

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Floyd Dell, *Love in Greenwich Village*, 16. The names and spellings used here are Dell's. Recent scholars offer variations: Steven Watson, *Strange Bedfellows*, 123, and Rick Beard and Leslie Cohen Berlowitz, eds., *Greenwich Village*, 55.
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.
3. Dell, *Love in Greenwich Village*, 14.
4. Two phases: Watson, *Strange Bedfellows*, 123. American quarter: Thomas A. Janvier, "Greenwich Village," 356–57, and Janvier, *In Old New York*, 148. Foreign-born population: Caroline F. Ware, *Greenwich Village, 1920–1930*, 11.
5. Many Seventh Villagers wrote memoirs and, like Dell, most—e.g., Hutchins Hapgood, *A Victorian in the Modern World*, and Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living*—implicitly adopted the rise-of-bohemia framework. For treatments of the pre–World War I Village by the next generation of observers see Albert Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders*, and Allen Churchill, *The Improper Bohemians*. Three recent studies place the Seventh Village rebels in broader contexts: Watson, *Strange Bedfellows*; Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick, eds., 1915, *The Cultural Moment*; and Christine Stansell, *American Moderns*.
6. Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 93. See pp. 81–105 for Ware's comparison of the pre- and post-war Village.

I. NEIGHBORS AND STRANGERS

1. Hapgood, *Types from City Streets*, 9. By 1905 a successor "Chat Noir" was doing business at 551 West Broadway, just around the corner from the original Black Cat.

2. On African American Villagers prior to the Civil War see Thelma Wills Foote, "Cross-roads or Settlement?" in Beard and Berlowitz, eds., *Greenwich Village: Culture and Counterculture*, 120–33. The history of the term "Little Africa" is outlined by Sule Greg C. Wilson, "Little Africa," in Kenneth T. Jackson, ed., *The Encyclopedia of New York City*, 685.
3. Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 157.
4. *Ibid.*, 161–62.
5. "Stephen Crane in Minetta Lane," in Fredson Bowers, ed., *Stephen Crane: Tales, Sketches, and Reports*, 400–404.
6. *Ibid.*, 403, 405.
7. *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1082, E. D. 52, pp. 24B–25A.
8. Louise Bolard More, *Wage-Earners' Budgets*, 16–21.
9. *U.S. Census: New York* (1910), reel 1030, E. D. 809, p. 9A.
10. *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1082, E. D. 52. For data on lot size, building use, and building height see the *Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps: New York* (1904; microfilm ed., 1983), reel 55, vol. 3, map 6.
11. *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1082, E. D. 52, pp. 14B–15B.
12. The term "Richmond Negro": William F. Ogburn, "The Richmond Negro in New York City," Great Migration's communal and familial features: Joe William Trotter Jr., ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective*.
13. The three studies by Giddings students: William F. Ogburn, cited in note 12 above; Ernest Jasper Hopper, "A Northern Negro Group", and Seymour Paul, "A Group of Virginia Negroes in New York City."
14. Ogburn, "The Richmond Negro in New York City," 47, and Paul, "A Group of Virginia Negroes in New York City," 26–47.
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.
16. For the number of nineteenth-century black Villagers see Lucille Genevieve Lomax, "A Social History of the Negro Population in the Section of New York City known as Greenwich Village," 31–41.
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 Abyssinian 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.
18. *New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1896, p. 16.
19. Ogburn, "The Richmond Negro in New York City," 58, 64.
20. *Ibid.*, 42.
21. Paul, "A Group of Virginia Negroes in New York City," 49; Hopper, "A Northern Negro Group," 36; and *New York Times*, Oct. 13, 1896, p. 2.
22. Ogburn, "The Richmond Negro in New York City," 39–40; and *New York Times*, Apr. 29, 1889, 11.
23. *New York Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1889, p. 5.
24. Ogburn, "The Richmond Negro in New York City," 21. The estimate of Chase's income

- 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.
 26. Ovington, *Half a Man*, 34–35.
 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.
 29. Tricarico, *Italians of Greenwich Village*, 13.
 30. *New York Tribune*, Mar. 6, 1895, p. 4; *New York Times*, Apr. 29, 1895, p. 2.
 31. Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village*, 17, 22–24.
 32. *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, May 10, 1898, p. 2.
 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.
 36. Baptismal records: Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village*, 16. Pio Parolin, “Autobiography,” p. 41 of the Italian version, Father Pio Parolin Papers, Center for Migration Studies. Marriage registration figures: Patrizia Salvetti, “Una parrocchia italiana di New York e i suoi fedeli,” 50–52.
 37. Tricarico, *The Italians of Greenwich Village*, 14.
 38. Mary Elizabeth Brown, “A Case Study of the Italian Laymen and Parish Life at Our Lady of Pompei, Greenwich Village, New York City,” in Frank J. Cavaoli, Angela Danzi, and Salvatore J. LaGumina, eds., *Italian Americans and Their Public and Private Life*, 94–102. Also consulted: census, city directory, and parish records, the latter found in the “Records of Our Lady of Pompei,” Center for Migration Studies.
 39. *New York Times*, May 31, 1896, p. 32. Also spelled Fugazi.
 40. On Fugazy see Victor R. Greene, *American Immigrant Leaders, 1800–1910*, 122–28.
 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.
44. Undated letter from Zaboglio to his superior, Bishop Scalabrini, quoted in Stephen Michael Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants," 373. For more details about Leary see *ibid.*, 365, 372, and *New York Times*, Apr. 27, 1919, p. 22.
45. Marie's patrons: Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders* 91–95, and James L. Ford, *Forty-odd Years in the Literary Shop*, 206–207. Social service agencies and Italian immigrants: Lilian Brandt, *The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, 1882–1907*, 160, and Robert A. Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, eds., *Handbook of Settlements*, 221.
46. Miss Leary and Father Demo: Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village*, 32. Judson Church's outreach: Anthony F. Mauriello, "Our Lady of Pompei, New York City: Its First Twenty-five Years" (Typescript dated May 11, 1967), copy in Records of Our Lady of Pompei, series V, box 25, folder 291.
47. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 107.
48. Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 203–204, divides the newer arrivals into two subgroups, but their economic status was so similar that I combined them here.
49. Gene Fowler, *Beau James*, 21.
50. *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1082, E. D. 56, p. 14 and E. D. 58, pp. 13A–13B.
51. Quotation: Hamilton Fish Armstrong, *Those Days*, 62–63. *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1082, E. D. 56, pp. 14–15A; E. D. 57, pp. 1A–1B and 11B–12A; and E. D. 58, pp. 9A–12B.
52. John T. Ridge, "Irish County Societies in New York, 1880–1914," in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher, eds., *The New York Irish*, 296. On County Clare Street and the County Antrim colony see Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 204, 639.
53. 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.
54. Jones Street saloons: Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 90.
55. Old-time Democrat's statement: Fowler, *Beau James*, 14. Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 204, quotes the unwritten rule.
56. Burrows and Wallace, *Gotbam*, 828.
57. Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America*, 27.
58. For the diary of a priest who participated in Farrell's discussion group see Nelson J. Callahan, ed., *Diary of Richard L. Burtzell, Priest of New York*. Farrell, Burtzell, and Accademia: Florence D. Cohalan, *A Popular History of the Archdiocese of New York*, 121.
59. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 171–72.
60. On Father O'Flynn see *The Catholic News*, Aug. 25, 1906, p. 1, and Sept. 1, 1906, p. 2. The Boys' Club is described in *The Irish-American*, Jan. 11, 1902, p. 5.
61. For an analysis of Seth Low-era battles between municipal reformers and machine politicians see Kenneth Finegold, *Experts and Politicians*, 35–44. Oliver E. Allen, *The Tiger*, 170–205, offers a lively account of the Croker regime.
62. *New York Times*, Apr. 8, 1962, p. 87, and June 28, 1905, p. 3; *U.S. Census: New York*: (1880), reel 7, E. D. 231, p. 14; (1900), reel 1087, E. D. 145, p. 5; (1910), reel 1006, E. D. 164, p. 11A; and (1920), reel 1189, E. D. 233, p. 11.
63. *New York Times*, Apr. 8, 1962, p. 87.
64. Henry H. Curran, *Pillar to Post*, 129.

65. “Milk punch” quotation: Fowler, *Beau James*, 14. Simkhovitch mentions her friendship with Walker in *Neighborhood*, 170–71. On Voorhis: *New York Times*, Feb. 6, 1932, p. 15.
66. *New York Times*, May 16, 1913, p. 13.
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.
69. *Tammany Times*, Sept. 30, 1901, p. 15. On commercial entertainments and working-class New Yorkers see Daniel Czitrom, “Underworlds and Underdogs,” 536–58, and Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.
70. Curran, *Pillar to Post*, 114.
71. *Ibid.*, 115.
72. Tammany’s response to the changing times: Thomas M. Henderson, *Tammany Hall and the New Immigrants*, and Robert F. Wesser, *A Response to Progressivism*.

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*.
2. “Headworker’s Reports, March 1900 and October 1900,” Series 4: Headworkers’ Subject and Correspondence File, reel 6, microfilm ed., University Settlement Society of New York City Papers; hereafter cited as Univ.S.Soc. Papers.
3. University Settlement Society of New York, *Report for the Year, 1900*, 17.
4. James B. Reynolds, “The Settlement and Municipal Reform,” in Isabel Barrows, ed., *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 142; and “Headworker’s Report, March 1900,” reel 6, Univ.S.Soc. Papers.
5. Thomas’s words as quoted in the University Settlement Society of New York, *Report for the Year, 1900*, 18–20.
6. James B. Reynolds to Mary K. Simkhovitch, Mar. 13, 1901, reel 6, Univ.S.Soc. Papers.
7. *New York World*, May 15, 1901, p. 1.
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.
10. University Settlement Society of New York, *Year Book* (1901), 64–67.
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.”
13. On this group see James Boylan, *Revolutionary Lives*, and Robert D. Reynolds Jr., “The Millionaire Socialists.” For Finn, who married Scott in 1904, see “Who’s Who Section,” reel 22, Univ.S.Soc. Papers.

14. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform*, 33-34.
15. Jeremy P. Felt, *Hostages of Fortune*, 38-62, 220. See reel 2, Univ.S.Soc. Papers, for Hunter's May 19, 1903 child labor campaign report.
16. See Richmond Hill House's introductory announcement, dated August 25, 1903, in box 4, James Graham Phelps Stokes Papers.
17. Robert Hunter to V. Everit Macy, Aug. 9, 1902, reel 6, Univ. S. Soc. Papers.
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."
19. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 11-59, on her early career.
20. *Ibid.*, 88.
21. Henry N. Hyde and Emerson G. Taylor, eds., *Quindecennial Record, Class of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-five, Yale College*, 116.
22. Jones Street's buildings: *Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps: New York* (1904; microfilm ed., 1983), reel 55, vol. 3, map 5.
23. Population and nationality data from *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1085, E. V. 99.
24. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 112-13, 116-17, 138; Greenwich House, *Second Annual Report* (1904), 7-8. For microfilm copies of this and other *Annual Reports*: Greenwich House Papers. See also Mary White Ovington, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 13.
25. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 90.
26. Greenwich House, *First Annual Report* (1903), 5. For the visitor's observations: *New York Times*, Aug. 16, 1903, p. 10.
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*.
28. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 95.
29. Miriam Finn Scott's statement in "Who's Who Section," Reel 22, Univ.S.Soc. Papers.
30. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 95-96.
31. *Ibid.*, 36.
32. Greenwich House, *First Annual Report*, 3.
33. The quotation is from *ibid.*, 8.
34. More, *Wage-Earners' Budgets*, 11-12.
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.

46. *Ibid.*, 156, 158.
47. *Ibid.*, 159; and Elsa Herzfeld, *A West Side Rookery*, 22.
48. Herzfeld, *A West Side Rookery*, 21–23. Anna Schumacher is called Mrs. Fisher throughout.
49. *Ibid.*, 5. The privy's outdoor location is mentioned by Simkhovitch, *Here Is God's Plenty*, 33.
50. Herzfeld, *A West Side Rookery*, 9.
51. *Ibid.*, 9–11; and *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1085, E. D. 100, pp. 4A–4B.

3. THE PATRICIAN RESPONSE

1. Henry James, *The American Scene*, 4, 87–95.
2. Neith Boyce, "Autobiography," series III, box 30, folder 914, p. 129; Hapgood Family Papers.
3. *New York Tribune*, May 1, 1889, p. 8.
4. *New York Times*, May 31, 1890, p. 1; May 5, 1895, p. 3.
5. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1890, p. 1.
6. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1895, p. 3.
7. Sidney Ratner, ed., *New Light on the Great American Fortunes*, 51.
8. Terry Miller, *Greenwich Village and How It Got That Way*, 225. For background on the People's Institute see Robert B. Fisher, "The People's Institute of New York City, 1897–1934."
9. For information on these households see *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1085, E. D. 106, pp. 15B, 16A, 18B.
10. On the "new immigrants": Maxine Schwartz Seller, ed., *Immigrant Women*, 83, 87. See also Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, "Special Reports: Occupations", 646.
11. Richard Watson Gilder and *The Century*: Arthur John, *The Best Years of the Century*, ix–xi, 1–4; and Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence*, 52–79.
12. Mary Heaton Vorse, "Village Story," box 33, Mary Heaton Vorse Papers.
13. On some Mugwumps as social progressives: Gerald W. McFarland, *Mugwumps, Morals, and Politics, 1884–1920*, 107–23.
14. Michael G. Kammen, "Richard Watson Gilder and the New York Tenement House Commission of 1894," 364–82. On the Trinity furor: *New York Times* Dec. 9, 1894, p. 1; Dec. 13, 1894, p. 3; Dec. 14, 1894, p. 2; Dec. 24, 1894, p. 8.
15. James A. Hijiya, "Four Ways of Looking at a Philanthropist: A Study of Robert Weeks de Forest," 404–18.
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.
18. Armstrong, *Those Days*, 62–63.
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.
21. Brandt, *The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York*, 157.

22. For the quotation see Hijjiya, “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.
24. Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City*, 48. Plunz also notes (pp. 84–85, 125–26) less positive results. A vigorous case that for the poorest of the poor the law’s benefits “proved to be largely illusory” is made by Anthony Jackson, *A Place Called Home*, 135–56. An essay by Jenna Weissman Joselit, “The Landlord as Czar,” in Ronald Lawson, ed., *The Tenant Movement in New York City, 1904–1984*, describes the angry response of Lower East Side tenement dwellers to rising rents, 1904–1914 (pp. 40–49).
25. Lowell’s comment: “Fortieth Anniversary [of Robert W. de Forest’s] Presidency of the Charity Organization Society, January 10, 1928,” series I, box 96, p. 46, C.O.S. files, Community Service Society Papers. Scholarly treatments of Low’s decision and de Forest’s and Veiller’s responses differ. See Hijjiya, “Four Ways of Looking at a Philanthropist,” 415; Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums*, 153–54; Gerald Kurland, *Seth Low*, 145–46; and Davis, *Spearheads for Reform*, 183.
26. *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1901, p. 1.
27. De Forest and Veiller, eds., *The Tenement House Problem*, 1:201. For housing trends see Ware, *Greenwich Village*, chart 1, opp. p. 12.
28. James W. Kennedy, *The Unknown Worshipper*, 80, 88.
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.
39. Madge C. Jenison, “The Church and the Social Unrest,” *Outlook* 89 (May 16, 1908):

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.
44. *New York Times*, June 25, 1910, p. 1, which misspelled Fieldman's name.
45. *Ibid.* For the pre-1913 Liberal Club: Lincoln Steffens to his mother, Feb. 7, 1910, in Ella Winter and Granville Hicks, eds., *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, 1:237–38.
46. *New York Times*, June 27, 1910, p. 2.
47. Church of the Ascension, *Year Book* (1910), 5–6.
48. *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1910, p. 5; and Bruce St. John, ed., *John Sloan's New York Scene*, 475.
49. Church of the Ascension, *Year Book* (1908), 6.
50. *New York Times*, June 27, 1910, p. 2.
51. These individuals were identified through standard biographical sources: *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Who Was Who*, and *Who's Who in New York*.
52. Washington Square Association *Bulletin* (hereafter cited as *WSA Bulletin*), no. 1 (Feb. 19, 1907): 1, and no. 4 (Dec. 31, 1907): 1. Copies at New York Public Library.
53. *Ibid.*, no. 3 (May 15, 1907): 6.
54. *Ibid.*, no. 8 (Oct. 31, 1908): 2.
55. J. Owen Grundy, "No. 8 Former Home of Mayors," *The Villager* (July 29, 1948), clipping in a Grundy scrapbook, "Greenwich Village–Washington Square."
56. *U.S. Census: New York* (1910), reel 1061, E. D. 826, p. 11B, for Mastrino; *ibid.*, reel 1030, E. D. 808, p. 1A, for Gordon.
57. See *WSA Bulletin*, no. 10 (Mar. 25, 1909): 6–12, 17–18, 20–24; and no. 13 (Jan. 1, 1910): 3, 5.
58. *Ibid.*, no. 10 (Mar. 25, 1909): 11–12, 20–21.
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.
62. Armstrong, *Those Days*, 59.
63. *WSA Bulletin*, no. 10 (Mar. 25, 1909): 21–22; no. 11 (June 17, 1909): 2, 11; no. 13 (Jan. 1, 1910): 5; and no. 15 (Oct. 1, 1910): 14–16.
64. Curran, *Pillar to Post*, 116, 118–26, 130–31.
65. *Ibid.*, 132–34.
66. *Ibid.*, 134–36, and *WSA Bulletin*, no. 22 (Dec. 17, 1913): 21; and no. 19 (Dec. 30, 1911): 10–11.
67. *WSA Bulletin*, no. 17 (Apr. 29, 1911): 10.
68. *Ibid.*, no. 15 (Oct. 1, 1910): 8; no. 17 (Apr. 29, 1911): 16; no. 18 (Sept. 30, 1911): 4, 12; no. 20 (Mar. 30, 1912): 9.
69. *Ibid.*, no. 11 (June 17, 1909): 8.
70. *Ibid.*, no. 20 (Mar. 30, 1912): 4–5; no. 21 (Dec. 17, 1912): 4; and no. 18 (Sept. 30, 1911): 2, 9, 12–13. On Stover: *New York Times*, Mar. 23, 1911, p. 6; and Apr. 26, 1929, p. 25.
71. *WSA Bulletin*, no. 17 (Apr. 29, 1911): 10.
72. Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920*, 235–51. The quotation is from p. 240. For related material on Central Park see Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People*, 392–94, 412–16, 423–25.

73. WSA *Bulletin*, no. 20 (Mar. 30, 1912): 18–19.
74. *Ibid.*, 19–23.
75. *Ibid.*, no. 21 (Dec. 17, 1912): 4; no. 23 (Feb. 28, 1914): 1, 4, 9, 18–19; and no. 24 (July 14, 1914): 1–5, 11–12, 17, 19.
76. *Ibid.*, no. 20 (Mar. 30, 1912): 1.

4. ALLIES

1. On Boyce and Hapgood see the Hapgood Family Papers. See also three items by Ellen Kay Trimberger on the Boyce-Hapgood marriage: Trimberger, ed., *Intimate Warriors*; Trimberger, “The New Woman and the New Sexuality,” in Heller and Rudnick, eds., 1915, *The Cultural Moment*; and Trimberger, “Feminism, Men, and Modern Love,” in Ann Snitow, Cristine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson, eds., *Powers of Desire*, 131–52.
2. For N.Y.U. and women law students see Phyllis Eckhaus, “Restless Women,” 1996–2013. Women and the legal profession ca. 1900: Karen Berger Morello, *The Invisible Bar*; and Virginia G. Drachman, *Women Lawyers and the Origins of Professional Identity in America*.
3. Doty and Rauh: Madeleine Z. Doty, “Autobiography,” box 2, folder 32, Madeleine Z. Doty Papers.
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*.
6. *New York Tribune*, Feb. 11, 1906, sec. 4, p. 4.
7. *Ibid.* See also *New York Tribune*, Feb. 8, 1906, p. 2; *New York Evening Journal*, Feb. 7, 1906, p. 5; and Feb. 8, 1906, p. 9.
8. Ernest Poole, *The Bridge*, 113–76. English Walling to Anna Strunsky, from Paris, undated 1905, in series I, box 15, Anna Strunsky Walling Papers, Yale University; or reel 32292, microfilm ed., Anna Strunsky Walling Papers, Tamiment Institute Library.
9. Brubaker in Anna Strunsky Walling et. al., *William English Walling*, 39; Walling to Strunsky, undated 1905, series I, box 15, Anna Strunsky Walling Papers, Yale; and *New York World*, June 16, 1908, p. 1.
10. Filia Holtzman, “A Mission that Failed,” 227–37. See also Reynolds Jr., “The Millionaire Socialists,” 15–25; Poole, *The Bridge*, 172–74; Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 3, pp. 3–4; and Ernest Poole, “Maxim Gorki in New York,” 79–80.
11. On the NYWTUL see Nancy Schrom Dye, *As Equals and as Sisters*.
12. Max Horn, *The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 1905–1921*, 1–15, 235–36.
13. Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, 9–16, 97.
14. 1912 Socialist Party platform: Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History* (6th ed., 1958), 249–53.
15. Teller quotation: *New York Tribune*, Feb. 11, 1906, sec. 4, p. 4. Vorse, *A Footnote to Folly*, 34.
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.
17. *The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* listed many items by A Clubbers, 1906–10: Martha Bensley (4), Howard Brubaker (1), Robert Bruère (9), Arthur Bullard (4), Madeleine Z. Doty (1), Miriam Finn Scott (4), Hamilton Holt (7), Ernest Poole (30), Leroy Scott (17), Charlotte Teller (2), Mary Heaton Vorse (50), English Walling (13), Walter Weyl (11), Bertha Poole Weyl (7).
 18. Poole, *The Bridge*, 171; Vorse, *A Footnote to Folly*, 32–33.
 19. Garrison, *Vorse*, 38; Walter Weyl to Mary Heaton Vorse, June 26, 1907, Vorse Papers, WSU.
 20. Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 2, pp. 2–3.
 21. *Ibid.*, ch. 3, pp. 1–4.
 22. Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 3; and Eastman to Mother, Sept. 30, Oct. 1, and Oct. 17, 1906, box 6, folder 168, Crystal Eastman Papers.
 23. Eastman to Mother, Feb. 18, 1905, box 6, folder 168, Eastman Papers.
 24. Eastman to Mother, Dec. 5, 1906, *ibid.*
 25. Crystal to Max, n.d., [Dec. 1906]; to Mother, Feb. 12, 1907, *ibid.*
 26. Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 3, p. 4.
 27. *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1907, Saturday Review of Books section, p. 16; Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 3, p. 7.
 28. “Love is everything”: Anna Strunsky Walling, “David Graham Phillips, The Last Years of His Life,” 20; see also a Phillips letter (1910) quoted in Louis Filler, *Voice of Democracy, A Critical Biography of David Graham Phillips*, 145. “Love and sex”: Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 3, p. 7.
 29. Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 3, pp. 8, 10; and David Graham Phillips to Doty, June 27, 1907, box I, folder 12, in *ibid.* Doty saved fifty-five of Phillips's letters to her.
 30. *Charities and the Commons* was renamed *Survey* in 1909. On Kellogg see Clarke Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey*.
 31. Eastman to Mother, June 3, 1907, box 6, folder 169, and Crystal to Max Eastman, “Friday,” typescript 1909–5 [n.d., 1909], box 6, folder 171, Eastman Papers.
 32. Simkhovitch's statements: Greenwich House, *First Annual Report* (1903), 1; *Fifth Annual Report* (1906), 7; and *Eighth Annual Report* (1909), 17–18.
 33. Greenwich House, *Tenth Annual Report* (1911), 14; and *Eighth Annual Report* (1909), 16.
 34. Charity Organization Society, *Twenty-sixth Annual Report* (for year ending Sept. 1908), 29–33 copy in box 193, C.O.S. files. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 145.
 35. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 160. *New York Times* coverage of the exhibit and conference: Mar. 1, p. 5; Mar. 11, p. 3; Mar. 12, p. 2; Mar. 14, p. 3; and Mar. 15, p. 5—all in 1909.
 36. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 90, 160, and Simkhovitch, *Here Is God's Plenty*, 101.
 37. On Woerishoffer: Roderick W. Nash, “Carola Woerishoffer,” in Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women*, 4:539–40; *Carola Woerishoffer*; and Greenwich House, *Tenth Annual Report* (1911), 4–7.
 38. Ida Tarbell, as quoted in *Carola Woerishoffer*; p. 5.
 39. Sue Ainslie Clark and Edith Wyatt, “Women Laundry Workers in New York,” 404.
 40. Greenwich House, *Tenth Annual Report* (1911), 4–6.
 41. Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 3, pp. 13, 19.
 42. On Forel: Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (1986), 216. See Doty, “Autobiography,” ch. 3, pp. 19, 20, where she rendered the title of Forel's book as “Sex and Psychology.”

43. *Ibid.*, ch. 3, p. 20.
44. *New York Herald*, April 24, 1910, reprinted in Blanche Wiesen Cook, ed., *Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution*, 358–66; and Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living*, 340.
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.
47. Pauline Newman, "The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory," in Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky, eds., *American Mosaic*, 9–14. Newman worked for the company from 1901 to 1909.
48. Transcript I:30, N.Y.C. Immigrant Women, CUNY American Social History Project.
49. Accounts of the strike: Dye, *As Equals and Sisters*, 88–94; Meredith Tax, *The Rising of the Women*, 205–40; Philip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement*, 133–67.
50. For the WTUL's list of eleven major activities undertaken on behalf of the strikers see Tax, *The Rising of the Women*, 228.
51. *New York World*, Dec. 4, 1909, p. 18.
52. See "College Girls as Pickets in a Strike," *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1909, Magazine Section, p. 5. On individuals: Milholland in Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living*, 319; Woerishoffer in *Carola Woerishoffer*, 21–23; Bruère in Martha Bensley Bruère, "The Triangle Fire," 137; Weyl in *New York Times*, Dec. 4, 1909, p. 20; Vorse in Vorse, *A Footnote to Folly*, 33. The *New York Call*, Nov. 24, 1909, p. 2, reports that arrests of Triangle strikers dropped from 146 in the four weeks before NYWTUL women began picketing to only three in the next seven weeks, indicating that A Clubbers joined the picket lines before Vorse left for North Africa in late October 1909.
53. Michael McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power, 1830–1930," 864–85.
54. *New York Times*, May 22, 1910, p. 11; May 4, 1913, p. 1.
55. *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1909, Magazine Section, p. 5.
56. On tensions in the NYWTUL-worker coalition: Tax, *The Rising of the Women*, 226–27, 229–31, and Dye, *As Equals and Sisters*, 110–21, 134–37. Dye and Tax also find much to praise, as does Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870–1920*, 189–90. For divisions among second-wave feminists see Rachel Blau DuPlessis and Ann Snitow, eds., *The Feminist Memoir Project*, 8–21.
57. Vorse, *A Footnote to Folly*, 39.
58. Leon Stein, *The Triangle Fire*, 211.
59. Bruère, "The Triangle Fire," 137.
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.
62. *New York Times*, Apr. 27, 1911, p. 6.
63. Frances Perkins, "The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins," 90–114, 215–17; Czitrom, "Underworlds and Underdogs," 553–56.
64. Crystal Eastman, "A Year's Work-Accidents and Their Costs," 1143–74, and "Work-Accidents and Employer's Liability," 788–94; and More, *Wage-Earners' Budgets* (1907). For an investigator with close ties to Richmond Hill House: Mary Van Kleeck, *Artificial Flower Makers*, and the Mary Van Kleeck Papers.

5. VALUE CONFLICTS

1. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood*, 90.
2. Greenwich House, *Third Annual Report* (1904), 5.
3. Charles W. Gardner, *The Doctor and the Devil*, 58; and *New York Herald*, Jan. 5, 1892, p. 8. For the social context of male sexual practice in turn-of-the-century New York: George Chauncey Jr., *Gay New York*, 37–41, 67–68. Chauncey says (p. 68) that “slide” was a slang term denoting a place where men in women’s attire solicited male customers.
4. *New York Times*, Mar. 1, 1903, p. 10.
5. N.Y.C. Committee of Fourteen, *The Social Evil in New York City*, table XI, pp. 210–11. For the geography of Manhattan brothels, 1880–1889 and 1900–1909, see the maps in Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, 200–201.
6. Committee of 14, *The Social Evil in New York City*, xi–xxxiii. For statistics on Raines Law hotels in 1905: George J. Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, 34.
7. The list is in *The Social Evil in New York City*, 43.
8. On Whitin see *New York Times*, July 20, 1926, p. 19. New York City directories (1907–1908, 1910–11) listed his address as 501 West 113th. Several undercover reports by “F. H. Whitin, Investigator”: box 28, Committee of Fourteen Papers, New York Public Library (hereafter cited as Com.14 Papers, NYPL).
9. For a scholarly account of this sordid affair see Paul R. Baker, *Stanny*, 321–98. For the views of a great-granddaughter of White’s: Suzannah Lessard, *The Architect of Desire*, 277–304.
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.
12. Willoughby C. Waterman, *Prostitution and Its Repression in New York City, 1900–1931*, 103. Clinton Place Hotel file in box 47, Com.14 Papers, NYPL.
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, 191[5?], 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 191[2?], 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, Seidman, Saideman) and his successor: file for 6 Carmine St., box 44, Com.14 Papers, NYPL.
19. Minetta park plan: See Simkhovitch's letters to George McAneny and E. P. Goodrich in Mar. 1912, unprocessed box 6 (1911–13), Greenwich House Papers. Simkhovitch noted some successes in the Minetta Lane–Minetta Street crackdown in Greenwich House, *Eleventh Annual Report* (1913), 6–7. Gilfoyle, *City of Eros*, maps X and XI, pp. 201–202, show a significant drop in the number of Minetta-area brothels in the 1910s.
20. *The Social Evil in New York City*, xxxii.
21. More, *Wage-Earners' Budgets*, 94–97. Theater statistics: Lary May, *Screening Out the Past*, 35, 44. The quoted words: *The Social Evil in New York City*, xiv, 54–55.
22. More, *Wage-Earners' Budgets*, 94–97.
23. *The Social Evil in New York City*, 53.
24. Margaret M. Hanway to Father Antonio Demo, April 19, 1910, series I, box 1, Records of Our Lady of Pompei. The census gives the family name as Farcella: *U.S. Census: New York* (1910), reel 1005, E. D. 126, p. 12A. The Gazzola (not her real name) quotation: transcript II:25–26, N.Y.C. Immigrant Women, CUNY American Social History Project.
25. Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin' Out*, 154. On middle- and working-class crosscurrents see Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 182–84.
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.
28. Simkhovitch on the neighborhood's boy gangs: Greenwich House, *Eleventh Annual Report* (1913), 13.
29. This description of the Village crime rate draws on the *New York World*, July 3, 1898, p. 20; and robbery statistics compiled in 1899 by state investigators: New York State Assembly, *Report of the Special [Mazet] Committee of the Assembly Appointed to Investigate the Public Offices and Departments of the City of New York and the Counties Therein Included*, 4:4303.
30. The standard account of the Hudson Dusters, still useful despite many errors: Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York*, 256–60. See also Luc Sante, *Low Life*, 225–26.
31. *New York Times*, Mar. 1, 1903, p. 10. See also *ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1911, p. 1.
32. Asbury, *The Gangs of New York*, 256–57.
33. *New York World*, Dec. 6, 1914, Metropolitan Section, p. 4.
34. Asbury, *The Gangs of New York*, 365–66; and *New York World*, May 13, 1915, pp. 1, 24, for Dopey Benny's alliance with the Dusters. On Dopey Benny see also Albert Fried, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Gangster in America*, 32–36, 82–85.
35. *New York Call*, Sept. 17, 1913, p. 1; and *New York Times*, Sept. 17, 1913, p. 1; Nov. 4, 1913, p. 1.
36. Asbury, *The Gangs of New York*, 258, describes the O'Sullivan affair but gets many details wrong. Arrests of Dusters: *New York World*, Nov. 5, 1913, p. 20; *New York Times*, Mar. 12, 1915, p. 5.
37. *New York World*, Dec. 26, 1914, p. 5; and *New York Times*, Dec. 26, 1914, p. 1. For part of the poem: Asbury, *The Gangs of New York*, 259.
38. Baff murder: *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1914, p. 1; and Nov. 26, 1914, p. 6, the first of many reports. The Costello incident: *New York Times*, March 12, 1915, p. 5.

39. *New York Times*, March 5, 1916, p. 17, Sept. 8, 1918, p. 14, Aug. 2, 1919, p. 18; Aug. 3, 1919, p. 15.
40. Hapgood, *Types from City Streets*, 9.
41. Arthur Bartlett Maurice, *New York in Fiction*, 95. Maurice revisited these sites in 1916, reporting the results in *The New York of the Novelists*.
42. William Dean Howells, *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, 43; and David Graham Phillips, *The Great God Success*, 34–35.
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*, 4:8, 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.
45. Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, *Willa Cather*, 33, 36. See also Sergeant, “Toilers of the Tenements,” 231–48.
46. Sarah Orne Jewett to Willa Cather, Dec. 13, 1908, Anne Fields, ed., *Letters of Sarah Orne Jewett*, 249.
47. Both Mama Bertolotti's and Renganeschi's, the latter unnamed, are described in Charles F. Peters, “When New York Dines A La Bohe'me,” 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.”
48. On Marjorie Organ before her marriage to Henri: Bennard B. Perlman, *Robert Henri*, 85–86.
49. Parry, *Garrets and Pretenders* (1933), 258; and Stephen French Whitman, *Predestined*, 241.
50. Box 46, Com.14 Papers, NYPL.
51. Sermolino, *Papa's Table d'Hôte* (1952), 40, 81, 84, 87, 91, 126, 135. Anacleto Sermolino's obituary: *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 1937, p. 15.
52. On Whitney and the MacDougal Alley artists: Avis Berman, *Rebels on Eighth Street*, 75–77.
53. Whitney's journal, quoted in B. H. Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 223.
54. For Whitney's ties with the settlement see *Greenwich House Annual Reports*, Greenwich House Papers.
55. Anne Blaugrund, “The Tenth Street Studio Building, A Roster, 1857–1895,” 64–71.
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*.
57. *New York Sun*, Apr. 12, 1907, p. 1. See also “The Henri Hurrah,” 4.
58. For a sampling of headlines and for more information on The Eight: Bennard B. Perlman, ed., *Revolutionaries of Realism*, 140, and Perlman's earlier book, *The Immortal Eight*, 170.
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.

61. Reproductions: *ibid.*, 94, 169, 172, 180. Sloan's "Hell Hole" etching and other Village scenes: David Scott, *John Sloan*, 75, 87, 117, 122, 162, 169–70, 172, 185. See also John Loughery, *John Sloan*, 91–111, 143–68.
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 Bruères: 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.
68. Vorse, *Footnote to Folly*, 39. *New York Times* articles on the milk campaign in 1910: Mar. 14, p. 12; Aug. 17, p. 4; Aug. 25, p. 4; Sept. 1, p. 5; Sept. 18, p. 6; Sept. 28, p. 6; Oct. 25, p. 5; Nov. 19, p. 10.
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.
72. The strike and its aftermath: Tax, *The Rising of the Women*, 241–320.
73. *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1912, p. 1.
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.
2. Peters, "When New York Dines A La Bohe'me," 77–85.
3. Examples of Villagers who rejected the term *bohemian*: Mary Heaton Vorse, "The Fore-runners," typescript, box 20, Vorse Papers, WSU; *New York Tribune*, Feb. 11, 1906, sec. 4, p. 4; and John, ed., *John Sloan's New York Scene*, 301.
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*.

6. Jones, *Heretics and Hellraisers*, 6–7.
7. See Watson, *Strange Bedfellows*, 85–96; Robert M. Crunden, *American Salons*, 383–408; and Arthur Frank Wertheim, *The New York Little Renaissance, 1908–1917*, 63.
8. See Lois Palken Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luban*. The quotations: Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Movers and Shakers*, 39, 83. A dismissive (and largely unconvincing) portrait of Dodge is Christopher Lasch, “Mabel Dodge Luhan: Sex as Politics” in his *The New Radicalism in America*, 104–40.
9. Milton W. Brown, “The Armory Show and Its Aftermath,” in Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick, eds., 1915, *The Cultural Moment*, 172. See also Martin Green, *New York 1913*; and Milton W. Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show*.
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*.
11. *New York World*, Apr. 12, 1914, Metropolitan Section, p. 1.
12. 1907 founding: Watson, *Strange Bedfellows*, 397. Winter and Hicks, eds., *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens* (1938), 1:237–38.
13. *New York Times*, Sept. 12, 1913, p. 7. See also Keith N. Richwine, “The Liberal Club.”
14. For Rodman’s activities see June Sochen, *The New Woman*; and Sandra Adickes, *To Be Young Was Very Heaven*. The feminist apartment house scheme: Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*, 182–205. Newspaper items on Rodman: *New York Times*, Mar. 19, 1913, p. 8, and Apr. 5, sec. IV, p. 4, and Apr. 22, p. 12, in 1914; *New York Call*, Apr. 13, 1914, p. 1; and *New York Tribune*, Dec. 27, 1914, p. 9.
15. *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1914, p. 18.
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.
17. *New York Call*, Dec. 5, 1913, p. 1; Jan. 1, 1914, p. 4; and Feb. 3, 1914, p. 1. General background: Paul T. Ringenbach, *Tramps and Reformers, 1873–1916* 161–65; and Franklin Folsom, *Impatient Armies of the Poor*, 204–209. See also Donald A. Ritchie, “The Gary Committee,” 327–35.
18. *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1914, p. 1; Mar. 1, 1914, p. 1; Mar. 2, 1914, p. 1; Mar. 3, 1914, pp. 1, 6, 8; and Mar. 4, 1914, p. 1. See also John Haynes Holmes, “Tannenbaum in the Large,” 94–95.
19. *New York Tribune*, Mar. 1, 1914, p. 2; *New York Call*, Mar. 4, 1914, p. 1; *New York Times*, Mar. 5, 1914, pp. 1, 8; Mar. 9, 1914, p. 4; Mar. 28, 1914, p. 1. See also “The Church and the Unemployed,” *The Masses* 5 (Apr. 1914): 6–8; and Max Eastman, “The Tannenbaum Crime,” *The Masses* 5 (May 1914): 10–13.
20. For a third version of the name, “International Defense League”: *New York Call*, Mar. 19, 1914, p. 1. More details: *New York Times*, Mar. 12, 1914, p. 1; Perkins, “The Reminiscences of Frances Perkins,” 307–309; and Vorse, *Footnote to Folly*, 56–64.
21. Vorse, *Footnote to Folly*, 61.
22. Susan Glaspell, *The Road to the Temple*, 236.
23. See Adele Heller, “The New Theatre,” in Heller and Rudnick, eds., 1915, *The Cultural Moment*, 217–32.
24. *Ibid.*, 229–31.

25. For criticism of the “faker” type of bohemian see Ralph I. Bartholomew, *Souvenir Book of Greenwich Village*, 29–30.
26. *New York World*, Mar. 29, 1914, Metropolitan Section, p. 1; and Apr. 12, 1914, Metropolitan Section, p. 1.
27. *New York Tribune*, Dec. 26, 1914, p. 12; *New York World*, Dec. 27, 1914, Metropolitan Section, p. 2; and *New York Call*, Dec. 26, 1914, p. 2. Examples of costume balls held before the *Masses* and Liberal Club dances: *New York Call*, Mar. 9, 1912, p. 4; Mar. 18, 1912, p. 1, Apr. 24, 1912, p. 4; Jan. 17, 1913, p. 3; Feb. 8, 1913, p. 4; Jan. 16, 1914, p. 3; Jan. 17, 1914, p. 3.
28. *Bruno's Weekly* 2 (Feb. 5, 1916): 439–40 and (Feb. 26, 1916): 516. *The Quill* 1 (Nov. 1917): 24; *Greenwich Village Spectator* 1 (Oct. 1917): 2, 7; (Dec. 1917): 2; (Jan. 1918): 3; and (Feb. 1918): 1. For a *mea culpa*: Floyd Dell, “The Fall of Greenwich Village” in his *Love in Greenwich Village*, 298–99. On commercialized bohemianism see Jerrold Seigel, *Bohemian Paris*.
29. *Bruno's Weekly* 1 (July 26, 1915): 20. On Bruno see Arnold I. Kisch, *The Romantic Ghost of Greenwich Village*.
30. *Bruno's Weekly* 1 (Aug. 14, 1915): 34; *New York Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1915, sec. 4, p. 3; *New York Sun*, Dec. 5, 1915, sec. 5, p. 6.
31. *New York Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1915, sec. 4, p. 5.
32. Advertisements for Tiny Tim, Mme. Cluette, and Sonja: *Greenwich Village Spectator* 1 (July 1917): 2; and (Aug. 1917): 7; and *The Quill* 1 (Dec. 1, 1917): 26. For Beals photographs and written items: Jessie Tarbox Beals Papers. On Adele: *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1917, sec. 7, p. 15. See also Anna Alice Chapin, *Greenwich Village*.
33. Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 390. The *New York Times* covered the Alley Festa every day from June 7 to 13, 1917. For a new bohemia magazine's support for the war effort see *The Quill* 3 (Sept. 1918): 4, 26–27. On the Bureau of Legal Advice: Frances H. Early, *A World without War*, 19–30, 62–64.
34. *New York Times*, July 25, 1918, p. 11. For more on the war's impact: Wertheim, *The New York Little Renaissance*, 215–41.
35. Churchill, *The Improper Bobemians*, 155–57.
36. On the Village's political and artistic vanguard in the 1920s: Daniel Aaron, “Disturbers of the Peace,” and Blanche Wiesen Cook, “The Radical Women of Greenwich Village,” both in Beard and Berlowitz, eds., *Greenwich Village: Culture and Counterculture*, 229–57.
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).
39. For the Austins: *U.S. Census: New York* (1920), reel 1202, E. D. 719, p. 1.
40. Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 206. After World War I the County Clare Men's Society moved its meetings out of the Village.
41. *Bruno's Weekly* 1 (Oct. 30, 1915): 158.
42. Vincent Pepe, “Real Estate Progress in Our Community,” 4–7; and Egmont Arens, *The Little Book of Greenwich Village*, 22. On Pepe: *New York Times*, June 6, 1935, p. 2; *U.S. Census: New York* (1900), reel 1082, E. D. 51, p. 12; and (1910), reel 1004, E. D. 109,

- 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.
43. “Board of Trustees Minutes,” Jan. 26, 1914, Feb. 16, and May 18, 1914, People’s Institute Papers. See also Fisher, “The People’s Institute of New York City, 1897–1934,” 271–79, 303; and John Collier, *From Every Zenith*, 79–82.
 44. People’s Institute, “How Would You Like to Open a Door Like This—Ten Minutes After You ‘Punch the Clock?’ ” (1914).
 45. *New York Times*, Mar. 28, 1916, p. 22; and S. J. Makielski Jr., *The Politics of Zoning*, 9–10, 19–21. A map of Village zones based on the 1916 law: Ware, *Greenwich Village*, 478.
 46. Havel, “The Spirit of the Village,” 34.
 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.
 51. Greenwich House, *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1915), 14.
 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.
 54. See Anne O’Hagan Shinn, “Where Barrow Street and Bleecker Meet,” 24.
 55. *New York Times*, May 20, 1913, p. 3.
 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.
 58. *New York Evening Post*, May 27, 1914, a clipping in the Village Fair file, Greenwich House Papers.
 59. “Too Much Tango for Old Greenwich in Barn Dance,” clipping from an unidentified newspaper in *ibid.*
 60. Charles W. Culkin to Mary K. Simkhovitch, May 10, 1913, Old Home Week file, *ibid.* *New York World*, May 27, 1914, p. 22; and May 30, 1914, p. 7; *New York Tribune*, May 28, 1914, p. 5; and *New York Times*, May 29, 1914, p. 9; and May 30, 1914, p. 21.
 61. Mary Elizabeth Brown, “Italian Immigrant Catholic Clergy and an Exception to the Rule,” 43.
 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.
 65. Roger Sanjek, *The Future of Us All*, 367–93.

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GERALD W. MCFARLAND received his B.A. from the University of California, Berkeley, and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Columbia University. He has taught at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, where he is Professor of History, since 1964. He is the author of three previous books: *Muggwumps, Morals, and Politics, 1884-1920* (1975); *A Scattered People: An American Family Moves West* (1985); and *The "Counterfeit" Man: The True Story of the Boorn-Colvin Murder Case* (1991).