Notes

Introduction


Chapter 1

4 Varron, 214; George Ryley Scott, The Story of Baths and Bathing (London:


8 Hartwell, 5, 8, 10.

9 Campbell, 39; Allsop, 83–84.


12 Hartwell, 46; Giedion, 677; Baruch, *Plea*, 24–32.

13 Maltbie, 687–88; Hartwell, 36.


19 Eberlein, 39-42, quotation on 42; Bridenbaugh, 175-76.
20 Eberlein, 47-48; Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., The Diary of George Templeton Strong (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 1:210; Richard L. Bushman and Claudia L. Bushman, "The Early History of Cleanliness in America," Journal of American History 74 (Mar. 1988), 1225. Indoor bathing fixtures like these became available to suburbanites from about the 1870s on as water and sewer systems were extended beyond city limits. See Ann Durkin Keating, Building Chicago: Suburban Developers and the Creation of a Divided Metropolis (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988), 54-57.
22 Numbers, 93; Richard H. Shryock, "Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 18 (Sept. 1931), 174-80; Catherine E. Beecher, A Treatise on Domestic Economy for the Use of Young Ladies at Home (Boston, 1841), 102-3.
24 Bushman and Bushman, 1233-36, Beecher quotation on p. 1218.
25 Ibid., 1228.
27 Charles E. Rosenberg, The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849 and 1866 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 115; American Medical
Notes to Pages 15–21


28 American Medical Association, 647, 479, 569; Boyer, 89.


33 New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (hereafter AICP), *Sixteenth Annual Report* (New York: John F. Trow, 1859), 57; *Twenty-fifth Annual Report* (New York, Trow and Smith, 1868), 33–34; Ernst, 51.

34 Green, 106–7.


36 City of Boston, *Report on Free Bathing Facilities* (City Document No. 102, 1866), 2–14.


42 Tenement House Committee recommendation, quoted in Mayor’s Committee of New York City, 17.
Chapter 2


Notes to Pages 25–33

8 William Tolman, "Public Baths, or The Gospel of Cleanliness," Yale Review 6 (May 1897), 51; Baruch, "Plea for Public Baths," 8, 12.
14 Tenement House Committee of 1894, 50; Mayor's Committee of New York City, Report on Public Baths and Public Comfort Stations (New York, 1897), 9; Baltimore Sun, Dec. 7, 1898.
15 Public Baths Association of Philadelphia, Annual Report, 1898, 9; Baltimore Sun, Aug. 1, 1909; Free Public Baths Commission of Baltimore, Maryland, Annual Report, 1913 (Baltimore, 1914), 14.
18 Hartwell; Hanger.
20 Jacob A. Riis, The Battle with the Slum (New York: Macmillan, 1902), 103, 144; Lubove, 123.
23 Tenement House Committee of 1894, 190–91; New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, The People's Baths (n.d.), 5–7; idem, The
People's Baths: A Study on Public Baths (reprint from AICP Notes, No. 2), 2–11; Evening Post (New York), July 8, 1899; New York Daily Tribune, Aug. 18, 1891; Boston Herald, June 10, 1896; T. M. B. Cross, “Report on Existing Baths in New York,” supplement no. 6, Tenement House Committee of 1894, 193–99. “Cleanliness is, indeed, next to Godliness” appeared in John Wesley’s Sermon 93, “On Dress” and really applies to apparel rather than to the body. The entire quotation is “Let it be observed, that slovenliness is no part of religion; that neither this nor any text of Scripture condemns neatness of apparel. Certainly this is a duty, not a sin. Cleanliness is, indeed, next to godliness.” John Bartlett, Familiar Quotations, Emily Morison Beck, ed., (Boston, Little, Brown, 1980), 346; poem published in Tribune, Aug. 18, 1891. For the People’s Baths, see also Community Service Society Papers, box 21, folder 45. The AICP closed the People’s Baths on Jan. 5, 1909, due to declining attendance and the opening of municipal baths on the Lower East Side: Community Service Society Papers, box 74, Minutes of the Committee on Public Baths, Dec. 15, 1908, and AICP, Sixty-sixth Annual Report (New York, 1909), 75.


29 Hanger, 1266; for texts of New York State Laws, see appendixes II and III.

30 Quoted in Mayor’s Committee of New York City, 59; Evening Post (New York), Feb. 21, 1901; Free Public Bath Commission of Baltimore, Maryland, Annual Report, 1911 (Baltimore, 1912), 10.

Notes to Pages 37–40

32 See, e.g., Mayor's Committee of New York City, Report, 147–48; Free Public Bath Commission of Baltimore, Maryland, Annual Report, 1905 (Baltimore, 1906), 11.


34 Hanger, 1254–56.


36 Hanger, 1254–56, 1323, 1337; B. F. Tillinghast, Free Public Baths for Davenport (Davenport, Iowa: Contemporary Club, 1901), 18–19.


40 For an excellent discussion of the civic symbolism of the public bath movement, see David Glassberg, "The Design of Reform: The Public Bath Move-
ment in America," *American Studies* 20 (Fall 1979), 5–21. Although incorrect in some factual details, Glassberg perceptively points out that the bath reformers wished "to extend their baptismal rites of common citizenship to all residents of their city" (6). My thanks to Jane Allen for bringing this reference to my attention.

Chapter 3


7. Ibid.; for the text of this law see appendix I.

8. "Thomas F. Gilroy," *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1893) 3: 260; Fisk, 14; *New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1914. Otto Kempner, a staunch bath advocate, was an anti-Tammany Democrat who had been elected to the state assembly in 1892. Born in 1858, he had emigrated as a boy from Austria-Hungary with his parents, was educated at Cooper Union, and practiced law. As a political figure he constantly opposed Tammany Hall and its boss, Richard Croker. In 1898 Kempner wrote an exposé of Croker entitled *Boss Croker's Career: A Review of the Political Activity of Bill Tweed's Pupil and Successor*, which was serialized in the *New York World*. In 1897 Kempner moved to Brooklyn and in 1902 was appointed deputy commissioner of public works for that borough and was


13 Knerr, 31; Mayor's Committee of New York City, 22.

14 Knerr, 35-36; Hammack, 148-49.


17 Herman B. Baruch, 3; Faure's cryptic letter to Baruch, reprinted in this article by Baruch's son, is here quoted in its entirety:

**Dear Sir:**

*Your letter of Nov. 26, in response to my call on you, was duly received, and while it was impossible for those charged with the formation of the various subcommittees to know exactly upon what lines they might decide to work, yet it was deemed inexpedient to hamper them in advance with any conditions, and furthermore, knowing your great research of and important labors in the subject of baths and lavatories, I did not feel at liberty to take any step that might interfere with the fruition or development of your ideas, the importance of which are so well known to the public. While for these reasons we felt ourselves unable to name you as a member of the Committee, yet I trust that when the Committee shall have*
organized it may not be deprived of the benefit of your presence and suggestions at some of its meetings.

Yours very truly,

J. M. Faure

For Committee on Baths and Lavatories

18 Committee of Seventy, Sub-Committee on Baths and Lavatories, *Preliminary Report*(1895), 6–7, quotation on 6. The recommended sites were (1) Washington and Carlisle streets, (2) Chatham Square, (3) Essex Market, (4) Tompkins Square, (5) 58th Street and 11th Avenue, and (6) 110th Street and Second Avenue.


21 Mayor's Committee of New York City, 163–68; quotation in *New York Times*, July 11, 1895.


23 Tucker, 46–47; *New York Times* May 11, 1897. The text of this law is located in appendix III.


25 "William H. Tolman," 219; Mayor's Committee of New York City, passim, quotations on 9 and 5; William H. Tolman, "Public Baths, or the Gospel of Cleanliness," *Yale Review* 6 (May 1897), 55. The report mainly concerned the question of public baths and devoted only 27 pages out of 249 to the question of public comfort stations, a division which frequently occurred in the municipal bath movement, as has been noted. New York's bath reformers wanted the city to build public comfort stations, but the cause of public baths occupied most of their attention and efforts.


Notes to Pages 52-58


31 Brooklyn Daily Eagle, June 8, 1899; Evening Post (New York), July 29, 30, 1901.

32 Knerr, 284-89.


39 New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Communication on a System of Municipal Baths for the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, to the Honorable Jacob A. Cantor, President of the Borough, Feb. 25, 1902, 9, 12-22; Public Baths Association of Philadelphia, Annual Report, 1898, 5. The suggested sites were Below Houston Street (1) block of James, Oak, Roosevelt, and Madison streets, (2) block of Chrystie, Forsyth, Bayard, and Canal streets, (3) block of Delancy, Broome, Essex, and Ludlow streets, (4) block of Madison, Monroe, Clinton, and Montgomery streets, (5) block of Elizabeth, Mott, Prince, and Houston streets; Above Houston—East Side (1) block of avenues A and B and 2nd and 3rd streets, (2) block of avenues A and B, 15th and 16th streets, (3) 2nd Avenue and 35th and 36th streets, (4) 2nd Avenue and 48th and 49th streets, (5) 1st Avenue and 58th and 59th streets, (6) 1st and 2nd avenues and 73rd and 74th streets, (7) 1st and 2nd avenues and 110th and 111th streets; Above Houston—West Side (1) 31st and 32nd streets and 9th and 10th avenues, (2) 9th Avenue and 40th and 41st streets, (3) block of 9th and 10th avenues and 48th and 49th streets, (4) 10th Avenue near 59th Street.


42 Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Mar. 26, 28, Apr. 7, 1902; quotation in Apr. 8, 1902.
Notes to Pages 59–64

44 New York Times, Aug. 13, 1902; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Aug. 16, quotation in
Aug. 22, Sept. 27, 1902; Deborah Bershad, Art Commission of the City of
New York, New York Re-viewed: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Pho-
tographs from the Collection of the Art Commission (New York, 1985), 13. The sites
chosen in Brooklyn were Hicks Street in South Brooklyn and Pitkin Avenue
in Brownsville, and in Manhattan were Allen Street in the red light district,
East 109th Street in Little Italy, and West 41st Street in the Tenderloin
district.
45 Brooklyn Daily Eagle, June 15, 28, July 18, Aug. 16, Oct. 8, 1902; New York
22, 1921; Philip S. Platt, “A Model Wet-Wash Laundry,” American City 11
(Nov. 1914), 368–69. The Milbank Memorial Bath was closed in 1919 due to
declining patronage, but the laundry continued to operate until 1925 (Com-
munity Service Society Papers, box 54, folders 325-11-C and 325-11). One of
the patrons of the Milbank bath wrote to the AICP objecting to its closing:
“It will be missed by hundreds of working men in the neighborhood who
depended on the bath after a hard days work. . . . Why not charge a few
cents more and keep them [sic] open” (CSS Papers, box 48, folder 325-1a).
47 New York Daily Tribune, Sept. 29, Oct. 25, Nov. 24, 1903; New York Times,
the mayoralty had been given a two-year term.
Hughes and Charles Francis Murphy: the Metamorphosis of Progress-
Reformers in the Progressive Era: A Reassessment,” Pacific Northwest Quar-
50 New York City, Borough of Manhattan, Public Works Department, Public
Baths under the Supervision of the President of the Borough of Manhattan (1914), 19;
51 Rischin, Promised City, 76–78; Federal Writers’ Project, The WPA Guide to
New York City (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982, orig. pub. 1939), 151, 155,
227–28, 243, 248–49; “Reasons for Small Attendance” (Nov. 9, probably
1907), CSS Papers, box 37, folder 218.
53 Evening Post (New York), Nov. 27, 1905.
54 Frank E. Wing, “The Popularization of a Public Bath-house,” Charities 14
(April 29, 1905), 694–96.

157
Notes to Pages 65–69


56 Evening Post (New York), May 1, 1913.

57 B. J. Corcoran, “Public Baths of Manhattan,” Journal of the American Association for Promoting Hygiene and Public Baths 11 (1929), 35.


59 Lubove, 134; Evening Post (New York), Mar. 24, 1917; Lawrence Veiller, Housing Reform: A Handbook for Practical Use in American Cities (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910), 112. Veiller states that after eight years of operation of the Tenement House Law of 1901, private baths for each family were provided by builders of their own volition in 86 percent of all new apartment buildings. Letter from R. E. Taylor to William H. Allen, General Agent, Dec. 12, 1906, CSS Papers, box 37, folder 218.


Chapter 4

1 Boston Herald, Oct. 15, 1898; Boston, City Record 1 (Oct. 20, 1898), 593.


Notes to Pages 70–75

5 Ibid., 121.
10 “Edward Mussey Hartwell,” Municipal Affairs 1 (Sept. 1897), 603.
13 Boston, City Record, 595; Boston Herald, June 9, 1896.
14 Boston Herald, June 9, 1896.
15 Ibid.
16 Boston, City Record, 595–96; Boston Herald, Nov. 30, 1896.
17 Boston Herald, June 9, 1896; Mayor’s Committee of New York City, Report on Public Baths and Comfort Stations (New York, 1897), 59–60; City of Boston, Department of Baths (hereafter referred to as BDB), Annual Report, 1906–7 (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1907), 2.
20 Boston Herald, Oct. 15, 1898; Boston, City Record, 593–95.


29 Wilcox, 388-91; Koren, 60; Jones, "George Albee Hibbard," 162; idem, "James Michael Curley," in ibid., 87; Schiesl, 104-6.


Notes to Pages 79–82


34 Boston, Statistics Department, Monthly Bulletin (Dec. 1901), n.p.; Boston, Park and Recreation Department, Annual Report for the Year Ending January 31, 1915, 51, and Annual Report for the Year Ending January 31, 1920, 94; BDB, Annual Report, 1899–1900, 8; BDB, Annual Report, 1906–7, 14–15; BDB, Annual Report, 1908–9, 5; Boston Finance Commission, 32. For example in 1906–7 the superintendent of baths was provided with an automobile which cost $1,275, a chauffeur who was paid $435, plus $737 for auto repairs.


37 Free Bath and Sanitary League, Round-up for 1897 on the Free Public Baths of Chicago (Chicago, 1897), 13.


44 Regina Markell Morantz, "'The Connecting Link': The Case for the Woman Doctor in 19th Century America," in Judith Walzer Leavitt and Ronald L. Numbers, eds., *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the His-
Notes to Pages 85–89


45 Hanger, Public Baths, 1313; Cleveland, “Baths of Chicago,” 7–8, quotations on p. 7; Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 313; Free Bath and Sanitary League, Round-up, 14–16.

46 Chicago Tribune, Jan. 10, 1894.


52 Fisk, 7–9, quotation on p. 8; Chicago, Department of Health, Biennial Report, 1897–98 (Chicago, 1899), 89–90.

53 Chicago Tribune, Jan. 10, 1894; Fisk, 9.


55 Fisk, 9; Hanger, 1314.


57 Henriette G. Frank and Amalie Jerome, Annals of the Chicago Women’s Club,

58 Free Bath and Sanitary League, 43–46.  
60 Hanger, 1315; Free Bath and Sanitary League, 34–38, quotation on p. 36.  
61 Hanger, 1314.  
Chapter 5


8 Wilcox, 305.


Notes to Pages 100–106

lication No. 71, probably 1912, 4 in Community Service Society Papers, box 37, folder 218.

21 PBA, Report for 1898, 7–11; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, July 9, 1899.
24 PBA, Second Annual Report, 1899, quotation on p. 6; Tenth Annual Report, 19.
26 PBA, Third Annual Report, 1900, 5.


31 PBA, Typescript History, 5, box 2, 72:45.


35 PBA, *31st Annual Report, 1928*, back cover, 6; *32nd Annual Report, 1929*, back cover, 6; *33rd Annual Report, 1930*, 3; Minute Book, June 10, 1931; *34th-40th Annual Reports, 1931-1937*.


37 *Proceedings of the American Association for Promoting Hygiene and Public Baths* (1916), 2; *Journal of the American Association for Promoting Hygiene and Public Baths* 4 (1922), 2; PBA, *Annual Reports*.

38 Free Public Bath Commission of Baltimore, Maryland (hereafter referred to as FPBC), *Annual Report, 1913* (Baltimore, 1914), 14.


40 FPBC, *1900-1925: Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Free Public Bath Commission of Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: King Brothers, 1925), 3.


Notes to Pages 112–19


50 FPBC, *Twenty-fifth Anniversary*, 5; Baltimore *Sun*, Dec. 7, 1898.

51 FPBC, *Twenty-fifth Anniversary*, 5; Baltimore *Sun*, Dec. 7, 1898.


54 Ibid., 10–11.


57 Ibid., 10–11.

58 Ibid., 11.

59 Ibid., 17.


67 FPBC, *Annual Report, 1901*, 6; *Annual Report, 1903*, 5; Beadenkopf, “Bal-


80 Leon Rubenstein, director, Department of Legislative Reference, Baltimore, Md., to the author, Aug. 16, 1971.


Chapter 6

Chapter 7

1 Civic Club of Allegheny County, Report of the Board of Managers of the Bath House (Pittsburgh, 1899), 9; Lily Todd Phillips, "The Branch Public Baths of
Richmond, Virginia," *Journal of the American Association for Promoting Hygiene and Public Baths* 8 (1926), 47.


6 In the early 1970s, when I interviewed people living at the Hebrew Home for the Aged in New York City who had lived on the Lower East Side in the early 1900s regarding their recollections of the public baths, they claimed that they had never used the public baths, which were for really poor people. Most, however, fondly remembered using the swimming pools in the public baths when they were children and adolescents.


8 City of Boston, Statistics Department, *City Record* 1 (Oct. 20, 1898), 593.


Beyond the purview of this book, but of great importance in disseminating the gospel of cleanliness, were the extensive advertising campaigns of

11 For an example of the desire of the poor for bathrooms of their own, see Margaret F. Byington, *Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town* (Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, 1974, orig. pub. 1910), 60.
