientele of the Institutes was almost entirely non-Protestant. Finally, spokesmen for the Institutes on the national level like Edith Terry Bremer argued that the immigrant cause was too important to be submerged as a partial concern of a women’s organization. An independent organization could consolidate pro-immigrant forces, lobby for favorable

Congressional legislation, funnel information to local agencies, and perhaps secure foundation support for Institute work.⁴⁹

Bremer and others connected with the new National Institute of Immigrant Welfare urged International Institutes to sever ties with their local YWCA and affiliate with the new organization. By the end of 1933, ten Institutes had done so, including the one in Gary. The arguments which justified creation of the National Institute of Immigrant Welfare swayed Institute people in Gary, particularly Irma Wagner, executive director after 1931. A simultaneous financial dispute with local YWCA officials catalyzed the Gary Institute's drive to independence. Looking upon the Institute as a financial drain, the Gary YWCA quickly approved the plan of separation and the International Institute officially became independent January 1, 1934.⁵⁰

Independence hardly solved all the Institute's difficulties. As an independent organization the Institute had greater visibility, but donations from the immigrant people served by the agency supplied only a small part of the funds formerly obtained from the YWCA. U.S. Steel made its usual contribution each year, but it was considerably smaller (\$1,500 in 1936, for instance) than the \$5,000 to \$10,000 annual donations previously shared by the YWCA and the Institute. The organization of a Community Chest in Gary in 1936 rationalized voluntary giving and assured the Institute of basic funding annually.⁵¹ But the Institute's budget remained small throughout the thirties and, as noted earlier, many important programs had to be abandoned. By 1940, as naturalization work absorbed the attention of nationality workers, well-established ethnic churches had begun to replace the Institute as a cultural, associational and recreational center for Gary's immigrant communities. Passage of the Alien Registration Act by Congress in 1940 kept naturalization work at a heavy level throughout the war years, and continued financial strains prevented the Institute from restoring its group and cultural activities in later years.⁵²

iii

Irrespective of its limited role after 1940, the International Institute had served important functions during the twenties and thirties—functions quite different from those of the religious settlement houses. In contrast to other social welfare agencies, which promoted the values of the steel city's native white establishment, the Institute fostered the more traditional cultures of Gary's numerous ethnic groups. Like the settlements, the Institute sponsored activities such as language classes to help immigrants adjust to industrial and urban life; but the agency rejected the second thrust of the settlements' programs—the very obvious denigration of the newcomers' traditions and customs and the simultaneous demands for conformity, submission and speedy assimilation. While

other social agencies sought to Americanize the immigrant, the Institute helped him retain his old cultures and traditions, eased his transition from the old world village to the new world metropolis. Unlike the missionary, paternalist, nativist-dominated settlement houses which consciously sought to destroy immigrant cultures, Gary's Institute promoted an emerging doctrine of cultural pluralism.

The sources of the different approaches of the settlements and the International Institute are not difficult to find. The concentration by historians on nationally known settlements such as Hull House has created a distorted picture of the entire movement. The social workers in such settlements had been trained as professionals in the new schools of social work, such as the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy or the New York School of Social Work. As Allen Davis points out in his study of the settlement movement, *Spearheads for Reform*, people such as Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Graham Taylor, Raymond Robins and others were genuinely progressive or even radical in their political and social orientation; and most of these settlement leaders accepted the immigrants on their own terms and practiced some degree of cultural pluralism.⁵³ But Hull House was not a typical settlement. As suggested earlier, most settlements were religious missions, either attached to a particular church or sponsored by some religious body. In a study of social Catholicism, for instance, historian Aaron Abell noted that the Catholic Church had established some 2,500 settlements by 1915.⁵⁴ Those who directed and worked in such mission settlements were either priests, ministers, church employees or pious volunteers; few were trained professionals, and fewer still accepted the radical orientation of such leaders of the settlement movement as Raymond Robins. Thus, settlements such as those in Gary did not become the buffer between the ethnic communities and American society envisioned by the movement's leaders. Rather, they reflected, acted upon, and transmitted the values and attitudes of the larger society; beyond their proselytizing activities, they adopted a derogatory view of ethnic traditions and assumed that their proper role was that of Americanizing the immigrant with all possible speed. Indeed, spokesmen for Gary's native white establishment such as the newspapers routinely expected the settlements to perform this function.⁵⁵

The radically different orientation of the International Institute stemmed from a variety of circumstances. Founder Edith Terry Bremer provided overall leadership for the Institute movement from its beginnings in 1910 through the 1930s. She articulated the ideals of cultural pluralism and, through a stream of memos and policy statements sent out from the national office to each Institute, constantly reiterated the humanistic goals of the movement. On the local level, professionally trained social workers headed the Institutes; the Gary Institute's first director, for example, graduated from the Chicago School of Civics and

Philanthropy. More important, perhaps, in maintaining the consistent pro-immigrant policy of the Institute was the practice of staffing the agency with immigrants themselves. Familiar with immigrant languages and traditions and known in the ethnic communities, these professionally educated foreign-born or second-generation social workers approached their tasks in Gary with a knowledge and a sensitivity virtually unobtainable for most settlement house workers. They did not accept the paternalism and nativism which prevailed in the settlements, nor did they consider rigorous Americanization a proper goal. The Gary Institute also had an advisory board composed entirely of leaders from the ethnic communities, which only reinforced the pluralistic character of the agency's work. Further, part of the financial support for the Institute's work had always come from individuals and associations in the immigrant communities. And finally, even though originally sponsored by the YWCA, the Institute had no religious or missionary purpose; rather, serving multiple immigrant needs became the agency's task from the very beginning. The kinds of goals they set for themselves, and the kinds of people hired to achieve those goals, insured that the Institutes would be agencies whose functions differed markedly from the mission settlements.⁵⁶

Thus, social agencies working in Gary's ethnic communities exhibited clearly contradictory purposes and programs. Combined with the conclusions of some other recent studies, these findings suggest possible lines of inquiry for social welfare historians. The settlement movement, for instance, generally pictured as a progressive force for social change, should be carefully reexamined. We know quite a bit about the Hull Houses and the University Settlements. But we need to know considerably more about the less well known but more typical settlement—the church-related and missionary agencies such as those in Gary. Too many historians for too long have accepted uncritically the positive image of social welfare institutions, an image which easily emerges from a narrow or unimaginative study of institutional records. At the same time, we need additional individual studies of the fifty-odd International Institutes. Was the Gary Institute unique in its early advocacy of cultural pluralism? Or, did other Institutes successfully implement on the local level the national policies worked out by Edith Terry Bremer? Like most institutions, social welfare agencies reflected the value orientation of the particular society in which they operated. It seems implicit, therefore, that such institutions and the functions they served can be understood fully only when considered within the larger social and cultural milieu.

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INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION Hides the City of Gary to the South, circa 1950. The quality of urban life in industrial cities like Gary has never even approached the ideal. Despite the best intentions of its planners, Gary developed a large, sprawling slum in its early years. The city's physical form has changed little over the years, although population movements have transformed Gary from an immigrant city to a Black ghetto, as the descendants of original immigrants moved to outlying suburbs. But despite these changes, the puffing smokestacks of the steel mills—of which Gary's early boosters were so proud—remain a constant feature of the environment and cast a threatening pall over a decaying city (Source: Gary Public Library).

footnotes

1. Ralph E. Pumphrey, "Compassion and Protection: Dual Motivations in Social Welfare," *Social Service Review*, XXXIII (March 1959), 22; Clifford S. Griffin, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815-1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLIV (December 1957), 423-444; Raymond A. Mohl, "Poverty, Pauperism, and Social Order in the Preindustrial American City, 1780-1840," *Social Science Quarterly*, LII (March 1972), 934-948; David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston, 1971); Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (New York, 1971).

2. On settlements, see Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York, 1967); George Cary White, "Social Settlements and Immigrant Neighbors, 1886-1914," *Social Service Review*, XXXIII (March 1959), 55-66; Alvin Kogut, "The Settlements and Ethnicity: 1890-1914," *Social Work*, XVII (May 1972), 22-31.

3. This analysis of the International Institute draws upon preliminary findings published in Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten, "Ethnic Adjustment in the Industrial City: The International Institute of Gary, 1919-1940," *International Migration Review*, VI (Winter 1972), 361-376.

4. Population statistics are drawn from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population*, III, Part 1 (Washington, D.C., 1932), 715. For the early planning of Gary and an analysis of its failures, see Raymond A. Mohl and Neil Betten, "The Failure of Industrial City Planning: Gary, Indiana, 1906-1910," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXXVIII (July 1972), 203-215.

5. Henry David Jones, *Twenty Years of Neighborliness* (Gary, n.d., ca. 1933), unpaginated; Bess Sheehan, *History of Campbell Friendship House; Gary, Indiana, 1912-1940* (Gary,

1943), I, 5-6; Neighborhood House, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Superintendent, April 1, 1920* (Gary, 1920), unpaginated; Gary *Post-Tribune*, March 20, 1940.

6. Jones, *Twenty Years of Neighborliness*; Sheehan, *History of Campbell House*, 1-2.

7. Clifford T. Stewart, *Historical Sketches: Gary Neighborhood House* (Gary, 1945), 3, 8-9, 15, 20; Gary *Daily Tribune*, September 5, 1914; *Neighborhood House Visitor*, I (March 20, 1916); Gary *Evening Post*, April 2, 1919; Neighborhood House *Annual Report, 1924-25* (Gary, 1925), unpaginated; Neighborhood House, *Annual Report, 1938-39*, mimeo in Settlement File, Indiana Room, Gary Public Library (hereafter cited as GPL); Jones, *Twenty Years of Neighborliness*.

8. "Activities of Friendship House, 1925-1926," publicity card, n.d., GPL; Gary *Post-Tribune*, May 29, 1942.

9. Stewart, *Historical Sketches*, 3-5, 10, 19; *Neighborhood House Visitor*, I (May 20, 1916); Gary *Evening Post*, April 2, 1919; Neighborhood House, *Eleventh Annual Report*, unpaginated; Gary *Post-Tribune*, February 1, 1935. On the need for such services as public baths and drinking water, see Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief, *Recovery in Indiana*, August 1936, 7, which reported on a WPA survey showing that at least twenty-five percent of Gary's homes had no baths, toilet facilities or running water.

10. Sheehan, *History of Campbell House*, 4-5, 15, 17; *Annual Report of Activities at Friendship House, Gary, Ind., August 1, 1922* (Gary, 1922), unpaginated; *Annual Report of Campbell Settlement, 1922-1923* (Gary, 1923), unpaginated; Campbell House, *Annual Report, October 1931* (Gary, 1931), unpaginated; Gary *Post-Tribune*, February 1, 1935; Gary *Post-Tribune*, February 1, 1938.

11. Neighborhood House, *Eleventh Annual Report*. See also *Neighborhood House Visitor*, I (December 8, 1916).

12. Sheehan, *History of Campbell House*, 1.

13. Neighborhood House, *Eleventh Annual Report*.

14. Stewart, *Historical Sketches*, 19-20; Gary *Post-Tribune*, March 5, 1941; Jones, *Twenty Years of Neighborliness*.

15. Campbell House, *Annual Report . . . 1922*; Neighborhood House, *Eleventh Annual Report*. Interestingly, as late as 1946, when the Neighborhood House constituency had become entirely Black, groups of Lithuanians and Ukrainians still drove from various suburbs to the meeting place they had used for thirty-five years. Neighborhood House, *Annual Report*, April 1946, mimeo in GPL.

16. Jones, *Twenty Years of Neighborliness*.

17. Gary *Post-Tribune*, February 1, 1935; Gary *Post-Tribune*, undated clipping, Settlement File, Indiana Room, GPL.

18. Gary-Alerding House, *The Good Samaritan*, II (April 1924), unpaginated; Gary *Post-Tribune*, March 30, April 12, 1940.

19. Jessie M. Vogt, "Memorandum Regarding Social Settlements and Other Agencies in Gary, Indiana," July 6, 1933, typescript in Gary International Institute Papers (hereafter referred to as I.I. Papers); Gary *Post-Tribune*, March 30, 1940; *The Good Samaritan*, II (April 1924).

20. *The Good Samaritan*, II (April 1924); Gary *Post-Tribune*, April 27, 1938.

21. On these trends, see Neil Betten and Raymond A. Mohl, "The Evolution of Racism in an Industrial City: A Case Study of Gary, Indiana," *Journal of Negro History*, LIX (January, 1974), 51-64.

22. See, for example, *The Eighth Annual Report of the Activities and Anniversary Program of the John Stewart Memorial Settlement House* (Gary, 1928); Gary *Post-Tribune*, February 14, 1936.

23. Sheehan, *History of Campbell House*, 12-13; Vogt, "Memorandum Regarding Social Settlements."

24. Stewart, *Historical Sketches*, 20; *Neighborhood House Visitor*, I (March 20, 1916); Gary *Post-Tribune*, March 20, 1940; Vogt, "Memorandum Regarding Social Settlements."

25. Gary *Post-Tribune*, April 1, 1940.

26. On the International Institute movement, see Mary S. Sims, *The First Twenty-Five Years: Being a Summary of the Work of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America, 1906-1931* (New York, 1932), 17, 33; Mary S. Sims, *The Natural History of a Social Institution—the Young Women's Christian Association* (New York, 1936), 60, 64, 213; Grace H. Wilson, *The Religious and Educational Philosophy of the Young Women's Christian Association* (New York, 1933), 30; Edith T. Bremer, "Development of Private Social Work with the Foreign-Born," American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, 262 (March 1949), 141-142.

27. As will be noted later, financial difficulties stemming from the depression, the outbreak of war in Europe, Congressional legislation on aliens and changes within Gary's ethnic communities caused a reduction of Institute functions and activities.

28. YWCA, *After War Program of the Department on Work for Foreign-Born Women and Americanization Work of the War Work Council of the National Board of the YWCA* (New

York, 1918); YWCA, *An International Institute for Young Women through which the YWCA Helps New Americans* (New York, 1918); YWCA, *Foreign-Born Women and Girls* (New York, 1920), 10. International Institutes were established in Buffalo, Boston, Bridgeport, New Haven, Detroit, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, St. Louis, McKeesport, St. Paul, Duluth, Akron, Toledo, San Francisco and San Antonio, among other cities.

29. Edith T. Bremer, *The International Institutes in Foreign Community Work: Their Program and Philosophy* (New York, n.d., ca. 1923), 7, 10, 12. See also Edith T. Bremer, "Foreign Community and Immigration Work of the National Young Women's Christian Association," *Immigrants in America Review*, I (January 1916), 73-82; Edith T. Bremer, "The Foreign Language Worker in the Fusion Process: An Indispensable Asset to Social Work in America," National Conference on Social Work, *Proceedings* (1919), 740-746.

30. Bremer, *International Institutes in Foreign Community Work*, 4-6. See also Edith T. Bremer, *The Field of the International Institute and its Place in Social Work* (reprint of paper given at Seventh Annual Conference of International Institutes, 1925; New York, 1926); Esther Tappan, "Case Work with the Foreign Born," *Public Welfare in Indiana*, LV (August 1945), 10-12.

31. Bremer, *International Institutes in Foreign Community Work*, 5-7, 10; Allen H. Eaton, *Immigrant Gifts to American Life* (New York, 1932), 92-94.

32. "Notes on the Early History of the International Institute of Gary, 1919-1937," typescript, I.I. Papers; Annual Report, 1921, *ibid.*; *Indianapolis Star*, November 30, 1919, clipping, International Institute File, GPL.

33. Monthly Report, September 1919, I.I. Papers; Chicago YWCA, *Central Field Notes*, I (April 1920), 1.

34. Staff Minutes, October 24, 1921, I.I. Papers; Monthly Reports, September 1920, March 1921, *ibid.*

35. Institute-based ethnic organizations included the Czechoslovak Liberty Club, the Polish Mechanics Society, the Free Poland Society, the Hungarian Benevolent Society, the Bulgarian Society, the Russian-Slavonic Mutual Aid Society, the Lithuanian Political Club, the League of Italian Families, the Serbian Society, the Albanian Society, the Mexican Sociedad Protectora, the Hidalgo Society, the Serbian Dramatic Club, the Russian Independent Musical and Dramatic Club, the Mexican Knitting Club, the Polish Women's Club, the Mexican Women's Club, the Assyrian Women's Society, the Polish Children's Club and the Sokol Gymnastic Union. The Monthly Reports of the International Institute nationality workers are full of references to work among the various ethnic groups of Gary. See also "Notes on Early History," I.I. Papers.

36. Typifying Institute community activities beyond actual casework, nationality workers during a two-month period in 1919 attended the dedication of a Greek church and a Russian cemetery; made contacts with Russian, Serbian and Croatian priests, attended services at a Serbian church and Temple Israel and visited classes at several schools; went to a Croatian glee club rehearsal, a Russian dance, a Russian concert, an Italian Columbus Day celebration and five Greek, Mexican and Bulgarian coffee houses; and accepted invitations to parties given by Russians and Bulgarians. See Monthly Reports, September 1919, October 1919, I.I. Papers.

37. "A Year's Plan for Community Programs," undated mimeo from National Board of YWCA, I.I. Papers.

38. "Notes on Early History," I.I. Papers; Monthly Reports, November 1920, April 1925, September 1931, *ibid.*; Annual Report, 1931, *ibid.*; Gary *Evening Post*, November 13, 1920.

39. Monthly Reports, September 1919, March 1921, October 1921, May 1923, February 1924, I.I. Papers; Annual Report, 1922, *ibid.*; "Notes on Early History," *ibid.*; Gary *Post-Tribune*, April 9, September 27, 1923.

40. Monthly Reports, February 1921, October 1921, November 1924, December 1926, I.I. Papers; Committee of Management Minutes, February 13, 1931, *ibid.*; Annual Report, 1939, *ibid.*

41. Annual Report, 1921, I.I. Papers; "Report to Department of Immigration and Foreign Communities of the National Board of the YWCA," 1931, *ibid.*; Gary *Daily Tribune*, April 12, 1921, clipping, International Institute File, GPL.

42. Undated clippings, Clipping File, I.I. Papers; Annual Report, 1930, International Institute File, GPL.

43. Monthly Reports, July-September 1920, February 1921, April 1923, January 1925, January 1926, February 1929, October 1929, I.I. Papers; Annual Report, 1929, *ibid.*; Maude Cooley to Minnie M. Newman, August 18, 1920, Correspondence Files, *ibid.*; "Good Daily Health Practices," n.d., poster in *ibid.*; "Study of the Foreign-Born in Gary," 1929, *ibid.*

44. Monthly Reports, November 1930, February 1931, May 1931, October 1932, November 1932, April 1933, December 1933, I.I. Papers; Annual Report, 1931, *ibid.*; Gary *International Institute News*, October 1931, mimeo newsletter, *ibid.*

45. See, for example, Isaac F. Marcossou, "The Alien in America," *The Saturday Evening Post* (April 6, 1935), 22-23, 110, 112-113; Raymond G. Carroll, "The Alien on Relief," *ibid.*

(January 11, 1936), 16-17, 100-101; Raymond G. Carroll, "Alien Workers in America," *ibid.* (January 25, 1936), 23, 82, 84-86, 89.

46. On the Mexican repatriation movement in Gary, see Neil Betten and Raymond A. Mohl, "From Discrimination to Repatriation: Mexican Life in Gary, Indiana, During the Great Depression," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLII (August 1973), 370-388.

47. Monthly Reports, October 1931, December 1932, December 1933, February 1934, March 1934, March 1936, June 1936, I.I. Papers; Annual Report, 1936, International Institute File, GPL; Gary *Post-Tribune*, March 17, 1934; International Institute Radio Scripts, 1936, I.I. Papers; Esther Tappan to Marie S. Wilkins, November 17, 1939, Correspondence Files, *ibid.*

48. Walter J. Riley, *The Story of Unemployment Relief in Lake County, Indiana* (n.p., 1932), 2, 9-11; Monthly Reports, December 1930, May 1931, September 1931, May 1932, September 1932, January 1933, May 1933, I.I. Papers; Committee of Management Minutes, April 15, 1932, *ibid.*; Gary *Post-Tribune*, January 14, February 27, March 16, April 20, May 11, 16, 1932.

49. Theresa M. Paist (President of National Board of YWCA) to International Institutes, April 23, 1933, mimeo, Correspondence Files, I.I. Papers; Edith T. Bremer to International Institutes, May 8, 1933, *ibid.*; "Emergence of International Institute from the YWCA," undated memo, *ibid.*; *The Continuing Responsibility of the Young Women's Christian Association for Work with Women and Girls of Foreign Background* (New York, 1934), 3, 6.

50. Edith T. Bremer to Irma Wagner, undated (ca. 1933), Correspondence Files, I.I. Papers; Irma Wagner to Edith T. Bremer, July 19, 1933, August 16, 1933, January 15, 1934, *ibid.*; Irma Wagner to Ethel Bird, December 12, 1933, *ibid.*; Committee of Management Minutes, May 4, 1932, March 10, 1933, April 14, 1933, *ibid.*; Gary *Post-Tribune*, January 17, 1934, Clipping File, *ibid.*

51. Board of Directors Minutes, February 19, March 25, April 23, June 25, 1935, January 21, 1936, I.I. Papers.

52. Esther Tappan to Marie S. Watkins, November 17, 1939, Correspondence Files, I.I. Papers; Esther Tappan to Katharine H. Johnson, July 3, 1942, *ibid.*; Annual Report, 1940, I.I. File, GPL; *International Community News*, No. 1 (January 1941), mimeo newsletter, *ibid.*; Gary Council of Social Agencies, "Committee Report on International Institute of Gary," 1945, *ibid.*

53. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform*. See also John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1955), 119-121, 236. On the professionalization of social work, see Roy Lubove, *The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

54. Aaron I. Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865-1950* (Garden City, N.Y., 1960), 163.

55. For a sampling of this opinion, see Gary *Daily Tribune*, February 14, May 9, 1910, October 31, November 1, 1911, October 5, 1915, July 20, November 24, 1916.

56. A study of records of the International Institute in Boston made by one of the present authors revealed an agency with similar programs, a staff made up of immigrants and trained professionals, and an identical set of goals.