SOCIAL ACTION AND WOMEN:
THE EXPERIENCE OF LIZZIE BLACK KANDER

by

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INTRODUCTION

In 1925 the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle published an informative, detailed almanac saluting the impressive contributions of Wisconsin Jews to their religion and their state. The editors wrote ten pages extolling the Abraham Lincoln House, most famous of several social settlements in Milwaukee. They traced its origins to the Keep Clean Mission which had opened in 1895. Lizzie Black Kander, founder and director of that neighborhood agency and of its successors, received particular attention. Mrs. Kander, the editors asserted, "represents all that is good and noble and self-sacrificing in Jewish womanhood...She not only is one of the greatest figures of the Jewish Community, she is also one of Milwaukee's greatest women." No other woman received as much space or praise in the _Jewish Community Blue Book of Milwaukee and Wisconsin, 1925_, as Mrs. Kander. In 1926 directors of the city's Jewish welfare board recommended her name for inclusion in the first authoritative _Who's Who of American Jews_. Local newspapers thought it proper and accurate to dub her "the Jane Addams of Milwaukee."[1]

In 1939 the Wisconsin Assembly cited Mrs. Kander for her work on behalf of improved child welfare care and

the integration of European immigrants into American life. When the New York World's Fair of 1939 honored outstanding women of all the states, Lizzie Kander was one of the ladies who represented Wisconsin.[2] Religious leaders, newspaper editors and government officials all acknowledged her leadership in civic affairs and her devotion to the betterment of social conditions in Milwaukee.

From 1879 when she joined the Ladies Relief Sewing Society until her death in 1940 Lizzie Black Kander pursued an active public career. She continually expanded her communal activities into areas where other women had previously feared to tred or into new fields of endeavor which were just opening to women at the turn of the century. She introduced manual training into the public schools and directed the fight to establish the Milwaukee Girls Trade School, founded the city's prominent settlement house and presided over its affairs for twenty-five years, won repeated election to the municipal Board of School Directors, frequently spoke before leading service groups and wrote a column for the Milwaukee Sentinel and authored one of the country's most profitable cook books, The Settlement Cook Book.[3] Her experiences spanned the growth of Milwaukee from a small, but prosperous trading city to a Mid-Western manufacturing metropolis firmly fixed in the national economy; the complexities of modernization moulded and remoulded her response to human suffering.

Yet historians have given scant attention to Mrs. Kander and similar women. Scholars have attempted to analyze the effects of urbanization on the social fabric; but they frequently have ignored one large, unorganized segment of the population--women. The entire history of women in the United States is, unfortunately, an unwritten story. Or worse, when they do bother to make comments, historians have heaped scorn on women for their preoccupation with kindergartens, clubs and classes, all extensions of the traditional feminine concern for the family. In Spearheads for Reform Professor Allen Davis deprecated those female settlement workers who refused to enter ward politics and struggle for municipal reform. He admitted, however, that those who did actively campaign against ward bosses and fight for federal regulation of industry--Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Florence Kelley, Mary McDowell--were atypical and always a small minority of the movement.[4] In his eagerness to connect settlement workers with Progressivism and the New Deal, Professor Davis failed to analyze the function of the "kindergartens, clubs and classes" for the women who directed them.

Other writers have accepted the myth of the liberated woman as portrayed in contemporary journals. Professor Arthur Mann, writing in 1954, saw women reformers involved in an effort to realize the ideals of the Judeo-Christian ethic and of nineteenth century science and technology

not only for workers, immigrants and children but also for themselves. "The emancipation of women, almost complete by 1900," he wrote, "stands as a supreme achievement of nineteenth century liberalism and at the same time testifies to the enduring appeal of the ideals of the Enlightenment...It rested on the vision of equality and liberty, at the heart of which lay the crucial concept of the Enlightenment that all human beings, irrespective of surface differences, shared a common humanity."[5] Such an approach virtually isolated women from contact with the dynamic forces of urbanization which touched every other group in American society and shielded them from the impact of historical change. The history of women was nothing more than part of the unfolding of the liberal-democratic ideal which bound together all Americans. Thus historians have tended to explain most appearances of feminist action by focussing on efforts to put women on a par with men, particularly in the political sphere.[6] They superimposed a static principle--the equality of all mankind--upon the dynamism of developing America. And the particular conditions of the historical context received only cursory investigation.

Whether women assumed new functions at the turn of the century or not is beside the point. We do not intend to assess whether the work of the settlement worker or child welfare expert was more important or more oriented

towards progressive social ideas than that of the homemaker. That many middle-class women throughout the nation were questioning the validity of their roles as wives and mothers, however, was important. A feeling of self-conscious apartness obsessed them, and they agonized over their contribution or lack of it to the country's well-being. Lizzie Kander accepted the idea of the existence of the "modern" woman. In an humorous essay which she entitled "The Evolution of the Husband" she asserted that the new woman, as an act of self-fulfilment, had to be:

> a Joiner of Clubs, Women's Clubs by the score
> Oh, husband, fond husband your fate we deplore!
> She settles grave matters--she tries to save souls
> And would you believe, she now votes at the poles
> [sic][7]

Voting in municipal school board elections and formulating policy for women's service groups may or may not have indicated a significant act in the political and social process. But both acts redefined women's conceptions of themselves in America. Perception of change, imagined or real, was as much a spur to action as actual change.

Lizzie Black Kander's experiences coincided with the emergence of industrialized America. An examination of her career will focus on the role of women during the urbanization of the United States, 1870-1910. In this study I hope to suggest possible answers to two broad, but neglected questions. First, to suggest, however impressionistically, some interrelationships between sudden city

and industrial growth and the emergence of the "emancipated" woman. For at the same time as Lizzie Kander acted as mediator between Milwaukee's immigrants and urbanizing America she herself was caught up in the ferment of modernizing forces. Second, to study the attitudes and responses of women to these physical and psychological traumas and their struggles to organize vocal groups to influence the direction of the rapid, agonizing transformation of the country. Thus, this paper attempts to link both the objective reality of grave social problems generated by industrialization and the subjective necessity of educated middle-class women to rationalize a position for themselves in an urbanized society.[8]

This paper is a case study of one woman welfare worker in a particular Mid-Western city. No claims are made for universal application, and sweeping generalizations will hopefully be avoided. That Lizzie Kander was a Reform Jew and that she worked primarily among Eastern European Jewish immigrants did not, however, make her career atypical. For American Reform Judaism at the turn of the century muffled distinctive Jewish content. Loyalty to Judaism was reflected not in narrow ethnicity and traditional orthodoxy but in participation in a program of universal social justice. The Jewish mission merged with the endeavors of all those reformers who were devoted to "progress," in particular the Protestant Social Gospel

preachers.[9] Moreover, by 1900 social workers were directing their energies to the Americanization of the Poles, Italians, Russians and Roumanians who comprised the second wave of immigration to the United States. Mrs. Kander's refugees in the Haymarket District of Milwaukee faced the same terrors and adjustments as Jane Addams' immigrants in Chicago's nineteenth ward.

Although the problems of industrialization and urbanization had a national scope reformers first attacked them at the local level. Only after years of experimentation did the federal government step in to formulate and finance welfare and industrial safety programs. Thus a case study takes into account the emphasis placed on local resolution of human distress and the weakness of national feminist organizations between 1890 and 1920; it approaches the phenomenon of the "emancipated" woman as an unfolding process. To study Lizzie Black Kander and her contemporaries is, therefore, to begin at the beginning.

INTRODUCTION FOOTNOTES

[1]Jewish Community Blue Book of Milwaukee and Wisconsin. 1925, compiled and published by the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, (Milwaukee, 1925), p. 83; S. Aaron Kaye to Lizzie Black Kander, June 29, 1926, letter in the Lizzie Black Kander Mss., Wisconsin Jewish Archives, Wisconsin State Historical Society; Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle (Milwaukee), September 4, 1954. Further references to the Kander Mss. will be noted as LBK Papers.

[2]Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle (Milwaukee), July 26, 1940.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Allen F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914, (New York; Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 148-51.

[5]Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age, (Cambridge; Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 226, 229.

[6]Ibid., p. 217; Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920. (New York; Columbia University Press, 1965), passim.

[7]The Evolution of the Husband, unpublished monograph in the LBK Papers, 1907?

[8]For a contemporary statement of this problem see Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements" and "The Objective Value of a Social Settlement," both in Philanthropy and Social Progress, (New York; Thomas Y. Cromwell and Company, 1893), pp. 1-26, pp. 27-56. In two stimulating essays Christopher Lasch attempted to weigh these factors as determinants in Addams' career. By closing his story prior to the establishment of Hull House in 1889 he came down heavily in favor of personal, psychological motivations. The reality of slums, poverty, ward bosses, long working hours for women and children, low pay and the other ills of industrializing Chicago received scant attention as possible stimulants to Jane Addams' participation in welfare work. See The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type, (New York; Vintage Books, 1967).

[9]Nathan Glazer, American Judaism, (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 48-50. For an interesting discussion of the role of immigrant groups as participators in rather than attackers of the Progressive movement see Philip Gleason, "An Immigrant Group's Interest in Progressive Reform: The Case of the German-American Catholics," American Historical Review, LXX111, (December, 1967), pp. 367-79.

CHAPTER I

MILWAUKEE AND ITS JEWISH COMMUNITY, 1840-1900

In 1833 the Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi Indians gave up their ancestoral claims to southeastern Wisconsin. The federal government then opened the Milwaukee countryside to white settlement. The depression of 1837 retarded migration; only 3,000 persons were settled around the mouth of the Milwaukee River by 1843.[1] But the potential for growth was there, only awaiting improved economic conditions. Farmers and speculators soon streamed to the fur trade post to grab the best agricultural lands and to found a city which promised to control the trade of the Northwest.[2] Possessing an excellent harbor and bordering on fertile hinterland Milwaukee thrived on commercial traffic. Retailers supplied the needs of settlers and outfitted pioneers who were travelling farther west. Real estate agents and bankers lent money to the newcomers to facilitate land purchases. Merchants distributed the farm surplus in eastern markets in exchange for manufactured goods. To protect and to cash in on this mutual dependency between agriculturalist and entrepreneur families who had managed to accumulate a little capital engaged in servicing businesses.

The fur trade post was fast breaking out of its trading town spirit. The conviction that Milwaukee would become the great inland city further encouraged immigration. And the dream was not just the propagandizing of over-active boosters. In 1850 Milwaukee was two-thirds the size of her rival ninety miles to the south and rumors spread that the plans for the transcontinental rail route bypassed Chicago.[3] The city council granted railroads over 1½ million dollars in subsidies to provide a means of off-setting Chicago's advantages in the eastward bound trade; the St. Paul railway promised to turn the "Cream City" into "the great wheat route and Milwaukee the wheat market of the Northwest." In 1862 Milwaukee surpassed Chicago as the world's greatest primary export point for wheat.[4]

In 1860, however, Chicago was twice the size of Milwaukee and ten years later four times as large. But the competition had established the Wisconsin city as one of the major urban centers west of New York City. To offset Chicago's trade supremacy Milwaukeeans had diversified their business dealings; manufacturing concerns complemented commerce. As the carrying trade declined factories began producing iron, farm implements, clothing and beer for the nation. The Wisconsin town had shot into a city with a population of 70,000 people by 1875.[5] During the last quarter of the century the growth rate was

phenomenal. In 1900 over 285,000 persons made their homes in Milwaukee. By 1910 the population had swollen to 373,857 people.[6] Numerous problems of urban organization developed coincident with industrialization and population expansion, straining the existing physical facilities of the city.[7]

Yankees from the eastern states pioneered in Wisconsin. But by 1850 one third of the citizens of Milwaukee were of German origin and sixty-four per cent of the total population had originally come from Europe.[8] In the early 1840's between 200 and 300 Germans arrived weekly; they were eager for the economic opportunity and personal freedom which authorities back home had denied them.[9] By the end of the decade the reactionary response to the Revolutions of 1848 encouraged more affluent, liberal, citified Germans to flee to America. Jewish immigration into Wisconsin mirrored these two strains.[10] The first permanent Jewish settlers arrived during the heyday of German movement; they were a small part of the tremendous Jewish influx of the 1840's which arrived in New York City and then fanned out across the nation.[11] Of the forty-seven Jewish families which took root in Milwaukee between 1844 and 1855 twenty-four were from the German states, twenty from the Hapsburg lands of Austria, Bohemia and Hungary, two from France and only one from England.[12] They were distinguished from native Americans not by their

Jewishness but by reason of their German heritage.

After settling in Green Bay, Marinette, La Crosse, Wassau, Madison, New Glarus and the towns around the Mississippi River Jewish families moved to Milwaukee to take advantage of economic opportunities.[13] They arrived when the country was expanding, and they followed the routes of expansion. Urban living was an accepted fact of life: German Jews were village and city dwellers and in America they sought success in the cities.[14] They freely chose to live in a thriving, metropolitan environment. Agricultural work held little attraction. Unfamiliar with modern farming techniques and lacking the initial capital outlay for large-scale trade and manufacturing they followed the line of least resistance; as peddlers and clothiers the German Jews quickly established themselves in the dry goods and retailing trades.[15]

Issac M. Wise, the founder of Reform Judaism in the United States,[16] noted how easily the Jews shared in the prosperity of Milwaukee in the 1850s. The German Jews were not ethnically distinct from the general character of Wisconsin immigration; they were a part of the founding of the modern, industrialized metropolis. These two factors accounted for the acceptance of the Adlers, Neustadtls, Landauers and lesser notables into Milwaukee business and social circles and stimulated their participation in civic affairs. Boosterism and civic responsibilty

were as much factors of self-interest as of altruism. Because the success of the Jewish community was dependent on the economic vitality of the city "everybody is deeply interested in the progress and the growth of the city, as everyone almost owns some real estate... the Jews are respected as industrious, peaceful and law abiding citizens."[17] In 1856 merchandising houses did 17 million dollars business throughout the Northwest. David Adler and Sons, Friend Brothers Clothing Company, and H.S. Mack and Company shared in this wealth and extended their firms throughout the northcentral states. They were still among the leaders in the last decade of the nineteenth century.[18] Unlike later immigrants who had to find their place in an existing, stratified community the German Jews entered a mobile, growing society and energetically worked for the prosperity of their chosen home.

The pre Civil War settlers who had laid the foundations for Milwaukee's phenomenal industrial growth were the business and social elites of the last quarter of the century. Elias Friend, Max Landauer, Henry M. Mendel, Benjamin M. Weil and other German Jewish entrepreneurs were active members of the Association for the Advancement of Milwaukee, the Merchants' Association, the Manufacturers' Club and the Knitters' Club.[19] In 1880 the Jewish community of Milwaukee was larger, more vocal and more respected by the secular world than that of Detroit.[20] The German

Jewish immigrants had successfully adjusted to the larger community of Milwaukee.

The process of immigration in the nineteenth century was complex. On the one hand, the German Jews found profitable roles in emerging urban America. They easily adapted to the political and economic milieu, assuming responsible, powerful positions in the larger community. On the other hand, the very process of adjustment bred a heightened group consciousness. As a permanent minority in a strange land the German Jews found it advisable to start their businesses among their own kind where they were assured of a market and credit.[21]

At the same time as they built their clothing and retail shops the more successful Jewish merchants moved to found a synagogue, thereby assuming visible leadership of the Jewish community. The first Rosh Hashana service in Milwaukee was held on September 11, 1847 in the home of Henry Newhouse; this small meeting was the first Jewish congregation in the entire Northwest.[22] Isaac Neustadtl, Nathan Pereles and David Adler, emerging entrepreneurs, were present; all presided over the congregations formed in the latter half of the century.[23] Prominence in religious institutions enhanced and encouraged economic and social status.

Two store-front congregations, Emanu-El and Ahavath Emunah, merged in 1856 to build a synagogue, B'ne Jeshurun.

Only 115 persons out of a total Jewish population of 200 joined the new establishment.[24] The synagogue had ceased to function as an agency of all Jews as it had done in Europe. Rather it emerged as a voluntary organization created by a small minority of the faith. B'ne Jeshurun called on Rabbi Wise to dedicate the venture. The Reform leader maintained close ties with the members of the congregation. The Board of Directors declared the congregation's allegiance to liberalized, Anglicized Judaism by passing a resolution to "sincerely congratulate the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun of Cincinnati and our brothers in this country, for possessing such an able advocate of the true principles of Judaism in the person of the said Dr. Wise."[25] On the recommendation of Rabbis Wise, Lilienthal and Raphael, Louis Kalisch, a German political refugee, was engaged as spiritual leader. With Wise he had summoned the first American rabbinical conference at Cleveland in 1855 and was co-author of the first American Reform prayerbook, the _Minhag America_.[26]

Midwestern Reform was not based on radical philosophy. While practice was modernized and shortened the political radicalism of Wise and other refugees from the Revolution of 1848 was moderated. There were two primary reasons. First, conditions in Europe had demanded a revolutionary philosophy; social equality in the United States satisfied these yearnings.[27] Second, since Jewish merchants desired

to emulate gentiles as closely as possible only the outward style of worship was of importance; orthodox doctrine and modern ritual was a satisfactory formula for both retaining support of their co-religionists and satisfying personal needs and yet proclaiming that Jews were eager to participate in the progress of American life.[28]

In 1869 thirty-five families, under the leadership of David Adler, seceded from B'ne Jeshurun and founded a completely Reform synagogue, Temple Emanu-El. English, rather than German, was used for preaching, men and women sat together, old traditions and rituals were brought into line with "modern" and "progressive" thinking.[29] But in spite of the differences between the two groups orthodoxy almost disappeared from Milwaukee between the 1860's and the 1880's. B'ne Jeshurun and Emanu-El fought for social prominence, not for religious orthodoxy. Temple Emanu-El won.[30]

The German Jews downplayed the distinctiveness of Judaism, the mysticism and the ceremonialism. They concentrated on moral imperatives--whether they bothered to practise them or not-- and proclaimed the modernity of their faith. The formula appealed to many. By 1880 in the United States Reform Judaism was the paramount religious organization among Jews; 250,000 Jews identified themselves with the synagogue, that is, with the Reform Temple.[31] In Milwaukee there were 750 Reform communicants

and their two congregations possessed a combined property valuation of ninety thousand dollars. The three small Orthodox synagogues together were valued at only three thousand dollars.[32] The influx of Eastern European Jews into Milwaukee after 1880, however, revived Judaism as a unique culture and religion.

In the 1880's and 1890's immigration from Eastern Europe was on a grander scale than ever before.[33] Milwaukee received her share of Jewish newcomers. In 1875 2,000 Hebrews were scattered amidst 90,000 Milwaukeeans. By 1895 the Jewish population had grown from 2,074 to about 7,000, in a city of some 265,000 souls or approximately 2.6 per cent of the inhabitants. Russian Jews, numbering between 2,500 and 3,000, comprised about 39 per cent of the Jewish Community.[34]

German Jews were convinced that their Eastern European cousins were strikingly different from themselves and not merely because of their later arrival in the United States. While the Germans were accustomed to city life, eager for a secular education and enterprising in business the Russians had been confined to the countryside and rural villages of the Pale of Settlement. Here they supposedly restricted their studies to the sacred texts and followed the advice of their rabbis with zealous faith. They possessed few material goods; the authorities demanded twenty-five years of army services from every

adult male; anti-Semitism erupted into violent, bloody pogroms. But unlike their Western European co-religionists the Russian Jews lived, until the late 1800's, in a homogeneous Jewish community which gave their lives a basic stability and inner security.[35] Each family possessed an assigned rank in the village hierarchy and every member knew his duties and privileges. But Zionism and socialism intruded and shook the foundations of orthodoxy. In the chaos of the American city the sheltered shtetl life was completely shattered. Drifting into the Haymarket district of Milwaukee, concentrated in the second and sixth wards where housing was cheap and factory jobs were close at hand, the Eastern European Jews desperately tried to ward off a hostile world by turning to social radicalism and Zionism or by clinging to their traditional standards.[36]

The Milwaukee Hebrew Relief Society, founded in 1867 to coordinate Hebrew charities, cooperated with the Russian Refugee Society in New York to relocate the newcomers. In 1882 the Milwaukee Russian Emigrant Association sought public support for the hundreds of immigrants sent inland from the coast.[37] David Adler, Philip Carpeles, A. W. Rich, Benjamin M. Weil and L. B. Schram directed activities to find shelter and employment. They may even have attempted to employ some young men in their factories. Plans to settle families on farms collapsed.[38]

A second wave of pogroms sustained rapid Eastern European immigration after 1900.[39] The Industrial Removal Society of New York tried to thin out the lower East Side by sending refugees to smaller cities. Three thousand and seven hundred arrived in Wisconsin between 1901 and 1917; 2,300 settled in Milwaukee.[40]

One day in June, 1882, 218 refugees arrived-- one immigrant for every 13 or 14 resident Jews.[41] The sudden, concentrated influx of aliens terrified Rabbi Moses and other leaders of the Jewish community. When the unexpected families arrived the Milwaukee Russian Relief Society sent a fiery telegram to headquarters in New York. "Two hundred and twenty-five refugees arrived yesterday," they complained. "No money or person here to provide for them. We are done and refuse to countenance England's shameful abuse of America's generous charity towards Europe's paupers. Our connection with you and the alliance is severed and our Society dissolved."[42] Europe, it seemed, was dumping its ignorant surplus population on the United States.

While admitting that they had once been strangers in a strange land Rabbi Moses and his congregants were convinced that the "new" immigrants would distort, if not destroy, the unique, American social fabric: democracy and equality would give way to despotism and degradation. By their efforts to distinguish the "old" adaptable

immigrants from the "new", unassimilated Russian refugees, Milwaukee's Reform Jews were questioning the ability of industrial, urban America to preserve successfully the national ideals.[43] They had participated willingly in building a prosperous Milwaukee and understood the possibilities of reaping rewards from an expanding population. But now these same Jews expressed defeatist attitudes about the viability of their creation when it faced hundreds of thousands of "Europe's paupers." The industrialized, urbanized society was far from being so affluent as to assume responsibility for solving the problems produced by mass migration.[44]

Many of Milwaukee's Reform Jews were first generation Americans but they never had to face the battles of the Russian Jewish immigrants. Time of arrival made the difference. The Germans held the best jobs, at times bossed their Russian cousins.[45] The earlier immigrants formed a natural aristocracy. But the Germans were now faced with the shocking images of what they had been forty years earlier and they chose to measure the Russian Jews by the American standards they had so quickly adopted. The editors of Der Zeitgeist, the Midwest's most respected Yiddish paper, were just as willing to apply ethnic stereotypes to Russian refugees as the Boston Brahmins had used against the Irish.[46] Not only were the aliens "half barbarians" but they were definitely of the "poorer

classes." Even if the Jewish aristocracy of Russia emigrated "their bearing, their language, their manners, and their religion would soon demonstrate that we are dealing not with persons of European education and culture, precisely because they are Russians....If the ancestors of the Russian Jews had remained in Germany, they would be quite different by now."[47] All those outside the German elite were condemned to servitude and ignorance. The Russian Jews had to adjust both to the secular, industrialized gentile world and the "superior", established Western European Jews.[48]

Because the German Jews of Milwaukee had come so far they feared the sudden drop into oblivion. In the alien Jewishness of the Eastern Europeans they saw threats to their economic and social well-being. The distinctiveness of the "Oriental" might trigger anti-Semitic attacks from the gentile majority. These outbursts would make no distinction between "semi-barbaric Asiatics" and "civilized" Jewish-Americans. Only through a systematic welfare program which stressed good citizenship and Americanization could the potential danger by averted. The Adlers, Neustadtls, Riches and Pereles had all accumulated experience in assisting the local needy prior to 1880;[49] now they connected their charitable impulses to the socialization of the immigrants. It was the duty of the older Jewish community to "humanize" the refugees

by eliminating all of their offending characteristics. At the same time Der Zeitgeist called for the imposition of the German pattern of behaviour on the newcomers it sought to lessen their alienation "so that they do not succumb in isolation." Concerned Reform Jews could act as mediators: they could lead the new arrivals into the outside world and explain the pecularities and needs of the Russian Jews--as they saw them-- to the American public.[50] The German Jews conceived their central problem in terms of integrating these Russian Jews into the Jewish community and the growing city of Milwaukee. Lizzie Black Kander set out to resolve this dilemma.

CHAPTER I FOOTNOTES

[1]Bayrd Still, Milwaukee, The History of a City, (Madison; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), pp. 28-9.

[2]Ibid., pp. 7-8, 107.

[3]Ibid., p. 197.

[4]Ibid., pp. 178-80.

[5]Ibid., p. 106, Milwaukee was chartered as a city on January 31, 1846. The census of 1850 recorded a population of 10,000 citizens.

[6]Bayrd Still, "Milwaukee, 1870-1900, The Emergence of a Metropolis," Wisconsin Magazine of History, XXIII, (1939), pp. 138-9; Still, Milwaukee, p. 257.

[7]Still, "Milwaukee, 1870-1900," pp. 150-60. Milwaukee had its share of industrial unrest. In 1886 between 10,000 and 12,000 Knights of Labor insisted on an eight hour day with no reduction in pay, and workers struck cigar manufacturers, printers and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad. The strikes failed when the governor sent in the state militia. Violence erupted; several were killed and scores wounded. See Gerd Korman, Industrialization, Immigrants, and Americanizers: The View From Milwaukee, 1866-1921, (Madison; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), pp. 55-58; Still, Milwaukee, pp. 291-96.

[8]Still, Milwaukee, p. 72.

[9]Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, The History of the Jews of Milwaukee, (Philadelphia; The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), pp. 466-68.

[10]Bernard D. Weinryb, "Jewish Immigration and Accomodation to America," in Marshall Sklare (ed.), The Jews, Social Patterns of an American Group, (Glencoe; The Free Press, 1958), pp. 11-15.

[11]Nathan Glazer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews, 1654-1954," American Jewish Year Book, LV1, (1955), pp. 6-7. Individual Jews had worked as fur traders and millers in Wisconsin as early as 1804 but they did not practise their religion nor form the basis for a Jewish community. See the Jewish Community Blue Book, Supplement for 1926, (Milwaukee; Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, 1926), pp. 7-10.

[12]Swichkow and Gartner, op.cit., pp. 9-12; Jacob Baron to Professor Guido Kisch, November 27, 1944, Jacob Baron Papers, Wisconsin Jewish Archives, Wisconsin State Historical Society. The overwhelming majority of Jews in Milwaukee who formed Congregation B'ne Jeshurun in 1855 were Bohemian. Among the families that were prominent in communal activities were Oplatka, Rindskopf, Schram, Patek, Herbst, Eckstein, Greenthal, Teweles, Karpeles, Pereles, Scheftels, all of Bohemian background.

[13]Isador S. Horwitz, Unpublished monograph prepared for the Centennial of the State of Wisconsin, 1948, in the archives of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, p. 5.

[14]Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America, (New York; The Macmillan Company, 1967), p.236; Nathan Glazer, American Judaism, (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 23-4.

[15]Oscar Handlin, Adventure in Freedom: Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America, (New York; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 7-9, 51-4, 95-7. Most of the present Jewish communities in the country were established by these small groups of German Jewish peddlars.

[16]See the National Cyclopedia of American Biography, (New York; James T. White and Company, 1900), X, p. 117.

[17]The American Israelite (Cincinnati), August 22, 1856, quoted in Swichkow, op. cit., p. 18. Isaac Neustadtl served as councilman from the second ward from 1852 to 1853, and Jews were nominated for County Treasurer and positions on the County Board of Supervisors. The Milwaukee Board of School Directors was particularly their own. For a complete list of civic offices held by Jews see Swichkow, op. cit., pp. 514-18.

[18]Notecard in the Jacob Baron Papers, box 3, Wisconsin Jewish Archives, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

[19]Korman, op. cit., pp. 15-16; Swichkow, op. cit., pp. 93-110.

[20]The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, (New York; Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., 1943), X, p. 534.

[21]Weinryb, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

[22]Jewish Community Blue Book of Milwaukee and Wisconsin, 1925, (Milwaukee; Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, 1925), pp. 19-22.

[23]Still, Milwaukee, pp. 92-3; Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, (New York; Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., 1942), VII, p. 565; Swichkow, op. cit., pp. 485-86; Jewish Community Blue Book, Supplement for 1926, p. 10

[24]Swichkow, pp. 48-9. When the congregation split in 1869 the membership had scarcely grown. Eighty families stayed with B'ne Jeshurun while forty went to Emanu-El.

[25]The Cincinnati Jewish Messenger, October 28, 1859, clipping in the Jacob Baron Papers.

[26]Bertram W. Korn, "Jewish 48'ers in America," American Jewish Archives, 11:1, (June, 1949), pp. 16-18.

[27]Ibid., Of the 50,000 German Jews who came to America between 1849 and 1860 Professor Korn has isolated only twenty-eight as genuine 48'ers.

[28]Ibid., pp. 16-19.

[29]Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, p. 566.

[30]Ibid., pp. 566-67; Blue Book 1925, pp. 31-2.

[31]Glazer, American Judaism, pp. 39, 60; H.S. Linfield, Statistics of Jews and Jewish Organization: Historical Review of Ten Censuses, 1850-1937, (New York; The American Jewish Committee, 1939), p. 14.

[32]Linfield, Statistics of Jews, pp. 29, 31, 39, 48, 63.

[33]Of the 20,000,000 immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth century over 16,000,000 arrived after the conclusion of the Civil War. See Robert H. Bremner, From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States, (New York; New York University Press, 1956), p. 11.

[34]Swichkow, op. cit., pp. 63-8; Blue Book 1925, p. 11.

[35]Weinryb, op. cit., p. 15.

[36]Glazer, American Judaism, pp. 60-2, 67; Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, VII, p. 566. For an interesting discussion of the factors holding all Eastern European Jews together see H. B. Grinstein, "The Efforts of East European Jewry to Organize its Own Community in the United States," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, XLIX, (December, 1959), pp. 74-6.

[37]Note in the Jacob Baron Papers, box 5; Still, Milwaukee, pp. 277-78.

[38]Card in the Jacob Baron Papers, box 5; Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, X, p. 534.

[39]For the statistical relationship of Jewish immigration to the total immigration from 1880 to 1910 see Samuel Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910, (New York; Longmans Green and Company, 1914), p. 117.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Swichkow, op. cit., p. 78.

[42]Der Zeitgeist (Milwaukee), August 31, 1882, quoted in Ibid., p. 86.

[43]Barbara M. Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants, A Changing New England Tradition, (New York; John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 198-200; Joseph, op. cit., pp. 132-48.

[44]Like other American minorities Jews formed groups to aid immigration or control that of their co-religionists. The Board of Delegates of American Israelites set the pattern for other Jewish organizations when, as early as 1870, its members claimed that the American Jewish community was financially incapable of caring for masses of immigrants in spite of its integral part in the American urban economy. The Jewish restrictionists were putting themselves in continual conflict with Jewish and non-Jewish liberals and European immigrant societies. See Esther Panitz, "The Polarity of American Jewish Attitudes towards Immigration," 1870-1891, American Jewish Historical Quarterly, LIII, (December, 1963), pp. 99-130.

[45]Weinryb, op. cit., pp. 18-9. The Eastern Europeans were primarily peddlars or factory workers. Many were active in the Socialist movement but the German Jews rarely involved themselves in radical protest. See Swichkow, op. cit., p. 240.

[46]Solomon, op. cit., pp. 152-75.

[47]Der Zeitgeist (Milwaukee), quoted in S. F. Bloom, "The Saga of America's 'Russian' Jews," Commentary, (February, 1946), p. 4; Weinryb, op. cit., pp. 16-8.

[48]Weinryb, pp. 5-8; Harold Silver, "The Russian Jew Looks at Organized Charity," in Robert Morris and Michael Freund (ed.), Trends and Issues in Jewish Social Welfare in the United States, 1899-1952, (Philadelphia; The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966), pp. 57-60.

[49]Blue Book 1925, pp. 75-7.

[50]Der Zeitgeist (Milwaukee), July 20, 1882, quoted in Swichkow, op. cit., p. 89.

CHAPTER II

THE CITY AND ITS PROBLEMS: A WOMAN'S VIEW

In 1844 John Black decided to sell his small farm in Green Bay, Wisconsin Territory. As a recent arrival from Germany he was still searching for a permanent home. Perhaps the farming life had proved too arduous and too lonely. Perhaps he was unable to support his growing family. It might have been that he had only held the farm for speculative purposes and sold out when genuine settlers clamored for his profitable land. He might even have bided his time until opportunities opened up in the more promising southeastern section of the Territory. His wife, the former Mary Pereles, had relatives there. In fact, she was a cousin of Nathan Pereles, aspiring lawyer and, by midcentury, one of the "Cream City's" most prominent and respected citizens. Such promising connections might have provided the final inducement to leave Green Bay. Whatever the reasons he quit the countryside and moved his family down into the thriving town at the mouth of the Milwaukee River. Settling in the South Side, the present lower northeastern section of the city, Black used the little capital he possessed to open a small dry goods shop. Milwaukee grew.

John Black achieved moderate success servicing the needs of citizens and transients alike.[1]

Elizabeth Black was born in Milwaukee on May 28, 1858, the fourth of six children. At four she was enrolled in school and was one of the first girls to attend the Fifth Ward School. The Blacks started her education early since her older brothers and sister could conveniently shepherd her back and forth to classes.[2] Although her father could provide a comfortable living for his family, as a young girl she occassionally worked in the store at 147 Reed Street, waiting on customers and learning how to keep books.[3] Salesladies in city stores were a rarity in the 1870's. Her parents refused to raise a genteel young lady; Lizzie Kander was definitely not going to live in a sheltered, pampered world.

Mobility and quick adjustments to new situations characterized Lizzie Black's youth. Her relatives were scattered throughout the eastern states. She was eager to meet them. At times she seemed to enjoy the travelling and the sights to be seen on the way more than the final destination. Touring with her mother by train from Milwaukee to Williamsport, New York in 1877 opened up a world beyond the "Cream City." In Chicago the two women stayed at the chic Palmer House in "a very fine room with Red Velvet furniture." The Brunswick Billiard House with its twenty-one tables was particularly exclaimed over.[4]

Although well-off the youthful traveller maintained a strict and precise budget; every penny must be well spent. Careful notes recorded the mileage and the cost of the trip per mile. Niagara Falls was "thrilling" but the salesmen were the "most importunate in trying to sell and charge exhorbitant prices for the most insignificant article." Her ideal was the honest merchant who possessed the integrity to charge only the just price in these days of slipshod goods.[5] Unfortunately we do not know if her relatives in Williamsport were worth the expense of the trip.

Since her father was a well-established businessman Lizzie Black was able to complete her studies at East High School at Van Buren and Division Streets, an opportunity few young women in the 1870's shared. Gifted with a strong mind[6] and a winning personality her classmates elected her valedictorian of the Class of 1878. A reporter for the Milwaukee News was convinced that the address was "the event of the evening...certainly the best satire on American politics I have listened to or read."[7] Sandwiched in between a speech extolling the Roman Forum and a soprano solo entitled "Summer Dreams", the valedictory, "When I am President", analyzed the sorry state of American affairs. "Our forefathers would turn over in their graves if they could see the ruin that is now impending." The young reformer denounced those few

individuals who were bribing elected representatives of the people so that the Congressmen would serve vested interests. This anti-democratic tactic could only be fought with complete overhauling of the civil service and higher renumeration for elected officials, the remedy endorsed by the national liberal Republicans six years later.

The United States was sliding down an isolationist path. When it did seek out foreign nations Washington was both irresponsible and aggressive. Commerce, "on which the very life of our nation depends," was almost destroyed, crumbling under the pressure of protectionist manufacturers who bribed Congressmen, set whatever prices they pleased regardless of the market laws of supply and demand and obliged the poor laborer to "give him [the manufacturer] his high prices, or sit down and make his own tools."

Education of America's youth was woefully inadequate. Either the subjects were so otherworldly that students were going about "boring people to death, with their endless knowledge of the synopithesidae, ulotrichi [and] rhinoseritidae" or they were so practical and "bread and butter" oriented that pupils became "sensible gentlemen of exchange... found [at any time of the day] at pool rooms, waiting patiently to hear the result of the last game of baseball." And women's reform groups were a dismal farce,

restricting talk to the wrongs and grievances which men inflicted upon them.[8]

Such irresponsible behavior was generating "so much trouble between the higher and lower classes of people." But the young speaker was no radical militant. While it was true that "the wealth of the nation is in the hands of a few individuals, who are accumulating more every day, while the poor are becoming more and more miserable," the situation was not hopeless. The system could be made to work equitably so that the "weak shall be protected at the same time that the rogues are kept out of mischief."[9] The problem was not seen as one of inevitable class conflict nor as a result of rapid, uncoordinated industrialization and urbanization. Rather the social turmoil was indicative of a moral collapse in all ranks of the body politic and a general willingness to escape personal responsibility for unrest by resorting to violence.[10] All problems were solvable if only the best men would come together in good faith to discuss rationally their supposed differences. A revival of the simple virtues would redirect Americans to a more cheerful, prosperous and healthy life. "Our men are forgetting," she concluded, "that truth, honesty, virtue and love are far more valuable to the happiness of mankind than extravagant modes of living."[11] She did not bother to define the substance of "truth, honesty, virtue and love." Perhaps the truths resembled the middle class

values of small but successful shopkeepers like her father.

Although condemning the corruption of modern life Lizzie Black saw no inherent evil in urban, industrial, capitalist America. Like many young people who later participated in the settlement house movement, her attitude to the city was ambivalent.[12] While appalled by the irresponsibility of civic leaders and the vice which flourished in the streets she was neither a country yokel nor a down-and-outer demanding a return to the pure, sweet Garden of Eden which was America's past. A city girl, she delighted in the many cultural activities and social events which Milwaukee had to offer. The speed, the breadth and the height of expansion were constant fascinations. The city and all its paradoxes were accepted as the central fact of the American scene.[13] If the city was evil and seductive it was also the paramount field for purposeful activity and the only arena for the ambitious. The choice was not between countryside and metropolis. Rather Americans must consciously choose the direction which they wanted their cities to take.

In 1881 Lizzie Black married Simon Kander and was given the opportunity to travel throughout the country.[14] Her husband, an enterprising, traveling clothing salesman, frequently took his wife on business trips. Her diary of an excursion to Mammoth Cave, Kentucky and New Orleans in 1884 illustrates the compulsive fascination which all

aspects of the surging American environment--not just the excitement of Milwaukee--stimulated in her and her flair for dramatizing the simplest experience. Life was perceived immediately through the senses. What she touched and what touched her, both physically and emotionally, were of greater importance and closer to truth than the cool impersonality of books and pictures and the passionless rationalism of teachers. She walked tirelessly through all the cities on the route, faithfully scribbling away impressionistic portraits of the art galleries and fruit markets, manicured parks, congested back alleys, grotesque cemeteries and Negro revival meetings.[15] Buildings were an especially revealing sign of the dynamics of any metropolis. She would judge the living standards of the city by the type of construction underway. The houses in Louisville were in a "poor state" and there were a "great many wholesale liquor houses." On the other hand, "in Chicago we saw a nine story brick structure looming up towards the sky almost putting the neighboring four and five story buildings to shame." She went on to observe that "the great, noisy, busy Chicago seems in its element. People are rushing pel-mel through the streets.... People complain of hard times. You would not think it was true if you would have seen the money that was spent in luxuries in just a few of the leading stores."[16] Everything was in action, particularly in the

booming cities, and Lizzie Kander joined the rush.

When traveling she sought out what appeared to be unexplored dangers and then marvelled at her great ability to triumph over all perilous obstacles. Delightful details described the trials encountered and the horror of the unknown. But terrors were meant to be overcome. She ploughed through them all, finally emerging exhausted yet exhilarated. Entering Mammoth Cave the young woman threaded her way through the Valley of Humiliation and the Corkscrew. At Echo Lake, a deep canyon in the cave, she refused to remain behind "all alone for ½ hour and so I concluded to go from the frying pan into fire." The plunge into the dark was rewarded with awesome beauty. "No words describe the awful silence, the majestic windings, the artistic hangings on the walls that are hidden in the palace under the ground."[17]

Lizzie Kander certainly possessed the energetic, driving curiosity which would have made settlement work in the chaotic immigrant neighborhoods of Milwaukee a dramatic challenge. Looking back on years of community service she thought herself "<u>afflicted</u> with an over abundance of Animal Spirits" which, thankfully, had taken an upward soar.[18] Domestic routine would have frustrated this energy. For women like herself who were middle class, overeducated and without a meaningful job in a rapidly changing environment settlement work served as a safety

valve; it was as much a need of well-off women in order that they might develop a sense of self-worth as a response to the degradations of the slums. There women could fulfill their needs for self-expression in roles which society sanctioned since such activity was basically the extension of the functions of the wife in a middle class household into the environment of the immigrant poor. By acting as socializers of aliens comfortable American women were presented with a worthwhile responsibility which, while it moved them beyond the narrow confines of the family, did not fundamentally alter the accepted values of the American way of life and the woman's traditional role as wife and mother in that value system.[19] Moreover, the social obligation to do good which education thrust upon these women would force them into action, Mrs. Kander felt, and the sooner the better. For American women were in the vanguard of "enlightenment and...progress, studying & familiarizing ourselves with the conditions of our Public Schools, & trying to raise the educational, the industrial, the social standards we now occupy in the civilized world. If we can sit quietly by and see little children grow up in our midst without schooling, without any knowledge of law and order, what evil consequences to ourselves, to our beloved country can we not forsee [sic]."[20] While conservatives tried to keep women--the protectors of the

nation's highest ideals--on a pedestal in order to save them from the contamination of the world, Mrs. Kander felt that these virtues both protected and demanded women's participation in, rather than isolation from, the world.[21] It was almost as if she were proclaiming that only women could rehabilitate America.

The essential drama of America was not found in the wilderness (it was 1890 and the Census Bureau solemnly memorialized the passing of the frontier) nor in the business community despite the exhausting, profitable adventures of Rockefeller and Carnegie. On the contrary, it was "being daily enacted in the Ghetto of the Jewish Quarter of the City. The city is ripe with heros [sic] and heroines, who are struggling against poverty and prejudice, against ignorance and vice." Mrs. Kander marvelled at that "wonderful strength of character which these people displayed...in spite of the hardships heaped upon them, in spite of the oppression."[22] All women sympathetic to the poor were encouraged to "enter its [the ghetto's] unique atmosphere, ramble through its dirty alleys, climb its rickety stairs, descend to its damp basement." Laboring in the wilderness of the slums Lizzie Kander could participate in the most meaningful human experience, the struggle for survival among the poor.[23]

Involvement in settlement work, however, was intended not merely to satisfy the needs of an energetic, mis-educated, middle class wife. Lizzie Kander possessed strong religious convictions although rejecting the pious faith of the Russian Jews of the ghetto. Her parents were pioneer members of Milwaukee's Temple Emanu-El, the Reform congregation. She had worked in the Temple's young adult charity organizations. True religion, as conceived by Reform Jews, was based on insight into worthwhile, positive, human desires and the formulation of means to fulfill these demands--it was action and world oriented rather than directed towards the intellectual abstractions of the theological seminary.[24] The religious experience projected this truth into the beneficial development of every human being and of society. The individual could better himself if only all the artificial, irrational barriers to self-expression were removed from his path; if conditions could be created in which people could think well of themselves they could realize their potential. Traditional creeds and mystical rites were of secondary importance. The rejection of a personal God and the nationhood of the Jews as the Chosen People implied the supremacy of the ethical standard in order that the promise of American life would be realized for the masses of men.[25] Among those who held this position was Felix Adler,[26] founder of the non-sectarian Ethical

Culture movement which drew many of its adherents from amongst Reform Jews. Upon hearing Adler in Milwaukee in 1896 Mrs. Kander detected a kindred spirit. When the Jewish moralist from New York defined the dimensions of the ideal society she felt that the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, of which she was president, was working towards that goal using Adler's system of applied ethics: "With hearts and souls and willing hands we are ever ready to do Service for Humanity!!"[27]

While we may accept Mrs. Kander's idealism and genuine concern, her motives were more complex. At the same time that she acknowledged that the struggle for survival among the poor was the motive force behind American progress she was acutely aware that the poor were Russian Jewish immigrants; the picture which they presented to the gentile world posed a real danger to the established, affluent German Jewish population.[28] She observed little children peddling matches downtown, ignorant women incapable of asking for their purchases in English, uneducated, dirty men hawking their wares throughout the city. They all reflected miserably on the German Jewish community. "These misfortunate, shiftless, ignorant, poverty stricken brethern" threatened the enlightened, civilized and progressive classes.[29] The German Jews could not isolate themselves from the poor; they could not escape their Russian cousins.

Slums and well-trimmed lawns were only short blocks apart and small pox epidemics in the tenements flashed around the city. What affected the slums was bound to spread through the city, oblivious to the personal wishes of the more fortunate citizens.[30]

Her greatest fear was the revival of anti-Semitism. If the Jewish elite did not "rise in a body, through [sic] aside wealth & pride & station & bring about a better state of affairs" they would have only themselves to blame for the future.

> We must be careful lest history again repeats itself and the outcome of all these religious wars, again culminate [sic] in the persecution of the Jews.
>
> Just because we are Jews our lives and actions must be above reproach. We must be more honorable, more straightforward than any other nationality.
>
> We must try and uplift our downtrodden and unfortunate brethren, not alone for their own sakes and for that of humanity but for the protection and reputation of our own nationality.
>
> Their misdeeds reflect directly on us and every one of us individually ought to do all in his power, to help lay the foundation of good citizenship in them.[31]

Little was said about securing the respect of "our unfortunate brethren." The unjustified fear of anti-Semitic attacks[32] directed against the "better class"--the German Jewish community--produced a form of Jewish self-disgust which focused on the Eastern European immigrants. Without examining the truth of the accusation or the objective reality of the ghetto existence Lizzie Kander proclaimed

the duty of Milwaukee's well-off Jews to refine the refugees, to wipe out their ignorant, crude natures. Now commenced the conscious effort to build a rational, coordinated welfare program to uplift and Americanize the refugees and preserve and strengthen national ideals.

The Jewish community required rebuilding. The German-American Jews had to devise ways which would permit the Russian refugees mobility upward without threatening their own security. The interests of both Jewish sectors, Mrs. Kander declared, were compatible. "Our problem is that of the normal human being, to work with him and for him that he may remain normal... The problem is that of the emigrant who must in the shortest time learn our language, our laws, our customs, in order to obtain suitable work and become an honorable self-respecting citizen."[33] It was assumed that the Russian newcomers wanted advancement within the present framework of the American system; they were consumers of established values rather than producers of their own. Such rationalization assured that no other social structure was possible or necessary. Therefore, the goal could be achieved in the foreseeable future if reformers now entered into the day-by-day struggle.

If the poor immigrants remained physically and socially isolated they would accentuate and strengthen their cultural apartness and become the major hindrance

to the achievement of the integrated American community. Mrs. Kander's blue prints denied that this community would be pluralistic. The potential richness of the new urban environment was overlooked. For the refugees were in an abnormal condition. Their culture was not viable in America. Her policy was essentially one of well-intentioned conservatism, and its patronizing style was pronounced. As a settlement worker Lizzie Kander sought to bring the foreign-born poor into the middle class, to spread her Anglicized standards of normalcy and right living[34] to those at the bottom of the economic and social pile.

In 1878 Lizzie Black discovered poverty. Winter had blown in early and severe snowstorms and cold plagued Milwaukeeans. The newspapers were full of grizzly stories about freezing temperatures in the tenements and the threadbare clothing of the ill-fortunate. In response to these tales of horror--written just as much to sell papers as provoke serious discussion--Mrs. Rosa Rich, wife of the prominent businessman, A. W. Rich, and a member of Temple Emanu-El, requested that a group of women affiliated with the Temple be allowed to work with the Hebrew Relief Society which was swamped with charity cases. The offer was immediately accepted and Mrs. Rich founded the Ladies Relief Sewing Society to provide warm, utilitarian clothing for needy children. Fifty ladies,

including Lizzie Black, decided to turn their social hour to more constructive purposes and pledged themselves to render "aid to the poor and afflicted." The tradition of women's service associations was not new to Milwaukee. German Jewesses had organized the United Order of True Sisters, a nationwide charitable society, in New York City in 1846. It was probably after this group that Mrs. Rich modelled her own agency.[35] By 1885 the Society was one of the largest welfare organizations in the city; two hundred women supplied about forty families with clothing and bedding, raised funds from dances and strawberry festivals for Russian Jewish refugees and supported the Associated Charities and the Catholic Franciscan Hospital.[36]

Because poverty--the inability to provide for heavy, serviceable coats and pants--was tied to the crisis of abnormal weather conditions the ladies' response to want was simple and naive. The complicated and taxing problems of urban growth, the expansion of the factory system and the unanticipated arrival of thousands of European immigrants merited little attention in their schemes. For poverty was transitory, the result of sudden, unnatural circumstances. Certain individuals suffered from the cold and other individuals should give assistance. Poverty was a community problem but individual humanitarians could solve it by coming forward with the

needed supplies.

With the return of spring warm clothes were discarded. Poverty, however, stayed on. The Sewing Society continued its activities, diligently clothing dirty children and explaining to parents, who lacked the necessary resources, the importance of an education for their children.

Although elected to the presidency of the Society in 1895 Lizzie Kander was disssatisfied, along with city charity workers, with the ladies' work. The Hebrew Relief Society complained that "the ladies are frequently imposed upon by such applicants, who are professional and unworthy beggars, upon whom they have wasted their sympathy as well as large sums of money."[37] In particular, Mrs. Kander noted that "on account of the hard times and the prevalence of contagious diseases in the city, we have perhaps been a little more lenient towards our poor applicants than we otherwise would have been. Be that as it may, I am almost sure that this giving for nothing is doing them more harm than good." Pity for the poor only nourishes pauperism so that the Society was "assisting a lot of miserable beggars."

A system of charity based on almsgiving was bound to fail. Although the Society had helped fifty-eight families become self-supporting in 1895 poverty was so pervasive and its causes were so complicated that a wider,

more comprehensive, preventative program of welfare was required. "What church, what society, what outsider can support any person or family decently, when misfortune, poverty and debt has [sic] already dragged them down! And what unnecessary exposures of sacred family affairs, what humiliations do they call forth."[38]

Almsgiving was unsatisfactory. Too little money was spread among too many people. Cravings were aroused which were deprived satisfaction. Charity failed to energize the motive of self-help and robbed men of their dignity. "Since liberty and independence are necessary to our happiness; develop our best & noblest natures welfare policies must be independent of the cold charity of the world." With dependence on the dole "the seeds of pauperism are planted far and wide." The proper philanthropy policy not only "condemns the abandonment of the sick or aged and insists upon kindness to these and also to the poor and unfortunate" but gets "the recipient of relief on his feet as soon as possible, thus enabling him again to be a bread winner instead of an alms receiver."[39] The "new" welfare program involved a conscious effort to catch the potential poor before they fell.

In order to place families on what she considered a strong financial footing Lizzie Kander proposed to make a virtue of a supposed Jewish vice. It was a "proud

distinction" that "tradition has painted us as proverbial for our skill in money making. Money is power, is necessary for the advancement of civilization, art & science."[40] The amount of wages that a laborer earned was not the key to prosperity; the amount of wages which he saved determined success. If the immigrants could accumulate money in a systematic and scientific fashion the ghetto walls might crumble.[41] Not that the factory workers and street peddlars were ignorant of the merits of saving. On the contrary, "it would astonish even the editors of the Ladies Home Journal to see... [on] how little money a working man's family can live and thrive." In one family the father earned $1.25 a day. These wages were never touched. Two boarders were taken in at $10 a month. Unfortunately, the strain was too much. The wife was married to her third husband, drunkards all, and the son was heading in the same direction.[42] The people saved but their methods were so irrational that the family failed to raise either its living standards or morale. Unbusiness-like savings habits perpetually isolated even the enterprising poor from the wealthier citizens. A loan company which drew the immigrants upward would effectively broaden the base of the middling classes without lowering living standards.

The first cooperative loan company in Milwaukee had failed. Mrs. Kander attributed the collapse to the

close connections maintained with charity. The proper workmen's loan company treated the pledgors as a self-respecting class, allowing them to borrow on business terms rather than accept the degrading dole. The company would assist "large number of needy people and at the same time [earn] a fair profit for its shareholders."[43] Mrs. Kander backed A. L. Salstine, president of the Hebrew Relief Society, who was about to start the Provident Loan Society of Milwaukee.[44] The Society intended to sell 1,000 shares at $50 per share; interest rates were set at 10 per cent per annum. The Provident Loan Society would drive loan sharks out of business, confine socialist measures "incompatible with our American institutions" to Europe and force a cut in atrociously high interest rates.[45]

Because of the attitudes which they supposedly fostered--self-help, independence and business initiative--Lizzie Kander established a savings bank in the Settlement, Milwaukee's Jewish settlement house, in 1901. The loan companies, however, were an unrealistic attempt to broaden the middle class base. Total savings never surpassed $1,685.74 and most depositors were children.[46] Few in the Haymarket ghetto could make regular deposits or afford to take out loans even when the interest rate was set at one-half the legal maximum. Loan companies appealed more to men who were steadily employed on their

way up the business ladder than those still left at the bottom. The amount of wages earned most definitely determined the amount of wages saved. But Lizzie Kander was no economist. The loan association in place of the dole and the "cold hand" of charity was only a small part of her new welfare policy.

The poor were also immigrants. It was in the immigrant experience that Lizzie Kander discovered the depths of poverty. Merely by walking through the ghetto she knew that its inhabitants were "poor". Dilapidated tenements overhung alleys, threadbare clothing hung loosely on lean bodies. Although the Haymarket was a poverty area because its standard of living did not match that of genteel society on North Ninth Street destitution was much more than the absence of beauty, comfort and warmth. It was a psychological and emotional condition which had eaten into the spirit of the newcomers; it prevented them from participating in the obvious progress and prosperity of America. Mrs. Kander did not equate this stifling traditionalism with personal degeneracy. Separatism and clannishness were symptomatic of the trauma which afflicted "some of our poor, who are so disheartened and discouraged, having been robbed of all of their worldly possessions, driven from their homes and forced in their advanced years & with large families to start life anew--in a strange land--amidst new people, who

could not even understand their language." The immigrant poor were "the direct result of tyranny and oppression, of the persecutions that have been heaped upon them from generation to generation."[47] The dole failed because it could not release the immigrants from their perpetual bondage to a culture of poverty.

If Lizzie Kander was unwilling to manipulate the financial laws of capitalist society she had no reservations about readjusting the values of the Eastern European immigrants even if this meant destroying the family unit. As long as the Russian Jews failed to identify with the promise of American life they would remain incapable of enjoying its rewards. Mrs. Kander recognized that the immigrants were at the center of the struggle for survival, the dynamic force in American progress. They were fighting at the lowest and therefore the most important level of human experience.[48] Just because they were fighting, however, was no reason to allow their outmoded, traditional and inefficient values to survive. The immigrants, as the settlement worker saw them, were not struggling according to the American rules. While the factory system and financial disabilities may have forced the newcomers into poverty the Haymarket residents were condemning themselves to lives of impotence. The parochial, static community ideals of Russia were a deadweight, dragging on the dynamic,

individualistic, progressive, generating forces of the United States.

The adults had suffered enough; a helping hand and encouraging words of advice from the concerned would soothe the pain.[49] But the foreign children were to be liberated from the confining attitudes of their parents. In the thorough Americanization of youth lay the end of the immigrant--and separate--status. "To keep him [the child] off the streets, to shorten his idle moments, to have his mind and hands constantly busy, doing something useful or beautiful must lessen his chances for vice and immorality and cultivate in him a love & respect for work that shall make him a useful and honorable citizen, a credit to the community."[50] The road to normalcy was neither charity nor revolution but, in the last analysis, education.

The emphasis which Mrs. Kander placed on education suggests that she wanted the old habits and beliefs of the Russian refugees completely and immediately eradicated. There was great danger in counting on the fading away of parochial values over time. If the cultural patterns of the children were not subjected to radical overhauling the ranks of the permanent poor would swell and violence would destroy the nation.[51]

Like the alchemist, Lizzie Kander believed that she could transform the poor into rich, the lowly into leaders,

the dangerous into the respectable. Her program was not unrealistic since it followed from her conviction that "in this--Our Beloved Country--Truth, Honesty & Industry are always respected. The poorest and the simplest man can rise to the foremost rank."[52] Moreover, she had convinced herself that the primary cause of poverty was grounded in the immigrant experience. Therefore, she had only to discover a method whereby the immigrant child could be transformed into the American citizen. That agency was the settlement house.

CHAPTER II FOOTNOTES

[1]The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle (Milwaukee), July 26, 1940; John Simons to Lizzie Black Kander, May 3, 1937, Lizzie Black Kander Mss., Milwaukee County Historical Society. The Kander family was never poverty stricken nor did the children fit the rags-to-riches Horatio Alger stereotype which The Chicago American employed to characterize Herman Black, Lizzie's brother and the recently deceased publisher of that paper and chairman of the board of the Evening American Publishing Company. November 9, 1935.

[2]The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle (Milwaukee), July 26, 1940.

[3]Mrs. Alex P. Greenthal to Alex Erlebacher, November 15, 1959.

[4]Diary of a trip to Williamsport, June 19, 1877 to July 6, 1877, LBK papers.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Her report card for June, 1877 shows grades of 96 in German, 93 in Chemistry, 93 in Rhetoric, 92 in History and 90 in English Literature. Report Card, June 29, 1877, Lizzie Black Kander Mss., Milwaukee County Historical Society.

[7]The Milwaukee News, June 28, 1878, clipping in LBK papers.

[8]Ibid.; Graduating Address, June 27, 1878, typescript, LBK papers.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Violence only polarized forces; this was the lesson of the Civil War. "It must be a sign of barbarism," she wrote, "where people can not settle disputes or rights without resorting to such terrible means. No wonder that men become hardened after war if they had to witness or take part in such incidences." For Lizzie Kander hardening of the heart was the cardinal sin. Diary of a trip to Mammoth Cave and New Orleans, December 15 to December 31, 1884, LBK Papers.

[11]Graduation Address, June 27, 1878, LBK Papers.

[12]Allen F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914, (New York; Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 23; Robert Bremner, From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States, (New York; New York University Press, 1956), pp. 16-8.

[13]Davis, Spearheads for Reform, p. 10; Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America, (The Macmillan Company; New York, 1967), pp. 232-44.

[14]Simon Kander was born in Baltimore and moved to Milwaukee in 1868 where he was employed as a traveling salesman for a clothing firm. He eventually established his own mortgage and real estate office. In the late 1880's he was involved in a scheme to exploit mines in the Lake Superior region but he made little profit. From 1893 to 1897 he served on the Milwaukee Board of School Directors and from 1907 to 1909 he was a state representative. He was active in the Wisconsin Association for the Blind and the Wisconsin Old Settlers Club.

[15]Diary of a trip to Mammoth Cave, 1884, LBK Papers, In New Orleans Mrs. Kander went with twelve white people to a colored church. "Well, the poor preacher did not know what he was saying, neither did we. He was terribly frightened. They sang & prayed very devoutly. We all contributed a little towards the funds and pleased the brethren and sisters so much that after Church they got together and sang a lot of plantation songs together in high style."

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid.

[18]The Evolution of the Husband, unpublished monograph, (1907?), LBK Papers.

[19]William L. O'Neill, The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England, (London; George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969), pp. 43, 49.

[20]Friendly Visiting Among the Truants, unpublished monograph, 1891, Lizzie Kander Mss., Milwaukee County Historical Society.

[21]Aileen S. Kraditor (ed.), Up From the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism, (Chicago; Quadrangle Books, 1968), introduction; O'Neill, op. cit., p. 53.

[22]Report of the President to the Business Meeting of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1896, LBK Papers; The Greatest Issue of the Day, unpublished monograph, 1895?, LBK Papers; Friendly Visiting Among the Poor, unpublished monograph, 1898, LBK Papers.

[23]In similar fashion Jane Addams and Lillian Wald went to work in the worst slums they could find, the former in the 19th ward in Chicago, the latter on Henry Street in New York City.

[24]Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type, (New York; Vintage Books, 1967), p. 11.

[25]Arthur Mann, Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age, (Cambridge; Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 61-3.

[26]National Cyclopedia of American Biography, (New York; James T. White and Company, 1933), XXIII, pp. 98-100.

[27]Annual Report of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, January 2, 1896, LBK Papers. Tzedakah (righteous giving) was (and is) a major principle of Jewish social welfare. Anonymously and with humility Jews were required to provide for the poor. Reform Jews and the Ethical Culture movement shifted the emphasis from personal piety which Tzedakah implied to social redemption. Welfare work was to be a strong instrument of reform and social amelioration. Therefore, indiscriminate charity, giving to the undeserving poor, was an evil which only retarded community progress. Milwaukee's Hebrew Relief Society had attempted to systematize all Jewish charities in 1880, in part to eliminate "the so-called professional beggars, who are too indolent and too lazy to care for their own support, and who prefer to trust to Providence, and to their benevolent co-religionists than to use their own energies for the purpose of elevating themselves to a higher sphere of life than perpetual pauperism and who make it a point to always get all they can wherever they can." Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner, The History of the Jews of Milwaukee, (Philadelphia; The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), pp. 501-02; Oscar Handlin, Adventure in Freedom: Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America, (New York; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954), p. 150.

[28]Christopher Lasch has outlined many of the paradoxes which ran through the numerous policies of the social reformers of all hues as they attempted to bring order out of social chaos. For instance, while celebrating the immigrants' instinctual life they sought means of controlling and adjusting these instincts to social demands which then prevailed. Lasch, op. cit., pp. 141-80.

[29]Friendly Visiting Among the Poor, unpublished monograph, 1897, LBK Papers.

[30]Bremner, op. cit., p. 6.

[31]Friendly Visiting Among the Poor; Fourth Annual Report of the President of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, March 27, 1900; The Greatest Issue of the Day; all in the LBK Papers.

[32]In the 1890's there was no concerted anti-Semitism either voiced or practised by Milwaukee's gentile community.

[33]Annual Report of the President of the Settlement, March 27, 1901, LBK Papers.

[34]When the Abraham Lincoln House, successor to The Settlement was dedicated in 1912, reporters wrote that the program of the past two decades was devoted to the development "of habits of order, promptness, neatness, unselfishness, respect for authority, in fact, all attainments for right thinking and right living." The Milwaukee Free Press, November 10, 1912. These values are ones traditionally associated with the catch-all phrase "Protestant Ethic." I have been unable to discover how the Russian immigrants felt about this socialization program.. Their children attended the clubs and classes, the major activities at the house, and many adults availed themselves of the baths. Unfortunately their newspapers were printed in Yiddish.

[35]Rebekah Kohut, "Jewish Women's Organizations," American Jewish Year Book (1931), XXXIII, pp. 169-70.

[36]Jewish Community Blue Book of Milwaukee and Wisconsin, 1925, (Milwaukee; Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, 1925), pp. 77, 125; The American Hebrew (Cincinnati), April 9, 1886, clipping in the LBK Papers; The Progress (Milwaukee), May 1, 1879, clipping in the LBK Papers; Swichkow, op. cit., p. 219. The Progress was the young adult's paper of Temple Emanu-El.

[37]Quoted in Norman Gill, "The Early History of Jewish Social Service Work in Milwaukee," Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, October 31, 1947.

[38]President's Report of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, January 3, 1895; LBK Papers.

[39]Why Should a Man or Woman Insure, unpublished monograph, 189?, LBK Papers; Annual Report of the President of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, January 2, 1896, LBK Papers; Friendly Visiting Among the Poor, 1898, LBK Papers.

[40]The Greatest Issue of the Day, unpublished monograph, n.d., LBK Papers.

[41]Savings and Loans Among the Poor, unpublished monograph, (1897?), LBK Papers.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Swichkow, op. cit., p. 229.

[45]Savings and Loans Among the Poor, (1897?), LBK Papers.

[46]Annual Report of the President of The Settlement, March 27, 1910, LBK Papers.

[47]Annual Report of the President of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, January 2, 1896; Fourth Annual Report of the President of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1900, both in the LBK Papers.

[48]Annual Report of the President to the Business Meeting of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1896, LBK Papers.

[49]Annual Report of the President of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, 1896, LBK Papers.

[50]Fourth Annual Report of the President of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1900; Our Philanthropy Policy, unpublished monograph, 1907, both in the LBK Papers.

[51]Our Philanthropy Policy, 1907, LBK Papers.

[52]Annual Report of the President of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, 1896, LBK Papers.

CHAPTER III

LIZZIE BLACK KANDER AND THE SETTLEMENT

Young American students, traveling around Europe in the late nineteenth century, imported the settlement idea and sang its praises throughout the United States. Many were graduates of theological seminaries who appreciated the settlement's possibilities for formulating and implementing a positive program of Christian ethics and morality in the chaos of the modern world. Young women, gadding about the Continent on the Grand Tour, suddenly discovered an occupation which promised a meaningful, active life.[1] Toynbee Hall, founded in London in 1884, served as model for the neighborhood houses which sprang up in the 1880's and 1890's in the swiftly industrializing American cities.

The beginnings of modern Jewish social work were a part of the general development of twentieth century American welfare techniques.[2] Affected by the nation-wide forces of urbanization, industrialization and immigration native Jewish welfare workers were drawn to adopt the settlement scheme and adapt it for their own specific requirements. There were but four Jewish settlements in 1895. By 1910 at least twenty-four were

opened for community service. New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, San Fransisco and Milwaukee all boasted large, flourishing centers.[3] Jewish leaders acknowledged their indebtedness to the general settlement house. Like gentile workers they addressed themselves to the basic problems of the poor, the betterment and possible elimination of slums and the education of the needy for self-improvement.[4]

The Eastern European refugees, however, distrusted and despised the non-Jewish settlements; the Christian workers might lure their children into conversion. The Hebrew leaders reasoned that their Jewish-operated--though non-sectarian--neighborhood house would successfully reconcile and perhaps synthesize the values of the Russian immigrant community and the American citizenry. In the settlement house natives and aliens alike could work out a viable American-Jewish identity. Yet the settlement people were firm believers in American "progress." They wanted to impress upon the newcomers the standards of a life which was "broader than Judaism."[5] While refraining from overt attacks upon orthodoxy, settlement workers could infiltrate the ghetto and hopefully impress upon its inhabitants the basic ideals of American democracy. Thus, by functioning as mediators between the native and alien communities and interpreting one to the other, the settlement workers, in fact, were

accepting responsibility for speaking for the newcomers and at the same time changing the values which those people held.

As the influx of Russian Jews complicated relief work in Milwaukee and the depression of 1893 heavily increased the number of names on the poor rolls, the officers of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society slowly began to question their purpose and methods. While working on the truancy committee of the South Side School Alliance Mrs. Kander discovered immigrant children in the second and sixth wards who could not attend school because they lacked sufficient clothing. As President of the Sewing Society in 1894 she proclaimed her group responsible for "clothing a lot of dirty poor little children and their mothers."[6] Although it was a comparatively easy task to supply these wants--the Sewing Society had been in operation for fifteen years-- the real problem, the President maintained, went far beyond the clothing of the naked and feeding the hungry. Sewing clothing in the privacy of her own home seemed right and proper in the 1880's. She had joined the Sewing Society in 1879 prior to the great influx of Russian immigrants and for the next dozen years there was no catacylsmic economic crisis. But her work as truant officer from 1890 to 1893 took her into the distressing homes of the poor, and the depression of 1893 exposed the weakness of the accustomed charity policy.

Now it was necessary for the women of the Sewing Society to find some effective means "to properly care for the children and the household, while parents who [,] unable to understand our language and entirely out of time with existing conditions in this country [,] were both out all day struggling to earn enough to keep their family together."[7] The attack must be carried on two fronts. Children had to attend school so that they might learn and adopt American habits and ideals. The family, accepted as the basic unit of social stability, had to be protected and strengthened. The poverty from which the immigrants suffered was much more than the lack of essential, physical needs. It involved a multitude of other social scourges which crushed human decency, distorted character and bred corruption and degeneration.[8] At a meeting of the Woman's School Alliance, an organization interested in the welfare of the public schools, Lizzie Kander privately resolved to broaden the Society's activities. For "... a prominent woman from the 6th Ward reported that so many Jews were moving into that neighborhood, their children were overcrowding the school, and they were so untidy, that they were driving out the better class of children." Inflamed by such reports, whether valid or not, she made up her mind to "...do more than feed, clothe and shelter our unfortunate brethren."[9]

In the spring of 1895 the Jewish Americanizer called together a small group of interested women. They gathered about one hundred of "these little waifs" and proceeded to form the Keep Clean Mission. Almost all of the women involved had received high school diplomas and married successful merchants or professionals. None had lived in the slum ghetto of the Haymarket district and few had any direct experience in working with the Russian immigrants. This was completely irrelevant as far as Lizzie Kander was concerned. Precisely because they were "Women of Refinement and Education" the ladies were of importance in the socialization process of the alien children.[10] The founder of the Mission placed great faith in teaching by examples. The Jewish matrons would serve as signposts of deportment. The children would look up to them as ideal types, deserving of imitation and emulation. Because the Milwaukee and German Jewish communities evaluated behavior in terms of respect for and performance of the virtues of middle class morality, what better symbols than middle class, assimilated Jewish women! They wore clean clothes, received a public education, were devoted wives and mothers and diligently performed their duties towards those less fortunate.[11] For the women, manners were a display of character in action, the highest stage of social development. For the children, they were a set of rules which, once learned,

made the aliens indistinguishable from the urban, middle classes.[12]

Moreover, the ladies bore responsibilities which they owed society. Although they had not attended college they were, as a group, educated above the general standards of most Milwaukee women. Knowledge without positive action was wasteful, anti-social and irrelevant.[13] Lizzie Kander went on to castigate her friends for their abundance of promises and lack of action. Had the women been other than Reform Jews this plea for moral implementation of ethical imperatives might have gone unheeded. For in orthodoxy the woman's place was definitely in the home and she was excluded from participation in ritual and in synagogue functions. Reform Judaism, on the other hand, preached the oneness of humanity and demanded from women the same high ethical standards that were expected from men. There was no acceptable rationale for devoting all one's time exclusively to the family. In the extended family situation of the mission house the women of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society enthusiastically fulfilled the ideals of their faith without tampering with their traditional roles in society. There, Lizzie Kander, perhaps, may have found the children she and her husband never had.

The move from charity work to a comprehensive settlement program was slow and piece-meal.[14] The stated aim of the Mission duplicated that of the Sewing Society:

"to see that the children of our poor be kept clean and sent to school regularly."[15] In the vestry room of Temple Emanu-El the Mission women organized weekly meetings and entertainments, and "incidentally...preached the Gospel of order and cleanliness." The ladies were responding in a tentative manner to the problems of welfare needs in Milwaukee. Lizzie Kander recognized that sturdy clothing was not enough and that sermonettes on clean living were useless for boisterous, inquisitive youngsters. The response of the children was less than enthusiastic. "We might still be playing and preaching," the President confessed, "if some of the youngsters hadn't insisted on doing something."[16] Playing games was a waste of time for both the children and the Mission workers. The former could spend their time more productively in the streets (and avoid the harangues) while the later were losing their chance to adjust the immigrant youth to American standards. New techniques were required to inculcate the old virtues of order, industry, cleanliness and loyalty.

In March, 1896, positive action to rehabilitate the Mission commenced. At a meeting of the Study Circle of the Council of Jewish Women Lizzie Kander organized the Milwaukee Jewish Mission. A program of painting, woodcarving and clay modeling kept the boys occupied while embroidery, knitting, crocheting and sewing interested the girls.[17] The Mission expanded into two more rooms in Temple Emanu-El.

The use of the Temple for simple craft work had not originated in Milwaukee. The women may have heard of the Ladies Auxiliary of Temple Sinai in Chicago which started to conduct sewing classes in the vestry in 1884.[18]

Lizzie Kander had organized the Mission. She now sought to direct mobilization of all possible sources of financial support. Simon Kander, her husband, dealt in real estate and had numerous contacts and friends in Milwaukee's business district. With this in mind the Milwaukee Division of the Council of Jewish Women, the titular founder of the Mission, appointed her chairman of the Philanthropic Committee in order to tap the city's business elites. In an effort to keep channels of aid continually flowing she cultivated the altruism and vanity of those who responded to the charitable impulse with some degree of frequency: citizens who contributed an annual sum to the house fund became honorary members.[19]

As financial support grew it became necessary to formalize the organization. A superb bureaucrat Mrs. Kander wrote out the constitution for the Mission and secured the appointment of several prominent businessmen to the Board of Directors.[20] She was President of the Board and Director of the Mission. The Sentinel attributed Mrs. Kander's success to the contributions of "men and women who believe that continual almsgiving is pauperizing in its effects and that the only solution of

the problem of the poor lies in the right education of the children."[21] Backed by a strong institutional framework the settlement leader hoped to consolidate and expand the Mission's program of manual training. The Mission was a respected community agency. Newspaper editors and school principals and teachers acted as broadcasters for her goals.[22] By acknowledging that the Milwaukee Jewish Mission performed a legitimate, beneficial social function the leaders of the Milwaukee community certified that the settlement was a repository of expert knowledge on the subject of immigrants and their Americanization. Lizzie Kander could rest assured that she had gained the respect of "our fellow citizens."

The object of the Mission, according to Mrs. Kander, was "to provide gratuitous instruction in industrial pursuits and to employ such other educational methods as shall conduce to the welfare and happiness of its fellow beings."[23] Hopes were high that industrial training would solve many perplexing problems. The child might learn a useful, self-supporting occupation and successfully escape the drudgery of peddling and unskilled labor in the factories. Industrial education also served a much nobler purpose. It was instrumental in encouraging the spiritual development of the child. The settlement director asserted that it "awakens her [a young girl's] powers, draws out her talents, leads her thoughts into healthy channels and

influences her mental and moral character."[24]

Assuming as they did that the proper norms of beauty could not possibly prevail in the dull, dreary tenement houses the Mission workers feared that the lack of aesthetic forms would brutalize and dehumanize the immigrant youth. The creative activity of cabinet making and sewing which the Mission clubs offered would compensate for this disastrous negligence and arouse the child's innate, though undeveloped, love for beauty, order and cleanliness. The children of the Haymarket were creative. Mrs. Kander had no doubts about that; they were not to be written off as shiftless, destructive creatures.[25] Applying the theory of counterattraction she saw in their street fighting and alley games a crude, yet enterprising, adaptation of the children's natural energies to the requirements of the environment. The energies themselves were not harmful. They required channels which would encourage constructive, socially acceptable patterns of behavior. By praising the child for his creative activity in carpentry and knitting, thereby rewarding his efforts in the Mission, the women hoped to lure him away from the values of the ghetto and impress upon him the standards of middle class America. Manual and industrial training came close to acceptance as a panacea for curing the social ills of the immigrant.

In stressing the primacy of industrial education in the Mission's program Lizzie Kander tacitly accepted

the image of the refugee Russian Jew as a definitely inferior being. The claim that industrial training influenced the mentality of the child for the better could not camouflage the emphasis placed on working with one's hands and on physical activity. And manual labor was definitely lower class work. Training not only rationalized production. It was based on a doctrine of stasis. Rationalized manual labor, the goal of industrial education, created a successful functioning of universal technological knowledge, a heterogeneous working force which understood and was a part of the uniform standards and the perpetuation of the values of the republican society. Industrial training plugged the worker into the machine and rationalized his social relations with his fellow workers and with his employers.[26]

Rationalized labor was a doctrine which Lizzie Kander applied to the tasks of the Mission. As early as 1894 she had discovered the assembly-line methods by which Henry Ford was to make his millions. In a witty and revealing paper on the "Preparation of Clothing" she advised the ladies of the Sewing Society to abandon the old home system of doing things. "Now--every lady has not the same amount of strength, taste or skill--and it is for her to decide what kind of work she desires to undertake--and I would like to suggest that, when once she understands her work--say for instance the basting of

sleeves into the armholes of dresses or aprons as the case may be, let her stick to that one little job and time and material will there by sic be saved..." She cautioned the sewers not to aim "to complete any one article but get a ½ dozen or dozen such articles that require your particular work, group yourselves so that you can work into each others hands--This will create what we call a division of labor, one of the first principles of political economy."[27] Effective welfare work had to mirror the rationalized system of industrial education. Both derived from the methods of modern factory organization.

Teaching in the Mission must be scientific and methodical or else "the wonderful transition" from immigrant status to full participation in American life could not be fulfilled. All modern methods of training espoused by authorized teaching institutes promised not only to adjust the refugees to America but also to win for the Jewish welfare workers "the approval of the enlightened public." Only "narrow-minded bigoted relics of the Middle Ages," Mrs. Kander felt, begrudged the Mission its success with progressive methods.[28] Use of enlightened education was proof that Jewish Americans were complete Americans.

Scientific education was all the more important since Lizzie Kander conceived of "the women and children of our poor...as...perfectly ignorant in the art of sewing and mending." The women were "miserable house-

keepers," capable only of ragpicking which brought dust and disease into the house.[29] The divisive pressures which bore down on the immigrant family were harsh. Crowded housing, jobs requiring little skill and earning low pay and no status, difficulties in adapting to a new situation, all worked to weaken ties among members of the family and placed added responsibilities upon them without providing the tools for alleviating the distress. Because Lizzie Kander accepted the strong family as a key to social stability she feared that the failure of the wife and mother--the guardian of the home--to fulfill her duties would surely lead to family breakdown. The family carried the great weight of respectable genteel society. Its destruction foretold the destruction of civilization. If this collapse was to be halted young girls needed training in scientific sewing and cooking.

Although the Sewing Society had trained the volunteers in proper techniques the President of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission desired a more systematic approach. Work was getting more involved every day and specialists were needed to maximize results. A Sewing School would require expert teachers, money and more knowledgeable volunteers who could accept so great a responsibility.[30] Miss Louise Heller, head of the Sewing Department of the Chicago Training School, came to Milwaukee at the request of Mrs. Kander to instruct the

amateur teachers in the Normal Course in Sewing and Drafting.[31] The Sewing School met immediately after school every day for one and one-half hours. Supplies were free.[32] The teachers believed that the girls who graduated from the school were capable of securing suitable employment. The Trades School Committee of the Mission, under the direction of Dr. Hecht, Mr. Heller and Mrs. Kander, used its funds to make "arrangements with an experienced teacher of dressmaking and dress cutting, who at a very reasonable price, has taken a limited number of girls over 14 years up and is now educating them to become dressmakers."[33] A careful watch was kept on the experiment in order to prevent the girls from being employed as sweated labor. After three years eighteen girls had completed the entire course. One was a dressmaker, another a milliner and a third, a tailoress. But most had found jobs as cash girls in the downtown dry-goods stores.[34] Since the School was not primarily concerned with job training, these meager results in placing the students did not reflect failure of the program. By adopting the new scientific method "we had made a decided step forward, since aside from the practical and educational value it possessed, it could not help influence the moral character of the pupils--developing to a great extent, a sense of neatness and exactness, and cultivating patience and perseverence." The old method, which allowed the students

to keep the garments they had made, energized selfish motives. "This tendency is now entirely obviated, by first working on samplers. These samplers have no intrinsic value, except as models of good workmanship, and as such inspire in the child a love for perfect work, a respect for the Dignity of Labor."[35]

The Sewing School trained some girls for a useful trade. The Cooking School, however, was not intended to produce professional cooks. The Mission kitchens were educating future housewives to prepare a wide variety of nutritious meals on a low budget, "the things to be impressed on these future mothers."[36] Founded in 1898 the school started with a class of eighteen girls, all under the age of fourteen. Miss Alida Pattee, "a graduate of the Boston Cooking School, whose work at St. Rose's Asylum and the Industrial School [of Milwaukee] has given her the title of 'cooking school missionary'" directed kitchen activities.[37] Although Mrs. Kander, who organized the school and taught one of the courses in addition to all her other duties, did not observe the dietary laws, the Mission kitchens followed strict kosher law, the first traditional cooking school outside of New York City. Since "the Jews of the lower class, especially the Russian Jews, are as particular in their observance of the kosher laws as a high caste Brahmin...to succeed, a Jewish cooking school must be kosher."[38]

The Sentinel praised the energetic management of Mrs. Kander; she was working longer hours than most of the immigrant women. The school represented one of her ideas "for helping people to help themselves, which is the principle on which all work of the Jewish mission is carried on."[39] The idea was strikingly similar to that preached by Protestant social settlement leaders. The cooking classes were used to Americanize the immigrant women by leading them through the entire learning process of buying and preparing American dishes. Though the girls may have been proficient in cooking their native dishes this was not enough. Their tastes were not those of the civilized citizenry; their foreign, exotic food needed cleansing and sterilizing to make it palatable--"the word most frequently heard in the school... [is] 'Did you wash your hands?'"[40] "The little refinements of table setting and service and the little touches that go to make up the difference between existing and living" stressed the adjustment which the immigrants had to make to American genteel manners.[41]

The school may have attempted to raise the refugees to the norms set by Milwaukee's middling classes. Paradoxically, however, since the cooking courses were designed to teach women to feed their families on low budgets Lizzie Kander exhibited an acceptance of the permanent lower class status of the very people she was

supposedly trying to elevate. While fearing that the growth of classes in the United States would destroy the nation and, therefore, espousing the ideal of the oneness of mankind and the viability of the American dream, she nevertheless tacitly assumed that no amount of preaching and teaching would wipe out social and economic inequalities.

Household economy promised much but it is doubtful if results were satisfactory. While it opened the eyes of the poor to a wide range of comfortable consumer goods the economic means of satisfying these new desires and expectations were not provided.[42] While the Sewing School recognized that industrialization had fundamentally altered the role of women in America (and thereby the nature of the family), thrusting them into factories and business, the Cooking School worked on the premise that women were still primarily homemakers, charged with preserving family stability. This sphere of activity was accepted as the woman's eternal domain. This ambivalent conception of the function of women in modern society was to plague Lizzie Kander throughout her career as a settlement worker and later as founder of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School. A more marked contradiction existed in her thinking. If one believes, as Mrs. Kander did, that the family is the basis of social stability why did the settlement workers virtually tell the young girls that

their mother's ways were hopelessly antiquated and unenlightened? Even if the genteel tradition of the middle class American family was the ideal, the process of Americanizing the child by denegrating the values of the parents subverted whatever family unity existed and atomized the strained social fabric of the immigrant family.[43]

Over one hundred children between the ages of five and fourteen attended the Mission weekly but the settlement was not as well organized as Mrs. Kander would have liked.[44] Supplies were dependent on contributions from interested benefactors. The school was staffed by ten to fifteen volunteers who tried to make up for their lack of thorough training in social work with dedicated enthusiasm. Beginning a settlement meant that qualified teachers were lacking, but a start had to be made sometime. The Mission women wanted to expose the children to the English language and American customs as frequently as possible. But as the settlement met in cramped quarters only a limited number of activities were offered. In 1900 Lizzie Kander issued a plea for funds to enlarge facilities.

When an annual income of one thousand dollars in subscriptions was assured the President of the Mission, in the name of the Board of Directors, leased a large house at 507 Fifth Street, a major throughfare in the ghetto district.[45] In May, 1900, the Mission moved out of Temple

Emanu-El and left its name there. In keeping with her professed aims of raising the immigrants to become self-sufficient and self-respecting members of the community, Lizzie Kander changed the name of the neighborhood house from the Milwaukee Jewish Mission to The Settlement.[46] By uniting with the Sisterhood of Personal Service, a volunteer organization which conducted night classes for adults at the Temple,[47] the Mission not only expanded its focus but overcame problems of support. The Rabbis and public school principals pledged their assistance. By maintaining contacts with such established, interested and powerful representatives of the community, Mrs. Kander secured legitimacy for her endeavors. She declared that The Settlement was in the mainstream of American social welfare work. The new constitution, which she wrote, stressed that "...in the management of the affairs of 'The Settlement' the Board of Directors shall strive to promote the best interests of the organization and shall carry out the theory upon which 'Social Settlements' are founded."[48] It was this combination of social position, community connections and validated experience which enabled her to mobilize a small but strategically placed group of men and women for support of The Settlement.

After moving into the new quarters, the settlement director pressed her wealthy patrons for impressive donations. A. J. Lindeman bought one coal range and

twelve gas burners; the Gas Light Company provided free installation services and the National Enamelling Works and the Pritzlaf Hardware Company supplied additional utensils for the Cooking School. To prevent the need for yearly fund drives the new venture was incorporated, and there were three classes of members, namely, patrons who paid $25 or more yearly, honorary members who paid $5 or more annually and members who paid $1 or more.[49] The key to Lizzie Kander's success in securing a broad base of support[50] lay in the confidence which men of established means had in her methods. "She has a heart big enough to mother every child in town," wrote The Sentinel, "but she does not let sentiment run away with her and the efforts of The Settlement are conducted with a business precision that makes deficits impossible and keeps a good balance on the treasury.[51] In her annual report the President counselled that "we must not let our enthusiasm carry us beyond our strength; we dare not scatter our energies. We must progress slowly."[52]

Did The Settlement serve a useful purpose? Did the poor accept it? Both the settlement worker and the Haymarket immigrants answered in the affirmative, the former in a series of speeches and the latter by their rush to avail themselves of the new facilities. Mrs. Kander maintained that the prominent neighborhood house was anchored firmly in the foundations which supported all

settlement work --"to bring people in different walks of life to-gether, in a friendly way, either through work or through play, that they may appreciate, sympathize, help and know one another better..."[53] She believed that every activity in the house was unique and necessary in the community: "We are always adding new variations and at times must arrange an entirely new accompaniment to the old tune, in our efforts to fill the neighborhood gaps, brought about by the everchanging social conditions."[54] The goal remained constant but the methods were forever changing. So many activities were undertaken that the two story building "as freshly painted and as trim and tidy as a properous New England farmhouse"[55] was outmoded even before opened. Moves to larger quarters became necessary in 1904 and 1912 if The Settlement was to serve the community.

Young and old took advantage of the programs, which ran from nine in the morning until eleven at night. Children packed the manual training and sewing classes in the afternoon. A branch of the Milwaukee Public Library was opened in the reading room. Debating societies and literary clubs attracted young adults. Two hundred and fifteen students enrolled in the night school. By 1906 The Settlement was running a circulating library, 13 graded sewing classes, 5 classes in English, 2 dancing classes, 7 afternoon girls' clubs, 1 Saturday night

drilling club, 11 evening clubs, game night and entertainment every Sunday, afternoon as well as evening parties and a public bath house where 23,582 baths were taken during 1906.[56] The reading room was, in part, designed as a counterattraction to the saloons. Since 65 per cent of the men in the district were peddlers Mrs. Kander was concerned lest they spend their idle time in drinking. The reading room provided hot coffee and Yiddish newspapers. Unfortunately it could only be used in the summer when regular classes disbanded.[57] The baths were a subtle method of social control. "In this manner," Mrs. Kander remarked, "you could spot the dirty ones, find out who was being negligent and bring pressure to bear."[58] The ladies could chastize the dirty and dramatize to the community the benefits of cleanliness. For the hot water children were charged one penny and adults three cents. The token cost was well spent. Between 1906 and 1910, 71,159 baths raised $1,984.95; the users of The Settlement had a part in sharing the expenses of the building.[59] This was the ideal of self-help in action.

The President was happy to report that "many of their [the students] mothers as well as their older sisters and friends, who come to the baths visit the classes and linger around, interested, and eager spectators."[60] Once lured into the wholesome surroundings

of The Settlement with the promise of hot water, the older men and women took advantage of the many communal activities specially designed to teach them about the United States and to refine their tastes. At the Wednesday Afternoon Mothers' Club the volunteers were introduced to the mothers of their students; they presented short talks on home economics, child care and other topics of importance to women and chatted over coffee and cookies.[61]

A larger, more adequate Cooking School was required. But before she decided to expand activities in the kitchens Lizzie Kander assured the public school authorities that she was not competing with them. Since the home economics courses in the schools did not keep kosher the Jewish girls were unable to participate. Many of the girls had just arrived from Europe and had not yet registered at school. Still others were forced to work or mind younger brothers and sisters while their mothers were out working. The Sunday morning sessions of the Cooking School were the only opportunity these girls had to learn the homemaking skills, "to cook simple and nutritious food, yet have it attractive and inexpensive, as we prepare it in America."[62] Mrs. Kander discovered that the principals and the teachers of the neighborhood public schools were "anxious to promote our cause, approve of our methods, take great interest in our pupils and work

and do all they can to help and encourage us."[63]

The Cooking School produced an unexpected benefit of great importance for the security of The Settlement. The settlement house had easily reached its annual fund raising goals. Lizzie Kander was reluctant to depend on the idealism of her supporters however. Some form of permanent endowment was called for. An insignificant cook book which almost failed to get published solved her financial worries. Since only fifteen girls at any one time could attend the Cooking School it was imperative that the recipes be published. Thus all women of the ghetto were to become acquainted with consumer short-cuts and American cooking. The cook book was divided into two sections. The first contained the basic recipes which Mrs. Kander had been testing for over twenty years. Heirloom recipes which she had pried from the proud hands of her friends filled the second part. By combining the two sets of menus the book promised a wide appeal: the ghetto women would hopefully buy the book to learn to cook American dishes while the fashionable ladies would purchase copies, boasting that Mrs. Kander had seen fit to include their ideas in her cook book. All profits, if any, were earmarked for the Settlement. However, the Board of Directors refused to allocate the eighteen dollars necessary for publication since the money had not been set aside in the year's budget. The publishing fee was then

raised by public subscription and the sale of advertising space. In 1901, the first edition of The Settlement Cook Book, one thousand copies, was sold out in a few months. Having gauged the demand exactly, Mrs. Kander was to turn this uniquely feminine business venture into the main source of support for The Settlement and its successor, the Abraham Lincoln House.[64]

In 1912 Lizzie Kander laid the corner stone for the Abraham Lincoln House, the large, new neighborhood house for the Jewish community. The Board of Directors had desired to name this successor to The Settlement, Kander House. But Milwaukee's leading settlement house worker declined the honor. Better the building should be named after the President she had always admired "as the great American who was raised in even worse poverty than any of the immigrants." A building named after Lincoln would serve "as an inspiration to her hundreds of boys and girls."[65] A more complete identification of the Jewish community with the larger American environment could scarcely be imagined--Lincoln, the ideal, for all Jewish children to emulate. The newspapers editorialized that Abraham Lincoln House "which does for Milwaukee's Jewish population what Hull House has done for the great West Side foreign colonies of Chicago... [is] one of the most active forces for good citizenship in Milwaukee."[66]

Prior to the construction of the new center professional social workers had already begun to enter and assume the leadership of Jewish welfare policy. The Settlement had engaged a resident, and a permanent office staff handled the day-to-day details of administration. While remaining President of the Board of Directors Lizzie Kander cut down on her activities at the neighborhood center. Although the professionalization of social work and her advancing years (she was into her fifties by 1907) restricted her activities at the settlement house she did not retire. Focussing her attention beyond the ghetto she now devoted her enthusiasm, expertise and yen for action to reforms in the Milwaukee community, particularly in the field of education. Founder of the city's most prominent settlement house she went on to spearhead the drive for the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School.

CHAPTER III FOOTNOTES

[1]Davis, op. cit., pp. 8-16.

[2]Robert Morris and Michael Freund (ed), Trends and Issues in Jewish Social Welfare in the United States, 1899-1925, (Philadelphia; The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966), pp. 5-6; Herman D. Stein, "Jewish Social Work in the United States, 1654-1954," American Jewish Year Book, LVII (1956), pp. 3-4.

[3]Davis, op. cit., p. 15; Charles S. Bernheimer, "Jewish Americanization Agencies," American Jewish Year Book, XXII, (1921), pp. 93-9.

[4]It is difficult to evaluate the success of settlement house workers in achieving their goals. Even to analyze their role in American urban life is a complicated problem for the historian. Since no national organization of workers existed it was questionable who interpreted their ideas and activities to the country. Did they form a monolithic structure defined by the visible, popular and highly vocal elites; or were the local, unidentified workers more representative? Were all reformers who at some time took up residence in Henry Street Settlement or Hull House, settlement workers? Did the movement "influence all those who today join the war on poverty or try to rehabilitate the nation's cities"; or was it too simplistic and moralistic for industrializing, urbanizing America? Were the settlement workers spokesmen for cultural pluralism; or did they propound "conformity-seeking cultural reforms?" These questions require further research. Davis, op. cit., p. 245; Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, (New York; Vintage Books, 1955), pp. 12-20; Gerd Korman, Industrialization, Immigrants and Americanizers; The View from Milwaukee, 1866-1921, (Madison; Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1967), p. 138; J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," Mississippi Valley Historical Review XLIX, (September, 1962), p. 239. From Professor Davis' analysis one would think that the Peace Corps dated back to the 1890's.

[5]Stein, op. cit., p. 36.

[6]Diary of a trip through the southern states, February 1895, LBK Papers.

[7]Speech to the First Graduates of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School, 1913, unpublished monograph, LBK Papers.

[8]Ibid.; Boris D. Bogen, Jewish Philanthropy: An Exposition of Principles and Methods of Jewish Social Service in the United States, (New York; The Macmillan Company, 1917), p. 295.

[9]Speech on the Origins of The Settlement, 1920 unpublished monograph, LBK Papers.

[10]Paper on the Extravagence of Women, 1902, unpublished monograph, LBK Papers.

[11]The Preparation of Clothing for the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, unpublished monograph, 1895, LBK Papers.

[12]Arthur M. Schlesinger, Learning How to Behave: A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books, (New York; The Macmillan Company, 1947), pp. 30-1, 47.

[13]Paper to the Wednesday Club of The Settlement, March 11, 1908, unpublished monograph in the LBK Papers.

[14]Davis, op. cit., pp. 18-22. Professor Davis enumerate five categories which supposedly separated the charity organizer from the settlement worker. The former sought out the individual causes of poverty, aided paupers and unemployed, operated under the spirit of noblesse oblige, thought in terms of philanthropy within the existing social context and gave haltingly, usually under the pressure of crisis. The latter, however, believed that poverty was the manifestation of social and economic ills in the community, turned attention to the working classes, recognized the equal dependence of one class upon another, endeavored to reform or ameliorate the environment and enthusiastically plunged into the day-by-day struggle for social betterment. Professor Davis went on to note that the process of professionalization and the growing regard for experts developing in social work and charity organizations produced, in many instances, interlocking directorates. Charity workers were active in the settlement houses and settlement workers were on the board of directors of numerous charities. The same men and women were running the welfare business.

[15]Lizzie Black Kander to Mrs. C. S. Benjamin, October 23, 1896, LBK Papers.

[16]Speech to the First Graduates of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School, 1913, LBK Papers; The Origins of The Settlement, 1920, LBK Papers.

[17]*Ibid.*; *Jewish Blue Book, 1925*, p. 126.

[18]*The American Hebrew* (Cincinnati), February 13, 1885, clipping in the Jacob Baron Papers, box 2, Wisconsin Jewish Archives, Wisconsin State Historical Society.

[19]Constitution of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1896, LBK Papers.

[20]*Ibid.*

[21]*The Sentinel* (Milwaukee), February 5, 1899.

[22]Fourth Annual Presidential Report of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1899, LBK Papers.

[23]Constitution of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1896, LBK Papers.

[24]Third Annual Presidential Report of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1899; Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 27, 1901, both in LBK Papers. Arthur Sclesinger has suggested that because of the social and economic mobility of late nineteenth century America parents might unexpectedly lose their means and therefore, girls were urged to master some branch of knowledge or skill by which they could become self-supporting. Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[25]*Ibid.*

[26]Korman, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5. For a contradictory argument which sees Jews using education as a "stepladder to wealth and position," see Swichkow, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[27]The Preparation of Clothing, unpublished monograph, 1894, LBK Papers.

[28]Annual Presidential Report of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, 1896, LBK Papers.

[29]Founding Manual Training and Cooking Schools in the Mission, unpublished monograph, 1897(?), LBK Papers.

[30]Speech to the Women's School Alliance, South Side Section, 1897, Kander Mss., Milwaukee County Historical Society.

[31]The Origins of The Settlement, 1920, LBK Papers.

[32]Rules and Regulations of the Sewing School, 1897, LBK Papers.

[33]Presidential Report to the Directors of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1896, LBK Papers.

[34]Third Annual Presidential Report of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1899, LBK Papers.

[35]Speech to the Honorary and Active Members of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, 1898(?), LBK Mss., Milwaukee County Historical Society.

[36]Notebook on the Kosher Cooking School, 1898, LBK Papers.

[37]The Sentinel (Milwaukee), February 5, 1899.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid., Solomon, op. cit., p. 73.

[41]Ibid. David Riesman has pointed out that at the turn of the century "having the proper food was something one owed to one's status, one's claims to respectability, and more recently, to one's knowledge of hygiene with its calories and vitamins." See the Lonely Crowd, (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1950), pp. 142-44.

[42]Bremner, op. cit., p. 13.

[43]Professor Bogen felt that the settlement house's specific role was to strengthen the bonds between immigrants and their children. Yet he is forced to draw his evidence from the community centers of the 1910's which returned to programs of specific Jewish and ethnic content. op. cit., pp. 248-50. For a contradictory argument stressing the part Jewish settlements played in intensifying generational conflict see Stein, op. cit., pp. 35-41.

[44]Lizzie Kander to Mrs. C. S. Benjamin, October 23, 1896, LBK Papers.

[45]Blue Book 1925, p. 84.

46 Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 27, 1901, LBK Papers; Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

47 *Blue Book, 1925*, p. 89; *The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* (Milwaukee), July 26, 1940.

48 *The Settlement: Articles of Incorporation*, March 23, 1901, LBK Papers. In 1900 Mrs. Kander spent an afternoon at Hull House in Chicago. It is not known if she compared notes with Jane Addams and amplified her theory of social settlements. Interview between Alfred Erlbacher and Miss Annie Levy, December 27, 1959, typescript in the LBK Papers.

49 *Blue Book, 1925*, p. 84.

50 Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 27, 1901, LBK Papers. By 1904 The Settlement could rely on support from such non-Jewish institutions as the YWCA, Milwaukee Downer College and the district teachers.

51 *The Sentinel* (Milwaukee), May 12, 1901.

52 Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 27, 1901, LBK Papers; *Blue Book 1925*, p. 87.

53 Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 27, 1905, LBK Papers.

54 Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 10, 1915; The Origins of The Settlement, 1920, both in the LBK Papers.

55 *The Sentinel* (Milwaukee), April 15, 1900.

56 *The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* (Milwaukee), September 28, 1951.

57 Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 27, 1905, LBK Papers. Mrs. Kander was not a teetotaler and recognized the worth of taverns but only in their proper place. "They are really blessings in disguise," she explained. "They are the club-houses as it were of the poor laboring class. Here is where they drop in on their way home from work, meet their fellow workmen on a social footing and learn a little of what is going on in the outside world and then go home to their families and their suppers refreshed in mind and body." Paper on The Saloon, unpublished monograph, 1905(?), LBK Papers.

[58]Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, 1910, LBK Papers.

[59]*Ibid.*

[60]Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 27, 1901, LBK Papers.

[61]*The American Jewish Year Book* in 1921 considered the Mothers' Club of the settlement a "potent means of Americanization. Here opportunity is given to discuss the problems of Jewish youth, to smooth the way for cooperation between parents and children, to point out to the parents the necessity for a tolerant attitude toward young people as they grow up amid conditions in this country quite different from the old country, and to point out to the young people that they must not be too impatient of the lack of adaptation of their parents to conditions which are strange to them." Thirty-five years later *The Year Book* complained that because of the stress placed on good American citizenship, organizations like the Mothers' Club only intensified the generational conflict. LVII, p. 37.

[62]Interview with Lizzie Kander on the origins of *The Settlement Cook Book*, 1932, typescript, LBK Papers.

[63]Annual Presidential Report of The Settlement, March 27, 1901, LBK Papers.

[64]*The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* (Milwaukee), April 4, 1954. By 1954 the book was in its thirty-fourth edition and 1,200,000 copies had been sold throughout the world.

[65]*The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* (Milwaukee), July 26, 1940.

[66]*The Sentinel* (Milwaukee), August 2, 1912.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMMUNITY REFORMER

In the beginning The Settlement was an institution of Americanization. Here, the metamorphosis from lowly immigrant to enlightened American would occur. However, immigration coincided with industrialization, and the established community institutions could scarcely begin to adjust to the demands of the new order. As settlement workers recognized the extent to which immigration and national modernization were connected they sought to ease the load on public agencies by expanding the activities of their neighborhood houses beyond the narrow range of exercices in good citizenship. If the public schools, because of legal procedures, bureaucratic haggling and tax problems, could not supply industrial education for the masses of future factory workers the settlements would. When antiquated municipal structures hindered the construction of public health facilities settlement workers set up milk stations and tuberculosis clinics in the basement. This is not to suggest that such men and women were "spearheads for reform": they were not behind every social reform nor were they particularly inventive, first-rate thinkers. Rather they took up many ideas,

popularized them in their neighborhood houses and then applied pressure to specific public agencies to take over the work. In Milwaukee Lizzie Kander repeatedly used her position as President of The Settlement to proclaim the need for a sanitation committee to see that the city cleaned up the alley ways, especially in the summer, to insure the comfort and health of the people. To stem disease and tuberculosis she encouraged the Visiting Nurses Association to set up a public clinic in The Settlement and worked with the State Anti-Tuberculosis Society to study the problem in order to present a coherent preventative program to the city.[1] Connected with the health problem was the deplorable housing situation in Milwaukee which the Russell Sage Foundation described as "one of the worst cities in its control of the housing problem." Complaining that rundown property and high rents threatened "the moral and physical health of the people" she called on capitalists to put up modern apartment houses with moderate rent. When this proposal received little attention Mrs. Kander brought conditions to the attention of the Children's Betterment League in hopes of putting pressure on Mr. Koch, the city building inspector.[2]

Settlement workers like Mrs. Kander were consummate public relations personnel who, in many instances, adopted new theories, demonstrated a need for their universal

application, and then sold the idea to the city, state or nation.[3] This expansion of settlement activities was proof, Mrs. Kander claimed proudly, that "Our Settlement has always stood for progressive measures. We can more easily adopt new theories and try out their practicability than can the more cumbersome public institutions that are bound by so much red tape."[4] Once such practices were proven feasible within the confines of The Settlement she had a persuasive argument to present to civic officials for their establishment throughout Milwaukee. Since The Settlement was a well-established, influential institution which successfully expanded after each limited goal had been achieved the community accepted its leaders as a legitimate pressure group. Thus, Mrs. Kander found herself immersed in Milwaukee politics.

In 1890 Lizzie Kander joined Milwaukee's South Side Section of the Wisconsin School Alliance. The Alliance was composed of public spirited women who were determined to improve the quality of education and expand the rather limited program of the public schools.[5] And the schools required rapid reorientation. The Alliance continually complained of the bad physical conditions in many of the schools. The women urged that the situation be remedied "for the welfare of their children both mentally and physically." If public education, always accepted as a pillar of democracy, failed to adapt to the

changes imposed by the steady influx of immigrants and neglected the requirements of an urbanizing, industrializing age, the nation would soon fall into tyranny and violence. As one of the major institutions common to all American communities the schools, if rejuvenated, could serve as centers of neighborhood renewal and broadcasters of the national heritage. It was natural for women, guardians of the home and family, to enter into school reform to protect their sons and daughters and all children from the blight of inadequate schooling and the ignorance and illnesses of foreign children.[6]

The women of the South Side section met twice a month to educate themselves in school problems and work for rehabilitation. At some meetings they discussed articles from <u>The Forum</u>, a monthly national journal of expert opinion. Unfortunately, we do not know if they followed Joseph Mayer Rice's series of reports published in 1892 and 1893 deploring the woefully inadequate system of public instruction and venality and corruption of school officials across the nation. As chairman of the section Mrs. Kander proposed that the Alliance divest itself of all charitable work and turn its attention completely to educational matters. If the charities dealt with only welfare cases and the Alliance tackled the schools, efficient division of labor promised resolution of the problems.[7] By 1898 Lizzie Kander had worked her

way up to second vice-president of the Alliance's State Board of Directors.

From what she had observed as truant officer for the Alliance Mrs. Kander had ample cause for calling on the city's Jews to build a settlement house in the heart of the South Side.[8] Once the doors of 510 Fifth Street were flung open The Settlement, rather than the Alliance, became the platform from which Mrs. Kander spoke out on matters educational. She switched her support at a promising time for the Alliance had never gone beyond the point of proposing reforms over a glass of tea, and Hull House in Chicago offered visible examples of the great impact a settlement house might hope to exert on the community.

The first public playground in the United States was cleared by Hull House in 1893. It was only a grassy area where children could swing, make sand castles and play ball games. There was no need for impractical, grandiose "city beautiful" schemes in the teeming, frustrating alleys of the nineteenth ward. Vocal playground advocates were soon heard throughout the nation. This was less a coordinated movement sponsored by Jane Addams than the emergence of similar problems in all major cities. In Milwaukee Mrs. Kander, along with Mrs. Charles W. Norris, a wealthy woman with a philanthropic bent, formulated policy.[9]

Until the late 1890's there was little public interest in the preservation of park lands. In 1890 there existed only seventy acres of municipally owned parks, all but twenty-five acres donated by private citizens.[10] By 1900 leading women's clubs--The Woman's Club, the Milwaukee College Endowment Association, the Ladies' Art and Science Class, the Woman's School Alliance--spoke out for a program of beautification. In the same year the South Side Woman's Club which numbered Mrs. Kander as one of its most prominent members advocated playgrounds in six of the city's public parks. In 1902 Lizzie Kander pursuaded the Board of Directors of The Settlement to petition the School Board for free use of the school grounds of School #1 in ward 5 "for the purpose of having such grounds used as a playground under the auspices of 'The Settlement' (an industrial, educational organization)."[11] With the taxpayers freed from payment the request was quickly granted. The Settlement budgeted $100 and opened up the area on a vacant lot adjoining the school on Galena between Fifth and Sixth Street. The playground committee of The Settlement, by securing contributions from individuals and companies, installed a sandpile, a trough for sailing boats, a drinking fountain, swings, a tent and hammock, benches, croquet, butterfly nets and games.[12]

By 1905 Lizzie Kander decided that it was time the city took over the Gardens. The Settlement was paying

too much for a lot it did not own. Besides, it was the duty of civic officials to serve the masses and the playgrounds were certainly in constant use by all. On condition that the city give The Settlement $325 for playground caretakers, if this was legally possible, Mrs. Kander agreed to keep the grounds as one of the house's activities.[13] The city fathers must have accepted the request for in the spring of 1906 Mrs. Kander asked the school board to provide wire in order to keep out stray chickens, goats and dogs.[14] As population in the ward grew she pressured public officials for some form of urban renewal. Recognizing the limitations of size of her own settlement house she advocated the conversion of Lapham Park into a "beautiful breathing spot in the heart of a congested neighborhood" with properly supervised municipal dance halls, a gymnasium, a playground and a swimming pool.[15]

Once the pioneer work undertaken by The Settlement had proved successful Mrs. Kander called on the schools to become true community social centers. She had repeatedly and successfully secured permission to use the schools for programs which The Settlement could not handle, programs which furthered "a work which has as its purpose the rapid Americanization of the foreign element in our midst."[16] By 1908 Mrs. Kander could speak of the Sixth District School #1 as a "Social Center"

with a wide variety of activities suited to the heterogeneous complexion of the ward. It was not in competition with The Settlement. Mrs. Kander, a member of both school and settlement boards, would see to that. With plans for The Settlement to move further north-west it was important that the schools fill the void. Since the experimentation in the settlement had succeeded the municipality could avoid costly mistakes and, utilizing tax money, "...do broader and better work along certain lines, than a private organization, with limited means."[17]

In 1907 Lizzie Kander was forced to withdraw from social welfare and educational activities in Milwaukee. Mr. Kander had secured election as Republican state representative from the city's eighth ward. Once in Madison, home of the University of Wisconsin, the settlement worker decided to keep up with current trends in welfare work. She enrolled in only one particular course, Edward A. Ross' seminar in The Dynamics of Population. It is uncertain why Mrs. Kander sought out Ross, a leading sociologist and controversial speaker. Perhaps his celebrity status attracted her. Perhaps, as a welfare worker, she wanted to learn how his theories of social control as social reform[18] might best be employed. An understanding of population movements and growth might offer methods of correcting the overcrowded conditions in the slums. In any case, she commenced reading Wallace's

Darwinism, Wards' The Psychic Factors of Civilization and Spencer's Principles of Biology.

"Our Philanthropy Policy," her seminar paper for the course, was decked out with all the catchy phrases of Social Darwinism: "struggle for survival," "survival of the fittest," and "natural selection" were scattered about with abandon. The paper, in spite of its extensive and scholarly bibliography[19] and statistical information, was basically a popularization of Ross' ideas of eugenics and sterilization. Contending that the physically and morally unfit reproduce more rapidly than the fit she proposed that "for the welfare of society...would it not be better for...degenerates not to reproduce their kind... if the child has nothing to draw its structure from, but what is transmitted to it from its parents or ancestry... would this [sterilization] not be the easiest and safest and humane way of eliminating the unfit? Would this not result in a better natural selection--might this not tend to the survival of the fittest?" She warmly applauded the efforts of Dr. Alfred W. Wilmarth, Superintendent of the Wisconsin Home for the Feeble Minded, for urging the Legislature to restrict the marriages of feeble-minded, epileptic, insane and idiotic persons.[20] A board of scientific experts, she proposed, must be authorized to certify for sterilization people incapable of assuming the responsibilities of reproduction. Science, rather

than passion, ought to determine the creation of life.

This seminar paper stands out in Lizzie Kander's writings. It is the only mention she makes of eugenics and never does she return to the topic of sterilization. Overwhelmed by Ross' impassioned lectures and expert status she may have adopted his views without understanding their implications and thus easily forgotten them when she moved out of his orbit. With twenty-five years of experience in social work behind her the veteran settlement worker had already thought out her own social action program. Her essay reflects this conflict between Ross' ideas of eugenics and her own policies as set up in The Settlement. From her professor she borrowed extensively theories concerning the role of individual inheritance in producing the good society and the valid criteria of physical and moral fitness. Yet from her own work she wrote about the importance of institutions and cultures in generating social improvement. Isolating institutions could only increase the number of misfits for they cut off the inmates from contact with the forces of civilization. In the Haymarket ghetto The Settlement served as the major contact point between the foreign, unAmericanized (and thereby misfit) immigrants and the normal, democratic society. In her essay Mrs. Kander urged that deaf and dumb students be removed from special classes, denied sign language and placed in public day schools, "natural

home environments," so that they would become "useful members of society. They must associate and learn to communicate with hearing people and thus overcome the diffidence and embarrassment that makes them feel isolated and unhappy in company."[21] It was this strand of her paper, the section which emphasized improving the social environment through legislative, educational and institutional means, which was her natural philanthropy policy. For if characteristics were transmitted from parent to child with no escape, then her lifelong devotion to The Settlement was all in vain.[22] Mrs. Kander soon acknowledged her true position. When the opportunity came to depart Madison and enter politics in Milwaukee she immediately packed her books and headed home.

According to Mrs. Kander her nomination for a seat on the Milwaukee Board of School Directors was an unexpected and unsolicited surprise. While attending lectures she was suddenly called from class to answer a long distance phone call. The women of the School Alliance begged her to allow them to place her name in nomination. Relieved that nothing was wrong at home she muttered, "Is that all--well--Yes." A few days later one of her classmates handed her a newspaper and "there staring me in the face was a horrible picture of myself with headlines in big black letters: ANOTHER WOMAN RUNNING FOR SCHOOL BOARD. Much embarrassed, I hoped sincerely that I would

not get the nomination."[23] The electorate did not heed her wishes.

Mrs. Kander's credentials were superior, if one ignores the biological fact that she was, after all, a woman. She had attended the Milwaukee public schools from the time she was four years old until a year or so before her marriage. Nearly all her classmates were teachers and they had kept her in close touch with school problems.[24] Simon Kander had encouraged his wife's interest in educational matters. He had served as School Commissioner from 1894 to 1897 and was active in making manual training a subject in the public school curriculum. In 1899 he was elected vice-president of the South Side Educational Association.[25] Mr. Kander's concern with industrial training must certainly have supported and encouraged his wife's activities. Jack Black, Lizzie's cousin, had also secured election as School Commissioner. He fought for continuation of the cooking schools and their inspection by women of the School Alliance.[26] Participation in school politics was certainly a legitimate and familiar experience for the settlement worker.

Her own achievements were sufficient reason for nomination. Her work in The Settlement inevitably led her into lobbying for educational reform. Just as she had sought to expand the schools into social centers she sought to transfer some of the activities of the settlement

house to public agencies. She spearheaded the movement to get cooking classes adopted by the Committee on Art and Industrial Education and instituted in schools across the city.[27] Once the settlement women had learned scientific sewing, darning and mending the principals and teachers of the neighborhood schools were anxious to have it introduced into their classes and asked Mrs. Kander's help. She secured permission from the School Board to conduct weekly lessons during school hours in the 8th District #2 school, "a great step... gained." For two years she supervised the work at this school and then, for one year, taught both teachers and students at the 10th District #4 school. At length the work spread to other schools until Mrs. Kander was appointed a supervisor of manual training.[28] This attempt to couple manual work with intellectual exercise reflected her previously expressed disgust in the Graduation Address of lopsided miseducation and her admiration for Felix Adler, the Ethical Culturalist who developed a teaching program which united hand and head as a suitable education to meet the needs of an industrial age--a program which Mrs. Kander claimed to follow in the Milwaukee Jewish Mission and in The Settlement.[29] The program also expressed the aims of the Wisconsin Women's School Alliance in encouraging the introduction of all stages of manual training into the primary schools. Lizzie Kander, a member of numerous

educational and welfare groups and committees in Milwaukee and the state, was a logical candidate if the Alliance sought a woman strong enough to secure a seat on the predominantly male School Board.

The Milwaukee School Board system in 1907 was in a muddle. The state Supreme Court had wiped out the old ward system of election and everyone was pressing their favorite scheme. While the Legislature tossed suggestions about an election was called. Voters would choose four members from a long list of nominees representing the entire city to fill vacancies on the fifteen member council. Hopes were high that positions would be freed from political patronage. Madison Pereles wrote to his cousin, encouraging her to wage a stiff fight. One woman on the Board was simply not enough. Mrs. Stewart, a member of the past council, was energetic but the mere fact of being the only woman at meetings had seriously diminished her effectiveness. The male members looked upon her as a curiosity in need of humoring. "...the members were courtesying and bowing because she is a woman, instead of...[accepting her] as an equal member."[30] Womens' Clubs were hoping to capture three of the four seats but they did not coordinate their campaigns. The Mothers' and Teachers' Club of the eighteenth district school nominated Mrs. James Stewart, a board member of the Milwaukee Society for Moral and Sanitary Education

and member of the Woman's School Alliance and Consumer's League. The School Alliance put forward Mrs. Kander. The Sentinel was in favor of more women on the Board. Since school work required attention to detail for which men had neither the instinct nor time the School Board was the ideal public service post for intelligent, precise women to devote their abundant free time. Moreover, the women would bring the refining home influence into the schools.[31] The Milwaukee Free Press took a less charitable view of a woman's nature and peculiar abilities. Under a front page cartoon depicting the broad-beamed women of the fictional Easter Bonnet Club who were running for the School Board seats the editors ranted about the new phenomenon of the woman in pants:

> Everybody works but father,
> He sits around with a grin,
> Smoking all the campaign cigars
> The women gather in.
> Mother, she's in politics,
> So is Sister Ann,
> Everybody works in our house
> But our old man.[32]

While four men appeared to be the frontrunners Mrs. Kander was the strongest woman. Paradoxically, the South Side Woman's Club, one of the city's prominent clubs, endorsed three men, leaving the fourth position open for any woman since both Mrs. Stewart and Mrs. Kander had friends in the Club and both were considered well qualified.[33] In the April election Lizzie Kander

triumphed. She was elected to the Board of School Directors for the six year term. Almost immediately she began pressing for a more comprehensive system of manual training and industrial education in the schools.

Manual training and various schemes for implementing it had long drifted in and out of the offices of educational administrators, both in Milwaukee and other large industrial cities and in Washington.[34] The first manual training school in the city had been established in 1891 in East Side High School. The Commissioners agreed that "while manual training in itself had a decided educational value of a high order for all pursuits in life, it also cultivates a taste for a technical training which must not be underestimated."[35] Yet in a squeeze for funds manual training was of low priority and programs were readily restricted despite the pleas of the Milwaukee Manual Training Association.[36] In 1905 Milwaukee's first private industrial training school opened. Dissatisfied with the limited range and aims of the public school system of wood and metal working the Merchants and Manufacturers Association established the Milwaukee School of Trade. Students were trained specifically in a vocation in order to fill skilled labor positions in the city's expanding factories.[37] The school trained only male students.

Mrs. Kander conceived of her efforts to establish a girls' trade school as an extension of the principles and programs which The Settlement cooking and sewing classes had undertaken. While the neighborhood house had served the children of desperately poor immigrants on the Lower West Side, "of course in a limited way," a public institution could better educate women in their vocation as responsible wives and mothers and skilled artisans. 1908 was an ideal time to push the scheme. Lapham Park Center had relieved The Settlement of many of its burdensome, time-consuming activities. Professional social workers staffed and set policy for the administrative and counselling facilities at the house. The President, Mrs. Kander, had little to do but raise funds and preside at the annual Board meeting. Confronted with unaccustomed leisure time Mrs. Kander determined to concentrate her energies "trying to work out a plan that we have been dreaming of for years, namely the establishment of a Trades School for Girls."[38] By coupling The Settlement program with public industrial education she was confident that the legitimacy and community acceptance of the former would be shared by the latter.

Present standards of education for women were completely inadequate. First, so many girls were obliged to quit school at the earliest possible age. Either they worked in occupations for which they had no particular

skill or they drifted into the downtown stores. Here they developed a taste for finery not commensurate with their meager purses and often aquired [sic] false ideas of life." Training as self-employed dressmakers which commenced before the girls could quit school would cultivate diligence, industry and thrift.[39] Besides, the girls would earn sufficient money to keep them from working as week-end prostitutes.

Second, the introduction of mass machinery had moved such work as sewing, baking and food preparation out of the home and into the factories. Women who had formerly directed these familial activities were so miseducated to meet the requirements of this development that the work which "requires thought and skill is done by men, while the simple mechanical tasks that require no training but only physical force is given to women."[40] Women were not only being deprived of their traditional responsibilities but they were also being brutalized and degraded in the factories.

Third, in material terms, there were absolutely no facilities for industrial training for girls in the city's schools. Every high school was elaborately equipped with training outfits worth thousands of dollars and "only [a] few boys availed themselves of the opportunities. Nothing... [exists] in this line for our girls."[41] If education was public it must be democratic.

The girls must have their tools.

Fourth, the present system did not even adequately train the young girls who were forced to go out to find jobs in "their life's work as mothers, home makers and housekeepers." Lizzie Kander never expected the girls to make selling in the stores their life's work nor were they to be a permanent part of the labor force of the factories. This viewpoint allowed her to use industrial education to maintain the traditional "Kirke, Kuchen, Kinder" responsibilities of American women. Such training in scientific cooking and sewing would allow women to move into other occupations outside teaching and stenography. But it would also preserve the age-old feminine work roles while adopting them to modern methods. The homemaker would be a skilled technician.[42]

When she first voiced her plans the men on the Board rebuffed the new Commissioner. They had little interest in devising a special curriculum for the girls. Mr. Pearse, superintendant of schools, however, was interested. He gave instructions to Miss Wettstein, director of education for handicapped children, to survey the situation of trade schools for girls in Europe where she was to study schools for the handicapped. When she returned in October, 1908, with glowing accounts of the schools and work samples, Mrs. Kander formulated her resolution for the Board. On January 5, 1909 she asked

that available funds be set aside for the construction of the girls' trade school as part of the Milwaukee public schools system. The resolution was tabled.[43]

Indifference and opposition were widespread. The public complained of the large overhead while labor claimed that skilled graduates might take over the jobs of older men. The Manufacturers and Merchants Association had dumped their private trade school on the Board and the Commissioners had all that they could handle managing the boys.

Twelve female principals, however, gave the project their total support. In a long letter they set forth their arguments, many of them contradictory and ambivalent. They felt that industrial education was not primarily a method to train women for factory position nor was it to alter the role of women fundamentally. Rather since "the desire to become a happy homemaker is innate in every woman, it seems only right and just to give her the opportunity to be trained to become what she was intended for." If girls were to develop into happy, independent women instead of ignorant, cowering drudges, they must receive industrial training suited to her innate functions.[44]

Lizzie Kander went back to Madison to confer with Senator Stout, founder of an advanced trade school in Menomonie. He was of the opinion, or so Mrs. Kander

claimed, that "a Trade School was more necessary for girls than for boys." Through his influence the state trade school appropriation was also made available for a trade school for girls in Milwaukee. Impressed by the interest of the legislators the Commissioners gave Mrs. Kander a more open hearing. Once she assured them that the school would not allow any girl to graduate until she was able to make clothes for herself and family and prepare and serve meals properly the Board passed the resolution and a Girls' Trade School established, the cost of instituting and constructing not to exceed $5,000 for 1909.[45] Lizzie Black Kander's last major crusade in her empire of social and educational agencies was successfully completed.

Inactivity was foreign to Lizzie Kander's life. She could not tolerate a vacuum. When she finally gave up her seat on the School Board in 1919 at the age of sixty-two she devoted her time to periodic revisions of The Settlement Cook Book and testing new recipes. She wrote a kitchen column for The Milwaukee Sentinel and directed the Food Exposition of 1926. Refusing to accept the office of honorary president of the Jewish Center she insisted that this honor implied inactivity and she wanted to be right on the job like any other member. So she was elected Vice-President and held that office until her death in 1940.[46]

While this was certainly a more leisurely pace than she was used to Mrs. Kander voiced no objections. She had always insisted that it was her job to do the experimentation and then hand the tested project over to public experts who could implement it on a community level. So she moved out of the settlement house when the professional social workers moved in and out of the School Board when the Girls' Trade School was firmly established. The expert technocrat and professional was her ideal, especially if she functioned as a housewife.[47] Here Lizzie Black Kander was an individual of the twentieth century.

But her ideas on the role of women in the twentieth century were traditional. Women were housewives by nature. The preservation of the family, the pillar of democracy, was their paramount responsibility. If women were ill equipped to handle their duties the family would break apart and democracy would crumble. For Lizzie Kander dedication to old ideals rather than liberation from traditional practices ought to be every woman's goal; she expected women to follow what she said rather than do what she did. Without superior women who could maintain the old true ideal of family life in the face of the machine age the Republic, itself, would die. As keepers of the faith the women of America determined the nation's destiny.

CHAPTER IV FOOTNOTES

[1]Annual Report of the President of The Settlement, March 27, 1901; Annual Report of the President of The Settlement, March 27, 1910, both in the LBK Papers.

[2]Still, *op. cit.*, pp. 389-90; Swichkow, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67; Report of the Board of Directors of The Settlement, March 27, 1904; Annual Report of the President of The Settlement, March 27, 1905, the latter two items are in the LBK Papers.

[3]Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-5. While Davis is correct when he claims that many settlement workers were in the forefront of the reform movement he mistakenly identifies this desire for change with a general critique of society and thereby overemphasizes their radicalism. However, the very proliferation of causes which such people supported and their lives of instant action seem to indicate a piece-meal approach more indicative of adaptation to a new order than a total restructuring of that order. Moreover, so many of the reformers' schemes were adopted simply because they offered no challenge to the *status quo*.

[4]The Annual Report of the President of The Settlement, November 8, 1908, LBK Papers.

[5]I have been unable to find the records of the Alliance. The information used in this section is drawn primarily from the Kander Papers and *The Sentinel* of Milwaukee. The description as well as analysis can only be tentative at best.

[6]*Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors*, 1891; Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School--Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*, (New York; Vintage Books, 1961), pp. 71-2.

[7]*The Sentinel* (Milwaukee), October 2, 1897, clipping in the LBK Papers.

[8]See Chapter III, pages 60-61.

[9]Still, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-88; *Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors*, 1907, pp. 219-20, 273, 398.

[10]Ruth de Young Kohler, The Story of Wisconsin Women, (1948), p. 87; B. Poss to L. M. Dysart, February 9, 1948, LBK Papers.

[11]Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, August 5, 1902.

[12]The Milwaukee Journal, July 16, 1903, clipping in the LBK Papers.

[13]Annual Report of the President of The Settlement, March 27, 1905, LBK Papers.

[14]Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, May 1, 1906.

[15]Annual Report of the President of The Settlement, March 27, 1910, LBK Papers.

[16]Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, February 5, 1906, September 3, 1907, October 1, 1907; Davis, op. cit., pp. 57-8.

[17]Annual Report of the President of The Settlement, November 8, 1908, LBK Papers.

[18]Lasch, op. cit., pp. 173-77.

[19]Our Philanthropy Policy, unpublished monograph, 1907, LBK Papers. The authors cited included Spencer, Darwin, Dugdale, Huxley, Wells, Herde and Warner.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid. While serving on the School Board Mrs. Kander implemented her plans. She brought special teachers into the public schools to aid stammerers and to work with blind students. Frank Bruner to Lizzie Black Kander, January 22, 1909; interview typescript between Miss Carrie Levy and Alfred Erlbacher, December 27, 1959, LBK Papers; Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, 1908, pp. 183-84.

[22]Solomon, op. cit., p. 146.

[23]The Origins of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School, unpublished monograph, 1923, LBK Papers.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, June 5, 1894, October 3, 1894, February 5, 1898, January 10, 1899.

[26]Ibid, June 8, 1897.

[27]Ibid, October 1, 1889, July 1, 1890, September 1, 1890; Cremin, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

[28]Ibid, December 2, 1902; Speech to the first graduates of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School, 1913, unpublished monograph, LBK Papers; Speech on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Girls' Trade and Technical High School, December 7, 1934, unpublished monograph LBK Papers; Origins of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School, 1923, LBK Papers.

[29]See Chapter II, p.40 ; Cremin, op. cit., pp. 33, 40, 85, 88-9.

[30]Madison Pereles to Lizzie Black Kander, March 20, 1907, LBK Papers.

[31]The Sentinel (Milwaukee), March 20, 1907.

[32]The Milwaukee Free Press, March 24, 1907.

[33]The Evening Wisconsin (Milwaukee), March 26, 1907.

[34]The Commissioner of Labor published three volumes on industrial, trade and technical education comprising the eighth, seventeenth and twenty-fifth annual reports of the department. The eighth volume, published in 1893, emphasized, in particular, the importance of technical education in supplying industry with cheap, skilled American labor. The theme of ethnocentric reform which runs through the thought of the reformers at the turn of the century is evident in the industrial education movement. See the Eighth Report of the Commissioner of Labor 1892: Industrial Education, (Washington; Government Printing Office, 1893).

[35]Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, 1896, pp. 428-30.

[36]Ibid, March 27, 1899, pp. 263-73.

[37]Berenice M. Fisher, Industrial Education--American Ideals and Institutions, (Madison; The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 3, 15. Miss Fisher analyzes three ideals of industrial education, each one peculiar to one third of the nineteenth century. First, there is the philanthropic ideal which teaches character and is more interested in education than production. Second is the ideal of progress and mobility, the ethic of the self-

made man. Third is the ideal of skills or vocation, designed to raise a permanent class of literate workers. Like all classification scheme's Miss Fisher's ignores the manner in which all three strands are joined together and operate at the same time.

[38]Annual Report of The President of The Settlement, November 8, 1908, Kander Papers in the Milwaukee County Historical Society.

[39]Ibid. Mrs. Kander was insistant that the age of admission to the trade school be fourteen years. The policy of the Boys' School not to admit any student under sixteen was ill conceived. "Boys who once go to work and earn money," she observed, "seldom quit work to go back to school, hence the attendance at the Boys' School was small." Origins of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School, 1923, LBK Papers.

[40]Speech to the First Graduates of the Trade School, 1913, LBK Papers.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Origins of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School, 1923, LBK Papers, Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, January 5, 1909.

[44]Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, March 2, 1909.

[45]Ibid., June 1, 1909: Origins of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School, 1923, LBK Papers.

[46]The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle (Milwaukee), July 26, 1940.

[47]In the Report of the Chairman of Examination and Appointments, June 30, 1919, Lizzie Kander expressed her satisfaction that the power to appoint teachers "rests where it rightly belongs, with the technically trained officer, our Superintendent of Schools. Your Committee acts on his recommendation only, discusses with him the more weighty problems, and as occasions arise, shapes the general policies."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The major source for this biography is the Lizzie Black Kander Mss. located in the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The Kander Papers form part of a recently acquired larger collection, the Wisconsin Jewish Archives. These archives contain material pertaining to the Jewish community of Wisconsin over the past one hundred and fifty years with particular emphasis on the twentieth century. The Kander Papers are much more than the personal recollections and letters of Mrs. Kander. They contain diaries, newspaper clippings, lecture notes, a complete collection of the President's reports of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission and The Settlement, a collection of the Board of Directors and Committee reports of these organizations as well as the secretary's books, recipe files, reports of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, photographs, rewritten song lyrics and one parody of Romeo and Juliet. Since the President's reports were rarely published prior to the building of the Abraham Lincoln House, the Kander Papers are the only source the author has located in order to reconstruct the actual organization, problems and policies of Milwaukee's Jewish settlement house. The Lizzie Black Kander Papers in the Milwaukee County Historical Society supplement those in

Madison. Much smaller and somewhat repetitious they contain Mrs. Kander's high school grades and relevant information regarding the establishment of the Milwaukee Girls' Trade School. These two collections have been a delight to work with: every historian should be blessed with a subject as entertaining and voluble as Mrs. Kander.

The Joseph L. Baron Papers, part of the Wisconsin Jewish Archives, represent forty years of Jewish life in Milwaukee and were extremely useful for background information. Rabbi Baron, the city's leading Reform rabbi, collected virtually all printed material concerning his coreligionists from 1910 until the 1950's. The papers range from Jewish socialist and union tracts to high society tea lists. For anyone working on Milwaukee's post World War One Jews and their relationship to the larger community the Baron Papers must be the starting point.

Sketches of many national and local figures and events which had some bearing on Mrs. Kander's career were found in <u>The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia</u>, (New York; Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1904); and <u>The National Cyclopedia of American Biography</u>, (New York; James T. White and Company).

This paper has attempted to set the career of one settlement worker within the framework of the urbanization of the United States. In Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore

Brown, A History of Urban America, (The Macmillan Company; New York, 1967) the reader will find a suggestive developmental orientation which provides an excellent general introduction to the problem. More specifically Bayrd Still's biography of Milwaukee, The History of a City, (Wisconsin State Historical Society; Madison, 1948) is the primary text. Still has employed a wide variety of sources and has done the spadework for scholars interested in specific areas of Milwaukee's history. However, this writer found his problem approach to urban studies less stimulating than a developmental one. In addition, see Bayrd Still, "Milwaukee, 1870-1900, The Emergence of a Metropolis," Wisconsin Magazine of History, XXIII, 138-62.

There is no satisfactory work on the history of the American Jewish Community. Oscar Handlin's Adventure in Freedom: Three Hundred Years of Jewish Life in America, (New York; McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954) is a rushed filiopietistic effort, written to commemorate the tricentenary of the arrival of the first Jews in America. Nathan Glazer's American Judaism, (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1957) is a concise, astute discussion of the development of Judaism as religion in the United States but neglects the evolution of the Jewish community. Perhaps the best work has been done by sociologists. In Marshall Sklare (ed.), The Jews, Social Patterns of an American Group, (Glencoe, Ill.; The Free Press, 1958), Bernard D.

Weinryb effectively sets out the difficulties which faced Jews as hyphenated Americans, in particular, the traumatic and enduring conflict between the German and Russian Jews throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The only available list of "Jewish 48'ers in America" may be found in Bertram W. Korn's article of the same name in American Jewish Archives, II: I, (June, 1948), 3-20. For statistical information, some of its rather crude, see Samuel Joseph, Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910, (New York; Longmans Green and Company, 1914); H. S. Linfield, Statistics of Jews and Jewish Organizations: Historical Review of Ten Censuses, 1850-1937, (New York; The American Jewish Committee, 1934); and The American Jewish Year Book, (Philadelphia; The Jewish Publication Society of America).

Louis J. Swichkow and Lloyd P. Gartner's The History of the Jews of Milwaukee, (Philadelphia; The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1963), a recent, comprehensive collective biography greatly simplified my research problems. In addition, The Jewish Community Blue Book of Milwaukee and Wisconsin, 1925 and the companion volume for 1926, both published by the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, provided information on the history of communal organizations in the city. Particular questions are discussed in Louis J. Swichkow, "The Jewish Community of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1860-1870," American Jewish Historical

Quarterly, XLVII, (September, 1957), 34-58; Isador S. Horwitz, History of the Jews in Wisconsin, with special reference to Madison, unpublished monograph prepared on the occasion of the first centennial celebration, Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1948: and Howard W. Polsky, The Great Defense: A Study of Jewish Orthodoxy in Milwaukee, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1957, University of Wisconsin.

The primary divisions in Milwaukee's Jewish community were along ethnic and social lines--the more affluent Germans and the impoverished Eastern Europeans. The attitudes and actions of both the gentile and established Jewish leaders to the immigrant masses of the late nineteenth century are basic in evaluating the activities of social workers like Lizzie Black Kander. An imaginative, suggestive book which this writer found most useful was Barbara Miller Solomon's Ancestors and Immigrants--A Changing New England Tradition, (New York; John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956). Mrs. Solomon has effectively analyzed the illiberal side of some of New England's foremost domestic reformers and her thesis may be tested through application to the situation in Milwaukee at the turn of the century. J. Joseph Huthmacher finds evidence to support Mrs. Solomon's contentions in "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIX, (September, 1962), 231-41. Philip Gleason's

"An Immigrant Group's Interest in Progressive Reform: The Case of the German-American Catholics," American Historical Review, LXXIII, (December, 1967), 367-79 is selective and one-sided but at least shows that immigrants need not have been the ignorant reactionaries their detractors claimed. In particular, the bitter differences between Jewish sectors within the country and within certain cities may be followed in three articles: Hyman B. Grinstein, "The Efforts of East European Jewry to Organize its Own Community in the United States," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, XLIX, (December, 1959), 73-89; Esther L. Panitz, "The Polarity of American Jewish Attitudes Towards Immigration, 1870-1891," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, LIII, (December, 1963), 99-130; and Zosa Smajkowski, "The Attitude of American Jews to East European Jewish Immigration, 1881-1893," American Jewish Historical Review, XL, (March, 1951), 220-80. One valuable, though neglected, source for both primary data and analytic articles is The American Jewish Year Book. Studied over a sixty year span its articles reveal not only the changing patterns of immigration but also the changing perceptions of the "immigrant" problem. See "In Defense of the Immigrant," AJYB, 1911, 19-98: Nathan Glzer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews," AJYB, 1955, 43-98: Joseph L. Blau, "The Spiritual Life of American Jewry, 1654-1954," AJYB,

1955, 99-170; and Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "A Century of Jewish Immigration to the United States," AJYB, 1949, 1-84.

The Jewish settlement was part of the American social settlement movement and Progressivism which flourished with the nation's rapid industrialization and urbanization. Richard Hofstadter in The Age of Reform, (New York; Vintage Books, 1950), sees the social reformers as victims of the status revolution and aliens in an emerging order. Settlement workers as heirs of the eighteenth century enlightenment and liberal humanitarianism is the picture painted in Robert H. Bremner's From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States, (New York; New York University Press, 1956). Both books are suggestive but the authors' failure to state explicitly their theoretical framework of personality analysis is a fundamental weakness. The reader may evaluate the relationships between the two strands of settlements and the modernizing processes by pursuing Boris D. Bogen, Jewish Philanthropy: An Exposition of Principles and Methods of Jewish Social Service in the United States, (New York; The Macmillan Company, 1917); Robert Morris and Michael Freund (ed.), Trends and Issues in Jewish Social Welfare In The United States, 1899-1952: The History of American Jewish Social Welfare, seen through the proceedings and reports of the National Conference of Jewish Communal

Service, (Philadelphia; The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966); Charles S. Bernheimer, "Jewish Americanization Agencies," American Jewish Year Book, 1921, 84-111; and Herman D. Stein, "Jewish Social Work in the United States, 1654-1954," American Jewish Year Book, LVII, 3-98. The exhaustive research which has gone into Allen F. Davis', Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement (New York; Oxford University Press, 1967), far outweighs the book's major drawback, the tendency to see settlement workers behind every reform movement, big or small.

The Kander Mss. were the primary source for Chapter Three concerning the evolution of The Settlement. In addition, the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle and The Sentinel of Milwaukee were particularly useful, especially for evaluating Jewish and gentile reaction to Mrs. Kander's programs. Both papers were also examined carefully for the other sections of this essay. For comparative information with other social services and Americanizing institutions in Milwaukee see Gerd Korman, Industrialization, Immigrants and Americanizers: The View From Milwaukee, 1866-1921, (Madison; Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1967); Norman Gill, "The Early History of Jewish Social Service Work in Milwaukee," Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle (Milwaukee), October 31, 1947; and Louis J. Swichkow, "The Jewish Agricultural Colony of Arpin,

Wisconsin," American Jewish Historical Quarterly, LIV, (September, 1964), 82-91.

Academics have long neglected urban history. Only recently, along with Black history, has it become a popular and renumerative scholarly pursuit. The changing role of women in American history, however, is still an unwritten story. What has been done emphasizes "the woman" problem, that is, women's fight for political rights or singles out particular women who succeeded in their chosen field in a man's world. The best books on the general subject are by Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States, (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1959); Aileen Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920, (New York; Columbia University Press, 1965); and Robert E. Riegel, American Feminists, (Lawrence; The University Press of Kansas, 1963). Miss Kraditor's stimulating introduction to a collection of source material on feminism Up From the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism, (Chicago; Quadrangle Books, 1968) contends, rightly so, that what little research has been done on women in American history is "larger than lifesize and smaller than reality," and lacks any theoretical framework. Two provocative studies with differing arguments concerning the feminist outbursts at the turn of the century are Christopher

Lasch's *The New Radicalism in America, 1889-1963: The Intellectual as a Social Type*, (New York; Vintage Books, 1967); and William L. O'Neill's *The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England*, (London; George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1969). The former contends that women intellectuals sold out their ideological commitment to reform in exchange for power while the latter claims they never had any ideology to begin with. Arthur M. Schlesinger's *Learning How to Behave: A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books*, (New York; The Macmillan Company, 1947) is an amusing and enlightening account of the relationship between manners and social structure and aspirations. For short biographies of Mrs. Kander's contemporaries in public welfare work, see Ruth de Young Kohler, *The Story of Wisconsin Women*, (1948); and Rebekah Kohut, "Jewish Women's Organizations," *American Jewish Year Book*, 1931, 165-201.

The most exasperating part of this biography has been that section relating to Mrs. Kander's activities in public education. I have been unable to find the archives of the Wisconsin Women's School Alliance (assuming they ever existed). The Kander Mss. and *The Sentinel* have provided the only information available on the Alliance and the School Board election of 1907. The eighth, seventeenth and twenty-fifth *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor* document the introduction

of manual and industrial training into the schools and what educators, politicians and businessmen, in particular, expected from these innovations. An AFL pamphlet of _Industrial Education_ (Washington, 1910) states labor's position and evaluates the system in Milwaukee. The chronology of the Girls' Trade School conflict is documented in the _Proceedings of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors_. For a national perspective, see Lawrence A. Cremin, _The Transformation of the School--Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957_, (New York; Vintage Books, 1961); and Bernice M. Fisher, _Industrial Education--American Ideals and Institutions_, (Madison; The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

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