NOTES

INTRODUCTION


2. As of 1900 no consensus existed regarding the location of the Village’s southern boundary. Some contemporaries placed it at Houston; others said Charlton or Canal.


6. Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 93. See pp. 81–105 for Ware’s comparison of the pre- and post-war Village.

1. NEIGHBORS AND STRANGERS

1. Hapgood, *Types from City Streets*, 9. By 1905 a successor “Chat Noir” was doing business at 531 West Broadway, just around the corner from the original Black Cat.


4. Ibid., 161–62.


6. Ibid., 403, 405.


15. There are discrepancies in the census reports of Mary Clayton’s childbearing history. The 1900 census, reel 1085, E. D. 52, p. 15B, reports that she had eighteen children; the 1910 census, reel 1030, E. D. 809, p. 9A, gives the figure of twelve.


17. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Adam by Adam, 46. On the late nineteenth-century history of the church see New York Times, Oct. 28, 1890, p. 8; Nov. 15, 1890, p. 3; Feb. 27, 1893, p. 8; and Oct. 23, 1896, p. 3. See also three typescript manuscripts from the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture: Ellen Terry, “Abyssinian Baptist Church,” (11 pp., dated June 13, 1938), Waring Cuney, “Activity of the Churches during the Depression” (3 pp., dated Aug. 31, 1939), and Sydney H. French, “The Abyssianian Baptist Church” (8 pp., dated Jan. 9, 1940)—all from the Federal Writers’ Project Negroes of New York files. Adam Clayton Powell Sr., Against the Tide, adds a few details.


20. Ibid., 42.


is based on figures for another A. M. E. sexton in Hopper, “A Northern Negro Group,” 31. See also income tables in More, Wage-Earners’ Budgets, 16–21.

25. Contemporary observer: Mary White Ovington, Half a Man, 34. Writing in 1930, Lomax, “A Social History of the Negro Population,” 92, said that Italians pushed blacks out, although her tables 3a, 3b, and 4 (following p. 92) show black persistence. Similarly, Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, in Gotham, 993, 1123–24, after correctly noting that black Villagers began leaving in the 1860s, state that Italians pushed the “remaining blacks” out in the 1890s, when in fact (according to Caroline Ware: Census Summary folder, box 51, Caroline Ware Papers, F.D.R. Library) more than five hundred blacks lived in the Minetta area alone as late as 1910. The city directory for 1903–1904 shows the Abyssinian Baptists and Zion A. M. E. still in the Village, but the 1904–1905 directory places Mother Zion on West 89th St. and the Abyssinian Baptists on West 40th St. The Baptists left first: the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map: New York (1904), reel 55, vol. 3 index, lists Zion A. M. E. at 166 Waverly, the Abyssinian Baptists’ former address.


27. Silvano Tomasi, Piety and Power, 15–17.

28. Mary Elizabeth Brown, From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village, and Donald Tricarico, The Italians of Greenwich Village, 12.


33. Ibid.

34. Social worker: More, Wage-Earners’ Budgets, 11. According to Tricarico, The Italians of Greenwich Village, 6, the six-to-one ratio applies to the years 1899–1910. Tomasi, Piety and Power, 16–17, notes that over a longer period, 1876–1930, the southerners’ lead slips to four to one.

35. Tricarico, The Italians of Greenwich Village, 5–7, says that the earliest south Village Italian residents were northerners, often Genovese. For a useful map, “Location of Italian Colonies in New York City with Sources of Emigration in Italy,” see Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, 242.


41. On Scalabrini’s arrival see New York Times, Aug. 4, 1901, p. 5. The New York Times, Aug. 11, 1901, p. 8, also reported his visit to the Bleecker Street offices of the Saint Raphael Society, an immigrant aid society under Scalabrini’s direction with close ties to Our Lady of Pompei.
42. All Italian men over the age of twenty-one had to do mandatory military service. Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village*, 21–22, 28–29.
43. Maria Sermolino, *Papa’s Table d’Hôte*, 27.
46. Miss Leary and Father Demo: Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village*, 22.
47. Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 203–204, divides the newer arrivals into two subgroups, but their economic status was so similar that I combined them here.
52. On County Clare organizations see *The Irish-American*, Jan. 25, 1902, p. 4; July 12, 1902, p. 5; Oct. 23, 1909, p. 4; Nov. 13, 1909, p. 8; Dec. 18, 1909, pp. 7–8, and Jan. 8, 1910, p. 2. My thanks to John T. Ridge for bringing William Crowley’s cigar business to my attention.
56. Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America*, 27.
67. For a list of New York City polling places in 1897 see New York Times, Oct. 8, 1897, p. 15.
68. Despite some factual errors, two old biographies, Louis J. Gribetz and Joseph Kane, Jimmie Walker, and Fowler, Beau James, remain the best sources of information on his career before 1909. George Walsh, Gentleman Jimmy Walker; 12–22, draws heavily on these accounts in describing Walker’s early life.
70. Curran, Pillar to Post, 114.
71. Ibid., 115.

2. For Their Mutual Benefit
1. The historian quotation: Alan F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 6–7. The constitution quoted here is the University Settlement Society’s: Woods and Kennedy, eds., Handbook of Settlements, 228. For general background on the settlement movement see Davis, Spearheads, Mina Carson, Settlement Folk, and Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935.
5. Thomas’s words as quoted in the University Settlement Society of New York, Report for the Year, 1900, 18–20.
8. The quotations are from ibid., and an undated New York Sun clipping in reel 6, Univ.S.Soc. Papers. See also New York Evening Journal, May 15, 1901, p. 8; New York Times, same date, p. 5; and New York Tribune, same date, p. 1.
9. Mary K. Simkhovitch, Neighborhood, 92.
11. Ibid., 64; and Richmond Hill House report for 1907, quoted in Woods and Kennedy; eds., Handbook of Settlements, 221.
12. University Settlement Society of New York, Year Book (1901), 66–67. See Carson, Settlement Folk, 52, on the slum dwellers’ generally greater receptivity to “organized, regularly scheduled, and resident-led activities” over “simple sociability.”
18. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 60. Simkhovitch's *Neighborhood* (1938) and her *Here Is God’s Plenty* (1949) are invaluable primary sources on her life and thought. For a scholarly treatment see Domenica Maria Barbuto, “‘The Matrix of Understanding.’”
20. Ibid., 88.
27. The Greenwich House men no sooner moved out of number 88 in September 1903 than Robert Hunter, having resigned as University Settlement's headworker and married J. G. Phelps Stokes's sister Caroline, moved in. While the Hunters were still in residence, Caroline's unmarried sister, Helen Stokes, rented 90 Grove Street from Blum. (She later bought it and eventually purchased number 88 also, leasing the space she didn't need in the houses to social progressives in her circle, including her brother, J. G. Phelps Stokes, and his wife, Rose Pastor Stokes.) These houses: Henry Hope Reed Jr., “Discover New York,” *New York Herald Tribune*.
31. Ibid., 36.
33. The quotation is from ibid., 8.
35. Ibid., 6, 29, 136.
36. Ibid., 12.
37. Ibid., 152–201.
38. Ibid., 190–95.
39. Ibid., 191–92.
40. Ibid., 190–93.
41. Ibid., 167–71.
42. Ibid., 170.
43. Ibid., 171–75.
44. Ibid., 172, 174–75.
45. Ibid., 30, 156–59.
3. The Patrician Response

5. Ibid., May 31, 1890, p. 1.
6. Ibid., May 5, 1895, p. 3.
9. For information on these households see U.S. Census: New York (1900), reel 1085, E. D. 106, pp. 15B, 16A, 18B.
16. On John Taylor Johnston and the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Calvin Tomkins, Merchants and Masterpieces. After her father’s death Emily Johnston de Forest became a major benefactor of the museum, a role described by Kathleen D. McCarthy, Women’s Culture, 120–21.
17. Emily Johnston de Forest, John Johnston of New York, Merchant, 154.
19. Facts about these individuals and their households was drawn from census and directory sources and the Greenwich Village Historic District Designation Report, 1:52–59, 142–49.
20. The best single source on de Forest is still Hijiya, “Four Ways of Looking at a Philanthropist,” cited above in number 15.
22. For the quotation see Hijiya, “Four Ways of Looking at a Philanthropist,” 413–14. C.O.S. Annual Reports from the 1880s show that de Forest served on district committees from 1884 to 1888. See series I, box 192, Charity Organization Society files, Community Service Society Papers.

23. Greenwich Village housing data: Robert W. de Forest and Lawrence Veiller, eds., The Tenement House Problem, 1:194, 200–201, 205.


27. De Forest and Veiller, eds., The Tenement House Problem, 1:201. For housing trends see Ware, Greenwich Village, chart 1, opp. p. 12.


29. There is a chapter on Grant in Kennedy, The Unknown Worshipper, 77–90. For examples of his harping on the free pew situation see Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1905), p. 3; (1906), p. 3; (1911), p. 3; and (1913), p. 8—all published in the stated years by Ascension Press of New York. Copies at New York Public Library.

30. Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1907), 5.

31. Grant used the word “inclusion” in ibid., 5. Elsewhere he seemed to prefer the word “catholicity,” as for example in the 1908 Year Book, 5–6.

32. The quoted words, in the order they appear in the text, are from World’s Work (July 1905), 6414; New York Tribune (Jan. 21, 1905); New York Mail (Jan. 5, 1899)—all found in “Scrapbooks,” box 37, People’s Institute Papers, New York Public Library. See also Fisher, “The People’s Institute of New York City.”

33. Christian Herald (Jan. 29, 1902), clipping in box 37, People’s Institute Papers, New York Public Library. Another collection, small but useful: People’s Institute Papers, Cooper Union for Science and Art.

34. Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1908), 88.

35. Ibid., 85.

36. New York Times, April 9, 1910, part 2, p. 191, a review of Irvine’s autobiography, From the Bottom Up (1909). For more on Irvine see New York Sun, Nov. 23, 1913, part 4, p. 4, and Kathryn J. Oberdeck, The Evangelist and the Impresario, 237–49, which cover his career at the Church of the Ascension. Oberdeck notes (p. 403) that some of Irvine’s papers, including copies of sermons from the Church of the Ascension period, have been deposited at the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., where “they await archival organization.”

37. Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1908), 82.

38. Ibid., 82, 85, 87; Kennedy, The Unknown Worshipper, 84.

Notes to Pages 100–116

40. Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1908), 5–6, 85.
41. Ibid., 82, 86.
42. Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1909), 4, 69–70.
43. For a complete list of vestrymen see Kennedy, The Unknown Worshipper, 166–73, and Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1910), 4.
47. Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1910), 5–6.
49. Church of the Ascension, Year Book (1908), 6.
51. These individuals were identified through standard biographical sources: Dictionary of American Biography, Who Was Who, and Who’s Who in New York.
53. Ibid., no. 3 (May 15, 1907): 6.
54. Ibid., no. 8 (Oct. 31, 1908): 2.
59. Ibid., no. 11 (June 17, 1909): 6.
60. Ibid., no. 11 (June 17, 1909): 12–13; no. 13 (Jan. 1, 1910): 3; and no. 14 (Feb. 28, 1910): 5–6, 11.
61. Curran, Pillar to Post, 134.
65. Ibid., 132–34.
69. Ibid., no. 11 (June 17, 1909): 8.
4. Allies


4. Printed sources on Vorse include her autobiography, A Footnote to Folly; Dee Garrison, ed., Rebel Pen; and Dee Garrison, Mary Heaton Vorse. The major manuscript collection is the Mary Heaton Vorse Papers, Wayne State University. Vorse’s oral history memoir, “The Reminiscences of Mary H. Vorse,” (Columbia University), is strongest on her later years.

5. Vorse, A Footnote to Folly, p. 32; and New York Tribune, Feb. 11, 1906, sec. 4, p. 4, in which the group is called “A Club.” See also James Boylan, Revolutionary Lives.


11. On the NYWTUL see Nancy Schrom Dye, As Equals and as Sisters.


16. On the Pooles: Truman Frederick Keefer, Ernest Poole, 35. The marriage of Graham and Rose Pastor Stokes, another Protestant-Jewish couple in the University Settlement Soci-
ety group, received even more intense newspaper attention: box 75, J. G. P. Stokes Papers. See also Patrick Renshaw, “Rose of the World,” 415–23.


19. Garrison, *Vorse*, 38; Walter Weyl to Mary Heaton Vorse, June 26, 1907, Vorse Papers, WSU.


23. Eastman to Mother, Feb. 18, 1905; box 6, folder 168, Eastman Papers.


30. *Charities and the Commons* was renamed *Survey* in 1909. On Kellogg see Clarke Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey*.


38. Ida Tarbell, as quoted in *Carola Woerishoffer*, p. 5.


43. Ibid., ch. 3, p. 20.
45. Eastman's Enjoyment of Living, 319–84, gives a detailed account of these events, but one marred by his air of studied superiority to Milholland and Rauh.
46. Vorse, A Footnote to Folly, 38.
48. Transcript I:30, N.Y.C. Immigrant Women, CUNY American Social History Project.
50. For the WTUL’s list of eleven major activities undertaken on behalf of the strikers see Tax, The Rising of the Women, 228.
57. Vorse, A Footnote to Folly, 39.
58. Leon Stein, The Triangle Fire, 211.
60. Ernest Poole, “My Street,” 188.
61. These names come from newspaper reports; the “Registry of Masses,” no. 4, in series XII, box 46, pp. 478–94, Records of Our Lady of Pompei: and Brown, From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village, 40–41.
5. Value Conflicts


7. The list is in *The Social Evil in New York City*, 43.


10. Raines Law sandwiches at O’Connor’s: Mary Heaton Vorse, “Village Story” or “The Villager,” box 33, Vorse Papers, WSU. For the committee’s file on “5 Greenwich Avenue, Luke O’Connor, licensee,” see box 46, Com.14 Papers, NYPL.

11. From midnight to 5:15 a.m. the interval between trains on the Sixth Avenue Elevated was fifteen minutes: *Appleton’s Dictionary of Greater New York*, 90.


13. On Cadigan’s: card file, box 47; investigator’s reports, Jan. 5, 1907, box 28; Com.14, *Bulletin #15* (Dec. 23, 1907) and *Bulletin #16* (Feb. 10, 1908) in box 86; Com.14 Papers, NYPL.

14. Curtin’s: card files, box 47; investigator’s report, box 28—both in ibid.

15. On Wallace’s Golden Swan, see box 47, ibid. Thomas J. Wallace’s obituary: *New York Times*, March 16, 1922, p. 17. In the 1910s, the Golden Swan was the leading example of a Village saloon where there was interracial mixing across class lines. For the evolution of this phenomenon in the 1920s: Kevin J. Mumford, *Interzones*, 133–56.

16. This account and the one on the West Side Cafe draw on notes made by various inspectors on various evenings in the early 1910s. A few minor changes in punctuation and spelling have been made to avoid an excessive use of *sic*. On the Green Cup Cafe: investigators’ notes for Aug. 26 and Sept. 16, 1911, Feb. 6 and May 23, 1912, Apr. 26, 1913, and Oct. 29, 1913[?], in box 28, Com.14 Papers, NYPL. A 1912 survey of the going rates at 140 brothels (Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, 4–5) broke them down as follows: 20 “fifty-cent houses,” 80 “one-dollar houses,” 6 at two dollars, and 34 charging five to ten dollars.

17. West Side Cafe quotations here and in the next two paragraphs: investigator’s reports, Aug. 26, 1911, Feb. 6, 1912, and May 1912[?], in box 28, Com.14 Papers, NYPL.
18. U.S. Census: New York (1910), reel 1030, E. D. 809, p. 19A. For the committee’s campaign against Seiderman (also spelled Saiderman, Soidman, Saidman) and his successor: file for 6 Carmine St., box 44, Com.14 Papers, NYPL.
20. The Social Evil in New York City, xxxii.
23. The Social Evil in New York City, 53.
26. Greenwich House, Tenth Annual Report (1911), 13. Similar efforts by the People’s Institute and University Settlement met with similar responses (boredom or disorder) from their working-class clientele. See Peiss, Cheap Amusements, 180–83.
27. Otho G. Cartwright, Boyhood and Lawlessness, 40–47, 141–42.
43. Gender, age, and occupational data from *U.S. Census: New York* (1910), reel 1030, E. D. 808, pp. 7B, 11B, 12A, 13A.
44. For the quotation and valuable statistical information: Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 48, 20–21, according to Mott, McClure’s had substantial revenue from advertising but still lagged Collier’s in 1905. See also Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 81–109.
47. Both Mama Bertolotti’s and Renganeschi’s, the latter unnamed, are described in Charles F. Peters, “When New York Dines A La Bohe’m,” 77–85. The Black Cat’s history is difficult to untangle. A few sources treat the West Broadway version as the original, but two contemporaneous sources contradict this, Madeleine Doty’s “Autobiography,” ch. 2, p. 4, and Guido Bruno, who wrote in 1915 (*Bruno Chap Books*, vol. 1, special number on “Anarchists,” pp. 6–7) that the original Black Cat on Bleecker “closed long ago.”
50. Box 46, Com.14 Papers, NYPL.
54. For Whitney’s ties with the settlement see Greenwich House *Annual Reports*, Greenwich House Papers.
56. There are many books on The Eight. Two recent studies provide a starting point from which to work back in the literature: Elizabeth Milroy, *Painters of a New Century*, and Rebecca Zurier, Robert W. Snyder, and Virginia M. Mecklenburg, *Metropolitan Lives*.
59. Berman, *Rebels on Eighth Street*, 92. For the importance of these and other Whitney purchases of paintings by American “progressives” see a letter Arthur B. Davies wrote her, as quoted in Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 240.
60. For these illustrations see Zurier et al., *Metropolitan Lives*, 122, 133, 140.

62. Parry, Garrets and Pretenders, 269.

63. For an edition of Sloan’s diary see St. John, ed., John Sloan’s New York Scene.

64. For Glackens and Shinn’s Waverly Place Players, synopses of several skits, and pictures of William and Edith Glackens and Everett and Flossie Shinn in performance see Ira Glackens, William Glackens and the Ashcan Group, 140–45.

65. Robert W. Snyder and Rebecca Zurier place The Haymarket and other pictures by The Eight in the urban milieu of the time: Zurier et al., Metropolitan Lives, 156–71.

66. New York Call, Mar. 27, 1911, p. 1. See also Patricia Hills, “John Sloan’s Images of Working-Class Women,” 157–96, which includes a reproduction of Sloan’s “In Memoriam.”

67. On the Brue`res: Bert Vorse to Mary Heaton Vorse, April [1910], box 52, Vorse Papers, WSU. The count of the A Clubbers’ magazine articles is based on The Reader’s Guide to Periodical Literature, which covered major journals only.


69. Vorse, “Village Story,” or “The Villager,” box 33, Vorse Papers, WSU. See also Garrison, Mary Heaton Vorse, 48–49.

70. Vorse, “Picture Show Audiences,” 441–47.

71. An early source on the A Clubbers and the Crazy Cat Club is Djuna Barnes, “Greenwich Village as It Is,” Pearson’s Magazine (Oct. 1916), reprinted in Alyce Barry, ed., Djuna Barnes, 223–32. See Djuna Barnes, Greenwich Village as It Is, 13, for the incident itself. Barnes places it in 1906, all right for the A Club but unlikely for Edwards. 1910 works better: Parry, Garrets and Pretenders, 267–68; and Bert Vorse to Mary Heaton Vorse, April 23, [1910], box 52, Vorse Papers, WSU.


74. Vorse, A Footnote to Folly, 13.

6. Becoming Bohemia

1. The Village as bohemia: “Greenwich Village,” 239–41; and “Disillusioned by ‘Bohemia’?,” 688–93. For Chambers, Ford, Huneker, and O. Henry see Parry, Garrets and Pretenders, 92–93, 258–60. The bistro called “Garibaldi’s” in James L. Ford’s Bohemia Invaded (1895) may be based on the original MacDougal Street Maria’s. Maria’s and other bohemian hangouts are mentioned in Ford’s Forty-odd Years in the Literary Shop, 206–7.


4. Two vivid recent overviews of the Seventh Village: Watson, Strange Bedfellows; and Christine Stansell, American Moderns.

5. On The Masses see Leslie Fishbein, Rebels in Bohemia; Rebecca Zurier, Art for “The Masses”; and Margaret C. Jones, Heretics and Hellraisers.
Notes to Pages 192–204

10. Steve Golin, The Fragile Bridge. See also Green, New York 1913; and Anne Huber Tripp, The I.W.W. and the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913.
16. Kate E. Wittenstein, “The Heterodoxy Club and American Feminism, 1912–1930,” 113. Both Wittenstein (pp. 12, 22) and Judith Schwarz, Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy, 17, say that Heterodoxy was founded in 1912 with twenty-five charter members, details based on Inez Haynes Irwin, “Adventures of Yesterday,” 413–14, Inez Haynes Irwin Papers. But according to another original member, Edna Kenton, Heterodoxy was founded in January 1913 and had seventeen charter members. See Edna Kenton to Mabel Dodge Luhan, March 25, 1936, Edna Kenton Papers.
21. Vorse, Footnote to Folly, 61.
22. Susan Glaspell, The Road to the Temple, 236.
37. Village population figures vary depending on the area included. I’ve used the Greenwich Village Improvement Society, “Report to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, New York City” (typescript, June 1914), 3–4, copy at New York Public Library. See also Ware, *Greenwich Village*, graph opp. p. 38.
38. The quotation: Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 127. Using census figures from six south and west Village sanitary districts, Ware’s research team reported the numbers for “Negroes and other coloreds” as 1,275 in 1910 and 572 in 1920 (Census Summary file, box 51, Caroline Ware Papers, F.D.R. Library).
40. Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 206. After World War I the County Clare Men’s Society moved its meetings out of the Village.
p. 4A. The New York Times, Apr. 15, 1917, sec. 4, p. 5, reported that the Seventh Avenue subway would spark a Village building boom.


44. People’s Institute, “How Would You Like to Open a Door Like This—Ten Minutes After You ‘Punch the Clock?’” (1914).


47. Ware, Greenwich Village, 106, 424.

48. Ibid., 439. Ware saved more than four boxes of raw data related to her Greenwich Village research but did not preserve the questionnaires compiled for Irish Villagers. However, the responses of Italian Villagers may be found in the “Questionnaire Summaries” file, box 52, Ware Papers.

49. Ware, Greenwich Village, 82, 99–100, 104. See also her section “Two Social Worlds” (105–26).

50. Ibid., 212.


52. On the public school social center movement see Barbuto, “‘The Matrix of Understanding,’” 170–76.

53. New York Times, May 20, 1913, p. 3; May 21, 1913, p. 11; and May 25, 1913, p. 8; and “The Spectator,” The Outlook 104 (June 7, 1913): 300–303.


56. Lindsay Denison to Elizabeth F. Thorne, May 21, 1913, box 1, file 11, Greenwich House Papers. Denison said the letter would be published, but the item is not clearly identifiable among the Old Home Week letters in the microfilmed editions of the New York World.

57. David Glassberg, American Historical Pageantry, 128–33.


62. Ibid., 46–51. For examples of Demo’s correspondence with non-Italian individuals and agencies: series I, box 2, folders 13–18, and series I, box 10, folder 108, Records of Our Lady of Pompei.

63. On scholarship about New York City neighborhoods see Kenneth A. Scherzer, The Unbounded Community, 1–15.

64. On ethnically mixed wards: Frederick M. Binder and David M. Reimers, All the Nations under Heaven, 104–105.

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