The Women of Summer: The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers: 1921-1938

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Women of Summer: The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers: 1921-1938

by RITA RUBINSTEIN HELLER, Ph.D.

Dissertation Director: Professor William L. O'Neill

The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers: 1921-1938, exemplified the progressive era's vision of social progress through education, cross-class cooperation, and gradualism. The women who conceived it, Bryn Mawr President M. Carey Thomas and her then-dean Hilda Worthington Smith, were products of their time, filled with enthusiasm for the liberal education offered at universities and colleges, particularly at women's colleges. Thomas and Smith, intent upon spreading women's influence in the area of social change, drew on the accomplishments of contemporary social feminist organizations, most notably, the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Consumers League, and the Young Women's Christian Association. All were mixed class undertakings which wished to remedy the harsh results of industrialization and reduce inequities between rich and poor.

With Brookwood Labor College, also started in 1921, the Bryn Mawr Summer School launched the American workers education movement. Brookwood, sponsored by unionists and socialists, became the leading co-educational, year-round program for training labor activists. Bryn Mawr became the flagship humanistic program for women workers.

In a unique follow-up study conducted forty to sixty years after the experience on 3% of the students, this researcher documented the School's impact. An overwhelming proportion of the canvassed women stated that the School had had a considerable impact on their lives and
had significantly contributed to enhance self-image and skill development. A survey of twenty-eight faculty members revealed that many became New Deal leaders of note.

In the Fall of 1938 the School ended when the novelty wore thin, the money ran out, and a legitimized labor movement made its work less necessary. As early as 1934-1935 a crisis over involvement with the Seabrook Farms Strike had slowed the operation's momentum. During its lifetime the utopian School linked the educated elite with workers, introduced experienced women reformers to the newly militant laboring classes and progressives to nascent New Dealers.

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I am deeply grateful to my dissertation mentors at Rutgers University who, from the outset, appreciated the richness of the Bryn Mawr Summer School story and gave freely of their wisdom and encouragement. William O'Neill provided help beyond measure as historian and editor. His receptivity, to my dream of transforming the Summer School research into a documentary film, was absolutely crucial. That detour, from formal doctoral work, proved successful and thrilling although considerably delayed completion of the dissertation. The resulting film project thrust Professor O'Neill into the role of film consultant, one he proceeded to fill with imagination and exceptional generosity. Joan Burstyn expanded my understanding of many thorny questions with an unstinting expenditure of erudition, time, friendship and nurturance as both a dissertation and film adviser. Mary Hartman was the first to appreciate the potential of an oral historical treatment of the Bryn Mawr Summer School story, to give early drafts close readings, and do all this with her special enthusiasm. Dee Garrison clarified my thinking on key areas of interpretation.

I am greatly indebted to Lucy Fisher West, the archivist at Bryn Mawr College, for making her informed judgments available to me over a long period. In the process Lucy became a valued friend. Grateful thanks go to Bernard Downey and Marge Watson at the Rutgers Labor Education Center. Staff at the Library of the School of Industrial and
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The National Endowment for the Humanities turned my dream, about a documentary film on the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, into a reality with their award of script, production and supplemental grants. I owe special debts to NEH officers Dai-Sil Kim-Gibson and Holly Tank. Producing the film brought the opportunity for additional interviews (on film and in living color) and for creative collaboration with a wonderfully talented production team. My filmmaker associate Suzanne Bauman shared my enthusiasm for the Summer School story from our very first phone conversation and added to my appreciation of its visual dimensions. This total immersion in my subject occasioned by the film work had the inevitable effect of clarifying my ideas and enriching my appreciation for my material overall.
At the point when numbing staleness began to set in, I was fortunate indeed to have fellow Rutgers doctoral student, Pat Butcher's friendship grace my life. She provided not only the invaluable bibliographic assistance of a seasoned research librarian, but the insights of a fine women's historian. I gratefully acknowledge her sincerity and help.

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RRH

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CHAPTER 1

AN "UNNATURAL" INSTITUTION
As late as the First World War, the average American working class child had an eighth grade education, having left school at the legal age, fourteen. Thereafter more study could mean mechanical drawing or Business English in night school. Opportunities for adult education, part-time academic study pursued for interest, not credit or a degree, developed later.

In the summer of 1921 eighty-two blue collar women became lucky exceptions. They were recruited as the first class of the recently-established social and educational experiment to be located at socially exclusive Bryn Mawr College. The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers offered to these women eight weeks of residential, non-vocational, liberal arts study.

With Brookwood Labor College, also started in 1921, the Bryn Mawr Summer School launched the American workers' education movement. Brookwood, sponsored by unionists and socialists, became the leading co-educational, year-round program for training labor activists. Bryn Mawr became the flagship humanistic program for women workers. Personnel trained there dispersed to help found similar, later programs at The Wisconsin Summer School, The Barnard Summer School, The Vineyard Shore School, the Southern Summer School, and the Hudson Shore Labor School and elsewhere.

The eighty-two factory "girls" in the Bryn Mawr Summer School's first class represented twenty states, forty-nine trades and twenty-five nationalities. Among them were Lena Creasey, a Lynchburg, Virginia shoeworker who that year wrote the School Director that she enjoyed meeting "wonderful people...Jews included" at the School. Also on campus were Sadie Dressner, a Baltimore button-hole maker and Kate Sack Brooks. Kate Brooks was a shirtmaker from San Francisco, whose daughter later wrote "my
mother said that Summer School was the best thing that ever happened to her." Another student was Austro-Hungarian immigrant and New York milliner, Lena Richman. Her granddaughter was able to recount Richman's experiences as they were featured pieces of family folklore.

Among the faculty in 1921 were Estelle Frankfurter (sister of Felix) who taught English and thought the girls lacked proper manners and didn't study enough; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana who also taught English and was the reigning radical; Laurance Saunders of Ruskin College, Oxford who used H. G. Wells Outline of History as a textbook, Paul Douglas who taught economics and frequently upbraided the young women for not studying hard enough and only wanting to have a good time and Amy Hewes [economist from Mount Holyoke]...who despite her conservative bent was much liked and admired by the young women there. Guest lecturers included AJ Muste [socialist, pacifist and labor educator] and British Labor educator Henry Clay.

The granddaughter remembered hearing, too, that the summer experience was punctuated by "ideological disagreements between right and left, high spirits and enthusiasm, and a belief in the possibility of creating a brave new world." In a unique follow-up study conducted forty to sixty years after the experience on 3% of the students, this researcher documented the School's dramatic impact. An overwhelming proportion of the canvassed women stated that the School had had a considerable impact on their lives and had significantly contributed to their enhanced self image and skill development. They saw it "as a light in a dark tunnel," "one of the best experiences of [their] life," "a heaven on earth."

The survey of twenty-eight former teachers returned comparable findings. The School demonstrated that, under proper circumstances, even the most unconventional experiment can succeed. The School proved that the liberal arts have an almost timeless, universal applicability. The faculty's discovery of talent among factory women strengthened their ideals enabling many to return to their home universities and social
welfare agencies forever changed by the experience. Economist and founder of Consumers Union, Colston Warne summed up his six Bryn Mawr summers:

We were hired to do a job with brilliant girls who had been underprivileged. It was the most amazing phenomenon that I've ever been linked with. When you can see the growth virtually from day to day...Our task was to take this group of girls who hadn't been able to articulate what they thought and give them historical context and have them write poetry and each year they brought surprises. Three quarters of the Bryn Mawr faculty are still linked. The experiment was an astounding success.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, which continued from 1921 to 1938, drew its primary inspiration from the thriving women's social justice movement of the progressive era. Therefore scholars now conceive of it, like its progressive sister institutions, in social feminist terms. As social feminists the School's leaders gave priority to broadly-based social reform, particularly that initiated and carried out by women. The School built on the accomplishments of organizations with similar goals. The settlement house, the institution most emblematic of early twentieth century urban reform, was one model. The School also emulated the National Consumers League (NCL) and National Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). All of these were mixed class undertakings engaged in evolutionary reform. The Bryn Mawr Summer School shared their values of voluntarism and gradualism and their goals. These groups wished to remedy the harsh results of industrialization and reduce the inequities between the rich and poor.

During the three decades preceding the Summer School's inception, women had been leading crusaders for social justice. A number of historical forces had converged to produce this phenomenon. Beginning in the late Victorian age, leisure class women seized opportunities to expand their public roles. A new human resource was now available to take leadership in reform movements—the first graduates of pioneering women's
colleges. Educated women sought productive outlet beyond domesticity for their skills and resources. Thus by the turn of the century educated women who had harnessed their energies to public service were hardly novelties. But it was that landmark crusade for the reordering of American urban society, progressivism, that aroused unprecedented numbers of women to action. Therefore, between 1900 and 1920, women embraced an ambitious agenda which included the reform of civil service, municipal government and conditions under which women and children labored. The two fabled social feminist organizations, the NCL and WTUL, date from this period, the first founded in 1899, the latter in 1903. The WTUL sought primarily to better the lot of the female worker, through advocacy of organized labor and lobbying for hour and wage legislations. The NCL, while also an indefatigable supporter of women workers, fought various industrial malpractices. To the NCL goes the credit for winning the landmark case, Muller v Oregon 1907 which established maximum hour legislation.

The WTUL and NCL have long been the acknowledged keystones in the women's progressive edifice. Recent scholarship has added another, perhaps surprising, institution to that group, The Young Women's Christian Association. During the same period the YWCA enlarged its identity from one limited to Christian uplift and evangelism. Florence Simms, a young midwestern Ph.D., is credited as the moving force behind this transformation in her capacity of Industrial Department Secretary. When the Y's industrial "Blue Triangle" Clubs began advocating progressive remedies to industrial problems, factory women joined in droves. By 1918, over 800 clubs had a membership of more than 30,000. Significantly, the Y was the one organization, among its sister reform organizations, to recruit substantial numbers of black women -- if to segregated facilities. Most
germane to the subject at hand, however, is the fact that the Blue Triangle Y Clubs became the major recruiter for the workers' summer schools: The Bryn Mawr Summer School, The Barnard Summer School, the Southern Summer School, The Wisconsin Summer School and the Vineyard Shore School. More than one-half of the first class at the Bryn Mawr Summer School came via the Ys.\textsuperscript{16}

The Bryn Mawr Summer School shared more than the ideology of social feminism. It looked to these kindred organizations as a source of advisors, trustees and administrators. The Summer School's Board of Directors, called its Joint Administrative Committee, bore the names of many WTUL leaders including its beloved President, Margaret Drier Robbins. Other accomplished WTUL women who were Summer School Trustees included Agnes Nestor, Rose Schneiderman, Elizabeth Christman, Julia O'Connor, Mabel Leslie, Frieda Miller and Pauline Newman. Mary Anderson came to the school from the then new Women's Bureau. The Ys' Industrial Secretaries comprised another group of reform-minded, college educated women. From their ranks the Summer School drafted Ernestine Friedmann, Eleanor Coit and Alice Hanson Cook. The Summer School also turned to a closer resource, the talent bank of Bryn Mawr alumnae who had become distinguished public servants. Among them were Emily Bailey Speer, National President of the YWCA, Pauline Goldmark, social investigator and NCL Secretary, and Edna Fischel Gellhorn, St. Louis League of Women Voters officer.

What happened to this army of progressive-social feminist doers -- skilled, informed and poised for action? Did they, as the generalizations have it, fold up their tents on cue in 1920? The forward rush of progressive accomplishment slowed in the new decade but did not halt. In fact, social feminist continuity provides one answer to what happened to the women reformers after both landmark events – Warren Harding's election and
the suffrage victory.

Historical periods may be characterized with broad brush strokes. Jazz Age hedonism did after all follow progressive campaigns to reform municipal governments, civil service, enact pure food and drug laws, and control child labor. But overly crude distinctions hide the continuities that link the decades. Historian J. Stanley Lemons was the first to argue the case for social feminists' durability beyond 1920, the date usually given for its demise. He demonstrated that, of all the branches of the progressive network, the social feminists "held the faith" longer than any.

...social feminists held the progressive faith longer than most. While many turned away, women espoused progressivism as loudly during the presidencies of Warren C. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover as they had during those of the previous three presidents. Lemons has shown, further, that the vote did galvanize women to increased involvement in public life. Many among the new women citizens wanted to use their newly won citizenship to advance the reform effort. They created new organizations and established new contacts to promote progressivism in the 1920s.

To these women the vote was an imperative to action. It called women to further democratize, civilize and humanize American life. The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers can be seen as a prime example of the continuity of social feminism, and one that was suffrage-inspired.

At the Bryn Mawr Summer School, a mature women's social justice movement joined ranks with an incipient workers' education movement. At the time of the School's founding, workers' education in this country consisted of a few widely scattered, fledgling programs. The WTUL had led the way by opening a training institute in 1914 in Chicago. Its Training School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement was the first full-time
labor program in the United States. Four years later the ILGWU instituted classes, as well as lectures at union meetings and other cultural festivals, thus launching its long-lived Educational Department.

The diversity of the Schools' sponsorship made for a heterogeneous movement. The ILGWU program served that union. Autonomous unionists created and sustained Brookwood. The Bryn Mawr and Barnard programs were held at those independent elite women's colleges. A large state university ran the program at Wisconsin. There was substantial variation from school to school. At Brookwood, for example, curriculum focused exclusively on Labor History and Economics. At Brookwood, too, trade union objectives were uppermost. The "outside" programs had more humanistic, less partisan and practical objectives. Despite these differences, all arose from some common premises. One was the appreciation of the void in the American educational system, one which deprived mature workers, rich in life experience, of fulfilling, relevant education. Another was a Jeffersonian vision of education combined with a progressive-era belief in education as a tool for social amelioration. And all, in varying degrees, endorsed organized labor's goals. Even at Bryn Mawr there was clear sympathy, if not open identification with, organized labor.

Labor educators were anyone—academics, middle-class sympathizers, unionists, socialists and idealists—who shared these values. As educational leaders they were conscious of new ideas promoted by progressive educators, John Dewey, Eduard Lindeman, William Kilpatrick and James Harvey Robinson. But because of the special requirements of their work, their movement evolved autonomously. Labor educators developed a particular philosophy, techniques and curriculum. They developed a cadre of dedicated teachers who often spent successive summers at a kindred program. Alice Hanson Cook, Eleanor Coit, Katherine Pollak Ellikson, Susan
Shepherd Sweezy and Mark Starr were members of the faculty "network".

The program at Bryn Mawr became the model. The other schools were either regional, short-lived, non-residential or run for one constituency or occupation. The Bryn Mawr Summer School ran for seventeen summers, was residential, served both organized and unorganized workers and a national and even a small international constituency. It was the School that labor educators emulated and discussed. On the strength of numbers alone it would have been the front runner. Approximately 1600 factory women overall went through its ivied campus. Renowned Brookwood educated in toto 500 men and women.23

The appearance of a workers' school, at an elite college, resulted from the efforts of two women, M. Carey Thomas and Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith. One woman provided the vision, the other the stewardship. It was the autocratic educator and feminist, M. Carey Thomas who introduced the idea at Bryn Mawr, the College she had dominated as Dean and President for thirty-six years. She founded the School in the year preceding her retirement.

In 1921 Bryn Mawr College stood as a monument to M. Carey Thomas' single-minded vision.24 She was the recognized advocate of rigorous, classical collegiate education for women. Her authority derived from a formidable personal style as well as from her triumph over sexist obstacles. A graduate of Cornell, Class of 1877, she was denied admission to American doctoral programs. When she succeeded in gaining a Ph.D., summa cum laude, from the University of Zurich, she was one of the first American women to earn one. In 1921 after a near four decade association with Bryn Mawr College, she had made it a special institution among trailblazing sister colleges. In Thomas' view, Bryn Mawr's illustrious predecessors, Vassar, Smith and Wellesley had established women's right to
collegiate study but had failed to take the next step. She believed it was Bryn Mawr's destiny to take that step, to set a new standard of excellence for women, to offer education of equal quality as that offered to men. At her insistence, Bryn Mawr instituted a number of firsts--entrance examinations and a full graduate school offering degrees through the Ph.D. These and other features would bespeak rigor and excellence. She hoped through them to dispel lingering doubts about women's intellectual parity. Thomas was vocal and defiant in voicing her opinions. She was vociferous also on the issues of what women's rightful ambitions and aspirations should be.

One historian has called Thomas' position revolutionary: "Encouraging women to fulfill their potential was after all, still an incendiary practice in a sexist world. (It could be argued that it remains one to this day.)" Thomas' iconoclastic scheme for Bryn Mawr encompassed three goals. The first was to endow women with confidence in their potential. The second was to make the College the leading proving ground for educational attainment equal to that of Harvard, Yale or Johns Hopkins. Third, Thomas wished for the College to bridge the protected world of her students to the changing outside world of enlarged opportunities and responsibilities. At the end of her thirty-six year tenure as Dean and President, Thomas could survey her domain and deem her grand plan a success. To this day, Bryn Mawr, of the Seven Sister colleges, is the one which bears the most enduring imprint of a single progenitor.25

How was it that this crusading feminist, who had devoted a life's energy to the attainment of feminine academic elitism, abruptly embraced the cause of downtrodden working women? A desire to uplift weavers and garment workers appears to be at odds with, if not alien to, Thomas' beliefs. An innovative genius, she frequently defied categorization. She
seemed to delight in the impulsive act and the legends that might thereby result. Withall, it is still fair to term Thomas' final enterprise, the workers' summer school, "surprising".

M. Carey Thomas' motives owed something to her background, particularly her remarkable Anglo-American family, the Pearsall Smiths. The Pearsall Smiths had produced a distinguished line of orators, physicians and writers, and had also nurtured a strong matriarchal tradition. Thomas was drawn particularly to Hannah Pearsall Whitall Smith, her mother's eldest sister. Hannah Smith was a formidable iconoclast, an author and orator. She had embraced the temperance movement, feminism and Evangelical Quakerism. After she emigrated to England in the 1880s, she quickly joined the intellectual avant garde. One of her daughters married art critic Bernard Berenson, another philosopher Bertrand Russell. The latter daughter, Alys Russell, was a correspondent and companion of M. Carey Thomas. Alys Russell was also at Thomas' side in the Sahara Desert when the Summer School concept occurred to Thomas.

Among the many interests of this group of British intellectuals was the Workers Education Association (WEA) which was a thriving enterprise by the time of M. Carey Thomas' visit to London as part of a 1919-1920 world tour. The WEA, brainchild of Albert Mansbridge, a clerk and product of the cooperative movement, had the support of a remarkable coalition of Anglican bishops, Oxford dons, and self educated men. Activated by the Christian Socialist belief that the educationally deprived suffered primarily from spiritual malaise, the movement was suffused with a Christian Socialist spirit. Mansbridge's favorite phrase was "the glory of education." The WEA curriculum was intended to prepare students for "life, not livelihood." Although course material was grounded in the social sciences, classes provided no training in trade unionism and were
strictly non-vocational. Instruction was carried on in tutorial sections of sixteen to thirty-two working men and women who met for two hours weekly for three successive winters. J. F. C. Harrison, historian of the British Workers' education movement, has provided the following judgment:

The idea of an equal partnership between the university and the working class movement, the emphasis upon the scholarship of the tutor coupled with the necessity of teaching subjects from the angle of the students needs and the conception of the social purpose behind all studies, gave a distinctive slant to the typical class.

The workers school, which rapidly assumed a reality at Bryn Mawr in 1921, drew heavily on the WEA as well as on other British models developed by the Fabians and others. The Bryn Mawr experiment emulated the British in curriculum philosophy and tutorial approach and in deliberately fostering alliances among incompatible constituencies and institutions. The college establishment and its capitalistic network were the main sources of financial support of a school created to benefit and nurture women workers and, indirectly, the labor movement.

M. Carey Thomas later alluded to her visits to British workers educational programs when she described her inspiration for founding the School. Thomas was also moved by British enfranchisement of women and the impending passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in the United States. According to Thomas, the idea came to her while traveling in the Sahara Desert in 1919 with her cousin Alys Russell:

One afternoon at sunset I was sitting on my golden hilltop in the Sahara rejoicing that British Women had just been enfranchised and American women would soon be politically free...when suddenly...I saw that out of the hideous world war might come as a glorious aftermath international industrial justice and international peace if your generation only had the courage to work as hard for them as my generation had worked for women suffrage.

Thomas was stirred by the possibility of broad-scale social reconstruction after the war and believed that women, unified through the recent suffrage
struggle, could lead that crusade.

I also saw as part of my vision that the coming of equal opportunity for the manual workers of the world might be hastened by utilizing before it had time to grow less, the deep sex sympathy that women now feel for one another. The peculiar kind of sympathy that binds women together seems to come only to those who have not been free. It belongs to oppressed races like Jews and Armenians.... It belongs at the present time to all women the world over because of their age-long struggle which is not yet over for human rights and personal and civil liberty.

In Thomas' view, it was collegiate women, highly sensitized to issues of equality, who could evangelize for more just class relationships.

Then with a glow of delight as radiant as the desert sunset I remembered the passionate interest of the Bryn Mawr College students in fairness and justice and the intense sympathy with girls less fortunate than themselves and I realized that the first steps on the path to the sunrise might well be taken by college women who, themselves just emerging from the wilderness, know best of all women living under fortunate conditions what it means to be denied access to things of the intellect and spirit.

Until now we have not been able to make use of the ability of women... Equal opportunity will set free not only the women... but also the tremendous, hitherto almost untouched, ability, leadership, and genius of all the men and women workers of the civilized world. We do not yet know what this vast reserve power will mean for the future development of the human race.

In the future men and women will work side by side in industry, in the professions, in politics and in every imaginable trade. You will live in a new world because women will bring into it something that has not been in it before.

The speech was vintage Thomas. It exemplified her trademarks: her passionate feminism, luxuriant rhetoric and her publicist's skill in behalf of what she had come to call The Cause. She urged that educated women, building on incipient sex sympathy, share the intellectual proving ground with poor women. Thomas' life-long mission had been the questing after the symbols of achievement "at which no one could scoff." Thomas now endorsed a broader feminist vision which audaciously included blue collar women.
Thomas gave this extraordinary speech at the opening of the Summer School's second session in 1922. Remarkably it constituted the only extended statement, public or private, she ever gave on the Summer School.

Lacking direct evidence, one might dismiss the entire business as an extravagant adventure in noblesse oblige. A closer look revealing the complexity of Thomas' record suggests otherwise. In the preceding decade she had shifted direction. After 1910 she began to retreat from scholarly isolation, turning instead to "social reconstruction and human betterment." In 1913 she authorized the Phebe Anne Thorne progressive model school as an adjunct to the new Department of Education. Even more radical and on a grander scale was the Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research opened at the College in 1916. It was named in honor of charismatic activist Carola Woerishoffer, alumna of the Class of 1907, whose tragic premature death brought a sizeable bequest to the College. The social work department was the first graduate social work school in the United States and the first to offer a Ph.D. The intrusion of socially relevant curricula into Bryn Mawr's conventional academic universe was not accomplished easily. Disdain for the social work school and its director continued well into the 1920s, beyond Thomas' tenure as college president. The director was the pioneering sociologist Susan M. Kingsbury, disliked for her ideas and personality.

M. Carey Thomas' niece, Millicent Carey McIntosh brought the clarity of an eyewitness to these issues. McIntosh was at Bryn Mawr during the period under scrutiny. She was a member of the Class of 1920, a Summer School tutor in 1922 and an English faculty member in 1926. She rejected "noblesse oblige"—connoting a self-conscious do goodism—as Miss Thomas' motivation. Instead, McIntosh presented her famed aunt as a committed reformer applying the values of her Quaker upbringing to social problems.
McIntosh wrote:

[Miss Thomas'] record in starting the Carola Woerishoffer [Social Work Department], in sponsoring an ultra-progres­sive [The Phebe Anna Thorne] School with attendant courses in Education Theory, suggest that she took unpopular steps out of the conviction that Bryn Mawr must make its contri­bution to social justice. Even when I returned to Bryn Mawr in 1926...there was great faculty resistance to both these pioneer ventures and Susan Kingsbury was despised as being a maverick in Bryn Mawr's classically oriented environment. If anything the Summer School would (and probably did) get Miss Thomas into trouble with her conservative Quaker Trustees and her more affluent alumnae.

Against this background, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, if precipitously decreed, was neither an anomaly nor an exercise in noblesse oblige. Rather, it was a culmination of the shift Thomas had begun in the previous decade. In the years from 1910 to 1921 Thomas added social reformer to her established identity as feminist, educator and suffragist.

The evidence shows Thomas to have been an impassioned activist, particularly in her later years. She was active in the women's suffrage and peace movements and within the College had increasingly embraced the experimental or practical. The Graduate Social Work School provided training for worldly careers. M. Carey Thomas more and more came to actively promote careers in social welfare. By 1921 Thomas was ready to take a next step, invite representatives of that outside world into her hallowed campus. In welcoming blue collar women, the summer school would incorporate them into the liberal-humanist tradition. There they would be offered "things of the intellect and spirit" that had been monopolized by the privileged few. From all that can be known, Thomas appeared deeply committed to her newest undertaking. Sincerity, however, cannot be equated with depth of understanding. Thomas did not, in fact, appreciate the complex character of the enterprise she had now endorsed. As Hilda
"Jane" Worthington Smith later reflected, "Miss Thomas didn't realize that a workers school would plunge Bryn Mawr into the heart of the organized labor movement." 40

The woman who offered this judgment was the second key personality, the one tapped by Thomas to transform her dream into a reality. She named as director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith, who was dean of undergraduates and a trained social worker. Submerged by melancholia over her mother's death, yearning to break out of the confines of educating daughters of the middle classes, Smith was electrified by the surprising assignment for which she was well qualified. After college at Bryn Mawr, she had attended the New York School of Philanthropy, and in 1916 she had become director of a new community center in the town of Bryn Mawr. Susan Kingsbury had created the center to provide accessible fieldwork for her graduate students. In jointly developing the Bryn Mawr Community Center with Smith, Kingsbury became the latter's mentor, advisor, and friend. The center offered evening classes for adult workers in the community, among whom Italian immigrants and blacks predominated. Later, while serving as college dean from 1919 to 1921, Smith followed these same interests. She organized an educational program for the college's gardeners, electricians and cooks. In so doing, she displayed a bold originality and a capacity to surmount traditional class boundaries between administration and hired staff. It was Hilda Worthington Smith, therefore, who played a critical role. It was she who took Thomas' nobly conceived, but shallowly rooted, idea and made it viable. 41

By 1920-1921 Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith was more than ready to leave the College Deanship. She yearned for a worldly calling. One can appreciate her enthusiasm for Miss Thomas' startling announcement about
opening a workers' school at Bryn Mawr, which Smith noted in her
diary:

Miss Thomas has come home [from a sabbatical and world
tour] with an Idea—a wonderful one to my thinking—of
starting a Labor College here in summer, an 8 weeks course
for working women. Mrs. Hand and Mrs. Slade [Bryn Mawr
College Trustees] Miss K [Susan Kingsbury] and I were
asked to meet at the Deanery and discuss it and everyone
was thrilled. [emphasis hers.] Then Miss T says, the
other colleges would follow our example and the result
would be "that the working women of America will be
educated." 42

Smith went on to register apprehension over what she projected would
be the response from the College's "crusty, capitalistic trustees." Her
worries proved groundless as they approved the plan without a problem. 43
She wrote that she was in line for the Director's job.

A wonderful idea, but I'm thinking of our crusty,
capitalistic trustees. SMK [Susan Myra Kingsbury] will
have to do the managing through her department and it
looks as if I'd be the one asked to take charge of it as
Dean. 44

Circumstances were indeed right for the thirty-three year old Smith.
She was being given an extraordinary opportunity. Many years of ennui and
frustration were about to end. In the Spring of 1921, she was on the
threshold of building a new life centered on blue collar women whom she
would now prepare to welcome to Bryn Mawr's pristine campus. She would
head the Summer School for thirteen years and become its revered symbol.

In addition to Smith, Thomas invited leading social feminists into
the designing of the school. Susan Kingsbury, since 1916 the director of
the pioneering social work school, was Thomas' main link with that network
of women reformers. 45 On March 19, 1921, in the exotic reception rooms of
the College's deanery, Thomas convened a group that included Mary
Anderson, of the recently-established Department of Labor Womens' Bureau,
Fannia Cohn, Executive Secretary of the ILGWU's new Educational Depart-
ment, Emily Bailey Speer, President of the YWCA and labor economist David
Also consulted were WTUL leaders Rose Schneiderman, Ethel Smith, Matilda Lindsay, Julia O'Connor, Mabel Leslie, Frieda Miller and Pauline Newman. In formulating plans, this group could draw on rich personal experience and on social and educational theories put into practice by their particular organizations. The British workers education movement served as another source of ideas.

While the emerging institution at Bryn Mawr thus had precedents, Bryn Mawr would make it distinctive. The College would imbue it with commitment to the liberal arts, standards of selectivity and academic excellence. The College would also instill a mission-oriented approach. The School arose, as did all of workers' education, from a fervent belief in education as a tool for social betterment. It grew also from Jeffersonian notions on the necessity for an educated electorate. But M. Carey Thomas gave the project her particular feminist cast. She could appreciate the promise and potential of women laundry workers, seamstresses and hosiery loopers who were among the newly enfranchised. It was Thomas who audaciously argued the case for their education. She dared to imagine what larger purposes could be served by educating them. Thomas also hoped that the sister colleges would follow suit and "that the working women of America will be educated."\(^{47}\) That part of the dream never materialized. Only Barnard followed Bryn Mawr's model. For five summers it operated a workers' program for commuting ILGWU women from the downtown New York City garment center.

M. Carey Thomas, Hilda Worthington Smith and their associates saw the emerging education experiment in collegiate terms. The student constituency would be new and different and the course only an eight week summer session. But, insofar as possible, the School's approach would be liberal-humanist and its goals timeless and open-ended. In keeping with

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the liberal collegiate tradition, the School's priority concern would be the individual — the enhancement of reasoning ability and the broadening of minds. Collaboration with the labor movement did cause the School to widen its focus. Unionists were not about to warmly embrace an elite college's notion of "education for education's sake." A first challenge therefore was the drafting of a statement of purpose — one to faithfully reflect the School's nonpartisan character as well as establish credibility with both organized and unorganized women workers. The 1921 Statement of Purpose read:

The object of the School is to offer young women of character and ability a fuller education, in order that they may widen their influence in the industrial world, help in the coming social reconstruction and increase the happiness and usefulness of their own lives. [Emphasis mine.] The Summer School shall not be committed to any dogma or theory, but shall conduct its teaching in a broad spirit of impartial inquiry with absolute freedom of discussion and freedom of teaching.

One may reasonably conclude that the phrase "widen their influence in the industrial world" was the School's acknowledgement of labor's pragmatic goals. Nonetheless the labor movement was not won over. During the first summer, suspicions were rife:

"What is the purpose of the Summer School?" was the burning question on the campus. Were the courses designed to give a purely cultural education or did they contribute to usefulness in the labor movement? Should they be designed to give training in leadership in the labor movement?

Additionally, skeptics worried about entrusting workers to the college women who served the school as teaching assistants: "Why would workers study under tutors who obviously knew little of the problems of these workers lives?"

For both the worker-students and visiting union leaders, wariness set in upon entering the campus through Rockefeller Arch. Smith remembered those anxious moments:
When the School opened, everybody came in through Rockefeller Arch. And they immediately said "Well, does Mr. Rockefeller own this school?...when we had labor conferences...they were very cynical...they told the students not to trust Bryn Mawr College. They said "It's only capitalistic propaganda and just be very suspicious." And they were suspicious for a while."

The Rockefeller Arch discussion typically led to a consideration of "tainted money". In general, the students concluded "that it was more important where the money went than where it came from."\(^{52}\)

By its third session, that of 1923, the School had revised its Statement of Purpose.

The aim of the School is to offer young women in industry opportunities to study liberal subjects and to train themselves in clear thinking; to stimulate an active and continued interest in the problems of our economic order; to develop a desire to study as a means of understanding and of enjoyment of life. The School is not committed to any theory or dogma. The teaching is carried on by instructors who have an understanding of the students' practical experience in industry and of the labor movement. It is conducted in a spirit of impartial inquiry, with freedom of discussion and teaching. It is expected that thus the students will gain a truer insight into the problems of industry and feel a more vital responsibility for their solution.\(^{53}\)

Just what might have been gained from modifying "widen their influence in the industrial world" to "it is expected that thus the students will gain a truer insight into the problems of industry and feel a more vital responsibility for their solution" is hardly clear. The School's records are silent as to the whys for this revision. What is known is that after 1923 no one, including militant "bread and butter" unionists, seemed to care how the School's declared purpose read. The School's record began to speak for itself.

The School's founders aimed to create a community of industrial women representing a cross-section of occupations, regions, and religious and ethnic groups with a balance maintained between union and non-unionized students. The School welcomed as applicants women between the ages of 20

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and 35 who had an elementary school education and two years of industrial experience. The term worker referred to someone working with the tools of her trade, not in a supervisory capacity. Specifically excluded were teachers, clerical workers and saleswomen. 54

The School looked for blue collar women eager for challenging collegiate study. They sought women of promise wishing to better their lot. Bryn Mawr alumnae, working with the WTUL, local Y's, unions and others spearheaded the search. Recruiters sought evidence of maturity, leadership potential and mainly of intellectual curiosity. Applicants had to complete a lengthy application and undergo at least one interview. Frequently in the case of immigrants literacy requirements were waived. This was true where there was evidence of great cognitive ability and native intelligence. 55 It appears recruiters were selective. Since figures are unavailable, the exact degree of competitiveness is a matter, however, of speculation. This writer has estimated from tallying accepted and rejected application forms, that overall the acceptance rate was 58%. 56

Predominantly white Anglo Saxon college alumnae groups were invited to work for the School and recruit students among the heavily immigrant laboring classes. Blacks joined the School in 1926. Within the student body were Southern fundamentalists and Russian immigrant socialists, rural whites and urban blacks. Unionized city garment workers met provincial YWCA-affiliated factory workers.

The School's financing merits special notice. Private donations in the amount of about $23,000 made the School possible. Costs were based on a $200 scholarship for each of the one hundred students. 57 Hilda Smith, unflappable and determined, was ably aided in the funding work by the College's alumnae regional committees. The alumnae of this smallest of
the elite women's colleges numbered only about 2,500 in 1920. The monies came from hundreds of individuals as well as from foundations and unions. Leading American capitalists, Rockefellers, DuPont and Pew, were among the School's consistent large donors in the $100 to $1,000 categories. Unions such as the ACWA and the ILGWU sent in $3 to $10 donations. Undergraduates from Bryn Mawr, Wellesley, Mount Holyoke and Sarah Lawrence also earmarked funds for the School. Thus the underwriters for the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers constituted a remarkable alliance. Struggling unions, America's capitalists-turned-philanthropists and individuals, both noted and anonymous, joined in support of a common idealistic endeavor.58

By mandate, the faculty was to be drawn from colleges and universities other than Bryn Mawr.59 Hilda Worthington Smith's insistence that faculty be well paid accounts, in part, for its exceptional quality.60 The chance to work with a unique student body was another draw. It was a veritable laboratory of learning. The Summer School rosters bear the names of several of the period's most gifted and committed scholars. Many were already prominent. Others subsequently gained reputations in the academy, government and public service.

Economist and faculty member, Caroline Ware claimed "the place was full of legends."61 Among the most noteworthy economists were Elwing Clag, Paul Douglas, Corwin Edwards, Carter Goodrich, Amy Hewes, Broadus Mitchell, Gladys Palmer, Caroline Ware, Colston Warne and Theresa Wolfson. Another legend was Vassar's Helen Drusilla Lockwood, a professor of English Literature with a special interest in workers. Louise Brown, a science teacher from the Dana Hall School in Wellesley, Massachusetts, was perhaps the most beloved and best-remembered of all. As Broadus Mitchell later reminisced, "When Louise Brown spoke about the moon it was as if she
had been there the last weekend." The faculty member who later gained the greatest public visibility was Esther Peterson, a gym teacher at the school. She has had a forty year career as labor and consumer advocate. Peterson's social awakening came at the Summer School.

Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith's fourteen years as School Director made her synonymous with the School and a leading labor educator. It brought her to the attention of Franklin Roosevelt, whose administration she served for its duration. In the tradition of the women's colleges, she brought messianic dedication to her assignment. She combined a Victorian innocence with advanced and courageous thinking. She integrated the School racially in 1926 against the forceful M. Carey Thomas' wishes. She infused a serene confidence into an institution which historian Mary Beard once described as "unnatural." She was a poet. When she was filmed for a documentary at age 95, Miss Smith recited her original poetry from memory. That day the poem she remembered best was one with a civil rights theme, "Freedom Train." Students revered her for her utter openness, sincerity and caring. She was supremely talented at enlisting good will and harmonizing discordant elements. She balanced the School's disparate constituencies: the College Trustees and the Summer School Joint Administrative Committee; the College and the WTUL, the YWCA and the unions; the College's financial campaign and the School's financial campaign. Smith was also a gifted fund raiser able to persuade wealthy alumnae and businessmen that it was in their interests to "help the poor working girls." Smith's privately published autobiography, Opening Vistas in Workers Education does reveal one weakness. She rarely analyzed her methods or her accomplishments. In fact, she adamantly resisted this researcher's theoretical questions, replying to them: "I know what I have to do today and I know what I have to do tomorrow and I don't think about
perhaps this limitation prevented smith from achieving greater renown.

curriculum and method preoccupied school administrators and faculty. students' long absences from classrooms, rudimentary backgrounds and immigrants' limited literacy level forced teachers to experiment. there were no tests or grades. in 1928, the school adopted the unit method of instruction. within the school's five units, one economist and one professor of literature coordinated instruction for a group of about twenty carefully chosen students. intellectual homogeneity, personal compatibility (determined in a battery of psychological tests) and cultural, social and occupational diversity determined students' assignment to units. esther peterson said the aim was for each unit to be "a little world."

the school's primary goal was to develop tools of expression, to teach from materials relevant to workers' lives and also to introduce them to the highlights of the western intellectual tradition. caroline ware has described the process as "the development of people." esther peterson said the education "was to show the students how they were connected to the world." from its inception economics and english comprised the school's core curriculum. over the years electives varied. science and psychology were among the perennial elective offerings. louise brown and her telescope constituted the most beloved teaching situation.

the faculty devoted much energy to the practice of teaching adult workers. the school's development was contemporaneous with the full flowering of the progressive education movement. john dewey's ideas were in the air. the summer school incorporated his basic tenets into its evolving pedagogy. the school practiced "learning from life" with social

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change as the end result. Also fundamental was that curriculum should
develop out of the students' lives and work. The faculty deliberated
these questions at regular and long meetings. Some former teachers felt
that the effort was overdone, that classroom effectiveness was a matter of
trial and error, common sense and time-honored approaches. Legendary
economist Broadus Mitchell was of such a mind:

> We used to have endless faculty meetings after dinner. Endless meetings discussing how you teach workers...I can't remember a single conclusion. It was all foolishness...There's nothing in it [teaching] except association of a faculty member with an individual student.

Esther Peterson pointed out that the Summer School was the antithesis
of what Teacher's College had told her about the classroom.

> It was never a matter of method. I had studied how to get people motivated and all that crazy stuff. Because it was there, it was real. They wanted to learn. It wasn't a matter of how do you get people to want it. It was get'em enough stuff and get them the material. It was a complete reversal of what I had been led to believe teaching was.

The use of teaching assistants, college graduates who were called
tutors, and college undergraduates called "undergrads" (primarily eco-
nomics majors), helped individualize instruction. From 1921-1927 the
School used the services of tutors whose sole function was academic. With
the 1928 introduction of the Unit Plan, undergraduates, who performed
diverse assisting tasks, replaced the tutors. Recruited primarily from
the Seven Sister Colleges, these young women aided students with library
and writing assignments, chauffeured, caught laboratory specimens, painted
stage sets and cleaned the pool. They were part assistant teacher and
part camp counsellor. In 1922, M. Carey Thomas' niece, Millicent Carey
McIntosh served as a tutor and later was Barnard President Emerita. In
the School's final summer, Ella Tombassi Grasso, then a Mount Holyoke
student, later the Governor of Connecticut, was an undergrad. Her own
working class background ensured her natural rapport with the students.
Formal instruction was just one part of the day at the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Informal learning occurred all over the lush collegiate Gothic campus: at spontaneous discussions under ancient trees; at late hour coffee klatsches; while sunbathing on the Denbigh Hall roof. The extracurricular program was ambitious and varied; labor drama and street theater which became Esther Peterson's speciality; folk festivals and concerts and Lantern Night, the end-of-the-summer ceremony, held in the Library cloister. There were trips to Independence Hall in Philadelphia, to Valley Forge and, increasingly, in the more politicized later years, "outings" to strikes. The Summer School provided a residential experience far removed from the students' own environment. The opportunities for social and intellectual growth were infinite given the heterogeneity of the School's community and its self-contained, idyllic, Ivory Tower setting.

A minimum of regulations and broad faculty discretion endowed the Bryn Mawr Summer School with singular freedom. Student interest determined the curriculum. That freedom extended to political issues as well, giving the School its unusual authenticity and vitality. During the prosperous, quiet twenties, nobody cared that the School encouraged free inquiry or that Jane Smith was so fervent a democrat. Smith had once observed: "After about a minute in a workers' class you'd be into controversial subjects." The turbulent thirties would test her unbounded faith in open debate and the democratic process. Depression-engendered animosities would ultimately overwhelm the School. By 1934, communist scholars Emanuel Blum and Leo Huberman were on the faculty and radical students were louder and more articulate. Preoccupation with Marxist ideology was a prominent feature of campus life. At this juncture, the College determined it was time to snoop. By that point, too,
the School had lost its staunchest friends. Jane Smith had gone to Washington to join the New Deal. M. Carey Thomas, now an old lady near death, joined the conservative College forces, led by Trustee Frances Hand and fundraiser May Stokes in opposing the Summer School. The event which brought underlying tensions to a bitter climax was the Seabrook Farms Strike of July, 1934 at Bridgeton in rural, southern New Jersey. The strike was led by communist Donald Henderson and dominated the Philadelphia and New York press for several days.

The strike crisis was the beginning of the School's demise. The involvement of at least two faculty members, as strike observers, and their subsequent identification in the Philadelphia Inquirer, enabled the College to allege a violation of a no-strike participation agreement with the School. This allegation was, at least, a "misunderstanding" as Jane Smith always told it. At most it was a conscious distortion staged by Frances Hand giving the College the rationale to distance itself from an increasingly controversial institution. The two professors, Colston Warne and Mildred Fairchild, had gone to Seabrook, as individuals, and had taken few, if any, students. They had witnessed the use of tear gas against women and children, has spoken to strike protagonists and had behaved as good Samaritans calling in a doctor. In the ensuing furor the facts were forgotten; instead the College and public understood that the School had participated in a celebrated Communist strike. The 1934 session ended in a flurry of accusation with the College evicting it for 1935. The College welcomed the School back for 1936-1938 but for a variety of reasons the School was now past its prime.

The Seabrook Crisis was the most dramatic and critical event surrounding the School's termination. But it was not the only reason for it. The facts were that avowed faculty Marxists were teaching increasingly
vocal, radicalized students. 1934 was a year of bitter labor/capitalist antagonism. It coincided with the College's mounting of a fiftieth anniversary endowment campaign. Could the College raise funds from its capitalist constituency while harboring a School that encouraged radicalism? Added to all this was the natural life span of any idealistic venture. Like other experiments, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers ended when the money ran out and the novelty wore thin. Apart from the departure of its heroic figure, Jane Smith, and the issues of diminished dollars and diminished commitment was the question of numbers of industrial graduates. Each year the Summer School turned out as many blue collar women as the College produced B.A.s. Colston Warne believed that the College saw this as a cheapening of its elite Bryn Mawr family.77

Bryn Mawr's closing its workers school is another version of an old, old story. People and institutions of necessity give lower priority to their dreams and charities when their primary interests are threatened. The School's truest friend, Jane Smith, knew clearly that the dream had been based on a reality that never quite existed; that the success of the School had depended on de facto freedom from College scrutiny which was increasingly difficult to maintain in the crisis ridden thirties. As early as 1934, when she left the directorship, she saw that the workers were already outgrowing the maternalism of the twenties and were ready for a kind of education she knew, with sadness, the College would not be willing to provide. In the Fall of 1938 the College and Summer School by mutual consent finally terminated their relationship, thus bringing to a close an intriguing chapter in American social history.

This writer's follow up canvass and interviews, as noted earlier, uncovered new information. Certainly one may argue that those persons, both faculty and students, untouched or turned off by the experience,
failed to respond to the questionnaire. Nonetheless, the results are still noteworthy. Respondents among both students and faculty said that the Summer School experience had a profound impact. The particulars of these findings will be presented and analyzed in later chapters of this work.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers performed admirable work that was not diminished by its 1935 eviction and final demise in 1938. The novel experiment "which no one predicted would succeed," confounded the skeptics and continued on its own terms for seventeen summers. The story of the more than 1,600 women who spent summers in the 1920s and 1930s studying Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Marx, Mark Twain and Shakespeare and each other has not been told. Their story and the School's place in history are worth exploring and preserving.

The ensuing chapters will tell the story of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, 1921-1938 in narratives about its heroic director, Hilda Worthington Smith, its student body, faculty, curriculum and the climactic event of its history, the School's involvement in the Seabrook Farms Strike. Thus will be revealed the sources of the School's significance and influence and what gave so chancy an institution a seventeen year life. The Smith portrait will illuminate the woman and her achievement. The chapter on the student body will present a demographic study as well as unique follow-up testimonials attesting to the School's long term effectiveness. The faculty chapter will be a collective portrait of a remarkable set of academicians who rose to the challenge of making a boldly innovative school work. The curriculum chapter will demonstrate how the School adroitly met both its collegial and activist goals. The Seabrook Farms chronicle will demonstrate the authenticity of the School's educational approach. This authenticity
would be its undoing when the School's politicization confronted its establishment origins and funding head on.
Footnotes - Chapter 1


2 The organizational files of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers are located at the following repositories: American Labor Education Service Papers, School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York (hereafter cited as ALES Papers-Cornell); Therese Wolfson Papers, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers Papers, Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey (hereafter cited as BMSS-Rutgers); American Labor Education Service Papers, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin (hereafter cited as ALES Papers-Wisconsin). Partial collections are located in the Summer School for Women Workers in Industry Papers, Bryn Mawr College Library, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as BMSS-BMC Papers); the Eleanor Coit Papers and Mary Van Kleeck Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts (hereafter cited as Coit Papers and Van Kleeck Papers); and the Hilda Worthington Smith Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts (hereafter cited as HWS Papers).

3 "1921 Student Roster," HWS Papers, Box 12, Folder 231.

4 Lena Creasy to Hilda Worthington Smith, Sept. 1921, HWS Papers, Box 12, Folder 221.

5 Morella Staggs (Kate Sack Brooks' daughter) to Rita Heller, March 26, 1984.

6 Lee Katcher to Rita Heller, September 6, 1981. Lena Richman's widower, Hyman Zieph, was the source of the reminiscence.

7 Ibid.

8 Fifty-four, or three percent, of the Bryn Mawr Summer School's approximately 1,600 students participated in the survey this researcher conducted between 1977 and 1982. Statistical data and quotations are derived from the completed questionnaires and other correspondence.

9 Helen Carr Chamberlain, Questionnaire Survey.

10 Carolyn Morreale Cancelmo, Questionnaire Survey.

11 Thelma Brown Haas, Questionnaire Survey.

12 Interview with Colston Warne, Mount Vernon, New York, September, 1976.
Footnotes - Chapter 1 (Continued)

13 William L. O'Neill coined the term "social feminism" in Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America (New York: Quadrangle, 1971). Social feminists submerged their interests as women in a multitude of philanthropic efforts. They were distinct from "ultra" feminists, who focused exclusively on a women's rights agenda. The term "social feminist" is now commonly accepted and used in contemporary feminist scholarship. The Bryn Mawr Summer School, in its promotion of women workers' interests, neatly fits the label.

14 The two comprehensive monographs that focus on the social justice movement of the 1890-1930 period, and on women's crucial contributions to it, are Allen F. Davis, Spearheads of Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) and Clarke C. Chambers, Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service, 1881-1933 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963).


16 Ibid., 91.


18 Ibid., IX.


20 Susan Stone Wong, "From Soul to Strawberries: The International Ladies Garment Workers Union and Workers' Education, 1914-1950" in Kornbluh and Frederickson, Sisterhood, 41.


23 Altenbaugh, 405.


See the School's Donor Lists, "Bryn Mawr Summer School Finances," ALES Papers-Cornell, Boxes 1, 6, 10, 11 and 44.


M. Carey Thomas, "1922 Address to the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers," quoted in Smith, Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School (New York: Affiliated Schools for Women Workers in Industry, 1929), 256-257. Smith wrote this institutional record of the School, which was descriptive and non-analytical, half-way through the School's operation.

Ibid., 257.

Ibid., 256.

Ibid., 263.

M. Carey Thomas quoted in Cross, 47.
Footnotes - Chapter 1 (Continued)

37 M. Carey Thomas, "Notes for the Commencement Address June 7, 1907," quoted in Roberta Frankfort, Collegiate Women, 37. Frankfort charts Thomas' initial obsession with and later movement away from the scholarly ideal in her analysis of Thomas's impact on Bryn Mawr's evolution.


39 M. Carey Thomas quoted in Thomas, Women Workers, 257.


42 Smith Diaries, 83 Volume.

43 Smith, Women Workers, 258.

44 Smith Diaries, 83 Volume.


46 Letter from M. Carey Thomas to Mary Drier, Amy Maher, Florence Sims, Jean Hamilton, Julia Lathrop, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Mrs. Samuel Semple, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, March 3, 1921, M. Carey Thomas Papers, Box 4, Outgoing Correspondence, Bryn Mawr College Library.

47 Smith Diaries, HWS Papers, 83 Volume

48 Smith, Women Workers, 7.

49 Ibid., 25.

50 Ibid.

51 Videotaped interview with Hilda Worthington Smith, Bryn Mawr, PA January 1975.

52 Ibid.

53 Smith, Women Workers, 7.

54 Ibid., 193.

55 Ibid., 192-200.

56 Based on my counts of accepted and rejected forms, I estimate that in 1924, 105 of the 184 applicants were accepted (57%); in 1929, 98 of the 203 (48%) and in 1921, 91 of 116 (78%). These figures give an overall acceptance rate of 58%. "Student Application Forms," ALES Papers-Wisconsin, Boxes 8-10, 27, and 55-57.

57 Smith, Women Workers, 46.
Footnotes - Chapter 1 (Continued)

58 "Bryn Mawr Summer School Finances," ALES Papers-Cornell, Boxes 1, 6, 10, 11 and 44.

59 Smith, Women Workers, 266

60 Faculty were paid $600-800, the average salary paid by an university summer school for the eight weeks term. Ibid., 47.

61 Filmed interview with Caroline Ware, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, July, 1984.


63 Mary Beard wrote to the Fact Finding Committee convened to investigate the Seabrook Farms "eviction" that the situation confirmed her original skepticism about the School. "It was an unnatural educational project--artificial for the women workers and artificial for the College sponsors" Mary Beard to Fact Finding Committee, May, 1935, Mary Van Kleeck Papers.


67 Smith, Women Workers, 65.


69 Filmed interview with Caroline Ware, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, June, 1984.


71 Smith, Women Workers, 56-90.

72 Filmed interview with Broadus Mitchell.

73 Filmed interview with Esther Peterson.


Footnotes - Chapter 1 (Continued)

76  Interview with Colston Warne.
77  Ibid.
78  Interview with Hilda Worthington Smith.
CHAPTER II

WITH PARABLES AND POETRY:

HILDA "JANE" WORTHINGTON SMITH'S DIRECTORSHIP

OF THE BRYN MAWR SUMMER SCHOOL, 1921-1933
Through Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith's service to the Summer School, first as Director for twelve years, and following that, as the School's best friend, she became its beloved symbol. Participants' memoirs about the Summer School typically focused on Smith. These portraits provide the image of a leader whose force was spiritual. Years later, it was this theme that unified the most vivid recollections about Smith.

Noted economist, Broadus Mitchell, phrased his testimonial this way:

Do you know that Hilda Smith is in the Bible? She is. New Testament. St. Paul described her. "Now abideth faith, hope and good will and the greatest of these is good will." Hilda Smith had faith in the people around her. She was inspired by hope. More than all else, she radiated good will. A sort of latent spiritual energy. Accident made her a good educator. Actually, and above all else, she was a social worker. A social worker may be defined as that admirable and rare creature, an economist with a heart.

Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, a former student, who followed most closely in Smith's steps by founding a school herself, remembered:

[She] was like an angel, disembodied of all human needs. Anything that Hilda wanted was something that would help with her obsession which was to give opportunities to working women to get an education.

Elizabeth Lyle Huberman, a former teaching assistant at the school, agreed: "[She] had the pure saintlike quality of anyone with a transcendental ideal. She was completely good, full and sweet."3

These glowing tributes, delivered six decades after M. Carey Thomas appointed Smith the Director of her new School, vindicated the wisdom of that choice. Thomas, always a shrewd judge of personnel, sensed Smith's need for a larger arena for her reformist impulses. Thomas wished to retain Smith in the Bryn Mawr community.

Thomas' appointment proved to be of crucial importance, not only to

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the School's development, but to Smith's career as well. Under Smith's stewardship, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers became a model institution in the nascent labor education movement. The niche Smith carved there, as a pioneering labor educator, brought her a New Deal appointment with Harry Hopkins' Works Progress Administration and, in time, a national reputation.

In a recent study of women in the New Deal, Susan Ware wrote that a number of prominent New Deal women, Molly Dewson (1874-1962), Frances Perkins (1880-1965) and Hilda Worthington Smith (1888-1984) saw themselves as members of a "second" generation of women reformers. These women shared the sense of mission that had characterized their predecessors, Jane Addams (1860-1935), Florence Kelley (1859-1932) and M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935) and "were determined to expand and consolidate the gains already won." In fact, Hilda Smith had explicitly acknowledged a debt to Addams' generation for laying "foundations for younger women, like myself, who were trying to follow their leadership, and to learn from their experience."

Eleanor Roosevelt became an intimate friend of Hilda Smith. They were contemporaries, as Roosevelt, born in 1884, was only four years older. Roosevelt's ties to the Bryn Mawr Summer School date from 1922, the year her friend, Marion Dickerman, Headmistress of New York's Todhunter School, taught English there. The friendship between Smith and Roosevelt had been facilitated by the geographic proximity of Smith's family home at West Park, New York with Hyde Park. Two labor schools, the Vineyard Shore School and the Hudson Shore Labor School used the Smith family property intermittently from 1927 through 1952.

Other prominent social activists, whose Summer School involvement brought them into life-long friendship with Smith, were Mary Van Kleek
and Rose Schneiderman. Van Kleeck had supervised Smith's social work thesis, "Employment Bureaus During a Period of Crisis" and was a frequent Summer School visitor. Van Kleeck would later devote her life to social service investigations for the Russell Sage Foundation. Rose Schneiderman, a force in the New York WTUL, also a Summer School friend, was a labor representative to its Joint Administrative Committee, its governing body. Like her peers, Hilda Smith also left an indelible mark on social change in this century. But unlike the others, she is little known to written history.

In common with many leading women activists of the century (Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Frances Perkins and Eleanor Roosevelt), Smith came from a privileged background. She was raised in a fashionable New York City brownstone as the eldest of three children born to Mary Hall Smith and John Jewell Smith. Her father had come from poverty but, as an innovator in steam heating, had amassed a sizable fortune. Her mother was the second daughter of a modestly successful lawyer who advocated women's rights and suffrage. Mary Hall was a member of the Hunter College Class of 1878 and, as such, was in the first generation of women college graduates. Before her marriage to John Jewell Smith, a widower twenty years her senior, Mary Hall had taught in New York City's public schools.

Smith's personal writings recalled an idyllic Victorian childhood. The family shuttled between the Riverside Drive brownstone and "Heartsease," a rambling Hudson River manse across from Hyde Park. "Heartsease," bordered the property of naturalist John Burroughs. Smith told of a youth superintended by caring adults and filled with luxuries, which included a Canadian pony.

Smith was not given to deep speculations in her early years. Hence
her diaries and autobiography provide but an outline of her evolution into an activist. Smith alluded to issues of historic importance but typically did not discuss them at length. She projected the image of a more instinctive reformer, empirical, not programmatic. Her writing was narrative, not analytical, descriptive, not conceptual. Nonetheless, there were discernible themes that told something of her formative years and anticipated later accomplishment.

As Smith reached maturity, she experienced the personal dilemma made famous by Jane Addams. In Twenty Years at Hull House, Addams wrote of the agonizing conflict which she had experienced and which affected many of her peers, the first women college graduates. What awaited the educated young woman? A life of compliant domesticity or an audacious transcending of the family sphere? Smith spent the eleven years between her 1910 college graduation and the 1921 assumption of the Summer School directorship torn by this conflict.

At Bryn Mawr, Smith had received the most rigorous of collegiate educations open to women. Moreover, Bryn Mawr gave her daily exposure to the commanding M. Carey Thomas. Regrettably Smith provided no discussion of Thomas' influence. She did note the latter's daily talks on current events as well as her own sympathetic interest in the suffrage movement.

My main source of information on affairs of the day came from President Thomas' series of chapel talks, in which she vigorously discussed the news of the world. The strongest influence I felt from the outside was that of the growing suffrage movement which claimed my interest from the start.

Bryn Mawr College, or more accurately its library stacks, had introduced her to the world of the social work profession. Its journal, Charities and Commons caught her interest. She immersed herself in stories about
Philadelphia strikes. She absorbed its messages and concluded that the Triangle fire of 1911 pointed insistently to the need for social action.

These worldly pulls did not preempt domestic ones. Smith continued to recognize the family claim.

What came after College? I did not know...To stay at home [helping] one's mother entertain, perhaps take a course in domestic science--these were taken for granted...Our families had "spared" us for four years, to use the current phrase, and now our obligation was entirely to them.

Completion of her M.A. degree at Bryn Mawr in philosophy and ethics brought her no closer to autonomy. Smith wrote that "any further decisions would have to meet with the full approval of my mother."

Lack of confidence deepened her ambivalence. Smith perceived herself as "a smatterer...a Jack of all trades and master of none."

She confessed to feelings of inadequacy when confronted by job descriptions.

To read these offers of positions with their outlines of qualifications always made me conscious of my own shortcomings...I realized there few matters I knew thoroughly and few practical things I could do really well...I knew something about poetry,...pictures and architecture...I was more familiar with the life of the Ancient Greeks than with that of my own country people outside New York State..." She saw herself as clumsy and inept perceiving "the material world" as a "natural enemy." "[She] could hardly go through a door without bumping" herself "or tearing her clothes."

Smith developed the pattern of taking a hesitant step into the outside world and following it with retreat into her mother's brownstone. Her attempt to find salvation preparing muffins and Thanksgiving turkey ended in failure. This domestic stint, like others which followed, was ended by her mother who appreciated that "unadulterated
domestic life [was] too much to ask." The mother suggested volunteer work at The Girls Friendly Society, an agency which served "delinquent girls." Smith has always delighted in revealing, in print and in interviews, that when she started work she had to ask her mother to explain the meaning of "delinquent girl." It was during that year, 1912-1913, that she took the momentous step of registering for graduate work at The New York School of Philanthropy.

During Smith's years of attendance there, Simon Patten's theory of abundance prevailed. School Director Edward T. Devine had been Patten's graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania. Devine disseminated his mentor's views that the Industrial Revolution had created sufficient wealth, equitably distributed, to render poverty obsolete. For Smith this was a great revelation. In contrast to her classmates, who received the same information but continued placidly taking notes, Smith now saw some meaning in her studies. "...if poverty really could be abolished--the program of social work had some sense to it and was practical....and I was working for a definite purpose."  

Career uncertainty continued to plague Smith even with a diploma from social work school. Once more her mother intervened urging her to seek a worthwhile position, even paid employment.

This I knew was a great concession, as several of her friends had warned her against letting me venture into the untried world of women's work. Those women who did it were still thought very "advanced." Any such excursions from home might lead a daughter to wanting her own apartment, and becoming alienated from her family. Such independence was only aggravated in the eyes of the conventional world if a daughter were bold enough to secure a salary.

Smith "blessed" her mother for her understanding, since she knew the mother's instincts "were all in the other direction."  

Linked with professional uncertainty was a realization that she
would never marry. "I watched the men I knew marry other women, and found I did not care." In a passage rich with self-awareness, Smith wrote candidly about men and matrimony. She felt no hostility toward men, having enjoyed years of professional camaraderie with them. Yet, evidently it "never occurred to them to seek my companionship outside the realm of boys' clubs or community lectures." Smith offered a bittersweet observation. She noted that her classmates' marriages "lacked understanding" and the "number of satisfactory husbands' seemed small." Still, she envied the sight of "comfortable homes" and "charming young children." She even speculated about one day adopting children, a plan she never carried out.

A career turning point came in 1916. Professor Susan Myra Kingsbury, head of Bryn Mawr's pioneering Graduate School of Social Work, had determined that a local community center would benefit the town and provide field work for her graduate students. She asked Smith to become its founding director. Smith accepted. The invitation had come with a crucial provision. Smith's widowed mother, as well as her aunt, would also be welcome, along with Jane, to reside in Kingsbury's home. The arrangement proved amicable. It let Smith simultaneously answer family and professional imperatives.

Smith's mother's death from pneumonia in 1917 diverted Jane Smith from career indecision. The loss produced severe melancholia. She "hardly knew how to go on" without her mother's "understanding and discerning criticism." Her mother's "unfailing belief in her" had been "background" of her "tapestry of living." Her depression ended four years later with total absorption in the Summer School assignment.

The Kingsbury association gave Smith entree into the social feminist world. But day-to-day life with the domineering forty-six year
old mentor was far from tranquil. Smith, the sensitive twenty-eight-year-old apprentice, recorded in her diary, in long, recurring and distressed passages, descriptions of daily tensions. Smith pictured Kingsbury as controlling, intimidating and moody. During the 1917-1918 academic year, the period of Mrs. Smith's terminal illness, Kingsbury had apparently transferred her affections to Helen Lathrop, another housemate. Kingsbury no longer required that Smith bring her warm milk, medicine or rub her with alcohol. Smith wrote, at great length, on the pain of rejection and lamented her own hypersensitive nature. During the following year, the tension and rancor were unabated. Smith again confided: "I hope to have a friend of my own, man or woman, someone with whom I'll be first, not second. I'm rather tired of this second fiddle business."

If day to day tensions were rife, professional contacts were plentiful. It is no exaggeration to say that nearly all the renowned women activists of the day circulated through the Kingsbury homestead in Bryn Mawr: Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Mary Anderson, Alice Hamilton, Grace Abbott, Frances Perkins and many others. Smith was absolutely captivated. Meaning for her could come only through "the relief of suffering, the abolition of poverty and the struggle for social justice." Smith's considerable esteem for the women doers reflected her feminist impulses. "It was the women [reformers] who held my special admiration ... because younger women like myself....were trying to follow their leadership."

Jane Smith's many shifts and changes in direction, between College and the Summer School, testified to her search for identity. Simultaneously she projected talents which augured well for her future. She was exquisitely sensitive to the needs of others, especially those
without resources. She was a proven leader, having held Bryn Mawr's major campus office. As Self-Government Association President, she eliminated the hazing ritual. Ten years later as College Dean, it was she who rid the job of many perfunctory tasks to make her freer for more consequential encounters with students. Through her efforts routine matters were turned over to dormitory wardens.

Despite Smith's constructive work in the Dean's office, that post continued to give her only "weariness, boredom and exhaustion." Thomas, in response to Smith's laments, was "sweet and charming," offering her the choice of any job only to retain her. The College President valued Smith's "'wonderful influence with the students'." It is far more important than the actual social work, she said, "this is the most important thing just now 'training leaders for social reconstruction.'" [emphasis M. Carey Thomas] Smith's laments over her unfulfilling job continued through that academic year. Knowing individuals as "a sinus case, a 'condition exam,' or special diet and advanced standing in Latin" could not continue as the focus of her life.27

While Dean, Smith did become excited by one project, one of her own creation. It was prophetic. She took over a faltering educational program for the college's black service staff, which the students had originated. It gave her "deep satisfaction" to know that "every maid and porter on the campus was having a chance for education."28

Eleven years beyond her B.A., Hilda Worthington Smith remained in limbo. A prestigious College Deanship had not met her needs. Fortuitously, Miss Thomas was about to make her historic announcement about starting a labor college which Smith perceived as "a wonderful idea."29 Smith's temperament and training, as well as frustration with conventional academia, caused her to relinquish the position her friends
called secure, dignified and prestigious. Later Smith wrote that "the new venture was exactly what [she] wanted. It had been a difficult decision...I never regretted it." Immersion in creating the new school would engage her energies and spirit so completely that, after the first summer, she observed: "It was an entirely new experience calculated to upset one's ideas permanently." She felt that she herself had been converted from "a social worker to a believer in labor and its goal."

The thing I got from it above all was a new interest in living. The students, all pathetically eager to learn, to pass on, to shoulder responsibilities, the thoughtful ones working for and looking forward to a new social order—made me ashamed of my indifference and boredom. Life had a meaning for them, in spite of its inadequate provisions for happiness, and so once again it came to have a meaning for me.

Thomas presented Smith with a challenging assignment. The Director's job called for the creation of a uniquely ambitious institution - a reverse settlement house that would bring workers to itself and give them a liberal, but relevant, education. The job required a combination of talents. The Director had to be a committed humanist who took blue collar women seriously enough to care about devising a meaningful education for them and ways to empower them. She had to win the confidence of a unique coalition: factory women, organized labor, college women, academics, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) and others. She had also to win the confidence of potential donors.

Jane Smith was specially suited to the task. She exerted a stabilizing, harmonizing force so crucial to the formation of the institution's necessary working partnership. Her fervent espousal of democratic principles inspired trust, enabling her to serve as a bond
unifying interest groups. Her quiet calm and serenity set the tone. She communicated strength of character, benevolence and integrity. Energized by Thomas' charge to bring English and economics and other humanistic electives to blue collar women, she moved others to a similar commitment. Her breeding also helped. Smith was a genteel, guileless Victorian whose refinement was part of her presence and charisma.

Smith's force derived from her spirituality, a quality not generally found in social leaders. In reminiscence people rarely, if ever, referred to her as "reformer" or "educator." In fact, a former faculty member who was intimately acquainted with Smith adamantly insisted that the term "reformer" was "irrelevant" to an understanding of Smith as it "created overtones of rigid doctrine...which were foreign to Jane's approach to life...." Similarly, economist Broadus Mitchell paid homage to Smith in terms of St. Paul's triad of "faith, hope and good will." Sophie Rodolfo, the former student who opened the School in the Philippines, said: "Perhaps presumptive of me, but I take for my guidance the life of Jesus and that of Hilda Worthington Smith." Taken together these pointed appraisals create the picture of a secular saint. Smith's saintliness was not a matter of religious piety. After her undergraduate presidency of Bryn Mawr's Christian Union, Smith never identified with any organized religion.

Closely related to Smith's saintliness were qualities of mind that one feminist theorist has recently labelled "maternal thinking." "Maternal thinking" is an extension of the mother's capacity to provide to children (or constituents or students) "acceptability, preservation and growth." Jane Smith exuded nurturance. In questionnaires, any number of students remembered Smith's "goodness," "sweetness," "dedication," "generosity," "sincerity". One student said, "she was what we
today would call a 'beautiful person'."\textsuperscript{37}

Saintliness and maternal thinking were key trademarks. Another characteristic also made Jane Smith distinctive. Her vocabulary was not that of a reformer. Such terms as "exploitation," "sweat shop," "bosses," "women's rights" were rarely to be found in her spoken or written work. This style gave Smith an added quaintness and charm. It also imbued her presentations with a certain fuzziness that may have caused her to be taken less seriously by fellow activists accustomed to sterner language.

Smith's highly personalized verbal style relates to the larger issue of her individualism. The experience of designing a pioneering program did make her an expert in a new field. Though she matured into a confident "specialist," she never lost her intuitive, personal approach, engaging the world on a case-by-case basis. To individual problems she brought her sincerity, compassion, intelligence and the skills of a trained social worker.

It hardly surprises one to learn that Jane Smith, sensitive individualist, was also a poet. Her poems were simple and lyrical and stressed social themes. Poetry writing became a major school activity. Bryn Mawr Summer School student poetry has been preserved and now constitutes an important primary source of faculty women's writing from the 20s and 30s. Social and women's historians increasingly tap into this resource.\textsuperscript{38} During an interview, filmed when Jane Smith was ninety-five, she was asked how she responded to those who questioned the value of poetry for blue collar women. Smith answered, "I say there's nothing to say."\textsuperscript{39}

Vignettes about the School became Smith's stock-in-trade. She used the stories as parables. This material distanced her and the School
from ideology. Smith defied labels and the School was not easily
categorized. Was the School's mission to absorb factory women into the
humanist tradition or to train serious trade unionists? Was Smith a
unionist or an elitist educator? Smith adroitly balanced all these
goals and styles. She had a light touch. She was an effective leader
of a complex, national experiment, as well as a poet and story teller.

People quickly came to recognize her special qualities. Imposing
height, candid blue eyes and fair coloring added to her charm. Most
important, however, were the spirituality, altruism and goodness which
radiated from her, winning converts to the School's cause. Smith
blunted Main Line fears and labor movement skepticism. Nonetheless, the
women's garment unions, which were particular beneficiaries of the
program, still begrudge it recognition. Jane Smith gave an anomalous
institution its lease on life.

No analysis of Smith or her work has ever been done. Her own
published material includes a book about the School, Women Workers at
the Bryn Mawr Summer School, written almost half way into the school's
operation, in 1927. The work bears the style common to all Smith's
writing. She wrote in a voice of excessive formality and propriety.
She used few abstractions and imposed sentiment and detail on unpro­
cessed description.

Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School was an official,
institutional record which contained only sketchy policy-making debates
and a few insider's revelations. As a progress report, it was devoid of
retrospective judgment. Thomas exercised editorial control over the
book, a fact which contributed to its careful tone. Thomas could be an
intimidating audience. The survival of Thomas' revisions gives us
insight into the book's evolution.
The published version of *Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School* reflected many of M. Carey Thomas' beliefs. Thomas wished to have greater precision regarding the School's origins and more emphasis to the humanist impetus behind the experiment. In her revision, Thomas also expressed deeply-felt views on Quakers and blacks.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School, though precisely contemporaneous with Brookwood Labor College -- both opened in 1921 -- had its own distinct roots. Naturally Thomas wished to set the record very straight on this issue:

As you know, I think it very important, if Bryn Mawr did conceive the idea of a residential school before Brookwood opened, to make this statement. I like to think that when I thought of it first in the Autumn of 1919 and when we worked it out at Bryn Mawr in 1920 and the early months of 1921 that we did this without getting inspiration from Brookwood.\(^{43}\)

Thomas also urged Smith to give more emphasis to the new School's humanist values: "The primary purpose is to develop a human being. This is very important." The second objective was to help the industrial worker understand the context of her life.\(^{44}\) Smith had given the goals in reverse order.

Thomas became exercised over one of Smith's innocent acknowledgements. Smith had recognized "Quakers" on the Bryn Mawr College Board of Trustees for their openness to the summer school concept. This provoked a sharp response from M. Carey Thomas who evidently had a number of adversaries among that group and was not about to give them undeserved credit. Thomas treated Smith to a full-dress explanation in typically dramatic and contentious style:

I wish to call attention to my substitution of "liberal" for "Quaker" because it seems to me very important in view of the really scandalous treatment of Bryn Mawr by the influential Philadelphia Quakers. Throughout the first ten years of the College it was a question of who would win -- the Philadelphia Quakers
on the board or the more liberal Quakers from Baltimore. President Rhoads was the only exception. The others were determined to create a lesser Haverford.

... I have changed your "Quaker" to "liberal" because the Quaker tradition is not in favor of trying experiments in education and every liberal step taken by the Bryn Mawr College was bitterly opposed by the Philadelphia Quakers who were on the Board ... For fifty years [Haverford] had changed hardly at all and it was only after Bryn Mawr had battled for freedom that Haverford dared to become liberal. 45

Smith apparently had not known how sensitive Thomas was to the question of liberalism in Bryn Mawr's early history. Thomas, who prided herself on original thinking, enlightenment and liberality, was proud of the college's pioneering introduction of student self-government, graduate departments and even a graduate social work school. She would have viewed all of these as liberal innovations. Similarly was Thomas a liberal on women's issues. She was not only a suffragist, but a supporter of the Women's Party's Equal Rights Amendment. 46 In the Bryn Mawr-Haverford-Quaker context, Thomas defined liberal as freedom from sectarian control, as Thomas herself was a renegade Quaker. 47 It was in this sense that Bryn Mawr was "liberal" and the neighboring men's college "conservative," as the latter was still under the control of Quakers.

Another point was axiomatic with Thomas. Liberal did not mean acceptance of non-white, non-western peoples into the elite, intellectual tradition. Thomas' anti-black biases amounted to an idée fixe. On this subject she expressed herself freely making her opposition to blacks well known. 48

Bryn Mawr admitted its first black student in 1927, five years after Thomas' retirement, making it among the last of the Seven Sister
colleges to do so. Thomas wished the Summer School to be another all white enterprise, which it was for five years. In her one surviving letter about the Summer School Thomas tried to win Smith over on the race issue. She wrote the letter from England two months after the School admitted five blacks. However, for reasons we do not know the letter was never sent. The Summer School's integration in 1926 was a landmark in its own history and in the history of reform.

Thomas expressed racist views in the 1927 editing of Smith's manuscript. She labelled Smith's complimentary references to black students "unnecessary propaganda." First Smith's text.

A colored student acted as a special mediator that year between two conflicting factions in the school—the Russian girls and the Southerners. The Southern delegation thought they had never seen any people half so strange as Russians. They on their side, had said frequently and openly that the Southern girls were "just plain dumb", and the whole South "primitive." A colored girl, evidently accustomed to reconciling those around her, undertook to bring these two groups into better understanding.

Thomas' editorial commentary.

It seems to me open to the serious objection of unnecessary propaganda. You have said enough about Negroes ...I have heard from various sources that three of the five Negro students were only average and only two were good, we ought not I think say there were five able students. I hear also from Mount Holyoke that the Negro students are below average, it certainly was the case at Cornell when I was a student there and I think you will find it usually the case. Interestingly, Thomas softened her judgment with a concession to the role of environment. "It would be very strange if it [their below average performance] were not, considering their lack of opportunity."

The published text bore no trace of this material. The mediator role played by the black student was gone as was the particular rendering of Russian-Southern white interactions. Instead Smith had
substituted a vignette, which preached cultural reconciliation through music.

The story of two students, one a Russian and one a mountain white girl from Tennessee, is typical. They lived one above the other and, being musical, antagonized each other during the first two weeks by the strains of southern ballads and Russian folk songs which floated out of the windows and up the stairs. The southern girl called on her neighbor to desist, as the foreign songs she considered unpatriotic to the point of dangerous sedition. When her request was ignored, she pinned an American flag on her door, and sang her southern ballads with twice her former fervor. After a few weeks feud, the Russian neighbor from above appeared one day at the door, with a guitar under her arm and a polite request that she be taught the words of some of the old time melodies to which she had been forced to listen. The first lesson was followed by another, this time spent in teaching the southern girl the haunting Russian airs, until by the end of the school period amicable duets resulted, to the great satisfaction of both singers.

This sweet, if innocuous, story of Ollie MacDonald and an anonymous Russian relating across a great cultural divide, was one of Smith's favorites from her large repertoire of parables.

In a comment on a later section of the book, Thomas was true to her feminist consciousness. She admonished Smith to refrain from general use of the masculine pronoun. "Don't say 'he' when most of the teachers were women."^54

Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School was an objective chronicle of the School's operation up to 1927. Smith's autobiography, though a personal memoir, not an institutional history, was hardly more revealing. It was written after Smith left the Directorship and after Thomas' death. It was cut from the same cloth as the first book. Though Smith devoted several decades to it, it never attracted a publisher. Friends published it as a ninetieth birthday tribute under the title Opening Vistas in Workers Education.^55 Its excessive
formality makes it a less than valuable source of information.
Smith referred to M. Carey Thomas as "the president" and Susan Kingsbury as "the professor." The work comprised a series of anecdotes and impressions redolent with stereotype and cliche. One student, Irene, when diagnosed as tubercular, left the school in tears. Another anonymous one was bowed down by despair. By summer's end, the despairing student had embraced hope knowing "that certain governments existed designed to bring about better conditions for all workers." Did Smith have in mind collective bargaining, strikes and unions? One learned that the School's heterogeneous student body engendered a spirit of internationalism. Said one student: "Some of them furriners might be worth knowin' after all."

In her autobiography Smith did supply occasional glimpses into her philosophy of change. She condemned industry's crippling disciplinary system from a social feminist viewpoint, deploring the incapacitating submissiveness of the female work force. This sentiment appeared in a long passage describing the participants' initial reactions to the Summer School.

Under a surface manner of eager enthusiasm and joy in opportunities of the school many a student hid timidity, a lack of confidence in her ability, and a grave fear that she would not be equal to the task ahead...To say that these students were terrified at first with the new and strange situations in which they found themselves was not an exaggeration...Accustomed to long hours of monotonous work in a factory, sitting or standing in one place, under strict and often violently harsh supervision of foremen, students of the summer school at first were almost afraid to move without asking permission. This last word in evidence of this lack of confidence came from a young Russian whom I met in the corridor on the first day of school. She stopped me in the hall "Miss Smeeth, have I your permeesion to take a leetle wash?" These incidents served to strengthen my belief that administration of our country's industrial system had quelled the spirit of the woman industrial worker,
as well as breaking her body and warping her mind... She had become dependent on others to tell her what to do and dared not act for herself.

Smith concluded with sanguine platitudes. She wrote that the women soon showed "joyous acceptance of their freedom and delight in new responsibilities." 60

At least one sardonic observation penetrated the sentimentality. It was exasperation over the too predictable question asked by potential funders in every city. "Doesn't it make the girls discontented to come to such a beautiful place and then go back to the factory?" Smith was ready with her answer. "They are discontented before they come to the school .... with all the bad conditions in their industry." 61

Opening Vistas in Workers Education neither analyzed nor probed. In it Smith did not speculate deeply or follow ideas to their logical conclusion. What remedies did Smith propose? How could the School play a reformist role? The Bryn Mawr Summer School was a remarkably effective agency for change. Yet one would not have known that from the Director's autobiography.

Smith failed to create real life scenarios with tensions and subtleties. She herself achieved autonomy as a leader only after a traumatic split with the domineering Susan Kingsbury. Smith wrote not a word about this rite of passage and said nothing about her long term cordial association with School Executive Secretary, Ernestine Friedmann. Smith chronicled the School's pivotal events without emphasis, reporting the landmark 1921 decision to give workers an equal vote on the School's governing body in blandest terms. A leading student was able to persuade Miss Thomas that the students desired "a liberal course related to their problems rather than propaganda for any one viewpoint." 62 The influential, unnamed student was Baltimore button-hole

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sewer Sadie Dressner. How did Smith arrange for Thomas to speak with Dressner? What was the substance of the exchange? Much rich material such as this has been forever lost. Similarly, Smith gave only the barest mention to the School's 1926 admission of blacks. Finally, there as no word of the School's central crisis, its one year eviction from the campus following the strike events of 1934. This despite the fact that Smith, who was by then in Washington working for the WPA, was summoned to the campus as an emergency trouble-shooter.

Despite omissions in her writing, Smith's commitment to women was profound. She gave a long fruitful life's work to the cause of workers, most of whom were women workers. In interviews, she frequently returned to the question of women's passivity and acquiescence, a condition bred by stringent factory discipline. Smith appreciated how education could transform the mute and powerless blue collar woman into an articulate and complete human being. By dint of this overriding concern to empower women she would qualify, by today's definition, as a feminist. It is not known whether she would have welcomed that label, even though she used it to compliment others. In numerous respectful references to M. Carey Thomas she called her "a great feminist, a great suffragist," and one who "believed in women and believed in education." 63

Not a theorist or a systematic thinker, Smith gravitated to the personal and narrative. 64 Typically, these materials were less informative than ideal. On the other hand, their ideological neutrality was an asset. Smith's poems and stories communicated wisdom, humanity and humor -- messages to disarm even the most hard-nosed socialist or unionist. Smith's approach broadened, rather than reduced, her audience and, ultimately, her influence.

As already noted, Smith used a parable to replace provocative
material about the black student mediator, to which Thomas had objected. What Smith provided, instead, was a safe tale teaching reconciliation through folk music. Smith took enormous delight in these vignettes. Her handsome American Gothic countenance would become transformed by innocent mirth, as she gave the key lines theatrical delivery. When this researcher asked how classwork affected students, Smith told a well known vignette.

Part of our job was teaching the teachers to use simple language. I remember this garment worker who once came into my office and said, "There is no use that man using his high astronomical language on me. My spirit soars up after it. As for myself, I am totally unaware." Very often it was simply a question of vocabulary.

Episodes such as this, incidentally, nurtured in Smith a life-long aversion to jargon. (See Appendix for Smith's satiric poem "Perennial Protest").

The teaching of evolution caused predictable culture shock, especially among the Southern fundamentalists. Smith learned how one student became persuaded by the evidence. "A girl from Tennessee told only after she saw her friend Dora in the swimming pool looking like a hippopotamus, did she believe in evolution."66

Smith used another favorite story to underscore the School's remarkable openness. It was her way of allaying conservative fears.

In one of our best teacher's - Colston Warne's - economics classes he had outlined all these different theories all summer. At the end of the summer he asked each student in light of all this information she had, of every theory being built up and torn down, what do you want to do when you go back to your own community? Now you've heard all this this summer, all these theories. And one of our leading communists said, "Well, when I go back to California, I'm going to spend all my energy in the YWCA. They're doing the best job anywhere." Sometimes things turned out very unexpectedly.67

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Smith shunned the negative and the critical particularly when it involved a former ally. Whether this was deliberate or unconscious is open to question. She adamantly refused to discuss the inside story of the 1934-1935 eviction crisis even when virtually all principals were dead, forty-two years after the fact. Smith called the Summer School's powerful opponent in the Seabrook Farms crisis a "friend."

"Mrs. Hand [Mrs. Learned Hand, the jurist's wife and Bryn Mawr trustee] was a friend of the School. The difficulty was the result of a misunderstanding."

Her version of the School's permanent closing four years later could have come from Bryn Mawr College's Public Relations office. The simple fact was that the love affair was over. In Smith's telling, the key factors were the College's inauguration of a new president who could not be asked to take on so large an elective burden. In addition, the successor School, the Hudson Shore Labor School to be run at Smith's Hudson River family home, was to be co-educational. Smith's sanguine version causes one to wonder whether she could not or would not see reality.

It was not only her non-ideological, unsystematic style that tended to obscure her achievement. Intermittently, she projected a puzzling naivete. In this complex person there was a disconcerting absence of guile. Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith was soft-spoken and gentle, a poet and story teller. While listening to one of her charming stories one might forget that she was also an advanced and fearless activist. It was she after all who got the autocratic M. Carey Thomas to agree to open the School's governing body to the workers. It was she who stewarded the admission of five blacks, the first ever to study on the Bryn Mawr campus. It was she who insured the School's remarkable
So complex a personality who radiated spiritual energy defies easy summary. Smith could be original and banal, concrete and fuzzy-minded, doughty and naive, forthright and sanctimonious. She was an authentic individualist who never took on the idiom of her many roles: social worker, college dean, reformer, educator and government appointee. Her force derived from irresistible goodness; her genius lay in the daily practice of labor education. She was exceptionally well attuned to needs of worker-students. She performed the Director's job with tact, spontaneity, sensitivity and wisdom. She was unsurpassed at mediating among the School's diverse cultural, political and social groups. This work gave her an enduring greatness.

She excelled as a practitioner. She carried out progressive, social feminist ideals. She sought evolutionary non-radical change using a cross-class partnership to lessen social inequities—in this case, the educational handicaps of laboring women. To the pursuit of these goals she brought the sensibility of a humanist and democrat. These were her original contributions. Her mission was distinguished from other progressive labor crusades in another way and one which reflected its Bryn Mawr origins. She embraced the cause of all factory women, not just those seeking to be unionized.

Her self-assessment, "a believer in labor and its goal", fairly well summed up a long life's work. She hoped schooling would result in "wider usefulness" and in fewer barriers and more opportunity. These broad—critics would say vague—goals were, of course, those of the Bryn Mawr Summer School. It is instructive to point out that she did not adopt the more partisan vocabulary of a reformer even after she went to work for the WPA. In a 1935 article, intended to rally support for
her fledgling federal workers education program, she clung to genteel, bland language. She filled the article, which appeared in *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, with "economic order" not capitalism, "groups generally viewed as patriotic" not forces of re-action, and "economic insecurity" not unemployment. She focused on the non-partisan tenet of citizenship.

Workers education is designed to meet the educational needs of wage earners who have had little schooling. [Its] purpose is to stimulate an active and continued interest in the economic and social problems of the times and to develop a sense of responsibility for their solution. It received its impetus from educational needs revealed by the labor movement... Freedom of discussion and freedom of teaching are taken for granted in workers education. [Emphasis mine]... Above all, workers education leads straight from the classroom to the community...leading to various forms of social action.

Embedded without emphasis in her presentation were the two bold principles of academic freedom and social action.

Smith's writing never did justice to the richness of her accomplishment. She changed thousands of lives through education. More than sixteen hundred women attended the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Hundreds of others attended the Vineyard Shore Program, Hudson Shore School and programs sponsored by the Affiliated Schools. Smith was heavily involved with all of these others from the late 20s to early 50s. The educational concept developed at Bryn Mawr, and later emulated, was to give students a total intellectual and cultural experience. The education was to provide tools of expression and tools of analysis for students to rethink their lives, their work and their community participation. These interdisciplinary programs were rich and exciting. A unique contribution sprang from Smith's humanism. She made the cultural "frills" of poetry and music and astronomy not only acceptable

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to "bread and butter" unionists, but desirable. If pressed to give explicit agendas, she probably would have posited individual choice and free expression. Her effect on other people was considerable. She served as a catalyst freeing them to discover new inner and outer worlds and to determine their own priorities be they organizational, political or ideological. Time and experience made Smith more conventional, but she remained fundamentally an individualist, poet and democrat.

Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith's college peers thought of her as "almost the ideal student." This judgment came from a Bryn Mawr contemporary, Helen Taft Manning, William Howard Taft's daughter. Manning was also in her nineties when interviewed. She was another of M. Carey Thomas' disciples -- the one who succeeded Smith as College Dean when Smith assumed the School Directorship. "She [Smith] was one of those confident, energetic people who was always suggesting things for the good of mankind." When Smith held the most prestigious student campus office, president of the Self Government Association, Manning recalled an affable leader who "unaggressively" put forward plans that other people believed "would work." In her critical appraisal of the School, Manning expressed the College attitude of disillusionment which caused the School's demise. "It seemed a wonderful idea at first, but at the end we didn't think it so successful."

In interviews, many school participants and colleagues agreed that Smith made a lasting contribution to social reform. Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith led through personal force and example. Since the School attracted many gifted and talented people -- a further testimony to her leadership -- the roster of interviewees included distinguished scholars and activists. Smith's hold on their affection had not diminished with the passage of sixty years. Her high principles and
mission-oriented approach provoked the most commentary. Faculty spoke of her altruism, integrity and courage. From students there was awe and reverence. Both groups expressed affection and admiration. Most remembered her compelling sincerity, "she was completely good, full and sweet."74

Smith took factory women totally by surprise as they had not encountered anyone like her before. They were unaccustomed to being taken seriously, let alone by an imposing, genteel, upper class, social reformer-poet. She listened to them, encouraged them, wrote poetry and exchanged amusing stories with them and befriended them. Colleagues reminisced about Smith's candor, lack of pretense and her humility. She welcomed intimacy and informality delighting in being called the familiar "Jane," a nickname which dated from her freshman year at Bryn Mawr when a fellow student told her she looked more like a Jane than a Hilda. One source of her limited renown was her insistent modesty. Smith served as mentor to the women who later became a Director of the Women's Bureau and an Assistant Secretary of Labor. Esther Peterson conversed with Smith during the interview filmed when Smith was ninety-five. She reminded Smith of her many admirers. Smith responded "I should say one and a half [admirers]."75

If ever there were a social leader whose force was spiritual rather than cerebral, who exuded altruism and self-sacrifice, rather than arrogance and self-importance, it was Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith. This interpretation was borne out in abundant oral history evidence. Susan Shepherd Sweezy contributed a particularly cogent analysis. Sweezy, a former faculty member, had been close to Smith, having shared her home while teaching at the residential year round workers school, the Vineyard Shore School. It was Sweezy who had first objected to the
notion that Jane Smith was a reformer-educator:

Jane was not a reformer. The word is irrelevant. It creates overtones of rigid doctrine, of an aggressive attitude, of an "I know all the answers" character which is foreign to Jane's approach to life, education and human beings. She did not teach as an educator. She set the stage for real learning by the policies she encouraged, the presence she brought to the Summer School. She trusted people. She believed in the worker students. Most of all, she believed in the right of every human being to an education that was relevant to that person's life.

Sweezy also commented on Jane's generosity and utter lack of materialism. She provided an unforgettable image of Jane's unadorned appearance: "I'll never forget Jane with her hair tied up in a shoe-lace, her fork at meals poised full of food while she dealt with somebody's question and the food slowly slid off (I wondered whether she really got enough to eat)."

While Smith may have been oblivious to adequate food for herself, when it came to serving others she was generous to a fault. "The only thing she was concerned about with food was that there be more on the table than you were going to eat. You see having lived in her house I know this. The cook always had to fill the dishes again even if no one wanted seconds."

This generosity extended to Smith's policy on faculty salaries. Sweezy noted that Smith had steadfastly resisted the pressure to hire a volunteer faculty. Jane insisted that the School pay the going rate for academic summer schools -- $600 to $800. The competitive salaries were another reason the jobs were sought after.

Smith served as a one woman network with the former students and was chief recruiter. She convinced wary employers to donate scholarships. This is also in Sweezy's evocative portrait.

Jane set up and oversaw the recruitment of students, often getting their scholarships donated by their
employers, most of whom really did not approve of the School...assembled the faculty and paid them decent salaries, kept in touch with former students and each summer was there running the place from dawn to midnight taking part in everything, quietly and unostentatiously, being one of us.

Most importantly, Sweezy believed that the School's singular importance primarily came from its leader.

I would like to stress the vital role that Jane Smith played in the whole existence, flavor and atmosphere of the Summer School. She was never afraid of anyone, she was always utterly candid, devoted and selfless. The School's openness, breadth, flexibility, were primarily from Jane. She made it significant and remarkable. Nothing else like it has ever been so successful. At fund raising she was fantastic. No hardbitten businessman could look at her candid blue eyes and her totally unpretentious but calm assurance, and say NO. She influenced an enormous number of people and her recommendations brought us jobs.

Smith's transcendent goodness dominated the memoirs of several students: Carmen Lucia, Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, Helen Schudlenfrei Selden, Jennie Silverman and Helen Carr Chamberlain, all of whom invoked Smith's essence in religious terms. Lucia, the student who eventually became a vice president of the Hatter's Union, emphasized Smith's benevolence. "Kindness. Hatred was a word she never used. You never could find hatred in her philosophy. She had a way of speaking, it was a benign attitude for everything." Smith had been instrumental in arranging for another student, Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, to attend the University of Wisconsin. Rodolfo went on to found a school in the Philippines. She remembered Smith "as a mother confessor" in a perceptive ten page memoir.

Perhaps this is presumptive of me, but I take for guidance the life of Jesus and that of Hilda Worthington Smith...When my family and my trade union friends turned their backs on me for marrying a Filipino, her manner toward me did not change. Although I never heard her refer to any religion or go to any church, she was the most tolerant person I have
ever known. She was a friend of all kinds of people from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt down to the last communist atheist.

When Rodolfo visited America in 1974, Smith, who was 86, insisted on contributing to Rodolfo's airfare.79

Jane Smith played the crucial role in another student's going to college. Helen Schouldenfrei Selden, Summer School 1923, graduated from Barnard in the 20s. Selden had identified Smith's ethereal serenity: "I cannot tell you the special love I feel for Miss Smith. She was a poet and an ethereally beautiful person. There was a special quiet about her. I felt very relaxed around her."80 In the same vein, garment worker student Jennie Silverman observed "you could not distrust her no matter how paranoid you were."81 A final, concrete religious note came from Helen Carr Chamberlain who called Smith "a true disciple."

She was a leader who was not aloof. So much beauty came forth from her, the rare beauty that shines through. We summer school students hold cherished spots in our hearts for her... I remembered her as a peasant on International Day. She became a peasant and took her part like the rest of us. I remember our talks with her in the evenings under Pembroke Arch. She was our friend.82

An additional, astute faculty reminiscence identified in Smith a capacity akin to "walking on water." Alice Hanson Cook, Cornell Professor Emerita of Industrial and Labor Relations, said "there was a kind of innocence and directness which made her oblivious to ordinary barriers or sense of impossibility about realizing programs...it was a tenacity of innocence."

Cook observed that Smith had the gift of establishing "direct and immediate connections with blue collar women."

Working women were never put down by her, on the contrary, they were drawn out, encouraged and treated as full human beings. She had come out of Bryn Mawr,
of course, and represented that institution and its traditions which made a great impression upon the women who came there and who came to feel themselves a part of the institution although she was one of the few real links they may have had with it. Because of her modesty and ability to deal with people on their own terms, she was a very effective leader and a very good administrator.

Smith's poetry was also singled out for special consideration. Cook said "Jane wrote in an easy understandable, lyrical way," which promoted interactions across lines of class and education.

Smith used her poetry to communicate powerful messages -- one such poem was "Freedom Train" which she recited from memory when she was interviewed on film, at age 95, only months before her death. It was from a collection introduced by Hubert Humphrey, who had been an unemployed teacher employed in the Depression by one of Smith's workers education programs. He wrote [through these poems]"...we can know anew the gentle perceptive spirit of this truly great woman...."84

"Freedom Train"
I've heard the message
Heard it plain:
I'm going North
On the Freedom Train.
Jobs up North--
I just got word--
Best good news
I ever heard.

Got to the North,
Thought I'd like to shout
But bosses wouldn't hire me
And unions kept me out.
Found a little job,
Never make me rich
Heaving coal around
Diggin in a ditch

Waited on a corner,
Tried to hop a bus;
Couldn't get aboard
Not without a fuss

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Tried to get some supper
And a glass of beer.
Waiter turned me out of doors
Said "No Niggers here."

Tried to find a bed
Weren't no rooms to rent.
Slept out in a park--
Did not cost a cent--
Till the cops came round,
Said to move along
Little bird was singing
That old freedom song.

I heard the message,
Heard it plain
I came North
On the Freedom Train
But how am I going
To work and eat?
Where am I going?
To rest my feet?

Another colleague recognized the School's Joint Administrative Committee system of governance as a "radical" advance. She credited Jane Smith with having the "wit and wisdom" to implement it. Caroline Ware, economist and author, went on to imply that the sharing of control with labor representatives was prophetic, a bold step taken forty years before anyone heard of "community control."

Now at the point where the students asked to be part of the governance of the School, M. Carey Thomas' first reaction was "What? We're the educators, they're the students. What?" That's what Jane was up against at that point. And Jane had the wit and wisdom to find a way to bring some of the students into a reception that Thomas was having...and she turned right around on that radical, radical issue. I mean that was the really revolutionary issue that arose. If you were going to have any elitist notion you would not open the doors to share the administration with the students. But this proposal that you go the whole hog and M. Carey Thomas took it...It was Jane's faith in people, whoever they were—their own capacities in relation to their own needs.

When Jane Smith put herself squarely behind labor's interests, it was not without personal angst. To decide on the distribution of power

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in the evolving institution meant choosing between two personalities -- Susan Myra Kingsbury and Ernestine Friedmann. One will recall that Kingsbury was the abrasive Director of Bryn Mawr's Graduate Social Work School. She was the domineering older mentor with whom Smith had once lived and with whom Smith had engaged in battles of will. Friedmann, by contrast, was genial and even-tempered. Friedmann had come from Chicago's YWCA Industrial Department to be the School's Executive Secretary. In deciding to favor labor at the Summer School, Smith decisively ended Kingsbury's domination over her. She recorded these traumatic landmark developments in her Diary:

It [1921] was the most difficult summer of my life. SMK [Susan Myra Kingsbury] nervous and irritable, looking for trouble...wrestling with a seething student body and a new and puzzled faculty...Ernestine [Friedmann] bent on fairness to the rebellious students and eager for the sympathy of labor with the School, and I supposedly Chairman of the Committee but in reality in an anomalous position, working under SMK

The burning question on campus concerned the School's purpose.

...[There was] a combination of people and circumstances which set one's nerves on edge. The struggle for representation by the students and the discussion of the "aim of the School", the two burning questions of the summer brought many tense situations in student and faculty meetings.

Smith recorded her feelings as the traumatic situation came to a head.

SMK had convinced me that a moderate stand was necessary to save the School with the College and E. [Ernestine] had convinced me just as much that if labor was to stand by we must come out honestly and fearlessly for the labor movement. I skipped dinner, went over to Mrs. Collins' hillside woods and for hours lay in the pine needles weeping and trying to think what I should do and how I should vote that night.... K

Kingsbury was hardly magnanimous in defeat. The removal of the Summer School offices from the premises of her Social Work School symbolized her shrinking empire. The records do not explain who
authorized the move. Jane Smith again observed "in her [Kingsbury's] zeal for power everything seemed to be slipping away from her and she went through a winter of nervous tension and as usual I got the brunt of it."87

Smith's decision to support the labor movement was of singular importance. It went a long way toward proving the disinterested intent of the College. It answered the grave doubts of such women labor leaders as Mary Anderson of the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau, Rose Schneiderman of the New York WTUL and Agnes Nestor of the Chicago WTUL. It undercut challenges, such as the following, which came from an unnamed labor newspaper. The anonymous source accused the College of running "a bourgeois institution masquerading as a labor college" in which ignorant tutors tried "to make ladies out of fearless and experienced labor leaders."88

Smith's endorsement of labor, regarding its representation on the Joint Administrative Committee, increased her effectiveness as she now had the added support of the labor movement. She continued to play the crucial role that she had from the School's inception. As impartial go-between she balanced the competing interest groups against one another; College Trustees and the labor movement; leftist students and faculty and conservative non-unionized students. This feat was more easily accomplished in the quiet twenties than in the charged atmosphere of the thirties. Under pressure the fragile coalition came apart.

The 1921 acceptance of labor into the School's policy making body was innovative. The 1926 enrollment of black students was remarkable and dramatic. Unfortunately, Smith has given posterity no insights into this landmark event. Her one tantalizing clue is that she returned to the Summer School, after a 1925 sabbatical, on her own "conditions."
Into her diary she recorded her reservations about the Directorship. Chief among her apprehensions were disagreements with the College over appointments to the Joint Administrative Committee. And she dreaded waging the perennial struggle for funds. Nevertheless, she did return for 1926 and for the seven subsequent summers. Smith narrated the pressures which had brought her back:

They [Kingsbury, Thomas, Hand, Bryn Mawr College President, Marion Park and social investigator and Summer School Joint Administrative Board member, Josephine Goldmark] were willing to have me make any conditions if I'd only come back...It's not with any anticipation I'm agreeing to go back, but only because every one is urging me to do it. And the urging of the students and the workers plus that of Miss Thomas I'm not proof against.

Amazingly none of those canvassed about Smith recognized her racial integration of the School for the dramatic event that it was. None of them initiated discussion of it or even seemed to have an opinion in response to the author's questions. Despite the respondents' baffling silence, the admission of blacks was remarkable by any standard. Here were black factory women who were recruited for and admitted to residential study on a Main Line College campus during the socially inert Coolidge era. The surrounding community, the site of the legendary play and film, "The Philadelphia Story," was an enclave of vast wealth and conservatism. In time the black women's presence on that college campus affected local mores. The local movie theater bowed to the Summer School's pressure to desegregate its seating. Bryn Mawr College matriculated its first black undergraduates after the labor school did so. When that occurred in the Fall of 1927 the student was "placed" with a black family in the Village. Laboring women in the twenties rarely worked alongside blacks. Only 3% of the female factory workers were black and they labored in largely segregated workplaces.
The evidence is fragmentary. One can speculate on the sequence of events which brought racial equality to the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Also circumstantial was Smith's role in those events. By all accounts, the YWCA was the beacon of enlightenment on matters of race, having gone on record favoring integrated facilities and conferences in 1918. The Y clearly deserved credit. It was also characteristic of Jane Smith to deflect credit away from herself. She wrote that the prime movers behind a resolution calling for the admission of students "without distinction of race, creed or color" were the Y-recruited students. That resolution passed the Council, the self-governing campus group composed of students and faculty. The resolution was passed on to the Joint Administrative Committee for a decision.

Beyond that the record is silent. Smith was an outspoken integrationist whose actions and poetry speak for themselves. As College Dean she had operated an educational program for black employees; in many poems she deplored injustice and oppression. One may conclude, therefore, that Smith lent crucial moral force to the School's integration.

As noted above, the sole surviving document from M. Carey Thomas about the Summer School concerns race. She directed it to Smith. It was a hand-written, intimate letter which Thomas composed from England two months after the first five black women arrived. Thomas never sent the extraordinary, unfinished six page letter, which is excerpted below.

Personally I hope that you will not complicate its [the School's] full success by asking the girls to live, sleep and eat with even a very few Negro girls. I am far too convinced a eugenicist and far too enthusiastic a believer in heredity to think that it is wise to break down social barriers before we know far more about the intellectual effect of intermarriage with unprogressive races than we do now...I believe in not mixing reforms. The absolutely imperative work before us is to educate women leaders among the labor classes,
fit to guide and control the whirlwind when it strikes, to save what is good in learning, science and literature....It seems to me this is our first duty and you dear Hilda have qualifications that fit you to do this. You ought to be a very happy woman. Do not lessen your influence by wasting effort...Miss Susan B. Anthony and Miss Shaw always used to say do not mix reforms but drive straight to your goal looking neither to the right or to the left...Educate for us intelligent white women leaders they, when the time comes, can deal with the negro question in the labor world in light of scientific facts.

As there is no surviving correspondence from Smith, one is left to conclude that she did not commit her thoughts on this subject to writing. Years later, Mary Anderson, First Director of the Women's Bureau and a Labor Representative to the Bryn Mawr Summer School's Joint Administrative Committee, commented enigmatically on the decision to integrate the School racially. She wrote in her autobiography "Dr. Thomas...once convinced gave in very gracefully."  

Smith was a committed Democrat. Though quiet, her advocacy of democratic principles was impassioned and fervent. Her actions, more than her words, communicated her faith in people and in self-government. This faith translated into equal representation for labor in the School's governance, racial equality and academic freedom.  

Several colleagues praised her democratic spirit in different words. For example, Caroline Ware spoke of Jane Smith's "faith in people...in their capacities in relation to their own needs." Susan Sweezy said, "The School's breadth, openness, flexibility primarily came from Jane...Nothing else like it has ever been so successful." Esther Peterson became the greatest public success of all the Smith proteges. In Peterson's memoir she identified the various components in Smith's democratic approach: her honest expression of her own beliefs, her acceptance of controversy, her practice of consensus politics. "Jane
stood up so beautifully for what she believed in." She said, 'you've
got to learn to live with controversy. It's always going to be
there."

A 1922 Philadelphia Amalgamated Clothing Workers strike involved
the Bryn Mawr Summer School in one of those controversies—one which was
anathema to it. The College found itself unwillingly associated in the
press with labor unrest. Surviving documentation on the episode reveals
how Smith played out the role of non-controlling administrator. Avail­
able are two perspectives on the same event, one from a Summer School
participant's questionnaire; the other from Jane Smith's diary. Two
Summer School undergraduate tutors, Margaret Myers and a friend, went as
observers and interviewers to the ACWA picket line. In 1922 Myers was
an economics student at Columbia University. The day ended with Myers
et al being jailed along with the strikers. Myers began her reminis­
cence about the exhilarating events, of some sixty years earlier, with
an appraisal of Smith:

She [Jane Smith] worked hard, but was not an easy
person to know, at least for the younger staff. For
example, after the following excursion, we heard from
our friends on the faculty that she was very much
afraid the alumnae would be shocked by our actions, but
she never rebuked us nor ever spoke to us about it.
Our little excursion consisted of going in to the city
[Philadelphia] to interview some of the girls from a
clothing factory who were picketing on the street
during a strike. Apparently what they did was not
technically illegal, but the police had been arresting
them. Edna Cers [another Summer School tutor] heard
about it from our friend Stacey May who had just
graduated from Amherst. We all three decided to go
interview the girls. We took a taxi from Stacey's
house early one morning, got out and barely had time to
greet the strikers and say we had come to interview
them when the police interrupted and took us all in
"the black maria" to the police station. After an hour
or so, we were taken before the judge, who dismissed
our case, but fined Stacey a few dollars. Edna and I
felt that was discrimination!
A reporter wrote up the case and took our picture, so of course everyone at the College knew about it. The students approved of us, the faculty thought we had been indiscreet and rather naive, which was true. But Miss Smith said nothing, which I thought was great self-control on her part.

In the long run, the College's inability to prevent unwelcome publicity and to distance itself from the struggles of organized labor proved to be its most intractable problem. How could it have been otherwise? Here was a case of irreconcilable needs, one which exposed the inner contradictions of the "unnatural" school. The College had nothing to gain from association in the local headlines with its activist school. Conversely, the politicized school participants were only too ready to act on newly-felt imperatives to action. Over this principle the College evicted the Summer School for the 1935 session and for good after 1938.

In her diary, Smith called the ACWA strike episode "the only serious crisis" of the 1922 summer. "Two tutors were arrested for helping with the Amalgamated Strike in town and gave an interview to the papers - using the name of the School."

By 1929 word had gotten around that the Summer School provided a forum for debate on even the most radical issues. That was the summer of the Communist-led Gastonia, North Carolina strike in which a police chief was killed. Smith's diary carried related material that involved the Summer School. Two Civil Liberties Union women were arrested in Philadelphia for defending the Communist strikers. Before the judge they publicized free speech enjoyed at the Bryn Mawr Summer School.

...two Philadelphia ladies, one a Bryn Mawr alumna, got themselves arrested in a Civil Liberties meeting in Philadelphia, sassed the judge in the police court and angrily said, "If we can't say these things in Philadelphia at least we can next week on the campus of the Bryn Mawr Summer School." These things being defense of the Communist strikers in Gastonia, North...
Carolina where a police judge [sic] was killed during the strike. Of course at once ten newspapers called us up to ask what connection we had with Gastonia...

Years later, Smith said avoidance of partisan publicity involving the College proved elusive. Members of the Summer School continued to engage in activism, as individuals. The College's name generally wound up in the newspapers.

When Colston Warne, the Summer School's activist economist, described his role in the decisive 1934 Seabrook Strike Crisis, he acknowledged that "Jane shielded [them]."

We didn't submit to anybody. If Jane had been standing around I would have told her. But it didn't involve students. It was on my own time. Jane shielded us. It would be unthinkable that she would engage in classroom censorship. She left us alone.

As already discussed, the Seabrook Crisis was a wrenching experience for Smith, who was called back from her Washington, DC job to serve as mediator. In a long impassioned letter to the College President, Marion Park, Smith described the College's eviction of the School as "the greatest blow" she had had for many years. She castigated the College for grievously misinterpreting the agreement with the Summer School. She argued that no trust had been violated since Warne et al. had gone to Seabrook as individuals. No policy had ever spelled out who could or could not teach at the Summer School. Smith claimed the College's actions put it in the company of "the red baiters in the country, the DAR, Chambers of Commerce and other groups which [were] waging a fight against liberal opinion and the labor movement."

She believed the College had a liberal tradition which it betrayed in this crisis.

Behind the scenes, Frances Hand, powerful College Trustee, also wrote to President Park.
Hilda, it seemed to me is very unclear in her thinking. She is aware of the tendencies and sympathies but isn’t very willing to call a spade a spade. Mrs. Stokes’ [head of Philadelphia Summer School fund raising] attitude is really a help to us. I think she will demand...a kind of curriculum with less pointed labor aims [emphasis her].

It comes as no surprise that the critical event in the Summer School's history occurred after Smith's departure for her New Deal job. It was also fitting that her "lieutenant", Esther Peterson, was the most charismatic faculty person during the School's final years, 1934-1938. Smith was her role model.

Esther Peterson's reminiscence about meeting Jane Smith began with Peterson still in her blue gym suit. She was teaching physical education in a Boston girls' school when Smith came to publicize the work of the Summer School.

I was still in my blue Winsor School gym outfit, bloomers and all, the first time I spoke with Jane Smith. There wasn’t time to change and I knew I had to talk to her. She had just finished talking to the girls at Winsor School in Boston urging their support for the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, driving home the points that we take for granted today – the need to be useful, the importance of giving something of yourself back to a society which has treated you well, and of how women, who have been left out for so long, must make special efforts to get involved for themselves and for other women – points that were to change my life.

Peterson lauded Smith's great influence on her.

I knew I had met a women I wanted to be like. I knew I wanted to be part of what she was doing. Her recruiting speech at Winsor...marked the moment when I moved from a contented liberal bystander to a happy, and, for those days, radical doer...the next summer I was organizing sports and singing and drama with the Summer School.

Esther Peterson judged Smith to be "one of the great women of our period. She personalized everything and made you feel that you could make a difference. She inspired me no end."
Smith introduced Peterson to consensus and compromise.

I learned to use the democratic process....I mean that you take into account all the points of view. Now Jane insisted that everyone's opinion be heard. And that for a consensus all had to give a little bit. Somehow or other she made it so that you had to accept the democratic process--and that meant an awful lot to me.

Smith's forthright acceptance of controversy ranked among her most important contributions to the Bryn Mawr Summer School and to the general practice of workers' education. Peterson was aware of Smith's importance as a practitioner of political democracy.

Jane's philosophy was that there was always controversy in life. You can't close your eyes to it. You must learn to live with it. That's what the School was all about. For me that was a whole new experience.

When asked about the place of controversial questions in workers' classes, Smith declared emphatically

Controversial questions? I thought we must be back in the kindergarten stages....It reminded me of the early days of the Bryn Mawr Summer School where we actually had a long discussion "dare we use the term 'social action'?" Well, I thought in about five minutes in a workers class you're into controversial questions. Smith believed that free speech meant exactly that - and therefore communists and socialists were entitled to an open forum. Her fervent practice of political democracy was, of course, what made her persona non grata to the Bryn Mawr trustees in 1935 and gave her federal workers' education programs a leftist tinge.

Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith sounded a fearless note in an observation about reform in America. "There were plenty of things that needed changing in this country. Step by step we followed democratic, parliamentary procedures and let the results be what they may."

As Peterson noted, Smith was also a cultural democrat. She took great delight in the heterogeneity of the School's student body. She
would triumphantly announce the number of ethnic origins represented, a number enhanced by counting every last European duchy! "The whole world was there. If we had a principle of brotherhood, then the reality was that we would have to integrate the group with blacks, Jews, Norwegians, Irish - everybody. Problems were for solving."\textsuperscript{108} Beginning in the late 20s, the Summer School welcomed a small international contingent, principally from England, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Sweden.

After her thirteen year Summer School tenure, Smith continued to have an active career for four more decades. Her creative peaks in government came with the WPA, in the thirties, and with the Labor Extension Service Bill in the forties. When she accepted Harry Hopkins' job offer in 1933, well-known ILGWU educator-activist and former Summer School faculty member Mark Starr criticized her "for selling out to government."\textsuperscript{109} Smith was able to use Starr's talents in her evolving program by making him Chairman of her Advisory Committee. She learned that including him served to quiet his criticism. Smith's New Deal work brought her into a close working association with Eleanor Roosevelt. They had originally known each other as neighbors on the Hudson River. Smith's first professional contacts with Roosevelt date back to the summer of 1922, when Roosevelt visited her friend, Marion Dickerman, who was teaching English at the Summer School.

Eleanor Roosevelt provided Smith with crucial promotional assistance for her projects, such as the "She, She, She" camps. The resident camps for women, Smith's creations, drew heavily on tenets laid down at the Summer School. Accordingly, they stressed educational, rather than vocational, goals. At the programs' height, ninety camps served five thousand women. These "She, She, She" camps were never widely known, never caught the public imagination and hence were among the first New

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Deal programs to be cut. Smith lamented their closing in a letter to Roosevelt.

The CCC camps with their millions of dollars for wages, educational work, travel and supervision constantly remind me of what we might do for women from these same facilities. As so often the case, the boys get the breaks, the girls get neglected. [Emphasis added by author, Susan Ware.] Even though similar plans for women are more difficult to develop, I do not believe they should be discarded as impossible.

The climax in Jane Smith's public life came in 1947 with a defeat. She had waged a solitary, but nearly successful, campaign for federally-funded labor extension classes to be sponsored by the Department of Labor. In the end, Smith's enemy was no less than General Motors which killed the plan in committee by labelling it subversive. Alice Hanson Cook was the best source on this anti-climactic chapter in Smith biography. Cook coined the apt phrase "tenacity of innocence" to evoke Smith's courageous stand against her Goliath-like adversary:

An example of her nonstopability was when she was working for the National Labor Education bill [Labor Extension Service Bill]. After all her opponent at that point was no less an organization than General Motors which had become alarmed about the radicalism inherent in labor education. One of their representatives, I should say spies, had visited classes in Michigan and raised the alarm in a congressional hearing about the prounion activities of teachers there.

Smith's single most courageous act may have been the addition to her staff of someone General Motors had had fired.

While General Motors' opposition actually spelled the defeat of the legislation, Hilda Smith never lost her belief that the reasonableness and rightness of her proposals would eventually win over the Senators. And indeed she took on as her Executive Assistant in the campaign, Arthur Elder who had been dismissed as the head of the WPA Workers Education Program in that state [Michigan] at the insistence of General Motors.
Opposition did not stop her and did not even apparently frighten her except perhaps to intensify her methods. 111

From General Motors' perspective, the *coup de grace* had been a cartoon picked up in a Michigan class which had satirized GM's President's high salary. 112 One hesitates to think how Smith, and her open forum schools, would have fared against House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and Joe McCarthy.

Following this crushing defeat, Smith held numerous middle-ranking government appointments in various government agencies. In her final appointment, she served the Office of Economic Opportunity designing programs for the elderly. Richard Nixon's elimination of OEO forced Smith's retirement at age 84.

Earlier accomplishments had secured Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith's place in history. She lived to see her name begin to enter the written record. Reverence for her increased as a new generation of history-conscious women labor leaders, feminists and researchers discovered her monumental work. Bryn Mawr College organized an official reconciliation with an adulatory Women Workers' Week celebration in January 1975. It featured a reunion of Jane Smith, its illustrious alumna, Class of 1910, Esther Peterson and several students. In retirement Smith welcomed a steady stream of interviewers, according them warmhearted cordiality, presumably similar to that which had endeared her to thousands of worker students. To interviewers she radiated an ageless vitality. The author expected a two hour meeting, but instead spent the day having lunch and dinner with the venerable Smith. Even when Smith's memory began to fail and she was completely dependent on companions and nurses, she continued to answer her own telephone, replying firmly, "Yes, I remember you very well, indeed."
When M. Carey Thomas asked Dean Hilda Smith to direct the workers' summer school on the Bryn Mawr College campus, she guaranteed the experiment's astonishing success. The assignment sparked a surge of creative genius in the restless young woman who was far from content with her prestigious job. Mary Beard once described the Bryn Mawr Summer School as "unnatural—unnatural for the women workers and unnatural for the College sponsors." Smith disagreed. She infused into her work a serene confidence believing deeply that hosiery loopers, weavers and garment workers were as entitled to an education as were debutantes and the daughters of professional and business classes. She believed, what's more, that the privileged had an obligation to share their resources and experience. As Peterson observed "Jane understood there was nothing wrong about Lady Bountiful."

Smith's initial victories came from her deft balancing of the School's dizzying number of constituencies: the labor movement; College Trustees; College Alumnae, academics; non-unionized students; the YWCA and the WTUL. Coming from the establishment she was, of course, acceptable to it as one of its own. She promptly demonstrated the rare gift of becoming one with the factory women. She was equally—if not more—at ease with them than with the educated elite. She was admired equally by both groups. Her blue collar women needed her a lot more than had Bryn Mawr undergraduates. Smith bridged both social classes. Smith embodied principles of intercultural harmony as well as interclass harmony; she derived enormous pleasure from introducing Russian Jews to Scots-Irish mountain girls, such as Ollie MacDonald.

Smith was a skilled administrator who attracted a gifted faculty. She insisted on paying decent salaries even when fundraising was nearly impossible. From the outset, she rejected volunteerism and was
inundated with job applicants. The atmosphere, which she encouraged, was conducive to unfettered teaching and learning. The Summer School faculty rosters carry the names of many of the period's most distinguished economists and idealist academicians. Alice Hanson Cook, Broadus Mitchell, Esther Peterson, Susan Shepherd Sweezy, Caroline Ware, and Colston Warne were the principal faculty interviewees in this project. Such notables as Paul Douglas, Carter Goodrich, Amy Hewes, Helen Drusilla Lockwood, Rosamund Tuve, Theresa Wolfson, and many others predeceased this research.

Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith was an inspired practitioner of social feminism and evolutionary reform. She gave a life's energies to the cause. In the process, she also exhausted her own inheritance, giving the family home, "Heartsease," to two perennially struggling labor schools. Fortunately, she was well beloved by the small family and many friends who supported her in old age. Her shabby Porter Street apartment in Washington was a far cry from the Riverside Drive brownstone of her youth. One wonders whether she willed herself indigent as another way of identifying with the people she cared about the most.

Smith's work spanned the decades when trade unions came of age. Her work advanced union goals. Among the author's respondents, Carmen Lucia and Elizabeth Nord, became vice-presidents of national unions. Smith's unique contribution was to provide an education that was available nowhere else. She was responsible at Bryn Mawr, alone, for sixteen hundred women being tapped for enrichment, some finishing their eight weeks as budding poets and public speakers. She stewarded the development of an educational concept that was humanistic, liberal and relevant. "Relevant" was not to be found in Smith's insistently
turn-of-the-century vocabulary. Her behavior **was** relevant. She early on championed women's rights — in particular those of blue collar women. Her work bridged the gap between factory and educated white and black women. Smith bridged the generation gap, too, for example with her membership in the National Organization of Women.

Smith was a last survivor of a generation of heroic women. She became one of those "advanced women" of her mother's friends' prophecies and carried forward the vigor, optimism and commitment of early twentieth century reform. She was a contemporary of Molly Dewson and Frances Perkins and an intimate of Eleanor Roosevelt. She served as a bridge linking the worlds of M. Carey Thomas, Jane Addams, Florence Kelley and Agnes Nestor to that of Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, Carmen Lucia, Rose Pesotta, Elizabeth Nord and Esther Peterson. She enabled selected members of that succeeding generation to discover new inner and outer worlds. She was a catalyst for richer lives, happiness and public service.
PERENNIAL PROTEST

Don't say "motivate" to me,
I won't even try.
Nor shall I become "involved,"
Or "identify."
I'll let others all "relate"
To anything they please.
"Hopefully" I'll get along
Without their "expertise."

"Group Dynamics," I regret
I've never understood them yet,
But I surmise they will not be
My road to "sensitivity"

Though all this jargon I deplore,
The phrase that I am waiting for,
The one to which I give the prize,
That magic phrase, "to finalize."

"My image," I am sure, is shattered.
But then, I never thought it mattered.

H.W.S.
Jan. 23, 1975
Filmed interview with Broadus Mitchell, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984

Filmed interview with Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, San Antonio, the Philippines, November, 1984.

Elizabeth Lyle Huberman, Questionnaire Survey.


Ibid., 203-206.

Ibid., 224.

Ibid., 201-202.

Ibid., 225.

Smith, Opening Vistas, 58.

Ibid.


Interview with Hilda Worthington Smith, Bryn Mawr, PA, January 15, 1975.

Simon Patten's economic theories are considered in a general discussion of the key formative influences on the young Frances Perkins. See George Martin, Madam Secretary, Florence Perkins (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), 72.
Smith's resolution of her post-graduate crisis is among several considered in Joyce Antler, "'After College, What?' New Graduates and the Family Claim," American Quarterly (Fall, 1980), 409-434. For Smith as, for example, Vida Scudder, "consideration of parental attitudes became a key variable in deciding among alternative options."


Smith Diaries, 81 Volume.

Smith Diaries, 83 Volume. For consideration of the significance of intense sororial relationships in women's lives, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's landmark article, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society (Autumn, 1975), 1-20. Smith-Rosenberg's conclusions, from nineteenth century evidence, apply to many early twentieth century lives and, in fact, have timeless ramifications.


Smith Diaries, 83 Volume.


Smith Diaries, 83 Volume.


Smith Diaries, 83 Volume.

Interview with Susan Shepherd Sweezy, Wilton, NH, July, 1980.


Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, Questionnaire Survey.


Helen Carr Chamberlain, Questionnaire Survey.


Pauline Newman, for example, notable ILGWU staff member for seventy years, was a labor representative to the Bryn Mawr Summer School's Joint Administrative Committee in the 20s. She patronized the School's accomplishment observing "it was nothing outstanding." She was apparently unaware of the fact that several ILGWU organizers, including the celebrated Rose Pesotta, had been students there. In fact, Pesotta, a 1922 and 1923 student, paid tribute to the Summer School in her classic autobiography *Bread Upon the Waters* (New York: Dodd, Mead, Co., 1944), 15-16.


Hilda Worthington Smith, draft of *Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School* (with editing by Susan Kingsbury and M. Carey Thomas), BMSS-BMC Papers.

Ibid., facing 9.

Ibid., 17-18.

Ibid., facing 23.


See *Notable American Women 1607–1750*, s.v. "Thomas, Martha Carey."

Mount Holyoke, Smith, Vassar and Wellesley admitted black students in the years between 1898 and 1900, thus predating Bryn Mawr by almost thirty years.

M. Carey Thomas to Hilda Worthington Smith, August 22, 1925, unsent, BMSS-BMC Papers.
Smith, draft of *Women Workers*, 45.

Ibid.


Smith, draft of *Women Workers*, 45.

Smith, *Opening Vistas*

Ibid., 116.

Ibid., 124.

Ibid., 123.

Ibid., 129.

Ibid., 119-120.

Ibid., 208.

Ibid., 160.


Interview with Smith, 1976.

Videotaped interview with Smith, Bryn Mawr, PA, January 1975.

Interview with Smith, 1976.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Smith Diaries, 83 Volume.

Smith, *Opening Vistas*, 124 and 155.


Interview with Helen Taft Manning, Villanova, PA, November, 1983.
Elizabeth Lyle Huberman, Questionnaire Survey.

Filmed interview with Smith, 1983.

Self Interview, Susan Shepherd Sweezy, Pasadena, CA, June, 1983.

Interview with Carmen Lucia, Rochester, NY, May, 1983.

Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, Questionnaire Survey.


Helen Schuldenfrei Selden, Questionnaire Survey.

Jennie Silverman, Questionnaire Survey.

Self Interview, Helen Carr Chamberlain, Whitehall, PA, June, 1983.

Self Interview, Alice Hanson Cook, Ithaca, NY, June, 1983.


Ibid., 96-97.

Interview with Caroline Ware, Washington, DC, May, 1983.

Smith Diaries, 83 Volume.

Anonymous Source quoted in Smith, Opening Vistas, 159.

Smith Diaries, 88 Volume.


Smith, Women Workers, 17.

M. Carey Thomas to Hilda Worthington Smith, August 22, 1926, unsent, BMSS-BMC Papers.

Mary Anderson, Woman at Work (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), 227.

Interview with Ware.

Interview with Sweezy.


Margaret Myers, Questionnaire Survey.
99 Smith Diaries, 83 Volume.
100 Ibid.
101 Interview with Colston Warne, Mount Vernon, NY, September, 1976.
102 Hilda Worthington Smith to Marion Park, March 5, 1934, BMSS-BMC Papers.
103 Frances Hand to Marion Park, March 5, 1934, BMSS-BMC Papers.
105 Interview with Peterson, 1977.
106 Interview with Smith, 1976.
107 Ibid.
108 Interview with Peterson.
109 Interview with Smith, 1976.
110 Hilda Worthington Smith to Eleanor Roosevelt, May 15, 1940, quoted in Ware, Beyond Suffrage, 114.
111 Interview with Cook.
112 Smith, Opening Vistas, 276.
114 Interview with Esther Peterson, May, 1983.
CHAPTER III

THE BLUE COLLARS OF THE BRYN MAWR SUMMER SCHOOL
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Recruiting the Students

Summer School students, when interviewed as elderly women in their seventies and eighties, remembered diverse reasons for attending the Bryn Mawr Summer School. A pastiche of recollection emerged. Uppermost was the wish to be educated. Some focused on the opportunity to have a vacation, their own room or to live luxuriously for the first time. Others viewed the summer at school as a form of rebellion.

Elizabeth Nord was among those who spoke forcefully of the desire for education:

I don't know about the other students, but I wanted to go to school. I was interested in the Summer School because I had gone to night school...the only field of study in night school in those days was business subjects: business English; shorthand and bookkeeping. I didn't want this sort of thing.

Freddy Drake Paine focused on the Summer School as a respite from the factory grind:

The Summer School was terribly important because I started working at ten and had never had a vacation in my life....who the hell in my predicament would think of taking a vacation...I didn't know how to swim. I had had no childhood things at all. I learned how to swim in this pool here and let me tell you, when I celebrated that day, whoo I wanted to have a bottle of champagne, no a pool of champagne.

Then Thelma Brown Haas decided to accept the Summer School offer it meant loss of her job:

I'd worked there [a Roanoke, Virginia viscose plant] for thirteen years...The head manager said to me "if you go, you don't have a job"...I went home on the streetcar and cried all the way home about giving up my job...But I was determined. I was 29 years old. This was my rebellion to come here and quit that job. I knew I would survive somehow and I did.

How did these women--Nord, a Pawtucket, Rhode Island silk weaver, Paine, a New York garment worker and Brown, a Virginia viscose worker--learn of the school? There were formal and informal mechanisms ranging
from flyers and brochures distributed by YWCA's, unions, WTUL branches and other organizations to word-of-mouth and, in time, reputation.

Publicity hand-outs gave informative descriptions of the School: its purpose, goals, curriculum, scholarships, admission requirements, student demography, faculty roster, etc. The School's non-vocational character was made very clear:

The School does not aim to take workers out of industry, but to give them a better understanding of industrial problems and new resources for leisure time. The course is in no way vocational and does not lead to a better job.

Among other features, the brochure highlighted the School's democratic control: "Women Workers, college women and other interested people on all administrative committees." It also noted that the "experimental methods were adapted to the mature mind of the industrial worker, to her lack of elementary preparation and to her interest in industrial problems." The flyer told the prospective student that the scholarship plan made it possible "for factory workers to attend without expense."

The Summer School outlined "Results of the Bryn Mawr Summer School", stating prominently that fourth-fifths of the students had returned to industry with only one-fifth going into other occupations or continuing their education in full time courses. The brochure noted that former students had demonstrated increased interest in evening classes, and more leadership and civic involvement: "A greater interest has been shown by many former students in such questions as voting, legislation, industrial studies and community activities."

Recruitment and admissions policies which Hilda Worthington Smith, Susan Myra Kingsbury and their labor and social activist colleagues formulated in the Spring of 1921 would serve the School virtually unchanged throughout its history. At the outset the planners decided that
women workers would be defined in strictly blue collar terms. To qualify for admission a worker would have to be employed at the tools of industry. Specifically excluded, therefore, were waitresses, clerks and teachers. The School would consider women between eighteen and thirty-five with preference given to those over twenty. Other requirements were a common school education (sixth grade), literacy in English and two years of industrial experience. The school requirement was often waived for immigrants who demonstrated intellectual potential.

Recruiters wished to gather a cross section of America's blue collar women's work force on the Bryn Mawr campus. Therefore, they sought representation from diverse occupations, geographical regions, as well as ethnic and religious groups. Recruiters also sought a balance between unionized and non-unionized students. Determining selection was the School's goal, to offer a liberal, non-technical course weighted to the aptitudes and needs of women workers. Esther Peterson recalled clearly admonishing prospective students, "Don't come if you think it will get you a better job. We won't teach you how to type. But we will help you understand the world." The School's humanistic slant was an important screening device which attracted women of curiosity and intelligence.

To assist in the recruitment of a geographically diversified and academically qualified student body, the Joint Administrative Committee, the School's policy making body, established eight District Committees. These committees conformed to the preexisting regional framework of the College's Alumnae Association. To assure desired geographical representation, the Committees worked within quotas. In 1921 these were: New England, 18; New York, 28; Pennsylvania, 23; Chicago, 15; the South 10; Ohio, 6; St. Louis, 4; Far West, 6. While the eight regional college clubs were the backbone of recruiting and fund-raising, eventually fifty
committees in industrial centers conducted the necessary work. 8

The alumnae of this, the smallest of the elite women's colleges, spearheaded the School's fundamental work. It became these women's responsibility to coordinate the dissemination of publicity, the location of candidates and, of course, the fund-raising of $200-$250 per student. Emergence of an individual city as a Summer School center often depended on the residence there of a particularly dynamic college alumna. St. Louis was one such city as it was the home of the beloved League of Women Voters leader, Edna Fischel Gellhorn, Bryn Mawr, 1900. 9 Gellhorn was lifetime president of her class and a college trustee.

Allies in the social feminist network joined with the college women to recruit students. The WTUL and kindred organizations provided that help. Over time, most of the students came via the two conduits closest to their lives. From the author's study of the applicant pool, I learned that for the years 1924, 1929, 1931 combined, that 38% had learned about the School from their YWCA Industrial Clubs, and 27% had learned about the School from their union. 10 In my long-term follow up study, done on another cohort of summer school women, the Y-recruited women accounted for more than half (57%). Unions had recruited 22% of that cohort. 11

The District committees recommended candidates to the School's Admissions Committee on the basis of an interview, written application and medical approval. The absence of academic examinations was a source of delight to the timid candidates. Smith wrote:

It [the admissions process] seems unbelievably simple, and in the process of inquiry she [the candidate] begins to lose something of her hesitation and to gain confidence in herself. If this school is actually for industrial workers, girls with as little schooling as herself, why should she not at least think about it, even though she may never 'get to go'. 12

Recruiters used the interview to discern evidence of maturity,
intellectual and leadership potential, as well as consciousness of
economic problems. Applicants appeared before two or three Committee
members who questioned them on interests, conditions in their trade and
reasons for wishing to attend. Interviewers were uninterested in compe­
tence in arithmetic or geography -- another source of surprise and relief
to the prospective students. When feasible, a former student was present
in the interview.

The Admissions Committee, which convened for two days in April at the
College, was composed of District Chairmen together with equal numbers of
summer school student representatives. Each Chairman arrived from her
home District with lists of recommended candidates.

Skill in identifying qualified candidates came through experience and
through a continual reevaluation of procedures. Smith perceptively
enumerated pitfalls common to the screening process:

It is no easy matter to acquire something of the back­
ground of industrial conditions which will make possible
intelligent work in publicity and recruiting; to under­
stand that glaring elementary defects in education are
not synonymous with stupidity; that apathy and indiffer­
ence may be reasons for rejecting even a brilliant girl;
that high-handed murder of the English language may mean
no lack of keen intellectual ability; that candidates
have a right to hold any political or religious opinion
even in the face of local opposition; and that it is not
always the most voluble candidate who has the best
foundations for thinking. Sometimes it is the slow,
steady plodder with a social consciousness who may
develop qualities for leadership in decided contrast to
the first impression she makes on an inquiring
committee; often a striking personality may be found
with aggressiveness and superficiality and a mediocre
one may be a token of mediocre opportunities rather than
of innate dullness. To get a well-rounded set of
opinions about an applicant means therefore a great deal
of routine work, a capacity for discernment, under­
standing and discrimination.

To fill a class of one hundred, allowing for pre-session attrition
occasioned by illness, family problems and the unemployment of a family
member, the Admissions committee chose 120 to 130 candidates. Fifteen
places were reserved for second year students.

The disparities among the students—in preparation, consciousness of industrial problems and maturity—posed instructional obstacles. This unevenness among the worker students caught the notice of Johns Hopkins economist Broadus Mitchell. A faculty member in 1922 and 1923, he reviewed the distinctive composition of the first three classes, the following year.

A section of the students the first summer, made up largely of organized workers in the needle trades comparatively advanced in economic consciousness, learned of the school (sponsored as it was by an endowed cultural college) as a challenge to their philosophy of life, and came to the campus with their faith in industrial action on the defensive. Because the intensest spirits had already attended the school the opening year, and partly, perhaps, because selecting local committees were mindful of the experience so gained, the second session brought a quieter lot, younger and more teachable. What these students lacked in mental ability they tried to make up in application; however, while they contributed to knowledge of the best method of the school's work, the general feeling at the end of the summer was that effort had been spent upon many women not sufficiently capable of profiting by it. Last summer, the trend of the school's thought and the privilege of attendance being better understood, students were at once able and assimilable.14

Nearly sixty years later, Mitchell echoed the foregoing comments. His clearest memory of the students at the Bryn Mawr Summer School was the great variation in their readiness for instruction. "You had people of many degrees of prior education, information and experience. Obviously some were far better able than others to profit from the School."15

Summer School administrators sought to assure some degree of intellectual homogeneity in the student body with a policy enunciated in 1925. That year it required that students attend workers classes in the Spring before their summer attendance. The responsibility for organizing workers classes, if none existed in the community, fell to the Summer
School Committees.

School administrators were concerned also with the students' intellectual and social well-being once they returned to their home communities. To keep them from feeling cast adrift the School set a policy of admitting students in sets of at least two from any given city. The School realized that larger cohorts were even more desirable. In addition, the School undertook the founding of Summer School alumnae clubs "to band together the students of the Summer School, to insure their cooperation and maintain their interest in the School and in the general movement toward workers education." The evidence is fragmentary on the number of such alumnae clubs that were actually established. This researcher discovered that at least one had had a remarkably enduring history and a profound effect on its members. In 1983 I held a group interview with surviving members of the Rochester New York Bryn Mawr Summer School club who declared that that group had been the very center of their social life for nearly a half century since their Summer School attendance.

Motivation to attend the program was high, a fact attested to by their willingness to lose wages or even jobs, as in the case of Thelma Brown Haas. To be sure, not all students ran those risks or suffered those losses. Some had only to find a stand-in at the loom during the duration of the school, while others worked in factories which normally shut down for July and August. There is no question that the school attracted what today would be called "college material." The women eagerly sought out the educational opportunity knowing full well it would provide no job or vocational training. They applied in sufficiently large numbers to allow recruiters to be selective. The author has estimated that the overall acceptance rate was 58%.19
The Applicants

Margaret Fulton, a shoe factory employee of Syracuse, New York, was President of her branch of the Y, the Grey Shoe YWCA. Helen America of New York, an ILGWU member, worked in the Helene Dress Company. Both these women applied to and were accepted by the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in 1924. Ruby Haigwood, an R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company worker of Winston Salem, North Carolina, was president of the Sunshine Club of her Baptist Church. Helen Maver from Tacoma, Washington, was an unemployed candy factory operative and YWCA member. Haigwood and Maver were rejected in 1924. These four women were drawn from a sample of 197 applications to the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers for the years 1924, 1929 and 1931.20

These applications provide a rich body of data which permit a comparison between stated criteria and actual admissions policies. (See Appendices I and II) The documents portray the student body, as well as rejected applicants. One can chart changes in the student profile between the years 1925 and 1931.

A demographic profile of the students attending the Summer School in 1924, 1929 and 1931 emerged from the data (See Table I). Almost one-half of the accepted students came from the Northeast and almost all were from urban locations. A little over half were native born; approximately one-third were born in Russia or Poland. Almost two-thirds of the students were between the ages of 22 and 29. Approximately half voted and the overwhelming majority were single. Very few of the mothers were employed. An eighth grade education was the most common, with entrance into the work force between 14 and 15. The YWCA was the primary recruiter, with unions and churches following behind.

The sample was representative of the American female industrial work
force in the 20s and 30s with respect to age and marital status. However, there was an over-representation of unionized and garment workers. Students below the age of 25 accounted for 55% of the School, the exact percentage in 1920 of urban working women. In the sample, 93% were single, corresponding to Tentler's typical working-class daughter living in the parental home.

Nearly half (46%) of the sample was unionized. While the national figure for industrial women in unions was 18%, this reflected the School's deliberate effort to recruit a half unionized student body. Eighty-three percent of its unionized students came from the needle trades (garment and hosiery industries and seamstresses), double the national norm of 42% of unionized women (in the ILGWU, United Garment Workers, and Amalgamated Clothing Workers). Milliners, comprising 12% of the sample, were also over-represented, compared to the national figures of 4% in 1920 and 2% in 1930. On the other hand, the percentage of textile workers was less than the national norms of 18% in 1920 and 20% in 1930.

When compared with the accepted group, rejected applicants tended to be younger. Fewer were of Russian Polish origin. They were less likely to have voted or to be union members. They had worked fewer years, less frequently in the needle trades and were more likely to be unemployed. Their social affiliation tended to be a church and less frequently a Y or union.

Over time the student body changed (See Table II). Most striking is the shift in origins of the sample. The native born percentage fell by almost fifty percent between 1924 and 1931, while the recent immigrants tripled and the less recent immigrants (residents of more than ten years) also increased. Between 1924 and 1931 there was also an increase in students that were thirty or over and from the Northeastern United States.
Analysis by occupation shows an increase in the needle trades and milliner group and a decrease in the other factory category. Unemployment was unusual in the accepted group, reaching only 4% by 1931. There was an increase in union membership so that by 1931 over one-half belonged. The YWCA remained a constant and major organization over time, while union membership increased.

The foregoing data reveal a general congruence between declared criteria and admissions practice. However, over time, the sought after balance shifted to favor immigrants from the Northeast who were union members. The reasons for this shift are conjectural since direct explanations are lacking. It may be that recruiters increasingly indulged their bias in favor of intellectuals. School participants, in both oral and written record, have focused particular attention on this salient fact. Eastern unionized immigrant working women displayed great sophistication and interest in economic questions. As students they set the School's level of inquiry, dialogue and tone. Hence their presence was probably sought.
Contemporary Self-Assessment

The Summer School was intensely conscious of its identity as an innovative institution operating without models in uncharted territory. Not surprisingly, therefore, it subjected its operation to evaluative scrutiny. The School sponsored two contemporary studies of its alumnae: Helen D. Hill, *The Effect of Bryn Mawr Summer School as Measured in the Activities of its Students* \(^{26}\) and Florence Hemley Schneider, *Patterns of Workers Education: The Story of the Bryn Mawr Summer School.* \(^{27}\)

The 1929 Hill study, by means of questionnaire and interview, sought to measure the effect of the Summer School by quantifying the "before" and "after" of students' educational activities. The categories measured were: "work in local classes," "occupational record," "activities in organizations," and "reading." Hill's sample was 227 members of the first five classes, 1921-1925. Of 431 eligible women, 365 were reached. Of these, 227 participated for a return rate of approximately 65%. \(^{28}\) Hill's criteria— notably "work on local classes," and "reading" were in accord with the School's declared purpose, that of providing a liberal education. Hill's data attested to the School's educational effectiveness. Two hundred and nine women had attended 1,320 classes, the average being six per student. \(^{29}\) After the Summer School, students were registered in more social science classes and fewer technical classes. Specifically, there were a greater number of registrants in economics, literature, psychology and public speaking courses and fewer in home economics, home nursing and business courses. \(^{30}\) The YWCA was the largest sponsor of courses, with the labor unions second. \(^{31}\) Seventy-four students had played a role in starting classes. \(^{32}\)

In Hill's appraisal of the students' occupational records, 134 of the 227, or close to 60%, were working in industry. Ten were enrolled in
schools or college, ten were labor organizers and fifty-two had left industry. She focused on the issue raised by the last finding:

One of the most frequent questions asked by people interested in the School is whether or not our students remain in industry after returning. As a result of this study we know that 52, or 22.9% of those heard from, have changed to non-industrial occupations. Yet when we have said this we have really said nothing, for the figure only becomes important when compared with the number of women leaving industry over a five year period from an unselected industrial group. The latter number has never been compiled.

In Hill's judgment, the nonindustrial women did not comprise a unified or coherent cohort for two reasons: first, the women's reasons for leaving industry differed and second, twenty-seven of the forty-six industries represented at the Summer School had contributed fairly evenly to the nonindustrial pool. She concluded that departure from industry was a necessity, not a choice, a consequence of wandering "into clerical work when unable to find employment in their own industry." It is unclear from Hill whether she viewed the move into clerical work as "a step up" as it is generally the case.

The study of students' organizational participation disclosed that membership in the YWCA had increased and membership in the unions had decreased. However, ten women had become labor organizers. Hill had made no use of this datum.

For an analysis of student reading, Hill divided reading lists into excellent, good, fair and poor. From the examples given, higher scores were granted for books on industry and for longer lists. Hill found the highest number of excellent reading lists to be among the Russian immigrants. She attributed this to their residence in cities with greater access to better libraries, not to greater intellectual curiosity.

The Hill study seems to be highly suggestive but even its short-run significance was compromised by the absence of a control group comprised...
of working women who did not attend the School. In addition, the questionnaires themselves had a serious defect. It failed to query respondents directly on the quality of the experience at the Bryn Mawr Summer School in educational, vocational and social terms. In fact, Hill failed to take cues from the case histories she herself had compiled. In some she had recorded "Bryn Mawr was her happiest summer"; 37 "Bryn Mawr did more for her than any one thing in her life." 38

The Schneider evaluation, conducted in 1938, represented a marked departure from the Hill work of a decade earlier. Florence Schneider's study focused on 191 of the 1928-1938 student body and subsequent communal activity record in specially selected cities. The author, a sociologist, had abandoned the educational approach of the Hill work. 39 Moreover, without reference to the School's official and declared purpose, she announced that the School's mission "was student participation in community life." 40 Following the Lynds' Middletown precedent, Schneider attached suggestive pseudonyms to the home cities of the Bryn Mawr Summer School alumnae. Her designations were Upton (Rochester), a city conducive to activity, Downton (Niagara Falls), a city discouraging to activity and Fluxton (Pittsburgh), a city in transition. 41 She worked with a sample of 235 women, forty-eight in the three main cities of Upton, Downton and Fluxton.

Data was gathered through consultation with Summer School Alumnae Committees, examinations of their reports and personal interviews. She focused on the alumnae's involvement with YWCA, unions, political parties and other communal organizations. She took the environment into account. For example, Upton was rich-in-resources, supportive milieu boasting a university, flourishing unions, political parties and a Council of Social Agencies. It alone of the three cities also had an active Bryn Mawr...
Summer School Alumnae Committee. Harmonious interracial, cross-class relations prevailed. Of relevance to the Summer School was the community's promotion of workers' interests:

Certain of Upton's organizations plan special programs for workers. One of the political groups has a predominantly working class constituency. A few churches hold classes in which social problems are discussed. Settlements sponsor recreation especially for unorganized working people and arouse their interests as consumers. Citizens groups conduct lectures. Schools and a few labor organizations are helping to promote WPA workers education projects.42

By contrast, Downton constituted an almost satirical opposite. It had no university, Council of Social Agencies or Bryn Mawr Summer School Alumnae Committee and few unions. Racism, unemployment, distrust of labor and antagonistic attitude to workers' education classes were prevalent. The community believed that "vocational instruction provided in the public schools [met] the needs of workers."43

Fluxton shared characteristics of both Upton and Downton. On the one hand, its atmosphere promoted trade union growth and gradual acceptance of social legislation. The New Deal introduced workers' education to Fluxton. Despite these positive signs, in that city a stifling conservativism caused widespread suspicion of new organizations. "In addition, lack of racial, national or religious homogeneity has made the workers comparatively inert."44

Schneider's analysis turned on the "before" and "after" of communal activity with particular reference to leadership. Presumably, by leadership is meant organizational officership though she does not say so. Nor does Schneider differentiate between major and minor offices. Since she combines both recent and earlier graduates, it is unclear whether the leadership vs. membership split reflects recentness of attendance at the Summer School rather than a qualitative difference in outcome.
Schneider found that the Summer School alumnae's activities mirrored their environment. Upton's women showed a dramatic increase, from 29 to 43, in leadership positions after Summer School attendance. This occurred in unions and the Summer School Alumnae Committee. And while YWCA participation decreased, Schneider agreed with the Y's Industrial Secretary who herself acknowledged that Summer School attendance could cause an industrial woman to "outgrow" the Y. Arguably, Bryn Mawr Summer School alumnae recorded increased activism in the most viable of their communities' organizations. In the twenties their choice fell to the Ys. In the following New Deal decade, students gravitated to unions.

In Downton, only one of the five Bryn Mawr Summer School women continued to involve herself in the community after her summer of study. She was not only an officer of the YWCA but had become a member of an AFL union and had worked on initiating a workers' education program. Schneider posed the question, "In view of the discouraging situation, why has one alumna been able to function extensively?" It was her view that

To be effective in a discouraging situation seems to demand much effort and a great deal of insight...The isolated woman in Downton had more people watching her than did the group in Upton.

Not surprisingly, Fluxton women from the Summer School displayed only moderate gains. Association with the YWCA had declined, but four of the eight women who had belonged "before" to a company union had shifted to bona fide unions. While all of the fifteen Fluxton women belonged to the Bryn Mawr Summer School club, only three were outstanding leaders.

The disparities between Hill and Schneider underscore the problem of measuring results. Hill looked for educational consequences, Schneider for communal activism. One contradictory finding--Hill's increased YWCA/decreased union membership and Schneider's increased union
membership/decreased YWCA membership—merits a comment.\textsuperscript{49} Arguably, Bryn Mawr Summer School alumnae recorded increased activism in the most viable organizations. In the twenties, these were the Ys, in the thirties unions.
More Than Half a Century Later

Schneider's 1938 assessment was the final analysis of the Summer School during its existence. That pre-war summer was the last time that working-class women gathered on the Bryn Mawr College campus for the study of English, economics and other elective subjects. World war, coupled with the submergence of feminism and social activism, followed. Consequently, no long-term follow-up study on the seventeen year experiment was ever undertaken. To bridge that historical gap was a challenge taken up by the author. It was decided to obtain information from participants, to reconstruct the experience, and to measure it (See Appendix III). There were, to be sure, problems associated with the survey approach. First, no current directory of participants existed. Second, the length of time since the experience was considerable, ranging from thirty-nine to sixty years. Third, the ages of the surviving students—mean 73, range 66-88 years—involved problems of diminished memory and judgment. Despite these obvious limitations, a retrospective survey could still supply unique new material. Moreover, it could yield information on the experiences' long-term impact on participants. Therefore, it was worth attempting.

The return rates followed predictable lines (See Table III). Names taken from Hilda Worthington Smith's correspondence files yielded the largest number of responses. Many of her correspondents had maintained a life-long contact with her and, indirectly, the School. The next richest source of responses was the Summer School network which this researcher tapped into once the project was under way. Lowest rates were obtained from obsolete contemporary rosters. Articles were placed in union newspapers and The New York Times, with the first group yielding eleven responses and the latter, four. Four hundred thirty-five questionnaires were sent. Fifty-four women, or 3% of the student body of...
approximately 1600 women, responded.

The School ended, but what happened to the women students? The data uncovered in the follow-up study portray a sample whose mean age was 72.7 years (See Table IV). Native-born urban Protestant women respondents outnumbered Catholics and Jews. A majority came from the Northeast and had been recruited by the YWCA. Unions recruited the second largest group of students who came primarily from the needle trades. Half the women in the follow-up sample were union members.

There were some differences between the follow-up sample and the matriculant sample. The follow-up sample had fewer "other factory" workers, was somewhat better educated, more likely to be United States-born and to be more heavily Y and WTUL-recruited.

The author's follow up study of the fifty-four student respondents, which confirmed the School's efficacy, will be considered in the concluding chapter of this work.

The questionnaires yielded extraordinary testimonials. The data give voice to anonymous working women -- women who stitched, wove fabric, sewed shoes, operated elevators and grew tobacco. They reveal extraordinary depth of feeling and, in some instances, true eloquence. There were very few indifferent answers, although it could be argued that those untouched or turned off failed to reply. Also, the Smith correspondence files may have generated a biased sample.

Whether written by a shakily arthritic hand or in school-perfect penmanship, the memoirs are remarkably similar. They tell stories of fortified egos, expanded curiosities, changed social consciousnesses. Some speak of raised feminist awareness. The women write of the relations between themselves and their middle-class mentors. They describe first meetings with blacks and Jews. They narrate confrontations between
union-conscious Eastern garment workers and unorganized provincials. Respondents urged the researcher to recognize "the advanced women who dedicated so much to see that working women be educated."

Many reported having been awakened to their potential. While it is possible that respondents in the twilight of their lives may have wished to attach greater meaning to a bygone experience, their comments are still of interest. For many, the School constituted the first time a door was opened beyond the factory or neighborhood. For others, it meant an opportunity to go further than the fourth grade. Two members of the first class, women in their eighties, alluded movingly to their extremely inadequate educations. Kate Sack Brooks was a San Francisco garment worker who had a fourth grade education. Her classmate, Lee Moore Coppinger, from St. Louis, had had six years of school before entering garment work. Brooks wrote:

It certainly was a great help in my work especially being a plain factory worker it gave a better understanding of industry and business...It was a great advantage to me as I only had a grammar education to the fourth grade. One thing I know I could not have learned anymore if I would have gone four years to school...I also spoke to my children of the School what it done for me. I told them no matter what kind of work you do in your life have a good education.

Coppinger singled out sociologist Susan M. Kingsbury for special credit in her reminiscence:

When I get in a crowd where they talk about something I don't understand like Pro Kingsbury [sic] said just listen and I have learned alot. When I was in school I could not see why I had to study about NY. I will never get there and here I was from Bryn Mawr went to Washington and shook hands with the President.

The sources of improved self-worth were the cosmopolitan environment and caring role models. Many wrote their skills had been sharpened. They also mentioned gaining access to privilege. A sense of having been tapped for leadership unified the stories.
Several students in the 1930s commented on the luxurious environment.

Haas, the Roanoke viscose worker, wrote:

Bryn Mawr was a heaven on earth for me. I had a suite of rooms. The food was good. The nurse asked me if I wanted to put on some weight. I weighed 98 pounds. I gained 14 while there.

Another Virginian, Marjorie Lynch Logan, a black hosiery worker, said:

I was the second black person from the South. There were five black people here that summer. But this experience when everybody accepted you, you didn't feel any difference. They felt you could achieve and they drew you in. They even thought that I could write some poetry and I worked on a magazine here.

Freddy Drake Paine, the New York clothing worker, said:

In that day just being on such a campus was very different in concept to what we from the factory were even aware of—only the "rich" knew that life. So it was a new world...My feeling was I better not get to like this too much.

Olive Ramirez Heller, a neckwear finisher, reminisced:

It was a terrific [sic] summer especially for those girls who were really very poor and probably never lived in the environment we had there. To them, it was out of this world to have maid service and waitresses and meals. What I enjoyed greatly was swimming every day.

Almost without exception respondents alluded to some aspect of enhanced self-image. An Allentown silk weaver, Class of 1924, Marguerite Shireman, wrote:

I had been very shy and because of my summer with girls from all over the country am sure it helped me to be more outgoing. It was the most wonderful experience of my whole life.

Her classmate and fellow silk weaver from Paterson, New Jersey, Louise Delling Branthwaite, wrote, "It was one of the greatest steps forward in my whole life." Milliner Anne Bronchick Littman, Class of 1926, said:

[It helped with my self-image] by becoming more positive in expressing myself. Confidence and assurance that I was not afraid to voice any opinion. Friends told me
that I sounded as if I knew what I was talking about. That was the turning point....

Helen Carr Chamberlain, an Allentown, Pennsylvania, jute winder in the Class of 1928, recalled that "Bryn Mawr this wonderful experience helped me find myself."

Other students provided a montage of commentary on the fortified self-image theme. Tena Schulz Lowery, a Baltimore electrical worker, wrote: "It gave me poise to overcome my shyness—it was a whole new world." Anya Feinblitt Finkel, a milliner, said: "It helped with my self-image by having great faculty people who were dedicated and took the girls very seriously." Helene Cooper Harrison, a New Bedford, Massachusetts, textile worker, commented: "It gave me more confidence in myself in my public speaking and helped to make friends." Belchamber, from England, said simply: "I became a different person."

In various ways, students described transformation of self. They told of a process which today would be labelled "consciousness-raising."

Kate Sack Brooks, from the first class, said it one way:

It also gave me the significance and standing of women play in life not just being the bearers of the children....It was a great advantage to me because I only had a grammar education up to the fourth grade.

Genia Braunstein, of the Class of 1930, echoed the same sentiment, "I learned more respect of myself as a woman. I believe it was a liberating experience." Braunstein commended the women faculty as "the forerunners of the movement for women's freedom."

But I thank you for writing about these fine women. Since the teachers I mentioned they deserve much credit and should be mentioned in history as advance women who dedicated so much to see that working women be educated.

A British classmate of Braunstein, Doris Collins Belchamber, also addressed the women's issue: "They [the faculty] understood how women in
industry had never had a chance to develop."

Many students gave adulatory accounts of the faculty, with one writing at length about a deep friendship with Vassar Professor of English Laura Wylie. Beatrice Owen, a custom dressmaker, attended the School in 1925 where she met Wylie. A six-year relationship ensued, which included twice-weekly correspondence, evenings at the theater and weekends in Poughkeepsie. It culminated in Wylie's bequeathing to Owen a set of Shakespeare. The seventy-seven year old former student reminisced about that summer, half a century earlier, in a twelve-page letter:

Your letter brought back memories of Bryn Mawr Summer School that have not faded with time... I met two former students (1924) at the Grand Central Station and together we went to Bryn Mawr. This meeting was arranged by someone. I had never met the girls. They were Constance Ortmayer and Lucretia Gregorio.... What immediately followed after entering the grounds I do not remember, but shortly after that I received notice to report to the Library to Miss Laura J. Wylie. Miss Wylie interviewed each student who registered for literature as one of her subjects. She asked me about my work, and my home (nothing about what books I had read) and then said "are you tired?" I told her I was. She said, "Don't come to class for a day or two. Just rest." (I wanted to tell her I have been tired for the past twenty-five years.) Of course, I could not lose a day; I attended every class.

Owen recalled the beginning of classes:

The next class was Miss Wylie's literature class. The room had a long table down the center. The girls sat around it. Miss Wylie sat at one end. We had a lesson. The next day I was surprised to find the long table gone and in its place a large round table. Miss Wylie sat at the table with us. She said she now could see every one. She wanted to get to know each one of us as the first thing she did was to give us five questions to answer. I do not remember them but the next day she sent for five of us. It seems that each one of the five answered one question to her liking. I think that was the beginning of our friendship.

The Greek playwrights, Shakespeare, Shelley and Keats comprised the curriculum.
When I entered the class I knew nothing of Greek history. I had never heard a Greek play. The names Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Socrates meant nothing to me. They all were just names. But it did not take long to find where they belonged and put them in their right places.

I was familiar with Shakespeare's plays. We read four, and poems of Shelley and Keats. The poem, "Ode on Grecian Urn" I never forgot because Miss Wylie read it to us after we read it alone the day before. It made no sense to me when I read it, but when Miss Wylie read it it was beautiful. I can still see her sitting there with her elbow on the table and her hand in the air "turning" the urn. I forgot it was not a real urn in her hand for I "saw" what she was reading. Everything she said and did I now understood. We had a tutor in the afternoons, Miss Hannah Sasse was my tutor—and she always cleared up things for me. So I kept learning daily things I wanted to know. And the days passed.

The Wylie-Owen friendship began in earnest in the fall of 1925. Owen reported feeling confused upon her return to the Bronx:

I seemed very mixed up when I returned home. I did not know what was wrong with me. Then one day I received a letter from Miss Wylie inviting me, Constance and Lucretia to a play. It was "Iolanthe" and I loved it. That was one invitation—then one after another followed. I spent many weekends in her home and two weeks every summer. She helped me in her loving way without appearing to help. She gave me a list of books to read; encouraged me in everything I undertook. She wrote to me twice a week for all those years that she lived (passed in 1932) and insisted that I drop her a card once a week just to say I was OK.

Within a few years of attendance at the Summer School, Owen became a teacher of dressmaking at the Manhattan Trade School for Girls. She taught for thirty-five years. Of the Bryn Mawr Summer School, Owen said, "It was the most wonderful thing that ever happened to me. I had no idea where I was going, except to a school. It was heaven."

The Summer School was the impetus for another student's departure from the workbench. Helen Schuldenfrei (Selden), a milliner, received her B.A. degree from Barnard in 1928, an opportunity made possible by Summer School contacts. Sixty years later she was able to supply the following vivid portrayal of two memorable 1923 Summer School faculty members:
Two of my teachers are etched in my memory. Miss Helen Lockwood who was especially sensitive to the educational needs of workers. She especially stressed the need to think clearly, express oneself precisely, using logic and knowledge as blocks on which to build the persuasive arguments in the struggle to win better wages and improve shop conditions.

The second outstanding teacher was Louise Brown. She was definitely a genius, a teacher made in heaven. In a short two months time she introduced us to astronomy, to history of life on earth, to behavior of matter, opening the heavens and earth to us.

The mixing of the unionized and the non-unionized, the regional, religious and ethnic diversity and the representation of both the Eastern metropolises and provincial manufacturing centers created an exceptionally heterogeneous milieu. Very few respondents failed to allude to it. The women told of startling awakenings and, frequently, of ideological and social conflict. Dressmaker Mary Kerewsky Friedman, Class of 1923, filtered her observations through the eyes of a union activist.

The School opened for me a lot of information about the status and backwardness among many students who came from all over the country who never heard about the class struggle.

But for her the School's union training did not go far enough:

There was the lack of really training of those who came from the trade unions to become potential union leaders ....We got a smetering [sic] of this and an awkening [sic] for more knowlege [sic] but no direction how to pursue it.

In spite of the School's limitations, Friedman could write "I feel I got out of Bryn Mawr a lot."

There was a great deal of discussion among the students since there were ultra conservatives and extreme radicals political [sic] and cultural [sic]. The Eastern and the rest of the country had a different approach to unions. As I indicated before about the Robot play by Kapack [sic] it awokened [sic] in these working girls the thought of capitalism and explatation [sic] of the working class which dramatized the system we live [sic] isn't a wonderful experience for all of us.

Had Friedman been at the Summer School in 1930 instead of 1923, an
unemployed Massachusetts girl, Mildred Olenio, might well have been one of her newly encountered "backward" students. Olenio wrote at length about her introduction to the world of knowledgeable unionists:

At the Bryn Mawr Summer School I heard class discussion pointing out injustices in employment practices—ever so many ways in which an employer mistreated, cheated and demoralized an employee. When I was encouraged to participate in these discussions I would simply state that I had no complaints against anyone. This was misconstrued to mean that I approved of the injustices and I was jokingly referred to as the "Capitalist."

I remember hearing arguments or debates about "Communists," "Socialists" and "Capitalists." But at that point in my life I really did not understand what it was all about. I came to know Billie O'Connor who was at least ten years older than I and infinitely more intelligent. She recognized that I was really unaware of what was going on. Confidently, she explained the different political philosophies. She cautioned me to guard my tongue—but listen and learn. Billie was a Pennsylvania girl who knew a lot about "unionism" whereas I had just learned the word. However, after returning home from Bryn Mawr Summer School, I heard and learned a great deal about unions in Lawrence, Massachusetts, then the textile center of the world.

Olenio also had the opportunity to mix with Jews and blacks:

The trip to Bryn Mawr was a first experience in travel—and in many other ways. For instance, never having been outside of my own locality, I had not mingled with people who were "new" to me. At Bryn Mawr, I met the first Jewish girls of my life. I assumed everyone I met liked me, and I certainly loved everyone. I befriended a colored girl and invited her to my sitting room which I shared with a girl from Winston-Salem, North Carolina. I was blissfully ignorant of racial prejudice at that time—wouldn't even have known the meaning of the words. But my roommate being from the South took me aside and laid the law down, "Don't ever let her in here again! Not unless you want to be called 'nigger-lover'!" I remember that I didn't want to be called such a name, but I couldn't understand why the color of her skin should stand in the way of our friendship. During that summer I learned about racial prejudices and how people are torn apart by their differences.

She carried these experiences home with her.

My parents were born and raised in a rural community in Italy and came to this country as young newlyweds. Their religious environment had been entirely Roman Catholic. The word "Protestant" meant "Satan" to them,
as they had been taught in Church. Also, Jews were to be feared as "Christ-killers." I came to know so many wonderful Protestant girls and Jewish girls at Bryn Mawr, I couldn't wait to get home to tell my parents about them. Fortunately my parents were always ready and willing to learn from their children. Ours was a large family and we all brought home a heap of learning from each other as we grew up....When I returned home from Bryn Mawr I talked incessantly about the people, the activities, the places I visited, etc.

Carmen Lucia, from the Classes of 1927 and 1930, provided a different perspective on the School's heterogeneity. The mixture of people and dialects tapped Lucia's suspicions and, even, learned prejudice.

I think there was a certain amount of prejudice...because all of us were apprehensive about the fact that we were coming into a school beyond our intelligence, we thought. And we were suspicious of each other...especially because we had a mixture of people who spoke with a drawl...with a Brooklynese accent and some who couldn't speak English very well...what in the world kind of place did we come into...I was particularly apprehensive and a little skeptical because I had suffered from intolerance and I thought, well, maybe I can give some of it back.

Like all people involved in sensitive social interactions, some had positive, others negative memories. A black member of the class of 1930, Marjorie Lynch Logan, a hosiery looper, who in 1957 became an elementary school teacher in her native Lynchburg, Virginia, reported a cordial reception:

Since I was one of five Negro students, the people made me feel wanted and accepted....I was nineteen that year. In fact, my birthday came during the time I was on campus. It couldn't have been better for me. I had an opportunity to hear and see so many interesting people among them Dr. Dubois and Norman Thomas.

Ersie Anderson, a Toledo, Ohio, elevator operator and one of four blacks in the Class of 1938, reported that "many whites refused to associate with them." Thelma Brown Haas, who admitted to KKK membership as a teenager in Virginia, recalled "getting to really know a black worker and to love her."
Two respondents, Elizabeth Nord and Carmen Lucia, devoted their long lives to the labor movement. Nord became vice president of the Textile Workers Union of America and Lucia of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union.

Elizabeth Nord, an English-born silk weaver from Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was one of the first women to become an officer of the United Textile Workers, forerunner of the Textile Workers Union of America. Unionism was a family tradition. Both parents had been union members in England, her father as a coal miner and her mother as a weaver. But Nord credited the Bryn Mawr Summer School with, in the words of M. Carey Thomas, giving her "a voice and a pen."

Of her twenty-eight years in Rhode Island's textile mills, she said:

I always enjoyed my work as a weaver. My mother and grandmother were weavers....I learned to do silk weaving by "standing in" [apprenticing]. I first worked in wool, but silk was thought to be cleaner and the wages were a little better. I was 14 when I started work, for $7 a week, I think. You had to be 15 to work the longer week of the silk weavers.

Nord learned of the Summer School through a flyer on her YWCA bulletin board, where she was President of its Industrial Club. Nord was more than ready for the innovative educational opportunity as she had tired of her night school business courses. She attended the Bryn Mawr Summer School the summers of 1923 and 1924. Clear memories of the faculty highlighted Nord's memoir.

One of the first impressions I had was that I was so surprised that instructors from other fields knew so much about my life as a worker, about what affected me and could help me with my problems....The teachers' attitudes were that the School was a real serious business and you had better take it all seriously. I'll never forget standing on my feet and having to give my first speech in Miss Lockwood's class [Vassar Professor of English Helen Lockwood]...those piercing eyes. She was a teacher you did your homework for.
In 1928, five years after her attendance at the Summer School, Nord joined the Textile Workers Union. In 1934 she went to work as an organizer. "I used to go organizing after work as far as 60 miles away. I became vice president of the union. We had two big strikes that were part of the general strikes in textiles." With the advent of the National Recovery Administration, Nord was named to the seven-member committee representing textile workers. Its deliberations led to an industry-wide minimum wage of thirty-two cents an hour in the North, with thirty cents an hour for the South. When the Textile Workers Union of America came into existence in 1938, Nord was elected to its Executive Board. For eighteen years Elizabeth Nord was the Labor Member of the Appeals Board of the Rhode Island Unemployment Compensation Board. She retired at age 72.

Though Elizabeth Nord never crossed paths with Carmen Lucia, there are a number of striking similarities between them. Both were born in 1902, came to America as young children and left school in the sixth grade. Both became vice presidents of their unions. For both women the Y was an invaluable resource, making up for their inadequate cultural and educational backgrounds. Both learned of the Summer School through their Ys. Lucia belonged to the Rochester, New York, YWCA where a remarkable friend of labor, Elizabeth Hiss, presided as Industrial Secretary.

Although her Y affiliation brought her to Bryn Mawr, Lucia was already deeply immersed in the union movement. She worked from 1925 to 1930 as secretary to Abraham Chatman, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Apparently in her case the Summer School waived the ruling on clerical workers' ineligibility. Despite Lucia's pre-existing familiarity with unionism, she does credit the Summer School with being a turning point. Her 1930 roommate convinced her to break with Rochester and the controlling influence of her large Italian family:
I was rooming with a Jewish girl and she says, "Why don't you come away? Here you are twenty-eight years old and you haven't got a suit to your name and you can't get away from family discipline. You know, you don't have your freedom...Come to New York and I'll get you a job in the Necktie Workers."  

That Neckwear Union job marked the beginning of her career as a roving organizer. In 1934 she started with the Hatters Union, devoting the subsequent forty years of her life to its cause. In the heady organizing drives of the 30s, Lucia was always on the road leading strikes from Atlanta to San Francisco. The Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, in an interview, queried Lucia about those momentous days in her life.

"I've been off organizing strikes in so many places I can't even remember them," Lucia says. "And in those days, a picket line was a dangerous place. The police would come riding roughshod with their horses and swinging their clubs."

In San Francisco, Lucia organized thousands of shop clerks and then fought off other unions who wanted to capitalize on her efforts.

In Greenville, Alabama, where Lucia was sent to organize a hat company, two armed men stopped her car and ordered her out of town within 24 hours. The men didn't scare her off, Lucia said, although eventually she was smuggled out of Greenville at two in the morning by union members who feared for her life.

In Atlanta, Lucia had her pickets incessantly sing union songs, which she believes drove employers crazy. As she tells the story Lucia sings an occasional verse: "The union is behind us, we shall not be moved...."  

Her incredible organizing skills brought her to the attention of other unions. When time permitted, therefore, she organized for the retail department store clerks and doll workers. In 1946 Lucia was elected vice president of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union.

In retrospect Lucia assessed the impact of the Summer School experience on her life:

If I ever learned the expansion of the world and its problems I learned it there. I was so ignorant on a good many things.... Meeting women workers from various
parts of the country helped me greatly as I was working in a union where every nationality, race and creed crossed my path—more tolerance grew out of my comradeship at Bryn Mawr.... The faculty had an understanding of the poverty, limited education, exploitation of workers, particularly of women workers—they were able to relate and coordinate our needs.

She retired at age 72 in 1974. Only as an elderly woman did she go back home to Rochester.

Nord and Lucia are the two women in the follow-up sample who became leading trade unionists. Nine other women reported rank and file activities. They were Edith Kowski Wallstrom, '26, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA); Helen Carr Chamberlain, '28 and '29, UTWA; Jane Ogden Arenz, '34, ACWA; Carolyn Morreale Cancelmo, '34, AWCA and Textile Workers Organizing Committee; Freddy Drake Paine, '34, ACWA; Janvier Gauthier, '34, UTWA; Thelma Brown Haas, '36, UTWA; Ann Baden Sampler, '38, ILGWU and Rose Marshall Sylvia '38, ILGWU. These women went to Bryn Mawr in the 30s, the heyday of militant labor unionization and can be seen as representative trade unionists who responded to the stimuli of the day. Thus far they have been best remembered by their fellow workers, daughters and granddaughters for their organizing work.

Another biography, that of Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo, would probably have interested Agnes Nestor, President of the Chicago WTUL and noted woman organizer. And this despite the fact that Rodolfo's life took a decidedly different turn from that which Nestor envisioned. Nestor had noticed Sophie Schmidt, a twenty year old Russian-born glove worker of German parentage, in a WTUL class. Schmidt was taking classes while on strike from Chicago's Eisendrath glove factory where Nestor recruited her for the Bryn Mawr Summer School. She didn't go that year, 1921, as she dared not lose her $4 weekly wage. Sophie did attend in 1922 (and 1923), an experience which changed her life.
Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo's long, articulate memoir was sent from the Philippines. It chronicled a truly remarkable life and one far removed, indeed, from the American women's labor movement of the 1920s.

During the summer of 1923 [at the Bryn Mawr Summer School]...some of my teachers, Miss Smith, the Director, Miss Nestor, my sponsor and Dr. Broadus Mitchell [economist] and other members of the faculty decided that I should be sent to college. Dr. Mitchell wanted me to enter a co-educational college; Miss Nestor did not want me to, for fear I should get married and become useless to the trade union movement. Some wanted me to enter Antioch College--two months at school; two months in industry--This proposition foundered on the fear of Miss Nestor that I might be used as a strike breaker.... Other members of the faculty thought I should be sent to a liberal college. As a result, it was decided that I should be sent to the University of Wisconsin, where John R. Commons Economics Professor had established a tradition of liberalism.

Sophie devoted the 1923-1924 year to intensive preparation for college entrance exams to the University of Wisconsin.

Since I had not finished elementary school and had never gone to high school, I could enter [the University of Wisconsin] only on special examinations. So beginning in 1923 I was enrolled at Miss Kyrks' Preparatory School [in Rosemont, Pa, on full scholarship] and given a crash program of English literature and composition, French and algebra. I covered two years of French--to which I added during the next summer evenings another year. During that summer, an especially hot one, I established myself after work on the back porch, my father keeping up a smudge pot under the porch against mosquitoes. There I studied such subjects as I lacked, and which I could carry on at home--Geometry, Medieval History, French and since the only professor at Wisconsin, Rostovtzev, was away and could not examine me on a little Russian--one half unit of civics.

She not only passed her entrance exams, but went on to earn her B.A. and M.A. She married Filipino doctoral student, Agustin Rodolfo, another Wisconsin student, in 1928. She reminisced about the experience of going to Madison to take the tests.

In June I want to Madison to take 11 tests, four of them in English, after every test I asked Miss Alexander, the assistant registrar, how I had made out; her answer was
always 'You passed.' I am still not so sure, but evidently the powers that be wanted to give me a chance. So I entered the University of Wisconsin in September 1924. I graduated with good grades in 1928. At that time I married Agustin Rodolfo, a Filipino working on his Ph.D. Now, although my scholarship had stopped with my graduation, and Agustin lived on a stipend of $70 per month as a laboratory assistant, he insisted that I continue for a master degree, which he thought would help me get work when we returned to the Philippines. The following year, 1929, he insisted on my getting a teacher's certificate, which coming from a U.S. institution, would presumably give me an edge for a job in the Islands.

Schmidt believed that employment eluded her because of her appearance:

In the Spring of 1930 I started looking for a job; but I did not make a good impression with my poor grooming and foreign background. So I went to Chicago to work at the Florsheim Shoe Company. Meanwhile Agustin got his doctor's degree; but this was 1930 and jobs did not grow on trees.

The Rodolfos went to the Philippines in 1932 where they were to remain for the rest of their lives. From 1932-1941, Sophie worked on the \textit{Philippine Journal of Science}, which she described as "the most prestigious scientific journal in the Far East." Only after the war could the Rodolfos begin to implement the dream "he had been nursing from before the time [she] met him in 1927, 'to put a good school in his home town.'"

Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo worked as Librarian in the Luzon Technical Institute, San Antonio, the Philippines up until her death in February, 1985. To the end, she believed that "the impact of Bryn Mawr on [her] career [had been] decisive. [She] felt that the education given [her][had been] a trust; that she should be ready to pass on to others its benefits."

Both Rodolfo and Lucia emphasized special indebtedness to School Director, Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith, for the role she had played in each of their lives. Rodolfo's sixty year correspondence and friendship with her took root the year she lived in Smith's home on the Philadelphia
Main Line while preparing for college entrance examinations.

When I had to leave the dormitory of Miss Kyrk's preparatory school to make way for a paying student, Miss Smith took me home to her house in Wayne, Pennsylvania. There I had a comfortable, well furnished room, and free access to her library. From that time on, we did not cease corresponding.

Smith took Rodolfo through many trials.

My acquaintances at the Summer School drew away from me when it became known that I was to have a college education; I guess they felt that I was being given undue advantage over them...When my family and my trade union friends turned their backs on me for marrying a Filipino, her manner toward me did not change. Although I never heard her refer to any religion or go to any church, she was the most tolerant person I have ever known. She was a friend of all kinds of people from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt down to the last communist atheist.

Smith served as "a mother confessor." "I often mentioned to her my shortcomings and my faults of character. Perhaps presumptive of me, but I take for my guidance, the life of Jesus and that of Hilda Worthington Smith." When interviewed on film, Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo singled out the time she was told she was to go to College as the "happiest moment" in her life.59

In Lucia's memoir were clear recollections of the immediacy of Smith's impact on her:

All she had to do was open her mouth and smile and welcome us and I melted. I felt her warmth. I felt the penetration of her ideas come into me, right away, quick. Now she wasn't a sorceress, but that was the reaction we all got. We all learned to love her quickly. We were quite opinionated you know when we first went there. We had made up our minds we were going to have difficulty.

Lucia remembered Smith's message of evolutionary change.

She made us feel that we had a job to do, to carry out the principles that we learned. She didn't compel us. She showed the way. She was giving us the direction of what life should be for those who were going back into the plant, because I think she was worried that we might
be dissatisfied and want to make changes immediately without thinking of responsibilities. But she had hoped that whatever we learned, if it opened doors to us, that we would continue to find even new horizons as we go along. Kindness. Hatred was a word she never used. You never could find hatred in her philosophy. She had a way of speaking it was a benign attitude for everything.

Rodolfo's and Lucia's lives were dramatically altered as a consequence of their Summer School attendance. Three other respondents forsook sewing machines for classrooms. Bessie Weiss Rabinovitz, a custom dressmaker, became a high school teacher of dressmaking. Beatrice Owen devoted thirty-five years of her life to teaching sewing at the Manhattan Trade School for Girls. As a student at the Summer School she, too, was employed as a custom dressmaker. In 1959, at age 46, Marjorie Lynch Logan suffered a heart attack, an event which caused her to leave the hosiery mill. She earned a B.S. degree from Hampton Institute in 1965 and a M.Ed. degree from Duke in 1970. Logan was last employed in the elementary schools of her hometown, Lynchburg, Virginia. Another hosiery looper who studied at the Bryn Mawr Summer School was Pauline Throne.

Raised in York, Pennsylvania—"a very conservative, non-unionized town in the Amish country"—Throne early demonstrated a drive to learn and to better herself that was uncommon in those parts and virtually unknown in her family. From a household of fourteen, where quitting school in adolescence to work to put bread on the table was mandatory, Pauline struck out on an original course. She attended the Bryn Mawr Summer School in 1927, returned home to finish high school, and went on to Maryville College in Tennessee where she graduated in 1934 with a B.A. degree, becoming the first in her family to do so. Maryville, with its unique financial self-help program, opened the door to higher education for Pauline; she supported herself during those years by sewing in its...
"College-Maid" Shop. A 46-year career in social work began with Throne's first job in a Pennsylvania state agency (a precursor of the Aid to Dependent Children Program) and later included the directorship for seventeen years of Social Services at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Newington, Connecticut. In mid-life Throne earned a Master's degree in Social Work from the University of Pittsburgh. Throne looked back on a "life of serving people," and described the inner transformations she credited to the Bryn Mawr Summer School:

For me the School was the most stimulating and challenging experience of my life, at that time (I was twenty years old). I had been a rather reserved, passive person and at the School I learned how to express my differences of opinion without fear of offending people....After that I wanted to learn more about people and life, and so I returned to school for an education.

Elsewhere in the questionnaire she reiterated her feelings:

At age 20 I was dissatisfied, immature, with no direction, was unsure of myself, had no goals, etc. I had to leave school to help support my family [of 12 brothers and sister.] The jobs were--the factories. I worked but with no self-satisfaction except to earn money. I am now a young 74....

Beatrice Owen, Elizabeth Nord, Carmen Lucia, Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo and Pauline Throne are unquestionably dramatic cases. Arguably they comprise a pre-selected sample since they were among a set of thirty-three Hilda Worthington Smith correspondents. It is more likely for educators to maintain contact with their outstanding students and vice versa, and hence their names' ready availability to this researcher. Owen, Nord, Lucia, Rodolfo and Throne were apparently all of superior ability, and they might well have prospered in other environments. But the fact remains that they all attributed their rise to the Summer School. In the absence of a control group (of comparably qualified women attending a similar institution), one can never know incontrovertibly the precise
meaning of the School to their lives.

Yet another five women in my sample, who went on to have unremarkable histories, were also Smith correspondents. Kate Sack Brooks, Class of '21, continued for forty years as a garment worker in San Francisco. Rose Traveson Marietta, a classmate of Brooks, was a Denver packing house worker who provided no information on her later life. Doris Collins Belchamber, the British seamstress, Class of 1930, devoted her energies to school and hospital volunteerism. Anya Feinblitt Finkel, a milliner from '30, managed a retail millinery department in Ann Arbor, Michigan. A rank and file organizer for the United Textile Workers was Helen Carr Chamberlain, Classes of 1928 and 1929, of Allentown, Pennsylvania.

Even conservative standards permit one to rate the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers an exceptionally influential program. School attendance remained a landmark event in participants' lives, one which they greatly valued. The short-term results, from the Hill and Schneider studies, as well as the long-term results from this researcher's canvass, document the School's effectiveness. The women returned to communities, YWCAs, factories, and unions with wider vision, increased confidence and sharpened skills. They wrote eloquently of personal enrichment, increased community activism and, in some instances, dramatically altered lives. Carmen Lucia and Elizabeth Nord became vice presidents of national unions. Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo realized her dream of a college education and eventually founded a school in the Philippines which still flourishes today. Helen Schuldrenfrei Selden left the milliner's bench to attend Barnard College on scholarship. Pauline Throne quit the hosiery mill, returned to high school and obtained an advanced social work degree, a profession in which she practiced for four decades.

While it appears the quality of the educational program made the
School effective — respected academicians taught a carefully designed curriculum to screened applicants — the School's force derived, in part, from conditions external to its operation. In its day, few programs for the unschooled were available. The Summer School predated wide availability of schools of continuing education and community colleges by thirty to forty years. For its students — certainly for the fifty-four women in this study — the Bryn Mawr Summer School constituted a unique moment. Because of its uniqueness, participants attached greater value to it.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School was an experience in residential living and learning and, as such, generated a myriad of intense and intimate personal interactions. The students appreciated newfound leisure, comfort and luxury. They overcame culture shock to avail of opportunities to swim, eat well, gain weight, sunbathe, have their own room, gather unhurriedly under ancient trees, experience the contemplative and studious life and intellectual awakenings.

In an age when working people seldom traveled or called long-distance, the geographic mixture was itself exhilarating. Added to that were opportunities to meet a cross-section of the American female workforce. Eastern unionized garment workers met anti-union factory hands from outlying towns. Southern fundamentalists, Jewish socialists, rural whites and urban blacks mixed with one another to create a cosmopolitan community that was remarkable by the standards of the age. This one-on-one round-the-clock association, occurring in a supportive, enlightened atmosphere led to the erosion of many a stereotype. Further, the respect for ethnic diversity, which the School fostered, bolstered the individual's pride and sense of self — this happening at a time of melting-pot and assimilationist pressures. The presence of several European women workers further extended cultural boundaries. The British
Workers Education Association, Swedish unions and other organizations routed laundresses, garment workers and seamstresses across the Atlantic to the School. Doris Collins Belchamber tells the droll account of being warned not to accept the offer to study in America as it was just a cover for "the white slave traffic."62

The Bryn Mawr Summer School caused its students to reflect on their collective identity as working women. They came to realize that, although divided by occupation, region, religion, race and union affiliation, they were all vulnerable to the same impersonal and harsh economic forces. The program instilled a sense of class solidarity. The women became conscious, too, of feminist issues: of women's secondary economic, political and social status. They began to appreciate the fact that foremen dominated them at work, their families controlled them at home and that employers and unions generally abused or excluded them. The students also began to understand the role-modelling process, becoming conscious of their mentors' work and life styles.

Cross-class encounters were central to the overall experience. The teaching staff was exposed to the social and economic classes they had known only in textbooks. Factory women met faculty women. Interestingly, the faculty's observations on the students often mirrored students' self-perceptions. Dominant among faculty reminiscences were "the great and wonderful disputes" between the union and non-unionized students. The Eastern-sophisticated-unionized, frequently Jewish student encountered the provincial, YWCA, non-unionized, frequently Protestant student. A former Summer School librarian stressed that aspect of the School's atmosphere:

The students seemed to be of two kinds: very sophisticated members of the garment unions from the big cities who seemed to believe that it was their function to enlighten the others in matters of economics and politics. The other group were like our silk weavers
Small town conservatives were a little shocked by talk of the "class struggle" or even of union organization.

Another faculty memoir recounted an incident which dramatized the ever-present awareness of class difference:

I remember being delighted when many of the students were indignant at a supper party given by a would-be friendly neighbor [of the College]. We had hot dogs on store rolls. But the girls had expected a good home meal—were hoping for it—they thought this was a condescending effort to give them what they were "used to." And they may have been right. They would have liked something like steak or chicken.

It is to those faculty members, the economists, professors of English, naturalists, librarians, undergraduate assistants and physical education teachers of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers that we now turn our attention.
### TABLE I
DEMOGRAPHICS OF BRYN MAWR SUMMER SCHOOL MATRICULANTS
1924, 1929, 1931 N = 155
REJECTED, N = 42 *
* (NOTED IN PARENTHESES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Residence</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>97%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northeat</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-Atlantic</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other U.S.</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-U.S.</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years Working</th>
<th>Community Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 6 Years</td>
<td>YWCA 35% (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 Years</td>
<td>Union 20% (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;10 Years</td>
<td>Church 13% (28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Occupation</th>
<th>Community Offices Held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Needle Trades</strong></td>
<td>YWCA 35% (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile</td>
<td>Union 20% (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millinery</td>
<td>Church 13% (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Factory</td>
<td>Girls Club 4% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled</td>
<td>WTUL 3% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-factory</td>
<td>None 24% (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Number of Years Working</th>
<th>Community Offices Held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>&lt; 6 Years</td>
<td>YWCA 38% (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>6-10 Years</td>
<td>Union 27% (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-Atlantic</td>
<td>&gt;10 Years</td>
<td>WTUL 5% (7)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Father's Nativity</th>
<th>U.S. 29%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia-Poland</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>23%</td>
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<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
<td>23%</td>
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### Father's U.S. Citizenship
Yes 67%

### Mother's Nativity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother's Nativity</th>
<th>U.S. 34%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia-Poland</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Europe</td>
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</table>

### Mother Living
Yes 75%

### Father Living
Yes 66%
TABLE I (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Mother's Occupation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional major</td>
<td>Housewife 72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneur 2%</td>
<td>Deceased 21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneur 11%</td>
<td>entrepreneur 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>Skilled blue collar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar 34%</td>
<td>collar 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>Unskilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer 19%</td>
<td>Laborer 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural 6%</td>
<td>Unemployed 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased 24%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired 2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed 2%</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Began Work</th>
<th>Age Left School (Mean = 14.8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 14 years 12%</td>
<td>Last Grade Attended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15 39%</td>
<td>&lt; 7th Grade 27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17 35%</td>
<td>8th Grade 36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 17 14%</td>
<td>9th-11th 26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; 12th Grade 12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Approximately 100 application forms were available for each year, 1924, 1929, 1931. The random selection of half of these produced the following numerical breakdown; 1924=53; 1929=50; 1931=52. ALES Papers, Wisconsin, Box 8, 9, 10.

** Needle trades included garment workers, hosiery loopers, and seamstresses.

***The application form did not ask mother's citizenship.
# TABLE II
## DEMOGRAPHICS OF MATRICULANTS BY YEAR
(PERCENTAGES) N = 154

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>1924</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>P</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-Atlantic</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other U.S.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22–25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26–29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>&gt; 30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Years in U.S.</td>
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<td>Longtime Resident</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>Voting</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Father's Life-long Residence</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Years</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>Never</td>
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<td>Mother's Life-long Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Years</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Living</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother Living</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>1–7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>9–11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>&gt; 12</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>Age Began Work</td>
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<td>&lt; 14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>14–15</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>16–17</td>
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<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>&gt; 17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>Needle Trades</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Millinery</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Textile</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Factory</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled non-factory</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
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<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>1924</th>
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<th>1931</th>
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<tr>
<td>Years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Working &lt;6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Working 6-10</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>.06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Working &gt;10</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Union Membership</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>Church</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>Girls Club</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTUL</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Community Offices</td>
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<td>Major Office</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>Held</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>How Recruited</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTUL</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Information</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>43</td>
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<td>QUESTIONNAIRE SOURCES</td>
<td>TOTAL SENT</td>
<td>TOTAL RESPONSE (N)</td>
<td>RETURN RATE (%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Schlesinger Library,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>H.W. Smith Correspondence File</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contemporary Address Rosters,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classes 1930, 1934, 1936, 1938</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Summer School Network</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Newspaper Search Queries</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The New York Times &quot;Author's Query&quot;</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryn Mawr College Alumnae Bulletin Search Query</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
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### TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF FOLLOW-UP SAMPLE
AND THREE YEARS' MATRICULANTS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>FOLLOW-UP 1924, 1929, 1931</th>
<th>3 YEARS' MATRICULANTS 1924, 1929, 1931</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SAMPLE (N=54) (N=155)</td>
<td>(N=155)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Age</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>32 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When</td>
<td>6 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chosen</td>
<td>3 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other U.S.</td>
<td>9 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Nativity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32 (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Needle Trades</td>
<td>29 (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>8 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Millinery</td>
<td>5 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Factory</td>
<td>5 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Semi-skilled non-factory</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>3 (6%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>23 (44%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>11 (21%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>12 (23%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6 (12%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;7th grade</td>
<td>11 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8th Grade</td>
<td>12 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9th-11th Grade</td>
<td>12 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;12th Grade</td>
<td>13 (27%)</td>
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<td>Session</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1921-1925</td>
<td>13 (25%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1926-1930</td>
<td>18 (34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1931-1935</td>
<td>11 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1936-1938</td>
<td>11 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YWCA</td>
<td>31 (57%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Union</td>
<td>12 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WTUL</td>
<td>4 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Union Membership</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>28 (52%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The application form did not ask for the candidate's religion.

** Approximately 100 application forms were available for each of the years. Use of half of these resulted in the following number numerical breakdown of the overall N of 155; 1924=53; 1929=50; 1931=52. ALES Papers - Wisconsin, Boxes 8, 9, 10.
APPENDIX I

SUMMER SCHOOL FOR WOMEN WORKERS IN INDUSTRY
BRYN MAWR, JUNE 15 TO AUGUST 10, 1923

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION

1. What is your name?
2. What is your address? (Give street, city and state)
3. What is your age?
4. Where were you born? (If born abroad, give city or province, if possible)
5. How long have you been in the United States?
6. Have you ever voted? (If so, give year of your first vote)
7. Are you single, married or a widow?
8. Where was your father born? (Give city or province, if possible)
9. If born abroad, has he become a citizen of the United States?
10. Where was your father's father born?
11. Where was your father's mother born?
12. Where was your mother born?
13. Where was your mother's father born?
14. Where was your mother's mother born?
15. How long has your father been in the United States?
16. How long has your mother been in the United States?
17. Is your father living?
18. Is your mother living?
19. What is your father's occupation?
20. What is your mother's occupation?
21. What languages do you speak?
22. What languages do you read?
APPENDIX I (Continued)

23. At what age did you leave school?

24. What was the last grade you completed in school?

25. At what age did you begin work?

26. Give in order, with date of years, all the positions you have held in industry, giving the kind of work and name of industry.

27. What is your present trade? (Give name of firm in full; product manufactured by this firm, and process in which you are engaged.)

28. Do you belong to a Trade Union? If so, give full name and number of your Local as well as the International with which it is affiliated.

29. To what other social or community organizations do you belong? (Club, church, lodge, etc.)

30. What offices have you held in such organizations?

31. What evening classes or special schools and lectures have you attended? Give dates.

32. What text books did you use in connection with these classes?

33. Among the books you have read, give a list of those you have enjoyed the most.

34. Tell what you have read last year (Name the books, magazines, papers, etc.)

35. If accepted, what subjects do you wish to study at the Summer School?

36. Remarks.
APPENDIX II
THE BRYN MAWR SUMMER SCHOOL
FOR WOMEN WORKERS IN INDUSTRY
BRYN MAWR, PENN.

THE AFFILIATED SCHOOLS FOR WORKERS

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION, 1931

1. What is your name?

2. What is your address? (Give street, city and state)

3. What is your age?

4. Where were you born? (If born abroad, give city or province, if possible)

5. How long have you been in the United States?

6. Have you ever voted? (If so, give year of your first vote)

7. Are you single, married or a widow? (No discrimination is made against married women.)

8. Where was your father born? (Give city or province, if possible.)

9. Where was your mother born?

10. Is your father living?

11. Is your mother living?

12. What is your father's occupation?

13. What is your mother's occupation?

14. Are you working now?

15. What is your present trade? (Give name of firm, product manufactured by this firm, and process in which you are engaged.)

16. Give in order, with date of years, all the positions you have held in industry, giving the kind of work and name of industry:

17. Do you belong to a Trade Union? If so, give full name and number of your Local as well as the International with which it is affiliated.

18. To what other social or community organizations do you belong? (Club, Church, Lodge, etc.)
19. What responsibilities have you carried in such organizations?

20. Out of the activities you are engaged in, which do you consider of most importance? Why?

21. If you have not been engaged in many group activities, which ones would you like to be connected with? Why?

22. At what age did you leave school?

23. What was the last grade you completed in school? Give name of school. In what country was it located?

24. At what age did you begin work?

25. What evening classes or special schools and lectures have you attended? Give dates.

26. What books did you use in connection with these classes?

27. Tell what you have read recently. (Name the books, magazines, papers, etc.)

28. What questions relating to your industrial and community life would you be interested in studying and discussing at the summer school?

29. How did you hear about the school?

30. Remarks.
APPENDIX III

Return to: Rita Heller

If there is insufficient space for your answer, please feel free to attach comments on a separate sheet.

QUESTIONNAIRE: FORMER STUDENTS

Background

1. Name; date and place of birth.
2. Where did you live when you were chosen for the school?
3. Religion: Catholic, Protestant; Jewish; other.
4. What was the highest grade completed prior to coming to the School?
5. What was your job when you were chosen?
6. What was the name of the Y or union that selected you?
7. Briefly describe your work and career since you left the School.
8. Were you a union member when you attended? (added 1978)
9. Did the School make you more union-conscious? (added 1978)

______________________________

1. In what year(s) did you attend the school?
2. How did you hear about the School and why did you wish to attend?
3. How were you selected? Were you chosen by a YWCA or a union or by another process?
4. How did the School help you at the time with school learning? With jobs? With your view of yourself?
5. Later on did the School help with your career? Your personal life?
6. Who were the memorable teachers at the School? Could you briefly describe them?
7. Did you keep any of the friends you made at the Summer School? Who were they? (Could you supply names and addresses?)
8. How did women from different backgrounds get along?
9. How could the School have been better?

10. Why do you think the School ended?

11. How would you evaluate the impact of the Summer School experience on your personal life? Considerable; moderate; mild; not at all.

12. What was the impact of the Summer School on your work? Considerable; moderate; mild; not at all.

13. Is there anything else you can tell me about the School?

14. Do you have any yearbooks or papers from the School which you would be willing to lend me?
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

1 Interview with Elizabeth Nord, Providence, RI, July, 1976.

2 Filmed interview with Freddy Drake Paine, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.


4 Presumably, the Hill study reported below pp. 11-13 and in progress in 1928, was the source of this "four fifths return to industry" figure. If so, that number is inaccurately high. Hill's actual numbers are, 134, out of an N of 227, or three-fifths of the students, returned to industry. Even when the ten women who became labor organizers are added to 134, the number returning to industry is only 63%, not 80%. See Helen Hill, The Effect of the Summer School Measured in Activities of Students (New York: Affiliated Schools for Women Workers in Industry and American Association for Adult Education, 1929), 87.

5 Bryn Mawr Summer School Publicity Flyer, 1928, "Publicity," Box 12, HWS Papers.


7 Interview with Esther Peterson, Washington, DC, May, 1983.

8 Smith, Women Workers, 193.

9 See Notable American Women: The Modern Period, s.v. "Gellhorn, Edna Fischel".

10 See Table I.

11 See Table IV.

12 Smith, Women Workers, 204.

13 Ibid., 197-198.


16 Smith, Women Workers, 217.

17 Ibid., 228.


19 See supra, note 52, Chapter I.
Extant are application forms, alphabetically arranged and divided into accepted and rejected categories. Applications of accepted students are available as follows: 1923 (101); 1924 (105); 1926 (79); 1927 (72); 1928 (18); 1929 (98); 1930 (98); 1931 (91); 1932 (27); 1935 (17); 1936 (11); 1937 (65); 1938 (48). Applications of rejected students are available as follows: 1921 (68); 1922 (80); 1924 (79); 1928 (53); 1929 (105); 1931 (25); 1932 (87). ALES Papers, Wisconsin, 8, 9, 10, 27, 55, 56 and 57.

The method involved selection of years for which both accepted and rejected sets were available. Second, there was the choice of three years which represented reasonable time spans. The years 1924, 1929 and 1931 were selected.

Every second application was used for the statistical analysis. For the rejected group, fifteen were randomly selected for each year.

The fact that complete sets of data did not exist for the years 1933 through 1938 precluded the possibility of analyzing the School's admissions policies for its entire duration.


Hill, *The Effect of the Bryn Mawr Summer School*.

Glarling by its omission is any acknowledgement of Hill's work. It would seem reasonable for Schneider to have noted its existence, and different measurement criteria, as well as its differing interpretation of the School's mission.

Schneider, *Patterns of Workers Education*, 107.

See Fairchild and Hemley, "Confidential Report," 24-30; 31-33; 34-37.

Schneider, *Patterns of Workers Education*, 108.

Given the absence of current records, it was necessary to devise a number of research strategies. The obvious and most promising source of contacts was Hilda Worthington Smith's personal correspondence file. It represented a pre-selected sample of women who had long-standing ties to Smith and the School. In addition, most of the letters and cards had originated in the 1970s assuring a higher percentage of viable correspondents. (Box 11 HWS Papers.)

The second search technique involved the placement of notices in publications most likely to be read by former students. Even before computation verified it, it appears that the YWCA Industrial Clubs and clothing unions had recruited most students. The YWCA newsletter, "Interchange," carried a search notice in the November-December, 1980 issue. *Justice*, published by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), ran search notices November 15, 1976 and August 15, 1980. *Labor Unity*, published by the Amalgamated Clothing Textile Workers Union, ran search notices March 1977, August 1980 and April 1981. Bryn Mawr College, the host institution, had maintained contact with the Summer School primarily through its alumna, Hilda Worthington Smith, and through
its graduates who had been undergraduate tutors at the School. The College's Alumnae Bulletin ran a search notice Fall 1977 and Fall 1979. Finally, the New York Times published in its New York Times Book Review an Author's Query, June 7, 1981.

Finally, the forty to sixty year old address lists were used. Questionnaires were sent to four of the most recent classes: 1930; 1934; 1936; 1938. See Table III for return rates.

51 HWS Papers, Box 11, Files 198-210.

52 Questionnaire Survey of former students was conducted between 1977-1981. All student commentaries, unless otherwise noted, are excerpts from completed questionnaires.


54 Filmed interview with Carmen Lucia, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.


56 Interview with Elizabeth Nord, Providence, RI, July, 1976.

57 Interview with Carmen Lucia, Rochester, NY, May, 1983.


60 Interview with Carmen Lucia.


CHAPTER IV

"THE PLACE WAS FULL OF LEGENDS: THE BryN MAwR SUMMER SCHOOL FACULTY"
Summer School faculty rosters bear the names of noted academicians. Some came to the job with an established reputation, while others were at the beginning of promising careers. Alice Hanson Cook, Paul Douglas, Corwin Edwards, Carter Goodrich, Lillian Herstein, Amy Hewes, Helen Drusilla Lockwood, Broadus Mitchell, Gladys Palmer, Esther Peterson, Theresa Wolfson, Caroline Ware and Colston Warne are the names of only the most renowned. Millicent Carey McIntosh, who would head Barnard College from 1947-1962, served as a tutor when in graduate school. Ella Tombassi Grasso was an undergraduate assistant while a Mount Holyoke College student. She later became Governor of Connecticut. In 1921 Felix Frankfurter's sister, Estelle, was a tutor; in 1922 and 1923, Eleanor Roosevelt's friend, Marion Dickerman, taught English. In 1922 and 1923, Evelyn Preston, the young activist millionaire, who first married Stephen Rauschenbush (son of Walter Rauschenbush, exponent of the Social Gospel) and, later, Roger Baldwin, was one of the tutors. For other faculty members, the job served as a catalyst causing them to first embrace social action and eventually public life. Esther Peterson illustrates this most dramatically. She joined the Summer School staff as a twenty-eight year old gym teacher employed at the elite Winsor School for Girls in Boston. Her background was sheltered and conservative, as she had grown up Mormon in a Swedish family in Utah. Of all the faculty for whom the Summer School experience was a turning point, Peterson achieved the greatest public recognition in her later career. She served three Democratic administrations in major labor, women's and consumer's posts.

The faculty's exceptional quality was a fact not overlooked by the faculty members themselves. In fact, the chance to be in distinguished company reinforced the job's attractiveness. Alice Hanson Cook was conscious of this aspect of the teaching situation.
Jane Smith [The Director] had established that the very best people in English, in Economics and so on would be recruited here as faculty. I was so impressed with the quality of the people who were here when I first came. Among them were Colston Warne, of Amherst, an economist, who later founded Consumer's Union and who became a superb teacher of adults.

Cook, a feminist, was also aware of the high proportion of women among the faculty.

There were predominantly women here as faculty members and that was so unusual for the time. Louise Brown was the science teacher. Helen Lockwood came from Vassar in English. Gladys Palmer was here from the University of Pennsylvania as an economist...women were drawn to labor economics and we had them here.

Caroline Ware echoed Cook's sentiment and elaborated on the reciprocity of learning between teachers and students:

The place was full of legends. Each one had a good reason for being here...It was a highly selected group of teachers. Everybody had the sense that we had as much to learn from the students as the students had to learn from us. And it was very mutual.

The opportunity to be part of a pioneering educational program that paid well and carefully recruited both its students and faculty was a great lure. Scores of the most able and socially-committed academicians in English, Economics, History, Psychology, Science and other fields applied for positions. Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith was besieged by would-be instructors: "When they wrote to me their tone was 'we'll do anything to come here to teach--even wash dishes.'"

Nominally the School's governing body, the Joint Administrative Committee, controlled faculty appointments through its Instructional Sub-Committee. A closer look at the sources reveals that after 1923 greater power accrued to Jane Smith in this crucial area. Through her diaries she disclosed the angst she felt before her authority was fully recognized.
The [November] Exec Com left me a nervous wreck and I wept at home when it was over— it was so difficult. I presented faculty and school reports and a report on my own status as Director with a view to getting my authority with faculty appointments more defined. They really voted a neat little sub Com on appoint- ments which will probably tie my hands as much as ever. And for the words "the Director should have decision on all appointments" they put in "recommendation," which I have anyway.

As there were no further diary entries, one may reasonably conclude that within a short time Smith did establish control over the faculty selection process. Extant instructor appointment letters, from the mid twenties to early thirties, were written over her signature.  

Jane Smith and her colleagues looked to American universities and colleges, public and private high schools and community organizations for instructors. The School's original plan, which Bryn Mawr Social Work School Director Susan Kingsbury drafted, stated that faculty would be also recruited from England. This policy reflected M. Carey Thomas' familiarity with British workers education and relative ignorance of American developments in the field. It appears that School administrators followed this guideline only in the first two years. In those summers the noted British scholar and educator, Henry Clay, taught Economics while the British historian, Laurance Saunders, taught in his discipline. Thereafter the School did not look across the Atlantic for desirable applicants.

By mandate, Bryn Mawr professors were prohibited from serving the Summer School; "Members of the Bryn Mawr College faculty shall not be expected to teach in the Summer School, and it shall be contrary to the policy of the Joint Committee to invite them to do so." Direct expla- nations on this point are lacking. Presumably, this policy was by way of insuring that the Summer School maintain its integrity as a completely
autonomous institution. Interestingly enough, while instructors were not to be drawn from the College, the first Plan established that tutors and other teaching personnel would be hired from the College's ranks:

Tutors for such classes may be appointed from among alumnae and ex-students of Bryn Mawr College, or from among other women specially fitted to direct the studies and activities of the students. As far as possible, at least two thirds of those associated in teaching activities of the School shall be alumnae or ex-students of Bryn Mawr College.

Again, the absence of elaboration makes conjecture necessary. Perhaps, it was thought desirable to fill lesser instructional posts with Bryn Mawr women, thereby providing career opportunities for them. In so doing, the character of neither the College or Summer School would be compromised. No matter what the theory or its rationale, a perusal of extant faculty rosters reveals that this policy was not adhered to. Of eight tutors on the 1924 faculty, three were from Mount Holyoke, two were from Vassar, one was from Columbia, another was from Radcliffe and only one, Lucy Carner, was from Bryn Mawr.  

The question of whether union activists were recruited to the Bryn Mawr Summer School as faculty merits attention as it focuses on the School's dual character, a School for labor staffed by academics. The School's constitution required that "teaching be carried on by instructors who have an intelligent understanding of the student's practical experience." This implies that labor people were sought out. In actuality, other evidence shows that Jane Smith and her colleagues were ambivalent on this key issue. In her organizational history of the School, Hilda Worthington Smith wrote that faculty were "chosen from many colleges and universities, from a few private schools and from every part of the country." Nowhere is the labor movement mentioned. Another unsigned memo labelled simply "Bryn Mawr Summer School: The Faculty" did include
the "trade union movement" among recruitment categories. A perusal of available faculty rosters reveals that, in general, one union activist, loosely defined, belonged to each summer faculty. The School seemed to view a union person as anyone who had labor ties and was not on a college faculty.

Over the life of the School, therefore, union activists were appointed to its faculty in only token numbers. This near-exclusivity of academicians suggests a strong bias in their direction and reflects the School's deep roots in the liberal arts and academy. The extant School rosters bear out this point. Of rosters for the years 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924 and 1925, which list twenty-nine school instructors, fourteen had Ph.Ds. Only two could be designated as union people. One was Alice Henry, labor journalist and Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) leader and the other was Lillian Herstein, a force in the Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers. A 1931 roster listed twelve instructors, of whom four had Ph.Ds. Two of the twelve could be categorized as union people. One was Mark Starr, then of the London Labor College, who went on to a life-long career with the International Ladies Garment Worker's Union (ILGWU). The other was Ellen Kennan, an English teacher from New York's Printer's Apprentice School. In 1934, four Ph.Ds were on a faculty of thirteen, while Ellen Kennan was its sole "union person." In the School's final summer, 1938, a roster named instructors, tutors and administrators on a single undifferentiated list. Among that group were four Ph.Ds and no unionists.

In the course of the School's seventeen year history it employed approximately ninety instructors. This is an estimate derived from various extant rosters as no single comprehensive roster could be located. One available list covered the 1921-1927 years and listed instructors,
tutors, assistants, administrators and staff. Out of its total of 197, forty were instructors, seventy-nine were tutors and thirty were assistants. Another surviving roster listed only instructors for the 1921-1935 period. On that list were seventy-five different academics or the average of five new faculty each summer. It was School policy to limit new people to one-third of the total. Using the average of five per summer, the School would have employed an additional fifteen people for its three final summers, 1936-1938, bringing the total to ninety.

Alice Hanson Cook's observation, noted earlier, on the high proportion of women on the faculty prompts one to take a precise count. The 1921-1935 roster of seventy people listed fifty-one women and twenty-four men, revealing a faculty two-thirds women. The School's accomplishment in employing a high proportion of women faculty is not diminished by the fact that a record pool of educated women was available to draw upon. American college faculty rates for women were 26% and 27% in that period, with women possessing 15% to 16% of the Ph.Ds.

Tutors, undergraduate assistants, librarians and others made up the ancillary instructional staff. Tutors were women with college degrees who were employed exclusively as teaching assistants. Undergraduate assistants were primarily college students hired to perform a variety of tasks from classroom assistance, to chauffeuring, to catching laboratory specimens. They were referred to as "undergrads." With the introduction of the Unit Plan of Instruction in 1928, the division of the School into five homogeneously-grouped units, tutors were eliminated. Thereafter whatever individualized instruction was rendered was performed by undergraduate assistants. In the pre-1928 years, approximately fourteen tutors were on the faculty each summer. From 1928 on, between five and six undergrads were hired each summer for an approximate overall total of
fifty.

A 1930 roster of undergrads and assistants documents how the School furthered the mixing of college and blue collar women. Among that list of seven were two Bryn Mawr College students, one Smith student and one Tufts student, along with three labor women. The latter cohort included Edith Christenson of the WTUL in Philadelphia, Olive McClung of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union and Frieda Maurer of the Hosiery Workers Union. This researcher is personally acquainted with additional students who were recruited as assistants: Florida Pinkney, one of the School's first black students who went on to a life-long career with the New York State Department of Labor, and Pearl "Skipper" Ertel, a Pennsylvania textile worker.

It is a challenge to draw a composite portrait of the Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty as the lives and works of these noted academics have yet to enter the written record. Available to the researcher were biographical dictionary and professional directory entries and newspaper obituaries. The obituary coverage was sparse; many of the research subjects merited only a few column inches. Not surprisingly, it was easier to locate obituaries for the male academicians than for the comparably noteworthy female academicians. Also available are Notable American Women profiles, but only on three of the Summer School faculty.

The author's oral history interviews and questionnaire canvass brought her into personal contact with twenty-eight members of the Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty; eleven instructors, five tutors, nine undergraduate assistants, one gym teacher, one librarian and one administrator (See Chart). Among that cohort were four men, all of whom were instructors. Four other instructors had joined the School initially as either tutors or undergrads. These were Katherine Pollak Ellickson, Anita Marberg Lerner, Susan Shepherd Sweezy and Constance Williams. Eighteen
out of the twenty-eight had been educated at women's colleges, with Bryn Mawr leading with seven. Vassar was next with five, Wellesley sent three. Mount Holyoke, Barnard, Goucher and Wheaton had each sent one. Twelve had doctoral degrees, with economics heading the list as the discipline of eight of the Ph.Ds. Of the twelve Ph.Ds, Columbia had granted three, The Brookings Institution three, and the University of Chicago two of the economics doctorates.

The questionnaire-canvass solicited objective and subjective data. How had the individual heard of the School; why did she wish to work there; what was the School's impact on her life; what was the School's impact on her political views were among the questions asked. (See Appendix)

The profiles that will follow will utilize varied kinds of data that were available; the biographical dictionary entries and obituaries as well as the testimonials yielded by a questionnaire canvass and oral history interviews. Unless otherwise indicated, excerpted material comes from this researcher's survey of surviving, locatable faculty. It will enhance understanding of the Summer School's history to consider its instructional staff by four time periods: the 1921-1927; 1928-1931, 1932-1934; 1935-1938 time frames. During the School's first seven years, it evolved from an experimental to a mature educational operation. The School's second period saw the adoption of the Unit Plan of Instruction and the flowering of the use of that system. In its third period, the School was beset by Depression-generated political problems. 1933 was the final year that Director Hilda Worthington Smith hired faculty. In 1934 she departed for Washington, DC to assume her new post with the Federal Employment Relief Administration (FERA). Therefore, in 1934 and in the School's final three year phase, three different directors hired faculty: Alma Herbst,
Elizabeth Otey and Jean Carter. The School's final years also saw a return to pre-Depression calm and a less politicized campus atmosphere.

Criteria determining inclusion in this composite portrait is the extent of the individual's impact on the Bryn Mawr Summer School, as well as the amount of substantive material available. This researcher judged informally who had had the "greatest impact" on the institution. Certain names recurred repeatedly in the written and oral memoirs provided by interview subjects. For the most part, then, these are the people who will be the featured subjects of this study.

For the School's first period, the 1921-1927 years, the economists Amy Hewes, Caroline Ware and Broadus Mitchell will be emphasized, as will the Professor of English Literature, Helen Drusilla Lockwood, and the scientist, Louise Brown. Lillian Herstein and Hazel Kyrk will be considered. Nationally-known economists and public figures Paul Douglas, Corwin Edwards and Carter Goodrich will be treated in passing because it appears that they did not leave a lasting legacy on the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Millicent Carey McIntosh, Susan Shepherd Sweezy, Jean Flexner Lewinson, Anita Marburg Lerner, Ida Craven Merriam and Lucy Carner, all tutors, will also be part of that composite portrait.

During the 1928-1931 period, the outstanding new faculty members were Colston Warne and Alice Cook. Theresa Wolfson, Katherine Pollak Ellickson, Gladys Palmer, Constance Williams, Mark Starr and Rosamund Tuve were additional notable faculty members. In its final two phases, 1932-1934 and 1936-1938, Leo Huberman, Oliver Loud and Esther Peterson merit extended coverage. Elizabeth Lyle Huberman exemplified the undergrad for whom the Summer School experience was life-changing.

Economist Amy Hewes came to the Summer School in 1921. Hewes has the distinction of being the only Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty member who
taught there both its first and last summer and for eight summers in between. Her ten years constituted the longest period of service. Glowing allusions to her were found in numerous oral histories. These measures make her, perhaps, the most influential faculty member in the history of the institution.

Amy Hewes is credited as having been the moving force behind the 1912 passage of Massachusetts minimum wage law, the first in the nation. Hewes was Executive Secretary of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Board during the time that that landmark legislation was enacted. She was a prolific author whose books include Industrial Homework, 1915, Woman as Munitions Workers, 1917 and Contributions to Social Work, 1913. She contributed articles on labor legislation, unemployment, trade union history and social insurance to such journals as The American Economic Review, The Journal of Political Economy, Current History and Survey. Hewes was nominated for inclusion in Notable American Women: The Modern Period, but was not ultimately selected.25

Professor Hewes was educated at Goucher College and received her doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1903. When hired for the 1921 Summer School post, she was Professor of Economics and Sociology at Mount Holyoke and chairman of its joint department. By all accounts she was a delightful and colorful personality.26

The winning and humorous sides of Hewes' persona emerged in memorable vignettes about her supplied by students Carmen Lucia and Freddy Drake Paine. Lucia's story evoked Hewes' classroom style:

[In interview with Louise Delling Branthwaite] Did you ever have Amy Hewes in the classroom? Do you remember the morning she came in and said, "How many of you think the laundry is a factory?" We all were stunned...Why the laundry's no factory. All they do
is wash clothes. But she insisted. "I want an answer from you—you’re evading the question." It finally turned out sure I'm selling my labor. "Oh," she said, "you mean you're a commodity?" This conversation went on for a long time and we got the first inkling of what economy and what social problems mean when you sell your labor, that's when the question of unions came in.

Freddy Drake Paine's memoir pointed up Hewes' spirit and out-of-classroom wit:

Amy Hewes, a little bit of a thing, I adored that woman, just adored her. She used to walk in as though she's going to run the show and you knew damn well she was just egging us on....She came along in this game and she's carrying a bucket and she's got this hammer and sickle on her and she's going to be the water boy. When we shouted for water, she'd say, "Capitalist, capitalist." It was a fun thing. It was a time to learn to relax.

Amy Hewes herself recorded her observations on the nature of the teaching experience. Required of the successful instructor in workers education were flexibility and a high frustration tolerance.

The teacher who finds even a small measure of success will find his part in workers' education immensely valuable professionally. The challenge of the classroom will tax all his skill and bring him new understanding. If he succeeds in seeing beyond the factors which may appear merely as the exasperating personalities of particular students to an unraveling of some social conflict he may properly say to himself that he has begun to practice the social art of teaching. If his subject is controversial he may expect to see carefully made plans spoiled more than once by something resembling an eruption of Vesuvius.

Further rewards were to be derived from fellowship with students:

In the end, he may find a fellowship with his students which is seldom achieved elsewhere...[in one] student-faculty discussion...one of the teachers happily expressed the teacher's position in terms of what he called the craft spirit, a thing which must be kept alive. [Emphasis in the original] A teacher as well as the artisan must have freedom in his own jurisdiction....The students instantly comprehended, understanding the necessities of a fellow-craftsman.
The economist, Broadus Mitchell, came to the Summer School from the Johns Hopkins faculty where he had earned his doctorate. Born in 1892, Mitchell articulated enlightened views in the cadences of the Old South. His retrospective observation was that at age thirty, he was too young, a poor choice for the School's faculty, whereas his colleague, Amy Hewes, had been well-chosen.

I don't think I was the best choice for the faculty, I was too young. They should have confined themselves to people like Amy Hewes...a mature person who was able to distill her knowledge and experience over the years and make it attractive to people who weren't accustomed to much or special reading.

Mitchell proceeded to praise the faculty's quality for its breadth of vision and originality.

The school took people who were not bound by lines of different disciplines. Economics, history, sociology, science, music, art and politics...one affects the other so intimately that it's presumptuous to think of yourself as belonging to one field....They [the faculty] were all people of some originality...this was a challenge...they were people of boldness. There was prejudice against workers education at that time...we were too radical and dangerous, insidious and so on.

Mitchell believed that advancing the rights of organized labor infused all instruction at the Summer School, that the background of the School was "a cordial salute to organized women workers and the hope that when they left the school they would further efforts at organization."31

Following his two summers at the School, Mitchell used the experience to help shape his thinking on larger questions. One was the place of liberal education in workers' lives and the other was what applicability Marxist analysis had to America's future. In a 1924 article entitled "The Working Women's Classes at Bryn Mawr College," he demonstrated his pre-science and wisdom. Mitchell came down on the side of humanism and predicted an overall liberal readjustment of American society, not class.
struggle:

As America emerges from the tussle to comprehend and exploit physical resources, it approaches the conflict for economic control...this will not result in a narrow class dictatorship, but...a gradual alteration of the purposes of our national culture....the broadest education will be the most valuable instrument of workers in guiding the process. The British labor movement has gained incalculably from the participation of sympathetic intellectuals. It will be even better if American workers can some day furnish nationally acceptable leaders from their own ranks.

In the course of Mitchell's long life, he ran as the Socialist candidate for the Governor of Maryland in 1934, was Consultant to the Director of Research with the National Recovery Administration (NRA), and was on the Economics faculty of Rutgers University between 1947 and 1958. His works The Rise of the Cotton Mills in the South, 1921, Depression Decade, 1947 and two volume biography of Alexander Hamilton, 1962, are classics.

On those early Summer School faculties, along with Amy Hewes and Broadus Mitchell, was a Vassar College legend who even merited a passing reference in Mary McCarthy's chatty autobiographical novel about her class, the Class of 1933, The Group: "[A character's] chief interest in college had been journalism, her favorite course had been Miss Lockwood's Contemporary Press...." Helen Drusilla Lockwood served Vassar's English Department from 1927 to 1956. At her death in 1971, she bequeathed to her alma mater several million dollars. The Helen Drusilla Lockwood wing of the library now stands as a memorial to the formidable "HDL."

Lockwood was respected, but feared, by almost two generations of Vassar women, as well as her Bryn Mawr blue collar women. One of the latter who recalled her intimidating presence was Elizabeth Nord: "I'll never forget standing on my feet and having to give my first speech in Miss Lockwood's class -- those piercing eyes. She was a teacher you did
your homework for."^36

Lockwood graduated from Vassar in 1912, taught at the Baldwin School in Bryn Mawr, 1916–1922, at Wellesley College in the mid twenties and at her alma mater continuously from 1927–1956. She was responsible for recruiting faculty member Susan Shepherd Sweezy, then a Wellesley College student, to the School as an assistant. Sweezy, herself a tough-minded and politically-aware English teacher, told of Lockwood’s place in her life:

When I was a sophomore at Wellesley looking for ways to make over the world, I saw a box on the front page of the Wellesley News announcing interviews with Helen D. Lockwood, teacher of English composition. I, like many students, had enormous respect for Miss Lockwood who suffered no nonsense or romanticism...She talked to us individually. It seemed to me that I had no qualifications— I had not studied economics, I could not play the piano, but she recommended me for the job and it changed my life from then on.

Lockwood's own life had, in fact, already been changed by the Summer School. Her 1921-1923 summers had helped her define a dissertation topic. She had become intrigued by a challenge posed to her by a union official visiting the School. Did acquainting workers with middle-class intellectuals' work undermine their class consciousness? In her doctoral work, *Tools and the Man*, completed at Columbia in 1927, she answered no. The work gave an account of nineteenth century European workers' relationships with writers Chateaubriand, Lamartine and Georges Sand. Lockwood's argument, like that of colleague Broadus Mitchell, endorsed the universal applicability of the liberal arts. Knowledge of literature and poetry, even if the work of the bourgeoisie, hones intellectual abilities without undermining political consciousness:

Again and again through earlier centuries, the common people had revolted...All through history they had expressed themselves somehow in cathedrals, ballads, songs and tales of heroes. They had a new misery in
the Industrial Revolution....Intellectual, cutting down to the causes of misery...helped direct the people's search.

Lockwood harnessed scholarship to her social ideals and brought absolute confidence in the validity of her work to both her Vassar and workers' educational teaching. At Vassar, where she taught the fabled Contemporary Press course, she energized generations of students to political awareness, largely through activist work in the city of Poughkeepsie. Lockwood applied many of the same teaching techniques to her Summer School teaching, as Sweezy recalled:

Helen Lockwood taught me how to teach workers...She supervised my first teaching. She suggested I do something with labor journalism with the students. So I took their publications, so that they could learn to judge critically whether their publication was doing what it should for them. Among the things that we analyzed was The Daily Worker, and when we found out that the word masses was used ninety six times on the front page, one student got up and threw her chair back and said, "You're nothing but a bloody intellectual" and swooped out of the room. She came back the next day.

In 1922 Helen Lockwood was on the staff of the Baldwin School, located across Morris Avenue from Bryn Mawr College. Caroline Ware, noted economist, was another faculty member at the elite girls' school. Ware, looking back over her life, considered Lockwood, eight years her senior, to be her closest friend. In common they shared a Vassar education and membership on its faculty, life-long association with workers' education and, yes, a formidable personal style. Ware paid tribute to HDL's greatness as a teacher:

She was a great teacher by any dimension....She was very unique—one of the very best. She had a way of posing the relevant questions which took the person outside the bounds of expectation....At Vassar she was legendary for coming into a class of freshmen, looking around and saying, "I suppose there are some of you here who still believe in God."

Lockwood stayed close to the Bryn Mawr Summer School, the Vineyard
Shore School, the Hudson Shore Labor School and to workers' education in general until her death in 1971. She was a life-long friend of Jane Smith's, a friendship originally fostered by the physical proximity of the Smith home, "Heartsease", to the Vassar campus. Because of the Lockwood-Vassar connection, Vassar became a major recruiting source of Summer School instructors, tutors and undergrads.

Ware herself has had an illustrious career as an economist. She took a Ph.D. at Harvard in 1925 and has been on the faculties of Vassar and Sarah Lawrence Colleges and Howard University. She is a prolific author and has served as advisor to the Organization of American States, the United Nations and member of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. Ware devoted much of her energies to the labor education movement, working at offshoots of the Bryn Mawr Summer School such as The Barnard Summer School, The Southern Summer School and the Hudson Shore Summer School.

Ware was among Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty who passionately objected to this author describing the School as a manifestation of "social feminist." To her, feminist conjured images of aggressive militance: "It tended to imply an unfeminine person...very masculine and very aggressive...it wasn't a very endearing term. In some circles, it may have been a term of sisterhood." Ware conceded that, yes, M. Carey Thomas and Susan Kingsbury would have considered themselves feminists. Ware believed most of her associates at the Summer School would emphatically not have welcomed any kind of feminist label. The motivation for working at the Summer School was to extend opportunity for all, not just for women. Segregation made women more accessible:

If we gravitated toward women, it was because they were more conspicuously exploited than men and because the segregation in society made them more accessible.
to us. We knew as women we faced a restricted path, that we were going to be put down, but we worked to extend opportunity for all in the society. For example in Jane's autobiography, she described coping with unruly male youths at the Bryn Mawr Community Center. Even her life might have gone a different route.

Susan Shepherd Sweezy, like Caroline Ware, was in Helen Drusilla Lockwood's "orbit." HDL recruited Sweezy to the Summer School while the latter was a Wellesley College student. Hers, like Ware's, was among the most penetrating and quotable memoirs. Sweezy amplified her questionnaire with a long letter. Sweezy served the Summer School first as an undergrad and as an English instructor for at least five summers in the thirties. In rejecting a feminist interpretation of the Summer School, she echoed Ware's sentiments, also with feeling.

We didn't think in terms of feminist militancy. We were rebelling against a society which discriminated against the poor and unfortunate and the powerless. Perhaps it was an implicit feminism—not formulated, and unconscious. And I was sufficiently conscious of these issues. For example, I kept my maiden name — Susan Shepherd — for a long time and was very resentful of the obvious discriminatory practices shown at the New York Times when I worked there.

Again, in common with Ware, Sweezy became part of the workers' educational teaching network, later teaching at both the Vineyard Shore School and Brookwood Labor College. She served the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1933 and 1934 and taught English at Wellesley College. The Summer School impacted on her life in several ways: it brought her her staunchest friendships (with Jane Smith and Esther and Oliver Peterson and others), caused her to change her major and to alter her perceptions of other disciplines:

After I changed my major to Economics, I never again looked at literature or art apart from its social context, and I took several courses in nineteenth century prose and poetry which came to life for me in the light of English economic history of the period. The rise of industrial society had great impact on literature — sometimes in reverse....

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Of her colleagues on the faculty, she wrote:

All of the faculty taught at colleges and universities during the academic year; all had some sort of concern for the suffering that went on in our society; and wanted to improve the lot of the working people — although their approach and their philosophies differed enormously. . . .

When I got the job teaching English Composition at Wellesley, the head of the department who hired me did so because of my unusual teaching experience, and because she had had many close friends who were radicals and was herself a genuine liberal who felt that variety in her faculty was important. I left Wellesley to get married to an economist, one of the first Keynesians, [Alan Sweezy] — and to have a family. My views and my husband's have certainly influenced our three daughters — one of whom is an Economic Historian and who has two racially mixed adopted children. . . .

Of course, the Summer School affected my political views but not so much as my courses at Wellesley, the whole attitude at Wellesley which stressed a socially useful approach to life.

Lillian Herstein, an activist from the Chicago Federation of Women High School teachers, taught English in 1924 and 1925 and later remembered it as her "best" teaching:

I had what were called "The Language Handicapped," the immigrants. I taught that time the way I have never been able to teach since. I had an interview with every girl. I'd get her talking and I'd say, "Now that's something you should write about" — their first days at Ellis Island or the first accident that the girl witnessed... At the end of the summer when we selected material, most of the material came from "The Language Handicapped" because they wrote so well.

Herstein had an illustrious career in a number of fields other than the teacher's union. In the late 20s, she helped to organize the Farm Labor Party and in 1932 ran for Congress as a candidate of the Illinois second Congressional district. Herstein was a consultant to the War Production Board during World War II. In that capacity she supervised the West Coast region, gearing community facilities to the needs of women working in the war industries.
Herstein's associates, assistants and students remembered her with great fondness. Student Elizabeth Nord, who described Herstein as "a firecracker," was one, as was noted educator Millicent Carey McIntosh. In 1924, McIntosh, M. Carey Thomas' niece, was a twenty-six year old Bryn Mawr graduate who was a doctoral candidate in English at Johns Hopkins University. McIntosh wrote of her tutoring work for Miss Herstein:

I conferred with students about their papers and tried to teach them grammar and punctuation....Writing of course was terribly difficult for them but they were determined to master their problems. When they were successful (for example, in understanding the use of the semicolon) their joy was unbounded!

Miss Herstein was a remarkable, dynamic and brilliant teacher, who seemed to have many contacts with important labor people. My work was constant and very hard, because I had to go over every paper written in Miss Herstein's class with each student individually. The tutors had very little time off, but did get together in the evening. I made one close friend who was important in the labor movement, Lucille Kohn... active in New York in this cause.

Following the receipt of her doctorate, McIntosh served educational institutions continuously for the next four decades. She was Headmistress of the well-known Brearley School for Girls in New York and was Barnard College's president from 1947-1962. Her teaching at the Summer School "opened up a whole new world" although her liberalism was part of her Quaker birthright.

Hazel Kyrk was an economist on the Summer School faculty in 1922, 1923 and 1924 and had the distinction of being one of three faculty members whom Notable American Women selected for a biographical portrait. She earned a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Chicago and became a pioneer in the field of consumer economics. In a 1929 study, The Economic Problems of the Family, she described how the housewife had become the family's "director of consumption." Kyrk was on the University of Chicago faculty from 1925 until 1952. Several generations of predomi-
nantly female graduate students were her protegées, women who later distinguished themselves in government and academic careers. For the Works Progress Administration, Kyrk contributed a massive Consumer Purchase Study. She also did consumer advisory work for the Office of Price Administration (OPA) and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.45

Louise Brown, the naturalist from the Dana Hall School and Wellesley College, was incontrovertibly one of the "greats" at the Bryn Mawr Summer School. It was a rare oral history interview or written testimonial, from students and faculty at the School in the 20s, which failed to allude to the legendary telescope. Jane Smith's poem "The Workers Look at the Stars," inspired by those classes, was in fact a metaphor about the School's operation. "The Workers Look at the Stars" was also the title of Smith's first compilation of student poetry. Louise Brown taught science at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for eight continuous summers beginning in 1922. The course's success was path-breaking, resulting in the acceptance of science into the general workers' education curriculum. Caroline Ware provided the following judgment about stargazing on the Bryn Mawr Summer School campus.

One of the most exciting courses for the students... was a course in astronomy. It seemed a very far-out thing to be part of the program, but it was absolutely within the concept that the stars were everybody's stars. If you could see them, and those that had been brought up in the bright lights of the city had literally, literally, literally never even seen the stars, let alone been able to look at them.46

Many reminiscences carried memories of first looks at the heavens. From Helen Schuldenfrei Selden's pen came the following admiring comment, one made all the more charming by an unwitting play on words:

She [Louise Brown] was definitely a genius, a teacher made in heaven. In a short two months time she introduced us to astronomy, to history of life on earth, to behavior of matter, opening the heavens and earth to us.
Broadus Mitchell provided one of the more succinct tributes to Brown.

She was a nature woman...a biologist, botanist, astronomer, a mythologist, everything. I don't know what had been her background. But she knew how to reduce it to what was brief, attractive and intelligible...In the evenings on clear nights she would hold a kind of informal seminar with the stars and planets and tell us about them. She knew them as if she had just been there the last weekend....I remember one time somebody picked up on the campus a bird, a finch that had died. And Miss Brown extended the wing and showed how the joints corresponded to those of the human arm, and so on. She was an ingenious person.

A surprising passage from Jane Smith's diaries, a complaint about "Louise's tantrums," presumably is a reference to the otherwise-splendid Miss Brown. As there was no other Louise on the faculty or in the administration, the following material has to be about her. It is certainly a less-than-flattering aspect of Brown's persona.

The summer went very fast, and everyone enjoyed it, including myself. A good harmonious faculty with their ups and downs, of course Louise's tantrums being one of the constant "downs" and Theresia Wolfson and May Griffiths being always "ups."

Paul Douglas, Corwin Edwards and Carter Goodrich were additional members of the Summer School's economics faculty during its first seven years. Douglas won election to the U.S. Senate in 1948, a body he served for eighteen years. Earlier, he had gained a national reputation for his work on production function, the mathematical analysis that relates labor to capital. Douglas had earned his Ph.D. at Columbia and was on the University of Chicago faculty the summer he worked at the Bryn Mawr Summer School.

Corwin Edwards, who came to the Summer School from New York University, was a Rhodes Scholar with a doctorate in economics from Cornell. He later served the New Deal on the Consumer Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration and as the Chief Economist of the Federal Trade
Carter Goodrich was another University of Chicago Ph.D. who was on the Summer School's faculty in 1925 and 1926. He later worked for the Federal Resettlement Administration, advised the Social Security Board, and was on the governing body of the International Labor Organization. Jean Flexner Lewinson, who was to make her own substantial contributions to various government agencies, assisted in Carter Goodrich's classes as a tutor. Lewinson was a daughter of the famous Flexner family, and a member of the Bryn Mawr Class of '21, graduating third in her class. Lewinson earned a doctorate from the Brookings Institution in 1929, at which time she entered government service. She worked with the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Department of Labor until 1961. Lewinson was in the distinct minority in judging the Summer School education as valueless to the worker-students.

The teaching was in an academic world totally alien and removed from students' experience. They struggled very hard to understand but the economics doctrines--even simplified and concretized--were irrelevant. Those with strong Marxist leanings could not be pried loose. Yes, [the summer school had an impact on my career] but hard to define. I continued in labor economics from 1922 (before the School) until I retired from the U.S. Labor Department in 1961.

Alongside Jean Flexner Lewinson, Anita Marberg Lerner also tutored in economics for Professor Carter Goodrich. But she came to the opposite conclusion about the School's value: "No teaching was as important to me as my years at Bryn Mawr...What wonderful tutoring hours and classes and parties." Lerner, in common with Lewinson, had earned her doctorate at the Brookings Institution. She was a member of the Sarah Lawrence faculty for eighteen years.

Another Brookings Institution Ph.D. belonged to Ida Craven Merriam, also a tutor in 1927 who worked for Amy Hewes. Merriam later worked as an
economist with the Social Security Board from 1936 to 1972, serving as its Assistant Commissioner of Research and Statistics in her last ten years there. 52

Lucy Carner, a pioneer for racial integration, YWCA Industrial Secretary, life-long peace activist and Bryn Mawr alumna, Class of 1908, enlarged the School's roster of tutors in its first years. 53

With the likes of instructors Amy Hewes, Broadus Mitchell, Helen Drusilla Lockwood, Louise Brown, Lillian Herstein, Hazel Kyrk, Paul Douglas, Corwin Edwards and Carter Goodrich serving the School in its 1921-1927 formative period, the institution was off to an impressive start. By anyone's standards, the faculty's credentials and apparent comfort with simplifying economics, poetry and science for workers' consumption made them noteworthy.

The Summer School introduced the Unit Method in 1928, the curricular concept which would guide it from that point to the end of its operation in 1938. The year of its introduction was also the year that Colston Warne, Alice Cook and Theresa Wolfson first joined the Summer School faculty. Subsequently Warne founded Consumer's Union, Cook joined the faculty of Cornell's School of Industrial and Labor Relations, and later became Cornell's ombudsman in the turbulent 60s. Wolfson was an economist much beloved by two generations of Brooklyn College activists. Also serving the School in the 1928-1932 years were Katherine Pollak Ellickson, Gladys Palmer, Mark Starr and Rosamond Tuve. Warne and Cook will be featured in this next section on the faculty.

Smith's diaries introduce Colston Warne, who was one of the "boys", so-called by the School secretary, in 1928. "Givens [Meredith], Edwards [Corwin] and Warne made things difficult in the office with their many demands....Warne was a brilliant teacher in the advanced course." 54 Warne
was another who, by informal consensus, was one of the institution's transcendent figures as he was repeatedly the subject of glowing tributes. He, like Jane Smith, is always easily identified in School photographs because of his imposing height. His doctorate was from the University of Chicago and Warne was a member of Amherst's economics faculty from 1930 to 1970.

Warne was one of the School's biggest boosters, describing it as "the most amazing phenomenon [he] had ever been linked with." He also spoke of its "amazing effect on the student body," its great impact on the faculty and the bonds that the institution forged.

What we found was that we got just as much education, if not more, than the students. And I say this not as a matter of understating the contribution of faculty members. We didn't know the trade conditions as the students did and their perceptions were excellent. So what you had was (and I hope this isn't too corny), a kind of Bryn Mawr family, that has maintained a very close touch, since. It was an experience that changed the faculty and the students and exposed people to the contest of ideas.

Warne was destined to become the leading faculty protagonist in the School's Seabrook Farms crisis of 1934. As the following testimony reveals, by 1932 he was playing out the role of campus activist. In interview, in resonant, measured and authoritative tones, the distinguished Warne provided intriguing insights into evolution of the scholar-activist.

The idea of viewing industrial conflict in action, was something I picked up when I joined the faculty at the University of Pittsburgh, some years before. It grew out of the fact that the coal workers in Western Pennsylvania had two strikes...Well, I visited the various coal mines and fed materials to the press to the point where I wrote articles....In a sense I became a guide for those who wanted to see what was happening...Having done that at Pittsburgh, I did the same thing when I went to Amherst in 1930 with the American Woolen company strike in Lawrence. It was not as harsh a strike as the Pittsburgh strikes. In fact, it was relatively well-behaved in contrast to
the strike a couple of decades earlier. But what I'm establishing, I trust, is that the Seabrook proposition wasn't an isolated incident. I had a tendency to drawing others in academic circles into viewing the conflict, and I had an interest, curiosity, and I didn't see any reason my procedure should change when I arrived on the Bryn Mawr campus...1932. The Bonus Army, it was dramatic, it was a clash. It wasn't the depth of the Depression but it was pretty close to it. There were more types of socialists and capitalists. The various dissident ideologies were coming into conflict. So the Bryn Mawr Summer School campus did get the whole panorama of ideas right to left. In the evening when classes were over we would sit on the lawn in front of the library and if anyone had something interesting we would tell it. I do know that when I went to Washington to watch the burning of the squatters houses by the army, that the group was very much interested in this. The whole story had to be told.53

In a lighter vein, in the summer of 1932, Warne's actions caused Jane Smith enough exasperation to merit another diary passage:

The faculty are settling down to work. Colston Warne was determined to have evening classes. As he says he teaches better at night and can get more speakers. We met with the faculty three hours on the subject, all of them getting more and more annoyed with him...Finally had to appoint a special committee to settle it.56

Colston Warne was on the Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty continuously from 1928 to 1934 with the exception of two summers, 1930 and 1933, which he spent in the Soviet Union. He credited the institution with a great deal: with giving him life-long friendships and fortifying his drift toward consumerism. He founded Consumer's Union in 1936 and was its President until 1980.57

Fellow economist Broadus Mitchell, while on the Summer School in earlier years, was associated with Warne in other contexts.

In Colston Warne, the Summer School couldn't have had a more fortunate member of the faculty. Colston Warne...always a touch of informality, of responsibility...a learned man. Incidentally, a very handsome person...In the early days of the Consumer's Union he invited me to come talk to his students at Amherst.
Mitchell praised Warne for his lasting contributions to economics:

Warne was one of the leaders in the protest against overtheoretical economics. Colston and others organized the Association for Institutional Economics, believing that we are more affected by our habits and customs than we are by any deepthinking on our economic life. Colston is an accomplished person. His monument are his services to the American consumer which goes down in history. He had many talented associates in that work, but he was a leader always.

Alice Hanson Cook, now Professor Emerita of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell, was a colleague of Colston Warne's on the Summer School's 1928 and 1932 faculties. Cook is still one of the vigorous activist members of the Cornell-upstate New York network of academicians and feminists. Cook had first come to the Summer School from Chicago's Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) where she was Industrial Secretary. She credits the School as being pivotal in her life, because of its intensity:

I had had a fair amount of contact with factory women before I went to the Summer School at Commonwealth College, in 1926, in social work in Indianapolis and as the Chicago YWCA Industrial Secretary. However, the experience at Bryn Mawr was much more intensive. We lived together in the same dormitories, we ate together. We played and swam together, and indeed, we worked together in a very intensive creative interaction. All day, everyday for the eight week period. I am sure that the Bryn Mawr experience, on top of the other, turned me purely toward interest in the labor movement when I went abroad in 1929 to Germany to do graduate work, in Frankfurt.

Cook's retrospective view was that the School was "remarkable:"

It seems to me that the number of women we were able to bring to the school, the fact that we could maintain it for eight weeks during the summer and bring together a distinguished faculty of both men and women, that we were working in beautiful surroundings and with good facilities -- all these things look to me now as I think back on them, as a remarkable experience that could not have been improved upon.

Of all the faculty, Alice Cook qualifies most closely as a feminist:
Thanks to the childhood influences of my mother and grandmother I was always conscious of the handicaps under which women lived and worked. They were both very ardent suffragists and I had lived in a household concerned about the Suffragist movement and votes for women as a child.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School, in Cook's view, was only implicitly a feminist operation. In two key ways, the School was anti-feminist: it embraced protective legislation opposing the Equal Rights view of the Women's Party. Furthermore, Summer School women would have rejected "feminist" because it was equated with destructive activities of the suffragists. "We at the School took it rather as a matter of course that women were disadvantaged and anything that could be done for them and with them was important to their development and to progress generally." In summary, therefore, Cook's position on the feminist question was ambiguous and was not so different from that of Ware's and Sweezy's interpretation. Significantly, Cook believed that "probably Jane Smith was more feminist, because M. Carey Thomas was closest to her and the latter was sharply and definitely a feminist." 61

Theresa Wolfson was a colleague of Warne's and Cook's at the Summer School in 1928 (and also in 1929). In a diary entry, Jane Smith said she enjoyed knowing her, she was always "ups." 62 Wolfson came from a family of Russian Jewish radicals and gravitated early to liberal causes, to work with the National Child Labor committee, and to lobbying for the minimum wage law. Wolfson is the subject of a Notable American Women biography. 63

Wolfson earned a doctorate from the Brookings Institution in 1929 for her work, The Woman Worker and the Trade Unions. In it she explored the causes of women's exclusion from trade union leadership and came to the common sense conclusion that unions mirrored the activities and values of the general society:
The business of making a living as we understand it, is still fundamentally a man's business. Small wonder that the rules of the game are men's rules, and that those rules when applied to women cause friction, to say the least.

Wolfson also understood that women's "psychology of impermanence," acted to slow their economic advance and their acceptance by trade unionists. She argued that progress would depend on the evolution of their thinking to "consider themselves a permanent class of workers." Wolfson's appreciation of the importance of education made her a natural ally of the workers education movement. A sound education was requisite for competent dealing with the society. In an article written after her Bryn Mawr summers, she touted the possibilities for change commanded by the summer schools, which were all "frankly liberal" in their economic outlook.

"Undoubtedly the Affiliated Summer Schools [The Bryn Mawr Summer School, The Barnard Summer School, The Southern and the Wisconsin Summer School] have it within their power to become a great factor in trade union organization by virtue of the educational facilities at their disposal." Theresa Wolfson served Brooklyn College continuously for four decades until her retirement in 1967. Throughout her life she retained her faith in trade unionism and in industrial democracy as key contributors to a more just society.

Another three women who joined the faculty between 1928 and 1931 made names for themselves in economic research, government service and the union movement. Gladys Palmer, a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, whom Alice Hanson Cook singled out in her memoir, was the mainstay at the University of Pennsylvania's Industrial Research Department from 1932 to 1953. Katherine Pollak Ellickson wrote a pamphlet, "The Shrinking Week and the Growing Wage" which brought her a wide reputation and led to appointment as Assistant to the Director of the CIO when it
started in 1935. She was Associate Director of the CIO’s Research Department from 1941-1955 and Executive Secretary of the President’s Commission on the Status of Women, 1961-1963. Constance Williams was another member of the Summer School Faculty whose Ph.D. in Economics came from the University of Chicago. She taught Economics at the Summer School for four summers, 1929-1935, and later worked for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Women’s Bureau and the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs.

Williams was among the group (Ware, Sweezy, et al) who took very strong exception to the use of the term "social feminist" to describe the School’s approach to social change:

When I was at the School in from 1929 to 1935 I never heard the word "feminism" used. I do not think of Bryn Mawr College as an effort for feminism any more than I do of Vassar my own undergrad place. Yes we did hope to help women be more effective in getting better working conditions and in being able to write and read more easily.

She provided a number of other interesting observations about the Summer School:

Yes [the experience at the Summer School had an impact on my subsequent career] as it gave me a strong interest in low income families and the problems of trying to increase standards of living. The School came at a period between the Lady Bountiful and the collective bargaining relations for workers and employers. It was a unique pioneer. It was the ability of HWS [Hilda Worthington Smith] to work with many different people and her faith in individuals which made the School possible.

Mark Starr's name was synonymous with educational work for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) which he served from the 30s to the 80s. He came to the Bryn Mawr Summer School via Brookwood Labor College and was there in 1928 and 1929. Jane Smith included a passing reference to Starr in her diaries: "...Mark Starr told his life..."
story, a thrilling one starting when he went to work at 4 in the mines of England...."71

Mark Starr, as one of the School's few bona fide unionists, perceived Bryn Mawr College to be "disinclined to assist outsiders and women, freelancers and intellectuals." Despite those misgivings, his overall judgments were positive:

[The students] were lively and receptive. Many had industrial experience and returned to help organize. Jane Smith used the lamp ceremony (the Lantern Night closing exercises lifted from the College's traditions) to bind them together emotionally. Had not seen elementary science taught before in workers' education.

Yes, [the experience had an impact on my subsequent career] it helped me realize the richness and variety of American labor and how much was untouched by the unions.

Rosamund Tuve, who achieved distinction as an authority on seventeenth century literature, and was on Connecticut College's English faculty for twenty-eight years, was at the Summer School in 1930 and 1931. Of the experience she said, "[it] left me forever (I hope) left of center, at least to where this country has taken to placing the center."72 In a letter to Jane Smith accepting an appointment, she ended with:

I feel as related to that School as though I had been behind P.T. on the camel [behind President Thomas when, according to Thomas' telling, the idea for the Summer School came to her while in the Sahara in 1920]. I shall now live only for that day when we hand out the first glasses of tea and Lorna Doones.73

Leo Huberman, Oliver Loud and Esther Peterson joined the Summer School faculty in its third phase, 1932-1934, the years clouded by Depression-tensions. Closer inspection of the sources discloses that two of the three, Loud and Peterson, were also leading faculty members in the School's final years, 1936-1938. Huberman, a celebrated Communist, spent only one summer at Bryn Mawr, while Colston Warne's role in the Seabrook
Farms Strike Crisis made 1934 his final year. Susan Shepherd Sweezy continued to lend a stimulating presence to the School in 1933 and 1934. Elizabeth Lyle Huberman (Leo Huberman's sister-in-law), while a Bryn Mawr junior, was an undergrad. In 1932 Amy Hewes returned to the School after a six summer absence to teach every summer through the School's closing in 1938.

By all accounts, Leo Huberman was the Bryn Mawr Summer School's legendary Communist. He was a graduate student at the London School of Economics when he came and made his presence felt in the Summer of 1934, bringing with him stacks of his recently-published Marxist history *We the People*. The book, a searing indictment of capitalism, was written during the depths of the Depression. He had originally written it for his Walden School students, and also used it in his economics classes at the Summer School. At Bryn Mawr he provided autographed copies for his dazzled and infatuated students, signing them "With warm regards, Huby."\(^{74}\)

*We the People* was one of the earliest Marxist interpretations of American History intended for general audiences. It documented the various ways that economic class and caste compromised the American system. Huberman noted that Harvard College students in colonial America were seated according to rank and property. In applying a Beardian analysis to the Constitutional Convention he wrote "...on one thing practically all of them were agreed—the common people, the people with little or no property must not have too much power." [Emphasis in the original] Huberman's discussion of the Civil War emphasized the extent to which the Union's victory was a triumph for capitalism.

Huberman directed much of his force to the catastrophe that free enterprise capitalism had wrought in 1932:
The capitalist system, these people argued worked and worked well. But—
In 1932 America was the richest country in the world. Farmers were down and out.
About 10,000,000 people who were able to work, who wanted to work, could find no work. Those who were fortunate enough to hold their jobs had their wages slashed.
Families by the score found themselves on the sidewalks because they could not pay the rent.

Mary Tomassi Scafidi was one student who fell under Huberman's sway that summer. Freddy Drake Paine was another. She was a Lower East Side New York leftist who had come of age at Union Square rallies. In interview she focused on the role playing techniques Huberman used to instruct union organizers in his classes.

I'll tell you about Leo Huberman and his class. The excitement was that we knew we had to learn how to sign a union contract...he would put us on the spot. He would switch from side to side...Then he would say to us, "You know about labor, what do you know about labor?" He was also humorous and every now and then he'd turn his back on us. One time...he walked ahead turned his back on us and we said, "Hey, where are you going class isn't over?" He said, "I'm the boss and I'm leaving, what are you going to do about it?" Someone got up in the class and said, "We're going to get you right back to the bargaining table." He turned around with a grin from ear to ear. That's exactly what he wanted. To have somebody able to do that kind of thing was beautiful.

Leo Huberman spent only one summer at the Bryn Mawr Summer School. In the 40s he founded, with Paul Sweezy (Susan Shepherd Sweezy's brother-in-law) the Stalinist publication Monthly Review. In its Stalinist days, he was educational director of the National Maritime Union.

Oliver Loud was a radical twenty-three year old science instructor, who went to the Summer School from Ohio University's progressive Laboratory High School. Loud was a minister's son and a Harvard graduate. His individualism, puckish wit and total recall emerged in a generous seventeen page memoir. Huberman's influence over Loud continues to the
present as he is only now meeting a challenge the former held out to him in 1934:

Huberman had just published his remarkable *We the People*. He kept challenging me, "When will you do for science what I did for American history?" Now after almost fifty more years of teaching, teaching, teaching, I may be doing just that... My second book, *Science for Liberation* will be the Bryn Mawr [Summer School] science course of 1936 and 1937 brought up to date.

Loud spent his spare time during the summer of 1934 reading the Bible and *Das Kapital*, pursuits which became the focus of School curiosity:

This activity attracted enough attention and interest that I finally put two charts side by side on the bulletin board at the entrance to the dining hall: two thermometers (as used in fund raising campaigns) where my progress through the pages of the two works could be seen at a glance.

Loud reminisced over the highlights of the summers of 1934 and 1936.

The controversies in the stormy summer of 1934 (my first there) was the relationship between educating and acting politically. Student support for the Maritime Strike on the West Coast was a major instance— as was the Warne-Fairchild-Huberman witness to the farm-workers agony across the Delaware. In 1936 integrity in teaching became an issue— when an economist taught Soule instead of Marx to an optional circle of students who had asked for Marxist political economy. He and I were in controversy. I argued that I could teach any science I understood to any class without vulgarization; he arguing that Marxist political economy was too difficult for the students who requested it. My view prevailed. There was also the issue of a more democratic involvement of the undergraduate assistants in the teaching.

Loud, a life-long practitioner of Deweyian progressive education, was active in various workers education programs in the thirties, and later devoted nearly four decades to science teaching at Antioch College. Loud answered "very significant" to questions about the Summer School's impact on his subsequent career and political views.

[The School was influential] since my professionalization was becoming the teaching of science for purposes of general education, for increasing the
scientific literacy of non-scientists. It continued my painless radicalization which is still evolving, with undiminished commitment to the diverse liberation struggles at home and abroad.

In 1934 Esther Peterson was twenty-eight and a product of Brigham Young University, Columbia University's Teacher's College, and employed as gym teacher at Boston's elite Winsor School. Hearing Jane Smith at Winsor soliciting money for the Summer School changed her life: "I was absolutely captivated and immediately I thought, that's the way I want to be." Peterson applied and was accepted for a job for 1934 and soon thereafter left school teaching for work with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, headed by Jacob Potovsky. Delia Potovsky was a Summer School undergrad in 1934 who said to her father, "now why don't the unions have someone exciting like that working for them?" Peterson became the School's young star in its final years. She brought to her physical education, dramatic coaching and recreational work great vitality and originality. Peterson was beloved by many students, for whom she was a role model. Fellow faculty member and life-long friend Susan Shepherd Sweezy wrote: "Taking part in ball games, in festivals, dressing up in costumes, doing folk dances, all that sort of thing was organized and run by Esther Peterson, under whose enthusiastic and contagious spirit everybody had a good time."

Peterson described how naive she was about unions when she assumed her post:

I'll never forget getting here [to Bryn Mawr] because I didn't know a thing about the labor movement. Well, my husband was so wonderful and he got a job, too, as librarian so we went as a couple as we had just been married. We were riding down in this little Model T and I remember having to ask him what a union was. "But Esther, come on now, you've got to get hold of this cause you're going where there's going to be some of these things."

While Peterson was unfamiliar with labor unions before she taught at
the Summer School, she was well acquainted with the content of pedagogy courses and their emphasis on the how-to of teaching. She soon learned that those courses were irrelevant to workers education:

"But the contrast in working with these girls and the others...there it was never a matter of method. I had studied how do you get people motivated and all that crazy stuff. Because it was there; it was real; they wanted to learn. And it wasn't a matter of how do you get people to want it. It was "get 'em enough stuff and get the material." It was a complete reversal of what I had been led to believe that teaching was."

Peterson credited Jane Smith with much of the Summer School's accomplishment, including its down-to-earth teaching methods:

"Jane was so marvelous because she taught us how to draw it out, to work with the people where they are, to start with them as the basis of what we were doing, not any high faluting intellectual ideas, but to start with people and reality."

Peterson's original contribution to the Summer School was the political dramatizations which were largely her conception. Each Saturday evening featured a new production, which she wrote, staged and directed. Following her Summer School years, Peterson spent 1939-1944 in educational work with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. She worked continuously in union advocacy through the forties and fifties. In 1961, John Kennedy named her Director of the Women's Bureau. It was from that position that she acted as catalyst behind Kennedy's creation of the landmark Commission on the Status of Women, a body charged with reviewing federal and private employment practices. Eleanor Roosevelt was named the group's Chair while Peterson was named its Executive Vice Chair. Thus was launched Esther Peterson's national career. In the Johnson and Carter administrations she moved into consumerism, the work so significantly shaped by her former Summer School colleague, and life-long friend, Colston Warne. In 1981 President Carter conferred upon her the highest civilian honor, the
Presidential Medal of Freedom. At close to eighty she travels world-wide representing the International Consumer's Unions.78

Elizabeth Lyle Huberman was at the Summer School in 1936 working as an English undergrad. Dean Helen Taft Manning recommended her, a top student in the Bryn Mawr Class of 1937, for the job. Her husband-to-be, Edward, was Leo Huberman's brother. Like Esther Peterson, she experienced intellectual awakening at the Summer School, having come from small town Republican stock. Along with Ware, Sweezy and Loud, she provided an analytic and introspective memoir:

The experience turned my political views upside down. From being an unthinking Republican, simply because I'd inherited my parents' views, I became some kind of a socialist...What made the School so important was the bringing together of two worlds which otherwise might never meet. And although the school provided marvelous learning and training opportunities for the workers, I think it was the college girls whose eyes were most widely opened....As a result of the Summer School experience I became interested in questions of labor and economics...and went on a Bryn Mawr College European Fellowship to study the history of the Mexican Labor movement [World War II prevented my going to Europe] on which I wrote in English a book published in Mexico in Spanish.

A college classmate of Elizabeth Huberman's was John L. Lewis' daughter, who got her a job with the United Mine Workers. Huberman earned a Ph.D. in English from New York University in 1969. In 1985 she retired from the Department Chairmanship of Kean College's [New Jersey] English Department.

As shown, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers was a magnet for dozens of well-educated, politically liberal (and some radical) scholars. The twenty-seven academics (nineteen women and eight men) described above returned to their home colleges and universities with a fortified vision of evolutionary change in America. They left the School with enlarged appreciation for education as a means to accomplish that
end. They took home invaluable first-hand acquaintances with workers and their lives. As Colston Warne observed, "the faculty got just as much education" as did the students. Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty members dispersed to many of America's major teaching institutions. Amy Hewes went back to Mount Holyoke, Helen Drusilla Lockwood to Vassar, Caroline Ware and Anita Marberg Lerner to Sarah Lawrence, Millicent Carey McIntosh to the Brearley School and Barnard, Carter Goodrich to the University of Pittsburgh, Hazel Kyrk to the University of Chicago, Alice Hanson Cook to Cornell, Theresa Wolfson to Brooklyn College, Gladys Palmer to the University of Pennsylvania, Rosamund Tuve to Connecticut College, Oliver Loud to Antioch, Colston Warne to Amherst and Elizabeth Lyle Huberman to Kean College.

In addition, the faculty fanned out to various government agencies and unions, many of which were bold New Deal creations such as the NRA, The Social Security Board and the CIO. School Director Jane Smith went to work for the FERA and WPA; Broadus Mitchell and Corwin Edwards consulted for the NRA; Broadus Mitchell also directed research for the ILGWU; Hazel Kyrk worked for the WPA; Jean Flexner Lewinson for the Children's Bureau, Bureau of Labor Statistics and Department of Labor; Ida Craven Merriam and Carter Goodrich for the Social Security Board; Katherine Pollak Ellickson for the CIO; Mark Starr for the ILGWU and Esther Peterson for the ACWA and Department of Labor. Others staked out important new territory, Peterson with the Commission on the Status of Women and Warne with Consumer's Union.

As in any long term study, it can be argued that those untouched by the institution studied failed to reply to the questionnaire sent by the author. Among those who did reply, only Millicent Carey McIntosh and Jean Flexner Lewinson were uncertain about the Summer School's influence on
their lives. Otherwise there was great common agreement on the institution's impact on them. The few published materials on this cohort of academician-activists confirm the School's efficacy as did the data from this researcher's questionnaires. Helen Lockwood's dissertation topic emerged from the crucible of interactions at the School. Anita Marberg Lerner and Lillian Herstein said that their teaching there was the most inspired of their lives. Alice Hanson Cook alluded to the School's "intensity." Katherine Pollak Ellickson credited the School with giving her "first-hand knowledge of trade conditions." Unionist Mark Starr believed the School enlarged his understanding of the "richness and variety of American labor." Rosamund Tuve said the Summer School had left her "permanently left of center." Colston Warne said "it was the most amazing phenomenon [he] had ever been linked with." Oliver Loud wrote it "continued [his] painless radicalization." Elizabeth Lyle Huberman credited the School with turning her political ideas "upside down" and bringing "together two worlds which otherwise might never meet."

Work at the Summer School transformed Esther Peterson's life and made her, in Susan Shepherd Sweezy's words, "the greatest success of us all."

Only the issue of whether the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers was a practitioner of social feminism generated controversy. The question, not in the original questionnaire, emerged over time as a relevant one. The author asked it in follow up telephone calls to four faculty members: Caroline Ware, Susan Shepherd Sweezy, Constance Williams and Alice Hanson Cook. As seen, three of the four disagreed sharply and emotionally with the author's designation of the School as "social feminist." To them the term had radical connotations of aversion to males, aggressivity, militancy and, possibly, of lesbianism. They wished to emphatically and unequivocally distance themselves from "feminists."
They maintain this position even after the scholarly use of the term as meaning "broadly based philanthropy in support of women", was explained. Historian Susan Ware found the same antipathy in her research on New Deal Women. Her discussion of Molly Dewson, et al, reveals that they thought of feminists in narrow terms as members of the National Women's Party and supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment. Ware's conclusion, that her research subjects were confused over their priorities and had divided loyalties, is a common sense one that applies equally to the Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty as well.\textsuperscript{79}

Another area of broad agreement concerned personal links forged by the Summer School. The teaching experience often launched friendships that survive to this day. Broadus Mitchell was a close friend of Amy Hewes and Colston Warne for nearly half a century. Susan Shepherd Sweezy has maintained contact with Esther Peterson and Caroline Ware; Caroline Ware is part of a Washington, DC network that includes Jean Flexner Lewinson and Ida Craven Merriam. Until her death, Helen Drusilla Lockwood was Ware's closest friend. Constance Williams and Colston Warne are still closely linked.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, 1921-1938 may not have been a social feminist institution in the eyes of its leading faculty. But it most emphatically was many other things. It was remarkably effective at introducing faculty women and men to factory women, at demonstrating the power of education to effect non-violent change and at linking the Lady Bountiful generation of leaders to the New Deal generation. It kept alive a commitment to liberal reform in the inert Harding-Coolidge-Hoover years, fortified a generation's social consciences and was a training ground for many of the best-educated public policy-makers in the inter-World War decades.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>Esther Peterson</td>
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Return to: Rita Heller

If there is insufficient space for your answer, please feel free to attach comments on a separate sheet.

QUESTIONNAIRE: FORMER FACULTY, TUTORS, UNDERGRADS

ADMINISTRATORS

Demographic and Career Data

Name ____________________________________________

1. Date of birth ____________________________________________

2. Professional career prior to coming to the summer school
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

3. University Degrees and teaching experience
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________

4. Highlights of professional career since appointment at the Bryn Mawr Summer School
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
   ____________________________________________
APPENDIX 194

Return to: Rita Heller

If there is insufficient space for your answer, please feel free to attach comments on a separate sheet.

QUESTIONNAIRE: FORMER FACULTY, TUTORS, UNDERGRADS

ADMINISTRATORS

Name_______________________________________________________

1. In what year(s) did you work at the school? ______________________

2. How did you hear about the school and why did you wish to work there? ______________________

3. What were your official duties at the school? ______________________

4. What are your memories of the students? Could you briefly describe their intellectual capacities, their reactions to the educational experience at the summer school and their friendships with the other students? ______________________

5. Did you establish long-lasting friendships? ______________________
   Could you supply the names and addresses of these people? ______________________

6. How could the school have been improved? ______________________

7. Why did the school end? ______________________
QUESTIONNAIRE: FORMER FACULTY, TUTORS, UNDERGRADS

ADMINISTRATORS

(Continued)

8. Did your experience at the summer school have an impact on your subsequent career? ________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________

9. Did the summer school affect your political views? _____________

__________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________

10. Are there questions which I have omitted but which you think pertinent and would wish to answer? ______________________

__________________________________________________________________
1. See Hilda Worthington Smith, *Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1929), 289-295 for listing of instructors, Tutors, Undergrads, Staff and Administrators at the Bryn Mawr Summer School for 1921-1927. An Instructors Roster for the years 1921-1935 was found in HWS Papers, Box 12, Folder 229.

2. Interview with Alice Hanson Cook, Bryn Mawr, PA, (filmed) June, 1984.

3. Interview with Caroline Ware, Washington, DC, May, 1983.


6. HWS Diaries, 83 Volume. Faculty appointment letters are extant in ALES-Cornell, Box 12.


8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.


12. Ibid., 91.

13. HWS Papers, Box 12, Folder 229.


15. Bryn Mawr Summer School rosters of students and faculty do not survive in a complete run in any one of the five archival collections this researcher has consulted. The 1931 faculty roster was found at ALES Papers-Cornell, Box 11, Faculty Folder, 1931. The 1934 and 1938 faculty rosters were found in personal copies of the Summer School student yearbook for 1934 and 1938. Summer School yearbooks 1930-1938 may be found in RMSS Papers-Rutgers, File 22.


17. HWS Papers, Box 12, Folder 229.


19. Ibid., 137.


22 ALES-Cornell, Box 11, Faculty Folder 1930.

23 This researcher conducted a search for and questionnaire canvass of surviving former Bryn Mawr Summer School instructors, tutors, undergrads and administrators between 1977 and 1985.

24 1934, 1937 and 1938 Faculty Rosters were found in personally owned Summer School yearbooks for the years 1934, 1937 and 1938. These yearbooks may also be found in BMSS Papers-Rutgers, File 22.

25 Amy Hewes was nominated for inclusion in *Notable American Women: The Modern Period*. See nomination letter from Mount Holyoke College representative to Miss Catherine Lord, 1977, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.


27 Interview with Carmen Lucia, Bryn Mawr, PA (Filmed) June, 1984.

28 Interview with Freddy Drake Paine, Bryn Mawr, PA (Filmed) June, 1984.

29 Amy Hewes, "New Wine in Old Bottles," *The Survey*, 47 (3 December 1921), 373.


35 One former Vassar student from the 1950's expressed deep dislike for Professor Lockwood: "She was mean as a snake, had a monster moustache and I was the class goat." Betsy Knight to Rita Heller, June 15, 1982.

36 Interview with Elizabeth Nord, Providence, RI, July, 1976.


38 Interview with Susan Shepherd Sweezy, Bryn Mawr, PA, (filmed) June, 1984.

39 Interview with Caroline Ware, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1983.

41 Telephone interview with Caroline Ware, November, 1982.

42 Telephone interview with Susan Shepherd Sweezy, November, 1982.


44 Current Biography, s.v. "McIntosh, Millicent Carey."


46 Interview with Caroline Ware, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.


48 HWS Diaries, 92 Volume.


50 Who Was Who in America, s.v. "Edwards, Corwin."


53 "Lucy Carner," Alumnae Records, Bryn Mawr College Archives.

54 HWS Diaries, 92 Volume.

55 Interview with Colston Warne, Mt. Vernon, NY, September, 1976.

56 HWS Diaries, 95 Volume.


58 Interview with Broadus Mitchell, Bryn Mawr, PA, (Filmed) June, 1984.

59 Who's Who in Labor, 1976, s.v. "Cook, Alice Hanson."

60 Self interview Alice Hanson Cook, Ithaca, NY, June, 1983.

61 Telephone interview with Alice Hanson Cook, November, 1982.

62 HWS Diaries, 92 Volume.
63 Notable American Women: The Modern Period, s.v. "Wolfson, Theresa."


65 Ibid., 58.


68 Katherine Pollak Ellickson's papers are deposited in the Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI.


70 Constance Williams to Rita Heller, September 20, 1982.

71 HWS Diaries, 94 Volume.


73 Rosamund Tuve to Hilda Worthington Smith, no date, ALES Papers-Cornell.

74 One of Huberman's 1934 students became flustered and asked that the tape recorder be turned off when she remembered him and his classes. Interview with PPM, Rochester, NY, May, 1983.

75 Leo Huberman, We the People (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932), 52, 128, 260-279, 350.


77 Interview with Esther Peterson, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.


CHAPTER V

"IT WAS AN EDUCATION TO BE HERE"
Lena Richman Zieph was a politically-aware, twenty-six year old recent immigrant and New York milliner who was one of eighty-two members of The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers' first class. Her experiences there ultimately became highlights in the family's oral history, as evidenced by the vivid memoir which granddaughter Lee Katcher provided half a century later. (See Chapter I "An 'Unnatural' Institution"). In 1922 with the experience just behind her, Zieph was more judgmental than complimentary writing a forceful critique for a Bryn Mawr College literary magazine. Her "Worker's Viewpoint" of 1922 neatly frames for us the challenges which tested the young educational experiment. In Zieph's telling, curriculum was poorly designed and many tutors were apparently ill-prepared for educating workers. Arguably, each problem which forced a creative solution served the School well. In the course of critiquing the School Zieph unintentionally disclosed its most fundamental strength. The Bryn Mawr Summer School pioneered in the recognition of the validity of the worker-student initiative. Students determined course content and teaching style. Early in its history, even as it wrestled with method and curriculum, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers became a model in the emerging labor education movement.

Zieph's acute powers of analysis emerge from her article:

Has the Bryn Mawr Summer School...failed or succeeded? It is difficult to answer this question for the school is still in its experimental stage and the best I can do is to record the weak and strong points of the school as they occur to me. There was absolute freedom of discussion. The instructors were earnest and sympathetic, alive to reality and not afraid to think....The tutorial system was a failure. Many of the tutors did not have the slightest conception of education and least of all worker's education. Many, though not all, were totally ignorant of the labor movement, of its aspirations and ideals....The courses were not well arranged. There were courses on labor problems, but they were not sufficiently thorough. Some very important problems, such as collective bargaining, industrial unionism, direct action, etc., would probably not have been touched upon had it not
been for a group of wide-awake girls who believed that a Summer School for Workers in industry should throw some light, if possible, upon these vexed questions. It was thanks to their energy and to their knowledge that the Summer School was rescued from apathy. Instead of a Welfare Camp, it became an intellectual live wire. The campus and classrooms bristled with discussions, because these girls forced these really vital questions upon the attention of the instructors. As many of the instructors confessed, the college [summer school] would have been intellectually dead had it not been for these students. The instructors, and even the tutors did receive a liberal education.

As Zieph's pointed remarks indicate, Hilda "Jane" Smith and her associates had their work cut out for them when they convened to evaluate the School's first summer. Curriculum design and method demanded reworking. How was one to engage the adult learner, one who was unschooled but endowed with authentic work and life experience? How to reach the "returning student", one long-absent from the classrooms? And what of winning the credibility of the politically and class conscious student who arrived intent on spreading the word? The answer lay primarily in rejecting conventional lecture methods and embracing instead classroom dialogue. The answer also lay in placing the student and her experience at the center of the educational process.

Of necessity, the School experimented with pedagogy inspired by John Dewey and progressive education. Dewey's premises, from his landmark 1916 work, *Democracy and Education*, that a teacher's raw materials are not his discipline but rather his students' attitudes and motives, informed most aspects of the Summer School's instructional environment. The teacher must engage the learner in the acquisition of knowledge, use the learner's experience and link these processes to the social milieu. Notable by its absence from the School's archival records, is any acknowledgement of the generative thinker. Only two faculty members, Alice Hanson Cook and
Oliver Loud, were conscious of Dewey's direct connection to workers education. Both Cook and Loud believe that American Labor Education Service (ALES) Director, Eleanor Coit, a Dewey practitioner and Summer School Board member, was the vital link between Dewey and workers education. According to Cook, the Summer School deftly integrated theories of progressive, labor and adult education. Oliver Loud, a devoted fifty-year practitioner of progressive education, who is now formalizing his Bryn Mawr syllabi into a book entitled *Science for Liberation*, believes the School represented "an alliance between progressive education and the trade union movement. It had become a community within which controversy was both responsible and intense—within the scheduled program and because of the rich succession of invited speakers." Caroline Ware could cite no specific debt to Deweyian thinking except to say "his ideas were in the air." William Heard Kilpatrick, another of the seminal progressive educators, did have direct contact with another influential faculty member. Kilpatrick was the force at Teacher's College in the twenties, the period of Esther Peterson's attendance there.

Residential workers education, such as that which evolved at Bryn Mawr, emulated British workers education and was inspired by the progressive reorientation of American education. (See Chapter I, "An 'Unnatural' Institution") But American workers education became a quite distinct and highly original branch of adult education, as a survey of the literature discloses. Summer School designers largely "invented" their own pedagogy and curriculum and also trained their own staff. In so doing they developed a network of labor educators who would loyally serve Bryn Mawr and its many offshoots. Democratic beliefs animated their work. One was the Jeffersonian vision of education combined with a progressive-era view of education as a vehicle for social change. Another was the
awareness of the void in the American educational system that foreclosed mature workers from relevant, socially useful education.

But from whom and from where did the Bryn Mawr Summer School derive specifics on student-based learning, on linking schooling to the real world, on placing the individual's work experience at the center of the curriculum? The major preexistent model was the British workers education movement, which had emphasized "the necessity of teaching subjects from the angle of students' needs." Of the major contemporary American theorists, Eduard Lindeman was the one who most clearly stated the doctrine of student-centered adult education, writing the following in 1926:

In conventional education the student is required to adjust himself to an established curriculum; in adult education the curriculum is built around the student's needs and interests. Every adult person finds himself in specific situations with respect to his work.... adult education begins at this point. Subject matter is brought into the situation, is put to work when needed. Texts and teachers play a new and secondary role in this type of education; they must give way to the primary importance of the learner."

From the mid-twenties on, these ideas gained wide currency in adult educational literature including that of John Dewey and William Kilpatrick. Despite the fact that educational theorists were committing these innovative ideas to print, the Summer School's records and related scholarship suggest that the School generated its own creative force. Its faculty applied wisdom and ingenuity as creative teachers always do to classroom challenge. They invented a model pedagogy and curriculum, thereby starting the American workers' education movement.6

To promote informality and egalitarianism while reducing hierarchical barriers, long discussion tables replaced the fixed desks in Gothic Taylor Hall, the Campus clocktower.7 This stimulated discussion as did the holding of classes under sprawling ancient trees and in the Library
Cloister. Students were not expected to rise when instructors entered the classrooms. The Bryn Mawr Summer School did retain more classroom formality than did its counterpart, Brookwood, where younger faculty members were called by their first names.  

Informal instruction centered around give-and-take and Socratic method, characteristics featured in publicity materials: "The classroom method is based on discussion with a minimum of formal lectures. An attempt is made to correlate subject matter...and to relate it to the student's own experience." Alice Cook summed up the Summer School's method and Jane Smith's transmission of it:

Jane taught me that what we needed to do was to draw on the experience of these people and we were not to be teachers who were expounding something to them, but that we were to draw out their experience...and if possible to reach generalizations.

Esther Peterson echoed the same ideas: "Get it down to terms. Jane used to say 'If I can understand it, I can get others to understand. You know, put it in terms that I can understand.'" A charming bit of Summer School lore best illustrates the dilemma confronting faculty in their use of abstractions. One student in the first class went through several weeks believing consumption meant t.b.  

The School's informality extended also to evaluation, or lack thereof. There were no examinations or grades although there were subjective reports on the individual's progress and strong and weak points rather than on, in Jane Smith's words, her "unmeasurable" achievement. The certificate awarded to each student in an end-of-season Lantern Ceremony stated only that the student "had attended the School."

Faculty deliberated long and hard over method in regular meetings devoted to the practice of teaching workers. The faculty consensus appears to be that they profited from this didactic approach although two
influential instructors dissented. As noted earlier, both Broadus Mitchell and Esther Peterson believed the preoccupation with method was unnecessary, although for very different reasons. As Mitchell declared: "It was all foolishness, there's nothing in it except an association of a faculty member with an individual student." Peterson said: "It was never a matter of method....It was a complete reversal of what I had been taught to believe teaching was."\textsuperscript{14}

Curriculum was the area most resistant to effective design. Zieph's memoir pointed this up as does a survey of the School's curriculum for its first seven years. Although centered on Economics and English from its inception, course design changed throughout that period. Modifications were particularly noticeable through 1924.\textsuperscript{15} Four constants did give stability to the School in this, its evolutionary period, as well as the rest of its operation. First was it commitment to humanistic study and deep roots in women's higher education.\textsuperscript{16} Second, as the previous chapter documents, was a faculty drawn virtually exclusively from the academic establishment and not from the labor movement. Third, was the presence of a policy-making arm, the Joint Administrative Committee composed of equal numbers of Bryn Mawr representatives and industrial women. Finally, a sympathy with organized labor's aims infused most instruction from the outset. In Broadus Mitchell's words: "The background of the School was a cordial salute to organized women workers and the hope that when they left the school they would have received help and further efforts at organization."\textsuperscript{17}

Of interest are the unlikely circumstances that caused M. Carey Thomas to agree to fifty-fifty representation on the Joint Administrative Committee. As noted elsewhere, it was this absolutely critical step that dispelled labor's cynicism about the College's motives. (See Chapter II,
Caroline Ware has concluded that non-elitist worker representation was the School's single most radical advance. This innovation antedated wide acceptance of this concept by almost fifty years. Ware credited Jane's "wit and wisdom" with devising a way to persuade Miss Thomas of the concept's merit. The description of Thomas' action is part of the Summer School folklore and adds to her reputation as unpredictable.

Smith recorded in her autobiography that the pivotal event occurred at a Summer School Board meeting in the Fall of 1921. It was there that one of the School's leading students served as catalyst. It came down to Sadie Dressner vs. M. Carey Thomas. Dressner expressed her ideas on workers' education to the formidable educator. There and then Thomas concluded that what "the workers wanted was real education, not propaganda" and she agreed to have them come on the Board in equal numbers with the College people. Smith had not turned a deaf ear to students' and labor leaders' insistent doubts and skepticism. The urgent questions of the first summer had made it painfully clear that the School's future depended on substantial control by labor. Therefore she greeted Thomas' decision with relief and delight.

By all accounts, Zieph's critique that "the courses were not well arranged" was apt. Smith acknowledged that "the great variety of subjects" in 1921 and 1922 gave students "mental discomfort." In his 1924 review of the School, Broadus Mitchell wrote that after its fourth season "this most experimental of education undertakings" had "begun to mature in viewpoint and performance" and "after a good many shiftings, has come to point definitely toward...simplification and coordination of the curriculum." In the first year the students confronted an ambitious thirteen
hours divided among five required courses: Economics, English Literature, Political History, Social History, and English Composition. By 1924 this had been reduced to six hours of required courses (Economics and English Composition) plus four hours of either Science, Psychology, History or Literature electives. One hour of Music Appreciation and Hygiene were also required. Students averaged 23 hours of classwork a week, including tutorial hours. The 1924 curriculum served the School until its 1928 adoption of the Unit Method. 23

Streamlining and refining curriculum was one problem area. There was much experimentation over a period of several summers with the teaching of English. English composition was taught as an entirely separate course, or in combination with two other courses, or combined with economics alone or finally combined with Literature. The latter combination won greatest favor among the faculty. 24

What subjects rightfully belonged in a workers' school also provoked debate. Economics and English were readily accepted, but history, psychology, science and literature were not. Defenders of the latter "cultural" courses soon won out. 25 The School offered electives in the latter group throughout its operation.

The School took a bold step in 1927. Faculty decided that authentic correlation of Economics and English required coordination of instruction in a student "unit". 26 The term had a unique definition at the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Under the Unit Method of instruction adopted in 1928, an economist and professor of English (Composition and Literature) jointly taught her or his respective disciplines. The two were responsible for creating an integrated learning experience with intelligence and psychological tests and interviews determining student placement. A third instructor was assigned to the unit making it a three member teaching
"team," a now recognized designation, but one which they did not use. Smith wrote that the concept grew from the wish to "get away from the narrow confines of 'subjects'," to provide greater individualization and foster closer relationships among the teaching staff. In Colston Warne's words, "the program we worked out seldom recognized traditional academic disciplines. The result was a kind of Pygmalian effect." Units ranged in size from thirteen to twenty students depending on aptitude.²⁶ Aptitude also determined elective assignments. The three elementary units studied science. The more advanced studied psychology, while the most advanced studied history. The final change, occasioned by the Unit Method, involved teaching assistants. Henceforward undergraduates would replace the college graduate "tutors." These "undergrads", ideally economics majors, would aid students with research and independent study.²⁷ The Unit Plan served the School from 1928 to its termination after the summer of 1938.

The Summer School's development of teaching teams, to teach twenty member units, put the institution in the extreme vanguard of educational leadership. In pioneering this methodological advance, the School antedated other institutions by at least thirty years.

Team teaching...represents an effort to capitalize on the special talents of individual teachers and thus to improve their productivity....The term "team teaching" came into prominence in the late 1950s and 1960s describing practices and groupings different from conventional classrooms.²⁸

Similarly the School's experimentation with an interdisciplinary core of English and Economics also places it in the company of this century's distinguished academic pioneers. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to liken the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers to such contemporary cross-disciplinary innovations as Columbia University's Contemporary Civilization program (1913) and Meiklejohn's Experimental College at the
University of Wisconsin (1927). Antioch's Cooperative Education (1921), which validated experiential learning, was also a spiritual kin of the Summer School. The Antioch rationale was that academicians can learn from workers, whereas that at Bryn Mawr was that workers can learn from academicians. In addition, Bryn Mawr valued what workers taught the faculty.

The Unit Method with its homogeneous units, interdisciplinary curriculum and teaching teams, eliminated many but not all challenges confronting faculty. Instructors still had to compensate for students' inadequate educational background, and their long absences from classrooms. In addition, they faced a dizzying mix of occupational, national, geographical and social backgrounds. Cultural and ethnic heterogeneity prevailed even within intellectually homogeneous groups. The one common denominator came to be the workers' life experience. Job-connected issues and autobiographies were basic to the Economics and English Composition classes.

Amy Hewes described the process:

If they did not know it already, [the Summer School] teachers soon found that the most fruitful beginning was the student's own experience. Classes in English Composition often started with the writing of autobiographies. Hygiene might begin with the study of the physical motions required to perform an industrial operation. How could strains be avoided and energy conserved? In the case of a group of textile workers a study which started in this fashion ended in the composition and performance of the "Pace of the Weavers", set to appropriate music.

The School's Charter, its Statement of Purpose, had mandated "impartial," non-"dogmatic" inquiry. It had also mandated "freedom of discussion." To what degree did practice adhere to theory? Could one assemble one hundred highly-motivated workers-students, half of whom were unionized, with a self-selected liberal faculty and assume that purely objective instruction could obtain? The common sense conclusion was that this was a combustible mixture. Freedom of discussion was possible with
non-dogmatic, and non-propagandistic approaches, but a completely "impartial" tone was not. As noted, so astute an observer as Broadus Mitchell agreed. He said the background of the School "was a cordial salute to organized women workers" with the hope that the School would further "efforts at organization."  

Inspection of the School's syllabi reveals that as early as 1922 value-laden, rather than value-neutral, instruction prevailed. A further check of the record verifies that throughout its history, the Bryn Mawr Summer School's leading instructors were exploring liberal, defined as favoring change, views on economic and social questions. Intense dialogues on controversial questions occurred at u-shaped Taylor Hall discussion tables and on the majestic, shaded lawns. This was true in Amy Hewes classes as early as 1922, the first year for which syllabi are extant.

This chapter will demonstrate that liberal sympathies informed the classes of the School's pace-setting teachers including Amy Hewes, Broadus Mitchell, Helen Drusilla Lockwood, Louise Brown, Colston Warne, Susan Shepherd Sweezy, Oliver Loud and Esther Peterson. Leo Huberman, a Marxist, and Emanuel Blum, hired as the School's official Marxist, in 1934, espoused radical ideas. (See Chapter VI, "Coming Apart.") Hewes, Lockwood and Mitchell were on the faculty in its first evolutionary years, 1921-1927. Colston Warne and Susan Shepherd Sweezy joined the faculty with its 1928 adoption of the Unit Method. Blum, Huberman and Peterson were the School's outstanding new teachers in its tumultuous 1932-1934 phase while Peterson, Loud and Hewes were the School's most influential and revered faculty in its 1936-1938 years. This chapter will chart the School's movement from pro-union liberalism to radical leftism in its 1934 crisis. With the School's 1936 return to the campus came a return to
mainstream New Deal liberalism.

Amy Hewes' syllabus, "Present Industrial Society," showed how the state's definition of private property safeguarded the capitalist and ignored the worker:

For the capitalist the most important right which the state protects is the right to business. Protection of this right means that other capitalists may not interfere with his business. It also means that workers may not go out on strike for the primary purpose of hurting the capitalist's business. For the worker, the right to a job is practically unrecognized by the state. [Emphasis in the original]

Hewes argued further that the economic power of the individual worker is less than that of the capitalist. An employer's assets are his superior knowledge of market conditions and his bargaining skill. He fights for profit, not life. In a competitive system an employer must use his economic power against workers because the public demands that he lower prices. In general, there is an oversupply of workers for jobs.


In the above Course Outline there was unequivocally a pro-change, pro-union sympathy. Hazel Kyrk's 1924 syllabus, although limited to bare
outlines, also expressed similar views. It covered "Problems of the Wage Earner in Modern Industrial Society"; "The Need for Legislation"; and "The Need for Labor Organization."  

Broadus Mitchell's syllabus for 1922 and 1923 "Modern Industrial Society" differed from Hewes' and to a lesser degree that of Kyrk's. His was a blander, comprehensive survey which emphasized English economic history: "we understand economic principles better...only after we have historical developments in our mind...and because our American problems are best appreciated in the light of English experience." Mitchell offered some provocative observations in a discussion of the International Workers of the World. The Wobblies "believe in absence of control" and differ from the socialists who "are not afraid of bestowing power." They oppose the American Federation of Labor because of its craft unionism and exclusiveness and are individualists who distrust officials, "trying to rely upon spontaneous action for the rank and file. Though weakened by a split-off and outlawed by the government during the World War, the IWW may play a large part in the labor movement in this country."  

English instructor Helen Drusilla Lockwood's 1922 Composition syllabus provided training in logical discipline, parliamentary law, and expository writing. She specialized in public speaking. One may recall former student Elizabeth Nord's reminiscence about the formidable HDL and her classes: "I'll never forget standing on my feet and having to give my first speech in Miss Lockwood's class....Those piercing eyes. She was a teacher you did your homework for."  

The extant Lockwood syllabi provide a striking illustration of the tough-minded liberal empowering workers through explicit skill development. Teaching materials first called students' attention to physical foundation of clear public speaking: to correct posture, to establishing
good habits through daily reading aloud and to clear enunciation. She directly challenged students reverse prejudices: clear pronunciation was not "putting on airs" but "the means of making yourself understood."

Public speaking topics were drawn from the students' experiences: the coal situation and the closed shop. In gathering facts "one must know everything to be said for and against a proposed remedy, [or else] it is worth nothing." Lockwood implored students to resist use of emotional prejudices. Glibly-stated points merely antagonize the other side and delay "attainment of justice in society." Achieving the latter required "the persistence to analyze problems."37

A 1926 economics paper, unidentified by instructor, "The Savings of Working Women," documents how the School proselytized on behalf of welfare legislation. A survey of Summer School students had revealed that their average savings account was less than $100 which was dramatically lower than the $295 national norm for both men and women wage earners. This piece of local evidence showed how vulnerable the worker was to accidents, "risk of the loss of health, risk of the loss of earning power with old age, and the ever-present risk of the loss of the job itself." Classes such as this one inculcated a sense of both female and worker solidarity and engendered political consciousness.38

Even in putatively non-controversial science teaching, Louise Brown did not shy away from forceful statements. This was particularly true in her treatment of evolution as evinced by 1922 syllabus: "Yes, every student of biology recognizes evolution as a fact. Students differ as to how evolution was caused... but all agree that higher animals evolved from lower animals." [Emphasis in the original] Brown went even further. She questioned the right of the uninformed to express themselves! Those who have not seriously studied plant and animal life have no "moral right to
an opinion on the subject....they are not scientists." This provoked a sharp reaction from at least some provincial students as narrated by classmate Ida Radosh half a century later: "There were a few gentile girls from the midwest who were so disturbed when courses were taken which conflicted with their ideas about God and religion that they left the School quite early in the summer."

Gladys Palmer's syllabus of 1929 represents something of a cross between that of Amy Hewes and Broadus Mitchell, in that she incorporated some pointed values into an otherwise objective, comprehensive economics history course. She denounced the system for its inequalities of wealth, production for profit rather than for service and inadequacy of leisure time afforded to most people. She listed remedies suggested by evolutionary reformers on one hand and radical reformers on the other. Her required readings were from liberal writers: Budish and Soule, The New Unionism, Pearlman, A Theory of the Labor Movement, Saposs, Left Wing Unionism, and Wolfson, The Woman Worker and the Trade Unions.

Colston Warne, from his first association with the Bryn Mawr Summer School, taught the most advanced units. His syllabi are easily identified by their sophisticated analyses of fundamental economic issues. A 1929 syllabus compared conservative and radical attitudes on the distribution of wealth, on whether capitalism had promoted research and invention, and had reduced drudgery. Conservatives argue that "wealth and income have rapidly advanced" and that "the American worker is the best paid in the world." Radicals say "the richest five percent own eighty percent of the wealth." The former argue that "capitalism has been a wonderful aid to science," whereas their opponents say that capitalists pursue only "profitable research." On the question of back-breaking labor, the conservatives say machines have eliminated it, where radicals say work has been
made insecure and "personality been destroyed." This was indeed a courageous, impartial and free exploration of provocative questions. Warne, true to his liberal soul, capped it off with a rejection of Marxism and a plea for reason. The economic order is the result of "a vast network of customary practices" built up over centuries.

In short our world is like a patchwork quilt made of materials of different ages and different qualities. Some parts of the quilt have worn out completely; other though old were made of such excellent material that they have survived.

Warne further cautioned against precipitous evaluation. On a final note of moderation he said: "Whether the whole system is so defective that another should be tried is a question that can only be adequately considered after a study of what is offered by other arrangements of society."42

In 1933 the Amy Hewes-Jean Carter unit used folk literature as the core of its English curriculum. Hewes and Carter's "This America" may well be one of the earliest extended uses of the people's literature on record. The unit read James Weldon Johnson, The First and Second Books of American Negro Spirituals, Joel Chandler Harris, Uncle Remus, James Stevens, Paul Bunyan and Carl Sandburg, The American Songbag. The course materials commented on the passing of a rural America which had generated this body of literature and observed that contemporary economic oppression and cultural deprivation were giving rise to a new genre of people's writings.

Yet we still have certain types of economic oppression; enforced idleness for people who have little money to spend for commercialized entertainment and a monotony of work as a result of a highly mechanized civilization. ...Out of recent industrial situations have come songs which bear many of the earmarks of folksong including obscurity of origin and variety of versions. There is for example this song of which both words and tune seem to have grown up among Southern mill workers:
I'm Tired
I'm tired of eggs, I'm tired of ham
I'm tired of hearing my old looms slam.
I'm tired, so awfully tired
I'm so tired I don't know what to do.

The question put to the students was whether workers would still sing
songs "growing out of their jobs, their needs, their sufferings, their
hopes and aspirations?" Or would they, too, succumb to commercialization
of Tin Pan Alley. 43

On the occasion of the landmark 1932 election, Colston Warne's unit
mounted Republican, Democrat, Socialist and Communist candidates repre­
and "The Redmen." In the balloting the Socialists won easily with the
Communists coming in second and other candidates netting a handful of
votes. 44

Five years later, two years into the New Deal, Warne's pedagogical
approach resembled his course of 1929. He presented provocative material
in an engaging style, but again, drew liberal-centrist conclusions. His
1934 course, taught with unit colleague Susan Shepherd [Sweezy], began
with a survey entitled: "From Mellon to Lenin." Reactionary capitalists
espoused initiative-building schemes, balanced capitalists said "Long live
the AFL and the triple tax program," while communists urged a militant
struggle to overthrow capitalism. Students were asked to submit their
cures for the depression choosing from such options as "minimum wages,
changes in the tax system, workers' ownership, not letting married women
work." In six subsequent weeks, the unit intensively studied the spectrum
of opinion from far right to far left. The "closing word" cautioned the
student against mindless conformity and urged informed decision-making.
"Only the critical mind can sort out...the essential truth." A stirring
conclusion strikes today's readers with its freshness:
Certainly truth there must be. If those desiring reactionary capitalism are correct, the communist cause must be incorrect. Again if a middle of the road position is desirable, those on the extremes are seeking to lead us into obscure and rambling paths.

...Change the world! If man can build the machines, can he not control them? If the means of abolishing poverty are on hand, cannot poverty be abolished? Choose your road to freedom. Follow it.  

In Susan Shepherd [Sweezy's] 1934 English section which was the other half of Colston Warne's Economics unit, students reported on the following books: Rolvaag, Giants in the Earth, S. Crane, The Red Badge of Courage, Mark Twain, The Gilded Age, F. Morris, The Octopus, M. Josephson, The Robber Barons, Frank Bellamy, Looking Backward, and Upton Sinclair, The Jungle. Under "Labor Press," her selections included The Daily Worker, the New Leader, Communist, Modern Monthly, New Masses and ten union organ publications including that of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Ladies Garment Workers and United Textile Workers.

Leo Huberman's reading list that summer was similar to that of Sweezy's. It was also heavily weighted toward social criticism and leftist critiques including works by Charles Dickens, Scott Nearing, Frank Norris, Erich Maria Remarque, George Bernard Shaw, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffans, Mark Twain, and Mary Heaton Vorse. Students also read histories by their instructor, his We The People. As noted elsewhere, We The People was one of the first Marxist interpretations of American History designed for a general audience. (See Chapter IV, "The Place Was Full of Legends.") Huberman also assigned Maurice Hindus' Humanity Uprooted and Red Bread. In one surviving class plan, Huberman emphasized the disparity between rich and poor in the United States. According to the Federal Trade Commission, for the years 1921-1923, one percent of the people owned fifty-nine percent of the wealth; while seventy-six percent of the people owned only five percent of the wealth. To make his point Huberman turned
to a 1932 speech of Huey Long: "In 1929 there were 504 supermillionaires....who could have purchased with their net income the entire wheat and cotton crops of 1930....In other words, there were 504 men who made more money in that year than all the wheat farmers and all the cotton farmers in the great land of democracy."48

Emanuel Blum was a colleague of Colston Warne, Susan Shepherd Sweezy and Leo Huberman in 1934. The circumstances surrounding Blum's hiring were exceptional. In 1933 the faculty, responding to student pressure, voted to bring in an instructor with a Communist point of view. As Smith later told it, in post-mortems about the School's 1934 crisis, the appointment came from the hope "of rounding out the various viewpoints in the school...." All along Smith had had serious misgivings over the principle of an individual's ideology determining appointment.

I never agreed that to appoint any instructor on the basis of opinion was a sound basis for an appointment, but we all agreed to try it as an educational experiment....The instructor appointed did not understand the School and apparently did a good deal to arouse hostility to the College and (probably) carried on propaganda for the communist theory in and out of his classrooms.49

Blum's syllabus required such works as The Communist Manifesto, Huberman's We The People, Reed, The Ten Days That Shook the World, Agnes Smedley, Chinese Destinies, Olgin, My Communism, Strachey, The Menace of Fascism, Gold, Jews Without Money. His unit (taught jointly with Ellen Kennan) used National Recovery Administration (NRA) Board Member W. O. Thompson's resignation statement. Thompson excoriated the NRA for its capitalist biases and strengthening of monopoly capitalism:

The trend of the National Recovery Administration has been and continues to be toward the development of monopoly capitalism in the United States. The NRA handed over to trade associations dominated by the largest corporations...the formulation of codes of fair competition....The amount of good that can be

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bought by workers with declining real earnings has dropped as a result of price advances created by monopolistic practices.

Thompson concluded that the NRA had revealed its "class character"...by passing the burdens on to the shoulders of the masses of workers and farmers. Thus the NRA was a failure of "enlightened capitalism" and demonstrated a marked "trend towards fascism in the United States."

Blum's final quotation from Thompson was that the only solution [involved] a change in class relationships. "Only a government by workers and farmers can plan production, produce goods for use and not for profit, eliminate poverty and raise the standards of living of the entire population."

As indicated in the above, faculty politics in 1934 were decidely left of center. The School's greater absorption with labor problems and class antagonism had not gone unnoticed by Jane Smith. Although her connection with the School was now limited to weekend visits from Washington, DC, she recorded the following in her Diary in the summer of 1934: "Everyone is aware of the new situation in the School, its growing emphasis on labor problems." Increased preoccupation with class issues permeated three of the School's five teaching units ranging from the probing questions of the Warne-Sweezy unit to the Marxism of Huberman (his Unit colleague is unknown) and Blum-Kennan units. Lacking is documentation from the remaining two units: the Alma Herbst-Millie Griffiths and Amy Hewes-Jean Carter teaching teams. The Hewes-Carter English syllabus of 1933, which presented a people's literature including that of blacks, was hardly value-neutral. By 1934 instruction that was critical of or sharply antagonistic to the system predominated at the Bryn Mawr Summer School.

The classroom (and lawn and Cloister) was only one place that for-
malized learning occurred at the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Another cen-
tered in the gymnasium where original political skits were mounted each
Saturday evening. It was there that Esther Peterson, beginning in 1934,
built her legendary reputation. It was under "her enthusiastic and
contagious spirit that everybody had a good time." It was there some
remarkable liberal-left street theater was performed in the years 1934,
1936–1938.

Two skits, "Its Unconstitutional" and "America, You Called Us"
survive from 1936. The first satirically exposed the Republican Supreme
Court's insensitivity to workers plights. As each character came forward,
a waitress, an office worker, a Negro, an old woman, and stated her
grievance the Republican would drown her out with "Boondoggling, Waste" or
"Bureaucracy Waste." From above on the balcony, a magisterial Supreme
Court in Greek chorus style would shout down "It's unconstitutional." "America You Called Us" expressed anti-war, anti-imperialist interna-
tionalist themes echoing those of the Communist Party's recently pro-
mulgated Popular Front of 1935. The Popular Front position called for an
end to class struggle and increased international collaboration with the
bourgeoisie. The skit's characters were industrialists, workers and black
slaves:

**Industrialist:** [America is] Rich in all things that
man wants. I see opportunity for profit in developing
these resources. But without labor I can do nothing.
I must have workers.

**Interpreter:** But where will you get these workers?

**Industrialist:** From other countries. I will bring
them over, they can pay for their passage with their
work.

**Workers:** You called us America.
To you we came, wanting, desiring,
You lured us from our homes, our people, our children
And oh, the suffering we bore to come across the sea to
you
That we might till your soil and weave your cloth
To make you flourish

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But we found not the things you promised 
Oh America....
Slaves: We are the slaves, bound not by the law of God 
but by the rigid peal of the factory bell and cruel 
lash of the whip.
To you we came America, 
Not wanting, Not desiring, But you made us come. 
Interpreter: The gulf between your people is widening. 
Those who have are blinded by the limitless bounty of 
the earth...
Workers: We see no advancement. We are no longer 
deceived by stories of our own individual success. Let 
us not be deceived by promises that his success means 
our success. We cannot stand alone. Together we must 
rise....
Worker: I will not fight.
Worker on the Stage: I will not fight. 
Workers coming from the Audience; I will not fight. 54

"Its Unconstitutional" and "America, You Called" are two original 
dramatizations for which scripts have survived. A variety of more in-
formal consciousness-raising skits were also a major part of Esther 
Peterson's recreational curriculum. She described the evolution of the 
process:

The girls were so expressive in the things that they 
said, so we dramatized it. I guess nowadays they call 
it "role playing." We didn't know what it was called. 
You'd ask the girl who was non-union to take the role 
of the union girl so we got this interchange of 
ideas...heart transplants in a way, because they had to 
go within the other character...and sometime they would 
have to be a boss...there'd be some good bosses and 
some bad bosses.

Such familiar experiences as asking for a raise, picketing, protesting a 
speed up also provided skit material. These dramatizations primarily 
expressed employment issues, but not exclusively. Educational discrimina-
tion against women was the subject of another skit which depicted a woman 
attending a college lecture separated from the men by a curtain. 55

1937 and 1938 saw a truly remarkable curricular innovation in Oliver 
Loud's Science Department. During those summers, Loud, in association 
with two Sarah Lawrence colleagues, introduced a course on "Women's
Sexuality and Reproductive Health."

We should note a remarkable development in Bryn Mawr Summer School Science during the last two summers of 1937 and 1938....Surely the decisive factor was that a Sarah Lawrence College colleague in Biology, Madeline Grant, was a close, life-long friend of Amy Hewes, a Mount Holyoke and Bryn Mawr Summer School economist. So I persuaded Madeline Grant and Jane Foster (a young Sarah Lawrence nurse) to conduct a course at Bryn Mawr on "women's sexuality and reproductive Health! Almost 50 years ago.

In the Summer School's final session, Amy Hewes, the only faculty member whose ten-year affiliation spanned the institution's history, was continuing to be the forceful liberal and union advocate she had been since 1922. By 1938 the New Deal's epochal labor legislation permitted her to make use of additional kinds of materials such as sample union contracts and the Fair Labor Standards Act. One teaching tool was a survey of fifty-one summer school students with respect to the provisions of the latter law. Typically her syllabus title revealed her bias. In "The Problems of American Workers" she listed several sub-headings:

- The Great Occupational Groups in the Census
- Industries Employing more than 200,000
- The "Cheap Labor" groups
- Experience of Summer School students as material for study
- Why workers do not know who they are.

A safe assumption is that workers ignorant of "who they were" were not in the majority even after only a few week's exposure to the School's intense educational experience. A large body of surviving student writing provides insights into the effect of the formal and informal instruction on the blue collar women. Extant are annual literary magazines (entitled "Bryn Mawr Daisy," "Bryn Mawr Light," "Outcrop," and "Shop and School") and miscellaneous other pieces which found their way to the archives. These materials disclose a number of developments. They show; first, the erosion of provinciality and the acquisition of cosmopolitan ideas;
second, the cognitive grasp of the essentials of political, economic and trade union issues; third, reduced class hostility toward "snobbish" college women and, finally, unabashed gratitude for the unique experience. Perhaps all of the foregoing can be summarized as enrichment, politicization and sisterhood. Over the life of the School certain currents predominated, as in the tumultuous thirties, when the School went furthest left of center.

The writing's substance is one issue. Another is its extraordinarily high level of literateness and sophistication.

In 1922 Helen Lockwood and Caroline Ware were two faculty advisors to the "Bryn Mawr Daisy." Naomi Brooks provided a southerner's response to the Bryn Mawr Summer School. Brooks wrote that though prepared for the campus beauty and luxury and field trips, she had not fully expected the extent of her intellectual "awakening." The eight weeks had been "a turning point" because the School had demonstrated "just how little" she had known about her country, state and city. Brooks had come to value meeting other people "regardless of nationality or creed."

The kind of people I had never taken time to speak to have proved to be the very best of company and have taught me a lot. The experience of just meeting the girls from everywhere and getting points of view on different subjects, and discovering the conditions under which they work....I now realize that we are all one great big human family, regardless of sect, creed or nationality.

A sophisticated analysis of the cycle of poverty, which was generally the woman worker's lot, appeared as an unsigned article "Monotony in Industry" in the same issue of the "Bryn Mawr Daisy." The piece explored the effect of industrial boredom: it caused some "girls" to resort to "impractical, unreasonable, and even criminal marriages." Others escaped through fantasies involving business or professional men "who will be able
to give her all she has always longed for...who will liberate her from her
economic struggle." Finally, bowing to family and social pressure, she
becomes practical:

And marries a working man with a "slack and a busy,"
and thus the circle goes its round. The same economic
problems confront her again, the monotony of the home,
the children and the daily routine, the constant fear
and insecurity of the bread problem....most of them
would welcome back the monotony of the factory.

According to the author, education and outside interests were the only
effective escape, and then proceeded to move left in her indictment of
"nerve wracking conditions":

...while production is for profit, not for need, while
the few exploit the many, while people have to live in
the most nerve-wracking conditions...and while people
are considered just a certain number of hands, machine
fodder, there will be monotony to speak of in industry.
Only complete economic freedom and a complete reorga-
nization of the educational system...will give the
average worker the chance to see the wrongs of the
world and prepare a much better world.

The 1925 "Bryn Mawr Light" published several pieces that document
students' broadened perspectives on cultural as well as class issues. The
yearbook also carried evidence of the students' appreciation for the
luxury of the campus situation. Sonya Schifren, one of the editors, wrote
the valuable "one in a lifetime" experience the School provides "is the
opportunity to meet fellow-workers from any part of the country....we
meet, we talk, we learn each other's views and opinions. In an article
entitled "Science," Mary Barnes wrote that that was the course which most
interested many of her classmates. She wrote that it gave them the
feeling of having lived before "in a world enclosed by high walls," and
being "lifted to the top and allowed to see the outside world for the
first time."

Political, economic and social issues, which engendered commentary in
the 1925 publication, were the 1919 IWW massacre in Centralia, Washington, the USSR and YWCA-initiated racial integration of the Bryn Mawr Summer School. In the article about Russia the author wrote of the equality enjoyed by all its citizens. She wrote of camaraderie among factory workers, peasants, professional people, artists, authors, all of whom were united in one "brotherly organization, full of energy, justice and desire for a happier future life." In the article about the social justice, furthered by the Y's Industrial Department, the author described just how this transpired:

In February a midwinter conference was held in Allen-town, Pennsylvania. To this conference came colored and white delegates. The main purpose...was to discuss the race questions. Mr. Randolph, a colored man, who is editor of "The Messenger" a publication sponsored by colored people spoke on constructive race relations. At this conference the question of admitting the colored girl into the Bryn Mawr Summer School was discussed. Mr. Randolph...suggested that the conference appoint a committee to draw up recommendations to be passed to the [Summer School's] Joint Administrative Committee.

1926, the following summer, five blacks were admitted to the Bryn Mawr Summer School.

Constance Ortmayer matured into a reputable sculptor who was a member of the Rollins College (Florida) faculty for many years. For the 1925 yearbook, she wrote "A Wish," a rueful, poetic fantasy.

I wish that I could bring
The sky back home with me.
I wish that I could take
Two trees for company...
I'd open wide the window
And let the wind blow through,
And then I would find for myself
A book or two
And with my books I'd stretch myself
On the earthy velvet green
But woe is me! for the whole thing is just a fleeting dream.

A compilation of student letters, presumably sent to School director

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Jane Smith following the summer of 1927, emphasized the cross-class mixing and gratitude themes. Arguably these letters represent a biased sample in that they said what school administrators "wanted to hear." In one piece the writer told of her incredulity over the college girls' lack of snobbishness. As someone who had harbored prejudice against college students, she was surprised that as soon as she stepped off the train, "four or five winter students were there to take my bag and welcome me. To prove how well we got on together, I still correspond with two of these girls." Another piece expressed gratitude "to Bryn Mawr College...in giving us the opportunity of attending such an institution as yours." "I must confess that I was greatly surprised...to find an atmosphere that was in every respect free, friendly, social instead of...haughty and sophisticated." Still another writer confessed to having had deep prejudices about her Japanese fellow workers in Tacoma, Washington. "Just because they could get along on a bowl of rice why should they lower her wages?" After the tutors...talked to me I saw I was wrong. Could it be possible that I was wronging the Japanese when all these years I had thought it was them wronging me...I have tried to atone for all those years of narrow-mindedness."

The 1929 "Outcrop" reveals thematic continuity from previous years. Two articles devoted to labor issues were particularly compelling. One was a description of the "hell" that was the steel industry. The other was an organized worker's gutsy defense of union principles in response to a shop forewoman's challenges.

Anna Sendrowitz depicted the steel mill. "Men worked with ragged wet clothes, their hands seemed inhuman, their faces had lost their natural color; all looked like Negroes with the features of the white race." They worked close to the furnaces. "Sweat and blood are required in the
mixture that makes iron and steel." She concluded: "A life of punishment and bitter pain confront these people. If anybody believes in a hell, there is no worse hell than this. On our way home we could not sing. Everyone sank into mournful thoughts."

The perspective in Lillian Wisse's "A conversation between a Forelady and a Trimmer in a Millinery Shop" was the necessity for the collective strength provided by the union. Sadie, the forelady, tells Anna, the shop's master trimmer, that she knows that she is secretly a member of the union and that if the boss knew he would fire her. Sadie then tries to set Anna against her fellow workers with an appeal to her self-interest. "...as soon as we get slow I'm going to tell some of the girls to stay home so you'll have more work...." The unionist counters with expressions of concern for her fellow workers: "...I certainly have to worry for them because they are my co-workers who are being exploited just as I am...That is all right, Mr. Levittan is not the only man to work for, and you don't have to worry for us. I can stand up any time for my rights."63

Carmen Lucia's "A Modern Chaucer's Impression of a Tourist's Trip to Russia" for the 1930 literary magazine is perhaps the single most sophisticated and witty piece in the entire Bryn Mawr Summer School student literature. (For extended discussion of Carmen Lucia, see Chapter III, "The Blue Collars of the Bryn Mawr Summer School.") It reveals Lucia's fluency and acumen and also attests to the effective correlation of English and Economics in the units. Aboard the ship "bound for the remote land—Russia—of hidden plots and conspiracies of long bearded bolsheviks who were ready to chop heads off without the slightest provocation" were Chaucerian characters. First Lucia presented "the good clergyman and his wife who were going to Russia to convert the heathen to Christianity again." Next she introduced the psychoanalyst "who perpetually talked
about suppressed desires...and was found talking to the maiden teacher who always tried to dodge him when she saw him moving towards her." She wrote of the officer in the carpenter's union whose visit to Russia was one of idle curiosity to see if the trade unions in Russia were as strong as the Communists insisted they were. Aboard the ship was also a dentist "who was curious to see whether the revolution had in any way affected the teeth of the Russians." Finally, a Salvation Army major "who had heard of the poverty stricken conditions of the Russian masses was going there to see what the Salvation Army could do."64

Depression case histories written for Amy Hewes' 1931 classes constitute an eloquent primary source on blue collar women enduring the Great Depression. In "Unemployment," Ethel Netzky wrote:

There came a time when I could not pay for my room and board. I live with friends who are workers and also out of jobs the thought of not having a place to sleep in, or food to eat horrified me. This thought is the most terrible one can experience.

In another unemployment story Alice Schwarts wrote:

One person breaks down quicker than others. Even those who created unemployment feel the iron hand of destiny weighing heavily upon them...My husband lost his regular job three years ago. He is an ever-smiling, good-humored, high-spirited young man. But since a year his contented, happy, almost childish smile slowly dies away and a strange line of worry takes its place. His laughing eyes look sadly about. He feels unnecessary and thinks he is just a burden. These are terrible thoughts which poison a man's life.

Annette Armstrong described "What Made [Her] Hold on"

At first I lost my job but that wasn't the final blow. Dad was laid off too...We were ever conscious of the piling up of bills, bills and more bills. Everything and every one of us were on the rocks. No money, no credit and no guts - that was us. The mind and soul feel the need of love, friendship and happiness. And once castles are built the body is satisfied to undergo physical torture when just beyond there is hope of being rewarded....Bryn Mawr has shown me labor has a place in the economic crisis....I must hold tight to my
rope but at the same time I must tell others of my experience at Bryn Mawr so they too can see their place and help others.

"Shop and School," the 1934 literary magazine, exuded greater militancy than previous issues. Susan Shepherd Sweezy and Leo Huberman were two of its five faculty advisers. A stirring lead article told of a bloody successful destruction of a workers' union in direct defiance of the National Recovery Administration's Section 7A. The writer told of arriving at strike headquarters ready to picket and wondering what had given the necessary courage:

Yes I heard a voice saying "it is your dream to see the knit goods industry organized that gives you that healthy spirit."....I soon reached the strike headquarters...everyone was restlessly wondering what another two day battle would bring. The only desire... was to stop that one particular mill where the boss had brought in strike breakers...Voices of workers rang forth as a thunder with cheers and songs. But a sudden change took place as police mounted on horses came on breaking up our line. Their faces...and their clubs...turned our singing voices into screams of pain....The doors of neighboring homes were opened to save us from the horses' hoofs....Have we no right to demand a human standard of living? Yet Section 7A entered my mind: the right to organize!....Has this battle broken our spirit and solidarity? Again I say no. This bloody picket will remain in the memories of the workers in our industry, but as an inspiration in the future struggle for a final victory.

Another expression of class solidarity in the same publication came from Agnes Gregory in the form of a simple verse:

Girls from large cities
Country towns and lanes
Come to discuss the Capitalist
Who from our losses, gains.

Come to laugh and sing and play
Seeking knowledge throughout the day
Eager to learn what they can do
To make the Capitalist live to rue.

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Girls of each and every kind
But with only a single mind
That to date and dare to do
And make our America ever anew.

The same issue carried political cartoons which were also emphatically class conscious. In one Uncle Sam was shown as a puppet on the string of the "money ruling class." In another headed "United Action Wins" a fat capitalistic cat eyed mice labelled "Workers," "AFL," "Socialism," "Communism," "American Workers Party" and who were jointly ringing the Liberty Bell. A third contrasted luxurious living and desperate slum conditions, over the captions "Power and Splendor" vs "Homeless and Hopeless." 66

Of note in the Summer School's final literary magazine is its toned-down militance and greater concern with apolitical issues such as campus recreational activities and chitchat about personalities. The 1938 publication more closely resembled a summer camp's yearbook than had recent previous issues. Its one illustration, of a swimmer, graced an extended discussion of campus sports. This is not to suggest that there were no substantive articles: indeed the 1938 "Shop and School" carried material on sharecroppers, the Spanish civil war and organizing. But its overall tone did reflect the calmer domestic scene which now harbored a legitimized labor movement. One of the more literate and delightful pieces was a testimonial to an unnamed instructor who, from the provided clues, has to have been the irrepressible Amy Hewes. The teacher was praised as someone who "often forgets where she leaves her umbrella but who never forgets to be kind." She was lauded for her spirit, energy and her genuine concern that each student learn:

Her desire to make sure that each of those students remembers just when, where and at what hour, this certain bill and that certain bill, was passed is tremendous. She is so completely alert and awake that no student dare give way to desired sleep....Thank goodness she is so human that there is no bridge
between her and the student that cannot be crossed.... In this person there is a rare character of kindliness, humour and amazing enthusiasm. How I wish the Labour movement possessed more of these valuable characters.

The residential program at the Bryn Mawr Summer School was more than classes, writing assignments and yearbooks. Rich extracurricular offerings enhanced the regular schedule. Field trips took students to Independence Hall, Valley Forge and to the well-known repertory company the Hedgerow Theater. Students trekked off as well to factories, foundries, and mills. There were forums and debates in 1923 on "Trade Unionism and Legislation for Women;" in 1924 on "The Bargaining Unit of Labor" and "The Equal Rights Amendment of the Women's Party." The Summer School came down emphatically on the side of protective legislation. In reminiscence Jane Smith recalled being indignant when Alice Paul sent two debaters to take on the Women's Trade Union League's one debater and a diminutive one at that -- Rose Schneiderman, a four-foot-eight legend. There were annual peace and folk festivals of which "America, You Called," was the 1936 finale. Every summer, the School's culminating event was the magisterial Lantern Ceremony, one lifted directly from the College's tradition. The College's Lantern Night featured the singing of Greek Hymns, whereas the Summer School substituted an original alma mater, "Shine Oh Light."

An active lecturers program which spanned the liberal-left spectrum was another aspect of extracurricular life on the Bryn Mawr Summer School campus. A sampling of represented organizations included the Civil Liberties League of America, the World Court, the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, Brookwood Labor College, The National League of Women Voters, the National Council for the Prevention of War, New York State Department of Labor, The National Consumer's League, The Women's Trade

The Bryn Mawr Summer School was very much "a singing school." Its favorites were from labor's musical repertoire and included "Bread and Roses," James Weldon Johnson's unofficial black national anthem, "Lift Every Voice an Sing," "The International," "Joe Hill," "Solidarity Forever," "The Song of the Marion Strikers" and "We Shall Not be Moved." The School regularly vocalized many other standards, "Aint Going to Study War No More," "Battle Hymn of the Republic," "Casey Jones," "Nations Come and Join Us," "Go Down Moses," "Old Folks at Home," and "Swing Low Sweet Chariot". Esther Peterson had some personal favorites: "Oh there Are Lots of Dirty Reds Hiding Underneath Your Beds" and another which she called "the first women's lib song." It was a song of tribute to the Shirtwaist Strikers of 1909 which the ILGWU's Fannia Cohn had written:

In the black of the winter of 1909
When we froze and bled
On the picket line
We showed the world
That women could fight
And we rose and won
With women's might.
Hail the Waist Makers of 1909
Taking a stand on the picket line.

And we gave new courage
To the Men
Who Carried on in 1910
And shoulder to shoulder
We'll win through. Led by the ILGWU.

Another one of Esther Peterson's observations vividly evokes the School's spirit. When describing its ambitious speakers program she said: "For the life of me I can't remember if anyone came from the Republicans, but I know they were all invited...We had to give everyone a chance to be heard." But perhaps Broadus Mitchell said it best of all: "It was an education to be here." From all that can be known, the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, 1921-1938 appears to have provided a forum for remarkably open, impartial and courageous education. Classes explored the ideological spectrum from right to left. In Jane Smith's words, "After about a minute in a worker class you'd be into controversial subjects." Over its seventeen year operation, a liberal-left sympathy permeated most intellectual inquiry with the exception of 1934 when it became more radicalized. Intensive education into economic and trade union history had its effect. As evinced through their journalism and correspondence, many students were aroused and politicized on class and union issues. That energized class consciousness could coexist along with temperate bourgeois individualism was the essence of the School's accomplishment.

Direct evidence from Louise Brown's and Helen Lockwood's syllabi create unforgettable images of these educators going about the business of bringing the unschooled into the mainstream of modern life and taking that job very seriously. The day-to-day work often required that the students' ignorance, insecurities and prejudices be confronted head on. As noted, Louise Brown declared that the uneducated lacked the "moral right" to
question evolutionary theory, while Helen Lockwood informed her budding
public speakers that correct speech and diction were not "putting on
airs."

The faculty's sense of mission and generosity of spirit deepened
feelings of woman-to-woman camaraderie. More than feelings were involved;
the substance was also there. Concern with the Women's Right Amendment,
with questions of women's history, legislation, discrimination and
sexuality attest to the School's advanced attitudes on these issues.
Exposure to and debate on these audacious questions, in the almost exclu­
sive company of women, nourished bonds of sisterhood. Sisterly con­
nections were made worker-to-worker as well as across class lines, as
revealed in various student writings. Students confessed to their class
biases and suspicions, feelings which the institution helped to dispel.
Other literary pieces directly attested to the consciousness-raising that
undiably was happening at the Summer School. Particularly cogent was
the lament on marriage as an escape from industrial tedium.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School's pioneering use of team teaching, of
interdisciplinary curricula, of student-centered and experiential learning
and of student governance place it in the extreme vanguard of educational
pace-setters. It has been shown that only such renowned pioneers as
Columbia's Contemporary Civilization Curriculum, the Meiklejohn Exper­
imental College at the University of Wisconsin and Antioch's Independent
Study Program can be deemed as peers. The Summer School antedated wide
acceptance of these various innovations by between twenty to forty years.
Team teaching came into vogue in the fifties whereas student power issues
figures in the sixties campus revolts. Finally, the Summer School was a
successful pioneer with interdisciplinary curricula, programs which even
today test the most seasoned and intrepid educators.


4 Telephone interview with Alice Hanson Cook, November, 1982; Oliver Loud to Rita Heller, May, 1984. Interview with Caroline Ware, Washington, DC, May, 1983. When pressed, Esther Peterson did cite Kilpatrick's thinking to which she was exposed in her graduate work. Interview with Esther Peterson, Washington, DC, May, 1983.


9 "1923 Publicity Brochure," HWS Papers, Box 12.

10 Interview with Alice Hanson Cook, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.

11 Interview with Esther Peterson, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 5 (Continued)

13 Smith, Women Workers, 99.

14 Interview with Broadus Mitchell, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984; Interview with Esther Peterson, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.

15 Smith, Women Workers, 60-62; 308-311.


17 Interview with Broadus Mitchell, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.

18 Interview with Caroline Ware, Washington, DC, May, 1983.

19 Interview with Hilda Worthington Smith, Bryn Mawr, PA, January, 1975.


21 Ibid., 60.


23 Smith, Women Workers, 310-311.

24 Ibid., 62.

25 Ibid., 59.

26 Ibid., 64-71. Colston Warne to Rita Heller, September 7, 1976. The five tests which the School administered were The Army Alpha Intelligence Test, the Thorndyke McCall Reading Schedule, The Holley Sentence Vocabulary, the Harper Social Study and the Pinter Non Language Test. Smith, Women Workers, 65-66.

27 Ibid., 64-65.


29 In its almost seventy year history, Columbia's famed Contemporary Civilization program has undergone many incarnations. It originated as "the grandaddy of all Western civilization courses," but shifted in the thirties to an inter-disciplinary literature and philosophy program. The Meiklejohn Experimental College also offered an interdisciplinary curriculum intended "to give students a sense of the unity of knowledge and experience." There were no courses or subject matter divisions. The first year's curriculum was devoted to Athenian Civilization, while the second year applied the "ordered thinking" gained in that study to contemporary America. Other features included individual tutorials with professors and small group colloquia. See Arthur Levine, "Curriculum Highlights of the Past: 1900-1964," Handbook on Undergraduate Curriculum (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1978), 329-370.

30 Amy Hewes, "Early Experiments in Workers Education," Adult Education 6 (Summer, 1956), 216.
Smith, 7.


Amy Hewes, Economics Syllabi, Ales-Wisconsin, Box 2; Coit Papers, Box 10.

Hazel Kyrk, Economics Syllabus, Coit Papers, Box 11.

Broadus Mitchell, Economics Syllabus, Coit Papers, Box 10.

Interview with Elizabeth Nord, Providence, RI, July, 1976.

Helen Drusilla Lockwood, English Composition Syllabus, Ales-Wisconsin, Box 2.

"The Savings of Working Women," Wolfson Papers, Box 50.

Louise Brown, Science Syllabus, Ales-Wisconsin, Box 2.

Ida Radosh Questionnaire Survey.


Colston Warne, Economics Syllabus, Ibid.

Amy Hewes-Jean Carter, English Syllabus, Ales-Wisconsin, Box 21.

HWS Diaries, 95 volume.

Colston Warne, Economics Syllabus, Ales-Wisconsin, Box 22.

Susan Shepherd Sweezy, English Syllabus, Ales-Wisconsin, Box 22.


Leo Huberman, Economics Syllabus, Ales-Wisconsin, Box 22.


Emanuel Blum, Economics Syllabus, Ales-Wisconsin, Box 22.

HWS Diaries, 97 Volume.

Susan Shepherd Sweezy Questionnaire Survey.

Dramatics 1936 Coit Papers, Box 16.

Ibid.

Interview with Esther Peterson, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.
Oliver Loud Questionnaire Survey.

Amy Hewes, Economics Syllabus, BMSS Rutgers, C File 31.

None of the repositories has a complete run of student writings, rather they are dispersed among Ales-Wisconsin, Ales-Cornell, BMSS-Rutgers, BMSS-BMC and HWS Papers.


Student letters, Ales-Cornell, Box 2.


Rose Terry, "Character at Bryn Mawr," "Shop and School 1938," Ibid.

Publicity brochures, HWS Papers, Box 13.


Data on speakers and events are listed under "Calendar" in the Summer School's annual literary magazines (see Footnote 57) and in Hilda Worthington Smith's diary entries (see HWS Diaries, 83-97 Volumes).

Bryn Mawr Summer School Songbooks, personal copies.

Interview with Esther Peterson, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.

Ibid.
74 Interview with Broadus Mitchell, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984.


76 Sisterhood, the "enduring relationships" among women that transcend classlines" is different from feminism which challenges the premises, doctrines and foundations of sexist, patriarchal society. See Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "The Personal is Not Political Enough" Paper delivered to the Upstate New York Women's History Conference, October, 1979.

77 Mary Beard labelled the School "unnatural" in the midst of the Seabrook Farms post-mortems. Mary Beard to Fact Finding Committee, May, 1935, Van Kleeck Papers.
CHAPTER VI

"COMING APART"
New York Lovestonite and ILGWU member Jenny Silverman attended the Summer School in 1931. The School not only offered the education she had always wanted, but guaranteed meals for an eight week period in the nadir of the Depression. Fifty-three years later she remembered how the School had modified her polarized world view:

And when you think back at the time of deep Depression where you literally don't know where your next meal was coming from, it was very easy to be very extreme. And my picture of the world was the exploited workers—and they certainly were—and the blood thirsty bosses. I didn't know there was anything else until I came to Bryn Mawr...it's really really true, there are nice people and it has stood me in good stead all these years.

That summer Silverman covertly started her own Marxist discussion group.

I started a Marxist study group, and thought I had to do it surreptitiously. And somebody got wind of it and Hilda Smith said to me "I understand you're interested in studying Marxism" And I said yes, What was I going to do? She caught me with my hands in the cookie jar. And they organized a class in Marxism, so I realized that education was something other than what I thought of.

Silverman could not foresee what a powerful symbol she would ultimately become. Smith's approval of the study of Marxism led in turn to the 1934 hiring of Emanuel Blum as the left's official spokesman. That July, a time of extreme labor unrest, saw a prolonged and violent strike at the four thousand acre southern New Jersey truck farm owned by canner Charles F. Seabrook. Philadelphia newspaper stories on the involvement of a few faculty members, as observers, precipitated an angry break with Bryn Mawr College. The Summer School was, in the College's terms, "intermitted" or "omitted" for the summer of 1935, causing it to take up temporary residence in an upstate New York summer camp. Though the Summer School returned to the Bryn Mawr campus for three additional productive summers this rupture foretold the School's demise. It would prove to be
the undoing of the School's remarkable coalition of college and blue collar women, conservative and liberal college trustees and alumnae, of academicians, capitalist funders and union sponsors. Equilibrium had depended on the combination of heroic leadership, political quiescence and de facto freedom from College scrutiny. None of these elements would be present from 1934 on.

It is hardly surprising that Depression-generated political and economic upheaval should have directly affected the Bryn Mawr Summer School. In becoming a haven for leftist dissidents the School reflected larger political tensions. What is surprising is that the Summer School continued to operate without serious incident until the Seabrook Crisis of July 1934. The early thirties saw the dramatic growth of the American Communist Party. The unprecedented economic crisis lent powerful credence to the Marxist hypotheses of the decline of capitalism and in turn strengthened American radicalism. The unemployed, capitalism's most obvious casualties, joined Communist ranks in large numbers, as did leading intellectuals. Evidence of the growing radicalism can be seen in the dramatic Communist-led strikes and in the steady stream of intellectuals who returned from the Soviet Union with glowing reports. One important index of Communism's allure to American intellectuals was the 1932 manifesto signed by fifty-two prominent writers. The signatories included John Dos Passos, Malcolm Cowley and Matthew Josephson. The statement urged the election of the Communist presidential candidate William Z. Foster as the only solution to the emergency. With the advent of the New Deal, many Americans feared that these radical critics' dreams had indeed come true, that Communists had become an integral part of the government. Anti-communists attacked New Dealers for their alleged receptivity to Communists, Socialists, fellow-travelers and other
radicals. By 1935 the Communist Party's appeal was made greater through its landmark policy reversal, "The Popular Front." In calling off class warfare and stressing cooperation with progressive thinkers Communists attracted even larger numbers of intellectuals to a loose coalition. Among those captivated by Popular Front thinking were some members of the Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty.4

External politics affected the School in a variety of other ways. Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith, by now a recognized specialist in workers education, had accepted a position in Washington with Harry Hopkins' Federal Employment Relief Administration. Smith was hired to design workers education programs using thousands of unemployed school teachers. While retaining a position on the Summer School's Joint Administrative Committee, she left its Directorship at a time when extraordinary leadership would be required.

The 1933 enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act also directly impacted on the School. Its section 7A, legitimating organized labor, encouraged an historic upsurge in union membership.5 By 1934 the School's 50/50 union/non union student parity had been lost: that summer the student body was 66% unionized.6 As early as 1931 the even division had given way to a 55% unionized student body. Early on in 1924, for example, the student body had only been 33% unionized. (See Chapter III, "The Blue Collars of the Bryn Mawr Summer School, Table II)

A final fateful event occurred in that first New Deal summer. The faculty voted to hire a Marxist for the following summer, this to meet the growing number of leftist students' more insistent demands that Communist theory be given informed attention. Science teacher Walter Sassaman had first introduced the idea at a July 28, 1933 faculty meeting: "The present need is of someone on the faculty with a left point of view."
Director Jane Smith immediately objected, arguing that an examination of faculty-candidate opinion would violate the School's fundamental hiring policies. It was Economist Gladys Palmer who voiced the strongest and most prescient opposition to Sassaman's motion. Such a faculty appointment would "change the whole system of appointments and put us in the same position as other workers schools....It would give one party a unique position on the faculty." Sassaman interjected that the person hired would not enroll party members, "but would be a person who would feel that the left wing was the way to salvation and that the line of the Daily Worker was the correct line." Jane worried that the School's purpose would be jeopardized. Sassaman again disagreed. He defended his position: the "more intellectual Communists are more in sympathy with the kind of thing done here [the School's philosophy and teaching approach] than are the rank and file communists." That evening the faculty voted, by an undisclosed number, to hire a colleague with "a thorough knowledge of Marxism" for the next session.

Three portentous issues dominated the Summer School Board of Directors' [composed of equal numbers of college and labor women] first winter 1934 meeting: Hilda Worthington Smith's request for a Leave of Absence; the impending addition of a Marxist to the faculty; and the urgent necessity for a clarification of the School's policy on strike participation. The latter was a response to another manifestation of activist spirit prevalent at the School in 1933, student involvement with nearby strikes. Faculty members at the Directors' meeting pointed out that "there seemed to be a difference between participation and observation and that some members of the faculty thought it was essential that some observation be included in the curriculum." A motion was passed to direct the Curriculum Committee to bring in a recommendation regarding strike participation.
The April 1934 Curriculum Committee recommendations permitted "field work" to museums, factories, unions, meetings, strikes, legislative hearings, etc." as long as faculty approved. The recommendation urged that primary work be done on the campus as that was "the major education value of the School."9

The transformation of the student body in progress by 1931 had also affected curriculum leading to a turning point in College/Summer School relations. Students were now absorbing messages of their economics instructors with even greater enthusiasm. These developments had not been lost on Trustees Frances Hand and Fundraiser May Stokes who regularly reported to Bryn Mawr College's Board of Directors. Therefore, for the first time since the Summer School's founding, material about it appeared in the confidential Director's Minutes. The Directors had requested that the School furnish a statement on revised curriculum and teaching approach. The School complied with a Memo entitled simply "Policies of the Bryn Mawr Summer School. April 16, 1934." "...now the instruction is concentrated in the field of the student's main interest, that is, in economics." Students continued to study English coordinated with the Economics in the interdisciplinary unit system but "the opportunity for free discussion of industrial problems in the light of all facts constitutes for the student, however, the most significant opportunity the School can give."10

Diverse interests would collide at Seabrook Farms on July 9-11, 1934. The long-standing School policy, consistent with its overall academic freedom, had given individuals freedom of expression. This extended to political activism and strike participation as long as those involved did not speak in the name of the institution nor even mention their association with Bryn Mawr. "The School for all these years has never
attempted to say what an individual should do, as an individual, if the school were not involved. A countervailing pressure had been the College's obsession with avoiding unwelcome publicity, that likely to be generated by strike participation. The School, centering as it did on an intriguing cross class experiment, was a natural for press coverage. To journalists, it proved irresistible. This had been true as early as 1922 when Summer School tutors became involved in an Amalgamated Clothing Workers strike, and ended up named in the Philadelphia newspapers. Even then, in quieter times, the College viewed such publicity as highly unwelcome. (See Chapter II "With Parables and Poetry: Hilda Jane Worthington Smith's Directorship of the Bryn Mawr Summer School, 1921-1933") It would hold true again in 1934. A final variable was one of primary significance to the College; in 1934-1935 the College would launch a fiftieth anniversary million dollar endowment campaign. The College perceived that to be incompatible with sponsorship of a now-leftist offspring institution.

In early summer 1934 fifty miles from Bryn Mawr in rural, sparsely populated Cumberland County, New Jersey, farmers were organizing. The Agricultural and Cannery Workers Industrial Union (ACWIU), a Marxist union which had scored successes in California and the Southwest, was about to stage its Eastern debut at Seabrook Farms in Bridgeton. The farmers union was now under the aggressive leadership of Donald Henderson, a slender, sharp-faced young man. Henderson was already the focus of a cause celebre. An economist whom Columbia had dismissed in 1933 for failing to finish his dissertation and for avowed Marxism, his case became one of the student causes of the period. When Henderson left Columbia, he assumed the position of Acting Section Organizer of the Communist Party. Henderson was one protagonist in the pitched battle that would ensue
at the enormous truck farm. The other was millionaire owner Charles F. Seabrook, whom the Philadelphia Record described as "a tall, slender grey haired man, well past middle age...who looks like a college professor."

Seabrook forced a strike when in late June 1934 he cut wages from 30 and 25 cents an hour for men and women respectively to about 18 and 15 cents an hour respectively. He also fired workers, leaving a work force of fewer than 250. Seabrook had spent time in Russia in 1929, 1930 and 1931 studying large scale farming techniques as well as advising the Soviets.

The irony of the present situation was that Seabrook, who studied the Communist's large scale farming and application of industrial management principles to such operations, should now be in labor difficulties with a union led by adherents of the Soviet doctrines. 14

What drew members of the Bryn Mawr Summer School faculty to the Seabrook strike? One link was an acquaintance that sociologist Mildred Fairchild had had with Charles Seabrook, whom she had met a few years before in Russia. Jane Smith believed that Fairchild hoped she could wield some influence with the owner. As Esther Peterson remembered it, Summer School Marxists had stimulated the faculty's going to the Seabrook strike. In interviews, held over several years, Peterson, Sweezy and others resisted identifying who the campus Marxists had been. One can safely assume they meant Leo Huberman and Emanuel Blum. Among the student body that summer were at least two known Marxists, Freddy Drake Paine and Mary Tomassi Scafidi, though apparently neither one went to the strike. It is far from certain who among the faculty actually took the fifty mile drive to the outlying reaches of rural, isolated New Jersey. The newspaper accounts named only Colston Warne and Mildred Fairchild. Peterson insisted that she too went and it is believed that "Huby" himself, Leo Huberman, was also part of the observer delegation. 15
The strike can be reconstructed from stories in both the Philadelphia Inquirer and Philadelphia Record. The latter, pro-labor and pro-New Deal, provides a foil for the former, a Republican voice. Both newspapers disclosed that the strike erupted over Seabrook's reneging on a pay scale of 30 cents an hour for men and 25 cents an hour for women and for not conforming to the NRA cannery code. The Record detailed the grievances this way:

He [Seabrook] signed a contract with the union April 6 whereby he agreed to pay men 30 cents an hour and women 25 cents an hour...On June 23 he wrote the Union's attorney advising him that falling prices for farm produce made it impossible for him to continue the contract scale...Union members also complain that Seabrook has not put his cannery workers under the NRA canners code. Asked why he had not done so Seabrook said he was not aware that any such code has been promulgated.

The newspaper carried Colston Warne's comments on the strike toward the end of their story. It identified him as one of thirteen members of an American Civil Liberties Union and mentioned his Bryn Mawr Summer School appointment.

The farmers fears of a "red menace" were dismissed as ridiculous by a committee of thirteen of the Civil Liberties Union while visiting the farm yesterday. Seabrook was denounced as the originator of the "red" scare by Dr. Colston E. Warne, professor of economics at Amherst College and chairman of the committee. Dr. Warne's committee declared that the strike was the direct result of Seabrook's attempt to cut wages, that whatever violence has occurred has been largely provoked by the constables and deputy sheriffs; that the Communist leaders were brought in by the workers themselves; that conditions in the company shacks rented to the workers by Seabrook "are a disgrace to the State of New Jersey."  

Hostilities at Seabrook Farms intensified, and on July 9 violence erupted. The Inquirer headlined the story, "Seventy are Hurt as Police and New Jersey Farm Riot."

State and federal agencies acted tonight to bring peace in the strike of workers at the Seabrook Farms, near
here, following a day of rioting during which more than 70 persons were injured as farmer deputies used tear and nauseating gas, fire hoses and ax handles to fight off 250 strikers armed with bean poles, rocks and other weapons.

The newspaper referred to the Bryn Mawr Summer School people on an inside page:

Spectators at the battle scene included E. C. Wayne [a newspaper invention for Colston Warne] of Amherst College, professor of economics at the Bryn Mawr Summer School, who led a committee of the American Citizens Labor Union. Among the members were Mrs. Frances Warne, [Colston's wife] of the League of Women Voters, and Dr. Mildred Fairchild of the Bryn Mawr faculty.

By contrast, The Record emphasized Seabrook’s gassing of children:

"Farm Guard Gas Children in Strike Riot: Pickets Jailed."

Women with children in their arms stumbled out and ran to places of safety as the gas wafted in on them. To drive out the strikers, firemen drenched the houses with water. The Batterelli children were in one of the four houses with their mother while their father, Antonio, was fighting with the strikers. When the children collapsed, the mother carried them out in her arms. Strikers took them to the office of a Bridgeton physician.

More than forty years later Colston Warne added intriguing first person observations of his own. He was there at the very moment state troopers first hurled the tear gas:

One element in the tear gassing has always struck me as very dramatic: strikers were lined up on one side of the road, state troopers on the other. Down the road came a truckload of beets. The police had very obviously never used their new teargas weapon and were anxious to move into the fray with a measure of curiosity as to how tear gas worked. As the load passed the pickets, one striker leaned over and yanked a bunch of beets from the load. That was enough for the police—they immediately moved in to tear gas everyone.

The inexperienced troopers were in for a surprise:

Fortunately for the strikers, the first firings of tear gas were not gauged to the prevailing wind. The result was that the tear gas quickly enveloped the police rather than the strikers. Once the police were
embarked on the pursuit, the gassing extended to the homes of the strikers.

Finally, as Warne told it, "We say Seabrook, we saw Henderson; we were by no means representing the Bryn Mawr Summer School."\(^{21}\)

By July 11 both Philadelphia newspapers could headline that the strike had been settled with the workers winning back the wage cut. The Record credited Washington with the quick resolution, reporting that "Uncle Sam walked into Seabrook Farms today and in eight hours settled the sixteen day farm strike."\(^{22}\)

The Inquirer ran a four column front page photograph of Henderson, making his exit over the following caustic caption:

Former Columbia University Professor Donald Henderson, organizer of a strike among workers at Seabrook Farms, near Bridgeton, New Jersey, is shown (center above) being led out via the back door between protecting lines of police and deputies after strikers found out what he had been talking about for two hours and decided to mob him. Henderson used a lot of big words in an attempt to get the workers to remain on strike although the agreement gave them higher wages and their jobs back.

The paper made no direct reference to the Bryn Mawr Summer School but did allude to some "college snoopers" on page 21:

What happened to Henderson had been forecast earlier in the day when the committee of what farmers called "college snoopers" arrived and began a systematic investigation of living conditions. Sheriff William L. Brown and a group of his deputies politely but firmly headed off the investigators. He explained that the people of Cumberland County were law abiding and were doing the best they could under unsettled conditions and he asked the visitors to go away. They went.\(^{23}\)

In the short run, the strike was a victory for the Communist Agricultural and Cannery Workers Industrial Union. But with the dissolution of the Communist Trade Union Unity League in 1935, the Seabrook union won a charter from the AFL-CIO where it would remain for the duration of
Years later in the 1970s the President of the Amalgamated Food and Allied Workers (of the AFL-CIO) in Camden, New Jersey had good things to say about the previously villainous Seabrook. Leon Schacter said Seabrook, as long as he had known him, had been on friendly terms with mainstream unionism. He called Seabrook an "enlightened progressive" on key issues from helping the Nisei after World War II to having integrated facilities for non-white workers. Schacter also credited him with visionary technological advances which made the Seabrook the first freezing operation in the country. "Once you had his ear you could get a lot from him. His sons who inherited the business were liberals."

The 1934 Philadelphia newspaper accounts shed light on why the Fairchild-Warne (with Huberman and Peterson?) visit to the Seabrook Farms strike precipitated an open break with the College. The College's name had been associated in the news with a celebrated Communist labor organizer and a violent labor struggle, reports of which dominated front pages of the Philadelphia newspapers (as well as the New York Times) for several days. This press link would be enough to fuel a red scare at the College despite the fact that the delegation brought no students, carried no banners and did not march. The final irony was that the Summer School had no tie to Henderson: instead their's had been to Seabrook whom Fairchild had recently met in Russia.

Nearly fifty years later Hilda Worthington Smith labelled the crisis a "misunderstanding," the word she had used apparently since July 10, 1934:

In our original agreement with the Trustees of Bryn Mawr College, it was understood that while individuals could do anything they pleased—take part in strikes, and we had some industrial workers who came to Bryn Mawr right from jail—that we would not as a school
take part in demonstrations. That we would not as a school carry banners. And we would not march, as a school.

She narrated the facts of the Summer School's Seabrook involvement this way:

Our faculty found that conditions [at the strike] were very bad and tear gas had been used. There were women in the dormitories who were pregnant and they persuaded the employer to call in a doctor and not to use any more tear gas. No one from the student body went near the strike. But to our great surprise, we were in the headlines [Bryn Mawr faculty merited references toward the end of the stories only—not by any means in any headline] next day and one of the Trustees, one of our friends, had misunderstood this agreement. We were accused of having broken that agreement about strikes whereas it was not broken at all because as a school we hadn't been near the strike. There were no demonstrations. Anyway without much discussion the College announced we could not come back the next year.

The friend and college Trustee was Frances Fincke Hand, wife of jurist Learned Hand and member of the College's Class of 1898. It was she who had unilaterally guaranteed to the College's Directors that the Summer School would refrain from strike participation in 1934. Hand was intimately involved with various college deliberations. Between January 1934 and April 1935 she generated a prolific correspondence with President Marion Park. The following are representative excerpts. On March 5, four months before the Seabrook Strike, she expressed her anxieties over the School's changed curriculum and pro-union sympathies. She voiced reservations about Jane Smith:

Hilda [Smith] it seemed to me is very unclear in her thinking. She is aware of the tendencies and sympathies but she isn't very willing to call a spade a spade. Mrs. Stokes [May Stokes, Philadelphia College Fund Raiser] is really a help to us. I think she will demand a kind of curriculum which is in balance with less pointed labor aims. I don't feel that we can't still have an objective provided that there are teachers who are really broad and critical in their considerations of these fiery questions.
On March 8:

Hilda Smith called me from Washington to say that she was trying to arrange a meeting of the labor school board...she is writing to ask if you could be present at the meeting....I thought that you might bring up the discussion of the modified character of the School to the Executive Committee.

As the foregoing shows, months before the Seabrook strike, one influential College Trustee, Frances Hand, was expressing profound unease over the Summer School. Hand, the School's "good friend" was also expressing loss of confidence about none other than Hilda Smith herself.

The correspondence between Hand and Park resumed after the embattled summer with Park outlining her policies on the workers school.

I am nevertheless very ready to hear what Jane and Miss Kingsbury [1921 Associate Director, and sociologist colleague of Mildred Fairchild] have to say about their impressions of the summer, and I also am to talk with Miss Fairchild who was as you know one of the instructors....I have come to two conclusions. One is that the earlier form of the School, i.e., the discussion and calm evaluation phase cannot be reinstated--it would be a turning back the hands of the clock. Is it possible to hold a school which has frankly labor interests and yet have a logical connection with and support from Bryn Mawr or any similar college?

Her role as an honest broker emerges from her conciliatory views:

Second, that we ought to hold on to the School to the last possible moment. First of all, I have always been deeply interested and proud of the fact that the College was connected with such an experiment; and second that our giving it up would have a reaction among both conservatives and radicals out of all proportion to the real meaning. The first reason goes far deeper than the second.

Frances Hand responded, wondering what President Park would learn from Professor Fairchild: "I shall be interested to hear what you get from Miss Fairchild. Of course, Jane sees what she wants to see, and her belief and temperament make her too I think not a good witness."29

Despite the foregoing criticism, about which Smith was informed...
during an interview, Smith maintained absolute loyalty to the already-deceased Frances Hand: "Mrs. Hand was a great friend of the Summer School; she knew the students very well. She was a fine, devoted alumna of the College. I of course would not have known about those letters." While the saintly Smith resolutely limited her comments to positive, kindly reminiscences, her six page letter to President Park in 1935 suggests that she was a far better "witness" than Hand chose to believe and a deeply troubled one as well. The letter provides a coherent analysis of the strike and of underlying difficulties: Mrs. Hand's unliteral agreements about the Summer School to the College; the College's fear that curriculum was no longer open humanistic inquiry but radical propaganda; the impact on the labor education movement of the Summer School's eviction and, finally, her emotional responses to the entire business. Smith was able to "call a spade a spade."

To come to the strike situation, and the statement made by Mrs. Hand at our Board meeting before Christmas, that the "School had broken faith with the college," Here again I was at a loss to know what had happened. I did not get a clear understanding until our recent board meeting, when to the surprise of all present, it was apparent from the discussion that Mrs. Hand, speaking last spring from the School to the College—an entirely unofficial statement—had practically made a guarantee that no individual member or students or faculty should even go to observe a strike during the summer. Naturally with this interpretation of the matter in her mind, she accused the School of "breaking the faith" with the College.

Smith stressed the harmful effect on the labor education movement in which the Bryn Mawr Summer School was the model pioneer. She chided the College for wrongly believing the School was "a little Bryn Mawr affair," which they could drop at will. She took issue with the charges of radicalized curriculum, claiming that the Summer School had not in any way deviated from its original purpose—to help students develop a sense of
responsibility for the solutions of their own problems.

As a Bryn Mawr alumna, I have still other opinions—perhaps emotions would be a better word. Personally, I feel it is the greatest blow I have had for many years. Knowing the Summer School students through the country, I cannot bear to have them look grieved and incredulous, gradually losing faith in the college which has stood behind them for all these years in their efforts for education...Our radical friends say with a sneer, "Of course, this is just what we expected."

Smith regretted that the College's actions would place it in reactionary company:

From the point of view of an alumna, again, I cannot bear to have Bryn Mawr put in the category of all the red baiters in the country, the DAR, Chambers of Commerce and other groups which are waging a fight against liberal opinions, and the labor movement, and are attacking our government program....To speak more personally...I feel that my relations with the College have been wrenched and torn, and I no longer want to go back to the campus, knowing all the distorted rumors which have been circulated about the School, the hostility to it among the trustees.31

Smith's admission that the crisis had been "the greatest blow" she had had for many years suggests that despite insistence on only cordial oral history testimony, the event and the principals had left their mark. Perhaps at some level, she was aware of the dissension sown by Frances Hand. Certainly she was aware of fundraiser May Stokes' role for she recorded the following in her diary:

BM is raising a million endowment this year. May Stokes has been determined that the School was dangerous and has now persuaded the trustees and so the break occurs....I have tried to remain calm and realize the whole thing was inevitable, but I find I am more shaken up by it that I want to be.32

May Stokes had shown her hand the night of the Seabrook Farms strike. At a July 10 meeting of the Board of Directors of the Summer School she threatened to withhold $1,900 in School monies pending the School's stand on strikes: she threatened further that her husband would resign his
position on the College's Board of Directors.\textsuperscript{33}

Despite Frances Hand's, May Stokes' and M. Carey Thomas' urgings, the College initially favored the Summer School's continuance under the following conditions: that its Board of Directors be reduced in size from twelve to eight; that the Director be a Bryn Mawr Alumna [Hilda Jane Smith was Class of 1910; the 1934 Director, Alma Herbst, was not a College Alumna]; that strike involvement of any kind by either faculty or students be strictly prohibited.\textsuperscript{31} In a tumultuous meeting held on December 16, 1934, which M. Carey Thomas attended and which her niece, Millicent McIntosh, described as "a nightmare," the Summer School Board of Directors met to consider the College's ultimatum. They accepted both stipulations: the reduced Board would be composed henceforward of five Bryn Mawr College alumnae and five labor women. They also agreed that strike participation by either faculty or students would be forbidden at the School in the forthcoming session.

At the same time, the School had lost another friend, its first one, M. Carey Thomas herself. Now Thomas, an old lady near death, feared the child imperiled the mother's life. The School's acquiescence to the College's demands had failed to reassure her. In a crucial letter to President Park she urged that the School be "intermitted."

I am convinced that it will be in the best interests of the College, above all in the coming year of begging for additional funds for building and other purposes, to intermit the Summer School in 1935. It is true that because they wanted the School [the Summer School] Board agreed to the conditions. But their lack of convictions and this fundamental disagreement was made very clear. In the present bitter struggle between labor and capital no such promises for the faculty or students can be kept. The struggle will grow worse and worse as Roosevelt does not—and probably cannot—keep his agreements with labor. The College is more important than the Summer School and I have very unwillingly reached the opinion that the risk for the College is too great to be taken.\textsuperscript{33}
Two days later on December 20, 1934, the College's Board of Directors voted to "omit" the Summer School for 1935. Shortly thereafter President Park left for an extended tour of the West making herself unavailable to the communications of Jane Smith and others. The Chairman of the College's Board of Directors advised Smith that the College's decision had been final.

The College's eviction of the Summer School touched off a storm of protest. Several months passed in a flurry of accusation, defense and counter-attack. Influential liberal Bryn Mawr alumnae Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Pauline Goldmark and Dorothy Douglas all registered strong protests. Mary Van Kleeck, the leftist reformer and long time Summer School friend, assumed a leading role. Van Kleeck and Douglas chaired a Fact Finding Committee which released a report in May, 1935. It summarized the increasingly strained relationships between the Summer School and the College of the previous year, the College's wariness over the School's less humanistic curriculum, unease over the School's increased strike activism and the Marxist teaching of Emanuel Blum. But it defended all as within the legitimate boundaries of its mandate from the College. The report urged that its content be circulated in liberal-labor journals "to the end that new circles of friends may be won...to the advancement of the cause of real workers education."

Marion Park explained the College's eviction of the Summer School in the May Alumnae Bulletin. It was remarkably candid and astute in its identification of Smith as a crucial force. Park wrote that educational trends at the School had been diverging from the School's original conception over several years, that the 1934 crisis resulted from an exacerbation of pre-existing tensions. The break had resulted from Miss Smith's departure: her "unique personality was such a force and who as a
Bryn Mawr alumna so served to unify the opinions of the College and the School, that the cause of difference did not come to a head [before]." Park said a reconciliation depended on the School's coming to terms with two conditions: one of outer organization and another of inner spirit. Presiding over the Summer School during 1934 was a Director, Alma Herbst, whom even the restrained Jane Smith described as a "disaster."39

A number of liberal/left periodicals covered the Bryn Mawr Summer School eviction story in the Spring of 1935. The New Republic played up what it perceived as the College's cavalier actions. Bryn Mawr had bathed itself in "self esteem" because of its help for "unfortunate girls who had to work for a living." The College should have been aware of the deepening of economic lines even through "the windows of its limousine." In the end, the College sacrificed the School to its own endowment campaign.

By contrast, The Survey offered a balanced, non-judgmental article which acknowledged the existence of different kinds of workers education: those sponsored by colleges and universities and those sponsored by the labor movement. Bryn Mawr belonged to the former category and Brookwood to the latter. The former's limitations and the current impasse reflected Bryn Mawr's affiliation with a bourgeois college. The Survey agreed with President Park: the School was not "a definite part of the labor movement and hence cannot be criticized for failure to be something it never set out to be."40

The Seabrook Crisis had brought to the surface immediate as well as long term tensions. The modified curriculum and more unionized school population dated from 1931. The incomparable Jane Smith was gone. As they saw things, the School had become decidedly radicalized with avowed Marxists openly advocating class antagonism. It would have been a liability at any time, but particularly so in a period of flux and
uncertainty and "begging" for monies from the capitalist establishment. From the Summer School's perspective, they had violated no agreements or mandates. The School was merely practicing the open, impartial inquiry geared to the students' interests, as it always had. The students and faculty were continuing to obey imperatives learned so well in their economics classes and in spirited informal dialogues. The Bryn Mawr Summer School Seabrook Crisis was another illustration of education being too effective.

Jane Smith claimed that the College welcomed the labor school back in 1936 in response to the strength and volume of the liberal protest. The unifying element in that outcry, in the letters and telegrams sent to the College, had been disillusionment. One protest had come from five hundred New York City alumnae of the Summer School, the Barnard Summer School and the Vineyard Shore School: "...we heard with great amazement of the action of Bryn Mawr College in closing its doors....We as workers ...have always looked upon Bryn Mawr College as a liberal institution." Others castigated the College for its timidity, its betrayal of a history which endorsed courageous action and independent thinking. The Summer School had been "one manifestation of a heritage whose characteristic independence, vigor and originality have given the College, young and small as it is, a great tradition."41

The Summer School returned to the Bryn Mawr campus with the following structural changes in place: a reduced, more manageable Board of Directors numbering six each of College and Labor women (a total of twelve replaced the forty odd Board of Directors of pre-crisis days); with President Park serving as its Chairman.42 Whereas no one from the official college family had ever visited classes before the 1934 crisis, Miss Park in 1936 became a regular presence on campus. "I became a reasonably
frequent attendant in the various regular classes and the discussion groups." Similarly, her long detailed reports began to appear in the College's Board of Director's Minutes. The extraordinary de facto freedom from College supervision, if not surveillance, was now gone forever. Finally, the School's work was "concentrated on the campus," with no visits off to factories or strikes.43

Other changes affected the School's internal arrangements: students numbered approximately sixty, down from the one hundred of its heyday. The School was now in session for six, not eight, weeks, with strained finances causing these cutbacks. Despite the monetary crunch, newly-imposed College scrutiny and anti-climactic nature of its "return" to the campus, the School's final three years were surprisingly vital. The preceding examination of faculty and curriculum has already revealed how the School's pedagogical energies persisted through its final day of classes, July 29. (See Chapter IV, "The Place Was Full of Legends" and Chapter V, "It was An Education to Be Here") On the day there was a Closing Banquet and play, "We Tomorrow."44 New instructors continued to join the School's ranks. Esther Peterson, the faculty woman destined for the greatest public recognition, was the widely acclaimed teacher of the 1934-1938 period. Oliver Loud, another new faculty recruit in the School's final summers, was a dynamic young leftist and progressive educator. School curriculum and programs continued to be as relevant and exciting as they had since the School welcomed its first eighty-two factory women to its campus in June, 1921.

When at last the final parting of the ways came after 1938, it was with the proverbial whimper. In the public relations versions of the School's closing, the College and Summer School had always focused on two reasons: President Park's impending retirement and the maturation of
workers education making a wholly trade unionist, coeducational, year round program desirable.

The termination was largely a matter of the infatuation wearing off and the money running out. Fundamental New Deal-wrought changes had also made the School less urgently needed. Blue collar women were now in the American mainstream, and unions were a recognized force. Fund raising continued to be a formidable, if not impossible, task. From the School's unique perspective, it had outgrown the maternalism of the Bryn Mawr ivory tower and it was time to move on. In 1939 the Bryn Mawr Summer School was reconstituted as the Hudson Shore Labor School when it took up residence in Jane Smith's upstate New York home. As the Hudson Shore Labor School, it flourished until 1952 when absorbed into the Rutgers University Labor Education programs.

Other factors also illuminate the demise of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers. One is the finite life cycle of any bold, if not utopian, undertaking such as that was. Additional specifics involve the School's personalities and politics. Experiments such as this owe their existence to bursts of creative energy which can often be transitory. M. Carey Thomas had been lucky in her choice of steward for the School. Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith had succeeded at transforming a dream into a working reality. But even a Jane Smith could not guarantee its longevity. Experiments' sources of monetary and moral support are tenuous, at best. Sponsors have a way of losing their enthusiasm when the money becomes harder to raise, as it did during the Depression for both the College and Summer School, and the novelty wears thin. When "isms" came to dominate life and learning at the Summer School, the College decided its name was being used for something other than it had intended. Hence the 1934-1935 crisis and the gradual winding down resulting in the
1939 termination.

The effective and much admired Jean Carter served as the Summer School's final Director. Her warm, good natured statement of farewell, published in the College Alumnae Bulletin in February 1939 was probably an honest rendering of the facts:

Two facts serve to soften the sorrow and increase the joy with which it [the Summer School] accepts its new opportunity [to move to Jane Smith's Hudson Shore home] it is leaving the campus with the parental blessing and good wishes of Bryn Mawr College and in moving into the former home of Hilda W. Smith, it is having a share in the realization of her dream that this home should one day become a center for workers education activities.  

In the end both institutions feared for "arrested development" unless the School embarked on the road to autonomy.
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 6


3 In 1934, Communist Party membership was 23,467 up from 7,500 in 1930. See Howe and Coser, 225.

4 The Popular Front, a Communist Party strategy in effect from 1935 to 1939 brought it its greatest strength, prosperity and largest number of official members as well as sympathizers. See Howe and Coser, 281, 313-315, Diggins, 111-115, 128-129.

5 Needle trades was the occupation of the majority of Summer School students (over time 55% were needle trades workers. See Chapter III, "The Blue Collars of the Bryn Mawr Summer School) The International Ladies Garment Workers Industry (ILGWU) which represented needle trades workers enjoyed a 500% membership increase between 1933 and 1934 -- 40,000 to 200,000. This extraordinary growth was a direct result of the guarantees of the NRA's code 7A. See Susan Ware, Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930's (Boston: Twayne, 1982), 42-43.

6 Minutes, Board of Directors, Bryn Mawr Summer School, October 21, 1934, HWS Papers, Box 12.

7 Minutes, Faculty Meeting, Bryn Mawr Summer School, July 28, 1933, HWS Papers, Box 12.

8 Minutes, Board of Directors, Bryn Mawr Summer School, January 21, 1934, Ibid.

9 "Policies of the Bryn Mawr Summer School", April 16, 1934, Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Hilda Worthington Smith to President Marion E. Park, March 28, 1925, President's Official Correspondence, Bryn Mawr College Archives.


14 "Trouble is Brewing in Farmhand Strike," Philadelphia Record, July 9, 1934, 4.

15 Interview with Hilda Worthington Smith, Washington, DC, March, 1976; interview with Esther Peterson, Bryn Mawr, PA, June, 1984; interview with Susan Shepherd Sweezy, June, 1984; interview with Colston E. Warne, September, 1976.

16 Philadelphia Record, July 9, 1934, 4.
17 Ibid.
18 "Seventy are Hurt as Police End New Jersey Farm Riot," Philadelphia Inquirer, July 10, 1.

19 Ibid., 4.
20 Philadelphia Record, July 10, 3.
21 Colston E. Warne to Rita Heller, September 7, 1976.
22 Philadelphia Record, July 11, 1.
23 Philadelphia Record, July 11, 21.

24 The Trade Union Unity League (TUUL) which the Communist Party organized in 1929 was the Communist Party's competitor to the AFL, its motto being "class against class." Howe, 255-257.

25 Telephone interview with Leon Schacter, March, 1976. Schacter was President of Local #56 Amalgamated Food and Allied Workers, the union which organized Seabrook Farms in 1940.


27 Interview with Hilda Worthington Smith.

28 Frances Hand to Marion Park, March 4, March 8, 1934, President's Official Correspondence Files.

29 Marion E. Park to Frances Hand, October 3, 1934; Frances Hand to Marion E. Park, October 9, 1934, Ibid.

30 Interview with Hilda Worthington Smith.

31 Hilda Worthington Smith to President Marion E. Park, March 28, 1935, President's Official Correspondence Files.

32 HWS Diaries, 97 Volume.
33 Minutes, Board of Directors, Bryn Mawr Summer School, July 10, 1934, HWS Papers, Box 12.
34 Minutes, Board of Directors, Bryn Mawr Summer School, December 16, 1934, Ibid.

35 M. Carey Thomas to Marion E. Park, December 18, 1934, President's Official Correspondence Files.

36 Minutes, Board of Directors, Bryn Mawr College, December 20, 1934.


38 Ibid.


43 Marion E. Park, "Bryn Mawr Summer School" Minutes Board of Directors, Bryn Mawr College, October 13, 1936; September, 1938.

44 "Calendar", Shop and School 1938 personal copy.

CHAPTER VII

EPILOGUE
The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers ended after its 1938 session. But what happened to its students? What was the School's effect on the approximately sixteen hundred unschooled factory women it welcomed to its campus? Did eight intense weeks of humanistic study and exposure to political thought influence their lives? To what did astronomy, folk festivals, poetry writing, sex education, speakers programs, debates—formal and informal—lantern ceremonies, song fests add up? Until now these paramount questions have gone unanswered. The author's follow up study of fifty-four student participants, a forty to sixty year retrospective, confirms the School's efficacy. (See Chapter III, "The Blue Collars of the Bryn Mawr Summer School")

As noted earlier, the data thus uncovered attested to the vitality and importance of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers. In the follow up sample the mean age was 72.7 years. Native-born urban Protestant women respondents outnumbered Catholics and Jews. A majority overall came from the Northeast and had been recruited by the YWCA. Unions recruited the second largest group of students who had come primarily from the needle trades.

Most respondents credited the Summer School with bolstering their self esteem, providing greater general knowledge and changing their lives. Almost half the respondents noted improved social skills. Commentary generated at the 1984 filmed reunion of Summer School participants humanize the numbers. Anne Bronchick Littman said her transformation was immediately apparent to those around her: "When I came back after two months my friends sister said "Anne, you sound so different." I said, "What are you talking about. I'm the same person." She said, "No, you sound as if you know what you're talking about."

Londoner Doris Collins Belchamber, who devoted her post-laundress

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life to extensive volunteer work with the mentally handicapped, expressed her gratitude for what the Summer School had given her: "I hope I have given as much as I received. I will never do that because this Summer School meant so much to me from somebody who couldn't stand up and speak to somebody who has given talks in many parts of London."

The Summer School flourished in an age of pervasive religious, racial and ethnic quotas and assimilationist pressures making its cosmopolitan makeup all the more striking. The long term survey confirmed that students welcomed this opportunity to meet a cross-section of their working sisters as well as college daughters of professional and wealthy classes. Most respondents viewed positively the interactions among diverse social and ethnic groups. Carmen Lucia confessed to having been prejudiced.

We were suspicious of each other because we had a mixture of people who spoke with a drawl, somebody with a Brooklynese accent and some of them who couldn't speak English at all and we thought what in the world kind of place did we come into? ...maybe I was a little apprehensive and I was a little skeptical because I had suffered from intolerance and I thought well maybe I can give some of it back."

Most respondents, three-quarters, found the School satisfactory noting that it could not have been improved. One-third had no idea why it ended, while others thought its radical image and inadequate funding were the reasons.

The School's liberal, collegial orientation bore fruit in the widely divergent paths which students followed. A few women experienced dramatic upward social mobility while others returned to the factory. No single pattern emerged from the canvass: twelve left paid employment for full-time home-making, eight continued in the same industrial work until retirement, seven combined home-making with community volunteerism, six left industry for either retail or white collar work. Fourteen provided
no career data. One-fifth of the respondents felt the School had had no impact at all on their work.

Five became middle-class professionals. Beatrice Owen and Bessie Weiss Rabinovitz left the sewing machine to work as high school dress-making teachers. Pauline Thorne never went back to the hosiery factory in York, Pennsylvania but instead finished high school, went to college and worked for forty-six years as a social worker, earning a Master's degree in mid-life. Marjorie Lynch Logan, one of the School's first Southern blacks, followed a similar pattern. She, too, forsook hosiery making in Lynchburg, Virginia, turning to school teaching. Logan eventually earned a Master's degree from Duke University. A full tuition scholarship enabled Sophie Schmidt Rodolfo to attend the University of Wisconsin. The Luzon Technical Institute in San Antonio, The Philippines, which she co-founded with her husband, still flourishes today. The direct intervention of the Summer School brought Rodolfo her scholarship. Similar efforts gave Helen Schuldenfrei Selden a four year scholarship to Barnard College. Selden moved into the middle class through marriage to an architect. She became a community activist in Los Angeles where, in the 50s, she organized defense efforts for "The Hollywood Ten."

Twelve, for at least some period of time, heeded the School's message to assume greater responsibility for the solution of industrial problems. The ten who became shop chairladies and volunteer organizers for their unions are now chiefly remembered by co-workers, daughters and grand-daughters. Carmen Lucia and Elizabeth Nord became vice presidents of the United Hatters Cap and Millinery Workers International Union and United Textile Workers Union (WTUL) respectively.

Outside evidence has established the School's national contribution to union leadership training. Six of seventy-five subjects in the
Twentieth Century Trade Union Women Oral History Project had been students at the Bryn Mawr Summer School. They were Sara Barron (Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), Sara Fredgant (ACWA), Dolly Lowther Robinson (ACWA), Elizabeth Nord (UTW), Carmen Lucia (Hatters Union), and Bonnie Segal (International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)). Rose Pesotta, who predeceased this study, attended the School in 1922 and 1923. In the thirties and forties she was the ILGWU's only female voice on its executive board and a renowned organizer, particularly in Puerto Rico.

For many of the faculty, the School's impact was as powerful as it had been on the students. It was their first opportunity to help the disadvantaged, an experience that proved irresistible and pivotal. Instructors, tutors and undergraduate assistants Alice Hanson Cook, Elizabeth Lyle Huberman, Anita Marburg Lerner, Oliver Loud, Millicent Carey McIntosh, Broadus Mitchell, Mark Starr, Susan Shepherd Sweezy, Caroline Ware and Colston Warne said the School fueled their dreams for equal opportunity and social justice. The faculty joined or returned to their home universities or social welfare and government agencies intimately acquainted with the problems of poor and exploited and laboring women.

First at Wellesley and later at Vassar, Helen Drusilla Lockwood became well known for her activist teaching. Lillian Herstein, a Chicago social studies teacher, became a force in the Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers. Rosamund Tuve, a Connecticut College Renaissance scholar, said that teaching at the Bryn Mawr Summer School "left [her] left of center." Brooklyn College's well-known Theresa Wolfson, a member of the 1928 and 1929 faculty, channeled her socialist impulses into workers education. Mount Holyoke's Amy Hewes, the University of Pennsylvania's Gladys Palmer and the University of Chicago's Hazel Kyrk
made names for themselves through economic research. Alice Hanson Cook moved from the YWCA to a faculty position at Cornell's School of Industrial and Labor Relations.

The New Deal generated further opportunities. The School's Director, Hilda "Jane" Worthington Smith, became part of Harry Hopkins' Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and later the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Those Summer School faculty who joined federal agencies were members of a long-viable Washington network. These included Marguerite Gilmore (U.S. Women's Bureau), Katherine Pollak Ellickson (AFL-CIO), Jean Flexner Lewinson (U.S. Department of Labor), Esther Peterson (U.S. Department of Labor and Women's Bureau, adviser to three Democratic Presidents), Ida Craven Merriam (Social Security Board) and Caroline Ware (Organization of American States). Others staked out new territory. Colston Warne, for example, founded the Consumer's Union. Peterson became a link to the contemporary women's movement when she was named as first chairperson to the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School, along with Brookwood Labor College, was the pioneering institution of the workers education movement. Bryn Mawr became the model humanistic program, quickly gained national recognition and spawned many similar schools, all devoted exclusively to women workers: The Wisconsin Summer School, 1925, the Barnard Summer School, 1927, the Vineyard Shore School, 1929, the Southern Summer School, 1927 and the Summer School for Office Workers, 1933. These successors were paler versions in that they were either regional, non-residential, operated exclusively for one occupational group, short-lived or served thirty or forty women. Barnard's program, for example, ran for several summers and admitted only commuting garment workers. The Bryn Mawr program's
influence was felt through both its students and faculty who fanned out to launch, attend or teach in the system. Those most influential in the network included Eleanor Coit, Alice Hanson Cook, Ernestine Friedmann, Broadus Mitchell, Orlie Pell, Susan Shepherd Sweezy and Caroline Ware. 

Present day labor education programs which focus on trade union leadership training are narrow and parochial when compared to their liberal predecessors.

The primary impulses behind the School's founding had been M. Carey Thomas' "belief in education and belief in women." Feminist solidarity could, she felt, bridge the social and economic classes, which it did until overwhelmed by class hostilities in the thirties. Even during the School's heyday, Thomas' orthodox feminist vision became diffused into mainstream activist spirit which left fundamental sexism unchallenged. In this crucial respect, the School was very much a product of its time. Leading New Deal women also "emphasized their commitment to social change without regard to sex." Summer School faculty sought the "sexual accommodation" that animated such renowned contemporaries as Margaret Mead. Despite the School's ambiguity on feminist issues, it functioned as a de facto consciousness-raiser, a sanctuary removed from the male dominated workplace. Even as an octogenarian, Hilda Worthington Smith remembered, with feeling, her worker-students' lack of awareness on issues of autonomy and independence: "What they couldn't realize was that they had any say in their own affairs. They were used to being controlled by foremen and forewomen." But the program's (in common with other schools) special female orientation was lost when it evolved in 1939 into a coeducational program at the Hudson Shore Labor School. Women workers education, a period piece of the 20s and 30s, was absorbed into the patriarchal labor movement.
The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers built on a fusion of the best impulses of progressive social and educational reform as well as of women's higher education, suffragism and feminism. A belief in the ability of education to reform society had driven much progressive reform. But the enlistment of an elite, academic institution into reform constituted a significant departure from existing models. The Summer School was the quintessential opposite of the settlement house in its bringing of workers, immigrants, blacks, Catholics and Jews, to itself rather than the reverse. Two transcendent women, M. Carey Thomas and Hilda Worthington Smith, harnessed progressive-suffragist feminist ideals to their own forceful optimism and caused a small, private college to embrace the cause of blue collar women. The utopian School which resulted forged connections between the educated elite and workers, introduced experienced women reformers to the new militant workers and progressives to nascent New Dealers. Declining suffragism plugged into the dynamism of the rising labor movement, giving the School its energy and its mission. In the politically quiet 1920s, the School thus kept alive a commitment to peaceful social change, grooming many of its participants for the re-charged world of FDR and serving as a bridge to the later era.

The School linked the world of Jane Addams to that of Hilda Worthington Smith to that of Esther Peterson. It connected Agnes Nestor to Rose Pesotta to Elizabeth Nord to Carmen Lucia. It enabled a generation of women to discover new inner worlds, enjoy broadened perspectives, more productive lives and leadership.
TABLE

FOLLOW-UP SAMPLE
VIEW OF SCHOOL
(N = 54)

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<th>Considerable</th>
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<td>Improved Self-Image</td>
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<td>Skills Gained</td>
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<td>View of Student Interactions</td>
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<td>How School Could Have Been Improved</td>
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<td>Why the School Ended</td>
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|                          |          |          |
| General knowledge        | 45       | 85%      |
| Social skills            | 26       | 49%      |
| English                  | 19       | 36%      |
| Economics                | 19       | 36%      |
| Union-organizing         | 16       | 30%      |
| Considerable             | 25       | 54%      |
| Not at all               | 9        | 20%      |
| Moderate                 | 7        | 15%      |
| Mild                     | 5        | 11%      |
| Positive                 | 44       | 85%      |
| Negative                 | 7        | 13%      |
| Good as was              | 35       | 71%      |
| Inadequate Funding       | 15       | 28%      |
| No opinion               | 17       | 31%      |
| Viewed as radical        | 11       | 20%      |
FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 7

1. I conducted a survey on 54 or 3 percent of the Bryn Mawr Summer School's students between 1977 and 1982. See Chapter III, "The Blue Collars of the Bryn Mawr Summer School."


ARCHIVE COLLECTIONS

American Labor Education Service Papers (ALES), School of Industrial and Labor Relations Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

American Labor Education Service Papers (ALES), Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin

Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers Papers, Institute of Management and Labor Relations Library, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Coit, Eleanor Papers. Sophia Smith Library, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts

President's Official Correspondence Papers. Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Minutes, Board of Directors. Bryn Mawr College Archives, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania

Smith, Hilda Worthington Papers. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Wolfson Papers, School of Industrial and Labor Relations Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

Van Kleeck, Mary Papers. Sophia Smith Library, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts

UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS


Smith, Hilda Worthington. "Women Workers at the Bryn Mawr Summer School" (draft) with editing by Susan Myra Kingsbury and M. Carey Thomas. Bryn Mawr College Archives.


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Twentieth Century Trade Union Women: Vehicle for Social Change Oral History Project, Program on Women and Work: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan, Wayne State University.

INTERVIEWS


--------------- Telephone, November, 1982.


--------------- Amherst, Massachusetts, June, 1983.


McIntosh, Millicent Carey. Telephone, November, 1982.


--------------- Washington, DC, June, 1983.


------------------ Telephone, November, 1982.

Ware, Caroline. Telephone, November, 1982.


QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

Canvass of Bryn Mawr Summer School Faculty conducted between 1977 and 1985

Canvass of Bryn Mawr Summer School students conducted between 1976 and 1982

ARTICLES


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Smith, Hilda Worthington. "The Bryn Mawr Summer School of 1927."
American Federationist 34 (October, 1927): 1217-1223.

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NEWSPAPERS


Philadelphia Record, July 10-11, 1934.

BOOKS


**BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES AND INDEXES**


VITA

Rita R. Heller

1938: Born July 23 in Brooklyn, New York
1955: Graduated from Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, New York
1955-1959: Attended Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
1959: B.A. cum laude Bryn Mawr College
1961: M.A. American History Columbia University
1961-1964: High School history teacher, Fort Worth, Texas and Oradell, New Jersey
1968-1980: Adjunct Faculty, Social Science Department, Bergen Community College, Paramus, New Jersey
1976-1986: Doctoral work in History, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, New Jersey
1981-1982: Rutgers University Bevier Fellow
1982: National Endowment for the Humanities media script grant
1984: National Endowment for the Humanities media production grant.
1984-1985: Free lance consultant/researcher for film and television
1986: Ph.D. in History