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## Nursing with a Message

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## Introduction

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2. Congressional Budget Office, “Lessons from Medicare’s Demonstration Projects on Disease Management, Care Coordination, and Value Based Payments,” *CBO.gov*, last accessed March 10, 2015. <http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/126xx/doc12663/01-18-12-MedicareDemoBrief.pdf>.
3. For some examples, see James Colgrove, *State of Immunity: The Politics of Vaccination in Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press and the Milbank Memorial Fund, 2006), 89; Daniel M. Fox, “The Significance of the Milbank Memorial Fund for Policy: An Assessment at Its Centennial,” *Milbank Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (2006): 5–36; Elizabeth Toon, “Selling the Public on Health: The Commonwealth and Milbank Health Demonstrations and the Meaning of Community Health Education,” in *Philanthropic Foundations: New Scholarship, New Possibilities*, ed. Ellen Lagemann (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 119–130; and George Rosen, “The First Neighborhood Health Center Movement: Its Rise and Fall,” *American Journal of Public Health* 61 (1971): 1620–1635.
4. Karen Buhler-Wilkerson, *No Place Like Home: Nursing and Home Care in the United States* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Susan Reverby, *East Harlem Health Center: An Anthology of Pamphlets* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985).
5. The Center for Consumer Information and Insurance Oversight, “Shining a Light on Health Care Insurance Rate Increases,” *CMS.gov*, last accessed March 14, 2015. [http://www.healthcare.gov/news/factsheets/increasing\\_access\\_.html](http://www.healthcare.gov/news/factsheets/increasing_access_.html).
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7. Barbara Beatty, Emily Cahan, and Julie Grant, eds., *When Science Encounters the Child: Education, Parenting, and Child Welfare in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006), 2.
8. Jodi Vandenberg-Daves, *Modern Motherhood: An American History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2014).
9. Jacqueline H. Wolfe, *Deliver Me from Pain: Anesthesia and Birth in America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
10. Kathleen W. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child: American Families, Child Guidance, and the Limits of Psychiatric Authority* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). The interwar years also saw public health initiatives using science

- broaden its scope to include occupational health, venereal disease control, accidents and vehicular safety, cardiovascular disease, and cancer mortality. See John Wardo and Christopher Warren, eds., *Silent Victories: The History and Practice of Public Health in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). For the move to incorporate oral health, see Alyssa Picard's *Making the American Mouth: Dentists and Public Health in the Twentieth Century* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009).
11. Andrew L. Morris, *The Limits of Voluntarism: Charity and Welfare from the New Deal through the Great Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
  12. Robert Kohler, *Foundations and Natural Scientists, 1900–1945* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
  13. Ellen Lagemann, *Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).
  14. Amy Fairchild, David Rosner, James Colgrove, Ronald Bayer, and Linda Fried, "The Exodus of Public Health: What History Can Tell Us about the Future," *American Journal of Public Health* 100, no. 1 (2010): 54–63.
  15. John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

## Chapter 1 — Medicine and a Message

1. See Karen Buhler-Wilkerson, *False Dawn: The Rise and Decline of Public Health Nursing in the United States, 1900–1930* (New York: Garland Press, 1989).
2. Patricia D'Antonio, *American Nursing: A History of Knowledge, Authority, and the Meaning of Work* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).
3. Municipal Archives, NYC DOH, H34.1, Roll 15, "Report of the Department of Health of New York for the Year 1919."
4. John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).
5. John Dill, "Who Shall Nurse the Sick?," *American Journal of Public Health* 11 no. 2 (1921): 108–112.
6. For a fuller discussion, see Susan Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
7. Buhler-Wilkerson, *False Dawn*. See also Diane Hamilton, "The Cost of Caring: The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's Visiting Nurse Service, 1909–1953," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 63 (1987): 414–434.
8. Maternity Center Association (MCA), Box 56, Folder 1. For the debate in the public health nursing literature see, for example, Mary Beard, "The Attendant as an Assistant to the Public Health Nurse," *Public Health Nurse* 2, no. 3 (1919): 181–182.
9. In 1920, the need to sit for a state licensing exam was still voluntary in most of the United States, although that would begin changing by mid-decade. See Reverby, *Ordered to Care*.
10. D'Antonio, *American Nursing*.
11. For postgraduate programs, see Patricia D'Antonio, "Women, Nursing, and Baccalaureate Education in Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 36, no. 4 (2004): 379–384. For content see Mary Sewall Gardner, *Public Health Nursing* (New York: Macmillan, 1919).
12. For patronage, see D'Antonio, *American Nursing*, 71.
13. Marjorie N. Feld, *Lillian Wald: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

14. Kara Dixon Vuic, “Wartime Nursing and Power,” in *Routledge Handbook on the Global History of Nursing*, ed. Patricia D’Antonio, Julie Fairman, and Jean Whelan (Oxford: Routledge Press, 2014), 22–34.
15. Cindy Gurney, “Annie Warburton Goodrich,” in *American Nursing: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Vern Bullough, Olga Church, and Alice Stein (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 145–149.
16. Joellen Watson Hawkins, “Mary Adelaide Nutting,” in *Dictionary of American Nursing Biography*, ed. Martin Kaufman (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 274–277.
17. Alice Howell Friedman, “S. Lillian Clayton,” *Dictionary*, ed. Kaufman, 65–68.
18. Karen Buhler-Wilkerson, “Mary Beard,” in *American Nursing: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Bullough, Church, and Stein, 19–22.
19. Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Conference on the Training of Nurses, Called by the Officers of the Rockefeller Foundation, February 28, 1920.
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21. Ira V. Hiscock, “The Development of Neighborhood Health Services in the United States,” *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1936): 30–51.
22. Community Service Society (CSS) #2073, Box 63, Folder: Home Hospital Planning, Confidential: The Future Home Hospital, October 18, 1921; also CSS #0273, Box 63, Folder: Home Hospital Planning.
23. Milbank Memorial Fund (MMF), Group 845, Series II, Box 24.
24. Felix Armfield, *Eugene Knicker Jones: The National Urban League and Black Social Work, 1910–1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).
25. Joellen Watson Hawkins, “Adah Thoms,” in *Dictionary*, ed. Kaufman, 365–367.
26. RAC, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM), Series 3.1 Box 2, Folder 22, Lincoln Hospital and Home 1920–1921.
27. CSS #0273, Box 36, Folder Columbus Hill 1923–1935, Burrirt to Franklin Kirkbride, February 5, 1918.
28. MMF, Biographical Records, Group 845, Series II, Box 24.
29. CSS #0273, Box 63, Folder: Home Hospital Planning, Annual Meeting of the AICP, November 23, 1921. For nursing’s role at this conference, see Cynthia Connolly, “Determining Children’s Best Interests in the Middle of an Epidemic: A Cautionary Tale from History,” in *Nursing Interventions Through Time: History as Evidence*, ed. Patricia D’Antonio and Sandra Lewenson (New York: Springer Publishing, 2010), 17–29.
30. Amy Fairchild, Ronald Bayer, and James Colgrove, *Searching Eyes: Privacy, the State and Disease Surveillance in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007). For children, see Cynthia Connolly, *Saving Sickly Children: The Tuberculosis Preventorium in American Life, 1909–1970* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008).
31. MMF, Biographical Records, Group 845, Series II, Box 24.
32. Buhler-Wilkerson, *False Dawn*.
33. Duffy, *The Sanitarians*, 214–215.
34. John Duffy, *History of Public Health in New York City, 1866–1966* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), 272–276.
35. Editorial, “The Political Attack on the New York City Health Department,” *American Journal of Public Health* 8, no. 4 (1918): 380–381.
36. Kenneth Widdemer, *A Decade of District Center Health Pioneering: East Harlem Health Center* (New York: privately published, 1932), 30.

37. Russell Leigh Sharmon, *The Tenants of East Harlem* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 24. See also Joseph Cosco, *Imagining Italians: The Clash of Romance and Race in American Perceptions* (New York: State University Press of New York, 2003), who reports that 80 percent of the 4.5 million Italian immigrants to the United States were from the south; and one-third settled in New York City.
38. Harmon, *The Tenants of East Harlem*, 25–28; Widdemer, *A Decade*, 17.
39. Susan Reverby, *East Harlem Health Center: An Anthology of Pamphlets* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 17.
40. Cosco, *Imagining Italians*, 7–11.
41. See also Jennifer Gugliemo, *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Thomas Gugliemo, "Encountering the Color Line in the Everyday: Italians in Inter-war Chicago," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 23, no. 4 (2004): 45–77; Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); and S. M. Tomasi, *Perceptions in Italian Immigration and Ethnicity* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1976).
42. MMF, Group 845, Series III, Box 30, Folder 4, Study Reports, Drolet to Devine, July 10, 1930.
43. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 10, 1925 Memorandum of Interview with Homer Folks.
44. Kenneth Widdemer, *The House That Health Built* (New York City: privately published, 1925).
45. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 12, East Harlem Health Center-Nursing, 1921.
46. RAC, LSRM. Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 12, "Health Center to Be Established by the Red Cross and Co-operating Organizations."
47. CSS #0273, Box 63, Folder: Home Hospital Planning, October 19, 1921.
48. CSS #0273, Box 33, Folder, East Harlem Health Center, 1922–1929, "Specialized versus Generalized."
49. On "Homerian diplomacy," see CSS #0273, Box 32, Folder East Harlem Health Center, 1919–1923, Burritt to Folks, March 17, 1921. On bluff, see CSS #0273, Mullberry Street, Box 61, Folder 367–12, Gebhard to Burrett, February 15, 1923.
50. RAC, LSRM. Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 12, "Health Center to Be Established by the Red Cross and Co-operating Organizations."
51. CSS #2073, Box 63, Folder: Home Hospital Planning, Annual Meeting of the AICP, November 23, 1921.
52. CSS #2073, Box 58, Victoria Apartments / Home Hospital; CSS #2073, Box 63, Home Hospital Planning, Annual Meeting of the AICP, November 23, 1921.
53. CSS #0273, Box 63, Folder: Home Hospital Planning, October 19, 1921.
54. MMF, Group 845, Series 1, Box 1, Folder: Annual Conference November 16, 1922. On Fox, see Joellen Watson Hawkins, "Elixabeth Gordon Fox," in *Dictionary*, ed. Kaufman, 127–129.
55. RAC, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 12, Correspondence March 16, 1922 to May 23, 1922.
56. CSS #0273, Box 62, Folder: 369–6, Conference to Consider a Plan for the Control of Tuberculosis, March 9, 1923.
57. See, for example, "Statement of Proposed Bellevue-Yorkville Health Demonstration," CSS #0273, Box 62, Folder: 369–6, January 30, 1924.
58. C.-E.A. Winslow, *Health on the Farm and in the Village* (New York: Macmillan, 1931), 1–2.
59. MMF Group 845, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 1: Advisory Committee November 16, 1922.

60. MMF, Group 845, Series 3, Box 30, Folder 1: Vital Statistics 1922–1924. It also contained the Milbank Memorial Fund's underused Bathhouse at 325 East 38th Street for which the fund had pledged monies for a renovation of the demonstration's headquarters.
61. CSS #0273, Box 62, Folder 371–8: Newspaper Clippings.

## Chapter 2 — The Houses That Health Built

1. Homer Folks, Foreword, in Kenneth Widdemer, *The House That Health Built: A Report of the First Three Years of the East Harlem Health Center Demonstration* (New York: privately published, 1925), 7.
2. Grace Anderson, "An Urban Nursing and Health Demonstration," *American Journal of Nursing* 30, no. 12 (1930): 1531–1532.
3. Milbank Memorial Fund (MMF), Group No. 845, Series I, Box 10, Folder 74, Technical Board Committee Minutes, 1924; MMF, Record Group 845, Series I, Box 10, Folder 75, Technical Board Committee Minutes, 1926; MMF, Record Group 845, Series I, Box 11, Folder 77, Technical Board Minutes, 1926–1927.
4. John Duffy, *Public Health in New York City, 1866–1966* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968).
5. Health Sciences Library Archives and Special Collections, Columbia University Medical Center (CUMC), Maternity Center Association (MCA), MCA Guide to the Records.
6. CUMC, Guide.
7. CUMC, MCA, Box 2, Folder 8, 1924.
8. CUMC, MCA, Box 2, Folder 9, 1925.
9. Arnold Gessel, *The Pre-school Child: From the Standpoint of Public Hygiene and Education* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1923).
10. Jeffrey Brosco, "Weight Charts and Well Child Care: When the Pediatrician Became the Expert in Well Child Care," in *Formative Years: Children's Health in the United States, 1880–2000*, ed. Alexandra Minna Stern and Howard Markel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 91–120.
11. Gessel's *The Pre-school Child*. He recommended one public health nurse for a population of 2,000 to meet minimum standards of child health and welfare from care of the mother during pregnancy through school age (200).
12. Widdemer, *The House That Health Built*, 26, 35–44.
13. *Ibid.*, 12–13.
14. Isidore S. Falk, *The Costs of Medical Care: A Summary of Investigation on the Economic Aspects of the Prevention and Care of Illness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).
15. Widdemer, *The House that Health Built*, 35–95.
16. *Ibid.*, 46–47.
17. Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM), Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 12, Governing Board Resolution, 11 May 1925.
18. CUMC, MCA, Box 56, Folder 1, Goodrich to Husk, August 29, 1922; for data about the agreement, see CUMC, MCA, Box 56, Folder 1, August 25, 1922.
19. CUMC, MCA Box 56, Folder 1, *The Manhattan Health Society: An Adventure on Self-Supporting Health Service for the Middle Class*, 12.
20. CUMC, MCA, Box 56, Folder 1, Director's Report, 1922.
21. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 12, Letter Homer Folks to Memorial, March 4, 1924.

22. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 12, Letter Homer Folks to Beardsley Ruml, May 12, 1925.
23. 100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation, “Beardsley Ruml,” Rockefeller1100.Org, last accessed January 24, 2015, <http://rockefeller1100.Org/biography/show/beardsley-ruml>, retrieved January 24, 2015. Beardsley would later be remembered as the “father of modern social science.” See, for example, Martin Bulmer and Joan Bulmer, “Philanthropy and Social Science in the 1920s: Beardsley Ruml and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, 1922–1929,” *Minerva* 19, no. 3 (1981): 347–407.
24. For the debate over authority, see CSS #0273, Box 10, Folder Home Hospital, 1921.
25. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 10, Memorandum of Interview with Homer Folks, November 22, 1925.
26. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 10, Interview with Lawson Purdy, January 5, 1926.
27. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 10, Interview with Lillian Wald, January 5, 1926.
28. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 10, Memorandum of Interview with Homer Folks, November 22, 1925.
29. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 10, Interview with Mr. Burritt, March 9, 1926.
30. On the Welfare Council charge, see Duffy, *Public Health in New York City*, 306–307.
31. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 10, Evolution of the East Harlem Health Center to the East Harlem District Center, January 14, 1926.
32. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 10, Beardsley Ruml to Homer Folks, April 19, 1927. Other projects in healthcare the Memorial had supported included New York City’s Judson Health Center and ensuring the survival of the Lincoln Hospital Training School for Nurses, acknowledged by the Memorial to be among the best training schools for black nurses.
33. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 7 Letter Homer Folks to Thomas Appleget, October 13, 1931.
34. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, Fifteen Years of Cooperative Endeavor: Should It Go On?
35. RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 14: Publications, *A Comparative Study of Generalized and Specialized Nursing and Health Services*, October 1926.
36. CSS #0273, Box 31, AICP, Folder: East Harlem Health Demonstration 1934–1938, LH Gillett to Bailey Burritt, June 25, 1935.
37. “Is the Public Health Nurse a Carrier of Infection,” *American Journal of Public Health* 16, no. 4 (1926): 346–351.
38. RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 14: Publications, *The Cost of a Program of Health Activities with Special Emphasis on Public Health Nursing*, April 1926, 15.
39. *Ibid.*, 12.
40. RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 14: Publications. See, for example, his introduction to *East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration: The Cost of a Program of Health Activities with Special Emphasis on Public Health Nursing*.
41. CUMC, MCA, Box 45, Folder 12, Janet Geister, To the Report Committee, April 9, 1925.
42. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 9, undated note from Mary Beard, probably November 29, 1927.
43. CSS #0273, AICP, Box 34, Folder: East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration, 1920–1928, Burritt to Kingsbury, March 16, 1928.



44. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 17, *East Harlem Nursing and Health Service: A Historical Sketch* (New York: East Harlem Nursing and Health Service, September 1930).
45. See also *The Infant Service Report of the East Harlem and Nursing Health Demonstration*, 1928. Reprinted in Susan Reverby, ed., *The East Harlem Health Center Demonstration: An Anthology of Pamphlets* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 5–35.
46. Grace Anderson, The East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration, *Public Health Nurse* 15, no. 8 (1923): 405–409; Molly Pesikoff, “In a Public Health Nursing Office: A Day in the East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration as Recorded by a Member of the Clerical Staff,” *American Journal of Nursing* 26, no. 8 (1926): 609–611.
47. These pamphlets are in RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 14.
48. See, for example, the meeting of February 2, 1923. CSS #0273, AICP, Box 33, Folder East Harlem Health Center 1922–1929: Minutes of Meetings. The matter of uniforms was put to the Nursing Project’s staff. They voted for the HSS uniforms with a different colored coat. Annie Goodrich, however, wanted the Nursing Project’s uniforms to match those of HSS. The issue had been a “difficult” one and a final decision was tabled for the time being. For examples of salaries and vacation schedules, see CSS #0273, AICP, Box 34, Folder: East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration 1920–1928, March 20, 1923.
49. CSS #0273, AICP, Box 34, Folder: East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration, 1920–1928, correspondence between Burritt and Folks, December 21, 1923 and February 3, 1925. Despite the “vexed question of fees,” the Nursing Project knew its success “depends on the good will of Henry Street” so it generally acquiesced.
50. Burgess’s report was not published but Randal references it in the studies on nursing time and costs in the Bellevue-Yorkville demonstration. See M. G. Randal, “Family Composition Used in the Analysis of Home Visits by Public Health Nurses,” *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (1937): 275–291. Burgess also wanted to reconsider how individual versus family visits were calculated in her consultation to the Mulberry Street clinic, but recognized the topic “would be rather hot probably.” See CSS #0273, Mulberry Street, Box 61, Folder 367–12: June 24, 1924.
51. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 11, Original Appeal, April 1927.
52. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 13, “Outline of Family Case Study.”
53. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 13, Committee on Continuation, March 3, 1927; Original Appeal, April 1927; Memorandum.
54. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 11, Original Appeal, April 1927.
55. RAC, LSRM, Series 3.1, Box 1, Folder 13, Memorandum of Interview, April 26, 1927.
56. RAC, Rockefeller Foundation (RF), Record Group 1.1; Series 235; Box 1, Folder 9, Richard M. Pearce, Concerning East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration Center.
57. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 137, Report on Foundation Cooperation on Nurse Training in Europe, December 5, 1923. Elizabeth Crowell supported this position, albeit from a different perspective. As she wrote to Edwin Embree in 1923, training schools had to be associated with the clinics and teaching hospitals of medical schools so that a new generation of physicians would acquire an appreciation of good nursing from the very beginnings of their career. Elizabeth Crowell to Edwin Embree, September 5, 1923. For Crowell’s work in Czechoslovakia, see Elizabeth Vicker’s “Frances Elizabeth Crowell and the Politics of Nursing in Czechoslovakia after the First World War,” *Nursing History Review* 7 (1999): 67–96.



58. RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 137F, Elizabeth Crowell to George Vincent, August 27, 1922.
59. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 137, Elizabeth Crowell to Edwin Embree, November 12, 1924.
60. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 139, Elizabeth Crowell to George Vincent, September 15, 1925.
61. *Nursing and Nursing Education in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1923): 23–24, 138.
62. *Ibid.*, 11, 23–24.
63. Patricia D'Antonio, *American Nursing: A History of Knowledge, Authority and the Meaning of Work* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 60–68.
64. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 139, Elizabeth Crowell to Edwin Embree, August 19, 1925.
65. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 139, Memorandum of a Conference, September 18, 1925.
66. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 139, “Comments by Miss Goodrich and Miss Clayton,” August 26, 1925.
67. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 139, “Questions by Dr. Russell and Miss Read,” August 27, 1925.
68. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 700, Box 19, Folder 139, “Memo for Dr. Vincent,” August 29, 1925.
69. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 100, Box 19, Folder 137, Richard Pearse to Elizabeth Crowell, June 3, 1927.
70. RAC, RF, Record Group 3, Series 908, Box 15, Folder 165, Mary Beard’s “Nursing Needs, 1937,” 12, for retrospective analysis.
71. See Elizabeth Fee, “The Welch-Rose Report: Blueprint for Public Health Education in the Americas, 1992,” available at <http://www.deltaomega.org/documents/WelchRose.pdf>, retrieved December 27, 2015; Greer Williams, “Schools of Public Health: Their Doing and Undoing,” *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (1976): 489–527.
72. RAC, RF, Record Group 3.1, Series 900, Box 19, Folder 137, Addendum, January 4, 1927.
73. See Raymond Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), 137–138.
74. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 100, Box 19, Folder 137, Richard Pearse to Elizabeth Crowell, July 13, 1927.
75. RAC, RF, Record Group 3.1, Series 900, Box 19, Folder 137, Addendum, January 4, 1927.
76. CSS #0271, AICP, Box 34, Folder: East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration, 1920–1928, Burritt to Kingsbury, March 16, 1928.
77. On “social control” see MMF, Group 845, Series I, Folder: Technical Board Minute Book, 1926–1928; for descriptions of the discussions surrounding the devolution of the goals for the Bellevue-Yorkville demonstration, see CSS #0273, Box 62 Bellevue-Yorkville.
78. MMF, Record Group 845, Series I, Box 10, Folder 74, Technical Board Committee Minutes, 1924.
79. Lillian Wald, “Amelia H. Grant,” *Public Health Nurse* 20, no. 5 (1928): 213–214. According to Wald, Grant traced her nursing lineage to her aunt, Lina Rogers, Wald’s friend, colleague, and the first school nurse in New York City. For more on Grant,

- see Alice Howell Friedman, “Amelia Grant,” in *Dictionary of American Nursing Biography*, ed. Kaufman (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 165–167.
80. CSS #0273, Box 63, Folder 371–8B: Minutes of the Board of Managers, December 21, 1933.
  81. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 13, East Harlem Nursing and Health Service, 1937, 14.
  82. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, “The Story of the East Harlem Nursing and Health Service,” 1937. It acknowledged that “people change slowly,” and that one needed a long period of time “to gain their confidence through appreciation of their experiences, their felt needs, and their objectives.”

### Chapter 3 — Practicing Nursing Knowledge

1. Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Rockefeller Foundation (RF). Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 13, The Teaching Service of the East Harlem Health Demonstration Service, April 1, 1928 to October 1, 1931. This source also reports that one black nurse from Philadelphia was at the service and would be returning to practice TB nursing.
2. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 9, Homer Folks to Thomas Appleget, October 5, 1931.
3. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 10, Homer Folks to Thomas Appleget, April 20, 1932.
4. Savel Zimand, “Five Years at Bellevue-Yorkville: An Experiment in Health Center Administration,” *American Journal of Public Health* 22, no. 4 (1932): 403–409.
5. “A Comparative Study of Generalized and Specialized Nursing and Health Services,” in *The East Harlem Health Center Demonstration: An Anthology of Pamphlets*, ed. Susan Reverby (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), 34.
6. Community Service Society (CSS) #0273, Columbus Hill, Box 36, Folder: Columbus Hill 1923–1935, “Columbus Health Center Nurses Ready for Their Day’s Work in the Home” (typed photo caption).
7. CSS #0273, Columbus Hill, Box 36, Folder: Columbus Hill 1923–1935, “Columbus Health Center Nurses.”
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19. "A Comparative Study," 37–38.
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21. Kumaravel Rajakumar, "Vitamin D, Cod-Liver Oil, Sunlight, and Rickets: A Historical Perspective," *Pediatrics* 112, no. 3 (2003): 132–135.
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25. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2 Folder 14: The Preschool Service of the East Harlem Nursing and Health Demonstration, 1928, 7. The Preschool Service also made diphtheria immunization and smallpox vaccination a routine part of its service in 1925; and by 1927 it claimed that 72 percent of children received diphtheria immunization and 31 percent were vaccinated against smallpox. See RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 4: East Harlem Nursing and Health Service: A Historical Sketch, 1930.
26. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 14, East Harlem Nursing and Health Service: A Progress Report, 1934.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 4: Nutrition Work in East Harlem, 1930.
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32. HSP, MSS 40, Covello Papers, Box 67, Folder 7: Miscellaneous clippings.
33. HSP, MSS 40, Covello Papers, Box 68, Folder: Mutual Aid Societies.
34. HSP, MSS 40, Covello Papers, Box 66, Folder 16.
35. HSP, MSS 40, Covello Papers, Box 68, Folder 1: Mutual Aid Societies: Health.
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37. HSP, MSS 40, Covello Papers, Box 60, Folder 13: The Italians and Dentistry.
38. HSP, MSS 40, Covello Papers, Box 66, Folder 13: Amedeo D'Aureli.
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45. HSP, MSS #40, Covello Papers, Box 10, Folder 17: Neighborhood Health Development, 1937.
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49. HSP, MSS #40, Covello Papers, Box 66, Folder 13.
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**Chapter 4 — Shuttering the Service**

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7. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 10, “Report of the Director,” May 11, 1934.
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14. NYC DOH, H34.01, Annual Reports 1870–1949, Roll 16 1926–1936, Annual Report 1929, “Guarding the Health of Seven Million People.”
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21. *Ibid.*, 36–39.
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23. NYC DOH, H34.01, Annual Reports 1870–1949, Roll 16 1926–1936, Burritt to Walker, October 28, 1929.
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25. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 11: Thomas B. Applegat's Diary, April 5, 135.
26. RAC, RF, Series 235, RG 1.1, Box 1, Folder 11: Letter March 26, 1935.
27. To trace these negotiations, see RAC, RF, Series 235, RG 1, Folder 1: Cornell Health Center Reports.
28. HSP, Covello Papers, MSS 40, Box 65, Folder 17.
29. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 14: East Harlem Nursing and Health Service Report 1934.
30. Milbank Memorial Fund (MMF), Group 845, Series III, Box 31, Folder 6: Bellevue-Yorkville Health News, Nursing Consultation for Parents in the Schools.
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34. Other services provided in East Harlem: vaccinations and diphtheria immunizations; only agency in area working with children between two and school age.
35. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 14, Report of the Consultant in Parent Education, 20.
36. RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 14, Report of the Consultant in Mental Hygiene and Social Work, 1928–1934, 20.
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39. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, A Brief Review of Certain Aspects of the Year's Work, 1936.
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41. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, The Story.
42. Clara Rue, "The School of Nursing and Fundamental Needs in Public Health Nursing," *American Journal of Nursing* 32, no. 4 (1932): 421–424.
43. Mary Roberts, "Current Events and Trends in Nursing," *American Journal of Nursing* 39, no. 1 (1939): 1–8.
44. Donald Armstrong, "The Physician and the Visiting Nurse Association," *Public Health Nurse* 26, no. 11 (1934): 580. For biographical data on Armstrong, see MMF, Group 845, Series II, Box 24, Folder: Biographical Records.
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46. CSS #0273, Box 36, Folder: Columbus Hill 1923–1935, Columbus Hill Report 1934; see also CSS #0273, Box 36, Folder: Columbus Hill 1923–1935, Columbus Hill (no date).
47. CSS #0273, Box 122, Folder: East Harlem Health Center 1932–1935.
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49. MCA, Box 1, Folder 5: Bellevue-Yorkville.
50. MCA, Box 2, Folder 2: Governing Board Meeting April 16, 1928.



51. MCA, Box 1, Folder 11: Remarks of the Commissioner of Health.
52. MCA, Box 1, Folder 15: 1931.
53. MCA, Box 1, Folders 16 and 17.
54. “White House Council on Child Health and Protection: Conclusions of the Subcommittee on Teaching and Education of Nurses and Nurses Attendants,” *American Journal of Nursing* 31, no. 5 (1931): 584.
55. Editorial, “Unnecessary Maternal Deaths,” *American Journal of Nursing* 33, no. 5 (1933): 472.
56. MCA, Box 1 Folder 18: 1934.
57. RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 15: East Harlem Nursing and Health Service Reports 1935–1936, December 1935.
58. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16: The East Harlem Nursing and Health Service, 1937, 6.
59. RAC, RF, RG 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 11: Minutes of the Executive Board, November 12, 1935.
60. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 11, “Note to Dr. Russell,” March 15, 1935.
61. And this included the Henry Street Settlement and VNS—deeply worried it had no sustainable endowment. Finally gave it a modest one and cut off yearly appropriations, a common move on the part of the Foundation and the projects it sponsored.
62. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 11, “Note to Dr. Russell,” March 15, 1935.
63. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 11, “Excerpt from Thomas B. Appleget’s (TBA) Diary 22 April 1935.”
64. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 11, TBA to Folks, June 24, 1935.
65. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 11, Mary Beard’s Diary, November 12, 1935.
66. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 11, Mary Beard, “The East Harlem Nursing and Health Service,” December 11, 1935.
67. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 10, Excerpt from TBA’s Diary, May 3, 1937.
68. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 12, Mary Beard to Homer Folks, January 16, 1936.
69. See, for example, “District Health Administration in New York City,” *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1933): 208–220.
70. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, “The East Harlem Nursing and Health Service: Fifteen Years of a Cooperative Endeavor: Should It Go On?” 1937.
71. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 13, The East Harlem Nursing and Health Service, 1937.
72. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, Katherine Tucker to Grace Anderson, March 10, 1937.
73. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, Marguerite Wales to Grace Anderson, March 19, 1937. Wales mentioned a recent Rockefeller Foundation-funded trip to Central Europe where former foundation fellows eagerly read East Harlem reports. Other letters of support came from Elizabeth Gordon Fox, executive director of the Visiting Nurse Association of New Haven (RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, Fox to Anderson, April 1, 1937); Lillian Hudson

- of Teachers College (RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, April 12, 1937); and Amelia Grant, director of the Bureau of Nursing in the Department of Health (RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2 Folder 16, Grant to Anderson, May 10, 1937).
74. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 2, Folder 16, Katherine Tucker to Grace Anderson, March 10, 1937.
  75. RAC, RF, RG 1.1 Series 235, Box 1, Folder 1: Tucker to Anderson December 12, 1937. For data on Tucker, see Signe Cooper, “Katherine Ellen Faville,” in *American Nursing: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Vern Bullough, Lilli Sentz, and Alice Stein, vol. 2 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 108–110.
  76. MCA, Box 2, Folder 3.
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  78. MCA, Box 2, Folder 6.
  79. RAC, RF, Record Group 1.1, Series 235, Box 1, Folder 12, Margaret Nourse to Raymond Fosdick and TBA, January 15, 1941.

## Chapter 5 — Not Enough to Be a Messenger

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2. See, for example, American Academy for Oral Systemic Health, <http://aaosh.org>. Retrieved September 4, 2015.
3. Michael Davis, “The Voluntary Agency in a Democracy,” *Public Health Nurse* 31, no. 2 (1939): 193.
4. Karen Buhler-Wilkerson, *False Dawn: The Rise and Fall of Public Health Nursing in the United States, 1900–1930* (New York: Garland Press, 1990).
5. Lorin Reed Thomas, “Citizens in the Margins: Puerto Rican Migrants in New York City, 1917–1960” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002); Virginia Sánchez Korral, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
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7. Rosemary Stevens, *In Sickness and in Wealth: American Hospitals in the Twentieth Century* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 106.
8. *Ibid.*, chapter 6 and p. 143.
9. Amy L. Fairchild et al., “The Exodus of Public Health: What History Can Tell Us About the Future,” *American Journal of Public Health* 100, no. 1 (2010): 54–63.
10. John Kingsbury, the executive director of the Milbank Memorial Fund, was one striking casualty of the prevailing conservatism. Angered that the 1932 Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, a national study of ability (or, more correctly, inability) of American families to cover the costs of health and illness care, stopped short of recommending federal financing, he pursued his own advocacy. What the fund believed to be his overstepping of boundaries between its policies and political advocacy ultimately led to a national rebuke by Alfred Milbank and, shortly thereafter, Kingsbury’s loss of his position. See Daniel Fox, “The Significance of the Milbank Memorial Fund for Policy: An Assessment at Its Centenary,” *Milbank Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (2006): 5–36.

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13. J. C. Hart, "As Others See Us," *Public Health Nurse* 21, no. 7 (1929): 343–345.
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17. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, MSS 40, Covello Papers, Box 71, Folder 1.
18. Karen Buhler Wilkerson, *No Place Like Home: A History of Nursing and Home Care in the United States* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 712.
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