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LILLIAN D. WALD: THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN AND FEMINISM

by

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INTRODUCTION

Lillian D. Wald espoused two related but distinct movements for change in the United States. Her place among Progressives is easily documented,¹ for there was hardly an organization for liberal reform with which she was not associated. Diverse crusaders asked for her help, at times having to settle for the use of her name for support.² By the end of her public career, she complained to a friend:

I just cannot join in on another thing!
I know that my only value consistd of
the fact that I do keep up with the
things with which my name is associated,³
but I have reached the saturation point.

Wald lobbied and propagandized for better housing, labor legislation, better health care and every other measure which sought to solve the twentieth century problems of urbanization, industrialization and immigration. When after the first World War the liberal impulse declined, she was one of the pre-war progressives who kept the liberal objectives alive and trained a new generation which came into its own during the New Deal.⁴

The second movement in which Wald participated was the more sharply focused drive for sexual equality. While the multi-faceted women's movement was a part of Progressivism, the two crusades were never identical. "The feminist movement had objectives which benefited women first of all and

were sought as a matter of justice . . .," although "the inequities facing women made many sympathetic to demands for social reform."⁵

The feminists sought to improve women's status and to redefine their traditional roles. They had an image of themselves outside the accepted sphere of marriage and family. To be a feminist implied an "instinct for sex-loyalty", a consciousness of membership in a group which was denied equality. It meant taking part in a struggle "to bring about the removal of all artificial barriers to the physical, mental, moral and economic development of female half of the race."⁶

The study of women's history is still in its infancy and disputes abound as to approach, methodology and periodization.⁷ There has been, however, much interest and research in the stage of the women's movement which paralleled Wald's public life. In the 1890's, the feminist drive gathered momentum, later attracted great popular support in the suffrage fight but then declined in the 1920's and during the Great Depression. There is no consensus among historians that women as a group in this period advanced in status or gained significantly in freedom.⁸

Lillian Wald's role as a feminist has never been explored. Was she a believer in sexual equality? What part did she play in the various feminist campaigns? Was she able to keep pace with the changing goals of the movement? Answers to these questions may provide insight into the women's movement of the progressive period since Wald was among the most prominent reformers of the time.

Early in her career, an experienced politician told Wald that her "friends don't play the game intelligently. You got to begin early and stick to it."⁹ She learned her lesson. To all her work, Wald brought executive talents for organization and skills in the uses of power and influence. George Alger, an old friend, describes Wald as a "great executive" who had "a native gift which grew with her as the need for it developed." She knew how to organize her work and to choose the right people from the hundreds who would do anything to help her projects.¹⁰ Alger was apprehensive about introducing Wald to Loton Horton, the head of the "milk trust" because Horton claimed to hate uplifters, but the meeting turned out well because the Sheffield Farms executive judged that Wald "was just as practical as he was." She talked sense and was running a big business too.¹¹

Wald styled herself a "practical idealist"¹² who saw "conditions as they are."¹³ While she had visions of a better world and dreams of what should be,¹⁴ she never underestimated the need for "organization and administration" to guarantee success. One had "to develop a practical workable project" to get good results.¹⁵

Given her "divinely practical" turn of mind, it would follow that Wald could not be harshly militant in her methods.¹⁶ Instead her tactics were flexibility, persuasion, and conciliation. To get along with people, even those of different viewpoints, was important. She could then use her skills of argument to convince the opposition. If charm and logic did not prevail, Wald would call upon her powerful

friends to use their influence.

She believed in a policy of proper timing as an ingredient of success¹⁷ and cautioned more impetuous friends to wait for change and to submit their tactics and ideas to the "test of common sense."¹⁸ It seemed at times that advancement was a process of "one step ahead and two steps back," she said.¹⁹ But even where she saw the need for radical change, she adopted methods and timing that took into account the differences in people.²⁰

Reform could be accomplished only when attitudes were changed. Wald believed, therefore, that it was her function to reshape the thinking of the public through propaganda and publicity. Using the manpower and the forum that the Henry Street Settlement House and the Visiting Nurse Service (both of which she founded) provided, she worked toward creating and forming "public opinion toward progressive, reasonable and right projects."²¹ Wald set out to give "such publicity as was in our power to the conditions we found, not disdaining to stir emotionally by our 'stories' when dry and impersonal statistics failed to impress."²²

In Windows on Henry Street, she described a typical campaign. Large public meetings, press coverage, petition drives, personal contacts with politicians, and wealthy supporters were all essential ingredients for a successful drive, whether for keeping the "L" loop off Delancey Street or for passing protective legislation for women workers.²³

Since "Lillian Wald never gave her faith exclusively to any one kind of work or believed that any one activity could

be a cure,"²⁴ she worked with many groups and often could not keep up with the demands upon her time and efforts. She would then volunteer Henry Street as a meeting place or use its personnel in her stead. Most often, she permitted her name and prestige to be used for various committees whose cause she supported. Wald believed, in fact, that she was most effective on an individual basis and frequently she gave up active membership in an organization after its initial work was done. She then operated with the leadership to lobby for the cause in Albany or in Washington. Much of her work was unspectacular, writing, phoning and speaking to the powerful and it was not always visible to the public.²⁵ By the close of her career, she considered herself primarily a publicist.

Wald's aversion to radicalism and militancy was very much rooted in her personality and temperament, but it also had a practical aspect. She early understood the sources of her power--Henry Street and the Visiting Nurses. To maintain these bases, she had to avoid open breaks with her wealthy supporters, many of whom did not endorse her ideas. For forty years, she raised money for her work and at the same time learned to be circumspect in her dealings with her patrons. In a letter to a benefactor, not noted for his feminist views, she wrote of a meeting with President Woodrow Wilson, and then added "a very interesting interview it was too. I presided and introduced the men speakers, which I hope does not shock you . . ."²⁶ It was better to avoid a clash, to be conciliatory and to attempt to educate when the time was right.

To understand Lillian Wald and to evaluate her role in social reform or in the feminist movement, it is necessary to view her not only as an idealist crusader, but as a "tough-minded realist who understood how the political system operated."²⁷ Power and prestige properly used brought results; Wald employed both to achieve equal rights for women, the fundamental change in American society that she thought was essential.

NOTES

1- Though there is no published scholarly study of the life of Lillian D. Wald, there are a number of biographies which were written without footnoting and bibliographies; R. L. Duffus, Lillian Wald: Neighbor and Crusader (New York, 1938) is of particular interest because Wald collaborated with the author. Allen Freeman Davis, Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914 (New York, 1967) and Clarke A. Chambers, Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918-1933 (Minneapolis, 1963) provide material on Wald's career as a social worker and reformer. Lillian D. Wald, The House on Henry Street (New York, 1915) and Lillian D. Wald, Windows on Henry Street (Boston, 1934) were written as "biographies" of the famous settlement house, which was one of the most famous of the associations established in poor urban neighborhoods by middle class workers who lived in the settlements and attempted to help, through a variety of services, their impoverished neighbors.

2- Lillian Wald, Biographical Material, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, Wald MSS, contains a list of organizations to which Wald belonged. There were 255 groups listed as of 1933.

3- Wald to Carolyn Van Bearcome, January 25, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

4- Wald's career has been used as an example for those historians who contend that the reformers of the Progressive era continued to work during the 1920's. Many of the programs for which they agitated were adopted by the New Deal. See Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, xii, 265.

5- J. Stanley Lemons, The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920's (Urbana, 1973), 117. Helen Hall in an interview on May 20, 1975 expressed the same view when she claimed that the women became feminists because they wanted to do things in the area of social reform and being female interfered with their ambitions.

6- Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale, What Women Want: An Interpretation of the Feminist Movement (New York, 1914), 3. Historians have not agreed on a definition of feminism. This was made clear at the 1975 meeting of the Organization of American Historians when William Chafe and Carl Degler attempted to arrive at a mutually accepted meaning. Hale's broad definition should be acceptable to most factions.

7- The problems encountered in the writing of women's history have been the subject of a number of articles and conferences. For examples, see Lois Banner, "On Writing Women's History," Journal of Inter-disciplinary History, II (Autumn, 1971), 347-358 and Gerda Lerner, "New Approaches to the Study of Women in American History," Journal of Social History, III (Fall, 1969), 53-62. There are transcripts available of the speeches of Gerda Lerner and Renate Briden-thal given at the Sarah Lawrence College Women's Studies Program Workshop, March 15, 1975 which dealt with changes in traditional historiography and conceptual problems in the study of women's history.

8- The prevailing thought of historians of the 1960's and 1970's is that there was an over-emphasis placed upon suffrage by the feminists of the early twentieth century. This stress contributed to the neglect of other areas and ultimately hurt the women's cause. Earlier writers believe that great strides were made in this period toward female equality.

9- Wald, House on Henry Street, 260.

10- George Alger, "Memoir," Butler Library, Columbia University, Oral History Collection, New York, 259.

11- Ibid., 243-244.

12- Wald, Windows, 118.

13- Wald, House on Henry Street, 106.

14- Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, address at Wald Memorial Service, December 2, 1940, NYPL, Wald MSS.

15- Wald to Mrs. John Wood Stewart, September 6, 1922. Wald expressed similar sentiments in Wald to Karl Hesley, July 27, 1932; Wald to Mrs. A. S. Small, April 6, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS.

16- Wald, Windows, 118. The New Telegram, December 31, 1930, 1; Henry Montor, "Portrait of a Social Worker: The Life of Lillian Wald as a Symbol," The Hebrew Watchman, August 17, 1939, 3, NYPL, Wald MSS.

17- Wald, House on Henry Street, 49, 106.

18- Wald to Mrs. Hitchcock, September 22, 1910, NYPL, Wald MSS.

19- Wald, Windows, 319.

20- John Elliott, Radio Speech, April 10 (?), NYPL, Wald MSS.

21- Wald to John Schiff, February 8, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald expressed the same thought throughout her letters and writings. For examples, see Wald, House on Henry Street, 309-310; Wald to Paul Kellogg, March 20, 1912; Wald, Speech to the Rotary Club of New York, December, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.

22- Wald, House on Henry Street, 114.

23- Wald, Windows, 3-4.

24- Elliott, Radio Speech, April 10 (?), NYPL, Wald MSS.

25- Jerome Beatty, "She Never Gave Up," Forum, XCVI (August, 1936), 70.

26- Wald to Mr. Loeb, May 18, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS.

27- Davis, Spearheads for Reform, xii.

CHAPTER ONE

WHAT ARE FEMINISTS MADE OF?

Lillian D. Wald "came out of an environment far removed from the tumult of Henry Street,"¹ and the other worlds she was to occupy as an adult. There is little evidence to indicate what influenced her to abandon the traditional role for women in the late nineteenth century, that of wife and mother, and to become a public figure. Unlike other prominent women of the time, she was not given to introspection and never wrote an analysis of her early life, family relations and motivations. Throughout her career she was reticent about discussing publicly her personal life and for a time had "a rule of abstaining from appearing in the papers" at all.²

She resisted pressure to write an autobiography or to permit her life story to be written by another,³ threatening to "hant" [sic] the person who attempted such a work.⁴ To further complicate the task of reconstructing Wald's early life, a fire destroyed the family home and household goods in Rochester,⁵ and through carelessness, her "records of the first ten years [at Henry Street] seem to be lost."⁶ Therefore, Wald's life and feelings must be deduced from the bits and pieces of information she dropped over the years in personal letters and interviews. It would appear, however, that the motivations traditionally ascribed to Progressive

reformers by historians do not apply to Wald in the first step of her career. Neither loss of family status, nor religion, nor first hand knowledge of urban poverty appear to have played a part.⁷

The future reformer was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on March 10, 1867, the third of the four children of Max D. and Minnie Schwarz Wald, "descendants of many generations of rabbis, merchants and professional men. . . ."⁸ The original family name was Wahl and then de Wald, giving evidence that her "father's family was mixed--partly Polish and partly French." The Walds dropped the De in America, but "retained the letter 'D' as a middle initial . . . for sentimental reasons."⁹ A folk legend persisted about the family which claimed that one of the ancestors was King of Poland for a day because he was good and was needed until the rightful heir appeared. Lillian once asked Felix Warburg if he knew "anybody who delves into Jewish legends of the people, and if he--I suppose it would be a 'he'-- would let me know" if there is any truth in the story.¹⁰ There is no record that Lillian Wald was able to substantiate her link to royalty.

Max D. Wald was born in Germany in 1838 to a family that was

. . . more German than Jewish in their culture. . . . They were . . . cosmopolitan without being sophisticated, seasoned in more than one national culture over and above their Hebraic substratum.¹¹

At the age of 10 years, Wald migrated to the United States "in search of economic opportunity and a freer political and social atmosphere." The immigrant's hopes were realized when

"Wald prospered as a dealer in optical goods."¹²

The relation of most potential feminists to their families is of considerable importance and the more influential parent in terms of emotional involvement is usually the father.¹³ This generalization does not hold true in Lillian Wald's case. Max was a self effacing quiet man "so kind, so thoughtful, so unselfish that the children took him for granted." When they were older, his children "often felt that they had not appraised him at his real worth."¹⁴ It is possible, however, that at least a part of Wald's practical nature was a legacy from her father.

Wald's maternal relations had more color and dash. Wald "remembered with affection a benevolent grandfather who told stories and an uncle who declaimed endlessly out of the Psalms, Marcus Aurelius and Shakespeare."¹⁵ Both Grandfather Goodman Schwarz, called "Favey", and Uncle Samuel Schwarz introduced the children to the theater, music and literature, spoiled them with elaborate toys and ponies and did all this with a flourish.¹⁶ Minnie Wald was perhaps the star of the family, and "it would be difficult to imagine Lillian Wald without such a mother," a woman of trusting nature, generous impulses and warmth. She was "beautiful and loved beauty" in her surroundings. She taught her children to love good works, good books and good talk.¹⁷ Lillian Wald admired her mother and enjoyed hearing that she looked like her but felt that "she could never be as good-looking."¹⁸ After Max Wald's death in 1891, Minnie moved into the home of her elder daughter, Julia Barry, and then later lived in the house on

Henry Street. Her daughter Lillian observed that

. . . she is remarkable for her age, and not easy to 'manage' but the children all love her, and she is young in heart and young in speech too. In fact, I do not think that she has changed at all.¹⁹

Lillian Wald was disconsolate when in 1923, her mother died. "The world seemed to change . . . and though other affections remained, there was of course none like her."²⁰ Mother "was very dear . . . and had a genius for loving and sympathy that was extraordinary" and to Wald her death made the "world seem poorer for having so much love and sweetness removed from it."²¹ A decade after Minnie Wald died, Lillian still mourned her passing for she had not "forgotten what it meant when the dear mother departed."²²

Max Wald's optical business took the family from Cincinnati to Dayton and eventually to Rochester, New York, which Lillian always regarded as her home town.²³ The city was growing rapidly and its industrial poor were suffering from the effects of low wages and long hours, but there is no indication that Wald was much aware of their misery. She frequently read newspapers aloud to her mother and so it may be assumed was at least familiar with current events. Later developments demonstrate, however, that the young girl was unaffected by social problems.²⁴

By 1870, the German-Jewish community in Rochester was the fourth largest ethnic group in the city. The Civil War had played an Americanizing role. Although through the 1880's, German was still spoken in most Jewish homes, the

Jews were considered much like the Yankees. They voted Republican, took lavish vacations and joined social clubs like the Harmony and the Phoenix.²⁵

As early as 1848, the first synagogue, Berith Kodesh, was formed in Rochester. By the time the Walds moved to the city, the congregation had abandoned the traditional adherence of Talmudic law and the orthodox service. It had adopted instead the reform ritual in an effort to modernize and identify with Protestant America. Reform Judaism, which was influenced by the Enlightenment, evolved in Germany when Jews of the upper class wanted "to dignify their religious services and make them decorous . . .," closer in form "to the western norm for religious services."²⁶

Among the innovations to traditional Judaism was the introduction of the sermon which in Rochester were conducted in both English and German. The congregation also agreed to alter the Kol Nidre prayer for Yom Kippur, to use English instead of the traditional Hebrew and to drop the Bar Mitzvah ceremony for the custom of confirmation. For a time, a Sunday service was considered in lieu of the traditional Sabbath. Berith Kodesh installed an organ and did away with the separation of the sexes on the synagogue floor. Women were permitted to take an active part in the life of the congregation, although most did not receive any religious training.²⁷ There is little wonder that Wald's education in traditional Judaism began after she had left Rochester for Henry Street.²⁸

Wald's attitude toward her own Jewishness was ambivalent.

She never denied her origins although after going to New York City, she identified with Felix Adler and the Ethical Culture Society, which was an outgrowth of reform Judaism.²⁹ When informed that a hotel was restricted, Wald wrote asking if it was true "that Jews are not welcome. I am of that race, and . . . want to understand the situation clearly."³⁰ She also sought, in later years, to investigate discrimination against Jews in sororities at Swathmore College.³¹

On the other hand, Wald always emphasized the fact that her works and interests were "non sectarian and non creedal",³² and on one occasion disclaimed the right to be included in a study of work done by women as Jews. She asked the authors to look into the careers of Rose Schneiderman and Miriam Finn Scott instead.³³ Wald seemed to be able to detach herself from ethnic identification even after the rise of Hitler and German anti-semitism. While she was aghast at what was taking place, there was no sense of kinship with the persecuted. "Poor, poor Jews!" she wrote in a letter to friends. "They appear to be necessary to furnish an objective."³⁴

It would seem unlikely, therefore, that for Lillian Wald religion motivated her work. She was probably a non believer. Lavinia Dock chided her once on "that strange allusion of yours to God--you don't believe there is such a person do you? If so, then Margaret Brown and I are the only unbelievers left."³⁵ For some of her fellow workers, religion was a dominant influence; it did not dominate Wald.³⁶ It was only after she had begun her life's work that she joined the Ethical Culture movement, with its emphasis on good works.

Whatever Wald, herself, felt about her religion, she was clearly identified by the East Side immigrants as a Jew. Her knowledge of German was an asset for most immigrants "made claims to speaking both Yiddish and German."³⁷ Her background also provided her with a link to German Jews like the Loebbs, Schiffs and Warburgs, who would help her found the Henry Street Settlement.

The Jewish community in Rochester experienced great changes during the years of Wald's adolescence. The early settlers established a clothing industry in the 1840's which within a generation employed over 1500 people, a large portion of whom were Jews from Eastern Europe. With the influx of Poles, Russians and Austrians in the 1880's, clothing became one of the two largest industries in Rochester. The established Jewish community at first welcomed the newcomers and assumed responsibility for their welfare; they organized the United Jewish Charities Association when the problems of assimilation became too great to be handled by the old benevolent societies. A Young Men's Jewish Association was also formed to permit the ghetto Jews to mingle with their German co-religionists. It was, perhaps, the first experiment in Rochester in settlement work.³⁸

As the numbers of Russo-Poles migrating to Rochester increased, the attitude of the established Jewish community changed. In religion, the Orthodox eastern Jews considered the members of the Reform congregation as apostates. The immigrants formed their own synagogue and bought a separate cemetery. They arrived with little or no money and usually

boarded in small flats until they could afford better living accommodations. They spoke Yiddish. Many were unskilled, and to the better assimilated Jews, uncouth and uncivilized in the western sense. Most important, the East European Jews arrived in such large numbers that by 1900 their population surpassed that of the Germans, who felt that their position as assimilated Americans was jeopardized by identification with the newcomers. In 1893, the Rochester United Jewish Charities Association wrote to an emigrant society in Europe asking them to stop the flow of immigration from eastern Europe.³⁹

An additional source of friction was the economic relations between the two groups since the majority of the clothing workrooms were owned by German Jews who were frightened and antagonized by the weapons adopted by the eastern Jews in the constant labor conflicts. The establishment of unions and the Socialist Labor Party seemed to be direct threats to the established Jewish community.⁴⁰

Emma Goldman, whose life and Wald's crossed many times, worked in Rochester after migrating to the United States. They were friendly antagonists in most areas, but nothing in their future lives illustrated their differences as much as their memories of the Flower City. To Goldman, it was a dull provincial city where she worked in a "model factory" by day and then endured evenings that were "dreary and meaningless." Her recollections of the time are an interesting contrast to Wald's girlhood.

Now I was in America, in the Flower City . . . , as I was told. Certainly, Garson's clothing-works were a vast improvement on the glove factory

[in Russia].... The rooms were large bright and airy. One had elbow space. There were none of those ill-smelling odours that used to nauseate me. . . . Yet the work here was harder, and the day, with only half an hour for lunch, seemed endless. The iron discipline forbade free movement (one could not even go to the toilet without permission), and the constant surveillance of the foreman weighed like a stone on my heart. The end of each day found me sapped, with just enough energy to drag myself to my sister's home and crawl into bed. This continued with deadly monotony week after week.⁴¹

It is probable that Lillian Wald knew little or nothing of the life of the immigrant poor. "She was unbelievably innocent of the real world. She did not know what a sweatshop was until she saw one" in New York City.⁴² Max Wald was not involved in the garment industry and understandably the membership of the Reform temple did not welcome criticism of labor conditions. Wald's social conscience did not develop as a reaction to an intimate knowledge of poverty and working class problems in Rochester.

Lillian Wald's memories of her childhood were of a happy home on Rochester's East Avenue. While her parents performed acts of private charity, they were not involved in social causes and devoted their time and energies to their family. Life for the Wald children was happy, normal and uneventful. A spoiled and indulged child, Lillian Wald could recall being punished only once.⁴³ It was a life "of storytelling, of housekeeping with all things in miniature that grown-ups use" and other "games and stories" that "reflected the protective care" of her elders.⁴⁴

With her older sister, Julia, Lillian maintained a good

relationship even through the rivalries and differences of girlhood. As they grew older, their concern for and friendship with one another grew. To Julia's children and later her grandchildren, Wald was the beloved Aunt Lillian who wrote affectionate notes, offered help, sent presents, and gave advice that she did not always expect to be heeded.⁴⁵

Gus, the youngest of the Wald children, became Lillian's special charge. He continued in this role even when both were grown, and when his health failed in later years, Wald helped him financially.⁴⁶ After he died in 1924, she wrote a friend that "we feel very much broken. . . .It draws our family circle very close. No body is left now but my sister and myself."⁴⁷

While she was close to both Julia and Gus Wald, her special favorite was her older brother, Alfred. He was the object of her love and admiration; they played together when children and shared plans for adulthood when they grew older. Alfred Wald dreamed of college and medical school but these plans had to be postponed before they could be put into action when he had to oversee Samuel Schwarz's business in California while his uncle sought a health cure in Europe. After almost two years, Alfred was freed of this family obligation, but by this time he had changed his mind about entering medicine. Soon after, just before his twenty-fifth birthday, Alfred Wald drowned.⁴⁸ The family never recovered from this tragedy and Lillian Wald who had shared and envied her brother's dreams was perhaps the most influenced by his premature death. Years later, when asked to name her favorite

children's book, she replied:

Strange as it may seem to you, aside from fairy tales, the first book that I remember and have remembered for years and years is George Elliott's 'Mill on the Floss! . . . I do not know why that book should have made such a deep impression excepting that I had something of the same kind of a relationship with a brother that existed between Tom and Meg.⁴⁹

If Wald's memories were accurate, "the dominating passion of her childhood was love for her brother. . . ."⁵⁰ She was content to follow him everywhere asking in return that he love and admire her.⁵¹ The breach that came between Tom and Maggie Tulliver did not have a parallel in Lillian and Alfred Wald's relationship. She looked to him always as someone to adore. Someone who would love and appreciate her. The drowning deaths of both of the Tullivers at the conclusion of Mill on the Floss has a particular interest in the light of Alfred's accident. Lillian Wald could identify with a woman who tried to "save" her brother. She would be touched by Eliot's description of Tom Tulliver calling his sister by her childhood nickname and them "brother and sister" going "down in an embrace never to be parted: living through again in one supreme moment the days when they had clasped their hands in love and roamed the daisied fields. . . .In their death they were not divided."⁵²

Wald attended private schools, particularly Miss Martha Cruttenden's "English and French Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies and Little Girls." The prospectus advertised the aim of the school to be "to make scholarly women and womanly scholars, in all thoroughness, genuineness, nobility,

earnestness and simplicity." The School administration suggested that their students dress simply and "insisted on high standards of 'health, morality and good breeding'."⁵³ While Miss Cruttenden's curriculum included languages, trigonometry, astronomy, physics and chemistry, its aim, unlike the boarding schools for boys was not to prepare its students for college or for career. Rather, its aim was to transform the girls into elegant young ladies.⁵⁴ After she left the school, Wald wrote:

I may say that I have had advantage of what might be called a good education, knowing Latin, and able to speak both French and German. . . . My life . . . has been--I presume--a type of modern American young womanhood, days devoted to society, study and house keeping duties such as practical mothers consider essential to a daughter's education.⁵⁵

At sixteen, Wald had no thought of a career and fully expected eventually to follow the path of her sister Julia into marriage and motherhood. She was, however, restless and wanted the advantage of more education, so she left Miss Cruttenden's school and applied for admission to Vassar College. Her decision to attend the new school was a surprise to her family who held to the traditional sex typed ideas of women's education. Accustomed to indulging their children, Max and Minnie Wald deferred to their daughter's plan.⁵⁶ Vassar, only a dozen years old, did admit students at fifteen years of age so long as they fulfilled the entrance requirements which included Latin Grammar and French,⁵⁷ but in Wald's case, President James Monroe Taylor rejected her application. He thought that she was too young for entrance

and suggested that she reapply in a year or two.⁵⁸

The next years were for Wald a time of waiting and increasing restlessness. She returned to her studies at Miss Cruttenden's. She wore the elegant clothes her mother provided for her and entered the life of the "stylish young lady" with the unspoken purpose of meeting a man and marrying.⁵⁹

Wald was tall, five feet seven inches, with typical brunette coloring, brown eyes and hair.⁶⁰ "She must have been a very good-looking girl" when she was young⁶¹ and enjoyed popularity with both sexes. Many years later, a classmate would recall to Wald:

I remember you, . . ., with a streamlined figure . . . how stunning you were when going out. I especially remember a blue satin, with your evening coat and party bag. We thought you the most beautiful girl we had ever seen.⁶²

Throughout her life, Wald was vain about her appearance and maintained an interest in dress and style. She was particularly upset by pictures of herself which she believed were unflattering. She believed that she was unphotogenic-- "an unsatisfactory subject for photography"--and tried, where possible, to substitute copies of a painting "which on the whole has been less objectionable than the attempts of the photographers."⁶³ Wald's friend and admirer, George Alger was appointed to carry out the work of destroying the negatives of a picture that she claimed made her look like an "inebriated washer-woman."⁶⁴ As she grew older, she complained that some photos made her appear "as if she were Barnum's fat lady,"⁶⁵ and humorously accused Arthur Brisbane

of The New York Times of employing an artist to touch up a photograph "to give me a double chin." She insisted that "I really haven't got one! I am sure your artist thought I ought to have one or he would not have done it!"⁶⁶ Approaching her sixty-fifth birthday, she still refused to accept the camera's view and complained that "I have no notion of being middle-aged ever, and certainly not now. That picture is a libel."⁶⁷ Two years later, she grudgingly admitted that perhaps "it is not the camera's fault" but she decided that she would never again allow it "to have a shot at me. I had rather have a real shot."⁶⁸

Wald, therefore, was unlike others in the feminist movement. She believed that appearance was important, and that "femininity" and beauty were weapons that she could legitimately employ to gain converts to her work. Her co-workers recognized this trait when they wrote on the day of her departure to a conference in Europe:

The book, the eye, the safety pin-
The feminine array-
Must verily all perfect be
When our Lady sails away.

She goes to sit in Councils wise
But wiser yet is she
She knows man gives a closer ear
To one gowned perfectly.⁶⁹

Pretty clothing, husband hunting and the social whirl did not entirely satisfy the young Lillian Wald. While she had fun and enjoyed attention, she was bored and restless. She wanted to venture out and yet there was nothing that she could think to do. Middle class young women, especially Jewish ones, in Rochester society did not look for jobs;

indeed, none existed in business in the 1880's. She might have re-applied to Vassar or gone to another women's college or she could have taken courses at the University in Rochester, but she chose instead to study at home on her own. Her father helped her to gain the position of correspondent for the Bradstreet Company. It was paper work that she could do at home and was socially acceptable but apparently it was not satisfying to her needs.⁷⁰

Wald seemingly was somewhat aware that other young women were similarly discontented. She once commented upon her education in Rochester that it gave her little stimulus and only vague knowledge of the "forces blazing paths for the women of today."⁷¹ The American feminist movement originated in western New York State and shortly after the Walds moved to the city, Rochester became the focus of activity when a number of women attempted first to register and then to vote in the 1872 election. These actions culminated in the widely publicized trial of Susan B. Anthony. The following year, led by Mary Anthony, a Woman Taxpayers Association was formed to give strength to an equally unsuccessful attempt to gain suffrage. When Wald was eleven years old, the National Suffrage Association held its annual meeting in Rochester with Frederick Douglass, the Anthonys, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in attendance. Throughout the last three decades of the nineteenth century, women in Rochester organized into clubs, including a Women's Political Club, and took part in and voted at school meetings. There were other feminist campaigns including one to open the University of Rochester

to women. In the latter endeavor, the Jewish women of the Reform Congregation including the rabbi's wife, Mrs. Max Landsberg, took part. While a few young women did attend the University between 1875 and 1893, it was not until the end of the century that they were officially welcomed.⁷²

Women, by the 1880's had made promising gains in higher education; women's colleges were developing standards as high as those attended by men and many institutions, particularly in the west, were co-educational. But many graduates echoed Vida Scudder's sentiments that "college years had been years of inbreeding and cultivated introspection" and when "they were over, we women of twenty-two felt as if all life could offer had been exhausted and left behind. . . ."⁷³ Educated women had few outlets for their training and powers and were left adrift. Their college training frequently left them more alienated by their stereotyped roles than before. Individuals made inroads into the professions, but only after combatting vigorous opposition. Most women were too timid to attempt so independent a course.⁷⁴ As a rule, the college educated women "waited vicariously on the men's table, feeling frustrated because of an inability to deploy talents she was not actually sure she possessed."⁷⁵

Wald was fortunate, for an avenue for her talents was presented to her. Much as she would have liked to fulfill her older brother's dreams, she was, at this stage, too much a product of her parent's and Miss Cruttenden's training to study medicine, a man's profession. She needed something that would stay within her definition of "femininity" and

yet free her from its constraints. She found a profession for "a gifted and naturally endowed" woman, "who clung to the old tradition and yet accepted new obligations."⁷⁶

Wald was visiting her pregnant sister, Julia Barry, when she became ill and needed a doctor. The physician, not wishing to leave his patient without care, called in a trained nurse. The nurse was a Bellevue Hospital graduate and the first member of the profession that Lillian Wald had ever known. "The experience was" for her "the opening of a window on a new world."⁷⁷ Nursing could provide a way to satisfy her desire to do more, to overcome her restlessness and to get out into the world.⁷⁸

Nursing was for Wald a means of escaping the role that was prescribed for women in the nineteenth century, and the profession would be throughout her public career, a major vehicle of her feminist thinking. She called her decision to enter nursing "an irresistible impulse,"⁷⁹ but she never claimed to have experienced a "call" or to have been possessed by a "youthful instinct for self-sacrifice."⁸⁰ She could agree with a colleague that few of the early nurses were so inspired. Rather nursing offered "a pioneering kind of job" --a new profession--where "there was a chance to see life in all its aspects." In an era when few careers were open to women, nursing appealed to the "restless," to those who "wanted to see more of life, wanted to see different kinds of people, wanted to travel, wanted to do things." It appealed to those who wanted a career. "Marriage was just an ordinary type of thing that everybody could do." Perhaps,

"weak sisters" could marry, but "not the free woman" who wanted more, who possessed a talent and wanted to exert an influence.⁸¹

In the summer of 1889, Wald applied for admission to New York Hospital's School of Nursing. It is unlikely that her family approved of her plan, but they came to accept her decision. Wald later wrote:

. . . mothers and daughters have from time immemorial occasionally been in conflict with each other, often because of the devotion that would spare the loved ones the hard knocks of life.

While the commandment to honor one's parents has come down through the ages,

Honor thy daughter and thy son is a commandment no less imperative . . . that the wings of their idealism may not be clipped because of the fear of the hardships they may encounter.⁸²

Wald could have studied nursing in Rochester, but decided instead to go to New York City where she had no "social ties . . . that might interfere with earnest uninterrupted work."⁸³

In her letter of application to nursing school, she wrote of her life and education and explained that:

This does not satisfy me now, I feel the need of serious, definite work. A need perhaps more apparent since the desire to become a professional nurse has had birth. I choose this profession because I feel a natural aptitude for it and because it has . . . appeared to me womanly, congenial work, work that I love and which I think I could do well.⁸⁴

Wald's girlhood indicates that neither religious urge nor class anxiety nor sense of mission was an important factor in her decision to enter nursing. Also, while it is unlikely that she was as socially naive and poorly informed as

a girl as she pretended after she achieved fame, it is improbable that empathy with the poor and oppressed of society motivated her to abandon the traditional life of the middle-class lady. Wald's drive came from her personal needs. She had to express herself, to use her talents and to do something important. She could not have met these needs if she remained in her parent's home and lived the life that was expected of her.

NOTES

- 1- The New York Times, September 2, 1940, 15.
- 2- Wald to Louis Marshall, August 13, 1903, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 3- Wald described both of her books as biographies of Henry Street rather than of the author and they tent to be impersonal, Wald to Israel Zangwill, November 13, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS. A few years before her death, she gave in and assisted R. L. Duffus in the writing of her biography. She was very ill at the time and Duffus was reluctant to probe too deeply. Helen Hall hinted that the newsman was somewhat ashamed of the book, Helen Hall, interview, May 20, 1975.
- 4- Wald to Helen Hall and Paul Kellogg, November 11, 1935; Wald to Marguerite Wales, August 24, 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 5- Wald to George Hecht, January 8, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS. Beryl Williams, Lillian Wald: Angel of Henry Street (New York, 1948), 12.
- 6- Wald to Lavinia L. Dock, April 15, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 7- There are hundreds of studies of the Progressive years in print and a wide range of theses on the motivations of the various reformers. For an overview of the various interpretations see Robert H. Wiebe, "The Progressive Years, 1900-1917," in The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture, eds. William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, Jr. (Washington, 1973), 425-442.
- 8- Robert H. Bremmer, "Lillian D. Wald," in Notable American Women, ed. Edward T. James (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), I, 526; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 4.
- 9- Wald to Mrs. L. C. McGlashan, August 28, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 4.
- 10- Wald to Felix Warburg, December 18, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 3-4.
- 11- Ibid., 1, 4.
- 12- Bremmer, "Lillian D. Wald," 526.
- 13- Robert Riegel, American Feminists (Lawrence, Kansas, 1968), 189; Sonya Rudikoff, "Women and Success," Commentary, LVIII (October, 1974), 53.

14- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 2, 5; Williams, Lillian Wald, 14-19.

15- The New York Times, September 2, 1940, p. 15.

16- Wald to Lavinia L. Dock, January 8, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 2, 7-12; Williams, Lillian Wald, 13-23. Uncle Samuel was spoiled by his older sister and then to a large extent by Lillian Wald who over the years lent him and his children both moral support and money, Wald to Samuel Schwarz February 15, 1918, Wald to Florence Schwarz, July 11, 1914, April 21, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

17- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 5-7. Williams, Lillian Wald, 13-25.

18- Wald to Karl Hesley, April 17, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

19- Wald to Samuel C. Schwarz, December 31, 1919; Wald to Y. G. Waters, November 14, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

20- Wald to Anne O'Hare McCormick, June 17, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

21- Wald to Anna Woerishoffer, December 10, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.

22- Wald to Eugene Kinckle Jones, July 9, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

23- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 1-15; Bremmer, "Lillian Wald," 526; Elmer Schwarz to Wald, May 15, 1931, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald to Julia Cordley, December 5, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS. Rochester remained the burial place of the Wald family even after the children had scattered to other cities.

24- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 12; Williams, Lillian Wald, 21.

25- Stuart Rosenberg, The Jews of Rochester, 1843-1925 (New York, 1954), 13, 19, 27, 51, 62, 106, 130; Blake McKelvey, "The Jews of Rochester: A Contribution to Their History During the Nineteenth Century," American Jewish Historical Society Publications, XL (September, 1950), 66-67; Wald to The World, March 8, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

26- Nathan Glazer, American Judaism (Chicago, 1957), 27-28; Rosenberg, Jews of Rochester, 20-21, 40-42, 88, 95-96; McKelvey, "Jews of Rochester," 59-60; Blake McKelvey, Rochester on the Genesee: The Growth of a City (Syracuse, 1973), 58; Stephen Wise, Challenging Years: The Autobiography of Stephen Wise (New York, 1949), 34.

27- Glazer, American Judaism, 22-59; Rosenberg, Jews of Rochester, 17, 25, 38, 42-45, 76-77, 111-112, 91, 96, 201; McKelvey, "Jews of Rochester," 63-65.

28- Charles A. Cowen to Wald, March 17, 1915, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

29- Glazer, American Judaism, 49; Wise, Challenging Years, 98.

30- Wald to Asa Gallup, April 8, 1915; Gallup to Wald, April 10, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

31- Wald to Mrs. William Jasspon, May 20, 1931, June 1, 1931; Wald to Mrs. William Hull, May 22, 1931, June 1, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

32- Wald to Israel Zangwill, November 13, 1923; Israel Zangwill to Wald, November 19, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS; Moses Rischin, The Promised City; New York Jews, 1870-1914 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 205.

33- Wald to Madison Peters, February 13, 1918, NYPL, Wald MSS.

34- Wald to Mr. and Mrs. Musseys, October 5, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

35- Lavinia L. Dock to Wald, April 24, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS. It would appear that the feminist Dock was guilty of lapses too. Wald's secretary asked Dock why she had referred to the deity as him. "I should expect you to speak of the Lord herself." Eleanor Linton to Lavinia L. Dock, July 18, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

36- Vida Scudder, On Journey (New York, 1937), 231-250, 359-590; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 147-148; Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers In the Urban Age: Social Reform in Boston, 1880-1900 (New York, 1966), 24-101; Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven, 1950), 162-195; Davis, Spearhead for Reform, 27-29, 265.

37- Rose Cohen, Out of the Shadow (New York, 1918), 237-238.

38- Rosenberg, Jews of Rochester, 5-8, 64, 75, 135-137, 157; McKelvey, "Jews of Rochester," 61-68; McKelvey, Rochester on the Genessee, 101.

39- Zosa Szajkowski, "The Attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish Immigration (1881-1893)," American Jewish Historical Society Publications, XL (March, 1951), 222-232; Rosenberg, Jews of Rochester, 51-98, 148; McKelvey, "Jews of Rochester," 66-67; Oscar Handlin, "American Views of the Jew at the Opening of the Twentieth Century," American Jewish Historical Society Publications, XL (June, 1951), 323-344; John Higham, Send These to Me (New York, 1975), 126-7, 133; Louis Harap, The Image of the Jew in American Literature (Philadelphia, 1974), 437-440, 506; Robert Rockaway, "Ethnic Conflict in an Urban Environment: The German and Russian Jew in Detroit, 1881-1914," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, LX (1970), 133-150.

40- Rosenberg, Jews of Rochester, 115-116, 120-128, 151.

41- Emma Goldman, Living My Life (New York, 1970), I, 16.

42- R. L. Duffus, Notes on the Biography of Lillian Wald, Wald Biographical Material, NYPL, Wald MSS. Duffus, Lillian Wald, 24-25.

43- Wald to Harriet Barry, n.d., 1932?, NYPL, Wald MSS; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 1-15; Williams, Lillian Wald, 19-25.

44- Wald, House on Henry Street, 71. Wald to R. L. Duffus, February 23, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

45- Wald's correspondence is filled with letters to her sister Julia. After her second marriage (to Frank Cordley), Julia moved to Washington and Wald was a frequent visitor in her home. For examples of Wald's letters to her nieces and nephews see: Wald to Tom Barry, January 10, 1902, December 7, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to Lillian Wald Holmes, May 15, 1917, December 27, 1917, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

46- Wald to Robert Goldman, October 14, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

47- Wald to Naomi Deutsch, October 20, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

48- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 1-15; Williams, Lillian Wald, 18-30; Wald, House on Henry Street, 71, the details of Alfred's death are wrapped in mystery.

49-Wald to John Foster Carr, June 30, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

50- Gordon S. Haight, George Eliot: A Biography (New York, 1968), 5; George Eliot, Mill on the Floss (New York, n.d.), I, chapter 5.

51- Barbara Hardy, "Mill on the Floss," in Critical Essays on George Eliot, ed. Barbara Hardy (New York, 1970), 42-58.

52- Eliot, Mill on the Floss, II, 362-363.

53- Allan E. Reznick, "Lillian D. Wald: The Years at Henry Street" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974), 14. Reznick, through the good offices of a friend, was able to obtain the 1882 prospectus of Miss Cruttenden's school. Duffus, Lillian Wald, 16. Wald attended the school sometimes as a day and sometimes as a boarding student.

54- Reznick, "Lillian D. Wald," 14-15; James McLachlan, American Boarding Schools: A Historical Study (New York, 1970), 7, 32-34.

55- Wald to George P. Ludlum, May 27, 1889, NYPL, Wald MSS.

56- Sally Rogow, Lillian Wald: The Nurse in Blue (Philadelphia, 1966), 6-8; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 16-17; Williams, Lillian Wald, 28-29; New York Herald Tribune, "Lillian Wald, Obituary," September 3, 1940, NYPL, Wald, MSS.

57- Thomas Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States (New York, 1966), II, 148, 179-182.

58- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 16.

59- Wald as quoted in The New York Times, September 2, 1940, 15.

60- This was the description of Wald given on her passport, January 17, 1910, NYPL, Wald MSS.

61- Alger, "Memoir," 264.

62- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 16; picture of Wald taken during training at N.Y. Hospital in Lavinia Dock and M. Adelaide Nutting, A History of Nursing (New York, 1907, 1912) III, p. 217.

63- Wald to Madison Peters, February 13, 1918, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald expressed similar sentiments in other letters, for examples see Wald to Gertrude Kasebier, June 18, 1915; Wald to Underwood and Underwood, February 28, 1916; Wald to Adelaide Ehrich, September 23, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

64- Alger, "Memoir," 265. George Alger enjoyed carrying on an innocent flirtation with Wald over the years and she seemed to have been amused by the attentions of a younger man. Alger to Wald, December 5, 1914, December 8, 1914; December 26, 1914; Wald to George Alger, December 21, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS is a record of an unflattering photograph incident.

65- Wald to Rita Morgenthau, December 3, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

66- Wald to Arthur Brisbane, November 28, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

67- Wald to Owen Lovejoy, March 1, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

68- Wald to Mr. Reznick, April 18, 1934, NYPL, Wald MSS.

69- Henry Street Residents to Wald, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

70- Williams, Lillian Wald, 30-34; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 17-18; Rogow, Lillian Wald, 8-11. Mary E. Dreier, Margaret Dreier Robins: Her Life, Letters, and Work (New York, 1950), 9, describes a situation that is similar to Wald's. Margaret Dreier, too, wearied of a life of nothing but social activities; Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America (New York, 1965), 38-68.

71- Wald, Speech at the New York State Suffrage Convention, Rochester, New York, October 15, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

72- Blake McKelvey, "Women's Rights in Rochester-A Century of Progress," Rochester History, X (July, 1948), 1-24; Rosenberg, Jews of Rochester, 112; Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (New York, 1972), 41-192; Susan B. Anthony and others, History of Woman Suffrage (New York, 1969), II, 627-715, III, 395-443, IV, 1-31, 839-873; Andrew Sinclair, The Emancipation of the American Woman (New York, 1965), xi-xxix, 55-79.

73- Scudder, On Journey, 77.

74- Ibid., 106; Allen F. Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (New York, 1973), 30; Flexner, Century of Struggle, 113-127; Mann, Yankee Reformers, 201-228; Lois Banner, Women in Modern America (New York, 1974), 1-43; David Reisman, "Two Generations," in The Woman in America, ed. Robert Jay Lifton (Boston, 1965), 72-97.

75- Reisman, "Generations," 76.

76- Wald to the new staff members of the Visiting Nurse Service, December 12, 1938, NYPL, Wald MSS.

77- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 19.

78- Ibid., 17-19; Williams, Lillian Wald, 34-36.

79- Wald to the New York American, June 20, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.

80- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 19.

81- Isabel Maitland Stewart, "Memoir," Butler Library, Columbia University, Oral History Collection, 18-23.

82- Wald, Speech to Junior Auxiliary, "The Volunteer in Social Work," October 19, 1922, New York City, NYPL, Wald MSS.

83- Wald to George P. Ludlum, May 27, 1889, NYPL, Wald MSS.

84- Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NURSING SISTERS

When Wald entered New York Hospital Training School in the summer of 1889, nursing was acknowledged to be a woman's occupation. In many cases, femininity was defined in terms of the nurture of the young and the care of the sick. Professional nursing, however, was not as yet considered to be a field acceptable for well bred "ladies" and was only in the beginning of the process of recognition as a profession.¹

For Lillian Wald and many of her co-workers, the period of transition presented unparalleled opportunities to exercise pioneering leadership. Because of the lowly status of the occupation, men played little part and young women were able to move rapidly to positions of command. It seemed to some that if young women really wanted "to amount to anything in life" there was "but one way open to them."² Nursing could be satisfying to women of ability--intellectual, organizational, administrative and executive--for it permitted development of these powers.³ Normally excluded from the traditional professions, women nurses could organize their own associations to gain equal status and parity with other professions requiring special skills and knowledge.⁴

In time, Wald and many others in the vocation considered that "the nurse question had become the woman question."⁵

The position a woman could hold in a civilization, her independence, and the kind of work she could do was reflected in the nurses's position in that society.⁶ Organized nursing was "a gauge and an unseparable part" of the "eternal woman movement,"⁷ the movement to elevate women by training them to perform better in the world. Those who worked to uplift the cause of the nurses were also doing a "genuine 'bit' in the wider world of . . . feminism."⁸

Until the mid-nineteenth century, nursing was in the hands of women in charitable religious orders or was carried out by untrained women who worked in hospitals or came into the home to care for the sick for wages that "did not exceed thirty-five cents per day" at the turn of the century.⁹ Nurses were regarded as little better than lower class housemaids and no respectable woman would stoop to such work. The popular image of the nurse was not too far from the satirical portrait painted by Charles Dickens in Martin Chuzzlewit. Both Sairey Gamp and Betsy Prig were sloppy, gabby, careless old women whose indifference to the plight of their patients greatly increased their suffering. In one episode, a patient complained to Mrs. Gamp that Betsy had put soap into his mouth while he was being washed.

'Couldn't you keep it shut then?' retorted Mrs. Prig. 'Who do think's to wash one feater and miss another, and wear one's eyes out with all manner of fine-work of that description, for half-a-crown a day!'¹⁰

War inevitably creates a demand for better nursing care and the Crimean and American Civil Wars in conjunction with the medical advances of the late nineteenth century worked to

bring to a close the dark period in nursing depicted by Dickens.¹¹

The dominant figure in the earliest development of professional nursing was Florence Nightingale. A woman of exceptional organizational ability, she captured the imagination of the public and changed the image of the nurse. She called for specialized education and training because "nursing is an art . . . [and] training is necessary for this as for any other art."¹² This training was to be conducted in a hospital under the supervision of a woman superintendent who had her own jurisdiction in the hospital.¹³ Nightingale's plan featured "the positive mandate that the entire control of the nursing staff, its discipline and instruction, was to be taken out of the hands of men and lodged in those of a woman. . . ."¹⁴ The majority of medical men were hostile to the Nightingale system. They liked having nurses on the plane of domestic servants.¹⁵ In the opinion of one physician:

'A nurse is a confidential servant, but still only a servant. She should be middle-aged when she begins nursing; and somewhat tamed by marriage and the troubles of a family. . . .'¹⁶

Despite this opposition, the Nightingale system prevailed and nursing moved under the control of trained and competent female superintendents who assumed the power to discipline their students as well as teach them.¹⁷

The new system of nurse training was exported to the United States in 1873, when the Bellevue School in New York City opened despite the objections of doctors who were convinced that the high standard for entrance would not be met

because conscientious, intelligent young women of good education would not be willing to do nursing work. The Bellevue experiment was a success and led to the establishment of other schools including the New York Hospital Training School in 1877.¹⁸ Women who entered nursing in those early years were "blessed with exceptional opportunity" for they were pioneering a profession.¹⁹ Years later, one graduate of the New York Hospital remembered:

Hours were long and work was very hard in those days. . . . Besides the care of patients, there was much cleaning of wards, washing of dishes and polishing of brasses, of which the hospital had a super-abundant supply, and withal, most indifferent food. Despite all this, many of the nurses of that first decade have repeatedly spoken and written most enthusiastically of their great enjoyment and happy content during those years.²⁰

Irene Sutcliffe, an alumnus of the New York Hospital School, took charge of nurses in 1885, only five years after her own graduation. She was "a woman touched with a genius for sympathy" and understanding of "youthful heroics"²¹ and was fully able to impose discipline and organization upon "the young probationer from Rochester, Lillian Wald" who entered the hospital with "abounding energy of mind and body and . . . overflowing good-will."²² Another of Sutcliffe's students said, "I look back upon those two years at New York Hospital as the happiest of my life. Undoubtedly the most important factor was the superintendent of nurses, Irene Sutcliffe. . . ."²³

Sutcliffe was to be only the first of the group of extraordinary women that Wald would meet over the years in nursing. They were women of above average "intellectual equipment," of

"exceptional character, mentality and scholarship."²⁴ They called each other "sister" after the fashion of the British nurses and in many ways they regarded themselves as member of a family. A family which had similar interests and expectations, if not similar temperaments. It would be extraordinary if differences of approach to the solution of problems did not appear. These differences, however, were never as important as the commonly held goals. One nurse urged that they "grow in the belief of the sisterhood of women, and help each other by appreciation . . . , learning to work together in a noble harmony. . . ."²⁵ The women did learn to work together and "to help and strengthen" each other "by moral support and by professional union."²⁶

They also learned to fight together. "Nurses have always had to fight. That is not perhaps in their character, but that is what they've had to do." And according to one veteran, "Most got pretty well started on our militant career before we finished our training."²⁷ It was a battle to convince the public and the medical establishment that nursing education and training was essential to patient care. It was a fight to prove that the methods of teaching were "worked out by the brains, bodies and souls of . . . women . . . ,"²⁸ and had to be left in the hands of those same women. The nurses had to battle to get proper equipment, libraries, laboratories and classrooms for their schools and then have these schools rated on the basis of standards of excellence in training and performance, that the nurses themselves would set. It was a battle to remove the stigma from nurses and to elevate them

from scrubbers and housemaids to the status of professionals. Intertwined always was the belief that "nursing could not advance more rapidly" until "women could advance their status and . . . their education."²⁹ The nurses, therefore, were "interested in anything that had to do with the elevation of women, and with giving them the tools with which to work, and giving them a chance to develop their minds. . . ."³⁰ The "leaders . . . were quietly yet determinedly Feminist. . . ."³¹

Wald was part of that leadership of nurses that emerged in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Many of the women were her closest friends and all were sisters and "dearest comrades." "Ah the nurses!" she said, "like the old agnostic, I might say, 'they make me almost believe in God.'"³² As a group, the women presented a great contrast in styles, temperaments and methods, but they complemented each other's work. Together, they "helped to open up opportunities in the professions,--not as special privileges, but to individual woman that her natural gifts might come to full fruition, and not for her, the individual, but for all womankind. . . ."³³

The most overtly militant of Wald's friends was Lavinia L. Dock. She, perhaps more than any other early nursing leader, continually demonstrated how closely the development of modern nursing was tied up with the movement to secure the emancipation of women.³⁴ Her views are of more than academic interest in any study of Lillian Wald because it was known that Dock "did a great deal of writing for Miss Wald and helped her in many ways."³⁵

Lavinia Dock was a scholar whose interest in languages,

music and the arts was well known.³⁶ She co-authored A History of Nursing and wrote by herself Materia Medica for Nurses, one of the first textbooks in the field, as well as countless articles. She grew up in a Hicksite Quaker family which held liberal views and contributed to the strong feelings she held for the underdog.³⁷ The years at Henry Street, the Settlement founded by Wald in 1893, were for Dock the happiest in her life. She never considered it to be a burden; rather, service was an opportunity. She wrote Wald once when she was studying in Europe of her sadness at being away from the Settlement, but then added that, "I am more fortunate than I deserve in having had so much of it. . . ."³⁸

No two people could be more different in temperament than Dock and Wald yet their affection for each other endured and grew over the more than four decades of their friendship. To Dock, Wald was the "Dear dear Leading Lady" who would "shine on everyone with warmth like the sun. . . ."³⁹ To Wald, Dock was "Dockie dearest" who always brought enthusiasm, humor and idealism to any project. Wald never stopped missing her friend after Dock was forced by family pressures to leave Henry Street.⁴⁰

Unlike the diplomatic Wald, Dock never felt the need to temper her language or suppress her feelings on issues. She fought for years to gain autonomy for the nurses and to set criteria for education, licensing and fees. The enemy was clear to Dock--the medical men. To one doctor she wrote:

It seems to me particularly unseemly and ungrateful for physicians to talk about 'fighting' nurses. Why, you owe seven tenths of your success

and prestige to nurses. And here you are trying to beat down . . . the very women on whom your success depends. If you do not think that is shabby, I do. . . .

Dock went on to call the doctors both selfish and stupid for failing to recognize what was in their own best interests. If physicians did not permit good education for nursing women, "it will only take . . . twenty-five years to get back to a state of general degradation. . . ." The demand for good women of superior qualifications was more than could be filled and "no one wants women of the servant class, except a few doctors. . . ." ⁴¹

In the midst of a battle over the licensing of nurses, Dock wrote to her friend at Henry Street:

I am afraid we are done for. There is some deep laid villainy--it means, body, soul and mind under the doctor's heels if it goes through. . . . We had better compromise and admit a couple of physicians to our Board and keep it under the Regents rather than have it all into the hands of vipers and pigs. ⁴²

Lavinia Dock became a heroine to younger nurses because of her vivid personality and intellect. Isabel Stewart recalled the first time that she met her.

I'd never seen Miss Dock, but I'd studied her materia medica. I was sure that I'd know her when I met her, because she'd be tall and angular and intellectual.

Who should turn up at the door but this small, short, sort of roly-poly little person with curly hair. She'd just been at a suffrage meeting and she had 'Votes for Women' across her hat and 'Votes for Women' across her chest.

Dock had been invited to lecture student nurses about nursing in Europe.

'Oh,' she said, 'very bad. It'll not be any better till I get to suffrage. I'll talk about suffrage.'

When Stewart reminded her about the selected topic for the day, Dock said, "'Well, I'll tell them a little about that.'" ⁴³

Dock's collaborator on A History of Nursing was M. Adelaide Nutting. A graduate of Johns Hopkins, she was instrumental in organizing the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses. Nutting was primarily an educator whose goal was to improve the "education and training of nurses and to promote uniformity in curricula and methods of teaching." ⁴⁴ Nurses had to be trained and skilled workers for "the day for saying, 'Be good sweet maid and let who will be clever' has passed in this as in other women's vocations. Rather must we continuously urge here the moral obligation to be intelligent." ⁴⁵

Nutting helped to establish the Hospital Economic Course at Teachers' College, Columbia University and later took charge of it as Professor of Nurses' Education. The program was geared to graduate nurses; it permitted them to work for a B.S. degree in order to qualify to teach. At first, the Society of Superintendents carried the economic burden of supporting the course work at Columbia. This came to an end in 1909, when Lillian Wald convinced Mrs. Helen Hartley Jenkins, a well known philanthropist, to donate \$200,000 to endow the nursing department. A new program was developed to include special training in all the new lines of social service including public health nursing. Practice work was done at Henry Street and Wald, for a time, lectured at

Columbia.⁴⁶ Wald always admired Nutting for her intellect and warmth. She said, "The first precious contact with Adelaide Nutting has developed into a friendship that has grown closer and more tender through the years that have followed." What was most important to the teacher was "to have women, and particularly women who are nurses, intellectualize and think about their responsibilities and their progress."⁴⁷

Nutting's interest in nursing extended beyond education to all aspects of the profession. She worked with Josephine Goldmark and Florence Kelley on the Committee for the Study of Nursing Education to produce the famous Goldmark Report which recommended shorter work days and weeks and a longer period of training for nurses.⁴⁸ Nutting and Wald also lobbied to educate medical men as to the role of nurses in public health work, fought for registration, organized nurses into professional groups and agitated for the appointment of women to executive posts.⁴⁹

For years, Wald's close associate at Henry Street was Annie W. Goodrich. The ties between the two women went back to their days at New York Hospital. Of their meeting, Wald wrote:

Annie Goodrich started her nursing profession in Ward G, New York Hospital when I was head nurse there. She was fond of reminding me through the many years that her first bed making had been under my immediate direction. . . . I have never forgotten the amusing, brilliant, well bred, young probationer. . . ."⁵⁰

For Wald, Goodrich remained always "Comrade Annie W. G." a woman who would lay down her life to gain recognition of a standard for her profession.⁵¹ To Goodrich, Wald was the

"Madonna of the Slums,"⁵² a woman who had a special something even in their training days, a creative drive that made it possible for her to work hard and inspire an extra effort in others.⁵³

Wald came to recognize Goodrich's leadership in training nurses for the public health field. Goodrich was a member of the faculty at Teachers' College and became director of nursing at Henry Street when Wald's interests and duties became too large for her to supervise the day by day operations of the Visiting Nurse Service which operated from the Settlement. After World War I, Goodrich was named head of the school of nursing at Yale University. This appointment realized the dream of pioneer professional nurses--the necessity for a full four year college education for nurses.⁵⁴

These women and others like Yssabella Waters, Harriet Knight, Jane Hitchcock, Lina Rogers and Rebecca Shatz of Henry Street formed an "Old Girl Network" of nursing.⁵⁵ Membership in the network came by recommendation as when Lavinia Dock wrote, "This is to introduce Mrs. Kempler . . . , just the kind of Sister exactly that you will all like."⁵⁶ The requirements for membership were talent, personality, adaptability and spirit. Qualities that the women believed they possessed and looked for in others. Younger women, like Naomi Deutsch were added to the group and the network spread through the country,⁵⁷ but for Wald, the "old girls," who tried to scratch the surface of the work for nurses, would always receive special love and loyalty.⁵⁸

Wald was considered a member of modern nursing's "triumverate." Nutting and Goodrich were the educators; Wald was the practitioner concerned with the products of the nursing schools.⁵⁹ She was never an innovator or original thinker, rather she was able to analyze contemporary needs and adapt existing ideas to these needs. Wald claimed that this was the wisdom to see.⁶⁰ If Florence Nightingale created the idea of scientific nursing, then Wald "took the next interpretation in the relationship of the nurse to the public rather than the individual or ward."⁶¹ She was not the first to put district nurses into the field. There were about twenty visiting nurses in the United States when she began,⁶² in 1893, but she said, ". . . our organization is original, and based on the independence of the nurses' service," and "We did originate the term 'Public Health Nurse'. . . ."⁶³

The establishment of this form of social service was considered by many of Wald's supporters to be her greatest single contribution.⁶⁴ Wald's visiting nurse system was non-sectarian; previously, nurses were available only through religious organizations or free dispensaries. Visiting nurses cared for the ill at home which saved money and also left beds in the hospitals for the critically ill. More important, the patients were benefited for they were more at ease in familiar surroundings and families were able to remain together. The nurse became a teacher to the poor through her personal contact as well as a healer. Since protection of the dignity of the patient was all important, a token fee was charged for all nursing services even though these payments never covered

costs. The nurses functioned independently and answered calls from both patients and physicians. Wald--a superb administrator--divided the neighborhoods to be serviced into territories and then subdivided these into districts. Student nurses from Columbia assisted graduates and received their training in the field. Wald believed in tight organization although she permitted the individual nurses autonomy on each call.⁶⁵

Since each nurse enjoyed a large degree of independence, Wald favored generalized rather than specialized nurses' training. Her nurses needed education in many fields. Because her needs were different from those of her friends who were interested in establishing curricula, Wald was often in disagreement with others in the profession. After one debate she wrote to Adelaide Nutting:

Sister dear,

Take down your tomahawk. I wanted to make the point the other night that sick people were still to be nursed and my plea was for a balance.

Wald did not in any way favor less education, rather she wanted them to remember that general patient care was most important.

You know of course that there is a great amount of people going into homes advising and educating and that it is possible that even if all of them were nurses, the patient might not get the bath, might not have the wound dressed. That was the point I was trying to make. Not at all that they needed less education.⁶⁶

Wald's concept of public health nursing spread around the world and Henry Street became "one of the great work centers of nursing education." Through the years, more than two thousand women graduate nurses of all nations gained

experience in New York and then left to teach others in their own countries. From Japan, China, the Philippines, "wherever the public health idea begins to develop, people turned to Henry Street for advice, for leaders, and for equipment."⁶⁷

Wald introduced other innovations in nursing. A national visiting nurse system, the Red Cross Town and Country service for rural communities, was established with the financial assistance of the Schiff family. The first American public school nurses came out of Henry Street--but it was the visiting nurse concept that was most important in guarantying Wald fame as a humanitarian. It along with the Settlement formed the two major sources of her power and prestige. A pragmatic thinker, she took care to polish its image and keep it in the public eye.

Isabel Stewart called Wald "a great promoter . . . very much interested in public opinion, and the value of getting the right people to back whatever you were interested in, and had tremendous influence."⁶⁸ Wald helped causes she espoused by publicity, and by pressure in person or in writing her ever growing number of influential "connections." She was well aware of her power and if an official did not "do his duty," she did not hesitate to "put a little more pressure on him."⁶⁹ Over the years, she continually used her position to benefit her profession and individuals within it. When a nursing friend, like Adelaide Nutting, needed help, she reminded Wald that "a word from you would be of great value."⁷⁰ Wald spread the word to her "many men and women

friends" who were willing "to be informed and helpful."⁷¹

She also lost "no opportunity in informal speechifying." Though she gave countless formal addresses, she believed that "her technique . . . is best for small groups."⁷² Wald relied upon her "ability to influence by argument and thoughtful presentation,"⁷³ and concentrated on people of wealth and power who could help most. A friend, who knew her well, remarked that her greatest asset "was the life long friendships with men and women whose confidence in Miss Wald was grounded in mutual experience and respect."⁷⁴

Unlike others in either nursing or social reform, Wald did not do her best work in committee or as part of a group or organization. She lost patience with sessions where "I am sure that we will meet, listen, be photographed and adjourn. . . ."⁷⁵ She believed in the necessity for organization so that "the leaders in the various movements of the nursing profession may get to know each other, may sit at table together, may have the informal contact,"⁷⁶ and was instrumental in forming a number of professional groups. But she served as an active officer of only one, the National Organization of Public Health Nursing, and that for just a year, 1912-1913.⁷⁷ Wald usually preferred to be a letter head member. One whose name was included as honorary president or vice president or member of the board in order to give the group greater prestige and at the same time make it possible for her to avoid many meetings. She stayed in contact with every group and lobbied for them, but always as an individual and outside the organization. Lavinia Dock, who

knew her so well wrote Wald, "You are . . . essentially a woman of action and intuition. . . .Keep on with your active work and let those who are already sitting behind desks" do theirs.⁷⁸

A high priority issue for nurses throughout Wald's career was maintenance of their autonomy. The doctors had "made a mess of nursing," and the women had reached the point where they "didn't quite trust them."⁷⁹ Distrust of the medical profession was a consistent theme in letters and speeches as was the desire to remove the physician's influence upon the organization of nursing schools, the discipline of nurses or their registration. Wald spoke for all nurses when she said, "When medicine gained control, almost complete control of the nursing orders and organization, it did not reflect credit on either branch of the healing art."⁸⁰

Wald was especially vulnerable in the fight for self rule because the public health nurse operated in the field without the supervision that existed in hospitals, although she worked under the doctor on the case. Dock warned her of the "opposition to you and your work in this question of the nurses and the doctors." There was, on the part of the doctors, "strong disapproval" because Wald's "nurses carried ointments in their bags" and even "gave pills." Dock cautioned her that the medical establishment believed:

It was quite wrong for district nurses to be done in any way except under the strict control of the physicians--the nurses ought not to go to cases except on their orders--doctors ought to be in charge of district nursing associations--no nursing ought to be done in any other method.

Wald had to take care because medical society complaints might make it difficult to recruit money for her work.⁸¹

Wald did not back down. She carried her message to the public by speeches and articles extolling the virtues of her nurses and she used her persuasive powers upon her influential friends. She encouraged people to send for a nurse when ill because "there are many cases where skillful nursing is of greater value in preserving human life than the best medical advice."⁸² Anyone familiar with the work of the visiting nurses would be, she believed, impressed with the quality of work and initiative. The nurses carry the "findings of the scientists and laboratories to the people . . . [and] make them intelligible. . . .What a change . . . from the priestly secrecy of the . . . medical practitioner."⁸³

Any women with a commitment to the profession understood that the nurses had to stay in control. Wald recognized that

There may be some souls so humble and so meek
that the old time position of women nurses,
--namely that of blind obedience in the tread-
mill--is all that they desire.

She and most other nurses, however, wanted more and they were not going to be left behind or dictated to by the men in the medical profession.⁸⁴ Whenever the men took over in the fields of nursing, women were excluded from any control of their work and the "character of the work suffers deterioration."⁸⁵

The pioneers of nursing realized early that there was a need to gain legal status for the profession and in the 1890's. the drive was on for registration. The only way to maintain

high standards was to license practitioners, and the criteria for qualification were to be set by examining boards staffed by nurses. The first registration act was passed in New Zealand in 1901. Within the next five years, other nations enacted similar legislation. American women frequently played a part in securing these registration laws in accordance with the belief in nurses as members of an international sisterhood. Lavinia Dock went to Europe to help and to report on progress to nurses in the United States. She wrote to Wald to recruit her into the drive. "If you have the time . . . , speak of the registration movement--it is more or less acute in Great Britain, Holland, and Denmark, Belgium, and Australia."⁸⁶ Wald quoted Dock frequently as she went from place to place speaking for the professionalization of nursing and linking it with the woman's movement for better living conditions. Everywhere, she said, women nurses were bitter over their exploitation and lack of recognition.⁸⁷

State by State registration in the United States began with North Carolina, spreading then to New York, New Jersey and Virginia. Other states followed in fairly rapid succession and by 1923, all states had nurse practice legislation.⁸⁸ Even while the registration campaigns were being conducted, many women realized that the battle would have to be repeated over and over. Licensing requirements, at first, were established that reflected not the highest professional standards but the lowest. Dock observed:

Restrictive legislation affecting the professions, then, is not to be gained once and forever. . . .It does not mean just one effort,

but continuous efforts for the rest of time.⁸⁹

The attempts to raise standards above minimum levels were no easier than the campaigns for the original measures. Wald played a part in each of them. To educate women for six months and then to consider them to be trained nurses was to pull down the standards for all nurses and, more important, it was detrimental to their patients.⁹⁰ To the Governor of New York, she wrote of her interest in the Nurse Practice Bill of 1913:

It has been reported out of committee, and we are very desirous of having the State extend its protection of the people who employ the nurse, and who do not understand how the correspondence schools and other centers of quack and inadequate 'training' mislead. Mr. Schiff wrote to you . . . and sent me your very cordial response to him. This is only a reminder, for I am sure from your letter to him that you will do what you can to get the measure enacted into law.⁹¹

The struggle for legislation strengthened and united the profession. It also gave the nurses experience in dealing with apathetic public officials. Experience that illustrated to them the need to involve themselves in the woman suffrage movement.⁹²

Above all, Wald publicized the cause of the nurses. She believed that "they had not been accorded the place they deserve and have hardly been mentioned though nobody denies the splendid work they have done."⁹³ She sought to remedy this oversight. Wald worked to get articles about the nurses and "their work and their devotion" into magazines like the New Republic⁹⁴ and commended publications which showed the

proper appreciation for the profession.⁹⁵ If a public figure neglected to mention or praise the nurses, Wald was quick to point up the omission.⁹⁶ She expected a member of the sisterhood to be included in all public events that stressed social service. Wald wrote the president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science expressing her amazement that the "instrument of service--the public health nurse" had not been included in a program on child welfare. "It looks as if you had a man, and a man only get up your program!"⁹⁷ Her letters stressed the need for advertising and getting the message across. An example:

Would it not be advisable for the Red Cross to have a great deal of publicity upon the training of nurses for public health work? Their last pamphlet . . . is excellent, but I should say that the nursing world, training schools and so forth ought to get the benefit of the Red Cross publicity experts. The main facts would be to advertise. . . .

I am sending a copy of this to Miss Gardner and hope that you and she will lay the matter before your propagandists.⁹⁸

When the nursing service she established at the Henry Street Settlement grew larger, Wald had to devote much of her time to fund raising from wealthy friends. It was a task she disliked, but one in which she excelled.⁹⁹ In later years, the organization was underwritten in part by public funds and Wald was sure to attend the budget meetings in order to apply pressure to sympathetic politicians.¹⁰⁰

Her reputation for good works and political activity gave Wald the opportunity to meet public officials from Seth Low to Franklin D. Roosevelt and to remind them of the work of the nurses. Al Smith, an old neighbor on the East Side heard

from Wald frequently when he was in Albany. Sometimes, she urged him to favor a particular piece of legislation that would benefit the nurses.¹⁰¹ More frequently, she wrote just to remind him of their work. She sent settlement reports and calendars with the Henry Street nurse pictured--"the girl in blue guarding you and your desk"--so that he would not forget if an opportunity arose to help.¹⁰² Smith acted as a fund raiser for the nurses when he left public life.

Another source of influence was that dominating mother Mrs. James Roosevelt who was named General Chairman of the Visiting Nurse Fund when her son became president. Sarah and Eleanor Roosevelt were both friends to Wald and to Henry Street. When letters to Franklin Roosevelt did not produce the desired endorsements, his mother was pressed into service. She wrote to Marvin McIntyre, the president's secretary, "Please see that my son sends a nice message to Miss Wald. I shall be at the dinner and shall hear it read!" The President sent the telegram.¹⁰³ Wald enlisted the assistance of Eleanor Roosevelt in her unsuccessful attempt "to have a stamp for the nurses" since that had been "unflatteringly ignored as far as Government recognition is concerned."¹⁰⁴

Wald's fame as a reformer, settlement worker and "statesman" caused people to forget she was a nurse.¹⁰⁵ She, however, never forgot that nursing was her first love and though she developed many other interests in her long public life, she never stopped her support of the "sisters." "I feel that as long as I have vocal powers I ought to make it clear that

the nurse must stand as a recognized authority in her field," she said at the end of her career.¹⁰⁶ Nor did she forget "the old girls," with whom she had worked over the years to improve the status of the nursing profession and through it the status of all women.

NOTES

1- For over thirty years, Wald spoke and wrote about her work. Her speeches followed the same form and usually gave a brief history of nursing, an explanation of the work being done and an appeal to talented young women to enter the field. For examples see Wald, "Rough Notes for Talk on Nursing," 1912; Wald, Speech at Johns Hopkins Hospital, May 1, 1918; Wald, Speech, "New Aspects of Old Social Responsibilities," Vassar College, October 12, 1915; Wald, Speech to graduates of Blackwell Island, June 13, 1918, NYPL, Wald MSS. For the difficulties of young ladies who decided to enter nursing and their emphasis upon establishing it as a profession see: Stewart, "Memoirs," 23; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 19; Gerald Joseph Griffin and H. Joanne King Griffin, Jensen's History and Trends of Professional Nursing (St. Louis, 1965), 59; Edna Yost, American Women of Nursing (Philadelphia, 1965), x.

2- Wald, "Rough Notes for Talk on Nursing," 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

3- Wald, Speech, "Newer Aspects of an Old Profession," Wellesley College, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

4- Lemons, Woman Citizen, 41-43, 58.

5- Wald, Windows, 76.

6- Wald, Speech, "History and Development of Nursing in Social Welfare Work," Teacher's College, Columbia, 1911, NYPL, Wald MSS.

7- Wald, Speech, Wellesley College, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

8- Lavinia L. Dock, "Nurses' Debt to Feminist Movement," Equal Rights, August 17, 1929, 221.

9- Michael Davis to Wald, April 3, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS.

10- Charles Dickens, Martin Chuzzlewit (New York, n.d.), 471. Most histories of nursing make reference to the Dickens's work, see Franklin H. North, "A New Profession for Women," Century Magazine XXV (1882) 38; Vern Bullough and Bonnie Bullough, The Emergence of Modern Nursing (New York, 1964), 90; Josephine Dolan, History of Nursing (Philadelphia, 1963), 212-213. In one speech, Wald confused her Dickens and turned Sairey Gamp into a character in David Copperfield, Wald, Speech to the Manhattan Trade School, April 15, 1924, New York, City, NYPL, Wald MSS.

11- The periodization in all nursing texts shows the dark period as extending from c.1600 to the mid-nineteenth century.

12- Florence Nightingale to Macmillan's Magazine, n.d. (1867?), in Letters of Florence Nightingale, ed. Lois Monteiro, Boston University Nursing Archives (Boston, 1974).

13- Florence Nightingale to Mr. Rawlinson, October 8, 1860; Florence Nightingale to Mr. Rawlinson, February 16, 1861; Florence Nightingale to Mrs. C. C. Mathews, November 7, 1868 in Letters. Cecil Woodham-Smith, Florence Nightingale (New York, 1951), 228-236. Nightingale's program was radical for its time but by the end of her career, she was challenged for leadership by the younger women in the profession. She fell behind because of her opposition to state registration for nurses and women's rights. Nightingale also expressed a "dislike of the germ theory of medicine" which put her out of step with the more advanced practitioners in the profession. See Isabel Stewart, "Memoir," 119; Bullough and Bullough, Emergence of Modern Nursing, 107-108. Despite this, feminists claimed Nightingale as a heroine, Woman Citizen, May 1, 1920, 1198-1200; November 6, 1920, 628-629, 632.

14- Isabel Stewart and Anne Austen, A History of Nursing (New York, 1962), 111. Stewart, "Memoir," 24.

15- Nutting and Dock, History of Nursing, II, 172-206.

16- Ibid., 201.

17- Ibid., 250-252; Stewart, "Memoir," 24.

18- North, "New Profession for Women," 39-47; Stewart, History of Nursing, 137-140; Annie Goodrich to Mary Sewall Gardner, June 19, 1916, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Gardner MSS.

19- The Society of the New York Hospital, The School of Nursing of the New York Hospital: Fiftieth Anniverssary, 1877-1927 (New York, 1927), 9.

20- Ibid., 51.

21- Wald, House on Henry Street, 26. Duffus, Lillian Wald, 20-23; Williams, Lillian Wald, 4-11.

22- Nutting and Dock, History of Nursing, III, 215.

23- Annie Goodrich, "To Explain Happiness," American Journal of Nursing, L (October, 1950), 598.

24- Wald, Speech at Columbia University, "Development of Public Health Nursing, NYPL, Wald MSS.

25- Estelle Hall Speakman, "Womanliness in Nursing," American Journal of Nursing, III (1902), 182.

26- Dock, "Nurses' Debt to Feminist Movement," 221.

27- Stewart, "Memoir," 31-35.

28- Lavinia L. Dock, "The Duty of This Society in Public Work," American Journal of Nursing, 100, reprint found in NYPL, Wald MSS.

29- Lavinia L. Dock as quoted in Stewart, "Memoir," 455. Wald uses almost the same words in the manuscript of an article she wrote for Good Housekeeping (1932), NYPL, Wald MSS.

30- Stewart, "Memoir," 119. It should be noted that all nurses were not in agreement on the women's movement, but those who were not feminists seem to be rare. Both Wald and Stewart were able to remember only one or two who stressed femininity rather than feminism, see Wald to Helen Hall, May 19, 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS; Stewart, "Memoir," 141-142.

31- Dock, "Nurses' Debt to Feminist Movement," 221.

32- Wald to Mrs. Simon Flexner, December 14, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

33- Wald, Speech at Vassar College, "New Aspects of Old Social Responsibilities," October 12, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

34- Dock, "Nurses' Debt to Feminist Movement," 221-222.

35- Stewart, "Memoir," 139.

36- Dock to Wald, June 30, (1903/1904?), September 7, (1903?), Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

37- Mary M. Roberts, "Lavinia Lloyd Dock," American Journal of Nursing, LVI (February, 1956), 176.

38- Dock to Wald, December 12, 1898, NYPL, Wald MSS.

39- Dock to Wald, September 24, 1904, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS. Dock to Wald, August 1, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS expresses the same thought.

40- Wald's correspondence with Dock after she left the Nurses' Settlement show how much the Head Worker missed her feisty friend. For examples see Wald to Dock, May 23, 1918, January 8, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.

41- Dock to Dr. Baldy, February 28, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS.

42- Dock to Wald, n.d. c.1900, NYPL, Wald MSS.

43- Stewart, "Memoir," 139-140.

44- Nutting as quoted in Nutting and Dock, History of Nursing, III, 133.

45- M. Adelaide Nutting, Speech for Barnard's Quarter Century Celebration, Barnard College, N.Y.C., April 29, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

46- Nutting and Dock, History of Nursing, III, 133-134; Bullough and Bullough, Emergence of Modern Nursing, 145; Stewart, "Memoir," 205-206.

47- Lillian D. Wald, "Adelaide Nutting," American Journal of Nursing, XXV (June, 1925), 450.

48- Teresa Christy, "M. Adelaide Nutting," Nursing Outlook, XVII (January, 1969), 20-24; Bullough and Bullough, Emergence of Modern Nursing, 142-143.

49- Wald to Nutting, January 16, 1912; Nutting to Gardner, October 11, 1916, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Gardner MSS; Nutting to Wald, November 8, 1914, February 5, 1915, October 28, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

50- Wald to Mrs. Munson, May 16, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

51- Wald, "Comrade Annie W. G.," The Henry Street Nurse (May-June, 1923), NYPL, Wald MSS.

52- Goodrich to Wald, May 29, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS.

53- Williams, Lillian Wald, 56.

54- Wald, Speech to Alumni Association of New York Hospital at the presentation of a portrait of Irene Sutcliffe, February 21, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS; New York Evening Post, May 3, 1923, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Teresa Christy, "Annie Warburton Goodrich," Nursing Outlook, XVIII (August, 1970), 46-50; Yost, American Women of Nursing, 42-60; Woody, Women's Education, II, 73-75.

55- Wald to Yssabella Waters, April 30, 1917; Wald to Sam Schwarz, February 15, 1918, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to Edith Shatto King, June 3, 1921, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

56- Dock to Wald, 1918?, NYPL, Wald MSS.

57- Wald to Betty Ashe, June 1, 1925, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald to Naomi Deutsch, July 29, 1925; Wald to Gov. Alfred Smith, November 17, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

58- Nutting to Wald, May 13, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS.

- 59- Christy, "Annie W. Goodrich," 46.
- 60- Wald to Dock, 1920?, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 61- Wald to Marguerite Wales, April 24, 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 62- Yssabella Waters, Visiting Nursing in the United States (New York, 1909), 13; Waters to Gardner, June 26, 1916, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Gardner MSS.
- 63- Wald to Edith White, January 6, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Speech to Red Cross Convention, October 6, 1921 re-printed in the Henry Street Nurse (October-November, 1921), NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 64- Wald's Secretary (Eleanor Linton?) to Mrs. L. Meyer, November 21, 1932; Wald, Speech, "Development of Public Health Nursing," February 14, 1911, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 65- Wald, Windows, 70-110; Wald, House on Henry Street, 26-27, 43; Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, "Public Health Nurse," Johns Hopkins Alumnae Magazine (July, 1934), NYPL, Wald MSS; Teresa Christy, "Lillian Wald," Nursing Outlook, XVIII (March, 1970), 50-54; Lillian Wald, "District Nursing," University Studies, I (October, 1905-January, 1906), 136-137; Lillian Wald, "Development of Public Health Nursing in the United States," The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review (June, 1928), 689-692; Nutting and Dock, History of Nursing, III, 214-221, 232-235; Lavinia L. Dock, "The History of Public Health Nursing," The Public Health Nurse, XIV (October, 1922), 522-526.
- 66- Wald to Nutting, May 13, 1911, Nursing Archives Teacher's College, Columbia University, M. Adelaide Nutting MSS. Nutting to Wald, May 23, 1911, Ibid.
- 67- Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, "The Influence of Lillian Wald Reaches Round the Earth," Better Times (1934); Wald, Draft for article on Henry Street Nurses, October 20, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 68- Stewart, "Memoir," 149.
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CHAPTER THREE

THE EDUCATION OF A REFORMER

Lillian Wald began her public career after she graduated from the New York Hospital Training School in March, 1891. She immediately thereafter took a job at the Juvenile Asylum in New York City. This early work experience forever embittered her toward institutional care for children. She stayed at the Asylum for only a year. Perhaps because she felt hospital duty too confining or because she wished to fulfill her brother Alfred's dream, she enrolled in the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary.¹

She elected to get her education in "one of those schools founded in protest against the exclusive attitude adopted by the men's medical colleges."² All of the teachers were women, and the emeritus professor of hygiene was Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, America's first woman doctor. Wald must have realized that a medical degree would not guarantee sexual equality, for female physicians were obliged to expend much of their energies in combatting prejudice in the profession.³

Long after she had abandoned any thought of practicing medicine, Wald supported the rights of female doctors. She wrote to defend the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. It had been established to "give greater opportunities for practicing physicians who are women . . ." and the original

reasons for creating the hospital had "not been greatly altered."

It is true that the prejudice against women on ambulances has disappeared in theory at least, and occasionally in fact, and one no longer hears the Victorian objections against their service in hospitals and in clinics. But, as matter of fact, analysis of the appointment of women on staffs of hospitals throughout the city shows that the equal opportunities granted to women are to a larger extent theoretical.

Women, Wald pointed out, were rarely given "positions of authority in hospitals." It was especially difficult for female surgeons to gain appointment in prestigious medical centers. "Were such appointments not very unusual, it would give conclusive evidence of the recognition of merit, irrespective of sex." There had to be a place for competent women practitioners and their patients. Wald, therefore, supported the maintenance of the Infirmary. Its existence, however, "should in no way diminish the very just insistence on the part of the public to give women their share in the great medical institutions. . . ." ⁴

Lillian Wald was not destined to remain at medical school. She heard of a school for immigrants which met on Henry Street on the East Side. The school was financed by Mrs. Sophie Loeb and its original purpose was to select potential candidates for nurses' training. Wald was admittedly ignorant of East Side life, but when a friend asked her to teach a course in home nursing, she agreed. She soon discovered that her pupils were not ready for professional training and really needed basic instruction in housekeeping and hygiene. ⁵

As she grew older and more prominent, Wald loved to

relate the experience that changed her life. One day, a child asked her to look in on her sick mother, a Mrs. Lipsky, who was a member of Wald's class. The nurse was willing to help and asked the child to lead her to the patient. Wald recalled:

Over broken asphalt, over dirty mattresses and heaps of refuse we went. The tall houses reeked with rubbish. . . . I will not attempt to describe the place, the filth, the smell or the sanitary conditions, which were too foul for words. . . . There were two rooms, and a family of seven not only lived here but shared their quarters with boarders.

After I had cleaned up that place and made the wretched woman a little more comfortable and seen that the children had something to eat, that poor woman kissed my hands. . . . I felt I was ashamed of being a part of a society that permitted such conditions to exist.

That morning's experience was my baptism of fire. That day I left the laboratory and the college. What I had seen had shown me where my path lay.⁶

No one had ever told Wald that such suffering and poverty existed. She was not repelled by what she saw, only amazed. It is characteristic of Wald's naivete and ignorance that she believed that the poverty that she discovered was generally unknown to the public and would be removed if people were informed and aroused.⁷

Wald invited Mary Brewster, a friend from nurse training school, to share in the new venture. "We were," she explained, "to live in the neighborhood as nurses and identify ourselves with it socially. . . ."⁸ As nurses, they were in a unique position to become part of the community and to establish relationships with the people of the East Side, who recognized that "they were helpless under the conditions that surround

them."⁹ Wald believed that the people were eager to learn how to live and that she could help. Wald admitted that she did not know how, and that she and Brewster "were both quite ignorant, but this we did know, . . . we cared for these neighbors. . . ." ¹⁰

They quickly began to overcome their ignorance when someone introduced them to two very good men who, it was said, knew all about the East Side--Charles Stover and Edward King, founders of the University Settlement. King, the author of "the outstanding novel of the Russian immigration . . .," was a "kind of patriarchal uncle" to a large number of the Eastern Jewish intelligensia.¹¹ Both Stover and King had wide ranging interests and held a Tolstoian philosophy about conditions of life of the poor that Wald would partially adopt. The men became her guides and entrée to the East Side and East Siders. They took her on walking tours of the neighborhood and the streets served as an informal classroom. Among the people Wald met through King and Stover was Ernest Crosby, the first president of the Social Reform Club.¹²

The Social Reform Club was a discussion group whose membership included Mary Simkhovich (later the founder of Greenwich House), Felix Adler and Leonora O'Reilly. O'Reilly, a working class woman, became a resident at the Henry Street Settlement and in later years worked with Wald on a model garment-workers' cooperative. The experimental factory was short lived, but not the friendship between the two women. The Club was primarily concerned with improving labor conditions in New York and encouraging trade unionism. Other

critical issues, also, came under discussion--housing, tenement problems, immigration. Many of the measures that Wald would endorse throughout her life had their origin during the debates at the Social Reform Club.¹³

Charles Stover made still another contribution to Wald's education. It was on their first meeting that he suggested that she and Mary Brewster live with "those nice girls at 95 Rivington Street" until something suitable and permanent could be found. The two nurses became residents for several months at the College Settlement "in stimulating comradeship with serious women, who were also the fortunate possessors of a saving sense of humor."¹⁴

Before she lived at 95 Rivington Street, Wald had never heard of a settlement house. The College Settlement, which anticipated Hull House in Chicago by a few weeks, was the product of an attempt by a number of graduates of the young women's college "to shape an independent life."¹⁵ To Vida Scudder, one of the founding members, the new life permitted a sharing of mind and heart with all people, an escape from the prison of class to a different life which was closer to reality. Most of all, it was a chance to see life at first hand. Scudder had reservations about what settlements could accomplish for the poor, but she was convinced of their value as a vehicle of enlightenment for women.¹⁶ Another settlement house woman told Ramsay MacDonald, future Prime Minister of England, that she was part of "the revolt of the daughters." "It is the revolt against a conventional existence. . . ." The life that "the majority of well-to-do American women have

to live. . . ."17 The women wanted new and more challenging roles to play.

The College Settlement women were, like the nurses, a new kind of woman. Wald easily identified with them. They moved into many different fields and their lives and work were in the public sphere rather than confined to the domestic. They were women who might not articulate feminist beliefs, but they were women who enjoyed personal freedom, who were young, modern and dedicated.¹⁸

Early in 1893, Wald met the man who would have the greatest impact upon the course of her life. When she first had the idea of living and working on the East Side, she took her vague plans to Mrs. Solomon Loeb, wife of the New York banker. Nina Loeb Warburg recalled the day her mother came home saying:

An extraordinary young woman has called upon me. I don't know whether she is a genius or whether she is mad. She wants to start a visiting nurse service on the lower east side and would like me to help her. I prefer to think she is a genius, so I am going to ask your uncle Jacob Schiff to help me give this young woman her chance.¹⁹

A formal introduction was arranged and this "gave Miss Wald an opportunity to interest Mr. Schiff in her project. . . ." About a week later, he and Mrs. Loeb decided to accept the responsibility for the two nurses.²⁰ The bond between the banker-philanthropist and Wald which began at this first meeting lasted until Schiff's death and then extended to his children and grandchildren. Wald claimed that he responded whenever he was called, no matter how busy he was, and perhaps more important, supported her work even when his

conservatism kept him from agreeing with her views.²¹ At the time of Schiff's death, Wald wrote:

More than a quarter of a century has passed since a mutual friend provided the opportunity for me to meet Mr. Schiff. . . . Immediately did this busy banker respond . . ., and thereby started a fellowship in friendship and social interest. . . . Money help was given and without conditions. . . . What was perhaps more valuable than even the material aid was the support of measures of vital importance to the people . . . but often strange and remote from the experience, the interest, and the traditions of Mr. Schiff and his associates. . . .²²

Jacob Schiff's background was similar to that of Wald's parents. He was born in Frankfurt, Germany in 1847 to a family of rabbis, scientific men and merchants. Schiff attended the school of the Jewish Religious Society until the age of fourteen when he was apprenticed to a business man. He emigrated to the United States while still a teen-ager, and after some indecision, entered the investment banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Company. His marriage to Theresa Loeb, daughter of one of the company's founders, helped to ensure his success.²³

Bruno Lasker, a social worker, remembered Schiff as "a great philanthropist, of course," but "also, . . . a wonderful promoter." He did great numbers of small personal things to help people and without him and his wife, "Wald could not have functioned as well as she did." Schiff and his family "were people of the old type, who had transplanted to New York something of the sense of civic responsibility which you find in the most refined circles of Jewish people in Europe. . . ."²⁴

Schiff was raised as an orthodox Jew, and though he joined

a reformed congregation in New York, he maintained his belief in the old religious practice of tzdakah, the care of the Jewish community by those able to provide aid. It is a concept that combines charity and justice and the tradition "may have come out of the ancient ethnic instinct for survival that placed value of the whole community above the value of particular classes or individuals."²⁵

Tzdakah, therefore, was both charity and civic responsibility. It was a religious duty that had to be performed during the giver's lifetime. The wealthy were considered "only temporary custodians of their fortunes."²⁶ Schiff described his sentiments as to social service and philanthropy when he wrote:

The word of God heard in the Synagogue becomes of value only if it is carried into everyday life. This is so well understood. . . . And still how few in daily life practice this! How few stop to consider how egotistical are their lives. . . .

There is, perhaps, no more cruel principle, . . . than . . . 'the survival of the fittest.' Because of this, we should feel that duty calls us to step in and be of help to those who are left behind in the race by reason of this inexorable rule.

In this large community how many need us, to how many can we be useful!

Schiff continued by urging service "to the dependent classes" like the immigrant, the tenement dwellers, the sick and the delinquent.²⁷

Schiff's contribution to Wald's work and personal development was inestimable. She heeded his advice on the necessity for efficiency and thoroughness as ingredients of success in any venture. Schiff also taught his protege of the value of

the right friends. He was a "hero worshipper," who despite his own high position enjoyed associating with people of ability and success.²⁸ Wald adopted the Schiff practice of attending to small matters for friends. Little acts of kindness like taking time to remember important days, choosing appropriate gifts, performing favors and answering letters promptly all resulted in great devotion to her and her work.²⁹

The banker followed several principles in his philanthropy. He gave money to Wald so that she might enjoy personal financial security. He also supported Henry Street and the Visiting Nurses, however, he did not believe in bearing all the costs. He was willing to start a fund and perhaps, buy a building, but was unwilling to support any work in its entirety. An individual should not be identified with any charity "since the time might come when the institution would be in need of larger funds, and the public would not have been trained to support it."³⁰

Wald's letters to the Loeb-Schiff-Warburg clan were always entertaining and chatty, with a manner that was deferential but never servile. Most interestingly, Wald developed from the inexperienced and unsure young woman, anxious for advice, to the leader of a vast enterprise that had gained world wide recognition. As the years passed, her deferential tone remained, but she was clearly in command.

The earliest letters from Wald to her benefactor reflected her dismay over "the tragic condition of our neighbors" and their "wretched lives." She despaired that she could, with all her efforts, relieve the misery of only a comparative few,

but was gratified for the opportunity to "make some small gleams of light these dark days" even for the few.³¹ She related the details of individual cases, always attempting to give a favorable picture of the people, and sometimes received small sums from Schiff for those in especial need. At times, Wald complained of the "unlovable" qualities of some of the "unfortunates" she had to deal with and eagerly sought Schiff's advice on how to handle them. The banker recommended sources of support, both financial and service, which she inevitably explored. Wald kept careful financial records, as well as case studies, even in the first years when the Visiting Nurse Service had only two workers, herself and Mary Brewster. She dutifully sent these records to Schiff in her monthly reports to him.³²

Schiff responded to Wald's letters with sympathy, advice and encouragement. On one occasion, he wrote:

I am almost afraid to think of the misery which surrounds us here on all sides, but I know you always feel as I do, and perhaps more so, that those whose lot it has become to help their unfortunate fellow beings are more to be envied than those who have a quiet and easy life and know nothing of the misfortune which exists in this world.³³

As Wald gained assurance, the roles reversed and she became more Schiff's teacher than his pupil. He came in close and personal contact with the East Siders and their problems. When Lavinia Dock heard of Schiff's death, she wrote to Wald, "I have been remembering back to the afternoon when we sat in the old dining room while you persuaded him to be in sympathy with the garment workers' strike. . . ."³⁴ Wald conveyed to

her up-town friend her enthusiasm for her profession and he donated a building for the Visiting Nurses at 99 Park Avenue and gave vast sums of money for the Red Cross. Immigrants, working people, nurses and reformers grew used to seeing and talking to the investment banker across the dining table at Henry Street. Some came to consider Schiff a source of support and a friend.³⁵ Despite his support of Wald, Schiff was a conservative in his thinking about women. He acted as treasurer of the group established to found Barnard College and donated money to the fund, but endorsed higher education only because it would better fit women for the duties of married life.³⁶ Wald applauded his support of Barnard but secretly wished he were "equally lavish with some nursing project."³⁷ Wald and Schiff grew closer over the years and she became his "Dear Miss Wald, dearest friend."³⁸ He paid tribute to her organizing abilities and wrote that he and Mrs. Schiff could not help but admire her and her associates for their unselfishness. Finally, he thanked her "for the opportunities you made for us to cooperate. . . ."³⁹

The next generation of the Schiff family recognized Wald's position as expert, leader and friend. Paul Warburg and his brother Felix took charge of the Henry Street Settlement investments, but Paul playfully thought it necessary to seek Wald's permission to call "each other by our Christian or rather Jewish names."⁴⁰ Wald reacted to the millionaire brothers with a combination of flattering friendship and coyness. "I have not a doubt . . . that you are making real sacrifices," she wrote to them, "but if you have any pennies

to spare," it would help.⁴¹

While Wald absorbed and utilized most of Schiff's recommendations as to administration and promotion of the Visiting Nurse Service and the Henry Street Settlement, she chose to overlook his views as to growth and incorporation. In 1902, he wrote of his fears that incorporation would make her work seem like that of any other society "and the interest of some, at least, in the Settlement, its work, and its influence may be lost, or at least diminished." Moreover, he added:

It is, . . . my opinion, not at all unlikely that some of the earnest young ladies who now come to the Settlement, to work in it and with it, are to some extent attracted to it 'just because it is a family,' and that a society, even if this feature be kept in the background, would be less of an attraction to many a young woman who would otherwise like to engage in the great work which unites you and the other member 'of the family'."⁴²

In some respects, Schiff's fears were realized. With each year of operation, both nursing and non-nursing expenditures increased. In 1902, Wald and her associates treated 3,244 patients; ten years later, the number grew to 20,708. By 1917, a staff of 134 nurses was giving care to 32,753 patients. In the same year, the Social Service Departments of the Settlement were spending \$42,988.36, and it cost over \$50,000.00 to administer the city and country properties.⁴³ Since Wald and her work were intertwined in the minds of the public, she was forced to do most of the fund raising personally. Persuading people to contribute money became her essential passion, even at the expense of all other interests. She considered the effort to be the "only sacrifice she made

in her career.⁴⁴

A list of Henry Street's supporters reads like Who's Who in American business. Morganthaus, Lewisohns, Rockefellers, Lehmans and Morgans were invited to the Settlement to be educated and to be persuaded to donate money. Always the approach was personal and tailored to the personality (and prejudices) of the individual.

Herbert Lehman, for example, visited Henry Street for the first time while still a college student. As the child of a wealthy family, he had never before been exposed to the poverty, filth and bleakness of slum life. The visit had a lasting impression on him, as did Lillian Wald. At her suggestion, he became a club leader at the Settlement. The boys in the "Patriots" soon outgrew the club, but Lehman "maintained" his "friendship with Miss Wald throughout her life."⁴⁵

As Lehman became more powerful and wealthy, the Head Worker appealed to him often. In 1928, when she hoped to add to the settlement, she wrote:

If in your wide contacts you find anybody
who has had good fortune in money making and
who may be looking for investments in altruism,
would you bear in mind our great desire to
have a nursery school?

Wald denied that this was to be taken as an appeal to Lehman for she would "have to hang my head in shame" if she forgot how much help he had already extended to her.⁴⁶ Despite these protestations, two weeks later, Wald mailed her friend a five page memo detailing her plans for the school.⁴⁷ To those who cared for her, and so many did, a Wald appeal was difficult to resist.

Wald was often asked what she would do when her wealthy "Uptown friends" died or stopped giving her money. She replied that she had faith that the boys and girls who frequented the Settlement and "whom I feel to be my sons and daughters," would remain faithful to her. Many would make their fortunes and support her work. Former East Siders like Hyman Schroeder, Benjamin Schoenfein, Aaron Rabinowitz and Louis Abrons fulfilled her expectations.⁴⁸

It is sometimes forgotten in the rhetoric of reform that Wald and the other women who played important public roles in the progressive period were as much hard headed businesswomen as "angels of mercy." Allen Davis, in a biography of Jane Addams, attributed the success of Hull House to the ability of its founder to get on with the strong willed and aristocratic.⁴⁹ Both Wald and Addams learned that as their enterprises grew in size and influence so did their obligations to support and administer them.

In September, 1893, with the help of their new East Side friends, Wald and Mary Brewster found living quarters on Jefferson Street. The young women lived there for the next two years and as Wald remembered:

Naturally objections to two young women living alone in New York under these conditions had to be met, and some assurance as to our material comfort was given to the anxious, though at heart sympathetic families by promising on good furniture, a Baltimore heater for cheer, and simple but adequate household appurtenances.⁵⁰

Wald never lost sight of that first winter spent on the East Side. The Panic of 1893 exacerbated the usual conditions

of poverty. The nurses were "plunged . . . into abysses of need and helplessness never dreamed of. . . ." Reminiscing during the 1929 depression, Wald wrote:

In the early morning, before we had time to put the kettle on, people began their tramp up our five flights; and the procession continued after our nursing rounds were ended till the last minute of the night, before we sank into fatigued sleep. They came begging us to help them find work, or at least to give them a ticket entitling them to a few days of the 'made work' which was being provided as a relief measure.⁵¹

Perhaps, Wald said, this introduction to suffering, pain and poverty was in the long run an advantage. Being so busy "left neither place nor time for self analysis and consequent self consciousness, so prone to hinder and to dwarf wholesome instincts. . . ." Instead, the two nurses worked hard and established friendly relations with their neighbors.⁵² The young nurses did not have the time to be nervous about walking about "unsafe neighborhoods," and into tenement apartments unaccompanied. Though friends warned of dangers, no one, even the most rowdy, ever bothered them.⁵³ Indeed, the good behavior of the poor, particularly at this time of unemployment amazed Wald. The more she realized the poverty of Lower East Side, the more she "couldn't help" but "wish that the victims would show protest."⁵⁴

The poor were not alone in climbing the five long flights of stairs to the apartment on Jefferson Street. Many "Up-towners" came as well. One sympathetic visitor who stayed to run errands and to help promote the cause was Josephine Shaw Lowell.⁵⁵ Mrs. Lowell, a founder of the Women Worker's

Society, was one of the first to urge female wage-earners to organize "to assist in the removal of the unjust features of the present labor system."⁵⁶ Working women and women outside the factory, like Lowell, had to work together to get fair wages and working conditions. The Consumer's League, which attempted to educate the public as to labor conditions and to influence legislation, was a direct outgrowth of the Society, as was the idea for the Woman's Trade Union League.⁵⁷

Within a short time, Jacob Schiff offered to buy Wald and Brewster a "suitable house either in Henry or Madison Street," sites which Wald considered most suitable.⁵⁸ Wald found the perfect place at 265 Henry Street and Schiff provided the funds for repair and restoration.⁵⁹ The nurses' new headquarters was situated in what had been a good residential section and the women hoped that they could save something beautiful from an older New York.⁶⁰ Mary Brewster was denied the pleasure of watching her dream materialize. Overwork endangered her health and she was forced to abandon nursing.⁶¹

The settlement house established on Henry Street (at first called the Nurses' Settlement) developed along the lines of others founded for the poor in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Its most unique feature was the Visiting Nurse Service. In most other respects, it followed the same patterns and developed the same range of activities as other houses--music, art and dance classes and club work.⁶² It was Wald's belief that beauty was essential to well being, as much so as any other necessity of life. The emphasis on the arts

was perhaps best expressed in the establishment of the Neighborhood Playhouse under the direction of Irene and Alice Lewisohn. The Playhouse was the show piece of the Settlement for years and was often a visitor's first introduction to Henry Street.⁶³

Social settlements have been subject to much criticism over the years. Conservatives equated social work with radicalism while radicals suggested that social workers attempted "to paint the wound of poverty with a camel's hair brush dipped in a weak solution of Ruskin, Prince Kropotkin and Florence Nightingale."⁶⁴ Emma Goldman "dismissed settlement work as 'teaching the poor to eat with a fork.'"⁶⁵ Even friends of the settlement movement faulted it for scattering energies in too many directions in the beginning and for settling into accepted routines in later years.⁶⁶

Bruno Lasker believed that "the real function, the main function, of the settlements--quite aside from any other useful things they might do--was the bridging of cultures. . . ."⁶⁷ Wald established the Henry Street Settlement to help the immigrant Russian and Polish Jews who made up a majority of the population of the lower East Side.⁶⁸ Her reputation as friend to the immigrant is well documented. Her efforts to prevent exploitation and to get state and federal governments to extend protection to the newcomers were unceasing. She fought devices to curtail immigration such as the imposition of literacy restrictions, even when other social workers turned their backs on the foreigners.⁶⁹

Yet Wald initially failed to understand her neighbors in one of her earliest projects to help young immigrant women.

She encouraged them to leave factory jobs and to go into domestic service. This endeavor met with little success. Wald did not realize that Eastern Jews deeply feared the Gentile world. She could not comprehend the reluctance of parents to permit their daughters to live in Christian homes. She had to learn that Jewish girls regarded housework, outside of their own homes, as degrading and preferred life within the family, no matter how poor it was. Wald and her co-workers needed time to understand the attitudes of young Jewish women whose desire for independence could easily be interpreted as disrespect and impertinence and whose immigrant ways could be equated with lack of refinement.⁷⁰

Some Jews would always mistrust the settlements, including Henry Street, because they did not stand for Jewish values and ideals.⁷¹ Nevertheless Wald, despite her initial misunderstanding of the Eastern Jews, became a valued friend. She never exhibited prejudices like some social reformers or some German Jews. She learned from the East Siders because, as one recalled, "I was sure of one thing, that Miss Wald would listen to me patiently and try to get to the bottom of what I was saying."⁷²

All settlements had a special relation with women and children. These represented the two groups most served by the clubs and programs of the houses.⁷³ This generalization was particularly true of Henry Street for the Eastern Jewish immigration included a disproportionately large number of women and children, more than any other immigrant group.⁷⁴ For the young boys and girls of the East Side, Henry Street was a

refuge. A place that provided fun and a world of "firsts"--circuses, train rides, plays and organized sports. Whatever was needed for fun in childhood was to be found at the Settlement.⁷⁵ Even after the young were forced into factories to help with family support, they returned to Henry Street to find their recreation in evening classes, music, lectures and clubs.⁷⁶

Rose Cohen, a devoted alumnus of Henry Street, described the influence of Lillian Wald and Henry Street. She became ill and her mother called for a nurse.

I opened my eyes and saw a woman, a stranger, sitting beside the couch. Neither in looks nor in dress had I ever seen one like her. . . . She was . . . beautiful and distinguished.

She spoke to mother in German, gave her a card and went away. I spelled out the printed name on the card, Lillian D. Wald, 265 Henry Street.

Cohen kept a diary as a young girl and quoted from it:

Miss Wald comes to our house, and a new world opens for us. We recommend to her all our neighbors who are in need. The children join clubs . . . and I spend a great deal of time there. Miss Wald and Miss Brewster treat me with affectionate kindness. I am to be sent to the country for health, for education.⁷⁷

The Settlement encouraged the youngsters to aspire and to achieve. It inspired some to step outside the boundaries of the East Side.⁷⁸

Life was particularly difficult for the immigrant women who remained in the home and came to feel that their husbands and children were growing beyond them. The men learned American ways at work and the children spoke English in the schools. Though women enjoyed a degree of independence in the

European Shtetl, particularly by the end of the nineteenth century, in America, the women found they were regarded as alien, old fashioned and an embarrassment.⁷⁹

Wald attempted to help these women in two ways. The first was to give dignity and recognition to their old world culture and customs.⁸⁰ The second way was to assist and accelerate their acculturation. She believed that all women had to be trained in motherhood and housekeeping methods. "It is never to be forgotten," she said, "that they [women] are the executives in the home, placed there without training, but literally directing and controlling the incidents of family life."⁸¹ The alien women, in particular needed help in adopting new methods. Lessons in child care, proper nutrition and home-making were given at Henry Street and in a model apartment that the Settlement rented.⁸²

A Mother's Club was formed in order to give women a chance to expand their interests and to learn the things that their children and husbands absorbed outside of the home.⁸³ It is interesting to note that Wald, while she endorsed the idea of the club, hated the name. She wrote to the man in charge of these groups:

Thank you for all the various reports. And please dig someone for insisting on calling the Women's Clubs, Mother's Clubs! I notice in the Board of Delegates Meetings that every reference is to the Mother's Clubs. You know my sentiments about the right of a woman to be something besides a mother. . . .⁸⁴

Most important to the immigrant women was their contact with the Henry Street nurses. The residents of the Settlement represented a new kind of woman--emancipated and useful. The

immigrants learned English, removed their wigs (sheitels) and kerchiefs and attempted to emulate their American teachers.⁸⁵

NOTES

1- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 22-24; Williams, Lillian Wald, 52-63.

2- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 24.

3- Williams, Lillian Wald, 64-66.

4- Wald to the Editor of The New York Times, February 28, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

5- Yssabella Waters to Wald, September 9, 1902, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 1-3.

6- S. J. Woolf, "Miss Wald Has Seen An Ideal Blossom," The New York Times, December 1, 1929, 11; Wald, House on Henry Street, 3-6; Nutting and Dock, History of Nursing, III, 216-217; Wald, "A Brief Outline," March, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

7- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 34-35; Wald, Speech to Judeans, December 13, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 35, shows that Wald was not unique in her ignorance of living conditions of the poor. Other future social workers were equally naive.

8- Wald, House on Henry Street, 8.

9- Wald to Dr. B. Sachs, June 3, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

10- Wald, De Lamar Lecture, Johns Hopkins' University, March 2, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.

11- Harap, The Image of the Jew In American Literature, 479-484.

12- Wald to Robert Moses, February 19, 1934; Wald to Fiorello LaGuardia, March 1, 1934; Wald, Speech, "Lower East Side Reminiscences," January 23, 1927; Wald, Speech, Charles B. Stover, Memorial," April 30, 1929; Wald, Speech, "In Memory of Charles Stover," May 4, 1930; Wald, article for Unity magazine, September 10, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 279-280; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 8-12.

13- Ibid.; Mary Kingsbury Simkhovich, Neighborhood: My Story of Greenwich House (New York, 1938), 71; Leonora O'Reilly, "Diary, 1896-May, 1898," II, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, O'Reilly MSS; Charles Shively, "Leonora O'Reilly," in Notable American Women, II, 651-653.

14- Wald, House on Henry Street, 10; The Settlement Journal published by the Henry Street Settlement, June, 1904, 1; Wald, "Charles B. Stover Memorial," 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

15- Scudder, On Journey, 111; John P. Rousmaniere, "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Woman and the Settlement House, 1889-1894," American Quarterly, XXII (Spring, 1970), 45-66; Wald to R. R. Bowker, January 26, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS.

16- Scudder, On Journey, 109-111, 136-143, 160; Mann, Yankee Reformers, 114-122, 201-228.

17- Ramsay J. MacDonald, "American Social Settlements," The Commons, II (February, 1898), 4.

18- Wald, Speech at dinner for Katherine Davis, February 2, 1928; "Dr. Katherine Davis Honored at Dinner," The New York Times, February 3, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS; Mann, Yankee Reformers, 114-122, 201-228.

19- Rita W. Morgenthau, Radio Speech, October 15, 1953; Wald, "A Brief Outline," March, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 35-36.

20- "Henry Street Settlement," November 18, 1927, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Cyrus Adler, Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters (New York, 1928), I, 382-383.

21- Wald to Carl C. Dickey, December 24, 1924; Wald, Speech to the Judaeans, December 13, 1931; Wald MSS for article for American Hebrew, October 5, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS; Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 389.

22- Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 391-392.

23- Ibid., 1-11; Stephen Birmingham, Our Crowd: The Great Jewish Families of New York (New York, 1967), 154-166.

24- Bruno Lasker, "Memoir," Butler Library, Columbia University, Oral History Collection, New York, 170-171.

25- Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 214.

26- Adler, Jacob Schiff, reproduces a Schiff memo dated September, 1893, I, 354-356; II, 44-47.

27- Schiff quoted in Wise, Challenging Years, 101.

28- Adler, Jacob Schiff, II, 341.

29- Ibid., II, 344-357; Alger, "Memoir," 259-260.

30- Adler, Jacob Schiff, I 358. Schiff left Wald \$50,000 in his will, Executors of Schiff's Will to Wald, September 23, 1921, NYPL, Wald MSS. In addition, the family gave her \$40,000 for her personal use during her lifetime and Mrs. Schiff willed her \$50,000 in 1933. Wald used the bulk of these monies for the nurses and the settlement.

31- Wald to Schiff, July 14, 1893, January 4, 1894; February 2, 1894, NYPL, Wald MSS.

32- Wald's need for assurance and advice from Schiff is best illustrated by the number of letters she wrote to him in her first two years on the East Side. Wald to Schiff, July 24, 1893, July 25, 1893, July 29, 1893, July 4, 1893, July 14, 1893, August 29, 1893, October 2, 1893, November 3, 1893, November 28, 1893, January 4, 1894, January 22, 1894, March 4, 1894, February 2, 1894, October 1, 1894, October 11, 1894, November 11, 1894, December 8, 1894, November 1, 1894, February 11, 1895, March 26, 1895, April 10, 1895, NYPL, Wald MSS.

33- Schiff to Wald, March 7, 1898, in Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 356.

34- Dock to Wald, September 28, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

35- Riis to Wald, November 9, 1896, NYPL, Wald MSS; Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 385-388, II, 228-231, 290.

36- Adler, Jacob Schiff, II, 11-17.

37- Wald to Nutting, October 16, 1915, Nursing Archives Teacher's College, Columbia University, Nutting MSS. Wald, also, wished that Schiff would take more of an interest in the plight of the poor woman and tried to educate him in the problems of brutal husbands, sickly children and low wage work, see Wald to Schiff, February 11, 1895, NYPL, Wald MSS.

38- Schiff to Wald, December 31, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

39- Schiff to Wald, May, 1913, in Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 384-385.

40- Paul Warburg to Wald, July 2, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

41- Wald to Felix Warburg, May 29, 1917, Wald to Paul Warburg, December 27, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS. For information as to the Henry Street investments, see Felix Warburg to Wald, December 7, 1914, January 13, 1916, Butler Library Columbia University, Wald MSS. To Jacob Schiff's grandchildren, Wald was the dowager aunt, issuing instructions and advice, see Wald to John Schiff, January 8, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

42- Schiff to Wald, June, 1902, in Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 384.

43- Report of the Henry Street Settlement, 1893-1913, published by the Henry Street Settlement (New York, 1913); Report of the Henry Street Settlement, 1893-1918, published by the Henry Street Settlement (New York, 1918).

44- Wald to James Loeb, May 17, 1912, May 18, 1916; Wald to Walton Aims, June 1, 1932; Wald to Irene Lewisohn, October 22, 1922, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 111-120. Few articles on Wald failed to mention the rapid growth of the Settlement as well as Wald's fund raising prowess. There are also hundreds of letters in the Wald collections at the NYPL and Columbia University in which Wald laments her problems in collecting funds.

45- Herbert Lehman, "Memoir," Butler Library, Columbia University, Oral History Collection, New York, 34, 146-151, 187-190.

46- Wald to Lehman, March 27, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

47- Wald to Lehman, April 17, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

48- Wald to Louis Abrons, April 21, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS; Benjamin Schoenfein, interview, June 10, 1975; Betty Friedman, interview, June 20, 1975.

49- Davis, American Heroine, 70.

50- Wald, House on Henry Street, 11; Wald to Schiff, August 29, 1893, NYPL, Wald MSS.

51- Wald, Windows, 229. The trauma of the Panic of 1893 is apparent in the writings of other social workers, see Graham Taylor, Chicago Commons Through Forty Years (Chicago, 1936), 114-116. David P. Thelen, "Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," Journal of American History, LVI (1969), 323-341 traces the rise of progressive reform to the effects of the Panic of 1893.

52- Wald, House on Henry Street, 17.

53- Wald, interview with Mrs. Georgiana Beaver Judson, in the Bridgeport Sunday Post, June 4, 1939, 5, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 50-56.

54- Wald to Mrs. Josephine Bowen, December 17, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

55- Wald to Mrs. Glendower Evans, 1919?, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Evans MSS; Wald to W. R. Stewart, October 10, 1910; Wald, Speech, "Lower East Side Reminiscences, January 23, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

56- Alice Henry, "Life and Letters of Josephine Shaw Lowell," Life and Labor, July, 1914, 198.

57- Ibid., 196-200; Josephine Shaw Lowell, "The True Aim of Charity Organization Societies," reprint from The Forum (June, 1896), NYPL, Wald MSS.

58- Schiff to Brewster, November 17, 1894 in Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 383.

59- Wald, House on Henry Street, 81.

60- Wald, from a draft of an article on the Henry Street Nurses, October 20, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS; Helen Hall, Unfinished Business in Neighborhood and Nation (New York, 1971) 16-21.

61- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 56.

62- Wald, House on Henry Street and Windows on Henry Street; Taylor, Chicago Commons Through Forty Years; Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York, 1910), and The Second Twenty Years at Hull House, September 1909 to September, 1929 (New York, 1930); Simkhovitch, Neighborhood: My Story of Greenwich House give first hand accounts of the activities of the social settlements, as do many of Wald's speeches.

63- Wald, Windows, 165; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 126-127; Wald to Israel Zangwill, November 23, 1925; Wald to Zona Gale, November 23, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS; Alice Lewisohn Crowley, The Neighborhood Playhouse (New York, 1959).

64- Francis Hackett, "The Permanent War," New Republic, V (January 8, 1916), 255.

65- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 25; Wald to Dock, November 4, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

66- Lasker, "Memoir," 179; Addams, Second Twenty Years, 411.

67- Lasker, "Memoir," 178.

68- Y. G. Waters to Wald, September 9, 1902, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald to Solomon Lowenstein, February 19, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS. Statistics on the ethnic composition of the neighborhood are offered in Chapter 8, on woman suffrage.

69- Wald to Calvin Coolidge, December 12, 1923; Wald to Mrs. L. Meyer, November 21, 1932; Wald, Speech, "Americanism," March 1, 1919, for Settlement Conference; Wald, Speech, "The Interpretive Value of the Settlements," April 12, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 66-67, 93-99, 270-271, 290; Wald, Windows, 102; Wald to George E. Hood, January 19, 1916; Wald to Cecile B. Milner, January 18, 1926; Wald to Woodrow Wilson, February 18, 1914; Wald to Senators La Follette, O'Gorman and Root, January 19, 1913, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 90-94.

70- Wald to Schiff, January 4, 1894, July 29, 1893; Dock to Wald, 1905, NYPL, Wald MSS; Rose Cohen, Out of the Shadow (New York, 1918), is the memoir of a young immigrant girl who came into contact with Wald. She attempted to enter service, but found the life more oppressive than life in the sweat shop. Elizabeth Hasanovitz, One of Them: Chapters from a Passionate Autobiography (Boston, 1918), 85-86.

71- A. H. Fromenson, "East Side Preventative Work," Trends and Issues in Jewish Social Welfare in the United States, 1899-1952, eds. Michael Freund and Robert Morris (Philadelphia, 1966), 118-123; Jacob Billikoff, "Advanced Settlement Work," Trends and Issues, eds. Freund and Morris, 124-129; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 87.

72- Cohen, Out of the Shadow, 276.

73- Mary Simkhovitch, "The Relation of the Settlement to Women and Children," Charities, I (1898), 5-7. Wald, Speech, "Immigrant Women in New York," December 4, 1910, NYPL, Wald MSS.

74- Samuel Joseph, "Jewish Mass Immigration to the United States," Trends and Issues, eds. Freund and Morris, 15-23; Wald to Solomon Lowenstein, February 19, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

75- Benjamin P. Schoenfein, interview, June 10, 1975.

76- Hasanovitz, One of Them, 73.

77- Cohen, Out of the Shadow, 230-231.

78- Ibid., 248-253; Schoenfein, interview, June 10, 1975; Ida Meyer to Wald, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.

79- Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, Life is With People: The Culture of the Shtetl (New York, 1952), 124-141; Cohen, Out of the Shadow, 16-23; Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (New York, 1951), 151-152; David Boroff, "The Diaspora in America: A Study of Jewish Immigration," in Historical Viewpoints, ed. John A. Garraty (New York, 1975), II, 71-85; Abraham Cahan, The Rise of David Levinsky (New York, 1960).

80- Wald, House on Henry Street and Windows detail efforts to bring recognition to the immigrant women by the celebration of religious holidays and the eating of traditional foods. Wald was not unique in this practice. Jane Addams was celebrated for her appreciation of alien cultures, see John C. Farrell, Beloved Lady: A History of Jane Addams' Ideas On Reform and Peace (Baltimore, 1967), 24.

81- Wald, De Lamar Lecture, "Public Health in the Last Thirty Years," Johns Hopkins University, March 2, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.

82- Wald, House on Henry Street, 107-109; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 46.

83- Report of the Henry Street Settlement, 1893-1913, 40.

84- Wald to Karl Hesley, December 5, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

85- Wald to Henry Jenkins, November 2, 1917, November 3, 1917; Fanny Mahar to Henry Street Settlement, September 4, 1940, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 15-16, 101-102; Cohen, Out of the Shadow, 152-153.

CHAPTER FOUR

WINNING FRIENDS AND INFLUENCING POLITICOS

Lillian Wald's experiences "in one small East Side section, a block perhaps, . . . led to the next contact, and a next, in widening circles, until . . . community relations came to include the city, the state, the national government, and the world at large."¹ Contact with her Henry Street neighbors over a forty year period pointed up the need for play areas and parks, clean streets and better housing. Children required trade schools, school nurses, ungraded classes and scholarship money. Working people needed a meeting and social hall and protective legislation to guarantee them a degree of security. Some of Wald's attempts to meet these needs were non productive, some were piece meal and some were superficial, but she undertook all with a dedication to and a conviction of the importance of social reform.²

Wald moved energetically from one activity to another. At times her pace was almost frantic as she tried to fulfill her commitments. Her friend, Lavinia Dock regarded her with awe and confessed that she could not keep up with the Head Worker.³ After receiving a gift from Wald for her birthday, Dock commented that it looked as if it had come from Egypt.

Have you been over there and come back? Some one told me you were going Did you just drop in there between committee meetings etc. on the way as it were? You are indeed a wonder.⁴

Wald, in a rare moment of self analysis, wrote another friend, Elsa Herrman, that there was "someone who must have been as busy as I." Wald was visiting Russia and heard all about Catherine the Great, who "might easily have lived on Henry Street. She seems to have had the capacity for busyness. . . ."⁵

In all of her activities, Wald employed the same techniques and tactics as she used in gaining support for the nurses. When she was convinced of the need for reform in some area of life, she learned the facts and set out to gain converts to the cause, especially those with political and or financial power. She wrote letters to influential politicians and got others to do the same.⁶ It was rare for her to miss an opportunity to plead before Boards of Health, Boards of Estimate, legislatures and special investigating commissions. Her statements were artful and replete with anecdotes that she felt were more convincing than lists of statistics.⁷

Frances Perkins described a typical Wald performance at the hearings called to investigate the Triangle Shirtwaist fire. Wald was at the height of her influence and when she was called to testify, it created a hush in the chamber.

. . . Miss Wald was going to speak. Everybody came and listened. Miss Wald didn't know anything about fire prevention, but she was known as a person whose heart was always in the right place and was greatly respected because she was loved. . . .⁸

When organizations were formed with others of aroused social conscience, Wald withdrew to a less active position. She usually maintained contact with and membership in the

group, but was not involved in day by day policy. For example, she took great pride in her part in the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau and organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), but with each group, other activities demanded her attention after her initial interest.

Wald frequently related the story of the origin of the Children's Bureau. Her experience on Henry Street made clear to her the need to protect the working child. In addition, her interest in the working woman could be served with the elimination of child labor, since it would be possible to upgrade the position and wages of women in the labor market if there were no competition from children.

Wald was a life long member of the New York Child Labor Committee (NYCLC), an amalgam of social workers, academicians and a few wealthy bankers like Schiff and Paul Warburg, which grew out of the University Settlement. She also belonged to the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) which was founded by Felix Adler and had the same general membership. Both groups were committed to a program which advocated legislation to prevent child labor.⁹

Questions directed to both the NYCLC and the NCLC illustrated the need for a governmental agency to collect and provide concrete information on children--births, diseases, accidents, delinquency, and dangerous occupations. Wald wrote:

Toward the close of President [Theodore] Roosevelt's administration, a colleague [Florence Kelley] and I called upon him to present my plea for the creation of this bureau. On that day the Secretary of

Agriculture had gone South to ascertain what danger to the community lurked in the appearance of the boll weevil. This gave point to our argument that nothing that might have happened to the children of the nation could have called forth governmental inquiry.

The NCLC became the "sponsor for the necessary propaganda" for the creation of the Children's Bureau which was a step toward governmental responsibility for child welfare.¹⁰

Wald worked without ceasing for the establishment of the Bureau, even stepping down as head nurse at Henry Street in favor of Annie Goodrich, in order to have more time. From 1906 to 1912, when the bill establishing the Bureau in the Department of Labor was passed, she testified, spoke before interested groups and and wrote letters.¹¹ Nevertheless when President Taft offered her the job of Chief of the Bureau, she declined. She believed that "conceited as it may seem, I think I am more useful in New York and at my post."¹² She realized that her value lay in publicizing causes.

For Wald and other feminists, the establishment of the Bureau was a women's victory in that they had supplied "the generals, the diplomats, ammunition, and a vast army . . ." for the campaign.¹³ The Woman Voter, the official organ of the Woman Suffrage Party, hailed the passage of the Children's Bureau bill in an editorial.

Since the movement was originated by women, has been supported by women and will deal with children through the co-operation of teachers, social workers and others, chiefly women, who are in touch with the younger generation, not even the most ardent anti-suffragist could deny that management of this Bureau is strictly within woman's sphere.¹⁴

Wald maintained her interest in the child labor issue, but by the early 1920's, she had involved herself in so many other matters that she was no longer active in the cause. When Owen Lovejoy of the NCLC asked her to join the Speaker's Bureau for the Child Labor Amendment, she acceded to his request but doubted that she had the time to speak because she was so busy and all her time was pledged.¹⁵ She did, however, contact friends like Al Smith for support.¹⁶

Wald was back in the fight in the mid 1920's. Attempts to emasculate the Children's Bureau, conservative leadership of the NCLC and the difficulties encountered by supporters of the Amendment forced her into active participation in the war against child labor. A major reason for her renewed interest was the pressure on her exerted by old friends like Florence Kelley and Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau. Both chided her for permitting Wiley Swift, the head of the NCLC, to obstruct the Child Labor Amendment.¹⁷ Kelley wrote urging Wald to attend meetings and "to bring" her "far famed and sorily needed ingenuity!"¹⁸ It was time, Kelley believed, for her friend to discontinue lending her name to the NCLC, or if Wald chose not to resign then she was under a moral obligation to use her influence with the Board to get it to abandon its conservative policies.¹⁹

For the next few years, Wald again battled actively to eliminate child labor. She attended conferences, gave speeches, contacted her influential friends and helped to manoever Wiley Swift out of the NCLC. In the 1930's, Wald accelerated her efforts for the children, especially for the Child Labor

Amendment. Now in semi-retirement, she applied pressure to her allies to intensify their efforts by using the argument that the abolition of child labor would increase adult employment during the depression.²¹

Throughout her battle for children's rights, Wald believed that she was working within the women's movement. "Women," she said, "from the first sensed the significance" and importance of the abolition of child labor and the need for information about child health.²²

A second illustration of Wald's approach to reform is her relations with black Americans. Allan Davis has pointed out that:

Not all settlement workers were free of the prejudice, bigotry, and racist ideas that were so widespread in the progressive era, but being one of the few groups that had direct contact with the . . . urban Negro, they learned to have a greater sympathy for the lot of the Negro . . . and a better understanding of . . . his needs . . . than most of their generation.²³

Wald recognized that the difficulties encountered by the ordinary person in the labor market was intensified for blacks. She often told the story of the day a black woman called at Henry Street and challenged Wald to face the race problem. The nurse opened the Settlement to blacks and established a branch, Lincoln House, on the West Side of the City to service the Negro community. Wald sought out trained and efficient black nurses to staff the settlement and encouraged a program adapted to neighborhood needs.²⁴

In 1909, a group which included Mary Ovington, Henry Moskowitz, William English Walling, Oswald Garrison Villard,

Florence Kelley, Charles Edward Russell and Wald met to form an organization to work for the cause of the Negro. Early meetings of the group, the NAACP, were devoted to publicity, fund raising and membership. When it was decided to hold a national conference on the status of the Negro, the reception was held at the Henry Street Settlement, "one of the few places in the city that would accept a mixed group."²⁵ Wald and her friends did, however, fear the bad publicity that would result from an interracial group sitting down to dine together. Even some of the organizing committee members opposed the idea. The problem was solved when two hundred people agreed to attend the conference. Wald estimated that Henry Street was too small for everyone to have a sit-down dinner, so all the guests would have to eat standing up.²⁶ When the NAACP was firmly established, Wald characteristically withdrew from active membership claiming lack of time. She did maintain contact with the group through Florence Kelley, who was regarded as the Henry Street representative.²⁷

By present day standards, Wald was not free from bigotry. She believed that lack of economic opportunity for Negroes discouraged them and "reacted unfavorably on character and ability."²⁸ She resisted the efforts of Bruno Lasker to integrate the dining room operated by the Visiting Nurses²⁹ and questioned his attempts to encourage Negroes to move to the East Side neighborhood, which she believed was "not suited to them."³⁰ Wald also minimized the difficulties faced by the American Indians. Even after education herself about their problems, she declined an invitation to help the American

Indian Defense Association.³¹ Despite these shortcomings, however, Wald did try to raise money for black social workers and to petition friends for justice and jobs for the Negroes.³² She was ahead, yet still part of her time.

It may be claimed that Wald assisted the black woman more than the race as a whole, and that the aid was given behind the scenes rather than overtly and through a formal organization.³³ At Wald's Memorial Service, the Reverend John Johnson said:

Perhaps more important than anything else was Miss Wald's contribution to colored women. She gave the impetus to seek their place in the nursing profession, and Henry Street was the first organization of its kind to take them on equal terms.³⁴

Wald's involvement in the campaigns for children's rights and the NAACP were typical of her activities. She played similar roles in various pacifist organizations, the Woman's Trade Union League, women's suffrage groups and a variety of other unions formed to promote reform. Her methods and thinking were the same in all areas and in most cases, she sought to advance the position of women.³⁵

Wald's strongest asset was her "dynamic personality" backed by the prestige she enjoyed as founder of the Henry Street Settlement and the Visiting Nurse Service.³⁶ She was able to communicate her own beliefs to others in a manner "very gentle, but very forceful, with an unusual amount of determination. . . ."³⁷ She had a reputation for charm, warmth and humor. Reminiscences of Wald never fail to comment upon her exuberance and love of gaiety and conversational

banter. She was never one of the reformers of "rueful countenance." Instead, "she carried the healing power of generous laughter."³⁸ If Henry Street became a place that attracted all kinds of people, elected officials, bankers, labor leaders, lawyers, and newspaper editors, then Wald was the magnet that drew them. The dinner table was her battle field. Tales circulated about her powers of persuasion and it was said that it was expensive to be Miss Wald's dinner partner.³⁹ Felix Warburg loved to tell the story of meeting a businessman who was angry at something Wald wanted and was going to see her about the matter.

'No,' Felix said, 'don't do that. If you're sure you're right you'd better write her a letter. If you see her,' and he shrugged his shoulders expressively, 'you might change your mind. I have.'⁴⁰

The dining room at Henry Street was also used for educational purposes. Schiffs and Rockefellers were introduced to the problems of the East Side and political novices were persuaded to side with the reformers. Frances Perkins recalled the time that Mrs. Borden Harriman was appointed by President Wilson to a committee on industrial relations. Wald decided that she had to educate the "amateur" and invited her to Henry Street for a dinner party whose guest list included Florence Kelley, Paul Kellogg (Publisher of Survey), Perkins and Rose Schneiderman of the Woman's Trade Union League. The pros gave their pupil a picture of working conditions, economics and living standards of the poor and Daisy Harriman proved to be a useful member of the committee.⁴¹

It was rare for Wald to offend anyone either by her

importunities for money or by the stands she took on the issues in the years prior to World War I. Like Jane Addams, she had the "gift of imaginative sympathy" which made it "impossible for her to have toward either party in a conflict the cold hostility which either party has for the other." She was able to see both sides in a conflict and even though one side was wrong, she couldn't "help seeing why its partisans believed in it."⁴²

She was "one of the most loved of the great women of our time," said a friend, and "love was an essential element of the life she led. . . . There is no use trying to understand Lillian Wald unless you understand that inordinate capacity for loving people of all sorts and conditions. . . ."⁴³ This talent for caring and for making others love her was Wald's special strength.⁴⁴ But it may be suggested that it was also a factor which made her cautious and careful not to offend. It may have prevented her from taking more radical positions as well.

While Wald needed the rich to lend financial and moral support to her work, she needed the politician to aid with legislative programs. Most settlement workers learned to recognize the areas of joint interest that they held with politicians. Certainly the reformers came to respect the power of the bosses and to understand the reasons for that power. In turn, the politicians learned that the settlement workers represented a factor they had to deal with.⁴⁵

By the end of her career, Wald was a recognized political power. While she usually supported reform administrations,

she got "on harmoniously with almost all politicians."⁴⁶

Tammany Hall leaders constantly consulted with her and candidates of all parties sought her endorsement. She was instinctively a political animal and probably "could have gone far in politics on her own" had she been born in a different era.⁴⁷ She learned quickly the realities of political life, when to use pressure, when to use publicity, when to use the power of an influential friend and when to mobilize the numbers available at Henry Street.⁴⁸

Wald eschewed formal connection with any party, proclaiming always her independence.⁴⁹ She campaigned for Democrat, Republican, Independent, Fusion and Progressive candidates depending upon the issues and the influence she had upon the politician. She was also a frequent supporter of the Socialist Party which had great popularity among the Jewish workers on the lower East Side as well as with women who was Socialism as the only means to sexual equality.⁵⁰

Wald's introduction to politics came early in her career. She recalled that when she and Mary Brewster started their work, they believed that "politics concerned itself with matters outside their realm and experience,"⁵¹ but it did not take long for Wald "to realize that when I was working in the interest of those babies . . . , I was really in politics."⁵² She found out how powerful was the "influence of the political control upon the individual and the collective life of the neighborhood. . . ."⁵³

As a rule, Wald participated in the campaigns of reform candidates and those that involved "moral issues."⁵⁴ But her

decision to support an individual was also predicated upon his attitude toward women and his utilization of women and their experience in government.⁵⁵ She did not hesitate to play the role of political boss during an election and would mobilize the members of the Henry Street household and clubs to distribute literature, speak at meetings and act as poll watchers.⁵⁶

In New York City, reform movements were basically anti-Tammany Hall campaigns and Wald's first experience in a mayoralty election was supporting Seth Low in 1901.⁵⁷ Two members of her "staff", one a young club member and the second a nurse, wrote of their campaign experiences in the Henry Street Settlement Journal:

Surely the mind's eye must see Miss Wald in the blue checked dress giving final instructions to her corps of assistants and sending them forth with the printed sheets that were to help secure a clean mayoralty for our great city.⁵⁸

It is characteristic of Wald's humor that her own memory of the election centered on the rental of a meeting hall which was normally used by pro-Tammany politicians and was owned by a "machine" regular. The reformers, who had sold out the meeting, discovered that the hall owner had rented them a room without chairs and had planted hecklers in the audience. "Never was there a sadder failure," Wald recalled. The next day when the Henry Streeters went to hear the election returns, they saw signs and banners held by the Tammany crowd reading, "To Hell With Reform."⁵⁹ Wald's support of subsequent mayoralty candidates was more sophisticated--invitations to dinner

and some speech making--but no less energetic.⁶⁰

Whether or not she had supported an official for election did not matter to Wald when she decided that she needed assistance. She pressed for all manner of causes from more posts for women in government to the night-time removal of garbage on the East Side.⁶¹ Her campaign usually brought results, although at times she had to use powerful "connections" as extra ammunition "to coax opportunities for pet projects."⁶² When Alice and Irene Crowley needed tax benefits and permits for the Neighborhood Theater, "the influence and rapport of Lillian Wald with the city departments paved the way to the cooperation of the department chiefs in the building of this . . . enterprise."⁶³

In the same way, she put pressure on city leaders to make greater use of the womenpower in the community.⁶⁴ Her strong commitment to the cause of women in public office may be seen in her work to have Katherine Davis appointed to a post in the Bureau of Preventable Diseases. She first led a delegation to see the Mayor and later wrote to him:

Women and girls constitute a large proportion of the employees of factories and therefore, the protection of the female worker is an important function of the Government, and female sanitary inspectors and female physicians would be of the utmost value in the work.⁶⁵

Women were qualified for office by both personality and experience, Wald believed, and so had to be given greater opportunities in public life. She recommended the appointment of females to a variety of posts, mostly in areas usually associated with women like education and child welfare.

Others, however, like Fire and Police Commissioner, were jobs that were usually associated only with men.⁶⁶

When Wald's interests expanded beyond municipal boundaries, her campaign activities followed. Governors Charles Evans Hughes, Alfred Smith, Franklin Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman were all friends and supporters and Wald tried to educate them all on social issues. She was proud of instructing Hughes on immigration, child labor and trade unionism.⁶⁷ She also made sure that he recognized Henry Street's role in his election. The Settlement formed a League of Independent Voters for neighborhood campaigning and Wald wrote to Hughes to say, "I don't know if you've heard about this, but the League was . . . extremely effective not so much in vote getting as for interpretation."⁶⁸ When Hughes created a Commission on Immigration, "to make a full inquiry, examination, and investigation into the condition, welfare and industrial opportunities of aliens in the State of New York," Wald and Frances Kellor were the two women on the committee of nine members. Kellor was later named chief of the Immigration division of the Department of Labor when that bureau was created.⁶⁹ Hughes utilized other women in his administration, including the feminist Crystal Eastman who was appointed to the New York State Employer's Liability Commission.⁷⁰

National politics was, for Wald, a natural progression of interests. The first president with whom she enjoyed good relations was Theodore Roosevelt. Social workers, she said, could go to him and suggest projects, as she had done with the Children's Bureau, or talk to him about social

problems like the shirtwaist makers' strikes "and we felt that he considered himself a social worker in the truest sense of that term." Roosevelt was a sounding board for the reformers and she believed that was what a president was supposed to be.⁷¹

The election of 1912 was a difficult one for Wald. The platform of the Progressive Party was in large part inspired by social workers⁷² and many believed with Henry Moskowitz, of the University Settlement, that Roosevelt's speech at the Chicago convention was the best dealing "with social and individual justice" ever uttered.⁷³ It seemed that the new party represented "the action and passion of the times." It would make social reform a national political issue.⁷⁴ Wald's feminist friends were particularly entranced with the Bull Moose program and party. The Progressives encouraged women's participation and sought "to draw upon the great reservoir of their moral energy so long undesired and unutilized in practical politics. . . ."⁷⁵ Most important, the Progressives formally endorsed the vote for women.

From the start, there was tremendous pressure upon Wald to support Roosevelt.⁷⁶ His platform, according to Mary Dreier of the Woman's Trade Union League, held all of the things that social workers had struggled for.⁷⁷ Even Stephen Wise, who was anxious for Wald to support Wilson, admitted that the ". . . Roosevelt platform is tremendously attractive. It embodies nearly all the dreams and aspirations which have been a large part of our lives."⁷⁸

Wald applauded the social justice sections and the equal

suffrage sections of the Bull Moose platform, but believed that her friends had to surrender too much to get these provisions. Unlike Jane Addams, who understood her friend's dilemma, Wald could not "swallow those two battleships," which the platform advocated building each year, nor accept the fortification of the Panama Canal.⁷⁹ While she encouraged men like Henry Moskowitz to run on the ticket and supported local Progressive candidates, Wald refused to take an active part in the campaign on behalf of the Progressives.⁸⁰

Democrats, nevertheless, feared that Wald would follow Addams into the new party. Rabbi Wise suggested that the Henry Streeter be part of a group to press Wilson to abandon some of his conservative supporters.⁸¹ Henry Morgenthau, an old friend of the Settlement, wrote her saying that as Jane Addams's "connection with the Bull Moose Party has received so much publicity," it would be important for the Democrats to try to counteract it by publishing a letter from her espousing Wilson. Morgenthau then suggested that Wald allow herself to be placed "on some committee which would not entail any work on your part, to give us the benefit of your name and influence."⁸² It was hoped that Wald would become president of the Woman's National Wilson and Marshall Committee.⁸³

Wald decided not to support the Democrats because of women's suffrage. She refused the post saying that while she could approve Wilson's record in social reform and believed the party was moving toward progressivism and while she was concerned lest liberals divide their forces and the reaction-

aries unite for Taft, she could not support the Democratic platform.⁸⁴ She had fully expected all the parties to endorse votes for women⁸⁵ and it was, to her, illogical "to assume even a minor responsibility for a platform that has no suffrage plank."⁸⁶

The question of suffrage is an issue and it seems to me that it no longer admits of academic discussion. Those of us who care for it should have a right to ask for a plank in the political platform that we support.⁸⁷

I do not know where Governor Wilson stands on suffrage. If he is for it, his advisors should tell him that one and a half million women will vote for president.⁸⁸

Wald was relatively quiet during the election, but after 1912, she joined the permanent legislative committee of the New York State Convention of the National Progressive Party.⁸⁹ In 1916, she again abandoned the Party when she and Jane Addams supported Wilson on the peace issue.

In 1914, Wald was selected as one of the Delegates-at-Large to the New York State Constitutional Convention. She became involved because she wanted women represented at the convention, a viewpoint strongly shared by Theodore Roosevelt.⁹⁰ The former President hoped that the Progressives would insist upon the election of women as delegates to the meeting to write a new state constitution and pointed to at least fifty women who were qualified because of their experience on various state boards and in charity work.⁹¹

Wald, as Chairwoman of the Women's Temporary Committee of the State of New York for Representation in the Constitutional Convention, hoped to elect at least five female dele-

gates, although neither of the major parties was anxious to assist.⁹² She worked to publicize the accomplishments of women like Josephine Goldmark and Frances Kellor so that sympathetic men would support the nomination of women.⁹³ Wald's value was great as the representative of her sex. She showed she could organize and function among tough minded politicians. Although females in New York State did not have the vote, she set an example of what they could do when they were granted suffrage.

Considering Wald's anti-Tammany history, it is interesting that one of her great political friends was a Tammany product. But Alfred E. Smith met Wald's two criteria for support. He shared her social convictions and recognized, if reluctantly, women's right to a place in public life and to the vote. Wald supported Smith in each of his bids for governor and arranged for him to meet the heads of other settlement houses.⁹⁴ All through his career, she (sometimes accompanied by Florence Kelley) made frequent trips to Albany to insure passage of reform legislation.⁹⁵ To Wald, Smith had a true understanding of the living conditions of the poor and said the right things to alleviate them. He was for young East Siders an inspiration.⁹⁶

Smith developed strong friendships with many women in social work after his introduction to them as the result of the Triangle Fire. Mary Dreier, Frances Perkins, Wald, Kelley, and Belle Moskowitz "really influenced his thinking and stimulated his interest very greatly . . ." as to social legislation.⁹⁷

Wald lobbied to have Smith appoint Perkins to the State Industrial Commission, and then worked to gain support for it.

Miss Wald asked me to let you know that she took immediate steps to bring about support for Governor Smith in his appointment of Miss Frances Perkins. She herself telegraphed . . . him; she and Mrs. Walter Rauschenbusch wired . . .; and she asked Mr. Hall of the N.Y. Child Labor Committee and Mr. John B. Andrews to get what support they could throughout the state.⁹⁸

Wald and other women were particularly excited by Perkins' success because the Governor had sought out a woman who knew the field rather than someone's wife or daughter.⁹⁹ It seemed to the Henry Streeter "that any working woman who failed to support Smith was almost guilty of treason."¹⁰⁰

She abandoned her usually cautious approach in the election of 1928 when she came out forcefully for Smith. She acted as an individual, hoping to spare Henry Street and the Visiting Nurses from criticism. Her endorsement, however, did cause her to break with most other social workers, prohibitionists and some feminists and women trade unionists.¹⁰¹ Wald joined with John L. Elliott of the Hudson Guild Settlement in sending a letter to welfare workers throughout the United States asking for support for Smith. They called the Democrat a "social statesman" who worked for the "preservation of great power for the use of women who wash, and women who iron, as well as for the great manufactures. . . ."¹⁰²

Wald wrote to Jane Addams explaining her position. While acknowledging that Smith's record as a "wet" conflicted with her professed support of prohibition, Wald believed that the Governor was so good in other ways that she had to support him.¹⁰³

The Wald-Elliott circular letter stressed Smith's record on humanitarian issues and his understanding of the nature and value of social work.¹⁰⁴ Wald never anticipated "the perfect Niagara of mail" she received in response.¹⁰⁵ Some old friends, like Addams, Grace Abbott, Graham Taylor and Sophonsiba Breckinridge, felt they could not support Smith, but assured Wald of their affection and respect for her.¹⁰⁶ A few colleagues, like Paul Kellogg, agreed with her position,¹⁰⁷ but most people used the occasion to attack Wald and her position. The bigotry expressed surprised and offended her. It was as if "a poison gas had spread over us."¹⁰⁸ She interpreted much of the abuse as not a question of Smith's position on prohibition, since he had promised to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, but as an expression of "irrepressible prejudice against a Catholic."¹⁰⁹ The great number of letters she received from Protestant clergymen convinced her of the argument. Despite the criticism she received, which in some cases meant the loss of money for the Settlement and nurses, Wald vowed to continue to campaign for Smith.¹¹⁰ She spoke informally and continued to contact influential people whom she hoped to win over.¹¹¹

If Wald suffered a political defeat with her support of Smith, the 1928 election did accomplish the election of an old friend, Herbert Lehman (to lieutenant governor of New York) and of a new one, Franklin Roosevelt (to the governorship), both of whom she strongly endorsed.¹¹² Lehman was "a light shining in the midst of discouragements" and she hoped that Henry Street had played a part in this.¹¹³ Her

devotion to Lehman was important to him four years later when Wald assisted Smith and Roosevelt in pushing her protege into the gubernatorial race. Tammany leaders opposed Lehman. Wald helped to overcome this opposition by letters to friends in politics, visits to Boss John F. Curry and publicity threatening to withhold her support of the national ticket unless Lehman were assured the nomination.¹¹⁴

In 1932, Wald supported Robert Wagner, for the Senate, and Morris Hillquit, the Socialist candidate for mayor.¹¹⁵ Her major interest though was the presidential race; the Hoover administration had to end. She felt sorry for the "inept" president. "Poor thing, he continues to do everything on Friday and with his left hand."¹¹⁶ She was sympathetic with Norman Thomas' goals, but a visit to Hyde Park with Jane Addams assured Wald that F.D.R. was a fine man "who wants to do the right thing."¹¹⁷ Addams was less impressed and voted for Hoover again.

While Wald lauded F.D.R. and quoted Dorothy Thompson's remark that "people must understand that . . . Roosevelt thinks as Jane Addams and Lillian Wald think,"¹¹⁸ it sometimes seemed to some of her friends that she was more enthusiastic about Eleanor than Franklin Roosevelt. It is probable that Wald met the future first lady when she worked at the College Settlement and with the Consumers' League before her marriage, but the two women became close friends during the 1928 election.¹¹⁹ In that year Wald wrote Lehman, "the conjunction of Mr. Roosevelt and you and Mrs. Roosevelt augers well not only for the State but for the whole country. . . ."¹²⁰

Certainly Mrs. Roosevelt figured large in many of Wald's political letters in 1932 and 1933.

I have faith that Mr. Roosevelt and more importantly, Mrs. Roosevelt will keep the White House human and accessible.¹²¹

The Roosevelts were "a splendid pair."

The President-Elect is a very fair man, emotionally suggestive, and his wife who has real knowledge and real convictions, is in his entire confidence.¹²²

Wald was not alone in her attitude. Apparently, Molly Dewson of the Consumers' League, who played a large role in the New Deal, stressed Eleanor rather than Franklin to her associates. A friend wrote her:

As to Roosevelt, I sometimes wonder if once in a while you forget you are electing Mr., not Mrs. Roosevelt. If you clear this confusion up, and elect Mrs. R.-- why of course I'll vote for her gladly.

Otherwise, her vote would go to Hoover.¹²³

Wald was always optimistic as to the inevitability of social change if only people were informed. The New Deal, therefore, was the culmination of forty years of work as a publicist. A.A. Berle, who had been a resident of the Settlement, said that the seed of the New Deal was to be found in Henry Street and in the principles behind the work of the Visiting Nurses.¹²⁴ Wald's pet projects like the Children's Bureau were left intact or expanded. Ideas that she had endorsed over the years like unemployment insurance, old age pensions and recognition of the Soviet Union were adopted. Most important, Roosevelt drew upon skilled professionals for social welfare programs. She delighted in the presence of so

many Henry Streeters--A. A. Berle, "little Henry" Morgenthau, --in the administration. Wald's visit to the White House at the invitation of the Roosevelts was a source of great satisfaction, as was F.D.R.'s willingness to listen to her ideas.¹²⁵ With Lehman in Albany and "that vigorous, unmatched, fiery Mayor" Fiorello LaGuardia in New York, she believed that the experiences of her life were being utilized by government.¹²⁶

Equally important to her was the recognition of female talent in public life. The appointment of Maud Swartz, Molly Dewson, Frances Perkins, Caroline O'Day, Rose Schneiderman, Clara Beyer and Josephine Roche to governmental and political posts was testimony to Wald of New Deal interest in the women's cause. In 1936, Wald as co-chairman of the Good Neighbor League said:

Though the extreme feminists do not claim me, I rejoice that the President's vision is broad enough for him to see good servants and potentially great servants among the women. He has found them capable from membership in his cabinet and emissaries abroad, down to the least conspicuous office. . . .¹²⁷

Wald's health did not permit her to participate in an election campaign after 1936. For forty years, she had worked in the political arena to promote her causes. Her greatest accomplishment was in the education of politicians to reform and feminism. Hughes and Smith offer examples of two of her more apt pupils, the latter moving from being anti-suffrage to acknowledging women's right to a role in public life.¹²⁸

To accomplish her aims, Wald frequently broke with old friends and colleagues. While the goals may have been the

same, she and Jane Addams, for example, took different paths. Most students of the women of the early twentieth century lump all of the reformers into one category and describe their activities by using Addams as a model. Yet the two most prominent women of the time differed in approach in the three most important elections--1912, 1928, and 1932--of the period.

NOTES

1- Wald, Windows, 10; Wald to Dock, October 10, 1922, NYPL, Wald MSS.

2- Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 41-82; Chambers, Seed-time of Reform, 113-115, 134-138, 146-168; Wald, House on Henry Street, 46-60, 78-183; Wald, Windows, 5-10, 133-144; Hall, Unfinished Business, XIV; Wald, Speech at 25th Anniversary of Madison House, November 25, 1923; Wald to Raymond Fosdick, September 28, 1928, August 2, 1928, October 22, 1928, February 6, 1929; Wald to Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 12, 1929; Wald to William Sloane Coffin, October 20, 1928; Wald to Mrs. Charles S. Brown, Jr., April 28, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

3- Dock to Wald, February 7, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.

4- Dock to Wald, March 5, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

5- Wald to Herrman, July 8, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

6- Wald to Dr. Paul Kaplan, January 21, 1913; Elizabeth Black to Wald, May 1, 1930, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

7- Helena H. Smith, "Lillian Wald: Rampant But Respectable," New Yorker, V (December 14, 1929), 33.

8- Frances Perkins, "Memoir," Butler Library, Columbia University Oral History Collection, New York, 169.

9- Wald, Windows, 191-205; Fred S. Hall, Forty Years, 1902-1942: The Work of the New York Child Labor Committee (Brattleboro, Vermont, 1943), 7-8; Walter Trattner, Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America (Chicago, 1970), 56-64; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 129-133.

10- Wald, House on Henry Street, 164-165; Wald, Speech, "History of the Children's Bureau," to the National Conference of Social Work, May 18, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS; Trattner, Crusade for the Children, 95-96.

11- Theodore Roosevelt to Wald, January 5, 1909; Lehman to Wald, December 24, 1910, NYPL, Wald MSS; Lillian Wald, "Need for a Federal Children's Bureau," Supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences,

XXXIII (March, 1909), 23-28; James A. Tobey, The Children's Bureau: Its History, Activities and Organization (Baltimore, 1925), 1-5.

12- Wald to James Loeb, May 17, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS; Trattner, Crusade for the Children, 119.

13- Wald, Speech at a dinner for Dr. Felix Adler, February 3, 1922, NYPL, Wald MSS.

14- The Woman Voter, May, 1912, 20.

15- Lovejoy to Wald, October 8, 1924; Wald to Lovejoy, October 15, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

16- Wald to Smith, January 7, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

17- Dock to Wald, February 7, 1925; Wald to Grace Abbott, October 30, 1926; Wald to Mrs. LeBoutillier, March 28, 1927; Grace Abbott to Wald, November 1, 1926; Kelley to Wald, December 7, 1927, April 4, 1927, December 5, 1927, February 17, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 29-58.

18- Kelley to Wald, February 17, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

19- Kelley to Wald, April 4, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

20- Wald to Senator Robert Wagner, February 11, 1928; Wald, "Memo for Senator Wagner," February 11, 1928, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald to Roy Lipman Wilbur, July 10, 1930; Wald to John E. Anderson, November 3, 1930; Wald to Margaretta Taylor, December 2, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 29-58; Trattner, Crusade for the Children, 180-182.

21- Wald to Senator Wagner, March 14, 1932; Wald to Senator Royal Copeland, March 15, 1932; Wald to Courtenay Dinwiddie, March 16, 1932; Wald to Homer Folks, January 11, 1933; Wald to Women's City Club, January 11, 1933; Wald to Grace Lichen, January 11, 1933; Wald to Agnes Leach, January 11, 1933; Wald to Geroge Alger, January 11, 1933; Wald to Owen Lovejoy, January 11, 1933; Eleanor Linton to Frances Perkins, February 9, 1933; Wald to Perkins, June 29, 1933; Wald to Gen. Hugh Johnson, July 17, 1933; Courtenay Dinwiddie to Leach, December 12, 1934; Wald to Gov. Lehman, December 17, 1934; Wald to Katherine Lenroot, December 28, 1934; Wald to State Sen. E. F. Dunnigan, January 21, 1935; Wald to State Sen. Joseph C. Baldwin III, January 22, 1935; Wald to LaGuardia, January 24, 1935; Wald to the Editors of the New York Post, the Daily News and the World Telegram, January 29, 1935; Wald to Elmer F. Quinn, January 31, 1935; Wald to Baldwin, February 7, 1935, February 15, 1935; Wald to Lehman, February 22, 1935; Wald to G. A. Hall, March 18, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

22- Wald, Speech, "History of the Children's Bureau," to the National Conference of Social Work, May 18, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

23- Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 84.

24- Ibid., 95; Wald, House on Henry Street, 161-162; Lasker to Wald, June 12, 1920, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

25- Davis, Spearhead for Reform, 100-102; Oswald Garrison Villard, Fighting Years: Memoirs of a Liberal Editor (New York, 1939), 191-194.

26- Wald, Windows, 49.

27- Ibid.; Wald to John H. Delaney, June 6, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

28- Wald, House on Henry Street, 162.

29- Lasker to Wald, April 29, 1926; Wald to Lasker, April 30, 1926, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

30- Lasker to Wald, November 30, 1927; Wald to Lasker, December 2, 1927, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

31- Wald to John Collier, May 13, 1931; Wald to Roger Baldwin, March 13, 1931; Wald to A. A. Berle, Jr., March 19, 1931; Wald to Mrs. Meredith Hare, May 7, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

32- Wald to Woodrow Wilson, August 24, 1919; Wald to John H. Delaney, June 6, 1933. NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to Lasker, December 2, 1927, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

33- Ruth Logan Roberts, Speech at Citizen's Committee of New York City Award Meeting, March 5, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

34- John Johnson, Wald Memorial Service, December 1, 1940, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald wrote the introduction to Pathfinders, a book about the struggles of black nurses at the request of its author Adah B. Thomas, see Adah B. Thomas to Wald, May 12, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS.

35- William O'Neill, Everyone was Brave: A History of Feminism in America (Chicago, 1969), and William H. Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-1970 (New York, 1972) make a distinction between "social feminists" and "hard core feminists" during the years of the suffrage fight and the 1920's and 1930's. While there is no question as to Wald's place among the social reformers and her belief in the purifying influence of women in politics, her career does not bear out these histor-

ians' contention that the "social feminists" saw the woman's movement and suffrage as means to the greater end of general reform.

36- Lehman, "Memoir," 150.

37- Ibid.; Fitzpatrick, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, 35 quotes a young nurse who said that Wald "generated an enthusiasm that was 'almost religious fervor'"; Lavinia Dock, "Who's Who Column," The Alumnae News, XX (April, 1926), 9, NYPL, Wald MSS.

38- Alger, "Memoir," 248-250; Crowley, Neighborhood Playhouse, 5; Alice Lewisohn Crowley, MSS entitled "First Visit to Henry Street Settlement," NYPL, Wald MSS.

39- Smith, "LDW: Rampant but Respectable," 32; Lasker, "Memoir," 186-187.

40- Warburg as quoted in Alger, "Memoir," 258-259.

41- Perkins, "Memoir," 324-327.

42- Floyd Dell, Women as World Builders: Studies in Modern Feminism (Chicago, 1913), 34.

43- Alger, "Memoir," 252, 256.

44- Ibid., 251-252 relates the story of the last days of Wald's life. She is supposed to have told her companion that she was happy because she had loved so many and so many people had loved her.

45- Wald, House on Henry Street, 256-262; Mary Simkovitch, "Friendship and Politics," Political Science Quarterly, XVII (June, 1902), 189-205; Jane Addams, "Why the Ward Boss Rules," in The Social Thought of Jane Addams, ed. Christopher Lasch (Indianapolis, 1965), 124-133; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 169.

46- Smith, "LDW: Rampant but Respectable," 33; Lehman, "Memoirs," 151.

47- Smith, "LDW: Rampant but Respectable," 35-36.

48- Wald, House on Henry Street, 259; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 126.

49- Wald to Mrs. John Blair, May 15, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.

50- Robert Woods and Albert Kennedy, eds., Handbook of Settlements (New York, 1970), 207; Wald, House on Henry Street, 262-266; Rischin, Promised City, 219, 235; Mary Ovington, "Socialism and the Feminist Movement," The New Review, II (March, 1914), 143-147; Lawrence Fuchs, The Political Behavior

of American Jews (Glencoe, Ill., 1956), 121-130.

51- Wald, Speech, New York State Suffrage Convention, Rochester, New York, October 15, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

52- Duffus, Notes for Wald Biography, NYPL, Wald MSS.

53- Wald, House on Henry Street, 26.

54- Woods and Kennedy, eds., Handbook, 207; Wald, House on Henry Street, 259.

55- Wald, "Women in the Campaign," New York Evening Post, (November 3, 1913), NYPL, Wald MSS.

56- Wald, House on Henry Street, 250; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 181-182.

57- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 86-87; Davis Spearheads for Reform, 173-187; Lillian Wald, "Reformatory Influence of Social Service upon City Politics," Commons, VI (March, 1902), 3-4; MacDonald, "American Social Settlement," 5.

58- Louis Ougust and Jane Hitchcock, in Henry Street Settlement Journal, II (November, 1906), 1.

59- Wald, Windows, 59-60.

60- Wald to Raymond Fosdick, October 27, 1913; Wald to E. H. Harriman, November 6, 1913; Wald to John P. Mitchel, November 6, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald's last good friend at City Hall was Fiorello LaGuardia with whom she carried on a vast correspondence on social issues as well as the glories of Westport, Conn., where both had homes.

61- Wald to Commissioner of Sanitation William Edwards, July 6, 1911, July 13, 1911, July 14, 1911, May 13, 1913; Wald to H. H. Curran, February 23, 1912; Wald to Nathan Straus, December 28, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

62- Wald, House on Henry Street, 142.

63- Crowley, Neighborhood Playhouse, 36.

64- Wald to Mrs. Andrews, December 7, 1917; Irene Osgood Andrews to Wald, December 18, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

65- Wald to John Hylan, December 22, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

66- Wald, Speech, Women's City Club of New York City, December 7, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

67- Wald, House on Henry Street, 249; Robert F. Wesser, Charles Evans Hughes: Politics and Reform in New York, 1905-1910 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), 302-339.

68- Wald to Hughes, March 3, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 243.

69- Wald, House on Henry Street, 290-293.

70- Equal Rights, August 18, 1928, 219; Allen F. Davis, "Crystal Eastman," in Notable American Women, I, 543-545.

71- Wald, Obituary, "T.R., The Social Worker," Survey, January, 1919; Wald to H. Hagedorn, May 22, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald first met T.R. when he was Police Commissioner in NYC.

72- Addams, Second Twenty Years at Hull House, 26-31; Allen Davis, "The Social Workers and the Progressive Party, 1912-1916," American Historical Review, LXIX (April, 1964), 671-688; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 194-206; Davis, American Heroine, 195-197; Clarke A. Chambers, Paul Kellogg and the Survey: Voices for Social Welfare and Social Justice (Minneapolis, 1971), 49-50.

73- Moskowitz to Wald, August 2, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

74- Jane Addams, "The Progressive Dilemma: The New Party," American Magazine, LXXV (November, 1912), 14.

75- Addams, Second Twenty Years at Hull House, 33; Theodore Roosevelt to Addams, August 8, 1912 (?); Roosevelt to Addams, August 8, 1912 (?); Roosevelt to Millicent Garrett Fawcett, November 19, 1912 in Elting E. Morison and John M. Blum, eds., The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, VII (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), 594-596, 650-651.

76- Addams to Wald, August 15, 1912, August 17, 1912; Leo Arnstein to Wald, July 14, 1912, August 6, 1912; Henry Moskowitz to Wald August 2, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

77- Dreier to Wald, (1912?), NYPL, Wald MSS.

78- Wise to Wald, August 24, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

79- Addams to Wald, August 15, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS; Addams, Second Twenty Years at Hull House, 35-37.

80- Wald to William Hotchkiss, August 20, 1912, September 10, 1912; Wald to Jacob Shufro, November 2, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald claimed illness for her failure to take an active part in the campaign.

81- Wise to Wald, August 24, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS; Arthur Link, Wilson: The Road to the White House (Princeton, 1968), 474-475.

82- Morgenthau to Wald, August 8, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

83- Mrs. Borden (Florence) Harriman to Wald, August 9, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

84- Wald to Harriman, August 12, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

85- Wald to Sylvia Pankhurst, June 14, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

86- Wald to Harriman, August 10, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

87- Wald to Harriman, August 12, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

88- Wald to Henry Morgenthau, August 12, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

89- William Hotchkiss to Wald, November 13, 1912; Wald to Hotchkiss, November 15, 1912; Hotchkiss to Wald, November 16, 1912; Wald to Hotchkiss, November 19, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

90- The New York Times, July 14, 1914, 18; August 5, 1914, 20.

91- Roosevelt to Wald, July 9, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

92- Harriet Lowenstein to (Dear Sir), June 18, 1914; Frances (Kellor?) to Wald, September 2, 1914; Herbert Parsons to Wald, May 29, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

93- Wald to Goldmark, May 12, 1914, August 19, 1914; Wald to Mrs. E. H. Harriman, August 8, 1914; Wald to Parsons, May 28, 1914; John P. Mitchel to Wald, October 26, 1914; Anne Rhodes to Wald, September 2, 1914, August 22, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

94- Wald to Smith, December 20, 1918, May 14, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS. Smith also gained Wald's affections because of his support for the Visiting Nurses. He was the main speaker at the ceremonies opening the Nurses' building at 99 Park Avenue, see Interview with Naomi Deutsch, NYPL, Wald MSS. Joseph Proskauer to Wald, October 4, 1920, October 5, 1920, October 9, 1920; Wald to Smith, May 25, 1920; Wald to Proskauer, October 5, 1920, October 8, 1920; Wald to Earl Harding, October 15, 1924; Wald to Robert Ingersoll, October 15, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

95- Wald to Smith, January 9, 1920, January 15, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

96- Wald to Earl Hardind, October 15, 1924; Wald to Smith, November 20, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

97- Lehman, "Memoir," 191; Oscar Handlin, Al Smith and His America (Boston, 1958), 52-58; Matthew Josephson and Hannah Josephson, Al Smith: Hero of the Cities (Boston, 1969) 1-5, 101-144.

98- Wald (through her secretary) to Mrs. C. C. Rumsey, January 20, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

99- Perkins, "Memoir," 435-444.

100- Wald to Mary Mac Dowell, September 27, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

101- Equal Rights, the organ of the National Woman's Party applauded Smith's appointment of women but endorsed Hoover because Smith favored special protection for women, see Equal Rights, February 26, 1927, 19; January 14, 1928, 385; May 5, 1928, 107; September 22, 1928, 258-261; October 6, 1928, 279-280. Life and Labor Bulletin, February, 1925, 1-2, was critical of Smith because of his position on the Child Labor Amendment. One friend who did back Wald's stand was Lavinia Dock, who did not believe that Hoover was "honest" on the question of women's rights, see Dock to Wald, October 23, 1928, September 16, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

102- Wald and Elliott to , September 29, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

103- Wald to Addams, September 18, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 140-141, 283.

104- Wald and Elliott to , September 29, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

105- Wald to Oswald Garrison Villard, October 22, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

106- Addams to Wald, September 20, 1928; Breckenridge to Wald, October 2, 1928; Wald to Taylor, October 25, 1928; Wald to Julian Mack, October 4, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

107- Kellogg to Wald, October 1, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

108- Wald to Villard, October 22, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

109- Wald to Mary R. Smith, September 14, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

110- Wald to Ramsay MacDonald, November 7, 1928; Wald to Dr. G. E. Sehlbrede, September 8, 1928, September 14, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

111- Wald to Grace Abbott, March 29, 1928; Wald to Belle Moskowitz, April 10, 1928; Wald to Abbott, April 17, 1928; Wald to Margaret Bondfield, May 31, 1928; Wald to Belle Moskowitz, July 3, 1928, August 18, 1928, August 23, 1928; Wald to Eleanor Roosevelt, August 9, 1928; Wald to June Hamilton Rhodes, September 4, 1928; Wald to Samuel Orr, September 14, 1928; Wald to Mary McDowell, September 14, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

112- Wald to the Editor of The New York Times, October 17, 1928; Wald to Lehman, November 13, 1928; Eleanor Roosevelt to Wald, November 1, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

113- Wald to Lehman, March 14, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

114- Wald to Elizabeth Farrell, September 14, 1932; Wald to Harriett Barry, September 14, 1932; Wald to Katherine Biggs McKinney, September 19, 1932; Wald to Charles C. Burlingham, September 21, 1932; Wald to Irene Lewisohn, September 21, 1932; Wald to Dr. Sam Schwarz, September 23, 1932; Wald to Walter Lippman, September 29, 1932; Wald to Helen Reid, September 29, 1932; Wald to Arthur Sulzberger, September 29, 1932; Wald to The New York Times, September 29, 1932; Wald to the Brooklyn Eagle, September 29, 1932; Wald to Lehman, July 26, 1932, October 5, 1932; Wald to Dock, November 12, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

115- Wald to Wagner, September 21, 1932; Wald to Mrs. Newman Levy, September 28, 1932; Wald to Harriett Barry, October 18, 1932; Wald to Dock, October 24, 1932; Wald to the Socialist Party Campaign Committee, November 4, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

116- Wald to Mrs. William A. McLaren, July 7, 1932; Wald to Mr. and Mrs. Warren Eberle, October 29, 1932; Wald to Dock, October 24, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

117- Wald to Crowley, July 27, 1932; Wald to McLaren, July 27, 1932; Wald to S. Breckinridge, August 11, 1932; Wald to E. Roosevelt, August 18, 1932; Wald to Mrs. James Roosevelt, October 11, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

118- While this letter was written during the 1936 election, the statement expressed Wald's feelings in 1932 as well. Wald to Felix Warburg, July 24, 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS.

119- Joseph P. Lash, Eleanor and Franklin (New York, 1971), 153.

120- Wald to Lehman, October 6, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

121- Wald to Ishabel MacDonald, December 14, 1932; Wald to Mrs. Bowen, December 17, 1932; Wald to Dr. Alice Hamilton, December 30, 1932; Wald to E. Roosevelt, November 9, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 247.

122- Wald to Ramsay MacDonald, January 30, 1933; Wald to Yssabella G. Waters, March 9, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to E. Roosevelt, November 19, 1934, F.D.R. Library, Hyde Park, Eleanor Roosevelt MSS, Wald named Florence Kelley and Mrs. Roosevelt as "having marked progress for women in this world of ours."

123- Amy G. Maher to Dewson, March 22, 1932, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Dewson MSS.

124- A. A. Berle in interview in The New York Times, November 23, 1933, NYPL, Schwimmer-Lloyd MSS; Katherine Amend to Wald, March 15, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 319.

125- Wald to Agnes Leach, December 30, 1932; Wald to E. Roosevelt, March 20, 1933; Wald to Perkins, March 9, 1933; Wald to Lehman, December 17, 1934, NYPL, Wald MSS; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 248; Wald to E. Roosevelt, November 25, 1935; E. Roosevelt to Wald, December 3, 1935, F.D.R. Library, Hyde Park, Eleanor Roosevelt MSS; Frances Perkins, The Roosevelt I Knew (New York, 1946), 78.

126- Wald to Berle, July 26, 1937, F.D.R. Library, Hyde Park, Berle MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 260-261.

127- Wald, "Why I am for Roosevelt," (1936?), NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald's viewpoint is shared by Dewson, who headed the Women's Division of the Party and wrote an article entitled "Democratic Women in Politics," for the Journal of the Democratic National Convention (1936), 313-315, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Dewson MSS.

128- While some historians, see Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., The Politics of Upheaval (Boston, 1966), 438-440, question Smith's conversion to the cause of women in politics, Wald did not. She was, however, pained by his political conversion from liberalism. She wrote Berle that she "felt that I had attended a funeral and I don't think there will be a resurrection here," see Wald to Berle, February 5, 1936, F.D.R. Library, Hyde Park, Berle MSS.

CHAPTER FIVE

A WOMEN'S WORLD

People of all nations, economic backgrounds and professions came to Henry Street and Wald had ties to men in the financial, political, settlement and medical worlds. Yet in many ways, Wald's world was a women's world. They were her comrades. She lived and worked with and for them. She could say about many women, as she did about Mrs. Belle Moskowitz, that they were "more than friends. We understood each other and cared for the things that we held in common."¹

Her relations with others of her sex was varied. To some, Wald was a social friend, to some, a comrade in common works and to others, a kind of mother figure. To one, Mary Dreier, "Sister Wald" was "big sister and little sister and above all beloved sister to all the eager and hungre and unhappy and ardent and striving folks in all the world."²

The wives of the wealthy provided Wald with diversion and she considered time spent with them "playing hookey" from "serious matters." She welcomed the relief in at least one instance for she was "tired of being good."³ Wald enjoyed "the many good times . . . , the gay parties and the fun . . . ,"⁴ and believed she needed them in order to live a "sane and balanced" life.⁴ She was a regular member of a "special" Tuesday night group of game players.⁵ When in 1932, Wald was

hospitalized and had to miss the sessions, Mrs. Schiff sent her a backgammon board and a contribution for Henry Street. Wald thanked her saying:

. . . I am going to have your check recorded as a tribute from Mr. Backgammon Board. No apology for not feminizing it, when as anything as stiff as a board ought not to be called a lady! I am sure you'll agree with me about the gender.⁶

Though she relied upon her wealthy friends for fun and relaxation, Wald expected them to have feeling and emotional and intellectual range. She was not interested in people who were content to devote their lives to being named in society columns.⁷

The family at Henry Street was all female at first, with nurses outnumbering lay workers. In a brief time, it became apparent that male residents were needed "to counter the influence of the gang and the boss in local politics"⁸ and to attract boys and men to the Settlement. Graham Wallis, John Crosby Brown and Raymond B. Fosdick moved into 265 Henry Street in short order.⁹ By 1926, Wald could describe the family as "larger and properly balanced with more men than before."¹⁰

The pervasive female influence, however, may be seen in the following letter written to describe the head of the Boys's Clubs:

Dr. Shoemaker is . . . a very pure hearted man and has the devotion of the boys. We count ourselves fortunate in that . . . he possesses certain qualities of goodness that might be regarded the peculiar property of women in the minds of the boys were it not that such 'damaging' qualities are counteracted by a very fine physique and skill in athletics that wins the admiration of the boys.¹¹

So dominant was the nurse-female influence in the Settlement in the early years that Yssabella Waters felt obliged to write Wald to ask for permission to include the men at a Christmas dinner. Of course, the men would have to "understand that they can't stay afterward," but it would appear "heathenish to shut them out in a night like this when they have no home to go to, and this stands for their home."¹²

Freed of the usual divisive competition for men and the usual competition from men, the women developed a feeling of camaraderie and commitment to cause. They enjoyed an autonomy of action which was unique for women and so considered themselves extremely fortunate. Lillian Wald was to them "The Leading Lady," the dear sister, who made Henry Street home.¹³

Alice Lewisohn Crowley recorded her initial impression of the Settlement and its Head Worker.

The Leading Lady . . . led . . . us up to the dining room where the starched and happy company, the Settlement's Visiting Nurses and their co-workers were waiting. . . . Lively spirits sparred across the table, and presiding at its head, Lillian Wald played not one part, but innumerably changing characters. In her role as hostess, her hands seemed to work automatically as she mixed the . . . salad . . . , while she clarified some problem about unions, interlarding her conversation with whimsical stories.¹⁴

Crowley saw Wald as a statesman of a new order which would function through a "Great Mother--instead of through the rigidity of a patriarchal system."¹⁵ The concept of Wald as matriarch was not limited to Crowley. On the Head Worker's sixty-first birthday, she was honored with a poem entitled, "Mother of Henry Street."¹⁶

It was a women's world with a woman at its head. It was their own; they weren't just taking a part in it. They had "the exhilarating sense of belonging to a fellowship"¹⁷ which gave them opportunities "for self realization" and power "that in more fixed and older institutions" were impossible.¹⁸

Henry Street provided an intense community life like that of an exclusive sorority. The women worked hard and then took time to play. They staged home entertainments, usually . . . sophomoric skits and plays, and wrote new lyrics to popular music. The words expressed their delight with life at Henry Street and their pride in the recognition they and Wald had received.¹⁹ One piece, "At Last," has Wald elected mayor of New York City. She chooses her cabinet from among the nurses. To achieve "this happy state"

Talk suffrage loud and suffrage long,
At every chance you get
If you persist in suffrage now,
We will have suffragette.²⁰

Common interests and goals and the fact of womanhood rather than common ideology and class were the criteria for entrance into the "family."²¹ Sisterhood was not limited to nurses; instead, it extended to all kindred spirits. While the majority were middle class and associated with settlement work, working class women like Leonora O'Reilly were included, as were women of other nations. Sisters were activists; they were interested in the advancement of the human race; they accomplished.²² Frances Perkins reflecting on the era, claimed that her great memory was of good friends who worked without competitiveness, with great spirit toward common ends.²³

For Wald, the feeling of sisterhood extended, of course, to the nurses--Lavinia Dock, Yssabella Waters, Adelaide Nutting, Harriett Knight--with whom she lived, worked and travelled.²⁴ It also extended, however, to women in other professions and other places. Most were feminists and together they formed a kind of women's network which was mutually supportive. They provided for each other the uncritical acceptance and encouragement that is usually given by family members.

Jane Addams in Chicago and Lillian Wald in New York were the loci of the network and both Hull House and Henry Street were opened for their friends.²⁵ The Chicagoan stayed with the nurses who "were so heavenly good to her" during her frequent trips to the east.²⁶ Wald, in turn, was assured a welcome at Hull House, where her visits with kindred spirits refreshed her soul. "You may not believe me," Wald wrote Mary Smith after returning from Chicago, "but these few days with you meant a great deal. They steadied and strengthened me."²⁷ It was always a pleasure to see "so many of the real people together."²⁸

Like members of a family, the women performed favors for one another. They ran errands, purchased gifts and tried to help blood relatives,²⁹ and they accepted "the souls" sent to them by other friends.³⁰ They worried about the health of their friends and their letters are filled with news of medical problems. Dr. Alice Hamilton and Wald represented the sources of professional advice and were often consulted.³¹

They gloried in each other's achievements. "We swell the

mighty chorus of rejoicing over your success," Wald wrote to Florence Allen when she became a judge.³² At the news of Alice Hamilton's appointment to the faculty of the Harvard Medical School, Wald sent congratulations: "Hurrah! I had no idea that old Harvard had so much judgment."³³ In an introductory letter about Hamilton, written years later, Wald said:

She is the only woman on the Harvard faculty, and I suppose they couldn't avoid her appointment whatever the sex discriminations may be, because she is undoubtedly the first authority on Industrial Hygiene. . . . I think she would disarm any anti-feminist.³⁴

As in Hamilton's case, pleasure increased when "mere females" were able to secure desirable positions.³⁵ Wald and her friends willingly participated in dinners and tributes to one another. If there was any resentment at another's success, it was never apparent in their writings.³⁶ Certainly there was no hesitation in recommending a kindred spirit to a job. Wald wrote to Mayor James Walker:

I am not asking for Miss . . . Phillip's appointment . . . because she is a woman, but because I think her well qualified both by training, experience and an effective personality to hold the position. I cannot deny that women would be pleased to find that her sex was not a handicap.³⁷

Occasionally, Wald and her friends waged massive campaigns to gain recognition for "the younger generation" of women. In 1921, Wald mobilized support for Grace Abbott to succeed Julia Lathrop as head of the Children's Bureau.³⁸ Nine years later, at a meeting of social workers, a resolution was adopted urging President Hoover to appoint Abbott as Secretary

of Labor.³⁹ Wald played an active part in the campaign that followed.⁴⁰ She urged Hoover to give "evidence that women who have shown their ability and suitability are eligible for high office without prejudice of sex."⁴¹ Wald had little faith in the President. "I suspect that his own prejudice is against the idea of a woman, but no man measures up to Grace Abbott in training, personality and ability," she wrote.⁴²

Activity on behalf of Abbott's candidacy failed. Letters to the influential did not bring enough pressure upon Hoover to break with precedent and appoint a woman to the cabinet. Abbott remained at the Children's Bureau, "the hero and the pride of women who were just beginning to find a place in public affairs."⁴³

Wald and her friends were more successful in pushing the career of Frances Perkins, first to the post of Industrial Commissioner in New York and then for Secretary of Labor in Franklin Roosevelt's cabinet.⁴⁴ For this second appointment, Wald wrote to Perkins asking her not to object and to stand back while Henry Street mobilized "the nurses and the settlement people into action."⁴⁵ Wald then wrote a general letter emphasizing Perkins's training and experience and stressing that it was time to have a woman in the cabinet.⁴⁶ She sent a personal appeal to F.D.R. expressing "the hope that you in your wisdom will think the time has come for a woman in the cabinet when an outstanding woman has appeared. . . ."⁴⁷ To reinforce the pressure, Wald wrote friends to remind Roosevelt of his "good intentions" during the campaign. Also, to "tactfully" stress the argument that the A.F.L. people

supported Perkins and were "insisting that the Labor Department . . . be feminized. . . ." ⁴⁸

Of all the women of her generation with whom Wald was associated, two stand out clearly as having had the greatest influence. The first, Jane Addams, she recognized as "the incomparable leader," ⁴⁹ the woman who "affected the morals of her generation." Wald admired her friend's pragmatism, her ability to articulate her social philosophy and her intellectual integrity. Addams had the capacity to be "in the struggle and yet above it" so she was able to see things more clearly than most. The "Beloved Lady" from Chicago was a model for all women to follow. ⁵⁰

The Wald-Addams letters tend to be more reserved than Wald's letters to other female friends. Her nephew claimed that Addams's letters did not give a clue to her personality; her warmth did not emerge in messages that were "strictly business." ⁵¹ Mary R. Smith, Addams's companion of many years, seemed to provide the personal contact with the female network.

Wald and the Hull House founder worked together through the years on scores of projects, but each respected the right of the other to dissent. Their common goals did not require them to walk identical paths. In addition to political differences, they parted on the issue of attendance at the Hague Peace Conference in 1915. ⁵² Addams once asked Wald to become a member of the American Commission on Ireland, pointing out that the group provided a "chance of real usefulness." ⁵³ Wald responded that

It's just terrible not to telegraph 'Yes,' for you know without my telling you that I would go to the end of the earth with my hand in yours and not care to peep over the horizon.

But, she had to refuse the membership.⁵⁴

The second great influence on Wald was Florence Kelley. Observers of the two women delighted in pointing up the differences in their personalities and temperaments. One remembered that while both fought for the same principles, seeing them in action brought "the fable of the sun and the wind . . . to mind. Miss Wald won her points by her forbearance and understanding of her opponents, whereas Mrs. Kelley practically demolished them."⁵⁵

George Alger, a friend and admirer of both women, believed that Kelley "knew what needed to be done in a practical way perhaps better than Miss Wald did many times . . . , but Kelley didn't have the others political qualities and "wasn't anywhere so efficient in the process of getting them done. She made enemies where Miss Wald made friends." Alger gives specific examples of their techniques and concluded:

The two of them together . . . worked out perfectly for years. Mrs. Kelley . . . was a great admirer of Miss Wald, but I think Mrs. Kelley hated not to be able to tell what she thought about people she thought were doing wrong. To deprive her of that would be too much for her.⁵⁶

The two women regarded their differing qualities with amusement. In one exchange, Kelley wrote her friend:

I have made a New Years' resolution for this my 49th year. In order to form the habit for the remaining century . . . , I am starting at noon today to be nice, and say only agreeable things especially about the absent.

This is due to the force of your example.⁵⁷

At times, though Wald's behavior unnerved the more volatile woman who complained, ". . . when I revile her, she merely smiles and leaves everything as it is."⁵⁸

Wald's tributes to Kelley's intensity and "inspirational influence" were many. She was the prod, the "dedicated one who made us think." Kelley's wit and brilliance made her intolerant of inaction.⁵⁹ "She was no gentle saint" rather she was "a terrifying opponent. . . ."⁶⁰ Wald loved to tell of the time she tried to apologize for a woman who had disappointed those who had expected much of her. The Henry Streeter defended her saying, "Well, she has an open mind." "That's what I object to," flashed Florence Kelley, "It's open top and bottom."⁶¹

Her father, William "pig iron" Kelley (A Pennsylvania Congressman), guided her haphazard education until she entered Cornell University, and after graduation the Law School of Zurich. Kelley's fellow students in Switzerland ignited her mind which was like "tinder awaiting a match" with Socialist philosophy. It seemed to her to be the answer to the problems of industrialism that she had viewed while travelling with her father. Kelley's American pragmatism was distrusted by her colleagues, however, and she was expelled from the party.⁶² Once, many years later, while watching a parade of Socialist workers Kelley said, "I belong there, but they put me out because I could speak English."⁶³ While she maintained ties to Socialism all her life, Kelley came to accept the fact that social reform came with "drudgery and delay--spade work

with or without a harvest."⁶⁴ She never learned to compromise, but she did learn how to operate within the system.

Kelley was unique among the women in that she was familiar at first hand with the problems of the working mother. She had married while in Zurich, a Russian physician, Lazare Wischnewetsky, and had three children before the couple were divorced. Kelley went to live at Hull House and entrusted her children first to the care of the Henry Demerest Lloyds and later to boarding schools. Her letters are evident of her loneliness for them as well as her constant concern.

My conscience pricks when I am talking with strangers. . . . I am thinking of my coughing . . . laddie. . . . This separation is only of the body, for whenever you fix your mind on your loving old Ma, you know that you are the light of her eyes, and the joy of her heart, and the hope that cheers her hours of absence. . . .⁶⁵

Governor John Peter Altgeld appointed her to the post of Illinois Chief Inspector of Factories. As the first woman to hold such a position, she set the standards for the enforcement of child labor and anti-sweatshop legislation.⁶⁶ Her salary was too small to adequately support her children and her life would have been even more difficult were it not for the generosity of Mary Smith and other friends who bought clothes and paid the tuition for her daughter, Margaret.⁶⁷ The Kelley children were always welcome at Hull House and often stayed there when their mother was travelling. The women in Chicago and later at Henry Street became surrogate parents to Kelley's children.⁶⁸

When the Altgeld administration was voted out of office,

Kelley's friends, like Wald, Jane Addams and Maud Nathan worked to secure a job for her in Albany where Theodore Roosevelt was governor. T.R. refused saying that the time was not ripe to appoint a woman as factory inspector.⁶⁹ In 1899, Kelley moved to Henry Street and took over the post of General Secretary of the National Consumers' League (NCL). She stayed with the NCL for the rest of her life and lived in the Settlement for twenty-four years before seeking a quieter place.⁷⁰

The bonds of friendship and love that existed between Addams, Wald and Kelley are documented by their correspondence. The support they provided one another, even when they differed should never be underestimated.⁷¹ Wald was the politician, Kelley the passion and Addams the philosopher and symbol of the women of the Progressive period. Their qualities complemented each other and their common goals drew them together.

Other women, too, enriched Wald's life as she did theirs. Leonora O'Reilly's early diaries illustrate the interplay between the Henry Street residents and the working girl. One of O'Reilly's pupils was Rose Cohen, the immigrant girl who was helped by Wald's nursing. Cohen's memoirs, Out of the Shadows, were used to educate the public on the trials of work in a sweatshop.⁷²

Catherine Breshkovsky (Babushka) became a heroine to Wald, Addams, Alice Stone Blackwell, Emma Goldman and the American working women because of her bravery in pre-revolutionary Russia. She was a welcomed visitor at Henry Street and Hull House during her periods of exile. The social workers' endorsement of the Leninist revolution, which

Breshkovsky opposed, caused a split in the ranks, but the women continued to worry about her and support her despite the rift.⁷³

Margaret Bondfield, Labor Secretary in the Ramsay MacDonald cabinet, was another of the "old pals"⁷⁴ and a frequent guest of Wald's. Bondfield was for the women in the United States a perfect example of a talented female who was permitted to achieve high public office. Perhaps a clue to the camaraderie the women enjoyed with one another can be found in a letter Wald wrote to Mary Dreier.

I liked the picture of you in the paper so very much. And I liked the idea of your playing with Eleanor Roosevelt in that happy, carefree way.

Margaret Bondfield is here and she is fine, fine! She is so fair, and fair to the people with whom she doesn't agree. I think she has grown in two ways--in avoirdupois and mentality!⁷⁵

Emma Goldman and Wald were not really friends, but these two who knew each other so well trusted and respected one another.⁷⁶ A frequent critic, Goldman believed that Wald was "genuinely concerned with the people of the East Side" and "felt an interest in the economic condition of the masses." Despite the sincerity, however, Wald's work was palliative and was, on balance, "doing more harm than good."⁷⁷ Nevertheless, Goldman valued the social worker's opinion, sent her copies of Mother Earth⁷⁸ and felt free to call upon her for help on social and personal matters.⁷⁹ Wald was sympathetic to Goldman and recognized that she was "seriously devoted to the causes that she espoused."⁸⁰ In only one case did Wald refuse to help Goldman. The radical hoped that Wald would

support her fight to get ads into the Nurses' Journal. Goldman wished to represent herself as a "Vienna Scalp and Face Specialist," a claim that offended Wald's professionalism.⁸¹

Wald did donate money to permit Goldman the time to write her autobiography. Her contributions, she was assured "tickled" Red Emma.⁸² The easy relationship between the women is evidenced by the following note sent to Henry Street after Lavinia Dock was arrested in a suffrage march. Goldman wrote:

Please remember me to Miss Dock and Miss Waters. Tell Miss Dock, I welcome her as a fellow convict now that she too has tasted the sweets of the station house.⁸³

Questions have been raised as to the nature of the friendships enjoyed by the feminist women. A recent article by James R. McGovern about Anna Howard Shaw, the suffragist, claims that many of the females "were critical of men and lacked any sustained pleasurable sexual contacts with them."⁸⁴ Negative attitudes toward men did not prevent the women from adopting characteristics--toughness, fondness for power and hard work--which are normally associated with the male sex. Most maintained relationships of an "intimate personal" nature with other women.⁸⁵ The implication of McGovern's article and other works on the settlement women is of sexual love. The modern reader with a background "steeped in Freud" translates female friendship into lesbianism.⁸⁶ The evidence that the relationships between settlement women was not genteel⁸⁷ comes largely from their sentimental and emotional personal letters. While Wald never had a permanent woman

companion as did Addams and Shaw, Alan Reznick suggests that many of her sex felt for her "an affection" which transcended "that of mere words." He claims that the large number of letters that Wald saved "hints that Wald accepted female affection and even solicited it."⁸⁸

There is no doubt that Wald received and sent huge numbers of letters which imply intimacy. Friends were addressed as "Beloved" (Mary Smith, Jane Hitchcock, Grace Abbott, Lavinia Dock) and "Dearest Angel Child" (Mary Dreier) even when the content of the letter pertained to business or casual gossip.

Intimacy and affection run through the messages. Emily Balch wrote Wald:

I would give anything to be able to fly up to New York and see you and J.A. tomorrow but I can't.

I long to see you personally and to give you a good old-fashioned smacking kiss to show you how glad I am to see you after so long.⁸⁹

and Wald communicated to "Sister" Yssabella Waters that

It seems too odd to have you an up-towner. I cannot visualize you in the dining room of the hotel, though it is not so hard to see you in a bedroom there.⁹⁰

You may be sure that I know how fatigued and strained you are, and I wish to heavens that it were in my power to give you refreshment of soul and body.⁹¹

Even the indomitable "Sister Kelley" was told that news of her return from a trip "made my heart go quite pit-a-pat."⁹² The closing lines of Wald's letters frequently expressed "dear love to you always and always,"⁹³ and "you know how dearly I love you."⁹⁴

Letters to Wald from co-workers and friends at Henry

Street were written in words even more loving and sentimental.⁹⁵

I think so often of the hundred who remember you with affection and the tens who openly adore you . . . and I'm grateful to think that your arms have been close around me and you did once upon a time, kiss me good night and even good morning.⁹⁶

Superficially, it might appear that overt homosexual activity was not uncommon at Henry Street. Such an interpretation would overlook the fact that all of Wald's letters to males and females were written in the flowery style of the nineteenth century. It is inconceivable that she had a sexual relationship with all the women she addressed with terms of love. Wald enjoyed giving and getting affection and this character trait is expressed in her correspondence.

R. L. Duffus and Wald went through her papers for the preparation of her 1938 biography. Given her concern with her reputation, her position and the importance of her work, it is logical to assume that she would have destroyed letters that she considered to be damaging. Apparently, Wald believed that the correspondence was innocent and would not be interpreted in any other way.

It must be remembered that it was common for women raised in the Victorian era and who were "kindred spirits" to love one another with a feeling of sisterly fellowship. The erotic did not have to intrude upon intimate relationships.⁹⁷ In 1963, Allan Davis had the opportunity to interview Dr. Alice Hamilton, then in her nineties, about the relationship of women to other women in the settlement houses.

She denied that there was any open lesbian activity involving Hull House residents, but

agreed that the close relationship of the women involved an unconscious sexuality. Because it was unconscious it was unimportant she argued. Then she added with a smile that the very fact that I would bring the subject up was an indication of the separation between my generation and hers.⁹⁸

Two contemporaries of Wald, George Alger and Helen Hall also deny any hint of sexual activity. Alger maintained that Wald "seemed to have the lower passions . . . thoroughly under control,"⁹⁹ and Hall, who succeeded Wald as Head Worker at Henry Street, said that she had never heard of any talk about the women and she was sure that she would have, if there was any rumor of irregularity.¹⁰⁰

Since the major goal in women's lives is supposed to be marriage, they are commonly considered to be competitors and therefore incapable of sustaining genuine friendship. Wald and her peers seem to disprove this thinking. Apparently they "renounced romantic interests," and sublimated their sexuality in favor of other interests.¹⁰¹ Vida Scudder, who so often articulated the thoughts of her contemporaries, wrote that while most people believed that "life devoid of sexual experience lacks fulfillment," she found that "sex is not the only clue to human behavior. . . ." The absence of this aspect of life "need not mean dearth of romance or of significant personal relations."¹⁰² It is meaningful that her next chapter was entitled "Friends."

Wald may have roused an unconscious sexuality in some. She was undoubtedly a mother figure to others, but to most women, she was a friend and an inspiration. Mabel Kittredge, an early Henry Street resident wrote:

I am getting altogether too close to you--
Lady Wald--or is it your life and all those
doors that you have pushed open for me--
half open--dear--just half open--and then
I come up here and grow hungry for more
knowledge.103

NOTES

- 1- Wald to Henry Moskowitz, January 3, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 2- Dreier to Wald, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 3- Wald to Nina Warburg, March 16, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 4- Wald to Maude Nathan, October 18, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 5- Eleanor Linton (Wald's secretary) to Nathan, November 26, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 6- Wald to Mrs. Jacob Schiff, October 16, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS. Mrs. Schiff was not alone in "paying" for Wald's companionship, see Paul Warburg to Violet Conklin, March 9, 1914, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.
- 7- Wald to Page Cooper, January 11, 1926, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 8- Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 151.
- 9- Wald to Duffus, February 23, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS; Henry Street Settlement Report, 1893-1913, 15; Settlement Journal, II (November, 1906).
- 10- Wald to Dock, October 1, 1926, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 11- Wald to James Loeb, January 6, 1910, NYPL, Wald MSS; Benjamin Schoenfein, "Interview," had vivid memories of Shoemaker and his club activities even after a lapse of 60 years.
- 12- Waters to Wald, n.d., Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.
- 13- Helen Hillard to Wald, June 30, 1905, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Grace to Wald, June 3, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 14- Crowley, Neighborhood Playhouse, 5-6.
- 15- Ibid., 8.
- 16- Henry Street Settlement Journal, XXV (March 10, 1928), 1; Rita Wallach Morgenthau called herself daughter, see Wallach to Wald, January 2, 1906, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

17- Vida Scudder, "College Settlements and College Women," The Outlook, LXX (April 19, 1902), 974.

18- Wald, House on Henry Street, v-vi.

19- The Wald collection in the Butler Library, Columbia University contains several of these original pieces with titles like, "A Settlement Queen" and "A Caller." Letters, also, document the women's pride in Wald's achievements, see Eleanor Linton to Dock, February 21, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

20- "At Last," March 10, 1909, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

21- The sisterhood or women's network may be the female equivalent of the "old boy's network" or the male-male bond described in Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, The Imperial Animal (New York, 1971), 85-117. Paul Kellogg, during a visit to England, said he felt at home in the Labor Party for there were people of his "own kind" in it, people he identified with "purely and fully in an ideological sense." Chambers, Kellogg, 66. Kellogg and Owen Lovejoy are examples of men, "brothers," who were admitted to the family.

22- Wald to Mr. Michaelson of the Sunday World, December 26, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS.

23- Perkins, "Memoirs," 200-201.

24- Wald, Windows, 42-47 pays tribute to some of these women although their work is lauded throughout the book. Farrell is not a nurse; she started the practice of ungraded classes in the New York City schools.

25- Alice Stone Blackwell to Mr. Steanes, n.d., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Blackwell Family MSS; Addams to Wald, December 11, 1913, August 23, 1917, September 5, 1899, NYPL, Wald MSS; Addams to Wald, November 5, 1905, January 26, 1907, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

26- Addams to Wald, June 4, 1917, February 13, 1917, March 3, 1917, December 6, 1898, February 13, 1899, January 15, 1900, March 18, 1900, February 23, 1900, February 3, 1917, June 4, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS; Addams to Wald, April 3, 1902, April 7, 1905, November 24, 1906, March 8, 1907, June 16, 1907, April 3, 1908, February 14, 1909, February 26, 1910, January 4, 1911, March 6, 1912, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

27- Wald to Smith, May 29, 1918, NYPL, Wald MSS.

28- Mary Kenny O'Sullivan to Wald, March 3, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

29- Addams to Wald, December 6, 1898, September 5, 1899, October 22, 1899, November 19, 1900; Wald to Committee of Admissions, Antioch College, September 16, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS; Addams to Wald, May 19, 1903, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald to Kelley, December 17, 1917, July 31, 1925, August 21, 1925, NYPL, Kelley Family MSS.

30- Charlotte Perkins Gilman to Wald, October 19, 1903, January 10, 1907, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Mary McDowell to Wald, January 28, 1909; Wald to Ruth Freeman, May 31, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

31- Hamilton to Wald, June 5, 1920; Wald to Nicholas Kelley, October 26, 1931, November 2, 1931, November 16, 1931; Wald to Dr. Nell Halsted, October 26, 1931, November 14, 1931; Wald to Elsa Herrmann, October 30, 1931; Wald to Esther Kohn, February 20, 1932; Wald to Dock, October 13, 1931; Kelley to Wald, May 22, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS; Kelley to Addams, May 14, 1925; Kelley to Mary Smith, April 17, 1928, Smith to Kelley, April 20, 1928; Wald to Kelley, October 10, 1925, October 7, 1931, November 4, 1931, December 10, 1931, December 28, 1931; Smith to Kelley, January 15, 1928, NYPL, Kelley Family MSS; Kelley to Nicholas Kelley, n.d., Butler Library, Columbia University, Kelley MSS.

32- Wald to Allen, November 14, 1922, Library of Congress, Allen MSS.

33- Wald to Hamilton, March 13, 1919; Wald to the editors of Nation, March 22, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

34- Wald to Kate Ladd, August 24, 1932; Wald to Dr. Stephen Duggan, February 4, 1932; Wald to Frieda Warburg, May 9, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to Eleanor Roosevelt, August 12, 1933, F.D.R. Library, Hyde Park, Eleanor Roosevelt MSS.

35- Wald to Mary O'Sullivan, March 4, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

36- C. C. Catt to Ida Harper, July 24, 1916, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Harper MSS; Alice Blackwell to Wald, October 4, 1919; Wald to Wenona Pinkham, September 4, 1919; Wald to Blackwell, February 5, 1931, Wald to Sarah Sturdevant, December 14, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS; Kelley to Dewson, June 3, 1931; Dewson to Kelley, June 5, 1931(?), NYPL, Kelley Family MSS.

37- Wald to Walker, November 5, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

38- Wald to Dr. Samuel Lindsay, May 7, 1921; Lindsay to Wald, May 9, 1921, Butler Library, Columbia University, Lindsay MSS.

39- Dr. Richard Cabot to Hoover, June, 1930?, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Brown MSS.

40- Edith Abbott, "Grace Abbott: A Sister's Memories," The Social Service Review, XIII (September, 1939), 351-407; Wald to Prof. Joseph Chamberlain, June 4, 1930; Wald to Agnes Leach, June 4, 1930; Wald to Owen Lovejoy, June 4, 1930; Wald to Paul Kellogg, June 12, 1930; Wald to Dr. A. J. Todd, June 12, 1930; Wald to Edward DeVine, November 14, 1930; Wald to Alger, November 14, 1930; Wald to Helen Reid, November 18, 1930; Wald to Mrs. Thomas Lamont, November 18, 1930, November 19, 1930; Wald to Felix Warburg, November 19, 1930; Wald to William Hodson, November 19, 1930; Warburg to Wald, November 18, 1930; Wald, "Memo to Self, Re: Grace Abbott-Sec. Cabinet," 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS; Emily Marconnier to Clara Beyer, November 12, 1930; Beyer to Wald, November 13, 1930, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Beyer MSS.

41- Wald to Hoover, June 14, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

42- Wald to Paul Cravath, November 14, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

43- Katherine Lenroot as quoted in Jill Conway, "Grace Abbott," in Notable American Women, I, 4.

44- Wald to Perkins, December 12, 1928; Wald to Pictorial Review Achievement Award Committee, June 19, 1929; Wald, Circular Letter on Perkins, 1933; Kelley to Wald, June 13, 1929; Wald to New York Times, June 15, 1929; Wald to Perkins, November 10, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS; Frances Perkins, "My Recollections of Florence Kelley," The Social Science Review, XXVIII (March, 1954), 19.

45- Wald to Perkins, November 23, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

46- Wald to "no salutation," November 23, 1932; Wald to Louis Pink, December 5, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

47- Wald to F.D.R., December 18, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

48- Wald to Sophonisba Breckinridge, December 30, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

49- Wald, Speech to Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, January 12, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

50- Wald, "Jane Addams," Unity (June 17, 1935); Wald, Speech at Town Hall, New York City, 1929; Wald to Nobel Prize Committee, January 16, 1923; Wald to Viscount Takahashi and family, March 17, 1923; Amy Woods to Wald, December 30, 1922; Wald to Kelley, December 10, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS; Lillian Wald, "An Afterword" in Forty Years at Hull House by Jane Addams (New York, 1935).

51- James Weber Linn to Wald, January 25, 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS.

52- Smith to Wald, March 31, 1915; Addams to Wald, March 26, 1915; Addams to Paul Kellogg, September 24, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

53- Addams to Wald, November 8, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

54- Wald to Addams, November 10, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

55- Rita W. Morgenthau, Radio Speech, October 15, 1953, NYPL, Wald MSS.

56- Alger, "Memoir," 269-272.

57- Kelley to Wald, January 11, 1909, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

58- Kelley quoted in Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 47.

59- Wald, Speech before the Memorial Meeting of the NAACP, Washington, May 20, 1932; Wald, "Reminiscences," February, 1932; Wald to Daisy Harriman, October 22, 1924, November 15, 1924; Harriman to Wald, October 13, 1924, November 7, 1924; Wald to Anna Woerishofer, November 28, 1924; Wald to C.E. Keck, December 3, 1924, December 5, 1924, December 9, 1924; Perkins to Wald, October 3, 1924, September 27, 1924; Wald to John Elliott, March 1, 1932; Wald to Newton Baker, March 2, 1932; Wald to John Lathrop, March 10, 1932; Wald to Abbott, March 10, 1932; Walter White to Bertha Carter (Wald's secretary), April 12, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 42-44, 329-330. Wald's tributes to Kelley are echoed by many of the other women like Perkins and Dr. Hamilton.

60- Perkins, "Recollections of Kelley."

61- Wald, Windows, 42-44, 329-330; Wald told the same story at the NAACP memorial meeting, May 20, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

62- Dorothy Blumberg, Florence Kelley (New York, 1966); Perkins, "Recollections of Kelley;" Josephine Goldmark, Impatient Crusader (Urbana, 1953); Louise C. Wade, "Florence Kelley," Notable American Women, II, 316-319 are secondary accounts of Kelley's life. She wrote her memoirs for Survey magazine when she was under attack by "patriot" groups in order to show her background, see Florence Kelley, "My Philadelphia," Survey, LVII (October 1, 1926), 7-11, 50-57; "When Co-education Was Young," Survey, LVII (February 1, 1927), 557-561, 600-602; "My Novitiate," Survey, LVIII (April 1, 1927), 31-35; "I Go To Work," Survey, LVIII (June 1, 1927), 271-274, 301.

63- Wald, Windows, 43.

64- Kelley to Dewson, February 17, 1924, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Dewson MSS.

65- Kelley to Nicholas or John Kelley, n.d.; Kelley to Caroline Kelley, March 16, 1892, November 10, 1903, Butler Library, Columbia University, Kelley Family MSS; Ellen Starr to Kelley, May 27, 1900; Addams to Kelley, April 7, 1900; Jane Lloyd Jones to Kelley, January 10, 1897, January 13, 1899, February 17, 1900, August 20, 1900; Kelley to Nicholas Kelley, March 23, 1893; Addams to Kelley, May 14, 1899; Hamilton to Kelley, May 31, 1899, NYPL, Kelley Family MSS; Kelley to Wald, n.d., NYPL, Wald MSS.

66- Theodore Roosevelt to Kelley, June 2, 1899, Butler Library, Columbia University, Kelley Family MSS.

67- Kelley to Caroline Kelley, July 16, 1901, May 1, 1904, Butler Library, Columbia University, Kelley Family MSS.

68- Mary Smith to Kelley, August 25, (?), Butler Library, Columbia University, Kelley Family MSS; Wald to Kelley, August 11, 1901; Sister Henrietta ? to Kelley, January 31, 1917, NYPL, Kelley Family MSS. The ties between the Kelleys and Wald lasted through the lives of all the principals. Nicholas Kelley became a member of the Executive Committee of Henry Street and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the NCL. Hyman Schroeder of Henry Street was treasurer of the NCL.

69- All the women worked to get Kelley the job with T.R., but Wald and Addams were opposed to her taking the post with the NCL. Kelley made her own decision without "family blessing." Kelley to Wald, January 24, 1899, March 23, 1899; Addams to Wald, February 13, 1899, NYPL, Wald MSS; Maud Nathan, The Story of an Epoch Making Movement (Garden City, 1926), 54-56.

70- Kelley to Elsa Herrmann, September 24, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.

71- Wald to Kelley, July 9, 1922, August 9, 1899, July 4, 1922, July 31, 1925, August 21, 1925, October 10, 1925; Addams to Kelley, November 8, 1899; Kelley to Addams, May 14, 1925, NYPL, Kelley Family MSS; Wald to Kelley, August 4, 1921, January 19, 1927, May 20, 1927; Kelley to Wald, July 20, 1899, NYPL, Wald MSS.

72- Louise Perkins to Wald, August 16, 1897, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, O'Reilly MSS; Leonora O'Reilly, "Rahel of 'Out of the Shadow'," Life and Labor, May, 1919, 103-105; Edith Franklin Wyatt, "'Out of the Shadow'--An Appreciation," Life and Labor, April, 1919, 78-79.

73- Wald, House on Henry Street, 243-247; Wald, Windows, 258-261; Addams to Wald, December 31, 1910, January 25, 1919; Wald to Paul Warburg, March 6, 1919; Warburg to Wald, March 5,

1919; Wald to Breshkovsky, February 27, 1919; Blackwell to Wald, April 26, 1919, March 15, 1913, September 7, 1915, May 13, 1916, August 19, 1915, February 13, 1918, October 15, 1917, January 27, 1919, January 21, 1929, December 29, 1928, January 6, 1929; Wald to Blackwell, January 18, 1919, January 26, 1919, December 31, 1928, January 22, 1929, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Blackwell to Wald, May 20, 1911, February 4, 1931; Wald to Blackwell, January 22, 1914, February 13, 1918, January 20, 1914, Library of Congress, Blackwell Family MSS; Breshkovsky to Wald, February 24, 1919; Wald to Breshkovsky, February 27, 1919, Nursing Archives, Teachers' College, Columbia University, Nutting MSS; Goldman, Living My Life, I, 359-364, II, 661-663; Life and Labor, February, 1914, 64; April, 1917, 66; January, 1918, 9-10; Woman Citizen, March 16, 1918, 312; November 9, 1918, 492; November 23, 1918, 532; December 28, 1918, 629; February 8, 1919, 758-759, 761. Wald urged recognition of Soviet Russia, while Babushka believed that Leninist Russia was as repressive as Czarist Russia.

74- Bondfield to Wald, May 1, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

75- Wald to Dreier, July 14, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

76- Richard Drinnon, Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman (New York, 1973), 75-76.

77- Goldman, Living My Life, I, 160; Alix Kates Shulman, editor, Red Emma Speaks: Selected Writings and Speeches by Emma Goldman (New York, 1972), 176-185.

78- Wald to Goldman, December 16, 1910, NYPL, Wald MSS.

79- Newspaper clipping (mast head removed), November 14, 1920; Addams to Wald, September 17, 1901, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Goldman to Wald, November 12, 1904, November 1904?, November 29, 1910, December 15, 1910?, NYPL, Wald MSS.

80- Wald to Editor of Justice, January 13, 1911, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald to R. W. Gilder, June 24, 1909, July 14, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS.

81- Emma G. Smith (Goldman) to Wald, November, 1904?, November 12, 1904, NYPL, Wald MSS.

82- H. Weinberger to Wald, May 12, 1928; Wald to Weinberger, May 16, 1928; W. S. Van Valkenburgh to Wald, January 29, 1928, May 18, 1928; Wald to Van Valkenburgh, May 18, 1928, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

83- Goldman to Wald, December 15, 1910?, NYPL, Wald MSS.

84- James R. McGovern, "Anna Howard Shaw: New Approaches to Feminism," Journal of Social History, III (Winter, 1969-1970), 146.

85- Ibid., 133-153.

86- Davis, American Heroine, 46.

87- Farrell, Beloved Lady, 24.

88- Reznick, "Wald," 147-153.

89- Balch to Wald, September 26, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

90- Wald to Waters, April 30, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

91- Wald to Waters, October 4, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

92- Wald to Kelley, August 4, 1921, NYPL, Wald MSS.

93- Wald to Dock, June 22, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

94- Wald to Abbott, May 25, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

95- For examples, see Helen Arthur to Wald, January 14, 1907, December 10, 1907, January 30, 1907; Mary Brown to Wald, December 25, 1901, May 3, 1901; Waters to Wald, n.d., December 21, 1911; Mabel Kittredge to Wald, 31 letters, only 8 of which are dated, covering 1904-1925?, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

96- Arthur to Wald, n.d., Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

97- William R. Taylor and Christopher Lasch, "Two 'Kindred Spirits': Sorority and Family in New England, 1839-1846," New England Quarterly, XXXVI (March, 1963), 23-41; Davis, American Heroine, 45-47; Rudikoff, "Women and Success," 54; Reisman, "Two Generations," 83.

98- Davis, American Heroine, 306.

99- Alger, "Memoir," 250.

100- Hall, "Interview," May 20, 1975.

101- Views as to sexuality of the Victorian woman differ, but a strong case may be made for her interest in the subject, see Carl N. Degler, "What Ought To Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," American Historical Review, LXXXIX (December, 1974), 1467-1490.

102- Scudder, On Journey, 213-214.

103- Kittredge to Wald, n.d., Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

CHAPTER SIX

A WOMAN'S MIND

Lillian Wald's reluctance and/or ability to analyze her work and to develop a comprehensive, consistent philosophy extended to feminism. Her pragmatic nature did not permit her to take a doctrinaire stand. Too much thought on a subject, she believed, inhibited action. Added to this, was her unwillingness to articulate principles which might offend those whose acceptance and affection she needed for both personal and professional reasons. She took stands which were unpopular and preferred to explain them to people in the dining room of Henry Street rather than on the lecture platform or in books.¹

Her writings, therefore, are often contradictory as to the role and place of women in society. Generally, she tended to be a more overt feminist in her private letters to female friends than in her public utterances. To her credit, too, her views change through the years. Perhaps recognizing her own "radicalization" on the women's question in the last years of her career, she said, " . . . it is needless to repeat, 'New occasions teach new duties. Time makes ancient good uncouth.' "²

Wald never questioned sexual parity.

I have been fond of saying, until, I fear, it has become platitudinous, that men and women are equal but not identical and that the aptitudes and the traditions of each mingled is absolutely necessary for high accomplishments.³

But, she did modify somewhat her thinking as to the differences between the sexes.

Before suffrage, she emphasized woman's traditional relationship to the home. In the 1920's and 1930's, she stressed more the right of "each one to decide for himself or herself what he or she wants to make of life,"⁴ and the belief that "the professions, the vocations and avocations should be and ought to be the privilege of the individuals of the human race, irrespective of sex."⁵ Throughout her life, Wald never really resolved this dichotomy in her thinking. Woman and home remained synonymous even as she called for greater roles in the public sector.

In 1915, Wald gave a series of speeches in which she expressed her views on women and feminism.⁶ While "new woman" and "feminist" described the position that women occupied, the business of being a woman was really unchanged. The age old female desires--to cherish and dignify life--were simply being described in a new way. Women were "holding on to the things that are theirs, and ever have been and shall be." Wald referred to the description of the perfect woman in Biblical days and saw her as a consumer, a business woman, a patron of the arts and "plainly a social worker." For "'She openeth her mouth with wisdom and in her tongue is the law of kindness'." Just as society had evolved from an emphasis upon

the individual, to the family, to the tribe and then to an increased group consciousness, women had to expand their sphere of activity into the community. They could no longer engage in activity that only concerned the home.⁷

Wald credited her generation with being the first to take the great step to increased social self consciousness. Her contemporaries were part of the struggle of women toward social and political freedom. They were the pioneers who received the social training and education which was necessary to fulfill "the task of readapting the social interest of . . . [their] sex to a changed . . . environment."⁸

With the optimism of the liberal reformer,⁹ Wald anticipated that women's role in the public sector would continue to enlarge, slowly but inevitably. Well intentioned people could not fail to recognize women's right to realize themselves as well as society's need for their talents.¹⁰ To accelerate the process, Wald and those women who had gained acceptance by the public sought to bring more women into community life by removing the barriers to their employment.¹¹ Though Wald understood the importance of appearance,¹² she deplored the emphasis placed upon personal attractiveness which was "thrown into the scales as it seldom would be in considering the fitness of a man for a . . . post."¹³ Furthermore, she insisted that the "indignities" which were visited upon women who sought government jobs had to be eliminated. Mary McDowell of Hull House asked Wald to intervene when the city of Chicago required vaginal examinations for nurses employed by the Health Department.¹⁴ The campaign waged against this practice

led McDowell to exclaim, "These . . . politicians have never known the kind of women we represent and are having a liberal education just now."¹⁵

Wald recognized still another obstacle to the full utilization of female talents. In The House on Henry Street, she related the story of the reaction of the inmates of the girls' reformatory to the woman's movement. They disapproved of women voting as "unladylike" and clung to "orthodox ideals." Moreover, Wald said:

I understand that I shocked one girl . . . , by advocating the appointment of women police. The probation officer who called upon her asked her opinion of my recommendation, which was then sufficiently novel to attract newspaper attention, 'Oh,' said the girl, 'it's not right, women's place is in the home.'¹⁶

Wald believed that with the freer admission of women to public and professional life and with more women in the market place supporting themselves, the time of the "restricted, secluded, non earning woman," the "clinging vine . . . who rejoiced in the place assigned to them" and needed the protection of the chivalrous male was passed. Nothing good, she would add, was lost in this change. Both sexes, as good comrades, could now work together at "the task of organizing human happiness." It was a job that needed the active cooperation of men and women and could not be relegated to one half the world.¹⁷

If in this work women differed at all from men "it is . . . their never changing devotion to the home . . . ," but this difference was only a question of degree. For, Wald confessed,

"In my heart of hearts I see no great disparity between the profoundest convictions of men and women on the most challenging question of our times." Both have a stake in life and their sources of happiness and security are identical.¹⁸

In 1931, Wald wrote to old friends about their daughter, "I think you have been very generous parents to give her the freedom to work out her own desires and her own talents."¹⁹ All young women had the right to choose and in most cases the choice had to be made between marriage and family or career. To Wald and her friends, public life was largely incompatible with the duties of motherhood. Margaret Bondfield proclaimed that "marriage, in the true sense, is the highest of vocations, but all are not called to it." For those women who were "not called," those who chose public rather than private service, there was a duty to help the larger body of women. They had to transform their "sex energy . . . into social energy."²⁰

"The most important employment in the world," wrote Wald, "is the care of the home and the protection of children."²¹ The absence of the mother often meant the destruction of the family. She believed that the "efficient mother" was best employed in that capacity and that it was "a wasteful sacrifice to have her engaged in a less worthy occupation. . . ."²² The visiting nurses were one means of maintaining the woman at home. In case of illness, home care was preferable to hospital care. More important, Wald advocated that the state, as opposed to private charity, assume responsibility in the event "there is no man in the family, or where the man is

sick and unable to work." She and other feminists recommended and lobbied for aid to dependent children of widowed mothers.²³ Feminists would "never be content with the progress of women until they have equally assured the welfare of children."²⁴

In at least one instance, Wald deviated from her support of the motherhood ethic. In 1912, the Board of Education of New York City began the practice of denying leaves of absence to pregnant teachers. Women's groups immediately opposed this decision which discriminated against women on account of marriage and child bearing.²⁵ The Board ultimately relented, but later declared that it would grant only two maternity leaves. Wald, when interviewed on the subject, castigated the Board claiming that it had no right to set itself up as a birth control agency. The selection and retention of teachers, she said, should be based on their work and on the contribution they make and not on the number of children they bear.²⁶

Wald's record on the controversial issues of sex education and birth control illustrates the tight rope she walked as she became a popular figure and identified in the public mind with the Visiting Nurses and Henry Street. As an enlightened nurse, she recognized the needs of the community, but as an executive dependent upon outside funding, she frequently could not be too vocal.

She favored "instructing children in matters of sex" since she discovered that most parents were ill equipped to handle the subject.²⁷ Nurses, on the other hand, had the

education and opportunity to "talk frankly on the subject of sanitary and moral Prophylaxis in sexual hygiene." She regretted the neglect of "this most serious question," and the false conventional attitudes of the community. She did, however, anticipate changes in societal attitudes toward sex education.²⁸

No worker among the poor could fail to observe the ramifications of unlimited family size. Nor could any nurse on the East Side overlook the ignorance of the immigrant woman in the area of contraceptives. Information available to the middle class woman did not exist for the poor. Wald's sympathy with the mothers of more children than they could cope with is well documented. She must have been aware also of Emma Goldman's lectures, starting in 1900, on the subject of contraception and her "work for healthy motherhood and happy child-life."²⁹

Wald was, undoubtedly, loath to enter into combat with the medical fraternity on still another issue. Some physicians like Adolphus Knopf "had advocated medical participation in the investigation and practice of contraception," but most doctors, through their local societies refused to endorse birth control information dissemination because it would, they said, undermine morality and was advocated by radicals.³⁰

Wald gave qualified support to Dr. Knopf's efforts. She wrote him:

I believe that there should be birth control, but I do not know whether I would be able to endorse your term 'general' since that implies so many issues. I have taken the position that doctors should not be forbidden to give informa-

tion to their patients. The rich have been able to obtain this information from their family physician. . . .

She argued that doctors should have permission to give advice on contraception to all their "married" patients, lest this information "be used in ways not contemplated by the reformers."³¹

Wald followed the career on the Lower East Side of her sister nurse, Margaret Sanger, with great interest.³² When Woman and the New Race was published in 1920, Wald read this "interesting book" and wished that she could take "a leading part" in "this particular battle for married women's freedom." Yet Wald did not give free rein to her wishes.

However much I may cherish my individual liberty to say and do things, I am under obligation to the army of nurses affiliated with me on the staff, and less directly in other organizations. There is no question at all but that the nurses would be committed by inference to this propaganda, if I become prominently identified with it.

She believed that the gain to Sanger "would be too slight to warrant me taking a liberty with the nurses." The nursing profession had been too often singled out for criticism on this issue.³³

Wald modified her position somewhat the following year when she joined, or at least gave her name to, the committee to organize the first American Birth Control Conference.³⁴ This decision drew the applause of at least one colleague, Lavinia Dock, who wrote that she was glad to see Wald on the Committee. "I find most nurses have the true R.C. [Roman Catholic] 11th Century point of view about it--class it with the 'secret vice'."³⁵

Support for Wald was not universal and she took care in subsequent actions on the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control to point out that her endorsement of the dispersal of contraceptive information was "a personal, not a Henry Street matter." Many of the people in her organization, she believed, had different ideas.³⁶

Churchmen also criticized Wald and as a "public relations" person, she sought to quash the opposition with acceptable platitudes. To the Reverend Monsignor John Chedwick, she wrote:

I entirely agree with you that the integrity of the family is the very basis of our civilization, and any nurse 'connected with Henry Street' must I am sure, understand that that is a fundamental conviction.

I think you may rest assured that the nurses are not giving instruction themselves on birth control or contraceptive methods and that they are using all their power to discourage abortion.³⁷

Nurses were well aware that women, without knowledge of contraception, frequently resorted to abortion. Emma Goldman "working as a midwife and nurse on the East Side, . . . reluctantly turned down the heart-rending pleas of involuntary mothers to perform abortions. . . ." ³⁸ How many similar pleas were made to the Henry Street Nurses is impossible to ascertain and how many of these requests were granted is equally unknown. Despite Wald's denial to Father Chadwick, a letter to Herbert Lehman indicates that abortion help might not have been uncommon. Wald wrote her friend of a "Protestant Henry Street Nurse" who

finding an harassed patient almost out of her wits because she had prevent the birth of a

child (she had more than she could manage) found a priest who understood and she took her woman to the door of the Confessional and all is well.³⁹

Wald's support of women's rights--to have knowledge of contraceptive material, to find employment in fields normally associated with men, to have unlimited maternity leaves without penalty--did not transcend her emphasis upon women's role as mother. Although mothers "had other parts," motherhood ranked first.⁴⁰ The focus Wald placed upon the beauties and obligations of the maternal life cast doubts that she thought women could function well in various roles, could combine motherhood and career outside the home. Although she called for education for fatherhood, she accepted the notion that child rearing and homemaking were women's obligations.

Historians generally agree that in ignoring these questions, most of the feminists of the early twentieth century severely limited the women's movement.⁴¹ Wald was not unique in her thinking. Only a few women like Charlotte Gilman and Henrietta Rodman offered plans for alternate life styles within the traditional marriage,⁴² and this lack made Progressive women vulnerable to criticism of later feminists.⁴³

Perhaps the failure to explore alternative roles within marriage resulted from the fact that most Progressive era feminists rejected the institution for themselves.⁴⁴ They were, at times, even hostile to it. Wald, while acknowledging that she saw only extreme cases, related the incident of one woman who agonized over keeping from her husband the knowledge of her secret savings. These were savings from her weekly

food allowance. Wald concluded the tale with, "Nor was this our only encounter with the enslavement of womanhood by 'the master of the house'."⁴⁵ Marriage for these emancipated women was "the cruelest of traps."⁴⁶ Only those like Margaret Dreier Robins who were childless and married to men of wealth could continue to play leadership parts in the public sector. "Until I was thirty," wrote Vida Scudder, "I wanted terribly to fall in love." But as she grew older, she confessed "that married life looks to me often as I watch it terribly impoverished for women."⁴⁷

Marriage meant for most of these women an end to a life style they enjoyed, to a public position that they fought hard to attain, and most important, subordination after enjoying leadership. Perhaps a fulfillment and an indulgence at first, but later "a discipline."⁴⁸ Wald wrote, "with much emotion," a young friend on hearing of her marriage:

It seems but yesterday that you were the lovely little Rosamond with a personality all your own. I wonder how much of it will be merged with your new life. I should like to know who your partner is and what will be your trend.⁴⁹

Marriage was identified with housework and "troubles" for it was "no easy thing to be married and a mother. . . ."⁵⁰ Choices had to be made between self fulfillment and home. "I can give up the writing or the housework," complained Marion Kellogg, the wife of Wald's friend.⁵¹ It was obvious to the women that she could not do both.

Ironically Lavinia Dock, who was the first to express shock when a co-worker married and had to give up her career,⁵²

was forced into retirement when she had to care for an invalid sister. The Wald-Dock correspondence is meaningful evidence of the women's attitude toward a life which followed the housewife pattern. Dock admitted that she was "getting to like housekeeping" even though she was not too good at it. She was worried, however, because she regarded her interest "as a species of atavism and as such to be deplored."⁵³

I do see though how a housekeeper can get so that there is no time or--worse yet--no zip for anything else.⁵⁴

I consider it the life of a slave or at least of an ant.⁵⁵

Wald sent her friend her sympathies saying:

I can't bear to think of your gallant spirits held down to household drudgery. I feel like coming on and washing the dishes.⁵⁶

Jane Addams wrote that women of her generation were faced with the alternative of marriage or a career. They

could not have both . . . for two reasons. Men did not at first want to marry women of the new type, and women could not fulfill the two functions of profession and home-making until modern inventions had made a new type of housekeeping practicable, and perhaps, one should add, until public opinion tolerated the double role.⁵⁷

Addams quoted from a message she received from Emily Greene Balch, economist and peace advocate, on the subject of the unmarried professional woman. Balch spoke for all when she pointed up the personal freedom of these modern females. They could take risks because they were not hostages to families. "They found a tingling zest in discovering" that women need not be (as they had been led to believe) "weaker and more cowardly, incapable of disinterested curiosity,

unable to meet life. . . ."

Could these women live celibate lives successfully? Balch claimed that most did believe that they had lost a "universally regarded" experience, but none of the women believed that she was abnormal as the "Freudian psychoanalysts of life" would claim.

The women took pride in opening new opportunities to the next generation. They were part of and shared the experiences of a great experiment in female freedom. Balch concluded:

If the educated unmarried women of the period between the Civil War and the World War represent a unique phase, it is one that has important implications which have not yet been adequately recognized by those who insist upon the imperious claims of sex.⁵⁸

These were not women who were necessarily hostile to men. Rather, they condemned the life of the married woman in their private letters, while at the same time they romanticized the institution of marriage in public. Motherhood, it seemed, was the natural state for all women, except themselves.

NOTES

1- One other factor complicates the task of analyzing Wald's philosophy. She frequently called upon "experts" to help her with material for her speeches and writings. She corrected and added to their suggestions, but it may be suggested that much of what she said and wrote reflected the thinking of her source of information.

2- Wald, "Are Women Happier Than They Used To Be?" for the Forum, but not sent, October, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

3- Wald, "Social Possibilities of Club Work," n.d., NYPL, Wald MSS.

4- Wald, Speech to Manhattan Trade School, April 15, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

5- Wald, "Are Women Happier," NYPL, Wald MSS.

6- Gertrude Barnum, "Memorandum" provided the outlines for the 1915 talks, NYPL, Wald MSS; George B. Foster, "Philosophy of Feminism," Forum, LII (July, 1914), 20, had earlier introduced the idea of widening motherly impulses.

7- Wald, Speech "New Aspects of Old Social Responsibilities," Vassar College, October 12, 1915; Speech "What Business are Women About," at Annual Meeting of New York Nurses' Association, October 20, 1915; Speech "Women in Politics," September 13, 1920; Speech at Columbia University, October 29, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

8- Ibid.; Wald, House on Henry Street, 231; Wald, Windows, 331, 151; Wald, "Development of Public Health Nursing," 689; Wald, Speech "Social Work and Training of Volunteer Social Workers," to the National Conference of Social Work, March 6, 1923; Wald, "Memorial to Julia Lathrop, May 22, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

9- Wald makes many references to her belief that conditions will inevitably improve--"I am by nature optimistic." See Wald, Speech, 1929?; Notes of address to be given to the Association of Collegiate Alumni, Boston, Mass., April 1, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS.

10- Wald, Speech "What Business Are Women About;" Speech, "New Aspects," NYPL, Wald MSS.

11- Wald to Nina Warburg, November 14, 1930; Wald to Eva Von Baur of the Evening Sun, August 3, 1915; Wald interview in The New York Times, July 11, 1910, 11, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to Nutting, February 20, 1918; Nutting to Wald, May 27, 1916, March 1, 1918, Nursing Archives, Teachers' College, Columbia University, Nutting MSS.

12- Wald to Sonia Kay, March 4, 1929, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

13- Nutting to Wald, October 8, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

14- Emma Adams to Wald, July 23, 1915; Wald to Mary McDowell, July 26, 1915; Wald quoted in the Chicago Herald, July 29, 1915, Nursing Archives, Teachers' College, Columbia University, Nutting MSS.

15- McDowell to Wald, August 4, 1915, Nursing Archives, Teachers' College, Columbia University, Nutting MSS.

16- Wald, House on Henry Street, 268-269.

17- Wald, Speech "New Aspects;" Speech "Social Possibilities of Club Work," n.d.; Speech "What Business Are Women About;" Speech "Social Work," March 6, 1923; Speech Columbia University, October 29, 1915; article for Forum, "Are Women Happier," October, 1928; Wald to Edythe C. Strauss, December 2, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

18- Wald, Speech "Disarmament," November 11, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS. In these statements, Wald echoes the sentiments of all feminists who attempted to prove that the majority of human attributes are not sexual, see Hale, What Women Want, 19.

19- Wald to Mr. and Mrs. Sylvan Bier, October 20, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

20- Mary Agnes Hamilton, Margaret Bondfield (New York, 1925), 184-185; Scudder, On Journey, 65.

21- Wald to John Kingsbury, April 25, 1923; Wald, Speech to the University Settlement, June 26, 1911, Wald to Karl Hesley, December 5, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS. Interestingly, Wald disliked the observance of Mother's Day and believed it to be sentimental nonsense, see Wald to May Harding, March 4, 1931; Harding to Wald, March 10, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS; Hale, What Women Want, 146.

22- Wald to Robert Foerster, February 14, 1913; Wald, Interview with the Foreign Press Bureau, "Visiting Nurses," November, 1918, NYPL, Wald MSS; Lillian Wald, "The Treatment of Families in Which There is Sickness," American Journal of Nursing (March-May, 1904), 6. In part, Wald's was the feminism of Ellen Key who said that the "prime function of women is motherhood," a point of view that was popular among

European feminists, but unacceptable to some Americans, see Equal Rights, May 15, 1926, 112. On Mothers' Pensions, see Maurie Jacobs, "Mothers' Pensions," Woman's Journal, March, 1931, 22-23, 36-37; Richard Neustadt, "For the Welfare of Children," Woman Voter, March, 1915, 12; Hannah Einstein, "The Case for Widow's Pensions," Woman Voter, March, 1915, 13-16; Lillian Wald, "Mothers Can Be Trusted," Woman Voter, March, 1915, 15; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 49-50.

23- Wald, Testimony before the New York State Commission on Widowed Mothers' Pensions, Report on the Relief for Widowed Mothers (Albany, 1914), 32; Wald to Foerster, February 2, 1913, NYPL, Wald MSS.

24- Hale, What Women Want, 285.

25- Life and Labor, November, 1913, 351; January, 1914, 30-31; Henrietta Rodman, "Shall Mothers Teach," Woman Voter, December, 1914, 11-17 also reprinted in part in Life and Labor, January, 1915, 25-27.

26- Wald, Interview, 1928?, NYPL, Wald MSS.

27- Wald, Windows, 147-149.

28- Wald, "Best Way to Help the Immigrant," 1907, NYPL, Wald MSS. Dr. Abraham Jacobi, speaking as a friend of the immigrants, introduced the subject of family limitation to an A.M.A. convention in 1912, see David M. Kennedy Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger (New Haven, 1970), 173.

29- Goldman, Living My Life, II, 553-557, 569-570; Goldman, "Marriage and Love," in Red Emma Speaks, 158-167; Margaret Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control (New York, 1931), 46-56; Drinnon, Rebel in Paradise, 204-213. In an interesting essay, Edward Shorter attempts to correlate family planning, a middle class phenomenon, with female emancipation which he believes originated with proletarian women, see Edward Shorter, "Female Emancipation, Birth Control, and Fertility in European History," American Historical Review, LXXVIII (June, 1973), 605-640.

30- Kennedy, Birth Control, 173-187; Ben Barker-Benfield, "The Spermatic Economy: A Nineteenth Century View of Sexuality," in The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective, ed. Michael Gordon (New York, 1973), 350. In fact, the earliest advocates of family planning were radicals like Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

31- Wald to Knopf, September 22, 1916, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

32- Kennedy, Birth Control, 15-18; Drinnon, Rebel in Paradise, 204-213; Both Sanger and Goldman used their experiences as nurses and mid-wives on the East Side as the motivations for their interest in birth control.

33- Wald to Juliet Barrett Rublee, October 29, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

34- Sanger to Wald, April 20, 1921, October 11, 1921; Wald to Sanger, October 14, 1921, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

35- Dock to Wald, October 15, 1921, NYPL, Wald MSS.

36- Wald to Sanger, February 25, 1929, October 2, 1931; Sanger to Wald, March 9, 1929, October 1, 1931, October 5, 1931, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald to A. A. Berle, January 21, 1928, includes a letter from the United Neighborhood Houses dated January 13, 1928, polling the settlements on their birth control policy; Berle to Wald, January 24, 1928, Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, Berle MSS.

37- Wald to Chedwick, June 23, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

38- Drinnon, Rebel in Paradise, 206; Kennedy, Birth Control, 16; Sanger, My Fight, 46-56.

39- Wald to Lehman, December 17, 1934, NYPL, Wald MSS.

40- Wald to Karl Hesley, December 5, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

41- O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave; William H. Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles (New York, 1972); Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York, 1965); William O'Neill, The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England (Chicago, 1971) agree that the emphasis upon women's traditional roles in the family was a major factor in the failure on the woman's movement, as was the belief in the importance of suffrage.

42- Charlotte Perkins Gilman, The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman (New York, 1975); Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Women and Economics, ed. Carl Degler (New York, 1966); George McAdam, "Feminist Apartment House to Solve Baby Problem," The New York Times, January 24, 1915, 9; June Sochen, Movers and Shakers (New York, 1973), 19-21, 35-45, both women (Gilman was Rodman's mentor) advocated a form of communal living in order to free women from the obligations of home-making so that they might be economically self sufficient.

43- Women in the 1920's and 1930's, especially those trained for the professions, did attempt to combine marriage and career, however, there was no change in thinking as to family roles. Richard Jensen, "Family, Career, and Reform:

Women Leaders of the Progressive Era," The American Family, ed. Gordon, 267-280; Edith Clarke, "Trying To Be Modern," Nation, CXXV (August 17, 1927), 153-155. The problem was left for today's feminists to resolve, Edna G. Rostow, "Conflict and Accommodation," The Woman in America, ed. Lifton, 211-235; Lotte Bailyn, "Notes on the Role of Choice in the Psychology of Professional Women," The Woman in America, ed. Lifton, 236-246.

44- Much has been written about the unmarried state of the female reformers, Woody, History of Women's Education, II, 151-155, 192-210; Frances Abbott, "A Generation of College Women," Forum, XX (November, 1895), 377-380. June Sochen claims, on the basis of a small sampling, that most feminists--nine out of twelve--were married and most raised children, Sochen, Movers and Shakers, 87-88.

45- Wald, Windows, 333.

46- Inez Haynes Irwin, "These Modern Women: The Making of a Militant," Nation, CXXIII (December 1, 1926), 555.

47- Scudder, On Journey, 212-213.

48- Ibid.

49- Wald to Rosamond Walling, August 19, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

50- Wald to Hsui Lan, September 29, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

51- Kellogg to Wald, n.d., Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

52- Dock to Wald, September 24, 1904?, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

53- Dock to Wald, September 30, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

54- Dock to Wald, August 30, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

55- Dock to Eleanor Linton (Wald's secretary), July 2, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

56- Wald to Dock, October 2, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

57- Addams, Second Twenty Years, 196.

58- Balch quoted in Ibid., 197-198.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SISTERS WHO TOIL

I am a working woman and . . . however far I may have fallen short of my vision of accomplishment, I have always felt proud to be called a comrade and share in my small way with efforts for organization and the dignifying of the industrial worker.¹

Wald spoke these words in 1924, and they expressed a lifetime of interest and endeavor on behalf of the laborer. She supported the efforts of working people and especially of working women to unionize and to utilize the weapons of organization like the strike and the boycott. Wald recognized this activity as part of the struggle of young women for equality.² Consequently she lobbied extensively for industrial reform and spoke often urging the public to place human values above property values.³ A Hull House resident claimed that settlement women "got into the labor movement as a matter of course, without realizing how or when."⁴ At a time when labor had few friends, most social workers offered genuine sympathetic support.⁵ Wald declared that she personally did not "know of one settlement worker who has not, through the acquaintance of the wage earner, been drawn into the labor movement. . . ."⁶

Wald credited many people with educating her--"making the light penetrate"--on labor conditions. Supporters of the infant union movement like Josephine Shaw Lowell, Leonora O'Reilly,

Charles Stover, Ernest Crosby and Edward King often used the Social Reform Club as a forum to discuss labor conditions. They convinced Wald that poverty would never be eradicated until the worker could be guaranteed fair wages. A member of the Club recalled most of the group favored social legislation and unions at a time when "both were under suspicion among the righteous and prosperous as forms of socialism. . . ." ⁷

Lowell and O'Reilly helped organize the Working Women's Society, which aimed to establish trade unions "to the end of increasing wages and shortening hours." The Society encouraged the cooperation of the working woman, the middle class woman and the consumer and set the pattern and goals for the Consumers' League and the Woman's Trade Union League which succeeded it. ⁸

Perhaps, exaggerating her ignorance, Wald stated that when she moved to the East Side, she was "totally unaware of the causes of social unrest among workers,-in fact I did not know that there was unrest or a 'problem'. . . ." ⁹ Some of the "deeper implications" of labor's problems were explained to her by a young working girl who came to ask for help in organizing a trade union. Wald's aid was enlisted because she spoke English and might bring "respectability" to the venture. The nurse paid a hurried visit to the library the following day "for academic information on the subject of trade unions." ¹⁰

Ample statistics and information documented the low wages and long hours of the female bread winner, and the problems of marriage and motherhood exacerbated her sorry position. ¹¹

Wald found, however, that she had no need for these reports. Daily, as she made her rounds, she saw and heard of the abuses to women. For example, Wald asked Leonora O'Reilly to find work for a woman "whose husband found the struggle for existence too much for him and so ended his life and left the burden of three children on the shoulders of his frail little wife. . . ." The women discussed this "peculiar piece of masculine philosophy,"¹² which left the widow with the difficulties of both family and sweatshop. Rose Cohen, the immigrant girl to whom Wald always lent a sympathetic ear, provided the social worker with a direct line to the factory.¹³ Bosses and foremen who took advantage of their young women employees particularly outraged Cohen, who claimed that "Keep your hands off, please," was the first sentence that she learned in English.¹⁴

Wald supported the right of all workers to unionize, but she was primarily involved with the immigrant Jewish laborer in the garment industry. As a group, the Eastern European Jew revolutionized the industry after 1890, by introducing the methods that made possible the mass production of quality clothing at lower prices.¹⁵ About eighty per cent of the workers in the trade at the turn of the century were women and three quarters of these were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Many of these young immigrant women were inexperienced with work outside the home when they entered the needle trades and, therefore, entered the job market as unskilled workers and "learners." These beginners, always about twenty-five per cent of the work force, were paid three

to six dollars for a sixty hour work week.¹⁶ Wages for skilled operators, about half the workers, were higher. Sometimes, pieceworkers could earn as much as eighteen dollars a week. The money was considered fair, even high when compared with other women's work, but the trade was seasonal and uncertain. Women frequently worked only six months a year. There were, too, all manner of charges, fines and petty persecutions for lateness, broken needles and machines. Most important, bosses and foremen regarded the laborers as inferior human beings, and that attitude encouraged sweat shop abuses. Conditions in the shops, no matter how poor, were still superior to working conditions in the tenements. Women and very young children engaged in home manufacture and were untouched by even the primitive laws which regulated factory labor.¹⁸

To ameliorate these labor conditions, Wald functioned on various levels--as lobbyist, investigator, union organizer, and strike supporter. Most productive, perhaps, was her work as a propagandist, for she interpreted the labor movement to those who might be hostile to unions. Her tales of working girl valor were designed to gain public sympathy, while her descriptions of working girl conditions were intended to rouse public support for change.

One of the most reluctant converts to the worker's cause was Jacob Schiff, who was essentially conservative and "resented what he called the tyranny of the labor trust."¹⁹ Soon after coming to the East Side, Wald wrote to Schiff about a strike of the Brotherhood of Cloakmakers which, she said, caused great "suffering" among the people. Hoping to strike

a responsive chord in the banker, she concentrated upon the need to shorten the hours of work so that the immigrant laborers could attend night school.²⁰

Schiff's interest in his fellow Jews was reinforced by personal contact with workers at Henry Street's dining table.

. . . Wald describes a particular occasion when Schiff was having a discussion with a Jewish tailor about a strike. The discussion ended by his putting his arm on the tailor's shoulder and their exchanging Hebrew quotations which . . . placed them upon a footing of equality and cordiality.²¹

Schiff came to accept the need for collective action by labor and often helped to mediate jurisdictional disputes. He continued to question, however, the wisdom of the strike and doubted that agitation would improve the condition of life for the workers unless there were wider improvements like housing reform.²²

Schiff was also reluctant to donate money openly to the garment striker's cause for "it was bound to lead to misunderstanding" for him and the strikers. He did, nevertheless, on Wald's recommendation, aid needy individuals and even donated money secretly to union treasuries.²³ On one occasion, Schiff "questioned Wald's . . . judgment in espousing the workingmen's side in a threatened strike, believing that a compromise on disputed hours and pay . . . was better than interrupted employment." Representatives of the garment manufacturers and contractors and the workers were called to a meeting at Henry Street in the hopes of arbitrating the dispute. When this proved to be impossible, Schiff agreed that the workers had to walk out, "and throughout the

strike, he aided with money and sympathy."²⁴

The Settlement House was open at all times for union meetings, but Wald soon realized that a larger hall was needed. She "pledged . . . that whenever it came into our power, we would provide a meeting place for labor . . . gatherings and a forum for public debates that would not sacrifice the dignity of those who used it."²⁵ In 1904, Clinton Hall was opened for the workers.

Both the House on Henry Street and Windows on Henry Street as well as many of Wald's speeches to middle class audiences were designed to raise the social consciousness of the audience. While she appealed to both men and women, she particularly tried to show that women ought not to be alienated from the labor movement. As the coordinators of human values, it was the obligation of women to support the organization of workers.²⁶

Laborers, Wald said, especially foreigners were inarticulate, sometimes from timidity or fright and sometimes from inability to express themselves in English. This handicap plus the need for money forced the workers to accept any conditions offered by the employers. Protests by individuals usually resulted in the dismissal of the malcontents. Neither the employer, nor the state, nor the public placed any value upon the worker. Non-union sweatshops were a means of perpetuating poverty among the workers, especially the unskilled. Using her background in nursing, Wald would then describe the illness and disease which were the results of that poverty. Wald questioned the effects of long hours of work which left

little time for education and little strength to rear children. Wage-earners, also, were deprived of the recreational outlet, the need for play, that all humans have. Lastly, she told her audiences, unfair labor conditions produce class antagonism, for when the "poor are poorer . . . what is called 'class feeling' has been intensified."²⁷

The worst abuses of the sweatshops were intensified when manufacture was carried on in the home. There, Wald declared, people toiled "under conditions that, even though I have seen them myself, seem now to be a bad, bad dream. . . ."²⁸ Tenement manufacture went on in two and three room apartments.

It was not uncommon to see the machines working where members of the family ate and slept for twelve, fourteen and--in busy times--as many as eighteen hours in twenty-four. Occasionally the work was interrupted, for not more than an hour or two, for the birth of a child. . . .²⁹

The crimes of tenement manufacture were perpetrated, not only upon the worker, Wald claimed, but also upon the consumer. Cigarette papers were sealed by "bedridden tuberculosis patients" and children's clothing was made in homes "where there was contagious disease" like diptheria. The public, she said, had to protest these things. Reform would benefit all, not only the worker. For Wald, the abuse of labor by indifferent employers became "unendurable" and she had to "cry out against the inhumanity of it all."³⁰

The trade union movement was to Wald the force for social betterment for the worker. Unions promised

better pay, wider distribution of opportunity for work through shortened hours, and what was very vital to many of them, the collective bargaining which held the group together . . . and did not sacrifice the individual.³¹

Using the young women of the garment industry as her example, Wald detailed the struggles of the "girl workers" to organize. Immigrant women, in particular, had distinct problems. They were more liable to misfortune and exploitation than any other group and for years they had suffered their grievances and accepted conditions without complaint. Most of the young women were from Italy and Russia and were accustomed to poverty and oppression in their old countries. The Italian girls, Wald said were especially submissive. "Their men, whether father or brother, kept them under their control."³²

With little formal knowledge of the theories of collective bargaining, the Russian girls led by an occasional "Joan of Arc" learned to stand together to get better conditions for all. These young women, who had perhaps learned a sense of solidarity in anti-Czarist activities, became a major force in the girls' industrial world in New York City. What was unknown to the general public, Wald declared, was the degree of unselfishness and large social conscience of the girls. Over and over, Wald told of "their spirit of sacrifice" to achieve their vision of the better life, one that offered more than "hard, grinding, soul-stultifying labor. . . ." One girl, who was earning high wages, still joined a picket line saying, "This is not a strike for self. Only by all standing together can we get better conditions for all." Another young woman, offered five dollars a week over her usual salary, declined to scab during a strike. "You cannot buy my conscience for money," she said. Wald used other anecdotes

to impress her audiences. She told of Fannie, who used the money she had saved to study dentistry to support her family during a strike period and surrendered her future without complaint. There was also Clara Lemlich, another of the young women, who had to sacrifice her dreams of further education because of a strike and did so with no mention of her suffering. Or, Wald could tell of Ella who quit a good job to join a picket line saying, "How can I be satisfied when so many of my sisters are suffering?"³³ Wald stressed the group ethic developed by the young women.³⁴ They passionately believed that each could do nothing but together they could gain everything.³⁵ They were willing to sacrifice themselves as individuals in order to save "the weaker sisters who cannot struggle unaided by them."³⁶

A union leader urged Wald to "make it clear . . . what it means to have seasonal work and, how the girls who have not enough money to save have to search for work day after day. . . ."³⁷ Wald related the message to her audiences and encouraged them to spread the word, "Do all that you can to make public sentiment for fair play in work and pay."³⁸

In 1906, Wald wrote of the frustrations encountered by union organizers in attempting to build strong and permanent organizations.

Historic precedent, lack of education in administration, and the conventional tradition of women . . . , the hope of marriage, insufficient trade training, the demand for cheap and unskilled labor in many trades, and therefore the easy substitution in the ranks of the women wage earners . . .

precluded large, permanent unions for women.³⁹ An equally great obstacle was "sex antagonism . . . the disparagement and ridiculing by the men of the girls in their attempts to take their place in the industrial world. . . ."⁴⁰

For these reasons Wald helped to found the Woman's Trade Union League (WTUL) in 1903. She "recognized the importance of the movement in enlisting sympathy and support for organization among the working women." The League made it

. . . possible for women other than wage-earners to identify themselves with working people, and thus give practical expression to their beliefs that with them and through them the realization of the ideals of democracy can be advanced.⁴¹

The League, which was patterned on a British model, was different from other Progressive reform groups in that its prime function was not the promotion of legislation. Rather its principal objective was "to investigate the conditions of working women, to promote the best type of trade unionism in existing organizations, and to assist in organizing trade unions in all trades where women are employed."⁴² Non-unionist middle class "allies," like Wald, were included in the membership and were invaluable particularly in the organizational years for administration and fund raising. They were the interpreters of the labor point of view to other middle class women.⁴³

Wald claimed that the WTUL's value extended "far beyond the immediate purpose of the women who work."⁴⁴ It had vital importance to the feminist cause for it was the place where the working and non-working women met to share interests and

experiences. The League cut through class lines and, for a brief time at least, forged a viable coalition for women's rights, especially suffrage.⁴⁵

The League also attempted to educate working girls who did not understand the value of unionism. They had to be taught to pay dues and especially not to scab in time of strike.⁴⁶ At times, unionization took "almost superhuman powers" for the girls "didn't want to do it."⁴⁷ The best organizers, according to Margaret Dreier Robins, president of the National League from 1907 to 1921, were the union girls themselves. The WTUL, therefore, established a school for organizers in order to train them.⁴⁸

When the League was formed, Wald was chosen as a member of the executive board. Henry Street and Clinton Hall were used frequently as meeting places. The members of the Settlement, like Lavinia Dock and the Lewisohn sisters, made contributions, both financial and personal.⁴⁹ Wald's active role in the WTUL was short, but her confession, "To my regret I cannot claim to have rendered services of any value in the development of the League,"⁵⁰ underestimates her contribution. Her propagandizing for the cause of the working girl was essential in order to get public acceptance of labor's aims.

The WTUL participated in all of the major strikes of the period.⁵¹ Wald endorsed these actions and tried to convey to others her belief that the use of "unladylike and unwomanly methods" were justified because of the "sound moral purposes" of the strikes.⁵² She was especially sympathetic to the workers in the Lawrence textile mills in 1912. The strike, led

by the Industrial Workers of the World, was a clash between "great and inaccessible corporations" and an "amalgam of foreign-born and unskilled workers, more than half of whom were women and children." Union leaders were imprisoned, militia and police were used as strike breakers, and "every device imaginable was used to throttle picketing." Since police and troops often clubbed the pickets, women were chosen to walk the line. They, too, were attacked and two pregnant women lost their babies. For publicity and to lighten the relief burden, the children of strikers were placed in foster homes in other towns. The police, in an effort to lessen the propaganda effect, forbid the further removal of children.⁵³ The "children's crusade" ended on the day that the police closed in on a group of women and children at the railroad station. The lawmen clubbed the small group "with no thought of children who were in the most desperate danger of being trampled to death."⁵⁴

When she heard first hand reports of the Lawrence situation, Wald expressed her dismay and immediately opened one of the Settlement buildings, 279 Henry Street, to serve as a link to the striking workers. Her actions and words drew great criticism, as Wald was accused of using the Settlement for propaganda purposes.⁵⁵

She subsequently visited Lawrence and came away "reflecting with sadness on the manifestations there of how slight our hold on civilization. . . ."⁵⁶ Wald's letter to Jane Addams describing the conditions at Lawrence elicited this response:

I am so glad that you were able to go to Lawrence. The actions of the police and militia there have sounded perfectly preposterous. I am quite sure that a Russian official would feel that we had gone him 'one better'.⁵⁷

It has been claimed that the ardor of the social workers for unionism waned after World War I,⁵⁸ but Wald, it would appear, continued to support trade unionism. In only one instance, that can be documented, did she seem to vacillate. She chastized Lavinia Dock for sending money to help the box-makers' strike saying, "I will transfer your check in cold cash to the . . . strike which seems a foolish communistic gesture that will lead them nowhere."⁵⁹ It is possible that Wald, knowing her friend's financial straits, was trying to prevent her from spending money, since Wald was a member of the Citizen's Committee for the strike.

Perhaps, it is more accurate to say that Wald was more discriminating when she gave her blessings to striking workers after 1920. She, however, continued to sympathize and "add her name" to any labor action that was "a good cause."⁶⁰ She never lost her belief in the need for unionism.

In 1975, the International Ladies Garment Worker's Union celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. This needle trade organization resulted from various waves of unionism beginning in the 1880's, with the entrance of Eastern Europeans, mostly Jews, into the trade. Conditions of work and poor pay motivated the formation of a variety of short lived unions and largely unsuccessful strikes.⁶¹

The first significant strike, not only in the history of

the garment trades but in the organization of working women, took place in 1909-1910 among the shirtwaist makers in New York.⁶² The New York WTUL threw all of its resources behind the "strike of the 20,000" as did the infant ILGWU. It was the largest strike of women in the United States. Most of the girls were between sixteen and twenty-five years old and they represented thirteen or more national groups. A majority were Jewish, with Italian women making up the second largest group.⁶³

The strike started with a dispute in the Rosen Brothers factory which ended in a victory for the workers. Other shops followed including the Triangle Waist Company, one of the largest in the industry. Usually, working women were unable to hold out against the large firms which had the resources to hire scabs, thugs to harass the strikers and prostitutes to mingle with the pickets.

A general strike on the shirtwaist trade was called by Local 25, an affiliate of the ILGWU, in October of 1909. The vote was taken after Clara Lemlich delivered a "stirring 'philippic in Yiddish'" and asked the audience to take the old Jewish oath, "If I turn traitor to the cause, I now pledge, may this hand wither and drop off at the wrist from the arm I now raise."⁶⁴

A young girl writing about the strike, five years later, said:

I could not see the importance of the strike at that time. I was young, only 17, and did not think very much about things, but rather felt the effects of my suffering.

Finally the general strike broke out. I

walked out with the other girls. During the strike, I had a rather hard time. I was arrested, though I did not do anything against the law, and sent to . . . prison . . . locked up in one cell with one striker and four prostitutes.⁶⁵

Sympathy poured out for the strikers. The WTUL actively publicized it and sought to rouse mass support for the women workers. An information bureau was established at Clinton Hall and strike balls were organized to raise a bail fund. A sense of common cause developed between the striking girls and their middle class allies.

Wald and the family and friends of Henry Street threw themselves into the fight by picketing, propagandizing and fund raising.⁶⁶ Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, Sr., for example, deeded property to the Settlement so that it could furnish bail money for some of the seven hundred thirty-two women who were arrested on a series of flimsy charges.⁶⁷

Theodore Roosevelt became a supporter of a subsequent strike after "visiting bodies of girl strikers in Henry Street . . ." and listening to their stories. He heard of their poor wages, family obligations and of the fining practices of the employers and became a convert to the cause.⁶⁸

The mal-treatment of the women strikers stirred Wald, E.R.A. Seligman, Ida Tarbell and Mary Simkhovich to write to the newspapers that there was "ample evidence to warrant the statement that the employers had received the cooperation and aid of the police." The workers had been "subjected to insult by the police" and in many cases had been "arrested when acting within their rights."⁶⁹

The shirtwaist makers' strike ended in arbitration with some small gains for the girls, many of whom were disappointed with the results. One said:

All of us were rather young and we expected more than we got. We thought with the winning of the strike that all the suffering will be abolished. We thought that it was time already for a better life to come. You see we expected much more than what we could have gotten under the circumstances. We did not realize that that was our first great struggle. . . . 70

Two more strikes, in 1913 and 1916, again aided by the WTUL and the settlements, would be needed to gain greater results.⁷¹

Six months after the end of the shirtwaist makers' walk-out in 1910, the cloakmakers (mostly male) called for a general strike. The economic distress caused by the action reverberated throughout the Jewish community in New York and after two months, a citizens group which included Jacob Schiff, Meyer London and Louis Marshall stepped in to mediate. The resulting "Protocol of Peace" was "among the first industry-wide collective bargaining agreements in American economic history."⁷²

Article Fifteen of the Protocol resulted from the bad publicity the trade had received over the unsanitary conditions in the factories. A Joint Board of Sanitary Control was established with power to fix standards of ventilation, fire protection, pollution, lighting and sanitation which the manufacturers and the unions were obligated to maintain. The Joint Board's power, originally limited to the cloak and suit industry, was extended to the dress and waist trade after 1913.

The Board comprised two representatives each of the unions and manufacturers and three representatives of the public, one of whom was Lillian Wald. Twenty-eight "sanitary standards" of health and safety were compiled and both sides were committed to enforce them. Without legal status or police powers, the Board had to rely upon the good will and cooperation of labor and management to discipline those who refused to improve conditions. Sanitary certificates were issued to employers who complied with the established standards.⁷³

The Board enjoyed a reasonable success in its early years. "At present," one worker wrote, "when the Board of Sanitary Control is in existence, the sanitary conditions are considerably improved. . . ."⁷⁴ Wald, in an article written for the International Conference on Hygiene explained the Board's functions and told of the strides made in cutting down on fire hazards and overcrowding in the shops and of the increases in toilet facilities and ventilation. She was especially proud of the work done by the Board in educating the workers on sanitary procedures.⁷⁵ There is little question that conditions of work improved in the large shops, especially between 1910 and 1916.

The Board, however, never overcame some of its initial problems--problems endemic to the industry. Small manufacturers and sub-contractors (about one-third of the shops by 1920) never joined the Manufacturers Association and were, therefore, not susceptible to its pressures. If the unions attempted to exercise control, the shop owners moved to other locations, sometimes outside the city, or hired cheap non-

union help which was afraid to appeal to the Board.

After 1916, the industry lost its enthusiasm for the Protocol and the Board's influence and effectiveness declined. Frequently, too, the ILGWU accused the Board of abandoning its neutral position to one favoring the manufacturers when the work of the Board had to be defended. Regardless of these limitations, however, the Board was a valuable institution in ridding the Garment Industry of its sweatshops.⁷⁶

Unionism was one weapon to protect the worker; labor legislation was a second. It had the added benefit of helping non-union members. Wald and many of her friends believed that it was impossible to protect women employed in manufacture without the aid of national and state law. Women were no longer transients in industry and as their numbers increased, especially of married women with children, legal protection became even more essential.⁷⁷ Wald pointed out that

. . . as a nation we superstitiously hug the belief that our women are at home . . ., and though legislators have at times enacted laws protective to them . . . as a whole the community . . . is reluctant to face the situation frankly and seriously, that women no longer spin and weave and card, no longer make the butter and cheese, . . . but accomplish these same industries in the factories, in open competition with men, and except in the relatively few instances of trade organization, in competition with each other.⁷⁸

Industrialization hurt women more than men. Their death rate was higher and they suffered greater predisposition to disease. Of greater consequence, when women suffered, their children also suffered. Therefore, fewer hours of work and the elimina-

tion of night work benefited not only women, but the future generations as well.⁷⁹

Frances Perkins believed, as did most reform minded women, that unions protected the worker, but were not strong enough. "The greatest danger to woman in industry is that she has been trained to please people instead of standing on her rights." Most working women believed that they were not permanent factors in the economy and so were short sighted about unionism. Until the time when women recognized that they were in the labor force to stay, "legislation for women was [a] sound [idea]."⁸⁰ The laws that raised the standards for working women, Wald claimed, would also benefit men. Females in industry could be the lever to lift the "weight of excessive toil from the neck of the human race." If the state would protect women, it would ultimately protect men.⁸¹

Wald worked with groups like the National Consumers' League, organized labor and the American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL) for the passage of wages and hours laws, safety ordinances and workmen's compensation.⁸² She utilized the Henry Street nurses as investigators to report on the conditions of home manufacture and they supplied the ammunition used by both Wald and Florence Kelley,⁸³ in their frequent appearances before the Congress and the New York State Legislature.

New York State law provided for a sixty hour work week in factories for women and children under the age of sixteen.⁸⁴ Wald and her friends in the WTUL and the NCL had as their goal the establishment of the eight hour day. A major problem

for this and other laws was getting public and judicial acceptance of the principle of the state's responsibility in the area of supervision and protection of labor.⁸⁵

A turning point in the area of labor law was the Triangle Shirtwaist fire on March 25, 1911. The fire broke out in the building on Washington Place which housed the firm. Locked doors, cluttered floors and inadequate fire escapes left the working girls at the mercy of the flames.

Who only saw the panic could never forget it.
The heart-breaking cries of the burning girls!
Like wounded animals they ran from one door to
another, knocking, calling for help but all
in vain.

Crowds gathered in the street. Some of the people were parents or friends of the trapped workers. Some of the girls tried to escape from the windows.

. . . four girls clasped their arms and jumped.
Their heads were crushed, their arms still
clasped around each other. The rest of the
girls, seeing their co-workers killed on the
sidewalk, were afraid to jump and they
found their death in the fire.⁸⁶

There was a public outcry over the one hundred forty-three lives lost in the fire. A memorial meeting was held at the Metropolitan Opera House and the mourning audience heard speeches from prominent New Yorkers, including Dr. Henry Moskowitz who represented the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. The most memorable address was given by a working girl, Rose Schneiderman. Wald recalled the speech of this future WTUL president who

. . . stood at the edge of the great opera house stage and in a voice hardly raised, though it reached every person in that vast audience, arraigned society for regarding human life so

cheaply. No one could have been insensitive to her cry for justice, her anguish over the youth so ruthlessly destroyed; and there must have been many in that audience for whom ever after the little, brown clad figure with the tragic voice symbolized the factory girl in the lofts high above the streets of an indifferent metropolis.⁸⁷

Wald was one of the leaders of public opinion who, after the fire, formed a "Committee on Safety" to agitate to bring about an inquiry into all aspects of women's industrial work--in the factory or the home. The New York State Legislature created a commission to investigate, not only fire prevention, but all other labor problems. Members of the Factory Investigating Commission included Al Smith, Robert Wagner, Mary Dreier and Samuel Gompers, all old friends of Wald. The Commission held hearings, went on field surveys and gathered information.⁸⁸ Its work made the social workers "happy as clams."⁸⁹

Wald served on an advisory committee (Wages and Wage Legislation) to the Commission and also testified before it. In her testimony, she said that her facts might not be very statistical but they were "based upon the knowledge . . . gained through residence in industrial sections" and on information gathered by the nurses who visit the sick in their homes. She told of manufacturing in tenement house apartments and of the "exploitation" of workers by "parasitic trades," and stressed the harm done to both the workers, usually women and children, and to the consumers when goods were made under filthy and unsanitary conditions, sometimes in houses later declared unfit for habitation.⁹⁰ In one instance, Wald told

of a mother nursing an infant and at the same time working on a coat while her five year old child, a truent from kindergarten, helped her sew. They "were in the same room with the father, who was there smoking a cigar with a friend, another man, watching his chattels do this work. . . ." While it was not too common, Wald maintained that there were many men who could work, but who chose instead to live off the labor of their wives and children.⁹¹ She recommended to the Commission that all home work be eliminated since it was impossible to supervise and regulate. Moreover, "all organized labor is opposed to it, and quite rightly, because it does compete so directly with the wages in the factory."⁹² To benefit all workers, Wald suggested a minimum wage board to fix the pay for women.

The Commission's recommendations on compulsory fire drills, sprinklers, fire hoses, prohibition of child labor in some occupations and elimination of night work for women in factories were passed by the Legislature, as was the prohibition of tenement manufacture--a total of thirty-six new labor laws in three years. The New York State Labor Department was reorganized and rules and regulations--codes--were established for each industry. The epic work of the Commission was studied and imitated by many other states.⁹³

"The advancement of women in industry, Stanley Lemons wrote, "was an important part of the feminist movement." Most women agreed that the "pay envelope" was the path to "securing the right of self determination."⁹⁴ In the Progressive era, the means of achieving economic equality were the

WTUL,⁹⁵ the ILGWU and labor legislation; Lillian Wald was a willing participant in all.

Wald was interested in yet another category of working women--the prostitute. Like many of her contemporaries, she was involved in the campaigns to eradicate "white slavery."⁹⁶ Prostitution, the nurse discovered early in her career, was a fixed institution on the East Side. She learned of the "red light" district while searching for an apartment with Mary Brewster and expanded her education during her rounds. "Every single house . . .," she wrote, "contained bedecked unfortunate creatures, who tried by a peculiar hissing noise to draw the attention of the men." It was a situation that was an "insult to womankind."⁹⁷

Wald's attack on prostitution was not directed at its female practitioners. Rather she opposed the commercialization of vice and the political and police corruption that accompanied it.⁹⁸ She had sympathy for the susceptible women, mostly poor and immigrant, whose special economic and social problems drove them to the streets.

While her experiences showed that "all classes show occasional instances of girls who 'go wrong'," low family income, congested homes, lack of privacy, underfeeding, and inadequate wholesome inexpensive recreation "weaken[ed] moral and physical resistance."⁹⁹ Her investigations proved to her that young women in need of money were more likely to be "led astray" even though few who became prostitutes had a "direct mercenary incentive." More commonly, promises of marriage and better jobs were the inducements.¹⁰⁰

The immigrant women, in particular, were "in danger of moral contamination" and "exploitation." They arrived in the United States less worldly and more inexperienced than male aliens and often fell victim to the unscrupulous. At every stage--on board ship, at Ellis Island, on trains and at so-called employment agencies--"immoral women and men came and selected their victims." Wald emphasized the need for legislation, both state and national, to provide special protection to these defenseless women.¹⁰¹

Wald echoed the feminist change in attitude toward the prostitute. Beatrice Forbes Hale wrote that "these sisters were no longer regarded as the wicked, but as the wronged, not deserving of condemnation, but of assistance." The cry was no longer "Brand her" but rather help her.¹⁰² The women rejected the double standard of morality. No longer would men be excused and women condemned for similar conduct.¹⁰³ Roy Lubove, the historian, states that to the Progressives, "vice was a man's business"--organized, managed and patronized by them--and "the venom of the reformer was directed not against the prostitute," but against those who exploited her.¹⁰⁴ Feminists railed against "those who live by the traffic in women," the pimps who found a profitable business in the unethical use of the sexual passions of other men. Solutions to this social problem could be found in suffrage for women, prohibition of alcohol, better pay for women, sex education and an end to loveless marriages.¹⁰⁵ The "crusade against prostitution" was part of the "larger campaign to limit the exploitation of women. . . ."¹⁰⁶

When John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was named to head a grand jury investigation of white slavery in New York, Wald wrote to advise him that it "would be a serious error to have the commission without women."¹⁰⁷ She assumed that "clearminded, insightful" women would agree with her on the handling of the prostitute.¹⁰⁸ Wald opposed the use of male plain clothes police for entrapment of the girls. The practice was, to her, repugnant. Equally objectionable was the treatment of the women after arrest. Neither the public nor the prostitutes were served by the court procedures which did not attempt to adjudge each case on a personal basis. She recommended "the appointment of women police who should patrol the streets, the dance-halls, and wherever girls and young women congregate." "Well trained and high grade" women would be more effective than men in dealing with prostitution.¹⁰⁹ Wald's suggestions as to entrapment, police use and her criticisms of the courts were applauded by Alice Stone Blackwell and other feminists.¹¹⁰ They also agreed with Wald's opposition to enforced medical examination of the prostitute, a practice which would "regulate vice," but not destroy it.¹¹¹ Equally critical to the women was the principle. It was "unfair to apply to profligate women measures that are not applied to profligate men." Enforced medical examinations "enacted the double standard of morals into law."¹¹²

Unquestionably the fight against prostitution was a defense of the alien and an example of the Progressives' belief that social evils could be contained or removed by legislation. Certainly the reformers displayed great naivete since they

never admitted that some women became prostitutes by choice, "not out of ignorance or even out of pecuniary need, but because the rewards--short hours and good wages--seemed to outweigh the disadvantages of such a life."¹¹³ Nevertheless, the vice reformers, particularly the feminists, did attempt to re-educate the public. If the traffic in women was a social evil, the prostitute was not the sole and not even the principal evil doer.

NOTES

1- Wald, Speech at Manhattan Trade School, April 15, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

2- Wald, Speech "What Business are Women About," October 20, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 23.

3- Wald, Speech "Invasion of Women," February 4, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS.

4- Dr. Alice Hamilton quoted in Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 103.

5- Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 122; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 115; Irwin Yellowitz, Labor and the Progressive Movement in New York State, 1897-1916 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965), and J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIV (September, 1962), 321-341 are a few of the historians who have noted the settlement contribution to labor.

6- Wald, House on Henry Street, 60; Wald, Speech "Some Social Values of the Settlement," December 2, 1908, NYPL, Wald MSS.

7- Author ? (possibly George Alger), "Florence Kelley," February, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

8- Alice Henry, Women and the Labor Movement (New York, 1923), 55-56; Alice Henry, The Trade Union Woman (New York, 1915), 43-45; Henry, "Life and Letters of Josephine Shaw Lowell," 198-199; Blumberg, Florence Kelley, 102-103; O'Reilly, "Diaries," Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, O'Reilly MSS.

9- Wald, article for the Princetonian, January 17, 1922, NYPL, Wald MSS.

10- Wald, House on Henry Street, 201-203.

11- Wald later joined with Jane Addams and Mary McDowell to pressure Theodore Roosevelt to recommend an investigation of the problems of women and children in industry. Congress authorized \$100,000 in 1907 and the nineteen volume United States Commerce and Labor Department Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States resulted; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 133-135; Dreier, Robins, 35; Wald, "Summary of Our Federal Activities," NYPL, Wald MSS.

12- O'Reilly, "Diary, 1898," Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, O'Reilly MSS.

13- Cohen, Out of the Shadow, 273-277.

14- Ibid., 85; Wald, House on Henry Street, 170-171.

15- Cahan, Rise of David Levinsky; Lewis Levitzki Lorwin (AKA Louis Levine), The Women's Garment Workers; A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (New York, 1924), 99.

16- Lorwin, Women's Garment Workers, 144-145; Hasanovitz, One of Them, 10; Mabel Hurd Willett, The Employment of Women in the Clothing Trade (New York, 1902), 73; Rose Schneiderman with Lucy Goldthwaite, All for One (New York, 1967), 43-45.

17- Lorwin, Women's Garment Workers, 145-147; Jacob A. Riis, How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York (New York, 1957), 176-183 reported on trades with lower wages; Florence Kelley, "Woman's Place in Industry and Labor Organizations," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, XXIV (September, 1904), 343-350; Both Cohen, Out of the Shadows and Hasanovitz, One of Them report on wage and work conditions during their work lives.

18- Riis, How the Other Half Lives, 88-100; Hutchins Hapgood, The Spirit of the Ghetto (New York, 1966), 11-12; Jeremy P. Felt, Hostages of Fortune: Child Labor Reform in New York State (Syracuse, 1965), 6-14, 39-41, 140-153; Wald, "Memorandum on Home Work in the Men's Clothing Industry in New York City," n.d., Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

19- Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 291.

20- Wald to Schiff, November 1, 1894, November 11, 1894, NYPL, Wald MSS.

21- Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 389.

22- Ibid., 292-293; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 62; Schiff to Wald, November 27, 1910, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

23- Wald, Windows, 117; Williams, Lillian Wald, 184; Adler, Jacob Schiff, I, 294.

24- Wald, House on Henry Street, 282-283; Wald, Windows, 23-24; Adler, Jacob Schiff, II, 286-288; In 1914, Schiff and Wald were members of the "Committee on Labor Arbitration" which met at Henry Street on January 2, 6, 11, 1914, minutes in Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; In 1916, Schiff joined with a group of wealthy Jews to form a "Citizen's

Committee for the Support of Locked Out Cloak and Suit Makers," see Wald to Robert Bruere, August 25, 1916, Viola Conklin to Allan Robinson, July 7, 1916, Robinson to Conklin, July 11, 1916, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Bruere to Harriett Laidlow, June 2, 1916, July 11, 1916; Robinson to Laidlow, June 6, 13, 21, 1916; Robinson to R. I. Wile, June 12, 1916, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Laidlow MSS.

25- Wald, House on Henry Street, 221; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 104-107.

26- Wald, Speech "New Aspects," October 12, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

27- Wald made reference to labor in almost all of her speeches and writings, but the following represents her most detailed works: Wald, "Miss Wald's Remarks on the Resolutions Offered by the Committee of Fifteen," October 16, 1919; Speech "Carroll Club-Re: Trade Unionism," n.d.; article for the Princetonian, January 17, 1922; "Memorandum for Miss Amy Maher," n.d.; Speech "Crowded Districts of Large Cities," 1894? 1895?; Speech "Interpreting the Immigrant" to the Council of Jewish Women, Baltimore, Maryland, February 26, 1911; Speech "Utilizing the Immigrant," Free Synagogue, New York City, December 22, 1907; Speech to Manhattan Trade School, April 15, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 156-157, 200-213; Wald, Windows, 23-26, 326-327; Wald, "Statement By Women's Committee, Re: Employees of Metropolitan Life Insurance Company," n.d., Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS. This section on labor is a distillation of the ideas represented in these works and the others listed below.

28- Wald, Speech to Manhattan Trade School, April 15, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, "Memorandum on Home Work in the Men's Clothing Industry in New York City," n.d.; "Some Salient Points of Chapter Five, Volume Two, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States," Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

29- Wald, article for the Princetonian, January 17, 1922; Speech "Immigrant Women in New York," to Brooklyn Consumer's League, January 11, 1911 (roughly the same speech that was delivered to Council of Jewish Women in Baltimore), NYPL, Wald MSS.

30- Wald, "Crowded Districts," NYPL, Wald MSS.

31- Wald, Speech "Carroll Club," NYPL, Wald MSS.

32- Wald, Speech "Immigrant Women in New York," NYPL, Wald MSS.

33- Ibid., Wald, Speech "Interpreting the Immigrant," "Russian Jewish Immigrant," for the American Hebrew, April 14, 1911; Mary Dreier?, "Suggestions for Trade Union Speech," 1914?, Dreier to Wald, November 30, 1910, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 200-206.

34- Barnum, Ideas for "New Aspects," NYPL, Wald MSS.

35- Cohen, Out of the Shadow, 126-127.

36- Wald, Speech "Interpreting the Immigrant," NYPL, Wald MSS.

37- Dreier?, "Suggestions," NYPL, Wald MSS.

38- Wald, "Crowded Districts," article for the Princetonian; Speech "Carroll Club," NYPL, Wald MSS.

39- Wald, "Organization Among the Working Women," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXVII (May, 1906), 641. Wald had been involved in an unsuccessful attempt at union organization at Henry Street and spoke from bitter experience, see Wald, House on Henry Street, 201-204.

40- Wald, "Organization," 179; Wald, House on Henry Street, 203-207; Wald, "Memorandum for Amy Maher," NYPL, Wald MSS. The AFL endorsed the WTUL, but modern historians question the depth of the commitment. Wald tended to be more sympathetic to Samuel Gompers than some of her friends like Florence Kelley who called him an "aged Dodo" or Margaret Dreier Robins who had her differences with him. See Wald to Mrs. Gompers, August 18, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS; Davis, Seedtime for Reform, 232; Dreier, Robins, 66-67, 86, 113, 155, 194; Nancy Dye, "The WTUL and Organized Labor," paper presented at the Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, October 27, 1974 at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

41- Wald, articles for the Princetonian, January 17, 1922; Wald, House on Henry Street, 207-208.

42- "Proposed Constitution of the WTUL," 1907, attached to letter, Robins to Wald, August 19, 1907, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Gladys Boone, The Women's Trade Union Leagues in Great Britain and the United States of America (New York, 1942); Henry, Women and the Labor Movement, 106-122; Henry, Trade Union Woman, 59-88; John B. Andrews and W. D. P. Bliss, History of Women in Trade Unions (New York, 1974), 157-159, this edition is a reprint of Volume X of Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States; Allen Davis, "The Women's Trade Union League: Origins and Organization," Labor History, V (Winter, 1964), 3-17.

43- Boone, WTUL, 19, 65; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 138-147; Flexner, Century of Struggle, 212-213, 240-247. For a critical view of the relationship between the middle class and working women, see Nancy Schrom Dye, "Creating a Feminist Alliance: Sisterhood and Class Conflict in the New York Women's Trade Union League, 1903-1914," Feminist Studies, II (1975), 24-38.

44- Wald to Eleanor Roosevelt, June 8, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS.

45- Yellowitz, Labor and the Progressive Movement, 63-66; Boone, WTUL, 15-18; Florence Kelley, "Industrial Democracy: Women in Trade Unions," The Outlook (December 15, 1906), 926-931; Dye, "Creating a Feminist Alliance," 24-38.

46- Dreier, Robins, 54; Hasanovitz, One of Them, 186-187, 52-53.

47- Dock to Laidlow, n.d., Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Laidlow MSS.

48- Dreier, Robins, 96-97; Hasanovitz, One of Them, 234; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 8.

49- Boone, WTUL, 64-66; Schneiderman with Goldthwaite, All for One, 74-76; WTUL, "Annual Report," 1906-1917 give clues to the contribution of Henry Streeters, for example the largest contributors to the Union in 1908, after the Dreier sisters, were Irene and Alice Lewisohn; Life and Labor, July, 1915, 116-122; Wald to Henry Van Dyke, July 9, 1908, NYPL, Wald MSS; The WTUL file in the Wald collection in the Butler Library includes material like the NYWTUL "Bulletin," November, 1912; the Minutes of early meetings of the Executive Board of the WTUL, 1904, 1905, 1906; various newspaper clippings and a pamphlet of the NYWTUL which advertised Wald as a speaker for a mass meeting of union sympathizers, all indicating the extent of the support given by Wald and others in the Settlement to the League; Mary Kenney O'Sullivan to Wald, February 16, 1904, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

50- Wald, House on Henry Street, 207. Wald's reasons for leaving the WTUL are unclear, but it was probably because she was chosen as representative of the public to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in 1910. Even after leaving the League, she continued to endorse its work and to maintain friendship with its officials.

51- Life and Labor, January, 1911, February, 1911, March, 1911; WTUL, "Annual Report," 1906-1917; Rischin, The Promised City, 247-248; Henry, Women and the Labor Movement, 116-122; Boone, WTUL, 64-110, 162-181.

52- Wald, Speech to Cincinnati Woman's Club, October, 1915; Speech, "What Business are Women About;" Speech, "New Aspects," NYPL, Wald MSS; the Wald files at Columbia University show that she and Henry Street cooperated with manpower and money in the major strikes in Lawrence, Troy, Patterson and Passaic.

53- Sidney Lens, The Labor Wars: From the Molly Maguires to the Sitdowns (Garden City, N.Y., 1974), 195-216; Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago, 1969), 227-262; Wald, House on Henry Street, 278; Dreier, Robins, 86-87; NYWTUL, "Bulletin," May, 1912; Life and Labor, March, 1912, 73, 77; June, 1912, 196-197; October, 1914, 310-311. George Alger wrote an article against the action of the courts in Lawrence.

54- Dubofsky, We Shall Be All, 251-252.

55- Wald, Windows, 18, 25-26; Wald, House on Henry Street, 278.

56- Wald, House on Henry Street, 278.

57- Addams to Wald, March 6, 1912, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

58- Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 118-119; Dye, "Creating a Feminist Alliance," 36.

59- Wald to Dock, December 22, 1926, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald was always concerned about Dock's income after her retirement and tried to get her friend to curb her generosity.

60- Wald to Rose Schneiderman, February 17, 1932; Sally Green to Wald, August 24, 1927, October 12, 1927; Wald's secretary to Green, August 27, 1927; Wald to Green, October 13, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

61- Lorwin, The Women's Garment Workers, 12-85; Melvyn Dubofsky, When Workers Organize, New York City in the Progressive Era (Amherst, Mass., 1968), 3-49; Hasanovitz, One of Them, 53.

62- Flexner, Century of Struggle, 241; Boone, WTUL, 77; Henry, The Trade Union Woman, 89-91; Dubofsky, When Workers Organize, 42-58. Andrews and Bliss, History of Women in Trade Unions, 160-163, 170-172.

63- Lorwin, The Women's Garment Workers, 144-167; I Am a Women Worker, "The 1909 Strike," n.d., 111-112, pamphlet, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College; Dreier, Robins, 68; WTUL, "Annual Report," 1909-1910, 11-14; Dubofsky, When Workers Organize, 48-58; Boone, WTUL, 77-80; Yellowitz, Labor and the Progressive Movement, 67-68; Schneiderman with Goldthwaite, All for One, 89-96.

64- Lorwin, The Women's Garment Workers, 149-155; Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," American Historical Review, LXXVIII (June, 1973), 578; Henry, The Trade Union Woman, 89-95.

65- Pearl Rose, "After the Victory," The Woman Voter, September, 1914, 9.

66- Wald, House on Henry Street, 209-210.

67- Schneiderman with Goldthwaite, All for One, 92. There is no agreement upon the number of women arrested, Lens, The Labor War, 172, as an example, places the number at 771.

68- Roosevelt to Michael A. Schaap, January 24, 1913 in Morrison, and Blum, eds., Letters, VII, 696-701.

69- Lorwin, The Women's Garment Workers, 158-159; Flexner, Century of Struggle, 240-243.

70- Rose, "After the Victory," 10.

71- Joseph Rayback, A History of American Labor (New York, 1966), 254-255; Life and Labor, March, 1913, 69-73; The Woman Voter, July, 1916, 20-21; April, 1913, 17-18; Dubofsky, When Workers Organize, 83-85, 91-92; Hasanovitz, One of Them, 53-57; Life and Labor, August, 1915, 137; October, 1916, 153; July, 1916, 108-109.

72- Dubofsky, When Workers Organize, 65; Lorwin, The Women's Garment Workers, 168-195, 466-467, 218-232. The principles of Protocolism, a written agreement establishing rights and customs on both sides including a partial recognition of the union, were extended to other branches of the women's clothing trade in 1913.

73- Lorwin, The Women's Garment Workers, 218-232, 468-473; Henry Moskowitz, "The Power for Constructive Reform in the Trade Union Movement," Life and Labor, January, 1912, 10-15; Wald, "Sanitary Control of an Industry by the Industry Itself," Transactions of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, III (Washington, 1913), 881-890.

74- Hasanovitz, One of Them, 220.

75- Wald, "Sanitary Control," 881-890.

76- Lorwin, The Women's Garment Workers, 468-473; Hasanovitz, One of Them, 147-154.

77- Wald, "Organization Amongst Working Women," 638-645; Kelley, "Industrial Democracy," 926-931; Equal Rights, February 16, 1924, 5; Life and Labor Bulletin, December, 1925, 3; Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, 201-213; Chambers, Seetime of Reform, 61-81.

78- Wald, "Organization Amongst Working Women," 638.

79- Josephine C. Goldmark, Fatigue and Efficiency: A Study in Industry (New York, 1919); Goldmark, "The Study of Fatigue and Its Application to Industrial Workers," Transactions of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, III (Washington, 1913), 517-526.

80- Perkins in Life and Labor, April, 1919, 77.

81- Wald, Speech "Invasion of Women;" Speech "Health Laws, A Pressing Need," to a meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation, December, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

82- Wald was a vice President of the AALL until 1933 and supported its goals even after that date. She was one of the social workers whose program found acceptance during the New Deal.

83- Dock to Kelley, n.d. 1900?; Wald to Kelley, January 2, 1924, NYPL, Kelley MSS; Wald to Kelley, November 21, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

84- Wald, "Fifty Years of Hours Legislation for Women in New York," 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS.

85- Wald to Mortimer Schiff, April 2, 1906, NYPL, Wald MSS; Florence Kelley and Marguerite Marsh, "Labor Legislation for Women and Its Effects on Earnings and Conditions of Labor," Women in the Modern World, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CXLIII (May, 1929) 286-300. Robert Bremner, From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the U.S. (New York, 1956), 230-243.

86- This was an eye witness account related to Hasanovitz, One of Them, 216-219; Francis Perkins, by chance, was another witness to the fire, see Josephson and Josephson, Al Smith, 118-120; WTUL, "Annual Report," 1911-1912, 17-19.

87- Wald, House on Henry Street, 208-209; Schneiderman with Goldthwaite, All For One, 97-101.

88- New York State, "Third Report of the Factory Investigating Commission to the New York State Legislature," I, 1914, 2-21; "Fourth Report of the Factory Investigating Commission to the New York State Legislature," I, 1915, 10-13.

89- Josephson and Josephson, Al Smith, 128.

90- New York State, "Preliminary Report of the Factory Investigating Commission," III, 1912, 1731-1748; (Despite her disclaimer, Wald did produce statistical evidence and photographs); "Second Report of the Factory Investigating Commission to the New York State Legislature," IV, 1913, 1563-1567.

91- N.Y.S., "Second Report," IV, 1563-1567.

92- Ibid., 1564, 1571.

93- N.Y.S., "Third Report," 2-21; "Fourth Report," I, 10-13; Handlin, Al Smith, 58-60; Josephson and Josephson, Al Smith, 128-144; Life and Labor, January, 1913, 6-11; December, 1914, 364-366; Wald, "Fifty Years of Hours Legislation for Women," NYPL, Wald MSS; Yellowitz, Labor and the Progressive Movement, 130-138.

94- Lemons, Woman Citizen, 25.

95- Henry, Women and the Labor Movement, 115.

96- The interest of the Progressives in the prostitute is equalled by that of contemporary historians. See Egel Feldman, "Prostitution, the Alien Woman and the Progressive Imagination, 1910-1915," American Quarterly, XIX (Summer, 1967), 192-206; Roy Lubove, "The Progressive and the Prostitute," Historian, XXIV (May, 1962), 308-330; Davis, American Heroine, 176-184; Louis Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism: The Story of the Muckrakers (New York, 1961), 264-272.

97- Wald to Abbot E. Kittredge, October 29, 1903, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 10.

98- Wald to Kittredge, October 29, 1903, NYPL, Wald MSS; The Evening Post, October 29, 1909, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS. Wald followed the pattern of other reformers in this, see Taylor, Chicago Commons, 73-76.

99- Wald, House on Henry Street, 175-176; Wald to Theodore Roosevelt, April 9, 1913, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to Maude E. Miner, April 7, 1913; Miner to Wald, April 8, 1913, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 185-186.

100- Wald, House on Henry Street, 171-175. The Wald files at Columbia University have much material on prostitution. There are case studies on individual women as well as material on the Raines Law Hotels. The Law permitted hotels to stay open for liquor sales on Sunday. Saloon owners then added a few rooms so that they could qualify under the law and later used these rooms for prostitutes.

101- Wald, Speech "Immigrant Women in New York"; Speech "Danger Surrounding the Young Immigrant Girl," Buffalo, New York, June 16, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS; Frances Kellor, "Investigation and Report on Importing Women for Prostitution," October 17, 1906, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS. Feldman's thesis in "Prostitution, the Alien Woman and the Progressive Imagination," is that the movement against prostitution was nativist in origin. It would explain why protectors of the immigrant, like Wald, sought to show that the alien

woman was a victim and needed protection.

102- Hale, What Women Want, 88-89.

103- Ibid.; Dock quoted in Lubove, "Progressive and the Prostitute," 318.

104- Lubove, "Progressive and the Prostitute," 310-311.

105- Carrie C. Cat, "The Traffic in Women," Woman Voter, March, 1913, 14-15 tied suffrage to prevention of the evil; Frederick H. Whittin, "Demand and Supply," Woman Voter, March, 1913, 16; Harriet B. Laidlow, "The A.B.C. of the Question," Woman Voter, March, 1913, 17-18; Addams, "Our Modern Crusade," Woman Voter, March, 1913, 21; Woman Citizen, May 15, 1920, 1256-1262, 1264-1267; Life and Labor, April, 1913, 108; May, 1913, 141-144; Addams, Second Twenty Years, 327-328; Addams, "A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil," The Social Thought of Jane Addams, ed. Lasch, 133-143.

106- Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 138.

107- Wald to Rockefeller, October 21, 1910, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

108- Ibid.

109- Wald, "Testimony Before the Legislative Committee on Prostitution," February 27, 1913; Speech on Prostitution, n.d. Boston, Massachusetts, NYPL, Wald MSS.

110- Blackwell to Wald, March 15, 1913, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

111- Wald to Hamilton Holt, November 16, 1910; Wald to William Ivins, September 6, 1910, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

112- Alice Stone Blackwell, "The Legislature and the Social Evil," Woman Citizen, January 18, 1919, 687; Blackwell, "Social Hygiene," Woman Citizen, January 17, 1920, 619; Blackwell and Mabel Ulrich, "As to 'Dangerous Legislation'," Woman Citizen, April 19, 1919, 988-989.

113- Lasch, ed., Social Thought of Jane Addams, 134. Dr. Alice Hamilton appears to be one of the few women who did not entirely believe that all prostitutes were innocent victims, see Alice Hamilton, Exploring the Dangerous Trades (Boston, 1943), 91-94.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FULL CITIZENSHIP--AT LAST

The most radical proposal introduced at the convention held at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848 was woman suffrage. The early movement was essentially the struggle of a small group of white, native born, Protestant, middle class women who had been relieved of much work in their homes by the products of industrialization. Well educated and with increased leisure time, these women sought full participation in political life. By the end of the century, despite massive efforts, the drive for enfranchisement had made little progress outside of the west. The leadership of the women's movement was old and the organization was narrow based and fragmented. Total success, at times, seemed as remote as it had been in the ante bellum period. The formation of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890 gave new impetus to the suffrage drive. It was further strengthened by cooperation with groups like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Grange and the Federation of Women's Clubs. Fresh leadership, new organizations which attracted a broader base of support and increased emphasis upon a federal amendment made the enfranchisement of women a realizable goal by 1910.¹

The significance of adding New York State to the list of suffrage states was apparent to all. It would be the "keystone

of the suffrage arch."² If the Empire State could be won, "all the states would come tumbling down like a pack of cards."³ A victory in this eastern and influential state would accelerate passage of the federal amendment. Both opponents and proponents of suffrage regarded a New York campaign, which had to enlist masses of immigrants and industrial workers, as critical.⁴

Annually, after 1854, the New York Legislature was presented with suffrage measures, and annually, each was ignored or rejected.⁵ A fresh start was begun in 1906 when Harriot Stanton Blatch, newly arrived from England where she had viewed a more militant woman's movement,⁶ formed the Equality League of Self Supporting Women (later called the Women's Political Union). The organization was unique in that it attempted to bring to the suffrage movement the strength of the working women. The League had enlisted 19,000 women by 1908, including Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Florence Kelley, Lavinia Dock and Rose Schneiderman.⁷ When in 1911, the WTUL voted to support suffrage as a labor measure, the women's movement became a mass endeavor for the first time in history.⁸

At about the same time, Carrie Chapman Catt, former president of the NAWSA, came to New York to take charge of the Empire State campaign. The suffrage movement was fluid with a dozen or more groups dividing power. Catt did not fault this condition for she believed that it was good for everyone to have a job and a title,⁹ but she recognized the need for strong leadership and coordinated planning for success. She consolidated various organizations into the Woman Suffrage

Party which led a united effort for the New York State suffrage amendment through the two referenda campaigns--the first unsuccessful, in 1915, and the second in 1917--needed for the women to gain the vote.¹⁰

The fight began in October, 1909, with a convention held at Carnegie Hall. A month earlier, Catt met with other leaders to discuss plans. One of their ideas was to provoke the New York legislature to consider a suffrage amendment by electing a woman member "who could, within the sacred fold, by trading votes, . . . get the amendment submitted." Catt wrote to Lillian Wald, "We want You." Even though Wald would represent only one Assembly District, if elected, she would be the candidate of all the women of the city.¹¹ Wald replied that she considered the plan to be "very reasonable, very practical," but she had to refuse the opportunity. Her work at the Settlement and lack of time would prevent her from devoting all her energies to this "good cause."¹² Catt, while disappointed, accepted the decision and went on to tell Wald about the proposed "Woman's City Convention." Organization of the meeting was arranged by Assembly Districts, with an A.D. leader for each area. This attempt to emulate the political parties, it was hoped, would "prove the basis for future work" to carry women's suffrage to New York State. Catt feared that there would be no suffragists in some A.D.s and hoped that Wald would serve as a chairman to enlist some "good workers" like herself.¹³ Wald was chosen Honorary Vice Chairman of the Convention. The Henry Street Settlement was represented by Lavinia Dock, who was on the House Committee

and acted as a Senatorial District Chairman (in charge of at least three A.D.s), Helen McDowell, Yssabella Waters and Beula Weldon. Plans were formulated at the Convention for a platform urging the utilization of women in public office. The most important action, however, was devising tactics to pressure the New York Legislature to pass a state constitutional amendment.¹⁴

The women paraded, lobbied, canvassed and cajoled the Legislature until 1913, when "the sentiment in favor of letting the voters pass on the question . . . became too strong to be resisted." The men in Albany voted for the suffrage amendment for the required second time and the issue was submitted to the voters in a referendum election in November, 1915.¹⁵

Carrie C. Catt and the Empire State Campaign Committee drew up detailed plans to convert the electorate. The state was divided into twelve districts with further sub-divisions developed along the lines of Tammany Hall's structure. The goal was to canvass block by block in order to reach and influence each voter. The campaign was impressive and included street dances, outdoor meetings, concerts, theater days, block parties and parades.¹⁶

R. L. Duffus, Wald's biographer, stated that she "could no more keep out of the suffrage movement than a fish could keep out of water."¹⁷ Her experiences and interests as a nurse, social worker, reformer, and labor advocate showed her the need for women's full participation in political life.¹⁸

She was, she said, "hot on the suffrage question"¹⁹ and threw herself and the resources of the Settlement into the fight for female enfranchisement.²⁰

Wald played an insignificant role in the formal women's groups. She held the title of Honorary Vice Chairman of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party through 1917, and was a member of the Executive Committee but she usually asked a member of the household to represent her at meetings.²¹ Wald served the cause of suffrage in both referenda campaigns in the manner in which, she believed, she had her greatest strength. She pressured politicians,²² published articles and gave speeches.²³ "What you say," a woman told Wald, "has so much weight with a certain class of people who are not influenced by other suffragists. . . ."²⁴

The publicity Wald gave to the women's fight had value, in one respect, because so many used her as a model of what women could do if they had the power. In an article in The Woman Voter, Dr. Adolphus Knopf disputed the arguments of the "Antis" by pointing to "the qualities of mind and heart" he encountered in the women he met in social reform like Lillian Wald. She was, he believed, the best argument to be found for suffrage.²⁵ Ironically, even the anti-suffragists used Wald as an example, for she showed what women managed to do without the vote.²⁶

Wald was never a militant suffragist. She used "no weapons" other than "reason" in her appeals,²⁷ for she believed that "normal people . . . tire of being told that violence is logic and hysterics reason." An article in the Henry Street

Settlement Journal reflected her view that the cause had "too many good arguments to resort to policies which disgust the sane individual and repel the sympathies. . . ." ²⁸ Despite her aversion to militancy, Wald did sympathize with the actions of some radical feminists. She tried to marshal American support for the Pankhursts in England for "they ask ed for only such representation as men had . . .," ²⁹ and was anxious always to help Lavinia Dock, even when the two old friends disagreed as to tactics. ³⁰

Dock was active in the Congressional Union (later renamed the National Woman's Party) formed by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns. Both women had studied in England where they learned the violent methods of the Pankhursts. ³¹ Dock easily adopted the militant strategy of the NWP since it reflected her own views. All of her life, Dock subordinated every interest, even the professionalism of nursing, to the fight to enfranchise women. ³² Early in her career at the Settlement, Dock went to the polls to insist upon voting. She hoped to be arrested for her effort. According to Wald, the police captain was her great admirer and on "election night, he came to see me to apologize." He knew Dock wanted him to imprison her, but "he just couldn't do it. The idea was more than he could swallow. . . ." Dock was denied her suffrage propaganda incident. ³³

Dock, in her work with the Woman's Party, was one of the first pickets of the White House to be jailed. She served a total of forty-three days ³⁴ including twenty-five days in Occoquan prison where she claimed conditions were so bad that

she had "hard work choking down enough food to keep the life in me."³⁵ Wald feared for her friend's health and wrote to Wilson and Joseph Tumulty, the President's secretary, to check on prison conditions and to protest the sentencing of pickets.³⁶ To Dock, Wald wrote of her affection, even though she was "not converted to the wisdom" of the militant's propaganda.³⁷

I tell you from the bottom of my heart that I hope you will not feel that you have to go to jail again. I cannot bear the thought of it. I know that the method seems right and wise to you and that there is no use discussing it.³⁸

For Wald, the use of violence was unnecessary for the extension of suffrage was inevitable--the whole force of evolution was behind it. She believed in democracy and as a democrat saw that women represented the last large group legally excluded from citizenship.³⁹

In a country that is committed to that principle of government, there should be no intellectual question as to who has the right to be represented and who has not. Everybody has the right.⁴⁰

Furthermore, it was absurd to deny the vote to such as Florence Kelley, Jane Addams and "the multitude of women who were carrying the world's burdens on their shoulders and yet were thought to be incapable of casting a ballot wisely."⁴¹

New York State presented more than the usual problems to the suffragists. In addition to the usual opposition to the extension of the vote, the women had to counter prejudice to immigrants--their own and others. They had, also, to gain the support of ethnic and religious minorities and from the slum dwellers in New York City. This challenge was the despair

of the traditional suffragist. Most hoped that the upstate counties of the state would win great enough majorities to overcome the city vote where it was expected that the tenement dwellers, immigrants and sweatshop workers would vote against suffrage.⁴² In previous referenda, throughout the nation, women had witnessed foreign born males cast ballots against suffrage. Defeats occurred, as in the first California vote, it was believed, because of the "ignorant, the vicious and the foreign born," the city slum dweller, the Catholic, Jewish, Italian and German vote.⁴³

The Woman Voter published part of a study of the social effects of immigration. The article, by Professor Edward Ross, detailed the state of subjection of Slavic and Italian women claiming that "Eastern European peasants are brutal in the assertion of marital rights." The woman suffrage movement in the United States, said Ross, would meet opposition from "millions of immigrants bred in the coarse peasant philosophy of sex." It would take a struggle to maintain "in the future the Christian conception of womanhood. . . ."⁴⁴

Most suffragists protested that these foreign men, with no training, education and character to understand the workings of democracy, had the vote and could deny it to women who deserved it.⁴⁵ In 1896, Elizabeth Cady Stanton sent a letter to be read at a hearing of the House Committee on the Judiciary.

Allow me, honorable gentlemen, to paint you a picture. . . . The central object is a ballot box guarded by three inspectors of foreign birth. On the right is a multitude of coarse, ignorant beings, designated in our Constitution

as male citizens--many of them fresh from the steerage of incoming steamers. . . . Police-men are respectfully guiding them all to the ballot box. . . . Each in turn depositing his vote, for what purpose he neither knows nor cares. . . .⁴⁶

Some years later, Anna Howard Shaw elaborated on this anti-foreign theme:

No other country has subjected its women to the humiliating position to which the women of this nation have been subjected by men. . . . In Germany, German women are governed by German men; in France, French women are governed by Frenchmen; and in Great Britain, British women are governed by British men; but in this country, American women are governed by every kind of a man under the light of the sun.⁴⁷

Locally, The National Voter, the voice of the New York City Suffrage Party carried article after article about the problems of the coarse and ignorant foreigner who kept capable women from the ballot box.⁴⁸ In The New York Times, Carrie Chapman Catt questioned the aptitude of foreign men to vote with no test of any kind. Was the ability to cast a ballot "inate in the male and foreign to the nature of the female?"⁴⁹

In truth, the immigrant and the feminist were separated by a wide cultural barrier. Suffragists often espoused views which violated the traditions and church teachings of the newcomers, especially those who arrived in vast numbers from Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia. Traditionally, also, "American suffragists had held aloof from the working class leaders, especially those from the emerging trade union movement." Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth C. Stanton had made some efforts to draw in the working girl, but their successors, with a few exceptions, had little understanding of the industrial poor.⁵⁰

The New York suffragists would have preferred to convince the familiar middle class Protestant groups, but to win New York, this attitude was impossible. They had to reach "friends of all nations. . . ." ⁵¹ From the start, the feminists enlisted the help of the settlement workers who dealt and lived with the foreigners and sweatshop workers. Settlement women understood immigrants and could perhaps convince them to use their votes for reform.

The Henry Street nurses had great influence in terms of Americanization and political education. In addition to providing medical care, they "shared a special kind of intimacy with the whole neighborhood." ⁵² While originally they worked only on the East Side, by 1910, the nurses were providing services throughout the city. In that year, forty-seven nurses made fifty thousand calls and by the time of the second referendum in 1917, there were one hundred nurses making almost a quarter of a million home visits. ⁵³ The nurses demonstrated to the immigrant voter that there "were liberated women who interested themselves in womanly concerns." ⁵⁴

Josephine Goldmark, in a broadcast address, called Lillian Wald

the great interpreter of one social class to another, of the newcomer and the alien to the native-born, of people of different racial backgrounds to one another, of the underprivileged to the over-privileged, of age to youth and youth to age. ⁵⁵

It was in the role of interpreter that Wald performed her great service in the fight for women's suffrage. Like many women in the WTUL, Wald believed that the vote was essential

for the working girl. Work prepared her for citizenship and she could use the ballot to gain protective legislation.⁵⁶ In turn, the suffragists needed the numbers of the wage earners to build a winning coalition.⁵⁷ The two mutually distrustful groups sometimes called upon Wald to "add a bit o'cheer" to lessen tensions,⁵⁸ and to remind them that the "active cooperation of college women and working women" was necessary "to strike a new note in the woman's movement."⁵⁹ Wald's prime work was to explain the need for suffrage to the immigrants so that they would support the referendum and to explain the immigrants to American born citizens so that they would not fear the vote of the newcomers. To each group, she used arguments designed to minimize fears and for both groups, she conveyed ideas which would appeal to male voters.

Everett P. Wheeler was Executive Chairman of the Man-Suffrage Association Opposed to Political Suffrage for Women and a leader of the "Antis". While he used all of the traditional words to gain converts, he stressed the disruption of the family because of suffrage and a resulting sexual revolution.⁶⁰ Wald who knew Wheeler responded to a letter he wrote to the Times:

I do believe that the home and the mother are the sources of society. One of the reasons why I am a suffragist is because I want to dignify them in every way, and have the influences and traditions of the home brought into government. . . .⁶¹

Wald disregarded a warning from Catt not to "promise what women will do with the vote,"⁶² and, like many other women, claimed that females in politics would contribute an interest

in humanitarian reform. Both sexes, Wald reassured her audiences, would work together to the interests of better government. She made reference to those nations with political equality to show that women almost always develop "those inclinations which are traditional" and vote to support home and children. Women in politics, both immigrant and native-born, would work to preserve that which is valuable and important to them.⁶³

Since most Americans saw all recent aliens as a less than desirable mass, Wald sought to show the virtues of her neighbors on the East Side. In her book House on Henry Street and a series of speeches before the first referendum in 1915, she told of the intelligence of her neighbors. The immigrants were ardent patriots who made contributions to the country which offered them escape from oppression. Moreover, the East Siders were intelligent, independent voters. Wald suggested that "the fear of the immigrant . . . vote is confined to the people who do not know them or who have had the most limited experience with them. . . ." Statistics indicated that her neighbors showed great discrimination in their voting habits. The Jewish vote in Manhattan and the Bronx (the areas of greatest concentration) was an "overwhelming vote for Anti-Tammany candidates and the selection of individuals, irrespective of party. . . ." The East Sider could "hardly be called an ignorant immigrant voter." Wald drew attention to the low illiteracy rate of the children of the foreign born as an illustration of the value placed upon education by the immigrants. Also, since the Naturalization Act of

1906 required people to speak English and sign their petitions, "persons naturalized since 1906 are required to have a higher degree of literacy than is enjoyed by some of our native citizens."⁶⁴

Foreign women, in particular, were praised. Since it was believed that they were overburdened and unfit for the vote,⁶⁵ Wald took pains to answer the critics. She testified "to their earnest concern and their effort for the things that make life happier and safer for children and men and women." Immigrant women had direct knowledge of the effect of laws upon family life. They knew from bitter experience about labor conditions. "And these women care. It would be extraordinary if they did not care."⁶⁶

The vote was important to these women. Proof of this concern could be seen in the Henry Street neighborhood. "Almost any night, if you come to the East Side, you would see women, working class women and mothers as well, standing on soap boxes, giving earnest expression to their convictions upon the value of the extension of the franchise to them."⁶⁷ One in particular, a "motherly looking woman . . . makes her appeal . . . to a respectful group of laboring men." This "mother in Israel" who works in a factory six days a week "intelligently and interestingly . . . develops her plea, and her appeal to men's reason brings sober nods of approval."⁶⁸ Russian men and women, Wald added, had "sacrificed much to get to this land of political equality" and were anxious to take part in American movements.⁶⁹ "I doubt that a single man or woman could be found among them opposed to granting

the franchise to women."⁷⁰

Wald worked to insure the fact that the Jews did indeed vote for suffrage. In a letter to the Jewish Daily Mail, she appealed to the males to recognize the value of their wives and daughters who worked hard and shared "the duties of life." Women who voted would remain good mothers and good wives. In fact, "it might be easily proved that women are better mothers . . . and wives in the country where they have shared in the responsibilities of the franchise." Wald concluded:

We no longer ask men . . . to vote for women because of their rights; we ask men to vote for women because it is just and because women, having had education and training, and having shared in the advantage of a partial democracy, should be called on to perform their full duties.⁷¹

The work done for suffrage by the Settlement women, especially Lavinia Dock in the 1915 campaign, is best measured by the reports "From the Assembly Districts" in The Woman Voter. Though the political lines changed through the years, the residents of the Henry Street Settlement were largely responsible for voters in the second through the eighth Assembly Districts. Visits to Jewish trade union meetings, street gatherings, suffrage forums at the Settlement and propaganda geared to the immigrants were part of the campaign,⁷² as were visits from neighborhood heroes like unionist, Joseph Barondess and socialist, Meyer London. Both men spoke at suffrage rallies.⁷³

As early as March, 1911, Dock reported that the foreign-born on the East Side were interested in enfranchising women.

All of the Yiddish newspapers devoted space to the question especially the influential Vorwarts.⁷⁴ Dock concluded that "the suffrage sentiment of this extreme down-town section is very strong,"⁷⁵ a fact that was borne out in informal polls taken in Jewish and Italian neighborhoods in the second A.D. in 1913⁷⁶ and the third A.D. in 1915.⁷⁷

In the months before the 1915 vote, many began to question conventional thinking as to the sources of suffrage strength. Carrie Chapman Catt expressed disappointment over the upstate sentiment.⁷⁸ The New York Times reported that "the women suffragists . . . have not found the rural districts fertile soil for their propaganda as did the suffragists in other states," and many campaigning women were met by indifference and even hostility.⁷⁹ There were early predictions that the upstate counties would produce unfavorable majorities.⁸⁰ By contrast, Wald wrote in House on Henry Street, published in 1915, "The conviction that the extension of democracy should include women has found free expression in our part of the city. . . ."⁸¹

Election day brought defeat to the suffragists in all but five counties of New York State, with a vote of 748,332 against to 553,348 in favor of the amendment.⁸² Harriot Stanton Blatch's immediate interpretation of the results was to blame the immigrant vote. She said:

No women in the world are so humiliated in asking for the vote as the American woman. The English, the French, the German women all appeal to the men of their own nationality. The American woman appeals to men of twenty-six nationalities, not including the Indian.

Blatch asked for a polling place on the East Side and was assigned as a poll watcher on Eldridge Street, where she "saw young men who had been in this country but a short time" voting on the suffrage question. She did not question their right to citizenship

but I call it tyranny and license for them to have power to pass upon me and upon the native born women of America, and a disgrace that the men of our country will force us to submit to it. We have been hypocrites too long.⁸³

Whatever the validity of these sentiments in the past, they were open to challenge in New York where the city vote for suffrage was less adverse than that of the state as a whole. In a widely published letter to the editor of the Times, Wald wrote that perhaps Mrs. Blatch was so busy with the campaign that she did not have the time to notice the East Side vote. "Analysis . . . from the first to the twelfth Assembly Districts, shows a comparatively favorable acceptance of the extension of democracy" and with only one exception, "no other part of the city did as well."⁸⁴

Abram Lipsky wrote another response to Mrs. Blatch in The American Hebrew. He compared the results in six Assembly Districts in which the native born voter constituted forty per cent or more of the total vote with six Districts with ten per cent or less in native voters. The results indicate that there was little variance between the performances of the native born and immigrant voters.

<u>Borough*</u>	<u>A.D.</u>	<u>Percentage of voters who were native born or of native parents</u>	<u>Percentage of vote cast for suffrage</u>
M	27	51.5	44.3
B	17	45.6	44.6
M	15	45.3	42.3
M	25	44.1	47.7
Q	4	41.3	44.6
M	19	40.0	48.3
M	30	2.4	36.5
M	6	2.4	50.8
M	8	2.5	49.3
M	10	5.9	44.3
M	4	7.0	47.5
M	26	7.1	50.5

Using figures based on the 1910 census, Lipsky broke down the vote on ethnic lines.

Ethnic Composition

M	4	51% Russian, 7% native born	47.5
M	6	39% Russian, 39% Austrian, 2.4% native born	50.8
M	8	65% Russian, 2.5% native born	49.3
M	10	34% Russian, 19% Austrian, 5.9% native born	44.3
M	26	57% Russian, 7.1% native born	50.5

Lipsky, in other tables, showed that other nationalities did not endorse suffrage as did those of the East Side and other areas of Jewish concentration.

He concluded that:

The sum of the matter . . . is that the strongest support of woman suffrage came the native born Americans and from the foreigners, chiefly Russian and Austrian, who inhabit the districts east of the Bowery and certain districts in Harlem and the Bronx, and that the strongest opposition came from the foreigners of German, Italian and Irish birth. Mrs. Blatch, therefore, was only half right in her choice of a foreign district in which to watch. She went to a district that had next

* M=Manhattan, B=Brooklyn, Q=Queens

to the lowest percentage of pure Americans, but it happened to be one that furnished nearly the strongest support of her cause. . . . The Russians and Austrians whom she most suspected stood, for good or ill, shoulder to shoulder with the men of her own race in this particular campaign.⁸⁵

It is interesting that Wald and the Settlement women had forecasted these trends in their constituency early in the 1915 campaign.

The campaign for the 1917 referendum began immediately after the defeat. Catt, in a letter to all chairmen of the Woman's Suffrage Party, declared that "a cause with a half million votes . . . will never be treated with contempt again,"⁸⁶ and she called a meeting to present her "winning plan" for New York State.⁸⁷ The second referendum differed from the first. In 1915, the woman suffrage issue competed for attention on the ballot with a referendum on a new state constitution and many women believed that this was done by design in order to confuse the issues and defeat the suffrage measure.

In 1917, the enfranchisement issue would be on the ballot alone, but by the spring of the year, other considerations had taken over. The World War intervened and represented both a threat and an opportunity for the women. Would the voters condemn the movement because of Jeanette Rankin's vote against the war, Jane Addams' presidency of the Woman's Peace Party and Lillian Wald's leadership of the American Union Against Militarism? Or would the citizens of the state respond to the many women involved in war work and patriotic causes?⁸⁸

By 1917, also, the suffrage movement had gained enough status so that it was "no longer a supplicant at the doors of party conventions" and both political parties were committed, at least in theory, to extending the vote to women.⁸⁹ President Wilson, who resisted the demands of the suffragists in his first term, became an advocate of the federal amendment.⁹⁰ Suffrage had become one of the democratic war aims.⁹¹ Even Tammany Hall, by the year of the second referendum, had shifted "to a position of true neutrality" on the issue.⁹²

Wald agreed to serve on the new state-wide suffrage committee. The chairman said, "Your name will mean so much to us,"⁹³ and gave Wald the title of Vice-Chairman for Manhattan. She was expected to give "assistance and . . . advice"⁹⁴ while the real work of the post would go to Edith Borg of the Settlement.⁹⁵ The East Siders duplicated their massive effort of 1915. More rallies, canvassing, literature, petitioning, clubs and work through various Jewish groups like the Workingmen's Circle.⁹⁶ Borg worked hard, but Wald's correspondence indicates that she had to step in frequently because of what the Woman's Suffrage Party termed Borg's "impracticality."⁹⁷

Because she was a pacifist, Wald did have one serious policy difference with the Woman's Suffrage Party. The majority of the Executive Committee offered the services of the organization to the government during the war crisis.⁹⁸ Wald agreed to uphold the decision with the understanding that it only committed the women to relieving "suffering or distress in any form," but she regretted "the resolution because it seemed . . . to be one more expression that might increase the

tension and perhaps the war spirit."⁹⁹ Whatever may have been the reaction to Wald's stand elsewhere, it was probably applauded on the East Side where the workers, many of whom were socialists, tended to be anti-militarist and pacifist.¹⁰⁰

Throughout the referendum campaign, the specter of an adverse immigrant vote continued to haunt the suffragists.¹⁰¹ Many hoped that the upstate vote would improve enough to provide a winning margin. To the dismay of many, voters outside of New York City again voted against the amendment. The Times headlined the story, "Suffrage Fight Won in the Cities."¹⁰² It was the urban population which provided the victory. The Manhattan vote was 129,412 in favor and 89,124 against the extension of the franchise.¹⁰³

A study of the Manhattan Assembly Districts which constituted the constituency of the Henry Street Settlement shows that the favorable votes were in excess of the sixty-nine per cent average of the whole borough.¹⁰⁴

<u>A.D.</u>	<u>Affirmative Votes</u>	<u>Negative Votes</u>
2	4,482	2,603
3	5,669	5,032
4	4,348	1,583
5	5,301	4,993
8	5,003	2,454
10	5,899	3,991

The explanations of the victory in New York in 1917 are many. It has been said that suffrage was an idea whose time had come. That even the political bosses recognized that they had to change their policy. How then, can the defeat of suffrage in Ohio in the same year be explained? The United States had been involved in the War for only six months and

it seems unlikely that the vote was given to the women as a reward for national services. In New York City, at least, the victory was won by a coalition of the Eastern European Immigrants, industrial workers and middle class women, who manufactured public opinion in favor of enfranchisement. A large measure of the credit for creating the climate that made possible this successful effort must be given to settlement houses like the one on Henry Street and leaders like Lillian Wald.

After years of work, Wald wrote to Jane Addams, "We are nearly bursting over our citizenship. . . . I had no idea that I could thrill over the right to vote."¹⁰⁵ Important as the victory was to individuals, it was even more critical to the cause.

The carrying of New York State is the greatest single victory that the suffrage cause . . . has yet won. It breaks the backbone of the opposition; it forces the blindest reactionary to see the handwriting on the wall; it insures the speedy passage through Congress of the nation-wide suffrage amendment.¹⁰⁶

With "the thrill of new citizenship"¹⁰⁷ still upon her, Wald embarked on a new program. She wrote:

We are going to be terribly busy from now on trying to educate the voter. I thought when the vote was won that I would have a minute or two a day, but it seems not to be working that way.¹⁰⁸

Citizenship classes were initiated at Henry Street for the new voters.¹⁰⁹

While Wald and the other suffragists had argued throughout the campaign that women had knowledge of political and civic affairs, they now claimed that the new voters had to make "themselves fit for citizenship" through study and observa-

tion.¹¹⁰ "What will we profit by the franchise," Wald said, "if we do not make this a safer and better city?"¹¹¹ Voting implied not only a privilege but duties and duties implied a familiarity with the mechanics of politics. She hoped that women would use their campaign energies to inform themselves so that they could play an important role in government.¹¹²

Wald had always eschewed permanent identification with any political party and remained issue and candidate oriented. Since she was so successful in influencing platforms and electing reform minded politicians, she believed that this was a path to be followed by all women. Wald urged the new voters to remain an independent determining minority rather than entering and being absorbed by any party organization. Men were often ruled by machine bosses and she hoped that women would not follow that path. They had to demand definite programs from both parties and see that those programs were carried out. They had to pick the good and criticize the evil in both parties in order to profit the community.¹¹³

Wald's reasoning was representative of the women of the NAWSA, who after the passage of the nineteenth amendment reorganized into the League of Women Voters (LWV), a nonpartisan group which concentrates on fact finding and lobbying.¹¹⁴ The League needs no defense for its superb work, but it was not and is not a political organization; it is an interest group.¹¹⁵ The League could be as effective, if it were made up of disenfranchised women. The new voters should have been urged to enter political parties, to gain a constituency, to wield influence by choosing candidates and to develop reputations

for achievement and ability. To claim "power," women had to reach places where they made final decisions for the political process.¹¹⁶ Wald and the other women who urged nonpartisan activities retarded the political progress that the new voters might have made in the next two generations. Indeed, many students of the suffrage crusade are critical of the time and effort devoted to the vote considering how few lasting changes resulted from that reform. The suffragists themselves felt the need to justify their actions, when after a number of years, they could not claim that their ideals had been realized.¹¹⁷

Wald never maintained that suffrage would "be a panacea for all the ills of social and political life,"¹¹⁸ nor did she believe that the reform would "bring about the millenium."¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, she can be accused of "over-selling" suffrage, particularly in light of her post 1917 beliefs. To win converts, Wald did not hesitate to deny her feminism, if her audience contained "Antis" to whom feminism assumed a pejorative meaning.¹²⁰ She also gave her listeners reason to believe that all women were genuinely interested in social reform because of their background and training. Probably, she was too much the realist to believe her own propaganda. The suffrage was important to her, however, and she probably felt justified in using whatever tactics were necessary in order to achieve success.¹²¹

NOTES

1- The bibliography of the suffrage movement is extensive. Primary sources include Anthony and others, eds. History of Woman Suffrage; "Significance of the Woman Suffrage Movement," Supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (May, 1910); Ethelbert D. Warfield, "The Moral Influence of Women in American Society," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXIV (July, 1909), 106-114; Lyman Abbott, "Why Women Do Not Wish the Suffrage," Atlantic Monthly, XCII (September, 1903), 289-296; Rheta C. Dorr, What Eight Million Women Want (Boston, 1910). The best of the secondary works is Flexner, Century of Struggle. Others include Alan P. Grimes, The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage (New York, 1967); Bill Severn, Free But Not Equal: How Women Won the Right to Vote (New York, 1967); Olivia Coolidge, Women's Rights, the Suffrage Movement in America, 1848-1920 (New York, 1967); O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave; O'Neill, Woman Movement; Kraditor, Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement.

2- Life and Labor, January, 1918, 5.

3- Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch (New York, 1940), 210.

4- Carrie Chapman Catt to Assembly District Leaders, April 6, 1915, NYPL, Catt MSS. Catt called the New York effort "the decisive battle" in Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement (Seattle, 1970), 280.

5- Ida Husted Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 453. Amendments to the New York State Constitution must be passed by two consecutive legislatures. The measure is then placed on the ballot in the next general election.

6- Both Blatch and Alice Paul of the Woman's Party imported many tactics used by the British suffragettes. The first of the suffrage parades took place at Blatch's suggestion in 1910, see Woman's Journal, August 13, 1910, 132.

7- Flexner, Century of Struggle, 251-252; Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 486; Coolidge, Women's Rights, 100.

8- National Women's Trade Union League, "Proceedings of the Third Biennial Convention," June 12-17, 1911, Boston, Massachusetts, 42, 46.

9- Perkins, "Memoir," 192-193.

10- Catt is recognized by most to be the organizing genius of the suffrage movement. She was helped in her work by a bequest of about \$1,000,000 from Mrs. Frank Leslie. In addition to the New York campaigns, Catt resumed the presidency of the NAWSA in 1915. See Flexner, Century of Struggle, 272-274; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics; Maud Park, Front Door Lobby (Boston, 1960).

11- Catt to Wald, September 11, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS.

12- Wald to Catt, September 13, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS. Two years earlier, Wald had refused to serve on a committee to pressure President T. Roosevelt to recommend a woman suffrage amendment to Congress. Wald claimed that she would support the effort, but did not feel that her presence on the committee would strengthen it, Kate Gordon to Wald, August 15, 1907; Wald to Gordon, August 19, 1907, NYPL, Wald MSS.

13- Catt to Wald, September 29, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS.

14- "Minutes of the New York City Woman Suffrage Party," October 29, 1909, Carnegie Hall, New York, Butler Library, Columbia University, NYC WSP MSS; "Minutes of New York City Woman Suffrage Party," January 15, 1910, Butler Library, Columbia University, NYC WSP MSS; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, 280-299; Ronald Schaffer, "The New York City Woman Suffrage Party, 1909-1919," New York History, XLIII (July, 1962), 269-287.

15- Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, 280-287; Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 451-458; Woman Voter, February, 1912, 4-5.

16- Woman Voter, November, 1914, 12-13; Catt, "The Constitutional Convention," Woman Voter, May, 1914, 7-8; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, 287-292; The Catt collection in the NYPL contains her "Plan of the Campaign of 1915" which shows her organizational genius and attention to detail; Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 453-463; Schaffer, "NYC Woman Suffrage Party," 270-271, 280-281.

17- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 111.

18- Dewson to T. Roosevelt, February, 1912 claimed "I cannot think of one anti-suffragist among us [social workers]," Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Dewson MSS; Stewart, "Memoir," 141, mentions that practically all nurses were suffragists; Maud Nathan, "Woman Suffrage an Aid to Social Reform," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XXXV (May, 1910), 33-35.

19- Wald to Helen Hall, May 19, 1936, Wald MSS.

20- Sources illustrating the devotion of the women of the Henry Street Settlement to women's suffrage are plentiful. For examples, see Wald to Mary Garrett Hay, September 6, 1917; Wald to Judge Henry Goldfogle, January 2, 1914; Alice Lewisohn Crowley, "First Visit to the Henry Street Settlement," NYPL, Wald MSS; Woods and Kennedy, eds., Handbook of Settlements, 207.

21- Anne Watkins to Wald, January 22, 1917, June 11, 1917, July 7, 1917; Wald to Hay, September 6, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald was a member of the General Committee of the Empire State Campaign Committee as well, see Woman Voter, January, 1914, 15; November, 1914, 14-17.

22- Wald to Judge Goldfogle, April 4, 1913, January 2, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

23- Florence Woolston to Wald, November 6, 1913; Gertrude Brown to Wald, February ?, 1913, NYPL, Wald MSS.

24- Ethel M. Adamson to Wald, January 27, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

25- S. Adolphus Knopf, M.D., "Why I Believe in Woman Suffrage," Woman Voter, November, 1911, 1-8.

26- Mrs. Barclay Hazard, Speech "How Women Can Best Serve the State," to the New York Federation of Women's Clubs, October 30, 1907, NYPL, Wald MSS.

27- Wald, Speech "Women in the Campaign," reported in the Evening Post, November 3, 1913, NYPL, Wald MSS.

28- Journal of the Henry Street Settlement, December, 1909, 8.

29- Wald to George Foster Peabody, May 21, 1912; Wald to Sylvia Pankhurst, June 15, 1912; Pankhurst to Wald, April 30, 1912; Peabody to Wald, May 14, 1912, May 25, 1912; Henry Moskowitz to Pankhurst, May 17, 1912, NYPL, Wald MSS.

30- Wald to Dock, January 4, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS; Dock to Wald, December 26, no year, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS. Nutting was also concerned about Dock, see Nutting to Dock, January 15, 1916, Nursing Archives Teachers College, Columbia University, Nutting MSS.

31- In 1914, the Congressional Union's membership included Harriott Blatch, Charlotte P. Gilman and Florence Kelley in addition to Dock. Both Dock and Kelley were listed on the Advisory Council in 1917. Nevertheless, the divisions between the women that would erupt over the Equal Rights Amendment go back to New York campaign. See Catt to editor of The New York Times, October 5, 1914; Catt, news release, May 18, 1915 condemned the heckling of President Wilson and other politicians by the "British group;" Catt, "An Open Letter to the

Public," July 13, 1917, NYPL, Catt MSS; Ida Harper to Joseph Tumulty, August 21, 1916, August 18, 1917, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Harper MSS; Nettie Shuler to Catt, July 11, 1917; Catt to Anna Howard Shaw, July 13, 1917, NYPL, NAWSA MSS; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 6-10; Inez Irwin, The Story of the Woman's Party (New York, 1921).

32- Dock to Nutting, January 4, 1913, Nursing Archives Teachers' College, Columbia University, Nutting MSS; Dock, "Some Urgent Social Claims," Nurses Associated Alumnae of the United States (1906), 895-896. Dock went to England in 1914 to work with the suffragettes, Woman Voter, June, 1914, 25.

33- Wald to Duffus, November 2, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, House on Henry Street, 46-47.

34- Doris Stevens, Jailed for Freedom (New York, 1920), 358.

35- Ibid., 143. Dock was close to sixty years old during the suffrage fight.

36- Wald to Dock, October 23, 1917; W. Gwynn Gardiner to Wilson, November 9, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

37- Wald to Dock, August 31, 1917; Dock to Wald, September 19, 1917?, NYPL, Wald MSS.

38- Wald to Dock, October 23, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

39- Kraditor, Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement separates suffragists into two groups. Those who used arguments from justice and those who used arguments from expediency. There is no doubt that Wald believed in the justice of the vote for women, but as a pragmatist, she used any argument that she believed would win converts from her audience. Wald would, therefore, fall into Kraditor's group who used expediency--what women could do with the vote--and be held responsible with the others for claiming too much for women. Emily Newell Blair, "Are Women a Failure in Politics," Harper's Monthly Magazine, CLI (October, 1925), 513-522 raised the same point.

40- Wald, Speech?, no title, n.d.; Wald, "Why You Should Vote for Woman Suffrage," New York World, October 26, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

41- Wald as quoted in Duffus, Lillian Wald, 113.

42- Harper, ed., History of Women Suffrage, VI, 448; Schaffer, "New York City Woman Suffrage Party," 269-274.

43- Grimes, Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage, 72-117; Page Smith, Daughters of the Promised Land: Women in American History (Boston, 1970), 170-171; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, 161-162.

- 44- Edward Alsworth Ross, "American and Immigrant Blood," Woman Voter, January, 1914, 11-12.
- 45- Smith, Daughters of the Promised Land, 170-171.
- 46- Stanton as quoted in Kraditor, Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 129.
- 47- Shaw as quoted in Kraditor, Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 126.
- 48- Schaffer, "New York City Woman Suffrage Party," 274.
- 49- Catt to the editor of The New York Times, November 23, 1914, NYPL, Catt MSS.
- 50- Coolidge, Women's Rights, 100.
- 51- Schaffer, "New York City Woman Suffrage Party," 275.
- 52- Goldmark, Impatient Crusader, 67; Harry Roskolenko, The Time That Was Then; The Lower East Side, 1900-1914, An Intimate Chronicle (New York, 1971), 216 tells of the six yearly visits made to his home by a Henry Street nurse to deliver a new baby, care for the mother and infant, clean the apartment and "to impart wisdom."
- 53- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 134, 162; Woods and Kennedy, eds., Handbook of Settlements, 206.
- 54- O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 94-95.
- 55- Josephine Goldmark, Broadcast address, WMCA, April 10 ?, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 56- Wald, "Why You Should Vote for Woman Suffrage," NYPL, Wald MSS; Florence Kelley, Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation (New York, 1905), 172-208.
- 57- Woman Voter and Life and Labor illustrate the way the two movements, unionism and suffrage, moved together from 1911 to 1920. Leonora O'Reilly as President of the Wage Earners Suffrage League played a particularly important role.
- 58- O'Reilly to Wald, May 1, 1913, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 59- O'Reilly, "The Incentive to Motherhood," Woman Voter, September, 1912, 14-16.
- 60- Everett Wheeler, Notes for Debate Against Mrs. Blatch, 1916; Wheeler to John S. Roberts, February 25, 1916; Wheeler to editor of the Churchman, April 17, 1917, NYPL, Wheeler MSS; Wheeler to Wald, February 19, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 61- Wald to Wheeler, February 17, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

62- Catt to the Speakers in the New York Campaign, October 9, 1915, NYPL, Catt MSS.

63- Wald, Speech "New Aspects;" Wald, Speech "What Business Are Women About?," Wald, "Why You Should Vote for Woman Suffrage," NYPL, Wald MSS.

64- Wald, House on Henry Street, 266-268; Wald, Speech "The Foreign Vote," to the Equal Suffrage League of New York City, Hotel Astor, December 5, 1913; Wald, Speech "Concerning the Ignorant Vote," Columbia University, October 29, 1915; Wald, Speech to the Brooklyn Consumers League, January 11, 1911; Wald, Speech "Mothering a Community," to the New York Woman's Suffrage Association, Rochester, N.Y., October 15, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald made other suffrage speeches and wrote a number of articles on the subject, but the above are the most representative. Her comment on the political behavior of the immigrant Jews is borne out in contemporary sources. Ticket splitting and individualism were common among East Side Jewish voters, see Fuchs, The Political Behavior of American Jews, 121-129.

65- Elizabeth McCracken, "Woman Suffrage in the Tenements," Atlantic Monthly, XCVI (December, 1905), 750-759 is a good example of testimony that immigrant women were uneducated for the duties of the ballot and knew it. They did not want to vote.

66- Wald, Speech "Mothering a Community," NYPL, Wald MSS.

67- Ibid.

68- Wald, House on Henry Street, 267-268.

69- Wald, Speech "Concerning the Ignorant Vote," NYPL, Wald MSS.

70- Wald, House on Henry Street, 268.

71- Wald to the Jewish Daily Mail, October 16, 1917; Wald, Speech to the Educational Alliance, New York City, March 21, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

72- Woman Voter, February, 1910, 7; March, 1911, 3; July, 1911, 12; April, 1912, 27; November, 1912, 30; December, 1912, 30; January, 1913, 33; July, 1913, 28; September, 1913, 20; June, 1914, 25; July, 1914, 24; April, 1915, 20; June, 1915, 22; August, 1915, 21. The Journal of the Settlement is also a good source of activities, see June, 1912, 12; April, 1914, 8; April, 1912, 11, 13-15.

73- Edith Borg to Wald, n.d., NYFL, Wald MSS; The New York Times, October 29, 1915, 5.

74- Dock, "Suffrage on the East Side," Woman Voter, March, 1911, 3; Woman Voter, April, 1915, 20. Abraham Cahan, editor of the Vorwarts claimed that almost every Russian and Polish Jew, without exception, could read the Hebrew Bible and the Yiddish newspapers, see Cahan, "The Russian Jew in America," Atlantic Monthly, LXXXII (July, 1898), 131. In 1913, Dock reported that the Italian editors were also sympathetic Woman Voter, February, 1913, 33.

75- Woman Voter, July, 1911, 12.

76- Ibid., March, 1913, 33.

77- Ibid., May 1915, 14-16 reported that the Italians and the Irish were the most difficult to convert to suffrage.

78- Catt to Upstate Leaders, April 1, 1915, NYPL, Catt MSS.

79- The New York Times, October 28, 1915, 5.

80- Ibid., October 30, 1915, 4.

81- Wald, House on Henry Street, 266.

82- Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 474; The New York Times, November 4, 1915, 2.

83- The New York Times, November 4, 1915, 3.

84- Wald to the editor of The New York Times, November 4, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

85- Abram Lipsky, "The Foreign Vote on Suffrage," The American Hebrew (November 26, 1915), NYPL, Wald MSS. Lipsky's statistics were culled from United States Census Bureau-Department of Commerce and Labor, Thirteenth Census, Abstract with Supplement for New York, 1910 which divides Assembly Districts into ethnic groups.

86- Catt to All Chairmen, November 4, 1915, NYPL, Catt MSS.

87- Catt to All Chairmen, November 5, 1915, NYPL, Catt MSS; Catt and Shuler, Woman Suffrage and Politics, 294-299; Vera Whitehouse, Speech at Cooper Union Meeting, March 16, 1916, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Laidlow MSS.

88- Woman Citizen, September 14, 1918, 308; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 4-8.

89- "New Status of Suffrage," Nation, CIII (July 13, 1916), 28-29.

90- Ida H. Harper in interview in the Chicago Daily News, December 13, 1915, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College Harper MSS;

Arthur S. Link, Wilson, The New Freedom (Princeton, N.J., 1956), 257-259. Until 1917, Wilson maintained that suffrage was a state, not a national issue.

91- Woman Citizen, November 3, 1917, 432; October 5, 1918, 366-367.

92- John D. Buenker, "The Urban Political Machine and Woman Suffrage: A Study in Political Adaptability," Historian, XXXIII (February, 1971), 264-279.

93- Harriet Laidlow to Wald, December 21, 1916; Wald to Laidlow, December 28, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS.

94- Anne Watkins to Wald, January 22, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald was only one of many Vice-Chairmen for Manhattan. She later asked that Borg be given the title in order to reward her for the work done.

95- Wald to Mary G. Hay, January 20, 1917; January 24, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

96- Borg, "Report of the Clinton Hall Headquarters of the Woman Suffrage Party, Until June, 1917," NYPL, Wald MSS; "Report of the Eighth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance," June 6-12, 1920, 212-213, NYPL, Catt MSS says that "no such campaign was ever conducted in the United States for any cause as that in New York."

97- Wald to Borg, February 27, 1917, March 10, 1917; Wald to Vera Whitehouse, March 6, 1917; Wald to Hay, November 30, 1917; Wald to Watkins, June 30, 1917; Wald to Mrs. Newman, June 5, 1917; Watkins to Wald, June 11, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

98- Whitehouse to Wald, February 28, 1917; Wald to Whitehouse, February 26, 1917, March 6, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

99- Wald to Whitehouse, February 26, 1917, March 6, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS; National Board of the Woman's Peace Party to Catt, February 22, 1917, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, Addams Letters expressed the hope that the NAWSA would not take action on war work "since many women suffragists hope such a calamity may be averted" and to take premature action would "increase the war spirit."

100- Melvyn Dubofsky, "Organized Labor in New York City and the First World War, 1914-1918," New York History, XLII (October, 1961), 380-400.

101- A week after the 1917 referendum, suffragists were still expressing concern about the vote of the foreign born population in other states, see Woman Citizen, November 17, 1917, 469-471.

- 102- The New York Times, November 8, 1917, 1.
- 103- Harper, ed., History of Woman Suffrage, VI, 465-467; Woman Citizen, November 10, 1917, 449-451.
- 104- The New York Times, November 8, 1917, 3.
- 105- Wald to Addams, November 13, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 106- Woman Citizen, November 10, 1917, 451.
- 107- Wald to Hay, November 30, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 108- Wald to Addams, November 13, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 109- Wald, "Memorandum in Regard to Civic Education for Women Voters," November, 1917; New York Woman Suffrage Party, "Memo for Miss Wald; Re. The Americanization Committee," 1918; New York City Suffrage Party, "Report on Americanization Work up to February 12, 1918;" "Memorandum for Miss Wald on the First Voters' Party," February 22, 1918, NYPL, Wald MSS; Esther Lape, "Americanizing Our New Women Citizens," Life and Labor, May, 1918, 96-98, 104. The classes at the Henry Street Settlement continued through 1923. After that year, there were women's classes for naturalization purposes only, see Thomas Donohue to Wald, February 13, 1923; Director of Henry Street Clubs to Alex Shluger, May 4, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 110- Wald, Notes to Henry Street Staff Meeting, November 16, 1917; Wald to Jean Norris, November 26, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS; Vera Whitehouse, "Woman Suffrage in New York," Nation, CVI (June 1, 1918), 647-648.
- 111- Wald to Borg, November 14, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 112- Wald, Notes to H. S. Staff Meeting, November 16, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 113- Ibid.; Wald, Speech "Women in Politics," September 13, 1920; Wald to Iva Clyde Clarke, January 21, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 114- Whitehouse, "Woman Suffrage in New York," 647-648; Woman Citizen, February 28, 1920, 914; April 12, 1919, 958, 978; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 53, 100; League of Women Voters, Minutes of the "Convention of the NAWSA and the Congress of the League of Women Voters," Chicago, February 13-18, 1920, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College. The LWV policy was a continuation of the suffrage tactic which advised women not to join political parties so as not to divide their forces. In 1920, the League did attempt to influence elections and failed. It has not tried again. Wald's membership in the LWV was erratic. She often forgot to pay her dues, but was willing to serve on advisory committees through the years. Wald to Mrs. Robert Cramer, December 21, 1931; Lillian Oliver to Wald,

January 20, 1930; Caroline Slade to Wald, March 5, 1928, March 24, 1928; Wald to Slade, March 9, 1928; Basia Gruliow (Sec. to Wald) to Mrs. E. C. Carter, May 8, 1931, May 25, 1931, June 2, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS; Winifred Fisher to Wald, September 11, 1929; Wald to Fisher, September 18, 1929, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

115- Lemons, Woman Citizen, 41, claims that the LWV and the Women's Joint Congressional Committee of which the League was a part, were central to the persistent progressive thrust within feminism during the 1920's. Nevertheless, the League was not a political power; League of Women Voters of the U.S., "Forty Years of a Great Idea," (Washington, 1960).

116- Blair, "Are Women a Failure in Politics?" 513-522.

117- Carrie Chapman Catt, "Woman Suffrage, The First Ten Years," The New York Times Magazine, August 24, 1930, 3, 16; Florence Allen, "The First Ten Years," Woman Journal, August, 1930, 5-7, 30-32.

118- Wald, "Why You Should Vote for Woman Suffrage," New York World, October 26, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

119- Wald to the Jewish Daily Mail, October 16, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

120- Wald to Wheeler, February 19, 1914; Wald, Speech "The Volunteer in Social Work," October 19, 1922, NYPL, Wald MSS.

121- Helen Hall, Interview, May 20, 1975 seemed to sum up the attitude of the suffragists when questioned on the importance of the ballot. She said that they all thought it was critical at the time and really could not understand the issue.

CHAPTER NINE

THE WAR--NOTHING THE SAME AGAIN

World War I altered the nature of both social reform and feminism. Belief in society's ability to remove social, economic and sexual injustice was weakened in the face of the disruption of international peace. "The outbreak of the war . . . diverted a large part of [the reformers'] energy and attention from domestic reform to international affairs."¹ Though some, like Wald, toiled for change after the war, they never regained their pre-war momentum, and their efforts were always diluted by work in the various peace movements.

Pacifism had a long history in the United States. In the period prior to 1914, however, it was usually a movement initiated, organized and led by men. Women often supplied membership and workers within the established peace societies and many of the women's groups like the WCTU and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) endorsed pacifist goals, but the women did not provide a unique philosophy. By contrast, the female peace groups which emerged as a result of World War I represented "in both ideology and tactics . . . a new note in American pacifism."²

Women like Jane Addams and Lillian Wald knew that war resulted in the diverting of the nation's attention from social reform to military spending.³ Furthermore, war, itself, was

"an anachronism . . . , a throwback in the scientific sense."⁴ They had evidence of the ability of different peoples to live together in harmony. Settlement workers lived in cosmopolitan neighborhoods and saw Jews and Gentiles, Russians and Germans, Austrians and Italians live together in harmony. If individuals could enjoy good relations, nations could as well.⁵ Settlement workers, said Wald, were internationalist in outlook. They knew that the fundamental problems of all peoples were the same.⁶

The unique feature of the peace movements formed by the women after 1914 was their blend of feminism and pacifism. The women's movement of the Progressive Era worked for sexual equality in every area of domestic activity. It now called for a voice in international decisions as well. At first, the revolt against war was small and limited to the social workers, "but Jane Addams and Lillian Wald soon expanded it by making it a women's revolt. Never was American feminism more militant than in its pacifist crusade."⁷ War destroyed homes and devastated families, and women, who were so much affected by armed conflict had the right to participate in the decisions of war and peace. The questions were too important to be left in the hands of professional diplomats using the traditional methods of diplomacy. If women had international power, they would be less inclined to be stirred by martial oratory. Tied to the peace goals, therefore, was the demand for universal suffrage.⁸

Of course, not all feminists were pacifists. While all the peaceworkers remained suffragists, many suffragists,

including Carrie Chapman Catt, came to view the war as a means of gaining the vote,⁹ and between the end of 1915 and 1917, war work became increasingly attractive. When the United States entered the conflict, the pacifists became an embarrassment in some cases.¹⁰ Lavinia Dock was typical of many women who started as pacifists and then changed their minds and called for "a fight to the finish. . . ."¹¹

Women reacted within days after the invasion of Belgium. A committee, which included Wald and Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, organized a protest against the fighting. About thirteen hundred women representing a broad spectrum of organizations and dressed in black marched down Fifth Avenue.¹² The New York Herald described the parade as "impressive" and in its "wide variety and in its universal humanity this was a parade the like of which has never been seen in New York." Mrs. Villard was quoted as saying that the procession

serves to make women realize it is a crime to send sons and husbands out to be slaughtered. Women must be trained to realize what the enormity of war is. It is time that they cease to accept what men, in the exuberance of their patriotism or enthusiasm say regarding things.¹³

These women "were the first in 1914 . . . to think internationally." They "attempted to do what had never been done before by women acting together as women: to enter into international political activity. . . ."¹⁴

Late in 1914, a group that included Wald, Jane Addams, Paul Kellogg, Max and Crystal Eastman, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Florence Kelley and Rabbi Stephen Wise organized a

series of meetings at Henry Street which led to the establishment of the American Union Against Militarism. Wald was elected president of the Henry Street group which, she said, represented every shade of opinion that could be united against war. By the end of 1915, the Union grew to six thousand members,¹⁵ and was a powerful influence against militarism and for peace. It was an extension of the Progressive reform impulse and members of the Union stressed the "social cost of war." Any international conflict threatened social progress, it was believed.¹⁶

Through 1915, Wald spoke on various platforms. The final abolition of war depended, she maintained, upon the work of men and women. Never before in history, however, were women "so organized or self conscious as now." They had the training and power to turn the world against militarism, death and destruction. "It is fitting that the world should ring with their outcry against this blasphemy upon the things that they hold most sacred."

Women, more than others, are the victims of war. Men who love their homes want to fight and kill to protect their families by destroying the homes, wives and children of other men. "Unfettered by custom . . .," women are "less stimulated than men by the call to force. . . ." The "hollowness of the appeals by which men have been stirred to battle" is clearer to women. They can work together for each other by having their voices "rise . . . above the sounds of battle" in behalf of "those against whom war has ever really been waged--women and children."

It is of especial importance, Wald said, that after the war, civilians, not military men, dominate the peace terms, for "the soldier's attitude to woman has not changed, certainly not in several generations." The military had never acknowledged the change in women's role, nor abandoned the "traditional orthodoxy as to 'woman's proper place'." It takes a long time to "change habits of thought and what some are pleased to term secondary sex characteristics, namely-- the mental and physical attributes, not directly resulting from sex functions, but from the conditions of life imposed by them." New habits of thought were essential for women to be given the opportunity to contribute to the peace. "The old tradition of woman's place in society as the home-maker and house-keeper and nothing else" must be eliminated so that women may "establish their right to participate in the councils of the state of the future, that diplomacy and statecraft may include the human interests that women have always held as precious. . . ."17

The Woman's Peace Party (WPP) emerged from this feminist-pacifist sentiment. Its members were women who were "ardent for peace and believed that women had a special obligation to withstand war as a human institution."¹⁸ The impetus for the WPP was the speaking tour of Emmeline Pethick - Lawrence, a British suffragette, and Rosika Schwimmer, a Hungarian feminist. Both women came to the United States in the hopes of arousing anti-war sentiment. They found sympathetic audiences throughout the country.¹⁹ When in New York, Pethick-Lawrence met Carrie Chapman Catt who initiated the idea of a conference of

women's groups. Invitations were sent out under Jane Addams's name for a "meeting to consider the organization of a National Peace Commission of Women."²⁰

Three thousand women from almost every important female organization met in Washington and adopted a peace platform that in many ways anticipated Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. There were suggestions for the limitation of arms and for a concert of nations to substitute for balance of power in international affairs. The most unusual part of the platform was the demand that women be given a share in the decisions of war and peace.²¹ "The mother half of humanity" insisted upon equal rights and power.²²

Wald was not a founding member of the Woman's Peace Party.²³ She also missed participating in its single most important action--the International Congress of Women at the Hague in April, 1915. No greater evidence of the international character of the "women's network" may be offered than the Hague Conference which grew out of the International Woman Suffrage Association. The suffrage group was unable to meet because of the war. To compensate for this, Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Amsterdam initiated the idea of a meeting to show that women could maintain their sense of solidarity despite war. Women of the belligerent nations would be invited to display their rebellion against a war that was not of their making.²⁴

Addams, who had been elected president of the WPP, received an invitation from Jacobs to attend as the head of an American contingent.²⁵ Because she wanted "a strong delegation," Addams was most anxious that Wald join the party going

to the Hague.²⁶ The Henry Streeter refused noting:

All my inclinations lead me to accompany you, and to add one more protest against war. I think the call and response on the part of the women in this country is dramatic and has great publicity value. I do not believe that my going or remaining at home would add to or detract from that.

Wald considered her responsibilities at home too great to abandon.²⁷

Addams wrote twice more in attempts to pressure Wald to reconsider her decision.²⁸ Mary Rozet Smith also tried to urge Wald to go by describing Addams's disappointment because of her refusal. "She is awfully wishful of your going . . .," Smith wrote.²⁹ Wald's behavior is not easy to understand. It is possible that her refusal to attend the Hague Congress resulted from her unwillingness to be identified with a failing effort, particularly one which was open to ridicule. This seems unlikely, however, in the light of her future affiliation with the women's peace efforts. More likely, Wald was busy with the 1915 suffrage referendum and eager to see that campaign through to a successful conclusion. Also, her ties to President Wilson were strong in 1915, and she may have believed that she was more effective as a peace worker at home where she had a measure of influence.

Much has been written about the Hague Conference. The camaraderie of the women and their seriousness of purpose impressed observers, even those ready to laugh at the efforts of the "peacettes." The delegates named their group the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace and set their headquarters in Amsterdam and adopted two major resolu-

tions. The first reiterated the peace principles of the WPP including the right of women to participate in diplomatic negotiations and to have equal rights. The second resolution adopted by the Congress called for a conference of neutral nations "which shall without delay offer continuous mediation" to end the war. Suggestions of terms of peace would come from the belligerent powers. The Congress appointed a women's committee to visit the leading European statesmen to gain interest and possible support for this plan.³⁰

At home, Wald undertook to answer the critics of the Hague program. One who was particularly harsh in his comments was Theodore Roosevelt who called the platform "silly and base." He compared the women to the Copperheads during the Civil War.³¹ Wald stressed the belief in women's role as the conservers of life. Traditionally, they banded together to protect what was important to them, and now women were organizing to protest war and to offer reasonable substitutes for settling international disputes.³²

In the summer of 1915, Wald wrote to President Wilson requesting an interview for Jane Addams so that she might explain the work done by the women at the Hague.³³ Meanwhile, the Henry Street Group (American Union Against Militarism) adopted the concept of the conference of neutral nations,³⁴ and the history of both the WPP and the Union for almost two years was one of unrelenting pressure upon Wilson to endorse the conference plan. Wilson met with the women pacifists so many times that Colonel House, in his Diary, described the subject of their visits as "the same old story."³⁵ At that,

House seemed sympathetic when compared to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, who was openly hostile to the concept of mediation.

Wilson offered words of conciliation to the women, and despite their frustration at his inaction, they believed him to be a man of peace, sincerely concerned with avoiding entrance into the war. Both Wald and Addams supported Wilson for re-election in 1916. They accepted the President's reservations as to their proposals and his unwillingness to commit himself as evidence of executive "strategy." Wilson's peace note to the belligerents of December 18, 1916 and his "peace without victory" speech to the Senate the following month confirmed their hope that the President was ready to assume the role of wartime mediator.³⁶

After the war, with the wisdom of hindsight, Addams reported that "it was still early in 1916 that the curious and glaring differences between the President's statement of foreign policy and the actual bent of the Administration began to appear."³⁷ The pacifists could claim to have influenced Wilson to avert war through precipitous action in Mexico,³⁸ but they had no success in stemming what they saw as his drift toward militarism. The proponents of "preparedness" seemed to have converted Wilson who, in 1916, supported an enlarged army and expanded shipbuilding program.³⁹ Both the WPP and the American Union fought against these evidences of America's movement toward war.⁴⁰

Wald testified before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs to protest the "dangerous program of military and

naval expansion to divert the public mind from the preparation for that world peace which it might be our country's privilege to initiate at the end of the war."⁴¹ To combat the propaganda of the militarists, the pacifists called an anti-preparedness meeting at Carnegie Hall. They hoped to alert Americans to the "great peril to America" of militarism. Wald, one of the speakers, tried to define what she believed to be the major issue. It was not a question only of pacifism. She feared for the salvation of democracy, if the United States adopted the European armament system.⁴²

Wilson still represented the greatest hope to the women. In May, 1916, Wald headed a delegation to pressure him to withdraw his support of the preparedness program. Wilson informed the group, "I am just as much opposed to militarism as any man living . . .," but he denied that the new legislation to increase the size of the army and navy was unreasonable. A nation that was helpless militarily could not go to a peace conference "on a basis intelligible" to the belligerents. "In the last analysis," Wilson said, "the peace of society is obtained by force." During the interview, Wald questioned the President's logic and raised the possibility of a stampede by the militarists that Wilson could not withstand.⁴³ She summed up the meeting to friends by saying, "We enjoyed our interview with the President" and believe that he is "sincerely opposed to militarism," but "we are unconvinced" by his philosophy."⁴⁴ Wald never publicized her doubts. To the press, she mentioned only Wilson's recognition of the dangers of militarism.⁴⁵

The elation felt by the pacifists in January, 1917 over the "peace without victory" speech⁴⁶ did not last long. The events of the next two months moved the United States to a declaration of war. The Wald-Wilson correspondence is testimony to her efforts up to and even after April 2, 1917 to divert the President from a war course. Wald questioned his "dangerous comradeship with . . . new allies--Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Lodge." She begged Wilson to "Be our leader once again. . . ." ⁴⁷ She reminded him of his natural allies and of his need for the "nameless men and women who have been so proud and so happy to believe in you, to push from behind where you were leading on before."⁴⁸

America's entrance into World War I did not alter Wald's pacifist sentiments. She wrote her friend Yssabella Waters:

I know the whole world is suffering from the war but I feel it down to my very toes. I feel it in every fiber of my body. Ever since I have been conscious of my part in life, I have felt consecrated to the saving of human life, the promotion of happiness and the expansion of good will among people, and every expression of hatred and the dissolution of friendly relations between people fairly paralyzes me.⁴⁹

During the war, Wald served on the Red Cross Advisory Committee and on various other groups involved with health matters.⁵⁰ Where early in the war, she had protested the move to send nurses to Europe through the Red Cross,⁵¹ she now witnessed twenty percent of the nation's nurses in the military. The only bright spot was that Annie Goodrich was appointed Dean of the Army School of Nursing.⁵²

America's participation in the war ended the solidarity of the Henry Street Group. Some in the American Union, like

Rabbi Stephen Wise, came to support the war.⁵³ Wald could not keep the widely divergent group together. The Civil Liberties Bureau of the Union separated and evolved into the American Civil Liberties Union. Others in the Union formed the Foreign Policy Association.⁵⁴

With the collapse of the American Union, the women's peace group became the center of Wald's activity. The participants of the first International Congress of Women agreed to hold a second conference at the end of the war. This international meeting convened in Zurich on May 12, 1919. Plans had been formulated at the Hague to meet at the same time as the peace conference since diplomats were "seldom representative of modern social thought" and were generally unresponsive "to changing ideas."⁵⁵ Wald was chosen an honorary vice chairman of the Woman's Peace Party of New York City.⁵⁶ She was also named to the "Committee of Five," which was a planning group for American delegates to the Zurich Congress. Financing a representation of thirty-five Americans was a problem and both Wald and Addams searched for "victims" willing to donate money.⁵⁷

Wald's trip to Europe in the Spring of 1919 served other purposes as well. She represented the United States' Children's Bureau at the International Health Conference at Cannes and had the opportunity to publicize public health nursing and the need for trained women to play a large part in health matters in the post-war world.⁵⁸ A trip that Wald, Addams and other women made through the French battlefields on their way to Switzerland reinforced their views of the devastating effects

of war⁵⁹ and their desire for a new international order.

One hundred and twenty-six delegates representing fourteen nations met at Zurich. Florence Kelley commented that while the meeting had its share of "weak sisters," no one was obstructive and never had she seen "so generous a spirit in any group of human beings."⁶⁰ The biographer of the Woman's Peace Party claimed that the "Congress completely transcended nationalist cleavages and refused to recognize any interruption of the spiritual solidarity of women."⁶¹ The Congress was a universal sisterhood.

The Congress adopted the permanent name, Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). In their program, the delegates demanded the "establishment of full equal suffrage and full equality of women with men politically, socially and economically." Most important, WILPF was the first group to protest the harshness of the terms relating to Germany in the Treaty of Versailles. At the same time, the women strongly supported the concept of the League of Nations.⁶²

Wald tried, when she returned to the United States, to promote the concepts of the Zurich Conference, but she met with little success even among the people who had supported her programs in the past. She wrote to James G. McDonald of the Foreign Policy Association that she did not possess the "means of influencing the President. I think the situation has grown beyond the personal equation and that our faith is now in the lap of the gods."⁶³ Even her old friend Paul Warburg refused her appeal to support the Treaty. While he favored the League, he said, the Treaty was "an immoral docu-

ment" designed "to protect our selfish interests."⁶⁴

In the election of 1920, Wald campaigned for James Cox and the ratification of the Versailles agreement. She appealed especially to women to show the "power and true purpose" of their new vote. They were being given a great opportunity "to show what woman's suffrage means and to save the country from the horrors of war and bankruptcy."⁶⁵

During the 1920's and 1930's, Wald continued her work for peace through disarmament. She remained a vice chairman of the New York branch of the WILPF and was a major spokeswoman for that group.⁶⁶ She tempered her argument that women were less warlike than men and more concerned for peace;⁶⁷ both sexes were alike and eager to prevent war. She continued to maintain, however, that women were less likely than men to be aroused to mass action and deeds that they would not perform as individuals. The newly enfranchised women were free to express themselves and they ought to send the message that they want peace and security, but they did not want their desire for security to be translated into war preparation. Protection could be secured without military reserves. Wald believed that

women throughout the world . . . were expressing themselves as never before. We do not feel that this is in opposition to the aspirations of men, but that we are with the vast numbers, united in a noble fellowship for a noble cause.⁶⁸

Near the close of her active career, Wald took part in a disarmament and peace demonstration. In 1931, a women's peace caravan travelled to Washington to present President

Hoover with petitions.⁶⁹ Wald was particularly pleased with the quick response of the nurses--almost six thousand signatures came from the small group.⁷⁰ Despite the efforts of the women, Wald did not feel that the President was receptive to them.⁷¹ Earlier she had written to Ramsay MacDonald, "Strictly entre nous, we are very much irritated at the apparent lack of outspoken vigor on the part of Mr. Hoover. Personally, I am not surprised."⁷² To Alice Lewisohn Crowley, she commented, "I spoke a piece to the President . . . , and he had a grouch on him thick as a London Fog."⁷³

Events in Germany and Japan in the early 1930's bewildered Wald who had come to believe that the world was more intelligent than in the last war and more difficult to arouse.⁷⁴ She likened the Nazis to the Ku Klux Klan⁷⁵ and wrote to the LWV and the WILPF leadership to determine if there was "not something that the women's organizations ought to do in protest against the German situation?"⁷⁶ She also petitioned President Roosevelt, hoping to influence him as she had Wilson.⁷⁷

A letter to Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. is particularly revealing of her feelings about the rise of Nazism.

You know how I felt about the war propaganda, the efforts to stir to hatred the peoples of the earth, but in some ways the Hitler effort seems more disastrous because it jeers at all the good and spiritual. . . . Though I think the Hitler anti-Semitism is more brutal than anything else they do, it is fundamentally not more dangerous than their other outrages; it is not more dangerous than their suppression of Catholic freedom and liberal thought and their suppression of the rights of women.

Wald urged her wealthy friend to assail Nazism by showing

that Hitler's anti-Semitism was really anti-Christian thought. She knew of Mrs. Rockefeller's interest in the YWCA and hoped that the organization could promote this idea.⁷⁸

Two years before her death, Wald wrote Freda Kirchwey of the Nation, "I am a pacifist and have been all my life and I do not see any reason for changing my opinion. . . . My principles as to peace and war are unchanged."⁷⁹ Wald may never have learned of the outbreak of World War II. Her friends, knowing her convictions and how ill she was in her last year of life, tried to keep newspapers from her.⁸⁰

It is easy to maintain that the record of the women pacifists was one of continuous failure. Their attempts to end World War I by mediation, to prevent the preparedness program, to keep the United States out of the war and to ratify the Treaty of Versailles came to nothing.⁸¹ Their ultimate failure was the outbreak of World War II. The women were no doubt naive. Jane Addams commented that it seemed strange, in the light of later experiences, that they believed that if only the public were informed, they would respond to talks of peace.⁸² Yet from the point of view of the women's movement, the peace workers did accomplish much. They showed that the common interests of women could cut across national lines. Above all, they showed that women were capable of performing on the international stage.

The frustrations and failures of the immediate pre-World War I years did not prepare Wald for the problems she would encounter. She had lost many battles in her years of public life, but she was always admired and loved even by her oppo-

nents. Wald's pacifism was, however, both radical and unpopular. For the first time, Wald held a position that was not susceptible to compromise and pragmatic solution. She had a vision of international relations that was unacceptable to most of her fellow citizens. For these convictions and others, Wald "became intimate with that deeper sense of separation from which the radical suffers. . . ."83

A pacifist was, to a large extent, persona non grata in many circles during the war. On the whole, however, most pacifists accepted this as "practical politics."⁸⁴ Even before America's entrance into the conflict, The New York Times tended to lump pacifists, Germans and Pro-Germans together in its headlines.⁸⁵ The Times referred to the American Union as a "radical pacifist organization" and suggested that it was maintained by German contributions.⁸⁶

Wald's peace work led the "patriots" to suspect her of subversive activity. Other reasons, including her close association with the aliens' cause in a period, 1919-1920, when the immigrant was under attack, made her suspect. Wald's support of unionism and frequent endorsement of Socialist candidates also made her a target, as did the applause of the East Side at the news of the Russian Revolution. Lastly, Wald, as a feminist, sought to change the social structure. To advocates of the status quo, those who demanded women's equal participation in political, economic, social and international affairs appeared revolutionary.⁸⁷

The attacks upon Wald brought her personal pain. She was a person who needed love and was accustomed to it. Criti-

cism, however, had even more serious repercussions. The Henry Street Settlement and the Visiting Nurse Service depended upon individual contributions. After the war, the needs of both of these services grew. Fund raising, under the best of circumstances, was difficult, but now that Wald was labeled a "radical,"⁸⁸ she found "the dreadful responsibility of getting money" more tiring and time consuming than ever before.⁸⁹

Wald was grateful to the many old supporters who remained loyal. To Ruth Draper, she wrote, "Your really generous check gave us all a thrill. . . . It is very difficult to get money now,--on the other hand, the need is very great."⁹⁰ Wald's letters to old friends, however, contain fewer references to those who donated funds than to the burdens and anxieties of conducting million dollar campaigns.⁹¹ "I get so depressed at getting this . . . across,"⁹² she wrote. "I am going to have a terrible struggle about more money. The rich people are most panicky these days with regard to anybody who stands out for liberalism."⁹³ J. Horace Harding was one of the first to withdraw his usual contribution because of Wald's "activities and association" with pacifism. He did not care for some of her associates and believed their activities were "disloyal and bordering the line of treason." Since he was now "so out of sympathy" with Wald, her views and her associates, Harding was going to give his aid to works with which she was not connected.⁹⁴ Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness, one of the largest contributors on Wald's list, withdrew her support for Henry Street because she considered Wald to be "social-

istically inclined."⁹⁵

Wald tried to defend her views and actions. She quoted President Wilson's assurance that her pacifism had not embarrassed the country or weakened the government.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the extent of Wald's hurt at this time is clear, even while she remained philosophical.

. . . my political attitude is making some of our generous friends uneasy. . . . Poor things, I am sorry for them--they are so scared. It is foolish since, after all, counting things in the large and wide, I am at least one insurance against unreasonable revolution in New York.⁹⁷

Many of the "patriot" groups most critical of Wald and the other women grew out of the suffrage fight. The New York victory seemed to some to illustrate the connection between socialism and the women's movement, since the vote was won in the cities.⁹⁸ When women like Addams, Wald and Kelley also associated themselves with the peace movement, the link to subversion became even clearer to people like Everett Wheeler, a leading "Anti."

In 1917, Wheeler and other anti-feminists organized the American Constitutional League to "uphold and defend the American Constitution against all foreign and domestic enemies."⁹⁹ This group, in conjunction with the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (which had many of the same members), issued a pamphlet entitled "How Woman Suffrage was Imposed on New York State." The publication sought to prove that in New York City, the franchise victory was the result of the socialist vote. It quoted the party slogan that "Every Socialist is a suffragist" and the words of prominent party

members like Morris Hillquit and Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the I.L.G.W.U., who believed that working women would vote socialist.¹⁰⁰

The first official statement against the women was delivered in January, 1919, when Archibald Stevenson of the Military Intelligence Division read into the record of the United States' Senate Committee investigating German Propaganda, headed by Senator Lee Overman, the names of sixty-two men and women who had been active in pacifist movements, and may have been "actively engaged in opposing the military law of the country." This "who's who in pacifism and radicalism" included Addams, Wald, Charles Beard, Villard and Balch.¹⁰¹ Immediately, Wald wired Addams to learn of any actions the Chicagoan planned to take. Wald claimed that she "did not mind personally" but believed that the "irresponsible and inaccurate" act was "a national disgrace."¹⁰²

Friends of the "who's who" women rallied in their support.¹⁰³ This support plus the fact that in early 1919, Wald organized nursing care in New York City during the influenza epidemic helped restore, for a time, her damaged reputation.¹⁰⁴ By March, 1919, she could report to her uncle that being named an "undesirable citizen" may have had certain advantages. The indignity to her helped some of the others on the list.¹⁰⁵ Her biographer Duffus, however, described Wald as "depressed and overwhelmed" by the actions of the Overman Committee.¹⁰⁶

Throughout 1919, Wald actively defended herself and others from critics. She especially deplored the "scandalous attacks on aliens,"¹⁰⁷ and tried to rouse support against the

un-American "policy of exile and deportation" of immigrants, without "open trial and testimony of evidence. . . ."108

She wrote to Julius Rosenwald of the need for immigrant labor in industry. Self preservation, she told the wealthy businessman, dictated, if nothing else did, an end to the assault on aliens and immigrants.¹⁰⁹

The Stevenson charges on radicalism motivated another investigation. In March of 1919, the New York State Legislature named Senator Clayton Lusk to head a committee "to investigate the scope, tendencies and ramifications of . . . seditious activities" in American society. Emulating the activities of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for the federal government, Senator Lusk initiated raids against organizations suspected of "domestic radicalism." The Committee's findings were published in a four volume report which stated, in part, that "at least one hundred trade unions" were controlled by revolutionaries and that the social welfare movement was Bolshevik inspired.¹¹⁰

The Lusk Committee investigation resulted in the abrogation of the civil rights of many organizations and individuals. The Woman Citizen was among the critics of the Committee's activities,¹¹¹ which included the expulsion of five Socialist members of the New York Legislature. The action moved Wald to write Charles E. Hughes that "the best of us are bewildered these days, and it is no strain upon the imagination to perceive what an un-American persecution may mean to the ordinary boys and girls."¹¹² Wald, also, protested other "suppressive measures" passed by the "reactionary Legislature."¹¹³ When

Governor Al Smith vetoed these Lusk Laws, which included making the Socialist party illegal and requiring a loyalty oath from teachers, Wald commended him for "statesmanship, judgment and sanity."¹¹⁴ Smith's successor, Governor Nathan Miller, did sign the legislation.¹¹⁵

"The month of January, 1920," Robert K. Murray observes, "marked the height of the Great Red Scare." After that, "the crest of hysteria passed" and "public fear was never again as intense."¹¹⁶ In that month, Wald reported to the Lewisohn sisters that things were getting better and that it looked as if she and they would soon "be put upon the desirable list."¹¹⁷ Wald proved to be overly optimistic, for within two years, the women reformers were again under attack.

In 1922, the Woman's Protest, an anti-suffrage publication, became the Woman Patriot, a Washington bi-weekly edited by Mary Kilbreth, dedicated to the "defense of the family and the state" and to the fight "against feminism and socialism." The enemy included women like Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Julia Lathrop, Margaret Dreier Robbins and Florence Kelley. Together, they created organizations which were designed to destroy the home and ultimately the country. The Woman Patriot was not alone in attacking the women. It was supported by other groups like the National Civic Foundation, but Kilbreth's publication played the most visible role.¹¹⁸

Wald was not included in the list of "women dictators" by the super-patriots, nor was she ever abused as much as Florence Kelley.¹¹⁹ She was, however, identified with the nursing profession which was targeted by the publication, and was named

in the widely publicized "spider-web" chart. This drawing gave the names of about fifty persons and connected them by lines to groups like the WTUL, WILPF and the Children's Bureau, which were allegedly directed or inspired by the Bolsheviks. The over-lapping lines of the "spider-web" showed that there was an interlocking directorate of women allegedly involved in world conspiracy. The Woman Patriot printed this "curious mixture of truth and fiction" and permitted it to be reprinted in other right-wing publications.¹²⁰

Wald's part in the establishment of the Children's Bureau also came under attack, for the Bureau was singled out as an agency which had to be abolished because it deprived parents of the full guardianship of their children.¹²¹ When the Child Labor Amendment was introduced and supported by the Bureau, the WTUL and the NCL, because the Supreme Court invalidated state and federal law, the Woman Patriot went into action. Assisted by other rightist groups, the publication initiated a campaign to show that the Amendment was the work of communists,¹²² perhaps even written by Leon Trotsky.¹²³ Florence Kelley was the prime villain and, therefore, was the most slandered by the "patriots." The facts of her marriage to the "foreigner" Lazare Wischnewetsky were resurrected. She was the instigator, but, claimed one pamphlet, "Every Bolshevik, every extreme Communist and every Socialist in the United States is back . . ." of the Child Labor Amendment.¹²⁴

When extension of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act was under discussion by Congress in 1926, the attack was intensified.¹²⁵ Sheppard-Towner provided matching federal

funds for state allocations earmarked to improve the health of mothers and their children. The Woman Patriot viewed the legislation as another part of the Communist conspiracy. Labelling it the "Engels-Kelley Child Welfare Scheme" or the "Kollontay~~si~~^o-Lathrop Maternity System Program," the publication smeared all of its supporters including Wald and her nurses, who were the "profiteers" in the Maternity Act and so backed it in self-interest.¹²⁶

Senator Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware read into the Congressional Record the Woman Patriot articles which declared that the nation was being tricked by Bolshevik measures under the guise of women's legislation. The same "underground" of communists which established the Children's Bureau was now at work to further deceive and defraud the public by its control of children, youth and women. Florence Kelley, Senator Bayard maintained, was the leader of the "revolution by legislation," but she was aided by colleagues like Addams, Wald, and Catt who mustered the votes. Wald's trip to the Soviet Union in 1924 was probably part of the plot, Bayard thought, for he noticed that the "full force of communist strength in America was openly proclaimed to 'compel' the state legislatures" to comply with Sheppard-Towner after the nurse's return to this country.¹²⁷

The years of combatting the attacks of the super-patriots took their toll. Actions and philosophies which had been applauded in an earlier period were now considered subversive. The heroines of the women's movement were adjudged, by some, to be enemies of the state, and the women reformers of the

Progressive era who broke away from the sexual stereotypes found that their time and energy had to be directed to "rebuttal and defense."¹²⁸ By the end of the 1920's, Wald reported to her friend, Ramsay MacDonald, "The stones flung at us for many years are at present turning to caresses."¹²⁹ There were residues of baiting throughout the next few years,¹³⁰ but she would, in her last years, be honored by people whose "clapping hands" at one time "held a brick-bat"¹³¹ and whose compliments contained now "enough treacle . . . to make a molasses cake."¹³² Many factors combined to slow the feminist impulse after the suffrage victory, but no analysis is complete that omits the attack upon the women by the super patriots who created an environment hostile to any substantive change in the role of women. The ten years of the witch hunts should have and could have been spent in consolidating the women's movement and setting new goals of sexual equality. The feminists were not permitted this opportunity.

NOTES

1- Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 219; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 232-233.

2- Marie Louise Degen, The History of the Woman's Peace Party (Baltimore, 1939), 11-16; C. Roland Marchand, The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1898-1918 (Princeton, 1972), 186-187.

3- Allen F. Davis, "Welfare, Reform and World War I," American Quarterly, XIX (Fall, 1967), 518.

4- Jane Addams, Peace and Bread In Time of War (New York, 1922), 22.

5- Ibid., 3; Addams, Second Twenty Years, 113-114; Addams to Wald, April 8, 1899, September 22, 1899, NYPL, Wald MSS; Sondra R. Herman, Eleven Against the War: Studies in American Internationalist Thought, 1898-1921 (Stanford, California, 1969), 16.

6- Wald, Windows, 337.

7- Herman, Eleven Against the War, 138.

8- Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, "Motherhood and War," Harper's Weekly, LIX (December 5, 1914), 542; Degen, W.P.P., 24-37, 212. Florence Kelley, "Women and Social Legislation in the United States," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, LVI (November, 1914), 62 claimed that women were the only ones with clean hands in war since they had no vote and no part in governmental decision making.

9- Catt was one of the founders of the Woman's Peace Party. She abandoned the group during the New York suffrage fight (1917) and then returned to pacifist work after World War I.

10- Davis, "Welfare, Reform and W.W.I," 525; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 15-21. Jeanette Rankin, the Congresswoman who voted against entrance into the war, was attacked by both men and women as the result of her vote, Hamilton, Exploring the Dangerous Trades, 200; Addams, Second Twenty Years, 109-110.

11- Dock to Wald, May 19, 1918, NYPL, Wald MSS.

12- Wald, Windows, 285-286; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 145-147; Villard, Fighting Years, 247-248; New York Tribune, August 29, 1914, 7; August 30, 1914, 10; New York Herald, August 29, 1914, 13; Marchand, American Peace Movement, 183-192 called the peace parade, which included the DAR, a march of the veterans of women's suffrage.

13- New York Herald, August 30, 1914, 1.

14- Mercedes M. Randall, Improper Bostonian, Emily Greene Balch (New York, 1964), 7.

15- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 150-153 claims that Wald was chosen president because she represented the ideological middle of the group. Kellogg to Addams, September 11, 1914, September 15, 1914; Wald to William Dean Howells, September 22, 1914, SCPC, Addams MSS; Wald to Addams, December 17, 1914, SCPC, WPP MSS; Kellogg to Addams, October 8, 1914, October 24, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 288-290; Addams, Peace and Bread, 2-6; Villard, Fighting Years, 248-249.

16- Wald, Windows, 290; Marchand, American Peace Movement, 223-265; Davis, American Heroine, 213-214; Chambers, Paul Kellogg, 56-57; "Toward the Peace That Shall Last," Survey, May 6, 1915 was the outcome of the earliest meetings at Henry Street. The articles represented the war goals and post-war plans of the social reformers. Reprint of the Survey in the SCPC, Addams MSS.

17- Wald, Speech "Women and War," Cooper Union, New York, February, 1915; Wald, Speech "What Business Are Women About," October 20, 1915; Wald, Discussion of Emily Balch's paper "The Status of Women in War" delivered at the American Sociological Society Convention, Washington, D.C., December 29, 1915; Wald to Alice Stone Blackwell, October 13, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS.

18- Addams, Second Twenty Years, 136.

19- Addams to Wald, December 8, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS; O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 170; Davis, American Heroine, 214.

20- Addams to Heads of Women's Organizations, December 28, 1914, SCPC, Addams MSS.

21- Degen, W.P.P., 28-63; Randall, Improper Bostonian, 138-141; Davis, American Heroine, 215-217; Marchand, American Peace Movement, 195-212; Addams, Peace and Bread, 6-12; O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 173-178; "A Woman's Peace Party Full Pledged for Action," Survey, XXXIII (January 23, 1915), 433-434.

22- Pethick-Lawrence, "Motherhood and War," 542.

23- Bernice Nichols to Doris Daniels, June 4, 1976. Wald did attend the December 8-10, 1916 meeting of the WPP, see Degen, W.P.P., 173.

24- Ibid., 64-91; Randall, Improper Bostonian, 141-144.

25- Jacobs to Addams, February 22, 1915, SCPC, Addams MSS.

26- Addams to Wald, March 13, 1915, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.

27- Wald to Addams, March 25, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

28- Addams to Wald, March 26, 1915, April 6, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

29- Smith to Wald, March 31, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS.

30- Addams, Peace and Bread, 13-20; Degen, W.P.P., 64-126; Herman, Eleven Against War, 142-145; Randall, Improper Bostonian, 142-192; Hamilton, Exploring the Dangerous Trades, 164-168; Mabel Kittredge to Wald, April 22, 1915, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; "Women and Peace," Outlook, CX (May 12, 1915), 4-5; Gertrude C. Bussey and Margaret Tims, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1965 (London, 1965), 17-22; "Memo on the Hague," April 28, 1915-May 1, 1915; Balch to Lochner, June 1, 1915; "Proposals for a Conference of Neutral Nations," August 2, 1915; Hamilton to Smith, April 2, 1915, May 5, 1915; Addams to Smith, April 4, 1915, April 16, 1915, April 22, 1915, May 6, 1915, May 9, 1915; Hamilton to Josephine Bowen, May 16, 1915, SCPC, Addams MSS. Rosika Schwimmer and Julia Grace Wales of the University of Wisconsin originally formulated the concept of "continuous mediation," see Wales, "Plan for Continuous Mediation Without Armistice," revised 1915, SCPC, WPP MSS.

31- "Is the Women's Peace Movement 'Silly and Base'?", Literary Digest, L (May 1, 1915), 1022-1023. The women were subject to even greater criticism the following year as the result of the Ford Peace Ship endeavor with which Addams and others were involved. Addams, Peace and Bread, 26-48; Degen, W.P.P., 127-150. Wald refused to be involved with Ford, see Balch to Addams, December, 1915, SCPC, Addams MSS.

32- Wald, Speech "New Aspects;" Wald Discussion of Balch Paper "The Status of Women in War," NYPL, Wald MSS.

33- Wald to Joseph Tumulty, July 13, 1915, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wilson to Wald, July 3, 1915, SCPC, Addams MSS. Addams had asked to see the President before sailing to the Hague. Wilson wrote that he was unable to see her, but would be happy to "consider any suggestions with regard to peace that she wished to submit. . . ." Wilson to Addams, March 8, 1915, SCPC, Addams MSS.

34- "Memorandum on Henry Street Meeting," September 27, 1915, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Emily Greene Balch, Approaches to the Great Settlement (New York, 1918) details the peace plans of various groups including the WPP and the American Union.

35- Charles Seymour, ed., The Intimate Papers of Colonel House: From Neutrality to War, 1915-1917, II (Boston and New York, 1926), 96. When the book was published, Balch wrote to Wald that they failed because the "dice were . . . loaded against" us, see Balch to Wald, April 7, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

36- Marchand, American Peace Movement, 238-242; Randall, Improper Bostonian, 193-213; Degen, W.P.P., 114-126; Herman, Eleven Against War, 143-145; David S. Patterson, "Woodrow Wilson and the Mediation Movement," Historian, XXXIII (August, 1971), 535-556; Addams, Peace and Bread, 26-71; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 176-179; Davis, American Heroine, 232-237; Catt to Addams, August 14, 1915, August 15, 1915; Jacobs to Addams, August 26, 1915, September 8, 1915, September 13, 1915, September 15, 1915, SCPC, Addams MSS; Addams to Wald, May 12, 1916, July 3, 1916; Wilson to Henry Morgenthau, September 22, 1916; Wilson to Wald, November 27, 1916, December 5, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS. It should be noted that Wald was not an unqualified admirer of Wilson. On one occasion she and Addams asked for some men to serve on a commission to see the President for he was "not 'for women'" See Addams to Kellogg, July 27, 1915, SCPC, Addams MSS.

37- Addams, Peace and Bread, 54. In later years, both Balch and Alice Hamilton came to believe that Wilson was the major obstacle to their plan for neutral mediation. Arthur Link, however, disputed this view and said that Wilson did try with "almost desperation" to end the war through mediation, see Randall, Improper Bostonian, 210-213.

38- Wald, Windows, 289-298; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 155-158; Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York, 1963), 141-142.

39- Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, 174-196.

40- Marchand, American Peace Movement, 239-242; Degen, W.P.P., 166-168, 153-156. One weapon in the fight against preparedness was the Hensley Amendment to the Naval Appropriations Act of 1916 which requested the President to call a conference of nations to discuss disarmament and peace. The WPP and the American Union endorsed the Hensley clause and Wald and other women urged fast action on its provisions. "The Hensley Clause and Disarmament," Survey, XXXVII (December 16, 1916), 308; Degen, W.P.P., 174-175; Addams to Wald, February 15, 1917, SCPC, WPP MSS.

41- New York Times, February 9, 1915, 2; New York Tribune, February 9, 1916, 4; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 153-155.

42- New York Times, April 7, 1916, 3; New York Tribune, April 7, 1916, 2; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 154-155.

43- Transcript of Meeting with Wilson, May 8, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS.

44- Wald, "Comments on Interview," May 18, 1916, NYPL, Wald MSS; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 158-159.

45- New York Times, May 11, 1916, 2; May 16, 1916, 5.

46- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 176-179; Wald to Wilson, January 24, 1917; Wald to Tumulty, January 23, 1917; Wilson to Wald, January 23, 1917, January 24, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS; Degen, W.P.P., 179-190.

47- Wald to Wilson, April 6, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald assaulted the President with her presence and by letter on the issues of conscription, submarine warfare, armed neutrality, a League of Nations and civil rights for conscientious objectors, see Wald to Wilson, January 31, 1917, March 16, 1917, November 23, 1916, November 29, 1916, December 2, 1916, February 8, 1917, April 13, 1917, April 16, 1917; Wilson to Wald, March 16, 1917; Wald to Newton Baker, January 9, 1917; Wald to Tumulty, February 8, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald went to see Wilson twice in March, 1917, New York Times, March 1, 1917, 1; Seymour, ed., House, II, 445; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 180-186.

48- Wald to Wilson, April 13, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

49- Wald to Waters, August 14, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

50- Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 224.

51- Wald to Ella Phillips Crandall, November 6, 1914, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to Crandall, n.d., Nursing Archives Teacher's College, Columbia University, Nutting MSS.

52- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 189-200; Wald, Windows, 305-310.

53- Kellogg to Addams, February 9, 1917, SCPC, Addams MSS; Villard, Fighting Years, 323-324.

54- Wald to Addams, August 14, 1917, October 1, 1917, November 13, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS; Marchand, American Peace Movement, 219, 254-262; Sochen, Movers and Shakers, 51-52. Wald maintained contact with both groups and with the leaders of the radical faction, Roger Baldwin, Max and Chrystal Eastman. The latter was also very active in the New York section of the WPP, which was the most vocal in the nation. Wald also helped Max Eastman on at least two occasions with support for the Masses, Eastman to Wald, June 26, 1916, November 8, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS.

55- Degen, W.P.P., 217; Addams, Peace and Bread, 152-153; Randall, Improper Bostonian, 261-262.

56- Chrystal Eastman to Wald, February 20, 1918, April 1, 1918, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS. Wald did not participate actively in the working of this local branch.

57- Addams to Wald, January 6, 1917, May 16, 1917, SCPC, WPP MSS; Addams to Wald, November, 1918, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Addams to Delegates and Alternates of the International Congress of Women, November 5, 1918; Jacobs to Addams, January 8, 1919; Irene Cooper Willis to Addams, February 21, 1919, SCPC, Addams MSS.

58- Julia Lathrop to Wald, March 25, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 206-209.

59- Hamilton to Family at Hull House, May 1, 1919; Addams to Smith, May 1, 1919; Kelley to Smith, May 22, 1919, SCPC, Addams MSS; Addams, Peace and Bread, 152-177; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 209-210.

60- Kelley to Smith, May 22, 1919, SCPC, Addams MSS.

61- Degen, W.P.P., 233.

62- Ibid., 228-234; Addams to Smith, May 3, 1919, May 23, 1919, May 28, 1919; Hamilton to Smith, May 12, 1919, May 17, 1919, May 19, 1919, May 30, 1919, SCPC, Addams MSS.

63- Wald to McDonald, December 22, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

64- Warburg to Wald, May 25, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

65- Wald and others, Appeal to Fellow Women to Serve the Cause of Peace, October 15, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

66- Eleanor Linton to Rebecca Easton, March 1, 1933; Wald to Mrs. Ingersoll Swasey, April 23, 1931; Ann Romindt to Wald, November 30, 1922; Wald to Nicholas Murray Butler, October 2, 1931; Wald to Catt, October 13, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

67- Wald was not alone in this change in thinking. Mary Beard in the Woman's Journal, May, 1930, 12-13, 44-45 said that there was no historical evidence to support the idea that women are by nature opposed to war. It is a phenomenon that is a preoccupation of both sexes.

68- Wald, Speech "Disarmament," November 11, 1931, Mecca Temple, New York, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald asked Dock to help her to be "expressive" in this speech, Wald to Dock, October 13, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

69- Wald to Addams, October 9, 1931; Wald also took part in a second petition campaign, Linton to Dorothy Detzer, March 22, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

70- Wald, Speech at Graduation exercises of Mt. Sinai Hospital School of Nursing, February 3, 1932; Wald, Speech to Hadassah Luncheon, February 24, 1932, Hotel Commodore, New York, NYPL, Wald MSS.

71- Wald to Detzer, December 3, 1931; Wald to Hoover, December 3, 1931; Wald to Sylvan Bier, July 12, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 324-325.

72- Wald to MacDonald, March 26, 1930, March 28, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

73- Wald to Crowley, July 27, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

74- Wald to Ramsay MacDonald, October 11, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

75- Wald to John McDonald, May 9, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

76- Wald was ill by 1933 and could no longer perform actively. Wald to Wise, March 22, 1933; Wald to Agnes Leach, March 22, 1933; Wald to Rebecca Eaton, March 23, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

77- Wald to F.D.R., May 6, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

78- Wald to Rockefeller, July 11, 1934, NYPL, Wald MSS.

79- Wald to Kirchwey, March 8, 1938, NYPL, Wald MSS.

80- Helen Hall, Interview, May 20, 1975.

81- Degen, W.P.P., 242-243.

82- Ibid., 165.

83- Staughton Lynd, "Jane Addams and the Radical Impulse," Commentary, XXXII (July, 1961), 57. Wald herself used the term "militant pacifist" to describe her activities, see Wald to Kerr Eby, December 11, 1935, NYPL, Wald MSS.

84- Addams, Peace and Bread, 73-74.

85- The New York Times, February 27, 1917, 2.

86- Ibid., March 4, 1917, 10.

87- Lemons, Woman Citizen, 209-211; Dick Zanders, "Keating Equates 'Lib' with the Left," Newsday, September 26, 1974, 6 indicates that the charge of radicalism in the feminist movement has not abated.

88- Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 117.

89- Wald to Mrs. Henry Sharpe, February 28, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald's problems were compounded by periodic bouts of poor health.

90- Wald to Draper, March 16, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.

91- Wald to Naomi Deutsch, December 1, 1924; Wald to Yssabella Waters, November 14, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

92- Wald to Anna Woerishofer, November 28, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

93- Wald to Waters, September 3, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

94- Harding to Wald, August 4, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

95- Wald to William J. Schieffelin, September 10, 1919, September 24, 1919; Wald to Livingston Ferrand, September 24, 1919; Wald to Jacob Schiff, September 26, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

96- Wald to Harding, August 8, 1917, NYPL, Wald MSS.

97- Wald to Dock, August 16, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

98- Lemons, Woman Citizen, 11.

99- Wheeler, an open letter, December 27, 1917, NYPL, Wheeler MSS.

100- "How Women Suffrage was Imposed on New York State," n.d., NYPL, Wheeler MSS.

101- The New York Times, January 25, 1919, 1, 4; January 26, 1919, 1; New York Tribune, January 25, 1919, 4; New York Herald, January 25, 1919, Part II, 1; Randall, Improper Bostonian, 263-264; Robert K. Murray, Red Scare: A Study of National Hysteria, 1919-1920 (New York, 1964), 94-98.

102- Wald to Addams, January 25, 1919, SCPC, Addams MSS. Wald also wired Secretary of War Newton Baker for support, Wald to Baker, January 25, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

103- Kellogg to Baker, January 25, 1919; Henry Goddard Leach to Baker, January 27, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS; Davis, American Heroine, 252-253.

104- The New York Times, January 29, 1919, 13; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 200-203.

105- Wald to Dr. Sam Schwarz, March 12, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

- 106- Duffus, Notes on Biography, n.d., NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 107- Wald to Graham Taylor, December 3, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 108- Wald to Iva Clyde Clarke, January 21, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 109- Wald to Rosenwald, December 2, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 110- Murray, Red Scare, 98-104; Norman Hapgood, ed., Professional Patriots (New York, 1928), 11, 107-112.
- 111- Woman Citizen, April 10, 1920, 1107-1109, 1114-1117.
- 112- Wald to Hughes, January 16, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 113- Wald to Smith, January 9, 1920, January 15, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS; Murray, Red Scare, 236-238.
- 114- Wald to Smith, May 13, 1920, May 25, 1920; Wald to Joseph Proskauer, October 5, 1920, October 8, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 115- Murray, Red Scare, 238.
- 116- Ibid., 239.
- 117- Wald to Alice and Irene Lewisohn, January 19, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 118- Hapgood, ed., Professional Patriots, 10, 88-90; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 11-12, 213.
- 119- The Woman Patriot changed targets through the years. The Children's Bureau, the WILPF and the Child Labor Amendment were early villains, as were their supporters. By 1930, the publication began a campaign to have Rosika Schwimmer, the pacifist, deported as an undesirable alien. Elizabeth Black to Wald, May 6, 1930, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.
- 120- Hapgood, ed., Professional Patriots, 103-106; Addams, Second Twenty Years, 181-184; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 213-225; O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 228-229.
- 121- Woman Patriot, VIII (June 1, 1924), 3; XI (March 1, 1927), 25-39; XI (April 15, 1927), 57-61; XI (May 1, 1927), 65-67; XII (December 15, 1928), 189.
- 122- Woman Patriot, VIII (January 1, 1924), 2; VIII (June 1, 1924), 1-8; VIII (June 15, 1924), 1-8; IX (August 15, 1925), 121-123.
- 123- Addams, Second Twenty Years, 158.

124- Pamphlet, no title, circulated to help defeat the Child Labor Amendment, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Dorothy Kirchwey Brown MSS; Editorial in the Christian Science Monitor, October 16, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.

125- The Sheppard-Towner legislation will be examined in Chapter X. The Woman Patriot opposed it from its introduction into Congress, see Woman Patriot, VII (January 15, 1923), 8; VII (April 15, 1923), 1; VII (June 1, 1923), 1-3.

126- Woman Patriot, X (May 15, 1926), 73-80; X (June 1, 1926), 81-88; X (June 15, 1926), 89-96; X (July 1, 1926), 97-104; X (July 15, 1926), 105-112; X (August 1, 1926), 113-120; X (August 15, 1926), 121-128; XV (January 1, 1931), 1-7; XV (January 15, 1931), 9-16. Aleksandra Kollontai was head of the Women's Bureau of the Bolshevik Party.

127- U.S., Congress, Senate, Congressional Record, 69th Congress, 1st session, July 8, 1926, 12931-12965.

128- Addams, Second Twenty Years, 153-155; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 209.

129- Wald to Ramsay MacDonald, December 15, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

130- Wald to Halen Bailie, June 16, 1928; Wald to Paul Douglas, June 19, 1935; Wald to Tom Mooney, July 15, 1931; Wald to Harris Ginsberg, June 20, 1932; New York Post, June 19, 1934, 1, 3; June 20, 1934, 1, NYPL, Wald MSS. As late as 1937, Wald was still defending Florence Kelley, who died in 1932, see Wald to George V. Denny, February 8, 1937; Wald to Survey Associates, November 30, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

131- Wald to MacDonald, January 26, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

132- Wald to Jule Cordley, January 27, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

CHAPTER TEN

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT AFTER 1920?

The fate of feminism after the passage of the suffrage amendment is of profound interest to contemporary historians. Why and when did the women's movement dwindle and die? Or did it decline at all? Was the feminist thrust merely slowed by the events of post-war society?¹ The facts of Wald's life offer some clues to the answers to these questions.

Wald worked as hard for women's rights after 1920, as she was able. Successes, however, were less frequent than before the war. Though she continued to endorse candidates, whom she believed recognized an enlarged women's role, she did not regain a friend in the White House until 1933. The world was changed for Wald. The Red Scare period and then the decline in the economy made it necessary for her to transfer her energies from reform to self defense and fund raising.

Although younger women, like Mary Dewson and Frances Perkins, followed in the footsteps of the Walds and the Kelleys, their work had little mass appeal.² Youth took advantage of the benefits won by the older generation, but it may be that the easier access to education and the professions thwarted the development of a feminist consciousness.³ Women who achieved a measure of success as individuals forgot or

became "uninterested in the fight for woman's equality as a class."⁴

Wald often spoke of the "revolutionary" changes "in the outward life of women since their occupations . . . moved from the homes into the office, the factory and the workshop."⁵ "Nothing," she believed, was "denied to woman, either old or young if she had but the desire and the will to fulfill those desires." The new era offered great challenges,⁶ since there was "freer admission . . . to professional and public life. . . ."⁷ Yet, Wald found, that fewer women were willing to accept these challenges. Perhaps, she said, the seeming indifference was the result of thinking that equality would come as a matter of course. Strenuous effort was no longer necessary.⁸

The "new woman" of the 1920's was in large measure a foreign creature to Wald and her friends. The residents of the Henry Street Settlement wrote a birthday "ode" to their Head Worker in 1923, which illustrated their emotions.

Such awful hats, such awkward ways,
They talk so loud with nasal wheeze
We watch with wonder as they peer about
Who can they be? Who can they be?
There's not a thing could ever phase
These modern eccentricities,
They smoke each cig unto the end,
And then a butt is thrown,
On fragrant incense that we used to burn,
Wherewith the gods we might invoke,
We love the fragrance, but we do not yearn
To learn to smoke, Sisters
To learn to smoke.⁹

The new generation was uninterested in, even hostile to those things which Wald believed to be most important.

Sinclair Lewis wrote Ann Vickers about a liberal, feminist

social worker who realized herself as a woman only after she learned to love a man. Vickers even discovered the meaning of feminism through love. In the course of the novel, Lewis satirized liberal "uplifters," the value of settlements and "famous name" suffragists." He alluded to lesbianism among the women and gave to Vickers, five lovers, one abortion and one illegitimate child.¹⁰ Wald was furious at the author and the image he presented of the woman reformer. Since Lewis was a Nobel Prize winner, he was likely to be believed.¹¹

It was hard for Wald to comprehend the absence of idealism in the young. She took a trip to Mexico with Jane Addams and Mary R. Smith and, as was her habit, wrote to her Settlement family of her adventures. One can sense Wald's bemusement at her encounter with "a blond, bobbed, rouged, gum-chewing college girl en route to teach in a Methodist mission school selected because she had 'majored in Spanish'. . . ."¹² New attitudes were even embraced by Settlement workers and Wald was not amused. At one time, the Henry Street women, felt the need to send a tongue-in-cheek formal dinner invitation to their busy Head Worker "to give . . . [them] an opportunity of making your acquaintance."¹³ In 1929, however, Wald had to remind the residents of the importance of the weekly meeting so that they might be informed on legislation and other matters.¹⁴

As a politician and a pragmatist, Wald knew the importance of reaching the public and so through the twenties, she sought to understand the younger generation and to enlist its support. In public interviews, she could not ignore the "apathy" of the

youngsters and their reluctance to "give of themselves" to matters of public interest,¹⁵ but more often, she told of her admiration of the new generation. She applauded, especially, their candor and willingness to speak out where their parents might remain silent.¹⁶ There was, she believed, great promise in the young ones.¹⁷ "During the 'jazz' period, we did not realize . . . that our much criticized young people often gave better account of themselves than did their elders. In those hysterical years, the emphasis on sex" was often criticized. Wald, however, supported the frankness of the young and believed it to be better than the "hypocrisy and surreptitious experiment that so generally characterized sex behavior in the pre-War years."¹⁸

Wald even tried to understand the thinking of the post-suffrage women on the issue of marriage and/or career. Equal Rights and Woman's Journal as well as the popular publications devoted much space to an examination of women's traditional role in the home.¹⁹ The feminists of Wald's generation discovered that many of their daughters chose not to decide between marriage and career, but rather to have both. By 1925, Wald had modified somewhat her earlier thinking. Her secretary wrote for Wald

She sees no reason why talents, particularly creative contributions . . . , should be lost to the world because of a woman's marriage. She has no doubt that being a mother and a good one has strengthened the ability as well as the technique of many an unusual woman.

Miss Wald sees the difficulties, however, of having two careers. . . . Nevertheless, she has known remarkable women who were able to manage both. . . .²⁰

Wald's views would hardly satisfy women who were neither "unusual" nor "remarkable" and yet wished to combine two careers. Essentially Wald was like many other women during this period of transition searching for a new position for females.²¹ It is open to debate whether or not any solution to the question of women's role would have been found if the red baiting period had not curtailed the time that could be devoted to it. Further steps to full equality were delayed in the 1920's, and then postponed for a generation by the depression of the 1930's.²²

Genevieve Parkhurst, in a perceptive article in Harper's written in 1935, attributed the death of feminism to the economic problems of the great depression. After 1929, "economizing" frequently was translated into discharging married women regardless of abilities or obligations. Discriminations in work and pay were always abundant, but during the depression, they were even more widespread. Fewer women were able to establish themselves economically.²³ Sadly, the old feminists like Wald stood silent as women lost many of the rights they had struggled for in earlier years. While the National Woman's Party (NWP) did protest, for the most part discriminations in work and pay were accepted if it meant greater employment for men.²⁴ The debate over women's role came to an end. Unmarried females belonged in jobs traditionally described as "women's work," and married women belonged in the home so as not to provide competition on the labor market.

Women were able to secure some legislative gains after World War I and these achievements motivated Stanley Lemons to write that "the major current of American feminism, 'social feminism,' were slowed in the 1920's, but it neither failed nor was destroyed."²⁵ Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in 1927, enumerated "Woman's Achievements Since the Franchise" and included in the list many of the projects with which Wald was associated,²⁶ including legislation to make women eligible to serve on juries in New York State.²⁷

Another legislative gain pertained to citizenship. Prior to 1922, married American women, even the native born, assumed the nationality of their husbands. Thus women lost their citizenship by marriage to aliens. Men, on the other hand, did not lose their rights when married to foreigners. The Cable Act, passed as a result of women's pressure, sought to remedy this inequity by giving married women the right of individual citizenship and naturalization.²⁸ The Act, however, included provisions which discriminated against women, both American born and alien, and which were "at variance with the spirit of the Act."²⁹ Wald supported the Cable Act because the old law "expatriated women by marriage."³⁰ She also sought changes in the Act, after 1922, because immigration policy prevented husbands of women who were United States' citizens from entering the country, except under the quota system.³¹

Wald gave her greatest energies to the women's successful effort to pass the Sheppard-Towner bill in 1921. This "measure for woman, won by women"³² provided for federal funds

and matching state monies to be used to promote maternal and infant health. The Children's Bureau administered all operations on the national level, and in the states, advisory committees were established with women comprising at least half of the membership. All women were urged to support Sheppard-Towner to save the lives of thousands of mothers who would die in childbirth and the lives of babies under one year who would die because of the lack of trained care.³³

The campaign for Sheppard-Towner brought back memories of the pre-war period. The Children's Bureau gathered statistics on infant mortality and disease and reform outlets like the Survey publicized this data.³⁴ America's backward position among the nations of the world was stressed to the public and to the Congress. Florence Kelley testified before a Senate hearing and Wald's views were expressed by Elizabeth Dines, a Henry Street nurse.³⁵

For Wald, the Act was important for three reasons. It was a woman's measure; it further recognized the responsibility of the state in welfare areas; and it gave additional responsibilities to the public health nurses by charging them with instructing the public in maternal and infant hygiene. Julia Lathrop, chief of the Bureau, wrote Wald that "the public health nurse is essential to any plan of health welfare work, public or volunteer and here you are in a very strong position. . . ."³⁶ Opposition to increased power to the nurses came from a familiar source. The Illinois Medical Journal claimed that Sheppard-Towner was sponsored by "endocrine perverts" and derailed menopausics."³⁷ Wald worked to have the

maternity bill passed in Congress and later to have New York State enact an enabling measure. She emphasized the need for pre and post partem care and education. Both fathers and mothers, she said, want and need help in assuming the responsibility of caring for children. Simple education and attention by nurses, who would go into the homes, would save lives.³⁸

Congressional appropriations to implement the Maternity Bill ran out in 1927, but were extended to 1929. The measure's success in promoting the welfare of mothers and babies³⁹ did not prevent opposition to its renewal. Senator Bayard's charge that Sheppard-Towner was a feminist-socialist-communist conspiracy to nationalize American children was read into the Congressional Record and provided propaganda for the enemies of extension.⁴⁰ The women again tried to arouse public support and national organizations like the LWV and the WTUL rushed to help and to show their support of Sheppard-Towner and the Children's Bureau.⁴¹ It became clear, however, that President Hoover would not give strong support to the bill⁴² and that Congress, timid because of the red-baiting, was unwilling to pass a controversial measure in an election year (1930).⁴³ Wald sadly reported, "All those who know the plight of . . . mothers and their babies regret that the measure has lapsed. . . ."⁴⁴

The women's groups provided a unified front on matters like the Cable Act and Sheppard-Towner, and, therefore, achieved a degree of success.⁴⁵ They sharply divided on the issue of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and accomplished nothing.

The roots of the rift stretched back to the suffrage campaign. The Congressional Union, which became the National Woman's Party, differed in tactics and policy from the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. The militancy advocated by Alice Paul and her followers was repudiated by Catt and the other leaders of the NAWSA.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the women's movement held together for years. Catt contended that women were human beings with brains and convictions; they should not be expected to act as a unit.⁴⁷ The feminist movement had never been an ideological monolith. The goal of sexual equality was held by all, but different women envisioned different means to this goal. Alice Paul described the movement as "a sort of mosaic." Each woman "puts in one little stone, and then you get a great mosaic at the end."⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the attitude of mutual tolerance began to erode in the 1920's.

A new Woman's Party was formed in 1921 during a meeting held after the ceremonies to celebrate the installation of statues of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in the Capitol.⁴⁹ Wald attended the convention as a delegate, as did Addams who represented the WILPF and Dock who represented the nurses.⁵⁰ Another delegate, Freda Kirchwey of the Nation, recorded her impressions of the meeting. She described the leadership of the new NWP as a "veritable tank" which "rolled over the assembly, crushing protestants of all sorts. . . ." Issues like the participation of black women, birth control and disarmament, marriage and divorce laws were pushed aside.⁵¹ It seemed to Kirchwey and others, that everything was to be subordinated so that a federal Equal Rights

Amendment proposal could be introduced.⁵²

All feminists wanted to remove sexual discrimination and improve the status of women. They could all support the general objectives of the proposed Amendment--equality before the law regardless of sex--and it was undoubtedly tempting to all life long feminists to endorse the ERA. Women like Florence Kelley had devoted years to fighting for equal opportunity in schools and professions, equal pay for equal work and changes in marriage and divorce law, but they feared what the law would do to the protective labor legislation which had been so hard won and defended in the courts.⁵³

The introduction of the ERA in the 68th Congress at the close of 1923 set off a debate that would continue for decades. Arguments were carried on the pages of the women's publications and in popular magazines as well. Opponents of the Amendment regarded it as an additional handicap to the working woman, who was unorganized or whose union was too weak to bargain equally. Union women believed in equal rights for men and women in industry, and hoped to remove economic handicaps from men, but they were unwilling to surrender the industrial progress they had already made. If ERA passed, they said, women would lose and men would gain nothing. When, in the future, industrial women were stronger, they would not need special legislation. Until then, women needed the laws that guaranteed them decent conditions of work.

The National Woman's Party claimed that an Amendment was necessary to remove all legal disabilities from women. Piece-meal methods would not work. Protective legislation for

women, while designed to help, really hampered because women were separated into a special caste with children and labeled "incompetent." Laws regulating wages, hours and conditions of labor should cover both men and women and would be passed for both as soon as sexual distinctions were removed from the law.⁵⁴

The ERA was an issue until the end of Wald's life. While Equal Rights claimed that "one of the greatest assets of the . . . campaign was the genuine spirit of sex solidarity that had developed among women,"⁵⁵ for Wald, the Amendment divided the women's network which had been welded over the pre-war decades. The women who worked together to professionalize nursing, for unionism and labor reform, for suffrage and for peace now found themselves on opposing sides on the question of ERA. Differences had always existed, but they now seemed more important. Zona Gale, the playwright and an old friend favored the Amendment, as did Crystal Eastman of the WPP.⁵⁶ The nurses were divided with Annie Goodrich and Lavinia Dock actively in favor of ERA. Goodrich, Dean of the Yale University School of Nursing, spoke as a representative of the professional woman. "Equal pay for equal work would never be realized until protective legislation was no longer an excuse for differentiation."⁵⁷

Dock, a frequent contributor to Equal Rights, felt keenly her separation "from old associates in the woman movement, and hard to differ from trade union friends, when one is still heart and soul in sympathy with labor," but she believed that women were adults and should not be linked with children in legislation.⁵⁸ Dock's letters to Wald frequently attempted to

persuade her old friend "that for women adults--protective sex laws are only a deception leading to all sorts of possible exclusions and segregations."⁵⁹

Wald's conduct in relation to the Equal Rights Amendment is difficult to analyze. Her belief in the need for protective legislation was firm. Until women's unions were stronger, laws were needed to raise standards of work. These laws would help raise the conditions of work for men as well, for men and women rise and fall together in the labor market.⁶⁰ Given these sentiments, it is logical to assume that Wald would be among the strong opponents of ERA, yet there is no record in her papers or writings on the measure until 1938.

Congressional hearings on the Amendment were held in 1924, 1925, 1929, 1931, 1932, 1933 and 1938. Florence Kelley, Rose Schneiderman and representatives of the LWV and the WTUL testified and hundreds of letters were included in the record.⁶¹ There is no mention of Wald until 1938, when she wrote:

I am writing to protest against the equal-rights amendment. . . ., I think that I have always been . . . consistent. Ever since the Women's Party has suggested that theoretically women should be on equal terms with men, and have discarded the advantages that come to them for physiological reasons, I have been opposed to this phase of their law.

For nearly 40 years I have promoted all the protective measures that women require in order to fulfill their duties as women and as mothers. I would be glad to have men have as much protection, but we certainly do require, until the millenium comes, such protection for them and so I am very much opposed to the equal rights amendment.⁶²

Shortly after, Wald wrote to Katherine Faville, head of the Visiting Nurse Service, urging her and the other nurses to oppose the Amendment because it "would do great harm to many women."⁶³

Several explanations of Wald's long silence are possible. The first, that her health precluded active participation in the anti ERA movement must be discarded after an examination of Wald's activities, since she remained at least partially involved in other areas in those years. A second possible reason has greater validity. By 1938, Florence Kelley, the most prestigious of the ERA foes, was no longer alive to carry on the fight and Wald, always loyal to her friends, believed that she had to lend her name to the opposition. To Faville, she wrote, "I worked so hard and so did Mrs. Kelley and all our group at that time, to get protection for women and girls, and now fanatics--that's what I think they are-- would destroy all we did!"⁶⁴

If, however, Wald felt that keenly the need to defeat ERA, why didn't she speak out earlier? Given her practical mind, the most likely reason is that Wald never took the measure too seriously. Many present day historians place great importance upon ERA as a factor in the death of feminism. William O'Neill claims that the leaders of both sides over-reacted and while the women were not far apart in ideology and membership, their intemperate language drove a lasting wedge between those for and those against the ERA.⁶⁵ Considering the quantity of material printed, the emphasis placed upon the Amendment is understandable. It may be misleading,

however, to use this as a measure of judgment, for ERA does not appear to have permanently divided the women. They worked together in the same period for Sheppard-Towner and the Cable Act. The Amendment "squabble was of no particular significance--the proposed Amendment never had a chance of serious consideration."⁶⁶ It is likely that the pragmatic Wald realized this and saved herself for more productive campaigns. Feminism declined after 1920, but the causes are to be found in the economic and social conditions of the nation, not in the behavior of the feminists.⁶⁷

Wald is susceptible to criticism for her timing in entering the ERA debate. Kelley and the others who fought the Amendment in the 1920's did so at a time when the administration and courts were openly unsympathetic to the aims of working people. By the time Wald intervened, her friends were in power and New Deal legislation removed many of the arguments against the Amendment. It would have benefitted women had Wald rethought her position. ERA would have been defeated anyway, but she did not serve the feminist cause by criticizing it.

Any consideration of Wald's work after 1920 must include a knowledge of her health. If she personified the feminists of the Progressive era, a partial answer to the question--what happened after suffrage--is that the women grew older, more tired and health problems slowed their work. Time took its toll.

As a young woman, Wald prided herself on super-human

energy and endurance. In the 1920's, she suffered a series of debilitating illnesses that curtailed her public performances and forced her to spend more and more time at her Connecticut home. By 1933, she reluctantly retired from an active role in the Settlement and the Visiting Nurse Service.

The death of old comrades and loved ones was another blow. She mourned the losses of her mother, brother, Helen Dudley, Elizabeth Farrell and Rebecca Shatz of the Settlement, Mr. and Mrs. Schiff, Felix and Paul Warburg, Addams and Kelley. It seemed that every year brought new grief. A note to Lavinia Dock illustrates Wald's frame of mind.

Dear Elizabeth Farrell could not overcome the pernicious anaemia and the bad heart. The line grows very thin when Florence Kelley and Elizabeth Farrell go within a few months of each other, and it is hard to face.⁶⁸

As early as 1922, Wald confessed to being "pessimistic about myself--I do not seem to accomplish anything, despite my perpetual motions."⁶⁹ She was "desperately tired,"⁷⁰ and a trip to Mexico, which was supposed to restore her strength, resulted in an intestinal and bronchial infection. The following year, 1925, she had a hysterectomy which further drained her energy.⁷¹ Her friends urged her to "really , truly honest to God,--Rest."⁷² They understood how disappointing it was for Wald to discover that "she had so little strength"⁷³ and could not "tackle the universe."⁷⁴

When she felt well, Wald plunged back into action claiming that she felt "as young and ardent" as she "did more than thirty years ago. . . ."⁷⁵ Nevertheless, even she had to

admit sometimes that she was growing older. "I woke up with a cold and a carbuncle, sixty years old and everybody knew it. Terrible! I will never do it again," she complained to Addams.⁷⁶

The depression came early to Henry Street. By the end of 1928, Wald reported that unemployment was growing. "The prosperity has been unprecedented for the few, but it does not percolate to the bottom."⁷⁷ The Visiting Nurse records were barometers of economic conditions and they now found the demands upon them greater than ever before.⁷⁸ Wald complained to friends that "the unemployment situation absorbs the greater part of my time."⁷⁹

While the depression created few personal financial problems for Wald,⁸⁰ all of the organizations with which she was associated were in trouble. She doubled her efforts in working for the unemployed and children, and also had to devote extra time to fund raising. Many former subscribers could no longer give as much money and some discontinued their donations. At the same time the financial needs of the nurses increased as other agencies, hit by the depression, referred cases to Henry Street.⁸¹ Wald's letters to her friends are filled with despair.

I don't know what we'll do unless we get more money, the situation is tragic. We have a bare one-third of our money, and we will just have to keep on asking people who gave small sums to give larger and talking, talking it all the time. It's the worst winter I have had, and I began, you know, in the terrible time of '93.⁸²

. . . I think this is a good time for social workers; the only people who seem to be employed,--Alas!⁸³

The problem of raising money haunted Wald "by day and night."⁸⁴ More and more in her last years, she was the "high powered executive" for whom fund raising was an end unto itself.⁸⁵

Under the pressures of raising money and the need to watch the misery of the depression, Wald, who normally viewed the world with optimism, grew increasingly depressed. She was filled with "despondency," "discouragement," and "disappointment."⁸⁶ In 1931, she was forced to curtail her work "owing to low blood count,--and depression--and welt-schmerz,. . . ."⁸⁷ Her efforts to slow down and become a "slacker" did not help. ". . . the jangle of the telephone nearly drove me wild. Not just the jangle, but because I knew it meant more problems for which I could offer no help."⁸⁸ She could not escape, she wrote, "the depression that overcomes me."⁸⁹

At the end of 1932, Wald was hospitalized for a condition that affected her heart⁹⁰ and delayed her recovery.⁹¹ She continued to hope "to be 100% in action soon,"⁹² but in 1933, she suffered a heart attack and stroke, which resulted in a temporary facial paralysis, loss of hair and speech. For a woman of Wald's vanity, this disfigurement was the source of great pain, which she cloaked with humor. She cautioned her secretary not to "refer unless necessary to my not being well. They might order crepe."⁹³ Wald wrote a friend that she was "ugly as sin,"⁹⁴ and described herself to Dr. Hamilton as having lost "all hair including eyebrows, eyelashes, et cetera. . . ."⁹⁵ She could still say, however, "I will have lots of jokes to tell you about this illness."⁹⁶

Wald never lost her interest in public affairs. She left the hospital to vote for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932,⁹⁷ and strongly supported the New Deal. She wrote to Frances Perkins to congratulate her and the President on the passage of the Social Security bill, adding "I wish that Sister Kelley had been saved to know that. Her life would have been more happily ended."⁹⁸ Wald mourned for herself as well. Now that her "friends were in power," she was "not functioning one hundred per cent."⁹⁹

Wald retired to Connecticut and after 1932, never returned to Henry Street "to see . . . her beloved friends."¹⁰⁰ Her health continued to deteriorate and in 1937, she had another heart attack and stroke which further restricted her. She wrote, "My chief trouble is that my tongue gets twisted when I talk and when you haven't legs nor a tongue you feel somewhat handicapped."¹⁰¹ Herbert Lehman observed Wald in those years:

She failed quite noticeably in the last years of her life. Her memory wasn't very good. She wasn't able to do much work. She always remained a woman of great charm. She was really a great character.¹⁰²

In 1933, Wald stepped down as Head Worker at Henry Street in favor of Helen Hall. The two women worked hard to effect a peaceable change of leadership. Wald was complimentary of the younger woman's ability and asked those with personal loyalties to her to help their new leader.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, it was difficult for Wald to surrender the power she had enjoyed for forty years. She confessed that ". . . of course one is anxious about a beloved child that has taken life and

more than life."¹⁰⁴

When difficulties arose in 1936, it brought Wald full circle. She had started her career as a nurse, dedicated to the autonomy of her profession, and at the end of her life, she supported the nurses when they clashed with Hall on the same issue.¹⁰⁵ The Visiting Nurses believed that they could not accept a lay person over them. Wald understood that while it might be difficult for Hall to comprehend, the "nurses must speak for themselves."¹⁰⁶ The Visiting Nurse Service was separated from the Henry Street Settlement before Wald died on September 1, 1940. Two months later, twenty-five hundred people attended a Lillian Wald memorial service¹⁰⁷ to pay tribute to her insight, devotion and love.¹⁰⁸

A letter written by Paul Kellogg to Wald before her death can serve as a summary of her work. ". . . Your youth and strength and hope and leadership bore fruit not only in practical accomplishments which will stand for all time, but in deepening and spreading your social insight and understanding as yeast in American life."¹⁰⁹ The women's revolution, like all movements for change, required propagandists to popularize the cause. Wald served this need for suffrage, unions for women, professionalization of nursing, the women's peace movement and almost every other campaign to effect sexual equality.

Many of her colleagues were better educated than Wald. Without the learning (and possibly the intellect) of Kelley, Addams or Balch, she never attempted to develop a philosophical

rationale for her feminism. Instead, she relied upon her personal assets--understanding of people, public prestige, political wisdom--to persuade, lobby and cajole for reforms, that pragmatically she understood were only half way measures. Only time and constant work would bring the "millenium" she envisioned.

Wald was instinctively a feminist. As a young woman, she violated the stereotype of woman's place by becoming a nurse. In later life, she became a model of what women could do in the public sphere. Critics can with some reason fault her for devoting too much time to fund raising and currying the favor of the powerful; for involving herself in too many causes; and for being tied to the Victorian ideology of her childhood as to marriage and motherhood for most women. Wald, however, understood the sources of her strength. Her power lay in the reputation she had gained through the Henry Street Settlement and the Visiting Nurse Service and these bases had to be maintained, so that her "wise council and public prestige"¹¹⁰ could be used to benefit women.

Wald and other women of the Progressive era differed often in ideology and methods, but they were unusually tolerant in their acceptance of these differences.¹¹¹ They--Addams, Kelley, Dock, Schneiderman, Goldman, Paul, Wald and the others--had in common a feminist consciousness which responded to the challenge of the New York Call, that the women "make sisterhood a fact."¹¹²

NOTES

1- The most recent writings on the women's movement tend to make distinctions between the feminists in order to reconcile the differing views of female progress after 1920. Lemons, Woman Citizen and Chafe, American Woman rely upon the O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave model which distinguishes between the "social feminists" who subordinated female emancipation to other social reform and "hard core" feminists who placed women's rights and emancipation above all considerations. Other historians, like Estelle B. Freeman, "The New Women: Changing Views of Women in the 1920's," Journal of American History, LXI (Spring, 1974), 372-393 use Gerda Lerner, "Women's Rights and American Feminism," American Scholar, XL (Spring, 1971), 235-248 as a model. Lerner separates the women's rights movement, which sought political equality, from the more inclusive women's emancipation movement, which demanded the removal of all barriers to women's advancement imposed by sex. The suffrage struggle, according to these views, brought all women together. After 1920, they broke apart and the feminist movement slowed and then died. Women made certain political gains, but overall, the "new women" made little progress. While not questioning the conclusion, I believe that Wald does not quite fit the models.

2- Libbian Benedict, "Miss Wald of Henry Street," The American Hebrew, May 7, 1926, 876, 907, NYPL, Wald MSS.

3- Ann Gordon, Mari Jo Buhle and Nancy Schrom, "Women in American Society: An Historical Contribution," 1973, reprinted from Radical America; Anne O'Hagan, "The Serious Minded Young-- If Any," Woman's Journal, April, 1928, 5-7, 39-40.

4- Anna Howard Shaw in Lemons, Woman Citizen, 228.

5- Wald, Speech? to the Y.W.H.A., n.d., NYPL, Wald MSS.

6- Wald, Speech "The Volunteer in Social Work," October 19, 1922, NYPL, Wald MSS.

7- Wald, Speech "Social Possibilities of Club Work," n.d., NYPL, Wald MSS.

8- Wald, House on Henry Street, 268.

9- H.S.S. residents, a tribute to Wald, March 10, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.

- 10- Sinclair Lewis, Ann Vickers (New York, 1933).
- 11- Wald to Vera Metcalf, March 31, 1933; Wald to Paul Kellogg, January 4, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 12- Wald to Henry Street Family c/o Elsa Herrman, March 8, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald wrote often of her "discriminations about cut hair," but, if later photographs are accurate, she succumbed to the bobbed head fashion herself by the late 1920's, Wald to Naomi Deutsch, December 1, 1924, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 13- Residents of the Nurses' Settlement to Wald, n.d., Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS.
- 14- Wald to each resident of the Henry Street Settlement, February 6, 1929, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 15- Benedict, "Wald of Henry Street," 876, 906, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 16- S. J. Woolf, "Miss Wald Has Seen an Ideal Blossom," The New York Times, December 1, 1929, 11.
- 17- Wald to Helena Dudley, October 13, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 18- Wald, Windows, 321.
- 19- Lillian Symes, "Still a Man's Game; Reflections of a Slightly Tired Feminist," Harper's, CLVIII (May, 1929), 678-686 offers only one example of discussion of the problems of a woman attempting to combine two careers. Woman's Journal devoted large parts of its 1928 and 1929 editions to this question as did Equal Rights.
- 20- Wald's secretary Anne Geddis passed the information to J. C. Sutherland, April 23, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.
- 21- Davis, American Heroine, 277 seems to doubt that Addams, at least, would regain leadership of the young. He describes her as "out of step with the times . . . tired, worn and old fashioned. . . ."
- 22- Most suffragists recognized that the franchise was only an "incident," only a "step on the road to full equality" and expected to remove all sexual barriers in the next decades. Carrie Chapman Catt, "Woman Suffrage only an Episode in an Age-Old Movement," Current History, XXVII (October, 1927), 1-6; Leta S. Hollingsworth, "The New Woman in the Making," Current History, XXVII (October, 1927), 15-20.
- 23- Genevieve Parkhurst, "Is Feminism Dead?" Harper's, CLXX (May, 1935), 735-745. Parkhurst singled out Article 213 of the Economy Act of 1932 as particularly prejudicial to

women. It provided for the dismissal of married government employees who were living with a spouse. This, in practice, meant the discharge of married women. This section was deleted from the Economy Act of 1933, but there was little change in practice. Chafe, American Woman, 107-109; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 230-231; Jean Christie, "After Suffrage: Women in the 1920's," in Decisions and Revisions, ed., Jean Christie and Leonard Dinnerstein (New York, 1975), 103.

24- Equal Rights, July 6, 1929, 171; October 25, 1930, 300-301; January 24, 1931, 405-406. The NWP also criticized Section 213 of the Economy Act, Equal Rights, September 15, 1935, 1; August 1, 1937, 107.

25- Lemons, Woman Citizen, vii.

26- Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Woman's Achievements Since the Franchise," Current History, XXVII (October, 1927), 7-14.

27- The Woman Jurors measures were introduced into the New York State Legislature throughout the 1920's, but were not passed until the late 1930's. Samuel Mandelbaum to Wald, March 6, 1930, Butler Library, Columbia University, Wald MSS; Equal Rights, April 18, 1925, 75; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 68-73.

28- Hope K. Thompson, "Status of American Women Married to Aliens," Equal Rights, February 19, 1927, 13-14; Addams, Second Twenty Years, 271-272; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 235-237, 63-68.

29- Gladys Harrison, "A Married Woman's Nationality," Woman's Journal, March, 1930, 10-12, 39-41; Wald, Windows, 334-335; "A New Cable Act Proposed," Equal Rights, February 22, 1930, 22.

30- Wald was one of the "Sponsors for the Rebecca Shelley Repatriation Committee" along with other prominent women like Sophonsiba Breckinridge and Alice Paul. The quote was taken from the letterhead of the group's stationery, Balch to Wald, 1920?, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald to Alice Lewisohn Crowley, 1932?, NYPL, Wald MSS, Wald's old friend was affected by the old law since she was married before 1922 and had lost her American citizenship.

31- Wald to Rabbi I. L. Bril, August 19, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

32- George Madden Martin, "American Women and Paternalism," Atlantic Monthly, CXXXIII (June, 1924), 746; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 153-180. The measure was originally introduced by Jeanette Rankin, see Kelley, "My Philadelphia," 50.

33- Woman Citizen, February 14, 1920, 860-862, February 28, 1920, 928-929.

34- Robert Bremmer, ed., Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 958-1005; Dorothy Kirchwey Brown, "The Maternity Bill," Survey, XLV (June 18, 1921), 399-400.

35- Dorothy Kirchwey Brown, "How Uncle Sam Is Legislating for the Children," Woman Citizen, May 22, 1920, 1288-1290, 1294-1296. Wald was unable to attend the Senate hearings, Dr. Anna Rude to Wald, April 21, 1920, May 6, 1920, May 7, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

36- Lathrop to Wald, March 25, 1919, NYPL, Wald MSS.

37- Bremmer, ed., Children and Youth, II, 1019-1020.

38- Wald, Notes for speech to American Association for Labor Legislation, January 8, 1921; Wald, Speech for Dr. Felix Adler's Dinner, February 3, 1922; Wald to Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip, May 8, 1923; Wald to Kelley, May 22, 1923; Wald to Bruce Bliven, Editor of the New York Globe, February 7, 1921; Wald to Speaker of the House Frederick Gillette, February 3, 1921; Wald to Mayor Hylan, September 29, 1924; Wald, Speech "Preventative Medicine" to the Democratic Union of Women of Manhattan, June 4, 1923; Wald, Speech "Sheppard-Towner Bill" to the YWCA, June 6, 1923; "Memorandum Prepared at Miss Wald's Request, Re: Education of Nurses in Prenatal Work," June 1, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS; The New York Times, June 7, 1923, 8.

39- Equal Rights, September 13, 1924, 242; Wald, Windows, 202-205; Kelley, "My Philadelphia," 50; Life and Labor, February, 1927, 4.

40- The Bayard speech is discussed in Chapter nine.

41- The conservatives hoped not only to prevent re-enactment of the maternity bill, but also to destroy the Children's Bureau by removing some of its power. Kelley, "My Philadelphia," 51; Abbott, "Grace Abbott," 392-394; Mary Anderson to Robins, April 18, 1930, Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Anderson MSS; Life and Labor Bulletin, July, 1930, 1-2; Woman's Journal, January, 1928, 23; February, 1929, 7-9; Wald to Abbott, January 7, 1931; Wald, Radio Speech, February 15, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 172-176.

42- Abbott, "Grace Abbott," 393.

43- Kelley, "My Philadelphia," 51.

44- Wald, Windows, 205. The battle was won when the Social Security Act gave the Children's Bureau the funds needed to provide for maternal and infant care.

45- Measures like the Cable Act were supported by all women's groups including the LWV, WTUL and the NWP. Some

groups like the DAR, which were part of the women's coalition during and after the suffrage campaign did become more conservative by the middle of the decade.

46- Nettie Shuler to Catt, July 11, 1917; Catt to Anna H. Shaw, July 13, 1917; Catt, An Open Letter to the Public, July 13, 1917, NYPL, NAWSA MSS; Ida H. Harper to Tumulty, August 21, 1916, NYPL, Harper MSS; Catt, News Release, May 18, 1915, NYPL, Catt MSS.

47- Catt to Editor of The New York Times, October 5, 1914, NYPL, Catt MSS.

48- Robert S. Gallagher, "The Fight for Women's Suffrage: An Interview with Alice Paul," in Historical Viewpoints, ed., John A. Garraty (New York, 1975), 195.

49- Wald and Addams were on a committee established to arrange for the sculpting of busts of the Pioneer Women. When Harriot Blatch and Paul argued as to the amount of money to be raised, Paul dismissed all the women on the committee including Wald and Addams. Blatch described Paul as "dictatorial," Blatch to Wald, September 23, 1920, November 11, 1920, NYPL, Wald MSS.

50- "Stenographic Report-National Convention of the National Woman's Party," February 15-18, 1921, Washington, D.C., Woman's Archives Radcliffe College, Alma Lutz MSS.

51- Kirchwey, "Alice Paul Pulls the Strings," Nation, CVII (March 2, 1921), 332-333.

52- Ibid.; Florence Kelley, "The New Woman's Party," Survey, XLV (March 5, 1921), 827-828; Elizabeth G. Evans and Carol A. Rehfisch, "Woman's Party, Right or Wrong," New Republic, XXXVI (September 26, 1923), 123-124; Lemons, Woman Citizen, 181-204.

53- Goldmark, Impatient Crusader, 180-187. The classic Muller v Oregon decision (1908) upheld protective legislation for women on the grounds that the future mothers of the nation required the special protection of the state. Later courts, in the 1920's, modified this thinking and the decision in Adkins v Children's Hospital declared the minimum wage unconstitutional. The Adkins decision was delivered in 1923, the year the ERA was introduced into Congress and this was undoubtedly a factor in the opposition of some feminists.

54- The material--pro and con--on the Equal Rights Amendment would fill volumes. As examples, see Life and Labor, March, 1920, 84-87; August, 1922, 2; February, 1924, 1-2, 6-7; March, 1924, 2-3; May, 1920, 152-154; February, 1926, 3-4; March, 1926, 1-2; June, 1926, 1-3; November, 1928, 1-3; March, 1929, 2-3; Schneiderman and Goldthwaite, All For One, 126; Alice Henry, Women and the Labor Movement, 164-165;

Clara M. Beyer, "What Is Equality," Nation, CXVI (January 31, 1923), 116; Boone, WTUL, 137-139; "The Equal Rights Amendment," Congressional Digest, III (March, 1924), 192-207; Mary Anderson, "Should There Be Labor Laws for Women: Yes," Good Housekeeping, LXXXI (September, 1925), 53, 166, 169-170, 173-174, 176, 179-180; Alma Lutz, "Shall Woman's Work Be Regulated by Law?" Atlantic Monthly, CXLVI (September, 1930), 321-327; Equal Rights, April 24, 1926, 86-88; June 11, 1927, 141-143; January 15, 1937, 5; February 9, 1929, 3-6; May 10, 1930, 110-111; June 15, 1937, 86-87; Edna Kenton, "Ladies' Next Step: The Case for the Equal Rights Amendment," Harper's, CLII (February, 1926), 366-374; Inez Haynes Irwin, "Equal Rights Amendment: Why the Woman's Party Is for It," Good Housekeeping, LXXVIII (March, 1924), 18, 158; Florence Kelley and Elsie Hill, "Shall Women Be Equal Before the Law?" Nation, CXIV (April 12, 1922), 419-421; Florence Kelley, "Should Women Be Treated Identically with Men By Law?" American Review, I (May, 1923), 276-284; Florence Kelley, "Equal Rights Amendment: Why Other Women Groups Oppose It," Good Housekeeping, LXXVIII (March, 1924), 19, 162-165; Rheta Childe Dorr, "Should There Be Labor Laws for Women: No," Good Housekeeping, LXXXI (September, 1925), 52, 156; Rheta Childe Dorr, "Free and Equal Citizens," Good Housekeeping, LXXXVII (July, 1928), 217-221, 38-39; Doris Stevens and Alice Hamilton, "Blanket Amendment; Debate," Forum, LXXII (August, 1924), 145-160; Harriot Stanton Blatch, "Do Women Want Protection," Nation, CXVI (January 31, 1923), 115-116; Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 77-79.

55- Equal Rights, April 26, 1924, 84.

56- Equal Rights, November 29, 1924, 336; March 15, 1924, 37; O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 286-288.

57- Equal Rights, March 15, 1935, 3; February 15, 1938, 211-213; February 23, 1924, 15; November 3, 1929, 340-341. Wald was asked to speak to Goodrich to modify her views, Eveline Brainerd to Wald, April 20, 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS.

58- Equal Rights, May 31, 1924, 125-126.

59- Dock to Wald, October 23, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

60- Wald, Speech "Invasion of Women," February 14, 1909, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald, Windows, 31-32.

61- Wald's lack of participation is most surprising, since all of the groups to which she belonged (WTUL, LWV, NCL) took part in the debate.

62- Wald to Senator George Norris, February 23, 1938, NYPL, Wald MSS.

63- Wald to Faville, February 23, 1938, NYPL, Wald MSS.

64- Wald to Faville, April 6, 1938, NYPL, Wald MSS.

65- O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 275-294.

66- Chambers, Seedtime of Reform, 78.

67- Linda Gordon et al., "A Review of Sexism in American Historical Writing," Woman's Studies, I (1972), 133-158.

68- Wald to Dock, October 18, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

69- Wald to Kelley, July 9, 1922, NYPL, Wald MSS.

70- Wald's secretary to Mrs. Henry Sharpe, March 3, 1923, NYPL, Wald MSS.

71- Wald's letters to her friends are filled with details as to her medical condition. At no time, is the importance of the women's network made clearer. The women relied upon each other for comfort and help.

72- Kelley to Wald, May 22, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.

73- Wald's secretary, Anne Geddes to Kelley, September 26, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.

74- Geddes to Dock, June 12, 1925, NYPL, Wald MSS.

75- Wald to Mrs. Charles S. Brown, Jr., April 28, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

76- Wald to Addams, March 17, 1927, NYPL, Wald MSS.

77- Wald to Ramsay MacDonald, November 7, 1928, NYPL, Wald MSS.

78- Wald, Windows, 227-250; Wald to MacDonald, March 28, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

79- Wald to Bondfield, December 3, 1930; Wald to Anna Woerishoffer, December 5, 1930; Wald to Kurt Hahn, November 7, 1930; Wald to Rose Rosenberg, December 10, 1930; Wald to Alice Crowley, March 19, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

80- Wald lost little in the crash, but she did try to cut back in order to get money for the nurses. She sold a few things--amber beads and silver cups--and cut back on memberships and magazine subscriptions. When Mrs. Jacob Schiff died in 1933 and left Wald \$50,000, some of her personal financial problems were solved. Eleanor Linton to Carolyn Martin, January 5, 1933; Linton to Circulation Manager of the National Geographic, January 3, 1933; Wald to John Andrew, January 23, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

81- Wald and Felix Warburg issued a statement on July 5, 1932 threatening to curtail the services of the Visiting Nurses unless the city provided some money. There were 70,000

more calls in the first six months of 1932 than there had been in a comparable period two years before. Wald to Frances Perkins, December 28, 1931, January 25, 1932, February 10, 1932; Wald to Dock, February 10, 1932; Marguerite Wales to Mayor and Members of the N.Y.C. Board of Estimate and Apportionment, June 8, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS; Wald to A. A. Berle, November 27, 1934; Berle to Wald, December 7, 1934, FDR Library, Hyde Park, Berle MSS.

82- Wald to Maud Nathan, November 3, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

83- Wald to Rosa Fried Carton, January 12, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

84- Wald to Bertha Franz, December 14, 1931, NYPL, Wald MSS.

85- Kellogg, "Pioneer Woman," 23.

86- Wald to Mr. and Mrs. Sylvan Bier, October 20, 1931; Wald to Katherine Bier, October 20, 1931; Wald to Mrs. Arthur Holden, October 20, 1931; Wald to Mrs. John Palmer Gavit, October 23, 1931; Wald to Bertha Franz, December 14, 1931; Wald to Agnes Leach, December 23, 1931; Wald to Mary McDowell, October 21, 1930; Wald to Helen Keller, October 23, 1930, NYPL, Wald MSS.

87- Wald to Bondfield, March 9, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

88- Wald to Lina Rogers, March 15, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

89- Wald to Aaron Rabinowitz, March 3, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

90- Wald's illness was complex. A congenital abnormality at the juncture of the stomach and esophagus caused internal bleeding and anemia. Wald kept her friends informed of her condition throughout the illness. When she could not write personally, her secretary, Eleanor Linton informed people of the doctor's diagnoses. For examples, see Linton to Jane Hitchcock, April 13, 1933; Linton to Mrs. Sylvan Bier, April 13, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

91- Linton to Dr. Thomas Brown, December 21, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

92- Wald to John Schiff, January 8, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

93- Wald pencilled this message over a letter to Mabel Vernon, June 22, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

94- Wald to Elsa Herrmann, April 5, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

95- Wald to Alice Hamilton, April 4, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

96- Wald to Mary R. Smith, April 12, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS.

97- Wald to Eleanor and Henry Morgenthau, Jr., October 17, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

98- Wald to Perkins, August 12, 1935, NYPL, Wald MSS.

99- Wald to Milly Hamilton, November 18, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

100- Wald to Mary Dreier, April 5, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald purchased the house on the pond in Westport, Connecticut in 1917 for use as a vacation retreat.

101- Wald to Ann Brenner, September 27, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

102- Lehman, "Memoir," 151. Wald would have disputed part of this description. While she learned to acknowledge her physical disabilities, she insisted that there "was nothing wrong . . . from the neck up" and claimed that she was still "very young, part of me. . . ." Wald to Dock, October 24, 1932, NYPL, Wald MSS.

103- Wald to Addams and Smith, May 15, 1933; Linton to David Resnick, May, 1933?; Wald to Hall, May 8, 1933, May 15, 1933; Wald to Leo Arnstein, May 8, 1933; Wald to Henry Bruere, May 8, 1933; Wald to Lea Taylor, May 9, 1933; Wald to Rita Morgenthau, March 20, 1933; Wald to Ruth Canfield, May 9, 1933; Dock to Wald, August 1, 1933?; Wald to Mary Brown, February 19, 1934; Wald to Harriet Knight, May 12, 1933; Wald to Lovejoy, May 15, 1933; Wald to Felix Warburg, May 16, 1933; Wald to Paul Cravath, May 22, 1933, NYPL, Wald MSS are a few examples of the letters Wald wrote to notify people of the change in leadership. Wald was named President of Henry Street in 1933 and then President Emeritus in 1937.

104- Wald to Josephine Bowen, December 2, 1935, NYPL, Wald MSS.

105- Staff of the Visiting Nurse Service to the Board of Directors of H.S.S., June 26, 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS.

106- Wald to Josephine Goldmark, May 12, 1936, NYPL, Wald MSS. Wald expressed much the same sentiment in Wald to Hall, May 19, 1936; Wald to Rita Morgenthau, May 25, 1936, September 14, 1936; Wald to Faville, February 24, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

107- The New York Times, December 2, 1940, 23.

108- This was part of a tribute that Lavinia Dock paid to Wald when she retired from Henry Street, Dock to Wald,

August 1, 1933?, NYPL, Wald MSS. The eulogizing speeches delivered at the memorial service are part of the Wald collection at the New York Public Library.

109- Kellogg to Wald, November 19, 1937, NYPL, Wald MSS.

110- Wald to Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association, January 9, 1935, NYPL, Wald MSS.

111- Duffus, Lillian Wald, 281 quotes Wald as saying, "Somehow or other, I do like rebels."

112- New York Call quoted in Gordon, Buhle and Schrom, "Women in American Society," 46.

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