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University of California/Berkeley
Regional Oral History Office

Suffragists Oral History Project

Helen Valeska Bary

LABOR ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL SECURITY

A WOMAN'S LIFE

With An Introduction by
James R. W. Leiby

An Interview Conducted by
Jacqueline K. Parker

Copy No. ____



Valeska Bary

"In weighing any social movement, it is essential to consider, not so much its stated purpose, as the source from which it flows. This, in the end, will be the deciding factor in its character and direction."

Valeska Bary, Yale Review (1926)

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PREFACE

The Suffragists Oral History Project was designed to tape record interviews with the leaders of the woman's suffrage movement in order to document their activities in behalf of passage of the Nineteenth Amendment and their continuing careers as leaders of the movements for welfare and labor reform, world peace, and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Because the existing documentation of the suffrage struggle indicates a need for additional material on the campaign of the National Woman's Party, the contribution of this small but highly active group has been the major focus of the series.

The project, underwritten by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, enabled the Regional Oral History Office to record first-hand accounts of this early period in the development of women's rights with twelve women representing both the leadership and the rank and file of the movement. Five held important positions in the National Woman's Party. They are Sara Bard Field, Burnita Shelton Matthews, Alice Paul, Rebecca Hourwich Reyher, and Mabel Vernon. Seven interviews are with women who campaigned for suffrage at state and local levels, working with other suffrage organizations. Among this group is Jeannette Rankin, who capped a successful campaign for suffrage in Montana with election to the House of Representatives, the first woman to achieve this distinction. Others are Valeska Bary, Jessie Haver Butler, Miriam Allen de Ford, Ernestine Kettler, Laura Ellsworth Seiler, and Sylvie Thygeson.

Planning for the Suffragists Project and some preliminary interviews had been undertaken prior to receipt of the grant. The age of the women--74 to 104--was a compelling motivation. A number of these interviews were conducted by Sherna Gluck, director of the Feminist History Research Center in Los Angeles, who has been recording interviews with women formerly active in the suffrage campaigns and the early attempts to organize labor. Jacqueline Parker, who was doing post-doctoral research on the history of the social welfare movement, taped interviews with Valeska Bary. A small grant from a local donor permitted Malca Chall to record four sessions with Jeannette Rankin. Both Valeska Bary and Jeannette Rankin died within a few months of their last interviewing session.

The grant request submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation covered funding for the completion of these already-recorded interviews which, by including insights of some non-elitist women, broadened the scope and enriched the value of the project. The grant, made in April, 1973, also provided for the deposit of all the completed interviews in five major manuscript repositories which collect women's history materials.

In the process of research, a conference with Anita Politzer (who served more than three decades in the highest offices of the National Woman's Party, but was not well enough to tape record that story) produced the entire series of Equal Rights and those volumes of the Suffragist missing from Alice Paul's collection; negotiations are currently underway so that these in-party organs can be available to scholars everywhere.

The Suffragists Project as conceived by the Regional Oral History Office is to be the first unit in a series on women in politics which will include, as unit two, interviews with politically active and successful women during the years 1920-1970, and as unit three, interviews with women who are incumbents in elective office today.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical interviews with persons prominent in the history of the West and the nation. The Office is under the administrative supervision of James D. Hart, Director of The Bancroft Library.

Malca Chall, Director
Suffragists Oral History Project

Amelia Fry, Interviewer-Editor

Willa Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office

2 January 1974
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INTRODUCTION

Valeska Bary's memoir is especially interesting for two reasons. First, her career took her through a variety of movements and agencies in the history of social welfare in her time, and her associations and reflections show many linkages among them. Second, she was involved at a level of practical administration that is not often represented in documents (other than the extremely voluminous and tedious records of the agencies). She was engaged in the bureaucratic business of supervision, inspection, or research, but she was not primarily responsible for policies or projects. She was in a position to take a somewhat detached technical view of the program or staff, and her personal gifts enabled her to describe and analyze situations in an understanding and vivid way.

Her public career began at the height of the Progressive tide, riding that particular wave that was constituted by the women's clubs of Southern California in their campaign for the suffrage. She moved to a settlement house sponsored by a similar sort of philanthropic women around San Francisco. For a time she managed a children's institution that was part of its program. Then she joined the staff of a new state Industrial Welfare Commission that was supposed to protect women and children from economic exploitation. With this preparation she went to Washington during the first World War to serve in an agency that not only protected workers and arbitrated disputes, but also ventured into long range planning for the use of labor as a national resource. Later she joined the United States Children's Bureau, the most prestigious social agency in the nation, where the emphasis was on research and children were considered to be a national resource rather than a social problem. Her work there took her to Puerto Rico, for a look at a colonial sort of administration in what we would later call an underdeveloped area.

Women and child labor, protective legislation, research, mobilization and planning around children and labor: these were themes of the progressive and war years. Alongside them, growing in importance, was the theme of income maintenance--public assistance and social insurance to meet the specific problem of loss or lack of income. In 1928 Ms. Bary joined the California State Department of Social Welfare, newly reorganized and just developing state programs to assist local poor relief. Later she joined the staff of the Bureau of Public Administration (now the Institute of Governmental Studies) on this campus and wrote a studious history of welfare activities and administration in the state. In 1933 she went back to Washington in the labor compliance section of the National Recovery Administration--her tasks were somewhat similar to those in World War I--and finally in 1935 she found her place

as employee number eight of the Social Security Administration, just set up to put into operation the major income maintenance (and other) programs authorized by the Social Security Act of that year.

To protect girls at work in canneries or department stores, to arbitrate the demands of unions and the labor needs of industry, to set up programs of public health and public education for children, to provide pensions for the aged or a conditional grant-in-aid program for state welfare departments--these were worthy endeavors, but as a practical matter, what did administrators need to know to execute their mission? What could they do and how? Here, in this memoir, Valeska Bary recounts the way matters looked, how the staff went about solving the concrete and practical problems of setting up the office in Washington and the field. Here are clear, vivid sketches of the types that in fact appeared: the philanthropic ladies, the suffragettes, the union leaders, the lawyers (Clarence Darrow and Louis Brandeis prominent among them), the politicians, the bureaucrats, the businessmen, the workers, academics of various sorts, and social workers. Along the way there is a good deal of inside dope: President Roosevelt hoped to build support for the new Social Security Administration, we are told, by favoring the appointment of members of the American Legion as administrators in its field offices. Of more general interest are Ms. Bary's reflections on bureaucracy in its nascent and formative stage--much different from the later stages, when procedures are established and vested interests are clearly defined. The key factor of administration, she believes, and of social legislation generally, is its source, rather than its stated purpose. The words of the law or published statement are much less important than the interest of the administrator. Historians have recognized these features of administrative development for a long time; unfortunately they are often difficult to reconstruct apart from the sort of memoir that she has given us. For example, her own history of welfare in California is very much limited to laws and legislative documents. (Her anthology of documents on the gold rush days in California does use personal sources in a sensitive and analytical way.)

For the rest, she thinks that administration is education, in which the various parties, including partisans, legislators, administrators, and clients, explore the possibilities and ramifications of a situation. Her general picture very much supports the "pluralist" conception of politics and administration. But it needs to be emphasized that she is in every case describing the initial and exploratory stages of a program, when administrative regulations and personnel requirements are in formation, before the bureaucracy develops much momentum of its own.

It is intriguing to go beyond her observations and comments to ask whether in her life and career she herself was a type. There were jobs opening in social administration, there were in these bureaucracies common situations and functions, and she appears to have moved among them with ease and success. To some degree her personality and responses fit the requirements of the jobs, and in the circumstances perhaps helped to shape them. Until she was twenty-two she had to look after her mother, but after that she was free and able to move. Because she had few family responsibilities she could take the sort of short-term uncertain jobs that were offered by the agencies she served at first. For example, when she joined the Industrial Welfare Commission in California she could take two weeks to work in the canneries to get an insight into that situation. In time her associations and expertise were remarkably cumulative. She proved to be conscientious, intelligent, responsible; jobs opened up for her. Her sex does not seem to have been an obstacle. She was skeptical about the dramatic tactics of the feminists. Her own evaluations of people are strictly in terms of individual merits. Able workers were always in short supply, in her view, and that condition, not sexual discrimination, was the main fact about employment. Her career is in a way a heartening story, especially when one compares it with the domesticated ineptitude and infirmity that were evidently her mother's lot.

Of course it must have taken an unusual degree of initiative or at least self-confidence to have pursued such a career beginning in 1911, although obviously many women were doing it. She does not dwell on the matter, and I suppose, given her candor and wisdom, that she did not think herself remarkable. What she does dwell on is her experiential learning, the first-hand practical view of circumstances and problems. Affairs in the field are not what they seem to be in the parlor, the legislature, or the academy. Elementary misunderstandings pervade the relations between philanthropist and beneficiary, middle-class investigator and working girl, capital and labor, East and West, American and Puerto Rican--to name a few episodes. In all these matters she went and saw with her own eyes, to the benefit of those who employed her and of us who can read her recollections. Obviously there were many others in the bureaucracies and around them who had the empirical temper, good will, tact, humor, principle and flexibility that she is so quick to praise among her associates and that she herself embodied. Is it too far-fetched to see in her account and in her the type of the good bureaucrat?

Valeska Bary was fortunate to have as her interviewer Dr. Jacqueline Parker, a former history student and social worker who had been employed for several years in child welfare and who had just finished her dissertation, "Shaping the Social Security Act: Social and Political Bases of the Public Assistance Provisions" (Berkeley, 1972). Jackie was fascinated by Valeska's stories, which brought to life the situations and people that she had studied, and Valeska wrote me, shortly before her death, "Thank you for sending me Jackie Parker."

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INTERVIEW HISTORY

The interviews with Helen Valeska Bary took place in the beginning of what were to be the last six months of her life. In her eighties, she possessed extraordinary qualities of mind--powers of concentration, analysis, and recall, which one watched, fascinated, like a searchlight moving into a dark thicket and illuminating a path. The story she had to tell was that of a professional woman, who was both expert and advocate for the groups she represented in the public service.

Professor James Leiby first interviewed Miss Bary in the 1960s in connection with her role as administrator for the Social Security Board in the western region of the United States. He took hand-written notes during the interviews and incorporated references to them in his article on state welfare administration in California which appeared subsequently in the Pacific Historical Review (May 1972.)

I learned of Miss Bary's reliability as an informant on social security matters from Professor Leiby just as I was to begin archival research into the administrative files of the Social Security Board. In Washington, working in the files, questions for the still mythical Miss Bary began to pick up. Then I discovered the collection of oral history reminiscences of social security administrators held at Columbia University. It became apparent that Miss Bary's story might have a place beside theirs.

Back in Berkeley, I contacted Miss Bary, and an informal interview was arranged in her home. Several years had passed since the Leiby interviews and I feared that her health might be too fragile for the frank, unvarnished questions I had accumulated at the National Archives and at Columbia. It was then a surprise and a joy when I saw her as she was for the first time.

She appeared at the door, like Stravinsky seen from a distance in old age: small-boned, wiry, skin stretched tight across the clavicles, yet somehow agile and strong and quick as a bird. (She had shrunk in old age, she said on tape, from her mature height of 5'7".)

If the hint of a reservoir of strength in her bearing was a surprise, the joy came from the presence and personality which unfolded. Her eyes were large and deep and luminous, warming you as she talked. Her speech was thoughtful and precise, low, slow, and modulated. You watched her

eyes, heard her ordering thought in the silences, waited as long, slender fingers picked up yet another cigarette, and then the understated wit, the ironical turn of phrase, the flow began again, with the eyes sparkling and the laugh lines deepening around the mouth.

I knew in that first meeting that she was not too fragile for my questions; that with a minimum of encouragement she could tell me about a career in public service far richer than I had imagined, with significance for students of labor law administration, and the women's movement, as well as social security. The remarkable thing was that she was still articulate, still learning, still searching for meanings, and in the process of this ratiocination, a grace-gift, a joy.

Mrs. Willa Baum, director of the Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, generously offered expertise and equipment for a series taped interviews with Miss Bary.

We began thereafter to work in an intensive fashion, as had been her custom when she had committed herself to a task. From December 29, 1972, through January 14, 1973, seven meetings were held and twelve tapes recorded. On one day alone three tapes were recorded, a masterful feat of concentration and "live" recall. A routine had become established by Miss Bary which (while breaking the usual interviewer-interviewee rules) enabled her to "rehearse," refuel, maintain her concentration, and manage our relationship with an air of "friendly formality" (to use her term).

Her house was set in an upper middle-class neighborhood on a San Francisco hillside. I arrived at ten in the morning. In the beginning she sat with her back to the west wall window in the living room. Newly published books were piled everywhere in the room on every exposed surface. The microphone was placed on the pile of books on the table by her chair, the tape recorder on the floor out of the line of her sight. She placed me against the long south wall of the living room, midday sun streaming in, and children's voices from the lawns and sidewalk below occasionally floating up through an open window.

Later, when I came in the morning she would be waiting in the dining room at a massive, carved dining table with coffee ready and her cigarettes nearby. On the sideboard behind my chair were cardboxes of files, boxes of mints (from the charities to which she contributed), and a photograph of her brother, Dmitri. It was a candid picture, taken as he was talking, his eyes sparkling and the laugh lines around the mouth like hers, deepening, the family resemblance strong. It was

a picture in motion, as if he were the third member of our group. At the far end of the room a large window looked out onto the northwest section of San Francisco, the Golden Gate Bridge, and on clear days, to Point Reyes on the Marin coast. A synagogue and a Catholic university and a military base were in the middle distance; Miss Bary sometimes commented on the play of shadow and sun on one or the other. Between the window and the dining room table a typewriter and chair were placed, the carriage cylinder nearly always filled with paper.

When Miss Bary invited me in the morning to the dining room table it was to think out loud on a subject she had decided to cover before the formal recording began. It became evident that she preferred to relax in the dining room and talk, rather than move into the living room for a formal session, so eventually I moved the recording equipment into the dining room.

A routine also evolved around lunch. I had been cautioned to leave the interviewee time for composing himself between sessions. On the first day of recording, as I started to leave at the noon hour, Miss Bary announced that she had made preparations for me to join her. Thereafter, we worked together in the kitchen to prepare lunch--sometimes I brought salmon or seafood from Berkeley--and the thinking out loud continued during the lunch hour. In the afternoon the recording began in earnest, lasting into evening dusk until the topic was exhausted. Then we would decide when next to meet, a tentative subject area would be scheduled, and that night I would check source books in the library to prepare myself for another session with the mind of Miss Bary.

After the twelve tapes were completed, further work was dependent on obtaining funds for the transcription of the tapes into written form. In late spring of 1973 funds were obtained from the Rockefeller Foundation for the Suffragists Oral History Project and the Bary interviews were included in that series.

The transcriber, Miss Lee Steinback, listening to the tapes, discovered the joy of knowing Miss Bary all over again. The final-typist, Mrs. Beverly Heinrichs, worked intelligently and skillfully to prepare the manuscript in final form. As the manuscript was readied for proofing, editing, and indexing, Miss Bary died, a victim of throat cancer.

She had worked hard in the last months of her life to leave to scholars of this period this assessment of the institutions in which she worked and of her associates. This was her grace-gift for us.

Jacqueline K. Parker

27 August 1973
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HELEN VALESKA BARY, 1888-1973

CAREER CHRONOLOGY

- 1910-1911 General Secretary, Political Equality League, Los Angeles
- 1912 Manager, Boothin Convalescent Home for Children, Fairfax
- 1913 General Secretary, Los Angeles Civic League
- 1913-1918 Special Agent, California Industrial Welfare Commission
- 1918-1919 U.S. War Labor Policies Board, Washington, D.C.
- 1919-1920 American Committee of Russian Cooperatives, New York City
- 1920-1925 Director, Publications Division; then Director, Special Studies Division, U.S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.
- 1926-1927 Writing; studied conditions in Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico. (See Publications List in the Appendix)
- 1928-1931 Statistician, California State Department of Social Welfare
- 1932-1934 Research staff, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration
- 1934-1935 Field Representative, Labor Compliance Division, National Recovery Administration, Washington, D.C.
- 1935-1948 SSB: Office of Executive Director, Social Security Board (1935-6); Field Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, SSB; Assistant Director, Region XII (San Francisco office), SSB; Acting Director, Region XII, SSB.

I: FAMILY BACKGROUND AND CHILDHOOD
(Interview 1, December 29, 1972)

Family Tree

Beecher

Parker: Would you like to tell me something about your family?

Bary: Well, my family. Take my mother's side. She was part English and part Yankee. She was a Beecher. The Beechers came over about 1630. There were two young men who were sent over to make their fortunes. Their grandfather sent them over; he was an alderman or something in London. I have never been able to find out what they did or anything.

About the same time--1630--Roger Williams came to Massachusetts. He was not, you might say, in harmony with the Puritans who were running the show at that time. They disapproved of his ideas because he was really very liberal compared to them; and they were going to try him for heresy. He managed to escape and went back to England.

He got a charter from the Crown for what they called the Providence Plantations which became later Rhode Island. He paid the Indians for the land that he took, which was quite different from what the Pilgrims had done. He learned Indian languages and he respected them. One of the Beecher grandsons married Williams' granddaughter. That brought the Roger Williams blood into the Beecher family.

Then, I really don't know what the Beechers did until the Revolution. They were very strong for the Revolution, and they fought through.

Then the next that we know about them was about 1810. The family was living in Connecticut then, at New Milford.

Bary: There was an exodus at that time; quite a lot of people went up to Vermont. My great-great grandfather led a group of 150 people from New Milford up to Vermont. They considered that Connecticut was over-populated. Up in Vermont they could get free land.

The house where he had lived in New Milford is still standing, at least it was a few years ago, and I suppose it still is. That was built sometime, well, probably about 1800 or before.

Then the Beecher family rather split up. Lyman Beecher went up to Vermont for a bit, but he didn't like it. After the first burst of hegira up into Vermont, the people from Connecticut and the rest of New England began going to Ohio and that area. So Lyman Beecher took his family to Ohio and they settled in Cincinnati which was right across the river from the slave state of Kentucky. That is where Henry Ward and Harriet Beecher Stowe came into first-hand contact with slavery. They helped slaves to escape and they saw raiding parties from Kentucky coming over and searching for escaped Negroes. They became imbued with a great desire to do something for abolition.

Parker: So they became abolitionists?

Bary: Yes. They helped on the underground railroad which put Negroes in basements and concealed them and then helped them at night to go on to the next station on the underground railroad until they could finally get up into Canada. That was what they were trying to do. That was the Beecher family at that time.

My grandfather went to Columbia and he graduated in the early 1840s. Then he went on to theological school. I have his diploma. A diploma in those days was a genuine sheepskin, full size sheepskin, and it was signed by a dozen or more professors. Half of them were medical doctors; I am not quite sure just why. At any rate, after he graduated from theological seminary, he went out to Burma as a missionary.

Parker: What was his name?

Bary: John Sidney Beecher. He was there for some years. I was rather amused to look over a book that has a good deal to do with him, about his work. He disagreed with the missionary board in New York. He thought that it was more important to provide schools and to give health care to the natives than to confine themselves just to converting them.

Parker: He was ahead of his time, wasn't he?

Bary: Yes. At that time in the missions, there was a great question as to whether this society and this country should provide money and subsidize the natives--what we call rice Christians. You convert them more rapidly if you give them food and things. But he did not believe in that. He wanted to move ahead much more slowly and to make a fundamental change in the natives' attitude by providing education.

The school that he established in Bassein was still flourishing at the time the Japanese took over Burma. I don't know what has become of it since. It had a thousand pupils in it at that time; that was, of course, in World War II.

Parker: John Sidney Beecher made a definite impression on the culture.

Bary: Yes, he did. He had respect for the natives. My mother was born out in Burma. When she was about seven, her father became very ill; he had been out there for twenty years and it was certainly quite a murderous climate. They took a ship and went to England and he died shortly after they got to England. Then my grandmother brought the children over to this country.

Roe

Bary: In my grandmother's family the head of the family was a minister named Charles Hill Roe who became quite prominent. He was one of the founders of Chicago College, which later became the University of Chicago.

Parker: This is still on your mother's side. By the way, what denomination did John Sidney belong to?

Bary: He was Baptist.

Parker: Baptist. So the board would be the Baptist Board that you mentioned?

Bary: Yes. Charles Roe was also a Baptist. They were all Baptists in that tribe. He had come from England. The Baptist Board in New York wanted him to go out to Illinois. It is rather interesting.

When he got out there, there was a question as to whether he should go to Chicago or to--this place that he did settle; I'll remember the name. They were considered comparable; but

Bary: Chicago was considered very rough and inclined to violence, and Belvedere--that's the name of the place--Belvedere was a quieter place. So he chose Belvedere. Now nobody's ever heard of Belvedere. But it's rather interesting to see that at the time he came, they were considered comparable.

Parker: This would be when--about what time?

Bary: That was in the late 1840s. During the Civil War, he went into the army as a chaplain. He was captured by the Confederates. They paroled him; so he went to Washington to work for Negroes who were just recently freed. He stayed there quite a bit and he got very much interested in the Negro problem, the education of Negroes.

Well, that is really about all about my mother's family.

Parker: Charles Hill Roe--what is his relation to your mother?

Bary: He was her grandfather.

Parker: Your mother then came back after her father died and lived with her family--where?

Bary: Her mother brought the children out to Illinois where all the Roe family was settled.

My grandmother--my mother's mother--had taught at Rockford before she was married. I have an old copy of Paradise Lost that one of her classes gave her one year.

Parker: Rockford was established when--in the forties?

Bary: Yes, it must have been established, at least it was running in the early fifties, because that is when she was married. It was then the Rockford Female Seminary. She taught I think French and music.

Parker: Jane Addams went to Rockford too a little later?

Bary: Yes, and Julia Lathrop. Rockford was considered a very good college. Of course, that was quite a bit later. But, at any rate, my grandmother taught there. After she came back to this country, she was not in very good health. She taught for a while again at Rockford but had to give it up.

Parker: Can we get your mother and father together--where did they meet?

Bary: They met either in Belvedere or right around there; there are small towns around there. There was Aurora and Saint Charles; I think my mother was living in Saint Charles at that time. She knew Mrs. Lincoln there. Mrs. Lincoln was considered very queer by her neighbors; my mother was quite fascinated with her.

Mrs. Lincoln rather went in for spiritualism which shocked the people. She told my mother that Lincoln had a vision one night that impressed him so much--an angel told him that if he did not free the slaves, he would never win the war. He was so impressed by it that--her story was--the next day he signed the preliminary proclamation.

Parker: In 1862. Any other family memories of Mrs. Lincoln or Mr. Lincoln?

Bary: She told my mother a good deal, but nothing that you don't get in the books. Apparently, she did feel definitely that Lincoln always loved Ann Rutledge, and that she was always second-best to Ann Rutledge who died.

Parker: Let's see. Your father and mother were married in Illinois?

Bary: Yes, they were married in Illinois.

Parker: I think you said that you were born in Boston?

Bary: No, I was born in Indiana. But I was not born until after my parents were married. (Laughter)

Bary

Parker: I know you have an older brother and a younger brother too. Maybe we can start out with your young parents. Your father was a minister?

Bary: Yes. You see, on my father's side, he was born in St. Petersburg, Russia. His father had a school there, a private school for boys. He was always under suspicion of being too liberal. Of course, all the intellectuals were under suspicion as far as that goes. My grandmother once said that many times the police would come to the house and search everything. They always came very early in the morning, two or three o'clock in the morning. She was always very diligent and if a letter had come from anybody who might possibly be under suspicion, she would destroy it immediately. She destroyed any photographs of anybody that could possibly be considered of interest to the police.

Parker: Do you think your family actually was anti-czarist?

Bary: My grandfather believed in the constitutional government, and that's as far as he went. He was not way off on the left. Still, constitutional government was considered pretty radical by the police.

At last he was arrested by the police and detained for a number of days. They considered that he had done something or other that was subversive and he was sentenced to be exiled to Siberia. But my grandmother knew a lady at court who could go to the czar and she went immediately to the czar. That is, my grandmother went immediately to the lady and asked her to go immediately to the czar and get that sentence reduced. She did, but in place of being exiled to Siberia, he was banished from the country on about forty-eight hours' notice. He had to get rid of the school and pack up the children and leave Russia.

Parker: What is your grandfather's name?

Bary: Benjamin.

Parker: Benjamin Bary? Is that the Russian name?

Bary: It isn't a Russian name; it is a French name. The family came from France originally.

Parker: Oh, I see. The province of Berry.

Bary: No, they came from Alsace. From Alsace the family had gone to Poland at the time of the religious wars. Poland was so thoroughly Catholic that the Reformation never hit it. Poland welcomed foreigners of any kind who would bring money or skills. These were Huguenots.

Parker: Your family were Huguenots.

Bary: Yes, in Alsace. Alsace is very close to Worms, and it is only a few miles from where Luther was preaching. It became quite Huguenot. When there were pretty heavy disturbances a branch of the family went up to Poland. They went to the eastern edge, near Riga. They went to a place called Mitau.

Then Catherine the Great partitioned Poland--Russia and Prussia and Austria divided up in three bites. On the third partition she took in that part of Poland where the family lived. Then they became Russian and they did not like it.

Bary: Some of the family escaped when the young men were going to be conscripted into the army. I have found one branch who came over to this country and another branch who went to Sweden. The young men escaped; but having escaped from Russian rule, they never could communicate with their families. It would have endangered them. You could not write; you could not do anything.

Parker: They were simply cut off.

Bary: They were cut off. By doing some research and by luck I found those two branches which nobody else in the family knew anything about because they had been entirely separated. No chance of communication.

One of the young men escaped under a load of hay. A farmer from Austria had brought a load of produce over to Riga. When he was going back, the family paid him to take the boy who would have been conscripted into the army. The farmer risked his life really by putting the boy under the load of hay and getting him across the border into Austria. From Austria he finally got over to this country.

The other boy apparently got to Riga. In Riga he either paid the captain to take him away or else he stowed away and went across to Sweden, which is very close to Riga--you just go across a stretch of water. That is how he escaped.

Parker: How did your grandfather get to St. Petersburg?

Bary: I don't know, and I don't know how he escaped conscription. Conscription in those days did not mean any two years or four years, it meant twenty-five years. It really took the man's life. How he escaped, I don't know.

He landed in Germany and went to the University of Leipzig. Then he taught for a while in Paris. Then he went back to Germany; he taught German. He was rather proud of the fact that he could teach French in Paris and he could teach German in Germany. He was quite a linguist. One of my uncles told me one time that he could teach twelve languages.

Parker: What is your father's name?

Bary: Emil.

Kahn

Parker: And your grandmother's name--this is the one you resemble, is that right?

Bary: Yes.

Parker: What was her name?

Bary: Her maiden name was Henrietta Kahn. She was Jewish. She gave up going to the synagogue when she married my grandfather because he belonged to some rather obscure sect of Christians and he was almost a bit fanatical on the subject.

Parker: Do you remember the name of the sect?

Bary: No, I don't. It was under his influence that my father became a minister.

Parker: Did your grandmother lose connection with her family when she married your grandfather?

Bary: Not entirely. No, she did not lose connection. She had a brother, Ludwig, who was a musician, and a sister, Rosa, whose son became a doctor and went to Moscow and lived with the family. They did not break connections.

Parker: Where was your grandmother from?

Bary: Riga.

Parker: There was a great emancipation among the Jews in the 1800s, and I wonder if your family participated in this?

Bary: I don't know too much about that. None of the family seems to have had an interest in Judaism. I have had an interest in it, but nobody else.

Parker: Let's see, we have your grandfather at St. Petersburg teaching at a private school, or directing a private school.

Bary: He owned it. He was rather a severe person and disciplinarian. I understand that he got into difficulties one time because it was announced the czar would drive down by school, on the street in front of the school. My grandfather kept the children in school and he did not let them go out to see the czar. So that was a question mark against him. He said they needed to study and they should not go out. That was not a tactful thing to do.

Parker: That was the reason for morning searches, I imagine.

Bary: Yes, very likely. The Russian police are not anything to play with.

Parker: Let's follow his exile; where did he go when he was banished?

Bary: When he was banished he went to Zurich where good Russians go. The Russian liberals who escaped from Russia commonly went to Switzerland. Zurich was a great hang-out.

I had the address of the house where they lived in Zurich, and I went to see it when I was over there. I met a woman who was coming out of the house. It is an old three or four story house on one of those narrow streets that is about fifteen feet wide at the bottom and gets closer higher up. Well, a woman was coming out of the house just as I came up, and I asked her if she lived there. She said yes. I asked her if she could tell me about the house. I told her that my grandfather had lived there in the late 1860s. I asked her if changes had been made. She said they had put down wooden floors. Before that the floors were stone. That was the only change that had happened as far as she knew.

I tried to persuade her to let me go inside; but she said no, her house was not in order and she could not. I wanted to see the inside if I could. Apparently, my grandfather rented a floor. It was a fairly large house with pretty good space.

Parker: How large was his family at this point?

Bary: He had about eight children. My father was in his early teens.

After two or three years, my grandfather decided to come over to this country. He knew that he had a relative in Detroit. I am not sure whether that was his brother, Louie, or whether Louie was a cousin. But Louie had a tailoring establishment in Detroit, which was then a country village as it were.

My grandfather brought his family over there. He thought that he would go into agriculture. He was not very well. He lived a number of years but not too long.

Once when I was in Detroit I went to the public library and found a reference librarian who was very much interested in old maps. She dug out old maps of Detroit and showed me where it was marked that my grandfather had a farm of forty

Bary: or sixty acres. When we put it on the modern map of Detroit, it was right downtown.

Parker: It's too bad he didn't hold on to that.

Childhood

Parker: What happened to your family then?

Bary: After my grandfather died, my grandmother went to Chicago and she lived there with her youngest son who was Charles; he was a lawyer. That was where I met my grandmother when I was about two. My father had been--well, they moved those ministers around a good deal. He got to Chicago about that time, and I was about two. There I met my grandmother who was very warm-hearted and a very practical person. She could do anything.

All of her children adored her. They did not adore their father because he was such a disciplinarian. But she was so warm-hearted. She stayed in Chicago for several years after we left.

"The Revolution-that-was-to-come" (Chicago)

Bary: While my father was in Chicago, he became greatly interested in Tolstoy and Turgenev and the other Russian writers and the Russian revolution. He was very enthusiastic on that subject.

Parker: This must have been about what time?

Bary: About 1890.

Parker: So what revolution does this refer to?

Bary: They called it "the revolution-that-was-to-come." The nihilists used to go around bombing with a lot of the same ineffectiveness of the students who bomb now. It was a demonstration against the Russian government.

Tolstoy was making a great impression on the whole western world and the other Russian writers were also. My father began to lecture on Russian literature. Two of his brothers had gone back to Russia. They were engaged in business; they were engineers.

Bary: You cannot talk very much about the Russian writers without getting into this intellectual distaste, if you want to say, for the Russian government. So my uncles persuaded my father to stop lecturing because it would endanger them. The czar had spies all over the world, and it would endanger them.

Parker: Your father was anti-czarist when he lectured?

Bary: Oh yes, sure. Well, sympathy for the peasants, the muzhiks, who were serfs. Let's see, I guess Alexander had freed them a bit, but not too much. Their condition was really miserable, with the great landlords living in St. Petersburg and having overseers back in Russia on their estates grinding those poor peasants.

Tolstoy had great sympathy for them, and so did the other writers. You really could not lecture on Russian literature without getting dangerously flirtatious toward the movement against the czar.

Parker: Did your father have any contact with Hull House or Chicago Commons, with the people there?

Bary: He had some. His brother, Charles, was very much interested, was rather a part of a group that was tremendously stirred up by the Haymarket Riot. Charles was quite active in that group that tried to get Parsons pardoned and all. My father got into that, too. His brothers persuaded him to go back to theological seminary. We moved to Andover, where he went to the Andover Theological Seminary and graduated there. You see, during that period, the majority of ministers never went to divinity school. It is the same as doctors--there were lots of doctors who never went to medical school, and lawyers who did not go to law school. They took an apprenticeship training.

Church and Lumber Industry (Bangor, Maine)

Bary: My father got his degree in theology. When he graduated, we went to Bangor, Maine, to a church which belonged to rich people. There was considerable trouble in the lumber business. Bangor was the headquarters of lumbering in Maine. At that time all the lumberjacks lived in barracks; there was no place for families in the labor camps. They lived rather in barracks. They worked very hard.

Conditions were really very miserable. In the winter, they had to stop part of the time on account of the weather. Then they would come down to Bangor and hibernate and spend what

Bary: money they had. My father got very much interested in that. But the deacons of the church told him that he had no business thinking about business matters, that he did not know anything about it.

He considered that Bangor ought to do something about the condition of these men. There was really a seamy side to Bangor. There was prostitution and all the miserable hotels and lodging houses where the men lived.

There were a few Negroes who had come to live in Bangor. My father invited them to come to the church. That was too much. This church had no intention of having Negroes join the church, and they told my father this. They had quite a stormy session. He accused them--well, he said their attitude was not at all Christian. He considered that he had failed to civilize them, to Christianize them. The conflict brought on a breakdown and he left.

Parker: He stood up for his principles but that was not enough?

Bary: He could not persuade them really to adopt what were really Christian attitudes, so he thought he had failed.

Parker: How old were you at this time?

Bary: Five.

Latency Age Questioning of Life (Melrose, Massachusetts)

Parker: Then where did your father go?

Bary: After he was so ill, we went down to Boston and we lived in Melrose, which is a suburb a few miles out of the city. He engaged in different lines of business--not too precarious. He was in the insurance business for quite a while.

Parker: He really was terribly discouraged by that experience in Maine.

Bary: He was profoundly discouraged by it. He had had very high ideals about a mission to bring Christ to people. Then he felt he had been a great failure.

I had a sister, a couple of years older than I, who was killed by a train when I was seven. That was a terrible blow for both my parents. She really was quite a remarkable child. My mother never recovered from it; she became quite a recluse. I think my father never recovered either.

Parker: They blamed themselves somehow?

Bary: They could not believe that such a thing could happen.

Parker: You mean that God would do this?

Bary: Well, it was hard for them to see how God could allow it to happen. They never went to church again.

Parker: So God had failed them, they felt?

Bary: They had failed God in some way. I think they thought that they had failed.

Parker: Your father was now Congregationalist. In their religion, would they think they were sinners then? That they were not to be redeemed?

Bary: I don't know. We never discussed it. My mother spent the rest of her life searching in all kinds of philosophies, searching for something. Sometimes she thought she had it and then . . .

Parker: How did all this affect your growing up do you think?

Bary: I had been going to Sunday School like other kids and we had a nice teacher who told us stories. Then we had a substitute teacher who came in who was very severe. She was telling us that God would punish this or punish that. One of the children asked her what God would do if you spent the nickel you were supposed to drop in, if you spent it at the corner drugstore for candy. She said promptly, "God would strike you dead."

I thought about that. She was very positive. Of course, the next Sunday I spent my nickel at the drugstore and I waited around all day. I think that was the longest day of my life so far. Finally I went to sleep at night and woke up in the morning and God had not struck me dead. I never went back to Sunday School.

I had to think for myself. I suppose this business of questioning--I suppose I questioned everything as I went along.

Parker: From that point on?

Bary: I think so. I think you get into a certain habit. Some people accept everything that comes along, the ideas and everything. Then some people question them. I think I started questioning them that day when I woke up and I was not dead.

Parker: But your sister had already died?

Bary: Yes. I think her death did not affect me so much as this experience that I had.

Parker: Yes, your own coming face to face.

A Victorian Adolescence (Glendale, California)

Bary: We stayed in Melrose until I was nearly fifteen. Then my father was ill again, very ill, and we came out to California and went to Los Angeles. I continued in high school at Glendale, which was then a very, very small place; in fact, I was the only person in the class. That was the third year and the fourth year. That is really not bad; I mean you do learn your lessons. If you are the only person, you are going to recite the whole lesson.

Parker: Did you have a good teacher?

Bary: Pretty good. At any rate, you could go ahead much faster. In Latin, I did a good deal more than was required and finished up the first of Martial. And Virgil the same way--I read eight books I think instead of four. I read some Sallust and other things.

Parker: You were a precocious student.

Bary: Well, I had had a very good grounding back in Melrose. The school there was really very good.

My mother was really quite ill after that time--the menopause. She felt, as a great many women did at that time, that you were going to have four or five years of being no good. Of course, that was one of the old ideas, the same as the idea that you should not take a bath at your periods.

Parker: She was depressed for a while, do you think?

Bary: Yes. Physical depression, mental depression, and the Victorian idea that that was what happened to you. I asked her doctor one time later on what was the matter with her. He said there was nothing the matter with her excepting that she was a Victorian. "And that is an incurable disease," he said.

Parker: What was your father doing at this time?

Bary: He wanted to be out-of-doors. He went into strawberry raising; we raised strawberries. He raised very good strawberries for a number of years.

Parker: When you graduated from high school you were how old?

Bary: I was just seventeen.

Parker: Then what happens?

Bary: I took care of my mother. I thought I had to. I would have wished to go on to college but she had to be taken care of. That was the idea at that time.

Parker: Did your brothers go on to college?

Bary: Yes.

Parker: But you had to stay home with your mother?

Bary: I felt I had to. There were compulsions. Now people don't feel the same way. But at that time, children represented old age security. There was no other. Children were assets; now they are liabilities. People had families because it was understood by everyone concerned that the children took care of the parents.

Those assumptions control. The assumptions at the different stages of history are extremely important.

Parker: They control your behavior.

Bary: They control behavior; they control all your thinking. You really cannot understand history unless you do understand the assumptions.

Parker: Let's talk about some of the assumptions you got from both sides of your family as they affected you when you went into your own career.

Bary: My mother had these Victorian assumptions: I was supposed to be lady-like; I was not supposed to raise my voice; I was not supposed to play baseball with the boys, which I did.

Parker: You were a tomboy?

Bary: Well, I played first base on the boys' team. At one time, I was known as "Dyna" which was short for dynamite, because I engaged in a fight with a boy. He had called another girl by a very unpleasant name. I fought him, knowing perfectly well that it was true, what he had said, and knowing also that he was bigger than I was and nobody would let him fight me back. I was thoroughly ashamed of myself afterwards for taking advantage of him, because it really was taking advantage of him. He could not fight back as he would have fought a boy or fought somebody who was as big as he was. So I was known as Dyna for quite a while; that is an unpleasant episode.

Parker: You were a teen-ager then in Los Angeles?

Bary: Yes. No, I was not a teen-ager in Los Angeles. I was in Melrose. I was younger than that. By the time I got to Los Angeles, I would not have done that.

Parker: You were a young lady in Los Angeles?

Bary: Well, I was not too much of a young lady; but I knew that that was an unfair thing to do.

Parker: How about some of the assumptions on your father's side that influenced you?

Bary: I never really talked to him very much. He had strong family ideas. But he never took root in this country. He did not get along with my brothers; they were much more independent. They were brought up--they were Americans. And he could not bridge it.

Parker: He was preoccupied with the revolution-to-come, I think you said at one time, the Russian writers?

Bary: He never talked about it. Somehow or other, I seemed to have absorbed it when I was very, very young. Now, my brothers were never interested in the Russian intellectual movement; they were rather ashamed of having any connection with Russia. I was fascinated by it.

I realized my father was a very unhappy man who never got his feet planted in this earth, in this country. It is only much later that I realized some of the very fine qualities that he had. My father and mother were so different that they never could understand each other; they never could help each other. It was very tough on everybody concerned. They were too far apart.

Parker: Helen Beecher and Emil Bary were a continent apart.

Bary: They were both very good people who brought out what was most futile in the other, which is quite a tragic situation. If you have a good person and a bad person, that is one thing. But when you have two good people who are hurting each other, then you get real tragedy.

II: THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 1910-1911

The Campaign for Woman's Vote in Southern California

Parker: How was it that you got out of the home eventually, or found your own career?

Bary: I did not want to stay at home. I wanted to get out. I worked. After my mother got a bit better, I got a job in a bookstore. I enjoyed meeting people. I loved books. Then I quit that job after a year or so and I went into the suffrage campaign.

Parker: In Los Angeles. Let's hear about that. That sounds very interesting.

Los Angeles Political Equality League

Bary: I went down to the headquarters to find out what they were doing and what they felt and all that. I got talking with the people down there; and I was talking with Mrs. Seward Simons who was president of the Political Equality League, the outstanding organization. Mrs. Simons said they needed somebody in the office and would I go to work for them. So I did, and I got \$10 a week.

Parker: And you were the general secretary for the Political Equality League in 1910 and 1911?

Bary: Yes. That was in the spring or so, and the election was coming along in October.*

*The Suffrage Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified in California in a special election held October 10, 1911. --Ed.

Friday Morning Club

Bary: The Political Equality League was organized by the leading women of the Friday Morning Club, which was a great institution in Southern California. It was about the biggest of the women's clubs and it was interested in public affairs. They carried on a campaign for pure milk and things like that.

The women's club movement was something. There were hundreds of clubs all over Southern California. Some of them were purely social, a great many of them were. Southern California was being settled up very rapidly, mostly from the middle western states of Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, some from Illinois, and then a lesser number from other states.

There were all these people who wanted to get acquainted. I think almost every woman seemed to belong to at least one club. Some of the clubs were based on their neighborhoods and some were based on point of origin. They went in for everything. Some of them went in for culture; they studied fifteenth century Spanish architecture, things like that. Some of them were much more practical.

The women's club movement was built up so rapidly because in the farm belt the Department of Agriculture had organized a Home Economics Service to reach the farm women of the wheat and corn states who were living isolated lives and who needed help and companionship. They carried that experience of having been organized into groups with them. When they came to California, they just kept on belonging to clubs.

Parker: They already had the experience and know-how in organization work.

Bary: Yes, they did. I know in the bookstore Robert's Rules of Order was one of the popular books. I remember that. I was a bit surprised to find that we had a large supply of Robert's Rules of Order.

Parker: They sound like serious club women.

Bary: Yes, they were. They worked hard at it. The Friday Morning Club had gone in for suffrage. The women who were members of the league were largely the wives of professional people. They were not so much Middle Westerners. Mrs. Simons was from New York. Mrs. Edson was a prominent leader.

Parker: Was that the Katherine Edson that Hiram Johnson places--

Bary: Yes. That was Katherine Edson. She came from Ohio. There was Mrs. Frank Gibson; I think she was from New York. None of them seemed to be from the Midwest. At any rate, they were largely upper middle class, professional class, whose husbands, for the most part, were rather conservative businessmen or professional men--doctors, lawyers. They were very respectable.

Los Angeles Times

Bary: It represented a certain clash because the Los Angeles Times, at that time, dominated business and it was the leading paper in Southern California. It was conservative. It was opposed to suffrage. It showed its opposition largely by belittling the campaign and sneering at it. As a league we all hated the Times, which is really quite interesting because later on in the campaign when I analyzed it, the area where the women lived went strongly against suffrage.

Parker: How do you account for their involvement? These upper-class women with professional husbands?

Bary: They were superior women who, if they lived at the present time, I think almost all of them would have had professional training.

Mrs. Gibson had been a teacher. I don't think any of the others had engaged in any money-making activities.

Mrs. John Randolph Haynes was treasurer of the league, and her husband was a doctor. He was an outspoken liberal. I think he was the only husband--well, Charlie Edson was a liberal--but aside from that, they did not come from a liberal background; they came from an intelligent background.

Parker: In their politics, what were they?

Bary: Their husbands, I think, were all Republicans.

Parker: They did not follow Hiram Johnson, the Progressive?

Bary: No, not so much. The women did, but their husbands did not. Seward Simons was more a liberal; he was a professor of law.

Parker: What was your work in 1910 as general secretary of the Political Equality League?

Bary: I talked to people who came to the office. Mrs. Simons came every day; she would talk to people, but there were too many for her to

Bary: talk to everybody. I talked to people and I managed a number of volunteers who addressed envelopes and did chores like that. They were my charge. I had general charge of the office. We had a woman on publicity whose name was Bess Munn, a newspaper woman, but we did not get too much publicity.

Parker: Through the Times. They ignored you?

Bary: Yes. The best the Times could do was to ignore us. We did have the support of the Record, which was a liberal sort of working-class paper.

Wage Earners Suffrage League

Parker: Socialist labor supported you in Los Angeles, is that right?

Bary: Oh, yes. Socialist labor supported us. The league subsidized sub rosa a suffrage organization called the Wage Earners Suffrage League, which was directed by a Mrs. Frances Noel who was a liberal--a socialist, a German-born socialist. A very fine person.

Parker: Can you tell us about her?

Bary: She was married to a man in one of the banks who was a minor executive. He was a socialist but kept quiet about it because the bank would not have approved if he hadn't.

Frances Noel made speeches. She helped with everything around the labor temple in the way of organizing women to help in case of strikes or anything of that kind. She was the outstanding woman connected with labor.*

The Political Equality League subsidized this Wage Earners League. Sometimes Mrs. Noel came to our office and got her money, and sometimes I went down to the labor temple.

Parker: How much did this amount to, this subsidy?

Bary: I don't know. We paid minor expenses. When it came to Labor Day, we put on two floats for suffrage; we paid for those. I might say that some of the members of the board of the league thought I

*For additional reminiscences about Frances and P. D. Noel, see Ethel Duffy Turner, "Writers and Revolutionists," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1967. --Ed.

Bary: was very brave to be willing to go down to the labor temple.

The labor temple was east of Main Street. Main Street divided Los Angeles so that east of Main was considered a working-class district. Probably most of the women in the Political Equality League had never been east of Main Street. I went down there and I found that there were human beings that lived down there. I also found that when I went to some of their meetings that these labor unions could talk intelligently. They were talking the socialist line of talk. They talked economics from a socialist point of view, and I was quite surprised to find out how well they did talk.

Parker: Whom are you speaking of now among the leaders that you listened to?

Bary: I don't remember the names.

Parker: Job Harriman I think you mentioned?

Bary: Job Harriman was a lawyer who was a top labor man. He was a leading socialist--quite an idealistic character who was added to Clarence Darrow's staff of lawyers when Darrow set up the McNamara defense.

Relations with National Headquarters

Parker: Shall we follow on suffrage for a moment and then get to the Darrow defense? Did you have any connection with the Catt organization--Carrie Catt's organization?

Bary: Oh, yes. That was our national headquarters. At one time they offered to send Mrs. Catt to campaign. That was debated very hotly by the board of directors. They considered that she was very outspoken and that she would antagonize the gentler element.

Parker: Such as their husbands, among others?

Bary: They finally said that they would prefer to have the money rather than to have Mrs. Catt come out. The national headquarters sent us \$500. With that the ladies paid the expenses of a young woman from Colorado. She was represented to us as having sex appeal, only we did not use the word sex appeal, and was said to be very good looking. We thought that would be much more effective.

She came out and we had a big meeting arranged for her. In view of the fact that she was supposed to have sex appeal, we

Bary: had it sometime or other when we could get a good many men to come. This damsel, when it came to making the speech which was to be the big speech, rose and lifted her right arm up into a dramatic gesture and began, "I come from Colorado and I have voted ever since I was sixteen." Since twenty-one was the legal age, that brought down the house. We began to think it was undoubtedly true as we got acquainted with her.

Parker: Who was she?

Bary: I forget her name, but she was quite prominent. She was still young. Colorado I think had suffrage from the time it came in as a state. In 1876 it was the Centennial state. At any rate, we did not let her make any more speeches; we sent her home. Of course, we never heard the last of it from the Times and other people.

Parker: The Times ridiculed this speaker?

Bary: Oh, yes. There was a Times reporter who got himself a special assignment to our headquarters. He used to come around every day. He was friendly to us, so he minimized things. He would write in a gently patronizing tone. But their editorial writers would tear us apart in sneering fashion.

We had meetings all over Southern California and we sent out lots of literature. That was mostly what the volunteers did, they stuffed envelopes and addressed envelopes.

Parker: You sent this out to women's clubs?

Bary: Oh, yes. We tried to get all the women's clubs to work for suffrage.

Parker: Did you also send out literature to churches and other groups?

Bary: Oh, yes. We sent literature out very generally. We really did not spend much money. In those days, a few thousand dollars was quite a lot of money. Now campaigns run to millions. We collected money from people who came to the office. That was one of my jobs, to encourage people to contribute.

The Suffrage Vote in California, 1911

Bary: Finally, it came to the vote. On election night, the earliest returns we got were from San Francisco. And Orange County came in very early. Those were very much against us.

Parker: Against suffrage?

Bary: Against suffrage. By 11 p.m. not enough had come in to counteract it. We thought that not enough would come in so we conceded. Then everybody went home.

The next morning I went down to open up the headquarters. That was one of the most interesting days of my life. Nobody else from the league appeared; they were all flat. People streamed into the office. They were people I had never seen before. They were not our regulars. Many of them said they had never heard of the suffrage campaign; they did not know about it until they saw in the paper that it had lost.

They began to hand me money. I began to recruit people to help me. I had a couple of telephones and these people milling around and giving me money. I took in more money that day than we ever took in before, and I got all these pledges--hundreds of people came in and signed up for the next campaign. We all thought we had lost, you see.

Then on Thursday morning early, around four or five o'clock, one of the newspaperwomen, who was an ardent suffragist, called me and woke me up and said that we had won. The last of the cow counties had come in, and we had won by a margin of, I think it was 240 votes out of a couple of million.

Parker: So the cow counties pulled you through on the suffrage vote?

Bary: Every other county voted for suffrage excepting San Francisco and Orange. You see, in San Francisco labor was not socialist. There were some socialists but San Francisco had had union labor for many years. The leaders were P. H. McCarthy and Eugene Schmits. They were labor men but they were not socialists.

They took the general viewpoint that labor was run by men, it was a man's world, and that women should be protected and rather put behind them while they carried on the fight. Also, there was a strong feeling among a great many of them that if women had the vote, they would vote for prohibition. That was not what San Francisco wanted.

Parker: There was a strong Catholic element also in San Francisco's population?

Bary: Yes, and the Catholic element was not for suffrage. A women's place was in the home.

Parker: So you found yourself with a victory. You were victorious.

Bary: Yes, we were. Well, then the women decided that we should go ahead. I stayed on. We had a huge map of California, showing every precinct, and I colored that to show where we had won and where we had lost. Where we had won outstandingly was real red; where we had won by a narrow margin got down to a pale pink; and where we had lost went the same way with blue.

Parker: What characterized the strong districts for suffrage?

Bary: The labor part. East of Main Street in Los Angeles voted heavily for suffrage. The respectable, stylish West Side voted against it; still the county came in for it. This huge map showed that every place where we had worked and sent literature and all that, we lost. We won in the places that we had neglected. It was quite wholesome and the ladies took it with interest. They did not blame me.

Source of Financial Support

Parker: What was the source of your support during this campaign?

Bary: The source of funds came from various liberal friends. I think the largest contributor was Dr. John Randolph Haynes, whose wife was our treasurer. A general understanding was that we would go ahead with what we needed to do and Mrs. Haynes would pay the bills. I think in the end, she did not have much to pay.

We had friends, people who came around and left contributions every week or so. People sent in money by mail. Then sometimes at a meeting we would collect money. It was all on rather a small scale. Bess Munn and I were the only ones who were paid anything. Bess Munn got \$35 a week I remember.

Parker: How come she got more than you did?

Bary: She was a newspaperwoman.

Parker: Is that where you began to have newspaper contacts?

Bary: Yes, particularly through one of the reporters, Ruth Sterry.

Parker: She was on the Times?

Bary: No, she was on the Herald. She was an ardent suffragist. Some clubs sent us in money if they were in favor. Maybe they would send us \$25, \$50 or even \$100 as a contribution, although we encouraged them to spend the money locally and do the work on their own.

Parker: These were clubs from nearby towns?

Bary: Yes. That was the way that we made our funds, made things go. After the campaign, I kept on. They wanted me to stay on while they debated and considered how they would use the fruits of victory. They could not quite decide until later. Later, after I had quit and they did not seem to have come to a decision, about a year later they organized the Southern California Civic League for which I then took the job as secretary. That eventually became the League of Women Voters. That became a really effective organization.

III: THE McNAMARA BROTHERS CASE, 1910-1911

Union Organization Drive in Los Angeles

Parker: Could you tell us about your association with Clarence Darrow and the labor leaders during the McNamara brothers' trial?

Bary: During the suffrage campaign there were also in Los Angeles the preliminaries for the McNamara case (which followed the explosion at the Times in 1910).

Clarence Darrow had moved out to Los Angeles early in the spring to take charge of the defense. He had added one or two respectable lawyers from Los Angeles and also Job Harriman, who was a socialist. Darrow had brought down to Los Angeles certain of the leaders from the building trades of San Francisco. He wanted to watch them.

Parker: Who were these people?

Bary: There was Olaf Tveitmoe; he was Norwegian-born and a real revolutionist. For diversion, he would play the violin and read Greek, and he translated one of [Björnstjerne] Björnson's plays which had not been previously translated into English. He was a man of very strict morals. He was a real revolutionist; he believed that the relations between labor and capital were really a war. He was bitterly opposed to nationalist wars.

Parker: What did he look like?

Bary: He was a very big man--I would say he was well over six feet and big. He had black hair. He was a man of power. I think he could tear people apart with his hands if he tried.

He had with him as his second in command, Anton Johannsen, who was of German parentage. He had been a carpenter but had gotten into the officer rank of organized labor. Johannsen had

Bary: the ability to rally a crowd; he could talk to 10,000 people without a public address system.

Parker: What was their connection with the McNamara bombings?

Bary: As I came to find out later from them--they were astonishingly frank about it--the Los Angeles Times was using every measure they had to keep unions out of Los Angeles. The building trades of San Francisco really represented the building trade unions of the state. Tveitmoe was the perennial secretary of the state building trades and the city building trades. They wanted to organize Los Angeles, and they sent \$10,000 a week to Los Angeles to organize the building trades. They had done that for a year and had not been successful in organizing at all.

Los Angeles was full of people who had come out for health reasons. Jobs were hard to get. Union men came out from the East for these health reasons and they scabbed; they just had to have some money to take care of their families. Constantly, men were coming out, perhaps union men, perhaps non-union, but they were coming out in desperate need of jobs. The organizers that were sent down to try to organize Los Angeles could not do it. Los Angeles was growing very rapidly as a health resort.

Sabotage

Bary: At the end of the year, when they had not made any progress, Tveitmoe--it was largely his decision--and the leaders of the building trades called for the McNamara brothers.

J. J. McNamara was the secretary of the Structural Iron Workers Union, which had headquarters in Indianapolis. His younger brother, J. B. McNamara, had been engaged for several years in furthering the organizing work, you might say, of the Structural Iron Workers.

Parker: In other words, sabotage?

Bary: Yes, by explosions. I was told that they had pulled off 106 explosions without hurting anybody. They had damaged buildings. Contractors learned that if they had union labor they had no explosions; if they did not they were likely to have explosions.

Parker: Who told you about these 106 explosions?

Bary: Johannsen told me a great deal about it and he knew. Tveitmoe did not talk, but Johannsen was very free in talking.

Bary: They had been pulling off these jobs, then. J. B. McNamara had had as helpers a man named [David] Caplan and a man named [Matthew] Schmidt. Schmidt was quite young and enthusiastic about the labor movement. He later had a very interesting career over at San Quentin, but that is another story.

Those three men pulled off the explosion at the Times. They handled it badly; they should have waited. If they had waited an hour or an hour and a half, the workmen would all have gone home. As it was, there were still workmen on the job, and there were casualties. That was the first time they had ever injured anybody.

Of course, there was a manhunt out, all through Southern California and everywhere else.

Parker: Actually, you think the building trades leaders informally sanctioned this escalation of the war against the Times?

Bary: Yes, I do. You see, those men--including Darrow when I came to talk to him, too--they talked about the war between the union and the National Erectors Association (the association of steel companies that erected buildings). They considered it perfectly legitimate, far more legitimate than a nationalist war in which people are killed.

Manhunt

Parker: There was a manhunt then?

Bary: There was the manhunt. Finally, they had caught J. B. McNamara; they had not yet caught Schmidt and Caplan. From J. B. McNamara, they also arrested his brother J. J., who was secretary of the national union.

It is rather interesting to note that the way they found J. B. McNamara was because he had left a trail behind him. He used to go into workingmen's saloons. He liked champagne; he would order champagne and that made him conspicuous. If there was music, he would ask whoever was playing to play his favorite tune, the Traumerei.

The detectives found out that that was what he had done. They pursued that trail of champagne in cheap saloons and the Traumerei, and they pursued it until they found him. That was carelessness on his part; he was fostering an idiosyncrasy that cost him his freedom.

Attitude of the Defense

Bary: Then after they were arrested, Darrow was hired to defend them. Darrow was from Chicago. He had been through the fight to organize Chicago. When I came to know him, he told me that Chicago had been organized by arson, but construction was being organized by dynamite.*

Darrow recognized the fact that it was a war. He was bitterly opposed to nationalist wars, but the war of the unions to try to save their organization he considered entirely justified. I think he would not thank anybody for saying that; he did not agree they were guilty as charged.

Parker: You are certain that he knew they were guilty?

Bary: He knew it, and he thought it was all right.

Parker: So you are contradicting Irving Stone's book?

Bary: Yes. Darrow's wife Ruby came from a respectable class. I met her a couple of times. I do not think she ever had any revolutionary zeal, and I do not know quite why Darrow married her. She had been his secretary. She was I think the fourth wife.

Parker: It was Ruby's version, that Clarence Darrow did not know whether the McNamaras were guilty or innocent?

Bary: That is Ruby's story. But Darrow himself told me about the arson in Chicago. He made no pretense. The idea that they had deceived Darrow and deceived Gompers [of the AFL] was a respectable point of view from people who did not understand at all this warfare that was going on.

I looked up the journal of the Structural Iron Workers. Every month they would publish a list of the men who had died by accident and of the men who had died of pneumonia from exposure. There was no workman's compensation at that time; the workman's compensation laws had been thrown out by the Supreme Court. You read that journal every month; you see that list--maybe fifteen or twenty men dead from accidents and exposure. That is really quite enough to make people feel that if employers can get away

* On the Chicago background from the point of view of a member of the IWW, see Mary Gallagher, "An Interview," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1955. --Ed.

Bary: without paying compensation and without taking any safety measures, it is justified to go out and blow up something. It was not respectable to talk that way at that time.

Parker: In fact, most people did not believe that the McNamaras were guilty; they thought they were framed, is that right?

Bary: Labor did. Labor thought that they were not guilty. [Samuel] Gompers made great speeches, and he was a very effective speaker. Johannsen went around the country to different places; he always talked effectively. They raised a lot of money from the unions, all on the basis that the men were framed.*

The Guilty Plea

Parker: When Darrow asked the men to plead guilty, this was a shock to liberal people in the nation, is that correct?

Bary: It was a tremendous shock to them. You see, while Darrow was preparing his case, he was there in Los Angeles. There was a special election for mayor coming up, and Job Harriman was running on one ticket--I forget but it was probably a Democratic ticket--for mayor. I forget who was running also. The polls showed that Job Harriman was ahead. Now, the election was scheduled for December 5; and on December 1 Darrow took the McNamaras into court and pled guilty.

They did not confess; they did not confess anything; they did not implicate anybody else. They simply pled guilty. There were other factors in that. The district attorney had evidence which was pretty conclusive that Darrow had been working on some of the prospective jurors. Tampering with jurors was a crime. Also, Darrow had a spy in the district attorney's office who was telling him what evidence the district attorney had, and that looked very bad for the McNamaras.

The district attorney also had a spy in Darrow's office. Darrow had discovered that and went to great lengths to educate, well, to fake documents and reports and things for the spy to read. They were all faked. But that was part of this very picturesque business.

*For a labor leader's point of view, see Paul Scharrenberg, "Reminiscences," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1954, pp. 43-47. --Ed.

Bary: Darrow was confronted with a situation where he was likely to go to jail for tampering with the jury. If the McNamaras were brought to trial, what the Times wanted and the business people wanted was not to get the McNamaras but to go behind them and get Olaf Tveitmoe, particularly, because he was their real enemy.

Darrow did not consult Tveitmoe before he had the McNamaras plead guilty. Tveitmoe never forgave him for it.

Parker: How did you learn this?

Bary: Mary Field and I went out to lunch one day about this business. Mary thought she could reconcile Tveitmoe and Darrow. So the two of us went to lunch with those two.

Parker: Tveitmoe and Darrow?

Bary: Yes. When we sat down to lunch, Tveitmoe looked across at Darrow and he said, "I'm paying for lunch for the ladies, but I am not paying for your lunch." That was the only thing that had been said between the men. Darrow spoke to Mary and to me, and Tveitmoe spoke to Mary and to me, but they didn't exchange a word. Mary had persuaded them to get together, but they were not on speaking terms.

Parker: Mary was an old friend of Darrow's?

Bary: Yes. Mary Field was a magazine writer with a Quaker background. She was a long-time friend of Darrow's and he had confidence in her. She came out to Los Angeles in the early summer on assignment from McClure's Magazine. She was to write a series of articles on the McNamara case. She wanted to get a thorough grounding as to all the characters in the show.

Darrow had these San Francisco men parked at the Hayward Hotel. That is where they made their headquarters. Mary wanted to talk to them, but she was a bit reluctant to go alone. When I got acquainted with Mary, I liked her very much, and she apparently liked me so she asked me to come along with her. When I got there, I found that here were the characters in this great drama. I was quite fascinated.

Johannsen asked me to come to lunch with him the next day so I did. I went around to headquarters again with Mary two or three times. After I had been to lunch with Johannsen, Darrow called me up at the suffrage headquarters. I was astonished that Clarence Darrow would call me up. He asked me to come over and see him. I went over to see him, and he talked to me. He could

Bary: be very persuasive; he could get anybody to talk, I think.

I kept rather wondering what on earth he wanted to talk to me about. I thought he ought to be busy working instead of fooling around talking to me. I tried to get away two or three times, but he kept on and on. I suppose I stayed there well over an hour.

Johannsen had asked me to have lunch the next day. When I had lunch with him, he said that Darrow had told him it was all right for him to associate with me, that I was not a spy, so that would be all right. Then I began to realize that in this conversation that I had with Darrow, he had really been sort of turning me inside out in a very masterly fashion.

Parker: How would you describe him at this time?

Bary: Darrow? You know physically what he looked like. He was a bit over middle height. As I remember, he had sort of sandy hair, and a lock came down nearly into his eyes. He looked fairly ordinary when he did not brighten up. He could be very charming. On one occasion, I saw him when he was not at all charming.

Parker: What occasion was that? Was that the luncheon you discussed?

Bary: No. That was one time when he spoke to his wife. What he said to her was, well, Darrow could be very forceful. You will probably find plenty of descriptions of him.

Parker: What about his voice?

Bary: He could whistle birds out of the trees. It was very engaging, disarming. I think disarming is what it could be. Because at that conversation, I stayed around there for an hour or more and he was completely disarming. I just thought he was fiddling away time.

Parker: He was not an idol of yours, though, like Brandeis was later?

Bary: No. I was greatly interested. His viewpoint, you see. He believed so thoroughly that war by the unions was justified; I was very much interested to see why he believed that. Of course, that came out of his Chicago background; he had absorbed that.

Brandeis impressed me as having such great integrity. I did not feel that about Darrow. I thought Darrow would play for all it was worth for his side. I think Brandeis went above that to a much higher basis of ethics.

Parker: Let's get back to your meetings with Johannsen. Can you describe him first?

Bary: Johannsen was rather short, perhaps medium height. He was at that time forty or so. He was a forceful character. I was amazed at what he would tell me. He never pretended, for instance, that the McNamaras were not guilty. He never pretended that Tveitmoe and he had not engineered the Times explosion.

He told me the story of his life. I afterwards got hold of a book called The Spirit of Labor which was Johannsen's story. That was written by the brother of a man who was editor of Collier's at that time.

Parker: Hapgood?

Bary: Yes. That book was interesting because it was almost word for word what Johannsen had told me. He said that Hapgood came out to Chicago looking for a story about labor. He encountered Johannsen and picked him as representing the spirit of Chicago labor. He had cultivated Joe.

Johannsen had a wife who was very worthwhile. I came to know her afterwards and liked her very much. Margaret. Hapgood used to go out to their house, and he saw them almost constantly for a couple of months. When I read the book, after Johannsen had told me the story, it was repeated almost word-for-word. Perhaps Johannsen had told the story repeatedly. At any rate, you will find it all there.

Parker: This includes the McNamara business?

Bary: Oh, no. That was years before. I think Johannsen depended a great deal upon Margaret. He missed her very much. She had to stay in San Francisco with their children. She was a very fine wife to him. Understanding.

Parker: Johannsen and Tveitmoe felt that they were about to be implicated in this publicly, is that the situation?

Bary: I think they knew that if the case went to trial, they would be brought into it. They would be in the dock charged with murder. At one time, Johannsen and these other men from San Francisco all went out and had their pictures taken. Johannsen told me that he had not had a picture for quite a while, and maybe it would be a good idea to leave something to his family, something more current.

Bary: There were a great many poignant touches in connection with those men. I think Johannsen had it very much on his mind that he might be hanged if the case ever went to court.

He told me that Darrow's plan for conducting the trial was to plead not guilty by reason of insanity; then, to tell the whole story of labor: of all that the employers had done, of company detectives, company police, everything which the companies had done to break strikes and to treat people as if they were cattle. That was going to be the defense.

Parker: The defense was to be that the treatment by employers was enough to drive a man insane.

Bary: Exactly. That was enough; the men were not guilty by reason of insanity.

When that conclusion was reached, it was only after accepting the fact that the district attorney had so much evidence against them that they would have lost the case under any other grounds.

Parker: Besides the fact that Darrow was going to be implicated in jury tampering.

Bary: Of course, that was another element. Tveitmoe was taking the attitude that primarily Darrow was saving his own skin; that was why he would not speak to him.

Parker: Tveitmoe did not accept the argument about the weight of evidence being so strong?

Bary: Well, I think that Tveitmoe was enough of a revolutionist, a sincere one, that he would have faced the fact that he might be hanged in this business, that it would be all in a just cause, that he would be maintaining his innocence all the time.

I really think that from what I saw of Tveitmoe and what I felt, he would have been willing to face that; but he felt

Bary: that Darrow had sneaked out.*

Parker: How about Johannsen, how did he feel?

Bary: Johannsen did not wish to be a martyr. He was not such a gigantic character. There was something rather gigantic about Tveitmoe.

Parker: Heroic even.

Bary: Yes, it was heroic all right.

Parker: Johannsen, feeling that he was about to be on the dock for his life, confided to you about his feelings and the background of the trial, is that true?

* According to Robert Munson Baker, subsequently Darrow, Tveitmoe and others were tried: "The confession of the McNamaras on December 1, 1911 was not the conclusion of the affair insofar as the courts were concerned. In 1912, Clarence Darrow was indicted by the Grand Jury of Los Angeles County on two counts of conspiracy to bribe a juror. These indictments grew out of the arrest of Bert Franklin, one of Darrow's detectives, for attempting to bribe a prospective juror on November 28, 1911.

"Later in the same year, the officials of the Structural Iron Workers Union were tried by a Federal Court in Indianapolis for transporting dynamite and nitroglycerine across state boundaries for illegal purposes on passenger trains. Their arrests and convictions grew out of evidence uncovered by Burns in his investigation of the McNamaras. . . . The investigation was ordered by U.S. Attorney General Wickersham, and he assumed personal control on December 4, 1911. . . . the Grand Jury issued subpoenas to Olaf Tveitmoe, Secretary-Treasurer of the California Building Trades Council, E. A. Clancy, Vice President of the Structural Iron Workers Union, Anton Johannsen, organizer for the California Building Trades Council, J. E. Munsey of Salt Lake . . ."

Baker goes on to state that Tveitmoe, among others, was indicted and sentenced to six years in prison; however, on appeal to a higher court, his conviction was overturned, and he was released from jail. Schmidt and Caplan were not arrested, tried, and convicted until 1915. Clarence Darrow was tried twice; the first jury acquitted him, the second was hung, and charges were dismissed.

Robert Munson Baker, "Why the McNamaras Pleaded Guilty to the Bombing of the Los Angeles Times" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1949), pp. 98-100. --Ed.

- Bary: Yes. He talked amazingly frankly. Darrow had told him he could trust me. I used to wonder sometimes why the district attorney did not come around and talk to me. I knew that we were followed at times. But the district attorney's office never did.
- Parker: Mary Field, she's the sister of Sara Bærd Field?
- Bary: Yes.
- Parker: Did Mary Field become interested in these discussions or involved in them?
- Bary: No. While she was with me, she did not really ask them, they did not bring up the question, "Are you guilty or not?" I think she did not want to. She was going to write sympathetic stuff for the defense. I think that she would not have asked them whether the McNamaras were guilty or whether they were not guilty. You can see that a magazine like McClure's was not ready to come out on a revolutionary basis and say, "This is warfare and these acts are justified."
- Parker: So she took the line that Job Harriman, the socialist attorney, did--that these people were being framed?
- Bary: Yes. Job Harriman believe that. He was a fairly simple soul. The McNamara defense was putting money into Harriman's campaign. I asked Johannsen why they considered it so important to get Harriman elected mayor. He said that they wanted control of the police. That was the purpose. He told me that if Harriman were elected a man named Ed Knuckles from Chicago would be brought out to be chief of police, and Ed Knuckles was a buddy of theirs.
- Parker: That way they could stop the suppression of labor's attempt to organize in Los Angeles.
- Bary: Oh, yes. I think from what Johannson said that Ed Knuckles would not have hesitated about legal matters.
- Parker: Is there anything else about the McNamara trial that you would like to talk about?
- Bary: Well, you get some little sidelights. Now there was one man who was around with them whom I did not like at all. He was a man I would not trust. I said something to Johannsen about it. I said, "I hope you don't trust him." He said, "I think he's not exactly one of us, but we pay him because he would get money from the other side if we didn't. We watch him."

Bary: That struck me at the time as being one of these dramatic touches which confronts a cause, a revolutionary belief. They get some snake in the grass like that to whom they have to pay money and to treat decently, when they would like to keep him out. But they expect him to be a traitor if he has a chance.

That is the sort of character that a great novelist might introduce into a novel or a play to show you that if you go out to run a revolution against the status quo, you may be bilked or brought low by somebody like that.

Parker: Somebody like that would do you in, in the end.

Bary: A Jude. You pay him and you treat him--they treated this man politely. From what I saw, he would not have felt that they were watching him all the time and that they were suspicious of him. It was sort of a lesson to me.

Visitors in the Pre-Trial Period

Bary: Various leaders came out to Los Angeles in this period before the trial. One of them was Mother Jones. Did you ever hear of her?

Parker: Yes.

Bary: Mother Jones I liked very much. I met her through somebody or other. She took me to lunch one day. Now here is a sidelight on her.

I wanted to ask her many questions about her early life and all that. So she talked about it. Then she said, "Now I want to talk to you." She went on, in the kindest way, to tell me not to get too enthusiastic about this labor movement. She said it was her life, but maybe it was not my life, that I might get into deeper water than I realized.

Ordinarily, you think of Mother Jones as I heard her make a speech one time; she could rouse the dead. There was a sweeter side, motherly, kind. She impressed me greatly.

Parker: Were you worried at this point about some kind of further involvement?

Bary: No, I was not concerned about it. But I might have got into hot water. The police had followed, when I was with these men, they had followed us around. If they had taken me in hand and

Bary: interrogated me and all, I might have gotten into rather serious difficulties--embarrassments. My family did not approve of this. I really was surprised that the police did not go after me. I suppose they had plenty of evidence otherwise.

They were playing a big game with dynamite and all that. I really would not recommend any inexperienced girl get involved. As it was, I learned a great deal and I came to no harm by it.

Parker: Except a sympathy.

Bary: It shed a lot of light on all my interest in the people who were struggling against czarist Russia and why some of them had failed in their efforts. At any rate, we go ahead and we learn.

When we finished up at that lunch, Mother Jones insisted on paying. She laid out a tip for the boy, who had been very attentive. I could not help noticing; he had looked carefully all the time to see if he could not bring us something else. He took her money, then he pushed it aside. He handed back the tip and said, "Oh no, Mother, not in the family."

Parker: That is beautiful.

Bary: She told me that that happened very often. She did not like the system of tipping, but since it was customary she always did tip. But she said so many times it was turned back--"not in the family."

Parker: What about her mannerisms and appearance?

Bary: She was little; she was plain; she looked old. But she could be fiery. She could run the whole range. She was kind and motherly to me and sweet; then she could run the whole range of being a spitfire and a hellcat. She had no money of her own; she had no job. Unions kept sending her money--different ones, here, there, and the other place. She said she always had enough money. Sometimes she had more than she needed, but she always had plenty of places to spend it. Money would come in the mail, some union here, some union there.

Parker: Did she look like a working woman, gnarled hands and strong?

Bary: She was thin and wiry.

Parker: She did not look oppressed in other words?

Bary: Oh no, not oppressed. She was a person who could do anything. I think if she went into a house and there was a baby being born she would run through that. She would do whatever needed to be done.



Mother Jones on the porch of the home of Frances Noel in Pasadena. 1930s.

Bary: Or she would get up and speak to a thousand people or five thousand. She does seem to be above and beyond ordinary restrictions on women.

She had such a quality of life that you would forget that she was basically, in repose, a homely old woman.

Parker: What about her mind?

Bary: I think she was as sharp as a steel trap. She remarked that from the time she was three years old, she knew that when there was danger you crawl under the window; that was the safest place. Wherever she lived, there was shooting through the windows, there were holes in the windows; and the safest place was right there. As a baby she had learned that. Babies should not learn things like that.

Reaction of the Political Equality League

Parker: Did your friends at the Equality League know about your associations?

Bary: Well, Mrs. Edson and I talked about Darrow one time. I don't think I ever talked to the others about him. We were usually so busy discussing league business. There was a feeling of general sympathy that since the Times was our enemy, and it was Darrow's enemy, that Darrow was not so bad. I know they were curious and I think that several of them would have liked to meet Darrow. Of course, there were a good many people who would have liked to meet Darrow. Some of them he did meet. He had one lawyer in particular who was a very respectable lawyer and very respected. I forget his name. One of the things which he did was to have dinner parties and bring Darrow to talk to key people, giving Darrow a chance to work on them.

Errand at San Quentin

Bary: I might mention the fact that Fremont Older, editor of the San Francisco Bulletin, was a good friend of the Johannsens. Through Margaret, I met Fremont Older. Once I went down to see him to get some publicity for something else. He said, "You're just the person I want to see. You've got to take the next ferry and go over to San Quentin to see the McNamaras." He said that there was a man--I forget his name, something like Hodgkin--

Bary: who was considered to be a close friend of theirs, had been in on things. He had been talking to the district attorney.

Fremont Older said, "I will call up San Quentin and you can see the two McNamaras; tell them that this man has an appointment to see them at four o'clock. You've got to get over there. Skip down and get the ferry. That will take you to Green Brae. Then it's about two miles' walk over to San Quentin." That was the only way I could get out there, not having a car.

He said, "You see the McNamaras. You tell them just that. Tell them that he has been singing to the district attorney. That's all you need to do and they can arrange their own plan of campaign."

Older knew the warden very well, and he could tell him to admit a visitor to see so-and-so regardless of hours. So I did as he said.

Later, when they caught Schmidt and put him in San Quentin, he became of great assistance to the warden. The warden gave him the run of his house sometimes. I knew Schmidt--his name was Matthew--I knew his sister, who was sort of a high-powered fund raiser for the Community Chest. Catherine was a fine person. She lived with Beth on Russian Hill--I will remember her name after a moment. [Elizabeth Livermore] They lived on Russian Hill, an old family with considerable money.

Catherine used to go over to San Quentin very often and she took Beth along with her. Beth got acquainted with Mat. After he finally got out, he married her.

I never got to know Mat Schmidt. Our regional attorney, Arthur Miller, got to know him very well after he was released and liked him enormously, considered him a very remarkable person and a very fine person.

Parker: What had been Schmidt's training before he got into the labor movement?

Bary: I don't know that he had any. He was quite young; he was maybe twenty or so. In prison, he got educated. He took young prisoners in hand and educated them. At one time, I was told by somebody on the parole board that his name came up for parole and the warden said, "Oh no, don't parole him; I couldn't run San Quentin without Mat Schmidt." Which is a fine reason for keeping him in there.

Parker: Do you know how long he stayed?

Bary: No. It must have been fifteen or twenty years or so.

Parker: What were the McNamara brothers like when you went over to see them?

Bary: They looked ordinary.

Parker: Do you think they believed you?

Bary: Oh yes. I told them I came from Older. "Older said that this man would come at four o'clock and that he had been singing to the district attorney. You know what you want to do." With that, I left the room. I think it was irregular. (I once visited a man in prison.) When I went to see the McNamaras the warden had us in a rather ordinary room, and it was not like looking at a person through glass or anything. It looked more like a warden's waiting room.

So I told them the message. Then I left and I said, "I'll leave you to decide." By that time it was a bit after three. There was nobody watching or guarding us and nobody to shoo them back to cells after I left.

Parker: Had prison cowed them, do you think?

Bary: No, I don't think so. I did not get that feeling from them. It all depends whether you think you are right or not. I think all those men thought they were right. If they had doubts, it would have been different.

Parker: They kept their ideology.

In later years, in thinking about the McNamara business, have you changed your viewpoint?

Bary: No, I don't think I have changed my viewpoint. Granted the situation as it was, with the Supreme Court turning down all labor measures.

Parker: You were telling me that you thought you came very close to seeing the truth of the matter.

Bary: The truth?

Parker: That you actually saw the true story of the McNamara affair.

Bary: I think I saw the true story. Partly it was coming to know Margaret Johannsen afterwards and to realize what a fine, direct, simple person she was, and to realize that Older, with all his knowledge of people, was very fond of the Johannsens.

Other Celebrities in the Pre-Trial Period*

Bary: There were many other influences at work. Emma Goldman was out here during those months. She was lecturing. I heard a couple of her lectures. They were on Ibsen, and I think she had a lecture on Björnson. She was really an authority on European plays. She boosted Ibsen and Björnson and Wedekind, many of the foreign writers who were being introduced to this country. She did a great deal to introduce them.

She was considered a very sound critic. Also, she was famous, you might say, as an anarchist. In political matters and social matters, she was for much greater sexual freedom than was considered proper to mention. She had a very loud voice which could fill a large hall or a street. She was also quite likely to say things that were very embarrassing. I went to one of her lectures one time and she started out by saying, "Now let's clear the air a bit. If any woman here has had sexual relations with no more than one man, please stand up." Nobody stood up. Then she said, "Now we have cleared the air and we can talk freely."

She did tricks like that. I think you could be quite sure that people who had not met that standard were not standing up.

She was campaigning on the theory that the McNamaras were being framed; that was the regular talk among all the liberals and socialists and anarchists.

Parker: Did you actually know her personally? Did you meet her personally?

Bary: I just met her personally. Then I was invited to have dinner with her by a couple of the McNamara people. She very firmly said no, she did not care to have me at the dinner. I did not go to the dinner.

Parker: Why do you suppose that was?

Bary: Emma had an instinct for always running the show herself. I do not think she liked women. She apparently did not like my looks or something so she said I should not be invited to the dinner.

Then other people came out. Lincoln Steffens came out. He tried to bring peace between the defense and the prosecution. It was rather a hopeless affair. He had been working on the wave of exposures, beginning with The Shame of the Cities. That was very much in people's minds. You get so many threads going at one time.

*Some of the material on Emma Goldman is drawn from Interview #2 and is located on tape 4, side 2. --Ed.

IV: PRIVATE CHARITY IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA, 1911-1912

Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association, San Francisco

Parker: What did you do between 1911 and 1913?

Bary: After I got through with the Political Equality League, I came up to San Francisco and went to work for the Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association, a settlement. They had a clinic there which was managed by a very devoted woman, Marguerite Johnson, who continued to run that for about fifty years.

Parker: It was a health clinic?

Bary: Yes. She was a registered nurse and a very good one and a good manager. We had doctors who volunteered, some of the best doctors in San Francisco. The settlement was down in the Italian section. We had two or three doctors from UC Medical School who volunteered.

Parker: Do you remember their names?

Bary: There was Dr. Blake and Dr. Parkinson I remember very well.

Boothin Convalescent Home, Fairfax

Bary: Then I took charge of the Boothin Convalescent Home for Children, which was just beyond Fairfax, about two miles beyond Fairfax. That was popularly known as the Hill Farm. The land had been donated by a man named Boothin who owned a great deal of land in that area. He donated something like 110 acres.

There was a large building for the children. The farm was run not all the year but began in March when the weather got better. Marin County has more rain than we have over here, and it was not possible to warm the place up. It did not start operating until the spring when the weather began to be a bit less stormy, in early March. Then it would close down in November when it got too dark and cold.

I was the nurse; that is, my qualifications were that I wore a nurse's uniform. Nobody ever questioned my credentials. I learned something about charity at that time. In the brochure on

Bary: the Hill Farm, which was issued by the settlement, they said that the home was managed by a registered nurse and that there was a doctor in residence.

Now, my qualifications were that I wore a uniform. As far as a doctor was concerned, there was an old doctor there, Dr. Bedortha, who spent the winters at the Home for Incurables in San Francisco. She had been instructed not to meddle with the children. My instructions in running that place were not to let the doctor give the children any medicine. I thought about that a bit. Private charity: the home was run by a "nurse" and a "doctor in residence." That really sounded rather better than the situation.

At any rate, we began in March. The staff consisted of a cook and a laundress; and I had a helper, a girl who was very good with the children. Then we had a boy who took care of about half a dozen cows that we had and a lot of chickens. That was the staff.

We had about twenty-five children to begin with, mostly orthopedic cases. Those kinds came from the hospitals where they stayed all winter. I was terribly concerned as I came to find out they never heard from their parents. They seem to have been lost. They were sort of abnormally good and considerate of each other. They did not have fights. The children helped. A number of them wore casts and had to get around that way and had crutches.

Parker: Were they likely to have been immigrant children?

Bary: No, I don't think so. They seemed to be a mixed breed, perhaps more Italian . . . no, I don't think there were more Italians than in the general population. We got them from UC [University of California Medical School] and from the charity part of Stanford Hospital.

Frances, my helper, was very good at keeping the children busy. Frances Mitchell her name was. A couple of times the cook was sick for about ten days at a time and I did the cooking. The children all pitched in and helped. I was busy from seven in the morning when they got up until nine at night when they went to bed. I don't think I looked at a newspaper from March until November.

Parker: You must have been rather young--in your twenties?

Bary: I was twenty-four.

Parker: Twenty-four when you were head of the convalescent hospital. And it was sponsored by the Telegraph Hill Association?

Bary: Yes, the Telegraph Neighborhood Association, which was a settlement association. That was a settlement managed by Elizabeth Ashe, who was one of the old characters in San Francisco.

Parker: Can you tell us about her?

Bary: Betty Ashe was a picturesque person. She came from a very good family and was quite aware of it. She was called the head resident. She lived at the settlement. She had a very close friend, Alice Griffith, who was a wealthy woman in San Francisco and I think contributed a lot to the settlement.

Miss Ashe had gone to a Presbyterian hospital in New York for training as a nurse in order to qualify herself for this settlement work. The settlement was established around 1900 or so when Jane Addams was making a great impression on people.

Betty Ashe used to come out every Sunday; somebody would drive her out. She and I did not always get along too well. I mean, there were little things like she thought that she was entitled to take the cream off the milk that was around, and I thought that the children needed it more than she did. I was rather horrified that she should take the cream, which she did once. After that there never was any cream that she could take. She never said anything about it and I never said anything about it.

Parker: She had an abrasive personality?

Bary: Rather. She and Miss Griffith I think considered they were rather lady bountifuls. I don't know the rest of the board, excepting Mrs. Sloss was there. Mrs. M. C. Sloss was a prominent person. There was a Mrs. Wormser of the S & W business. They were quite wealthy people on the board.

Parker: When did your period at the convalescent hospital end?

Bary: I stayed until the end of the year. 1912. To illustrate the attitude of Miss Ashe and Miss Griffith: One time, Miss Griffith's nephew was to come out on Sunday along with them. Miss Ashe telephoned me and said that they would bring Miss Griffith's nephew and that we were not to put any eggs in the ice cream (we always made ice cream on Sundays). The nephew was allergic to eggs.

We had a lot of eggs. I thought one of the best ways to give them nourishing food was to give them whole milk to drink, and we made the ice cream a thick custard with lots of eggs. The children like that and that was good. Yet the idea was that this little rich

Bary: boy could not take eggs so all the other children would have no eggs in their ice cream.

Parker: It seems they were rather thoughtless.

Bary: That was an attitude they took for granted. I made ice cream with eggs. I thought that the little boy could get along without ice cream that time, but I was not going to deprive the other children.

Another time she brought him out. He was allergic, apparently, to poison oak. There was a lot of poison oak in the neighborhood. When the youngsters went out in that area, we swabbed them over with a solution of bicarbonate of soda and then washed them off when they came back. Not a child developed poison oak all that year.

When he came out, he went out with the children and they got into an area where there was poison oak. When they came back, I washed off the children. She asked me what I was doing and I told her I used the bicarbonate. "Oh," she said, "that's no good." So she rushed off to San Rafael and got medical stuff to put on this rich child.

I said, "Well, you provide the bicarbonate for these other children--for my children--and it works all right. I think it ought to be good enough for that boy." He had to have something out of a prescription bottle. That is the attitude.

I thought at the end of the year I really had learned a good deal about the attitude of people in private charity, and I did not want any more. So I quit.

Parker: Was it hard to leave the children?

Bary: It was the end of the year and we were all breaking up.

During the summer, when school was out, they sent us maybe twenty-five vacationers; so we had those. We had fifty kids altogether during the summer. It was more work cooking for fifty than it was for twenty-five, and the cook got sick a second time. When school opened, the school children--the vacationers--went back.

One thing that was a bit amusing. Miss Ashe told me to fill out the medical records of the children. There were cards but there were no records. Not a child ever brought a record. But I filled them out. I said, "Well, these children in casts and all

Bary: that, I can see what's wrong with them, but what about the rest of them?" She said, "If you don't know about their medical problem, just put down malnutrition." So I did.

At the end of the year, I compiled a report of statistics showing how much the children had gained. They really gained a lot of weight. They were growing. Fancy statistics, you see. As far as cause of illness and so forth, it came out about 89 percent malnutrition. That was really a very neat looking report.

The ladies at the settlement seized upon it--89 percent malnutrition! They went to the board of supervisors and got free milk for the school children in San Francisco on the basis of that report. That also showed me about charity because I knew perfectly well what kind of report that was. Just the same they used it and they got an appropriator for milk. Funny things like that that happened.

I learned something all the time. The only instructions that I had for running that place--and afterwards I was grateful that I could find my own way--the only instructions I had were to have the children say their prayers when they went to bed, and not to let the doctor give the children any medicine, and that's all. The rest was left open.

V: CALIFORNIA INDUSTRIAL WELFARE COMMISSION, 1913-1918

(Interview 2, December 30, 1972)

Minimum Wage Movement^{*}

Parker: Today we are going to talk about the California Industrial Welfare Commission and Miss Bary's participation in the administration of the minimum wage act.

Bary: The Industrial Welfare Commission was created by the legislature in 1913. The background of the legislation was that Mrs. Katherine Philips Edson had become acquainted with Florence Kelley of the National Consumers League in New York. Under the influence of Mrs. Kelley, Mrs. Edson was persuaded as to the desirability of establishing a minimum wage for women and children in California. Massachusetts had already established such a commission and it seemed to be coming along all right. Mrs. Edson persuaded Governor Hiram Johnson to back the legislation, which he did to a mild degree. Labor was opposed to it because they opposed any labor legislation which was not initiated by themselves--by the unions.

Laundry Workers and the Eight-Hour Law

Parker: What other factors do you think were involved in labor's opposition?

Bary: Union labor wanted to effect labor conditions through organization and not by legislation because they were suspicious as to the

*For a closely argued review of minimum wage legislation and administration in the United States, see Helen Valeska Bary's contemporary article, published as: Valeska Bari, "From Minimum Wage to Mass Production," Yale Review, vol. 16, no. 1 (Oct. 1926), 57-71. --Ed.

Bary: administration of any labor laws. They had passed the eight-hour law for women. They had put that through because conditions of laundry workers in San Francisco were very bad, and they had not been able to reach into the unions to organize the women who, I might say, lived largely in dormitories and worked very long hours. It was much more like a home industry than like a factory.

The leader of the laundry workers was a remarkable woman called Hannah Knowland. She persuaded the unions to pass the law because she was not able to organize the women. But any other legislation affecting labor was looked upon with great suspicion by the unions. When the law was being written, a provision was put in that the commission would not, in any way, interfere with any strikes. That was a clause put in by the unions. They didn't want the commission coming in on strikes.

Just before this time, there had been a report of a Chicago vice commission which attracted national attention. The theme of that report was that low wages of women--mostly in the department stores--was a cause of prostitution. There was a great outcry about department stores paying low wages.

In this situation in California, the Retail Dry Goods Association backed the idea of establishing a minimum wage for women. The law was definitely their law and it passed through their influence.

Industrial Welfare Commission Members*

Bary: When it came to appointing the members of the commission, the governor appointed Mrs. Edson as one of the commissioners, A. B. C. Dorhmann of San Francisco--

Parker: Whom did he represent?

Bary: He represented the Retail Dry Goods Association and various and sundry other branches of industry. He was perhaps the best known industrialist employer of women.

* For a view of an employer representative on the commission (appointed in the administration of Governor Warren), see Daniel E. Koshland, Sr., "The Principle of Sharing," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1971, pp. 187-196. --Ed.

Bary: He owned a large part of the Emporium in San Francisco, the St. Francis Hotel, the millinery industry in San Francisco, the Curry Service of Yosemite, and he had a share in many other concerns.

Another member of the commission was Walter Mathewson of San Jose, who was a labor man from the building trades. He was about the only labor man who could be persuaded to become a commissioner. His connection from the building trades was certainly not from any familiarity with women's work.

Parker: How effective was he on the commission?

Bary: He couldn't do much. He was very busy on his own job, and as far as I know, he was rather a silent member.

Parker: Did he attend regular meetings?

Bary: Yes, he would attend meetings. But what was important was what went on behind the scenes. Then there was Judge Frank Murasky who was judge of the Juvenile Court in San Francisco; he did not play an important part. Then there was Bonnheim, who was a partner in the Weinstock-Lubin store in Sacramento.

Parker: He represented Progressive Republican interests?

Bary: He represented the dry goods industry too. He did not pay much attention to the commission.

Parker: Who were the powers on the commission?

Bary: A. B. C. Dohrmann ran the show. Mrs. Edson was an articulate person, in general, and in defense of women and their needs. She had been appointed about 1911 by Governor Johnson as a special agent in the Labor Commission. In that capacity she had visited some laundries and took particular interest in the walnut-cracking industry, which was a home industry in which Mexican workers cracked walnuts in their slum housing; it was all very low paid and unsanitary.

Her efforts were directed mainly at going to women's clubs and talking about the conditions of women in industry and interesting them in this general subject. She did not do much investigating herself. She was doing an educational job.

Parker: Can you describe her?

Bary: Mrs. Edson came from Ohio. Her father was a doctor. She looked like an Indian; many of those old families in Ohio did have Indian blood. She was a generous person, a warm-hearted person. Her

Bary: husband was a music teacher and not a financial success. The family depended a good deal for their support on Charlie Edson's mother, That was a situation that Kate Edson found very difficult to bear. She wanted to be independent; she wanted to be able to earn enough money to assure education for her two sons. That was a very strong motive for all her work on the Industrial Welfare Commission.

She had been talking to the clubs about bad working conditions and the need for moving in and improving conditions, and she was quite progressive in her ideas. She did not know too much about the subject; what she had seen was quite pointed. Mr. Dohrmann took her in hand to educate her.

Parker: Was she educable by Mr. Dohrmann?

Bary: He made her realize certain things; he made her realize that she did not know very much. That was important to him. He made her realize how powerful he was. I watched from the sidelines the effect that he was having on her, of making her feel that if anything should happen to the commission, he could put her in the way of profitable employment.

A great many things like that happened. You can't call them bribery; they influence people. He never gave her anything, but he influenced her.

Parker: She toned down her ardor for the women's cause?

Bary: Oh, yes. He made her feel very definitely that she didn't know this and she didn't know that, and that he did know, and also that he had the capacity to help her get into a profitable line. The members of the commission received \$10 a day when they worked; but they were not working all the time. She received more than just the fee for board meetings because she was doing some work. Still, it was not very much.

The secretary of the commission was Harry Scheel, who was the statistician for the Labor Commission. Scheel was a good statistician but he was not an administrator. He was spending most of his time on the Labor Commission job and, as far as the Industrial Welfare Commission was concerned, he took his orders from Mr. Dohrmann.

Parker: I see. Scheel was Dohrmann's man. How did you get to be special agent in Los Angeles?

Bary: Mrs. Edson was the only member of the commission who lived in Southern California; she needed some help. I was appointed at the

Bary: end of 1913. She had her desk as special agent of the Labor Commission, and I had a desk in the Labor Commission also. In return for that, I helped them out on some eight-hour law cases.

Parker: You had known Mrs. Edson previous to that, is that right?

Bary: I had known Mrs. Edson in the suffrage campaign. I admired her very much. It was a matter of great concern to me to see how Mr. Dohrmann made her feel that she was inadequate.

Harry Scheel--well that's getting ahead of things--he died a year or two after he was appointed. Mrs. Edson retained her position as commissioner, but she was put on a regular basis and paid \$10 a day for every day.

Parker: Three hundred dollars. Six days a week?

Bary: No, it was a thirty-day business. When that happened, she gave up her position as special agent of the Labor Commission. At this time there were great questions as to whether the Supreme Court would declare the minimum wage constitutional. The United States Supreme Court was by no means progressive; it was quite reactionary. It was considered very doubtful whether the law would stand up. A case was being brought before the Supreme Court. I think it was the Oregon case. We lived for a year or two under the threat that it would all be declared unconstitutional.

Parker: That's on the minimum wage?

Bary: On the minimum wage.

Work of the Special Agents

Critique of Labor Law Administration

Bary: The headquarters of the commission was in San Francisco on the same floor as the Labor Commission, so that it was very convenient for Scheel to move back and forth across the corridor. He appointed three special agents in San Francisco: Charlotte Kett and Mary Chase, who were university graduates, and Grace Simon, who was a protege of Walter Mathewson. Grace was a rather simple, direct woman who was a widow and had no previous business experience.

Parker: What about Kett and Chase. What was their link?

Bary: Charlotte Kett and Mary Chase had taken some courses at the university under Jessica Peixotto, who was quite frank in admitting that she did not know much about labor. She knew it from a theoretical basis. She was, I think, the first woman to be a professor of economics in the country. She was a brilliant woman, but she did not have very much practical knowledge of the subject.

However, nobody in any of the universities was giving any practical courses.

Parker: I suppose it was a new field of administration.

Bary: Yes, it was a new field, and there just weren't any people with experience to give courses. They discussed the theories. In all of labor legislation, the theories don't count nearly so much as the practical situation. It depends on who backs a law and how it is going to be administered. That is a point that a great many academic people don't realize.

Parker: Who backs the law and how it is administered.

Bary: They think that comparing the wording of different laws will tell you which ones are progressive and which are not. Who backs the law, and who administers it, and the way in which it is administered makes all the difference in the world as to whether it is a dead letter or even a hindrance.

Parker: What was the case with the California Industrial Welfare Commission?

Bary: It was backed by the Retail Dry Goods Association and opposed by labor. Mr. Dohrmann dominated. He was very conservative in his viewpoint. He was quite frank in saying that he accepted the appointment for the purpose of keeping the commission from doing anything wild. He was very frank about that. He certainly carried out his idea. The commission had no intention, that is, he had no intention of moving with all deliberate speed. It was deliberate and not speed.

Retail Store Payrolls

Parker: Can you tell us about your powers and how you went about trying to enforce the minimum wage provision and where you were blocked.

Bary: The first thing that the commission did was to collect figures. We were to collect payrolls, to make inspections of plants, to

- Bary: distribute questionnaires (schedules of information) to the women employees and, using their addresses and what small amount of information we got on the schedules, to interview them to determine the cost of living.
- Parker: I see. You were to determine whether their wages were sufficient to cover the cost of living?
- Bary: Yes. We wanted to find out how women lived. All the time there was this agitation about that Chicago vice report, that women were being driven into prostitution.
- Parker: Because they weren't paid enough to live on, is that right?
- Bary: Yes. We were to interview a thousand women earning approximately \$10 a week in Los Angeles, and the same in San Francisco. On the basis of that information, we would know how women lived.
- Parker: How did you choose that standard?
- Bary: I think it was from something Massachusetts had done. We did not have much communication with other states; but through Florence Kelley, Mrs. Edson had some information. We hit upon \$10 as a fairly general wage.
- Parker: Can you tell us about your experience of interviewing in Los Angeles?
- Bary: I had the job of interviewing employers in retail trades, laundries, manufacturing, anyplace that women or minors would be working. Harry Scheel never gave me any instructions or advice. I read the law; the law said that we were entitled to get pay-rolls and inspect plants. The commission seemed to feel that we would undoubtedly be met by objections, so we were equipped with police badges, which I wore on the inside of my coat. I never used them.
- Parker: How did you approach an employer?
- Bary: I knew that employers in general, under the domination of the Los Angeles Times and the Chamber of Commerce, would be hostile. I figured that I had better make a careful approach. I would go in to talk to the boss--you always talk to the man at the top.

First, you offer to shake hands which sometimes they did not wish to do because you could see that they did not like to go through anything that looked like friendliness. But they could not quite refuse. Then, I would tell them something about the commission, accenting the fact that A. B. C. Dohrmann was the

Bary: guiding light. They all knew who he was. I would even ask them, "You probably are a friend of Mr. Dohrmann's." Well, they were always pleased at the suggestion, but none of them ever claimed friendship. I don't think he associated with the people down the line.

After giving them the assurance that A. B. C. Dohrmann, whom they knew was a very conservative person, Chamber of Commerce man and all that, backed the law, that allayed some of their fears. I was never refused a payroll, even from the Times, although I admit I had to talk to the Times pretty hard to get it.

Parker: Whom did you talk to at the Times?

Bary: I talked to the head man.

Parker: Was that Otis?

Bary: No, he was not in the office at the time. But I talked to whoever was in charge.

I was never refused a payroll and was never refused permission to go through a plant.

Parker: Even though you said that in some of the retail stores all this stuff was kept in code.

Bary: Payrolls were considered very sacred. Employees were dealt with rather individually. I remember in particular that Bullock's payroll was in code. When I copied the payroll, they had to give me the code. Now, of course, people talk very freely about payroll and things like that. But payrolls were sacred in those days; it was an invasion for anybody on the outside to go and get a payroll.

Scheel had told me to copy the payroll. I did. I discovered afterwards that in San Francisco the agents asked the employers to give them a payroll. I don't think it made very much difference. The employers probably included the whole payroll when they turned it in. I made sure I got all the departments when I copied them.

I discovered that when you talk to the superintendent about conditions in general, you learn something. You learn something from the plant. I read all the labor reports that the United States Bureau of Labor had written--anything I could get--before I went into a plant. Then, talking with the first man, you learn quite a bit. If you are lucky, and can make a good approach, and can give him a feeling that you know something, he will tell you

Bary: more. Then, you go to the next man. You have more information. You create more of an atmosphere of confidence, that you are not just a rank amateur.

Laundry Inspection

Bary: The laundry situation in Los Angeles was very bad because, primarily, there were too many laundries. The whole situation was being dominated by the drivers who would collect from individuals who did not know where their laundry was going. The drivers were really in control of the situation. They had an association of their own.

I was lucky on that because I happened by chance to run into a man named Elliott who was a cost accountant specializing in laundries. I found him very friendly; he talked to me about the whole question of cost accounting. He said, "A cost accountant has to know an industry; he can't go cost accounting any place. He needs to know all the conditions of the industry." He had been employed on a per diem basis by the Laundry Owners Association to try to get them out of the situation that they were in.

He told me that the basic situation was too many laundries and the domination of the drivers.

Parker: The drivers could make or break a laundry?

Bary: Oh, sure. They could just remove their stuff and take it to another laundry; they were controlling the situation.

Elliott told me a great deal about the laundry industry. I ran into him very early, when I began to go to laundries. I was quite primed on the subject of laundries before I tackled any. Sometimes you get lucky breaks like that.

Parker: That was one of the areas where the commission did establish a minimum wage eventually, is that true?

Bary: Yes. There were no unions in the laundries in Los Angeles, and no unions among the women in any industry that existed at that time.

Cost of Living Survey of Working Women

Bary: I covered all of these places of employment of women in Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and San Diego before the end of the year. During that time we had taken the schedules that we received from women and had interviewed them to find out how they lived. We had picked this thousand from among all those schedules that we got back.

I had the luck to have a helper, a very fine social worker, an experienced worker named Lillian Haley who came from Boston. Before we went interviewing, we would discuss things. She had a lot of experience in private charity and she knew how to interview people. We decided we would wear very plain, simple clothes, with no gloves. We would ask women when we went to see them in the evening if they would cooperate with us. We would tell them the purpose of the whole thing and get on a friendly basis of equality.

We found that they were very friendly. I was working about nine hours a day on interviewing employers and getting payrolls; I did not do very much of the night work.

They told us how they managed to buy necessary clothes in bargain basements and sales, sometimes at the Goodwill, at the Salvation Army Thrift Shops, and how they bought food, sometimes at the delicatessen and brought it back to the rooms where they lived, and all the subterfuges that they used to be able to get by. It really made a very human document.

We discovered only one case out of the thousand where we thought it was fairly evident that the girl was getting money from outside men.

Parker: So your findings in Los Angeles challenged the Chicago vice report,

Bary: Yes. We wondered very much as to whether the Chicago vice report had been gathered by amateurs who just accepted any statements and were looking for lurid stories, because we could not believe that there was such a discrepancy.

At the end of the year I went up to San Francisco to headquarters to help get out the annual report. Then I discovered that the girls in San Francisco had had a different idea about interviewing people; they considered it courteous to dress up before they called on people. Most of the interviewing was done by Mary Chase and Charlotte Kett, who were both very good looking. They wore very good tailored clothes and rather expensive hats and clean white gloves. They were too polite to question the girls

Bary: as we questioned them when we totaled up the amount that they had spent in a year and it was too much for what they had earned. By going over it, they would correct things. The special agents in San Francisco considered that impolite. I think that anybody should realize that these working women had some dignity and some pride and when a quite handsome woman came to call all dressed up, they weren't going to say they had bought their clothes at a thrift store and that they would wear second-hand clothes from a bargain basement. They just had a natural pride. As a result, the report in San Francisco showed that working women earning \$10 a week were spending \$20. That, of course, left a suspicion that the Chicago report was made out the same way, which is a natural suspicion.

Parker: Your own findings in Southern California had been different. That is, you found people living within their low wages because they used subterfuges.

Bary: They used subterfuges. Sometimes the girls would say that they would go out to dinner with a man in whom they were not particularly interested, but really because they wanted a good meal once in a while. I think it was only a question of a meal; there was no suggestion of any further support or anything like that.

I found I was not very popular in the San Francisco office on that account, and also from the fact that I had got payrolls from every concern that I visited. They had not been guided as to how to approach employers. If an employer was reluctant to give a payroll, they very politely let it go. The reports showed that more women were employed in the retail trade, for instance, in Los Angeles than were employed in San Francisco, which of course was not true because San Francisco then was decidedly larger than Los Angeles. That also caused a question by the commission and added to my dubious welcome.

Parker: Do you think the policy of the San Francisco agents was the policy of Dohrmann? To cooperate only with employers who cooperated with you?

Bary: He thought that they should be polite. I was polite enough; only I used his name as a way of getting their confidence, and the girls there didn't. They could have used his name perfectly well because it was perfectly legitimate to tell an employer who was on the commission. That would have led to a much more friendly welcome. They just did not know much about the technique of an interview, and I rather stumbled into it. Stumbling is sometimes very lucky and sometimes not.

Parker: You had been on your own in Los Angeles and had been very effective as a special agent.

Bary: I had been. I know that. Later on, after I left the job, I met the woman who followed me who told me that she had an easy time-- that wherever she went they accepted the fact that they had given payrolls and allowed her to come in, so that everything was amicable. The other girls trying to get the payrolls found that the experience that the employer had of refusing once made him want to refuse again. I know in that way that I did establish a much better relation.

They should have had some help from Scheel.* He did not establish the right relationship with those girls. He was not fair to them. They were too polite, I think.

Parker: This is a case of whose interests, behind the board, are favored. That is, the Retail Dry Goods Association interests were coddled in the San Francisco office.

Bary: I didn't quite get your question.

Parker: You were saying that whoever supports the commission or legislation is an important determinant of policy. That looked like the case in San Francisco.

Bary: Yes. I would tell retail merchants that the Retail Dry Goods Association had endorsed it and the president was quite active in its support.

* On contemporary rationalization of commission modes of working with employers, Miss Bary wrote: "According to the letter of the law, the commissions were given a large amount of police power. Under most of the minimum wage laws, the commissions, could subpoena persons, compel employers to show their books, payrolls, and other documents relative to employment, and take to court any person who did not obey all the elaborate provisions of their formal orders. In actual practice, however, the commissions have done little compelling. They have waited at times for years for the co-operation of an industry before establishing legal standards, realizing that the American people have not yet been "sold" to the idea of government interference between employer and workers, and that with minimum wage as with all other labor legislation, it is not enough to say that a provision is according to law--it must be able to stand the test of reasonableness and workability." Yale Review (1926), op. cit., p. 65.

See also, below, pp. 193-194 for the influence of the Webbs on Bary's own point of view, --Ed.

Enforcement Problems: The Eight-Hour Law

Bary: There is an expression that was current at that time and I think is just as applicable to the present time. I forget who it was who said it, but he said, "The importance of a social movement is not its stated purpose, but the source from which it flows."* That point is nowhere made more vivid than in the method of operation of the State Labor Commission with respect to the eight-hour law for women. The eight-hour law for women had been enacted by the influence of organized labor in San Francisco. They had tried to organize the laundry workers and had failed. Finally, to overcome very unfair and inhumane conditions, they went to the legislature and got the eight-hour law.

John McLaughlin was appointed labor commissioner with his headquarters in San Francisco. McLaughlin was head of the Federation of Labor and one of the most important labor union men in the state. I had been working on some labor complaint cases in the Los Angeles office for violation of the eight-hour law for women and had been greatly discouraged to discover that when I got the evidence of violations of the law and went to court using an attorney from the district attorney's office to represent me, that the judge would not convict unless the evidence was iron-clad. In the few cases where he did convict, he always suspended the sentence. It seemed to me that the case was hopeless. Finally, I had gone to Henry Lyon, who was the state senator from the east side of Los Angeles (the working-class district). Henry was attached to the Los Angeles office of the State Labor Commission in an unstated capacity. He was genuinely and profoundly interested in labor. Also, he knew his way around in politics. When I went to him and told him that I could not get a conviction excepting under suspended sentence, which meant nothing, he told me that he had been waiting for me to come for his help; that there was only one thing to do, and that was to bring the cases in the court of Judge White--Judge Tom White, I think his name was--that Judge White was elected through a labor vote and I could get a conviction from him and from no other judge. Henry said that if I brought the case to him, he would see that it was assigned to Judge White. I did not ask him how it was going to be assigned; Henry had a way of doing things that was very effective.

The other work of the Labor Commission in Los Angeles aside from what Henry did was not conducted in a way to help labor. The

*The source is Bari, Yale Review (1926), op. cit., p. 59. --Ed.

Bary: deputy commissioner and the two special agents attached to the office were not in sympathy with labor. They did not exert themselves to help people on the payment of wages laws or any other laws. The whole office, excepting for the work that Henry Lyon would do, was of very little value to the working people.

In San Francisco the Labor Commission office was completely different. McLaughlin was an ardent union man, and the office was run for the benefit of organized labor. In looking over the payrolls for the Industrial Welfare Commission, I saw that women in San Francisco at different times, particularly such times as prior to Christmas, were working over eight hours a day. In some cases they were being paid overtime--time and a half. I went in and talked to McLaughlin and asked him about it. The law made no provision for working overtime, even though overtime pay was given.

McLaughlin told me that the law was passed by the unions, that it was understood to be for the benefit of union labor, and that it was administered for that purpose. If it would help to organize labor, that was fine. He said that union shops would be given permission to work overtime in rush periods, provided time and a half was paid, and he also stated frankly that that privilege was not extended to non-union shops. This helped to organize shops. That was the intent of the unions in getting the law passed.

The contrast between the way in which the same law--the identical law--was administered in the two major cities of the state was quite glaring.

Parker: I see what you mean: "The importance of a social movement is not its stated purpose, but the source from which it flows."

Would you clarify the working relation between the offices of the Industrial Welfare Commission and the Labor Commission in Los Angeles?

Bary: Yes. When I was appointed as a special agent for the Industrial Welfare Commission, we had no money for an office. I was given a desk in the Labor Commission office and telephone service and a little stenographic service. In return, I had gone out to investigate complaints of violations of the eight-hour labor laws. [The eight-hour law was administered by the Labor Commission, not by the Industrial Welfare Commission.] This, of course, brought me into intimate knowledge as to how the rest of the office functioned.

Regulation of the Canning Industry

Parker: You had an experience with the California Packing Corporation which might be interesting to get into as part of your work for the Industrial Welfare Commission.

Bary: The commission decided in the spring of 1915, that it would issue its first regulations in the canning industry. They stated very freely that they were choosing the canning industry as the first target because they understood that it was a high-paid industry and that there would be probably no trouble in putting in regulations on hours and wages. The idea was that they would not disturb the general practice of paying on a piece-rate basis.

We were to start out when the fruit canning season got under way. Since we would be very busy until late in the fall, we were given two weeks' vacation before we started. I took those two weeks. The first week, I went and worked in a country cannery in Ontario, California. This was particularly interesting because there was a camp attached to the cannery and we had perhaps forty or fifty migrant workers who had already come for the canning season, although it was only just beginning and the cannery was not working on full-time operation.

Some of these camp people were Mexicans; most of them were Americans of various origins. The nights were cold, although the days were hot. We had a campfire; we sat around the campfire and talked. I had a chance to talk to these migrant workers and learn a great deal about the hardships and the conditions they worked under. It was very interesting.

In particular, I learned a great deal from a man who had been a carpenter and had injured his right arm in such a way that he lost his skill. He was strong and he could work in trucking around the cannery, but he had lost the skill that he needed to work as a carpenter. He had his wife and daughter.

He was a socialist. He talked about the fact that there was no workmen's compensation for his injury, that he'd had to pay his own hospital bills after the injury. But he was very optimistic; he was surprisingly optimistic about what Governor Johnson was going to do and what he was doing to help working people and the fact that workmen's compensation had been adopted in California. Some of the others were by no means so enthusiastic.

Parker: Do you think any of them were Wobblies?

Bary: Well, they were talking more about the hardships they endured going from camp to camp, and the time that they lost, and all the other hardships that they endured from this migratory work.

In the cannery there was a whole range of people. The banker's wife was among those who came to work every day. She was setting an example to the upper-class women in the community that they ought to help in moving the fruit. Those women that I talked to always spoke about fruit, the responsibility of the community to get the fruit canned, and to help the growers by canning it and drying it. They took a very real community interest. There was quite a contrast between the women of that class who were helping out who didn't need the money--it was entirely incidental, the important thing was to move the crop; and then, on the other hand, the migratory workers who were not interested in moving the crop, but were trying to eke out a decent living.

Parker: Did the middle-class women try to improve the conditions of the laborers?

Bary: No. They were interested in helping the community and the growers, that is, those that I chatted with. Not too much fruit had ripened at the time. We would have waiting periods. We lost a good deal of time so that our earnings (since we were on a piece-rate basis) were pretty low. There was a good deal of time for chatting, which was what I wanted. I could move around and chat with people.

Then I spent the second week of my vacation working in a city cannery which belong to the CFCA (the California Fruit Cannery Association). This was a San Francisco-based company which operated twenty or thirty canneries in the state.

It was part of the recently merged company known as the California Packing Corporation. The CPC consisted of the CFCA, Griffin-Skelly, and Central California Cannery. The first cannery I contacted in Southern California was owned by a man named Hugh Kennedy who had been employed as superintendent in a large Los Angeles cannery of the CFCA. When I began to talk to him, he told me that since I was going inspecting around the canning industry, I had better know as much as possible about it. He sat down and talked to me for hours on the canners' side of the problem.

He also gave me a copy of the cost book of the CFCA which he had taken with him when he left his job as superintendent.

Parker: What is the cost book?

Bary: The cost book showed what it cost each one of the different canneries to process every different variety of fruit. I learned a great deal from the book. It showed that some canneries cost much more than other canneries. Sometimes there was information which explained why that was possible.

I also discovered the interesting fact that the cost of tin cans was more than all the labor costs of canning. When I talked to the smaller growers, they talked about the fact that the CPC could buy tin cans--they bought plate and made their own cans--and they could save so much money by buying in quantity, which they did, that this practically absorbed all their labor costs.

This helped me very much in my thinking because, if the difference in the cost for the tin cans was about equal to the cost of labor, then it certainly should be possible to increase wages without hurting the companies.

The commission had ordered the canneries to keep books--a record of all of the earnings of the people whom it employed. This involved a great deal of statistical work. The CPC told us afterwards that it cost them \$25,000 to provide this record. The commission felt that they had to have that information before they could make any rules.

Parker: Did they comply?

Bary: Yes, they all complied. Towards the end of the year, as the canneries closed, they began to send in their records. I was given the job of compiling the statistics. I realized that the record was going to show that the workers were not making much money, and I tried to figure out how I could present the statistics in such a way that every canner could check his own figures as we were using them. In making the final report, I did so. Each canner was given the key number for his own cannery and he could follow through and check.

Also in compiling the records, we kept the adding machine tapes attached to each sheet so it would be easy to check, because I expected that the cannerymen would be surprised at the low wages that the women were getting and that they would send in auditors to audit my report. It had to be done in a way that would make it possible to check their records.

Sure enough, at the end of the year when we brought in a report, a number of them rose up and said that the report must be wrong. They sent auditors to see what I had done. As the canneries closed and the records were sent in to us, we had them

- Bary: all compiled, ready to put together. When the last records came in, the report was finished and out in a week, and ready for the commission to act on it. It showed these low wages. The commission arrived at piece-rates, and the piece-rates were so low that only about half of the women were earning as much as 16¢ an hour, which had been figured as the minimum wage standard for cannery workers.
- Parker: That is interesting. And you compiled the statistics that showed the discrepancy between the standard and the actual pay the workers received?
- Bary: Yes. I did not have any pattern for compiling that report, but I did recognize from the very beginning that it would have to be done in a way that would be subject to audit. I was very thankful, as one auditor after another left saying that he could not change a figure, that I had done it that way. It was a genuine surprise to many of the canners.
- Parker: There was another check on your work by an outside person from the U.S. Bureau of Labor. Would you like to tell us about that?
- Bary: Marie Obenauer, a statistical expert for the U.S. Department of Labor, had resigned from that job to work for the Industrial Division of the national YWCA on a study of certain industries affecting women. She came out to California prior to going to work on the job, and the commission asked her to go over my work because they did not know whether I knew anything or not. She went over every piece of paper, every daily report. I was very thankful when she reported that it was one of the very best jobs in the country.
- Parker: That is very high praise from Miss Obenauer.
- Bary: It was a great satisfaction to me because I had to figure out my own methods. Quite a few innovations that I had made met with her great approval. That was a satisfaction.
- Parker: You also had an experience with Mr. Bentley of the CPC.
- Bary: Oh, yes. In connection with the canneries, I covered not only the canneries in Southern California (which were not nearly so important as those in the central valley and the north), but also I went into the central valley during the hot weather. In some canneries I found conditions that were not at all good. In the cannery at Visalia, I found a good many children under sixteen, quite a number, who were doing work on a time basis, so that the payroll showed that they were working ten or twelve hours a day.

Parker: Which was against the law?

Bary: Oh, yes. The Child Labor Law was in effect a long time; this was a clear violation. The excuse of the cannery, the best excuse they had, was that the mothers of these children were working in the cannery and that children of thirteen, fourteen, fifteen had to be placed somewhere. Since there were no day nurseries for those children, the cannery put them to work. I had quite an argument with the superintendent on the subject because some canneries did have provisions to take care of small children, although teen-age children created a little different problem.

The upshot was that the superintendent complained to Mr. R. I. Bentley, who was president of the CPC. When I arrived in San Francisco, I had an invitation to come around and discuss the matter with him.

Mr. Bentley was a man of great capacity and understanding. He was one of the leaders of industry in California. He wanted to have things go smoothly. He, himself, worked with the commission.

When the commission was first discussing cannery problems, a lawyer had come to our office in San Francisco from the CPC to discuss some problems from a purely legalistic viewpoint. I was there, talking with him and Mrs. Edson. Mrs. Edson was ready to discuss the legal points of the situation. But I motioned to her to come out of the office. I told her that we would be in hot water if we got involved with lawyers. The commission should adopt the rule that we did not talk with lawyers; we would discuss the questions of industry only on an industry basis and not on a legal basis. She agreed with me. We went back into the room and she told the lawyer that we did not discuss the problem from a legal aspect. We wanted to get down to the facts. He could go back and tell Mr. Bentley so.

After that, Mr. Bentley came when there was any question. We had no more dealings with lawyers in any industry. That is a very good rule to put in.

Parker: You worked cooperatively with Mr. Bentley from then on?

Bary: Yes. When the Visalia superintendent, whose name was Plummer as I remember, complained and Mr. Bentley asked me to come down and talk, his first question was what was the temperature on that day. I told him it was about 104 or 105. That seemed to satisfy him in large degree as to how we could get into arguments. We discussed other things, and I got on a very good working basis with Mr. Bentley.

Strike Settlement in a CPC Cannery in Wartime

Bary: In 1917 when the war started, the CPC had a large government contract to provide canned fruit for the army. The plant at Stockton went on strike in June. Two of their general superintendents were unable to talk to the strikers.

Parker: Were these striking women?

Bary: It was rather a spontaneous strike; organized labor was not involved at all. It was just that conditions were bad and the women just struck. Then they refused to talk to the general superintendents. I don't know quite what their idea was, but at any rate I remember I was in San Jose that day at a big cannery there. I had been in the cannery from six o'clock in the morning. Mrs. Edson called me at seven in the evening; that is when I got back to the hotel for dinner.

She said that Mr. Bentley wanted me to go up to Stockton and settle the strike. I reminded her that the law specifically barred the commission from getting into any strikes; that was the provision that union labor had added to the law. She told me we were at war, and things were different.

I got up to Stockton and was over in the cannery at seven in the morning. There I talked to the women who were quite willing to talk to me. I had never been in the cannery before; still, they seemed to think that since I came from the commission, they could deal with me.

Parker: They thought that you were fair and impartial and would represent their interests.

Bary: Sure. I asked them what their troubles were. The wages were low, on a piece-rate basis. They felt they were robbed because they were sure that the boxes of fruit weighed much more than they were supposed to weigh. Their restroom facilities were not sanitary and nice. And the foremen were often rough with the women and often talked badly.

I began to settle the strike. The first thing I did was to go out to the superintendent and tell him to get some scrub women in to clean the restrooms, and to get carpenters and put doors on the toilets--previously they had a battery of toilets but no doors on the compartments. We had carpenters working on that and we had scrub women. We arranged to have painters paint the restrooms when they closed down for the night.

Bary: We dragged out a box of fruit and we measured it out. Fifty pounds. I put the big scale out where everybody could see it, and you could see how much fruit fifty pounds amounted to. Only I said that the box should be included in the weight. The box was a bit heavy--probably weighed a couple of pounds. At any rate, they liked that idea. They could all see just how much fruit it would take to fill up fifty pounds. They noticed that they had been getting a good deal more than fifty pounds--they'd probably been getting near sixty pounds.

Then I raised the wages. I did not raise them as much as I might have done because word of a strike like that and a settlement creeps around to all the other canneries. There were other canneries very near by. I thought it would mean an industry-wide settlement and not just one cannery. I wanted to settle on the basis that all the canneries could absorb it. That is what happened.

By eleven o'clock the cannery was running again full blast. It was very interesting because it was a spontaneous strike without anybody organizing it.

I had been in on a strike settlement in North Beach in San Francisco the first year I was there. That was also a spontaneous strike which did not involve wages, but it hinged very largely on the treatment of the women. It was the biggest cannery of the CPC.

City vs. Country Canneries and Trade Associations

Parker: You were saying something about the Italian-run canneries versus the valley canneries; there was a difference in style and method?

Bary: The city canneries were very different from the country canneries. In San Francisco, the North Beach cannery employed about 2,000 people. It received all the fruit, the surplus fruit, from all the canneries around, from Oakland, San Leandro, San Lorenzo, San Jose, Stockton. All the fruit that they could not handle themselves came in to the North Beach cannery. They had to have a big crew and all, all Italians. Those people worked year after year. That cannery ran, not full blast, but it ran about fifty weeks a year.

Parker: It had a stable Italian work force?

Bary: Yes. That was very different from the country canneries. Some of the specialty canneries in the country would run just one crop. The asparagus canneries canned nothing but asparagus. There were

Bary: certain peach canneries that would can nothing but peaches. Those canneries would have different costs; they had to maintain the cannery all the year but use it only for two or three months, maybe three or four months. That was one of the things I learned from having the cost book.

In this CPC organization, it's very interesting. The CFCA was mostly an Italian organization run, I would say, by very tough-minded Italians. They had combined. The Central California Canners were more country canners. They did not have Italians. They had about everything else you would find in the central valley. They were represented in the combine by Arthur Kyle and his wife, who were both employed as general superintendents supervising all of the canneries of the CPC.

They were very anxious to improve conditions throughout the industry and particularly throughout the CPC. As I discovered in one case after another, there will be people among the employers who are very desirous of cooperating and improving conditions. They would give you information. Mrs. Kyle gave me the cost book for the CPC, which was up-to-date as compared with the old one which I had received from Kennedy. The cost book, which showed the variations in the operations of all of the canneries in the company, was the bible. It contained a great deal of information, and it was not supposed to go outside the company. Mrs. Kyle gave it to me.

Parker: How did you use that?

Bary: I read it as a bible. Mr. Kyle approved of his wife's giving me the cost book because he was very anxious to "Christianize" as he would have said, the conditions in the Italian canneries. I never told anybody that I had this cost book because it would certainly have made trouble if any other people in the CPC had known that I had it.

Mrs. Kyle helped me also by telephoning me every Sunday morning. She would tell me every place that she had been and exactly what the conditions were and what I ought to look for when I went to the canneries, which of course was extremely helpful to me.

As I found out when I talked to Mr. Bentley, he wanted to improve conditions in the canneries, because he was really a very high-minded person. He had a problem in dealing with the top Italians such as Cerruti, who ran the North Peach cannery. In my dealings with Mr. Bentley, we really got down to discussions because, as our conversation developed, I had an opportunity to show him

Bary: that I knew a lot about the inside of cannery operations. Then he was more willing to talk. He told me that he had a problem in this amalgamation of the different companies, in bringing up to standard some of the units that had not been in the habit of treating people in a very modern fashion.

Parker: Especially the CFCA units, the Italian-run canneries?

Bary: Yes.

North Beach Cannery Strike

Parker: What had been the basis of the strike in the North Beach cannery?

Bary: That was largely a matter of treatment. There was a wages question. That was rather amusing. There was a list of eight items agreed on in the settlement of the strike. I was not in on the settlement, but I was in on following through to see whether they lived up to it. There was a little old spitfire of an Italian woman who had really engineered the strike. I discovered her very promptly.

I went down several times to ask her whether the company was living up to its agreement, and I went down the list of these eight items. Very grudgingly, she had to admit each time, one item after another, the company was living up to them. The last item was that the foreman swore at the ladies. The last time I went down there to check on it, she had very grudgingly admitted that they were living up to all of the other seven items. When we reached that last item, her patience was exhausted. I asked her if they were living up to the agreement not to swear at the ladies. She said, "Yes. But the blank-blank-blankety-blank would like to." When she said that--only she didn't use blanks--I decided that that was probably all right.

Parker: The women held their own in the cuss word department.

Bary: She was holding her own. I happened to tell that to Mr. Bentley. He wanted to know if everything was all right; I went down and told him. He didn't think it was funny at all. It was too grim to him: if you stop that cannery for one day with fruit, you are likely to lose your fruit. Working with the fruit is a very nervous operation.

Parker: What did Mr. Bentley look like?

Bary: He was a handsome man who had presence. He could stand up at any meeting and people would wait for him to speak. I heard more than one person of the canneries say, "R. I. is a prince." He had that respect.

Parker: Was he a grower as well as canner?

Bary: No, I don't think so. He had been superintendent of the San Jose cannery. I don't know much else about him, as to his career. The California Packing Corporation included also Alaska packers of salmon. I don't know whether he had come in from the salmon end or not. We did not have any dealings with the salmon business. Practically no women were employed there anyway; that was Alaska. Mr. Bentley was an outstanding person.

Parker: Later, when you left the commission, he offered you a job?

Bary: Yes, but I did not accept. There is one thing about Mrs. Kyle that might amuse you. I went out to her house one time, which was in the hills in Oakland, in Piedmont. When I took off my coat, she directed me to leave it in her bedroom. When I looked above the bed, I saw that there was a framed marriage certificate. Mrs. Kyle was a very earnest Irish woman whom I think would never have been accused of questionable morality. I think she just felt that she ought to put the marriage certificate over the bed.

In a way, it showed her character. She was a thoroughly good, honest woman who would do what she thought was right. She thought it was right to give me the cost book and to telephone me so that I could walk into a cannery and point out things to the superintendent which made him feel that I really knew my business, and knew his business too. She wanted my help in raising the standards in the cannery.

I got quite a reputation from having all this help.

Parker: What was your reputation?

Bary: I was considered quite a shark. Other employers also in different places showed a real desire to improve conditions. If they felt that they could help you and that you could improve conditions, they were quite willing to talk.

Regulation of the Laundry Industry

Bary: There was a man in San Diego named Snyder who was one of the officials of the State Laundry Owners Association. When I went down there, I didn't know anything about the laundry industry in San Diego. I knew what it was in Los Angeles, but San Diego I didn't know. I landed at his laundry early in the morning, around seven-thirty or so, which rather surprised him. He didn't expect officials to visit him before about ten, and I was there before seven-thirty. I had a lot of work to do.

I found him not at all pleased to see me. He didn't try to kick me out. I got talking with him. Pretty soon he commented on the fact that I began to work early. I told him I was busy and I wanted to get through. Then something or other came up which really gave me an opportunity to show him that I knew something about the laundry industry. Particularly, I knew about the industry in Los Angeles. The cost accountant had told me so much.

Parker: Oh, yes, this is Elliott.

Bary: Snyder was a state official, and he knew about the Los Angeles situation. He softened up, and then he admitted that he had made all the other laundries in San Diego agree that they would throw me out when I came. Now he had changed his mind. I could see his laundry; he would take me through. Then, when I had a payroll and was finished with his laundry, he would escort me to the next laundry and then explain that he took back his efforts to have them kick me out. I forget how many laundries there were in San Diego at the time, but there were a number of them.

When I finished a laundry, I was to telephone to him, and he would come around, pick me up, and take me to the next one and explain that I was to be treated kindly and the whole deal was off.

Things like that do happen. There is a great deal to be learned and considered in the whole question of making investigations and studies. Later on, when I had charge of special studies for the U.S. Children's Bureau, I realized very sharply that with the wrong approach an investigator may meet all the standards of civil service, as to qualifications and so forth. But if you don't use the right approach, you are not going to get the correct information, and you are certainly not going to get cooperation.

The employers, particularly at the present time, will be much more cooperative. Things nowadays have progressed to a point when they want to have good relations.

Parker: Your success in getting payroll information from all the employers in Southern California certainly shows how well your method worked.

Bary: It did. But you see, with legislation, people often think that if you get a law passed then it is going to enforce itself. It isn't. With any kind of social legislation, there is a process of education. You may get long and extensive education before you get a bill passed and that is all right. You may get only a very limited amount of education before a bill is passed, and then you really have to do your education afterwards.

Now, to get a satisfactory solution of any such problem as child labor or low wages or anything, you are never going to be able to enforce the law if there is any general disposition to evade. You have not finished your job unless you have proved to the great bulk of industry that what you are asking is reasonable and really, in the end, efficient. It is efficient in the way of saving good relationships and possibly other factors, too. Money.

The laws are not going to enforce themselves if people want to buck them, if there is that desire. But if you are right in feeling that certain changes should be made, then you have got to prove them. The mere fact that you have a law behind you does not mean that you have a right to go through with a bulldozer to enforce the law.

Parker: So you learn to secure employer cooperation by working in a consultative way, a cooperative way, with them.

Bary: Yes. There will be people that you have to be a bit tough with.

Parker: These are the court cases?

Bary: Yes. You have not solved a problem of wages or an eight-hour law case until you have proved that it is the right thing to do. Then the enforcement is automatic.

Parker: In a sense, the employer gains the protection of the state when he complies with the regulations.

Bary: Yes.

"La Revolución"*

Parker: Let's see. There are some other groups that you worked with in the Industrial Welfare Commission. Rather informally during the depression of 1914, you found a special constituency?

Bary: Oh, yes, the Mexicans. In Los Angeles there were thousands and thousands of Mexicans. When the depression of 1914 hit us, it hit the Mexicans very hard indeed. As I discovered, the Mexicans in Los Angeles at that time had come to the city, originally, working for the railroad as maintenance or way men. What the Southern Pacific did was to go across the river at El Paso to Juarez and put up a sign that the Southern Pacific was hiring people in El Paso. The Mexicans would go across and get the job.

The maintenance or way work involved moving the Mexicans and their families. They lived in boxcars on sidings along the railroad and kept maintaining and repairing the right-of-way. They had a good many complaints about their living conditions and their wages. They were not treated as if they were really human beings. There were company stores where they were charged too much and had inferior products. They had a good many complaints, so that the Mexicans were very bitter about the railroad.

At that time Mexico itself was going through this revolution, and the Mexicans here in Los Angeles were very interested. They took Mexican papers and they published a paper in Los Angeles which was called La Revolución, which means "the revolution." That had all the news about the revolution, what was happening.

They had a club--they called it a club--which occupied an empty store building in the Mexican quarter, which was in north Los Angeles around the old plaza. The unemployed would gather there. They had a leader whose name I forget. He was very intelligent. He had been in the country longer. He spoke fluent English. I think he had great good sense and responsibility.

When unemployment was so very bad, the city council voted work tickets. They did not want to give cash to these people.

* For an account of the Mexican revolutionary group in Los Angeles from the point of view of a socialist journalist, see Ethel Duffy Turner, "Writers and Revolutionists," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1967.

Bary: At that time there was no county welfare department; there was no provision for relief. They used what machinery they had. The council voted that the police should distribute the work tickets.

Parker: To these revolutionaries.

Bary: As we found out, the police were scared of the Mexicans. They thought that revolution meant violence. Sometimes at their meetings, they would be enthusiastic and rather noisy. That scared the police. Nothing had happened of a violent nature; however, the police just did not know anything about it.

Henry Lyon had arranged in his own devious fashion for the police to bring the work tickets to the Labor Commission, and the Labor Commission would give them to me. He told me that when I got these tickets that I should go to this man, whom he named. He said, "He knows all the Mexicans. He knows those that have families and the ones that are most in need, and he can distribute them much better than anybody else could possibly distribute them, much more fairly."

Presently a policeman came with a bundle of work tickets. I got the work tickets and I took them down to La Revolución. The policeman waited for me to come back. He said that he figured out how long it would take me to get there on the street-car and how long it would take me to come back, and then he would allow about ten minutes more. If I was not back in that length of time, he would get an emergency squad to come out and pick up my body. That is the way they felt. When the police walked through that section, they walked four abreast. I think it was nonsense.

I went down and met this Mexican. I was sorry that I had to be back so promptly because I liked him very much and I would like to have learned more from him; but I had to be back so the policeman did not get the squad out to rescue my body.

I took the tickets down two or three times.

Los Angeles Schools in the Mexican District

Bary: Meantime, I got acquainted with three schools. The superintendent of schools in Los Angeles at that time was a man named J. H. Francis. He was a very intelligent person.

Bary: There were three large schools in that section. There was the Castellar Street, the Anne Street, and the Macy Street schools. They had fine principals, very intelligent women with imagination. Francis told them to throw away the curriculum and use their own good judgment and do the things that needed to be done in that community. You might be surprised at what they did.

For instance, Mrs. Smith at Castellar opened a day nursery for young children, which began at seven in the morning. She had a layout of baths so that every child had a bath once or twice a week. She changed home economics so that they had classes in making the kind of food that they ate.

Parker: These were Mexican children?

Bary: Yes. It was not the home economics menu; it was their own menu. That's what they needed to learn--the best ways of doing things. In those classes she employed the mothers of children. They had sewing classes, and she would find a very skillful woman who would teach the children to sew. Their own mothers. That helped enormously because the children had respect for teachers. Their mothers were teachers; they were not white women coming down teaching them to do something they did not want to do. They had weaving, Mexican women weaving.

She got a huge room full of old typewriters. It was really a very funny sight. She was teaching little children, just beginners that were learning their letters, and they began on the typewriter. She said to me, "The child is ordinarily presented with the problem of using his fingers to make the letters and learning the letters. Now we are using typewriters, and we will eliminate their learning to use their fingers and that confusion. We will teach them this thing first."

She got equipment donated from the typewriter company. She was a genius at getting things for nothing. There were other things.

The Macy Street School had dances every night, aside from their other programs. The Anne Street School had a good many teenage boys. Mrs. Gregg there opened up card rooms for them, not to gamble, but to play cards. They had nothing else to do.

One time when I went down with bundles of work tickets, there was nobody at the club. I inquired around the neighborhood. Where was La Revolución? Nobody knew. By that time, I knew enough to go over to Mrs. Smith's to ask her where was La Revolución, because she always knew everything. She was by that time nearly eighty. She was an astonishing woman, young in heart.

Bary: I went over there and asked her where was La Revolución; I had work tickets for them. She said, "Oh, I invited them to come over and take baths." She had done that before. It was a warm day, and she thought they would enjoy it. The children had all had their baths and there was plenty of hot water. She invited La Revolución to come and take baths.

As I saw how she operated, she really was running about the best social agency that you can imagine. It was on a dignified basis, certainly preventing delinquency. I do not know how the superintendent of schools got around the fact that these three schools did not follow the curriculum. At any rate, that was his problem.

Parker: Do you know about Mrs. Smith's background at all?

Bary: I don't know. I think she had always been in the school department. I do not know any other administrator who I think used more imagination and really reached so many problems in preventing delinquency. That business of making them all feel the dignity of their mothers; that is a big problem with immigrants whose mothers may be slow about learning English and the children wander away. Here, their mothers were teachers.

Parker: A little bit like Headstart in the '60s and '70s--mothers employed in the centers.

San Francisco Newsboys

Parker: You faced a different kind of problem with children in San Francisco, those who were hawking newspapers on the streets. Can you tell us about that?

Bary: Well, the newsboys were engaged in what was called a "dangerous trade." They flocked to the San Francisco ferry terminal to sell papers. (At that time there were no bridges, and everyone commuting to the city to work entered through the ferry terminal.) There were four tracks of trolley cars. The ferries coming across the bay would land from four to five thousand people at the bottom of Market. There were all these trolley cars. Then there were jitneys, which were Model-T Fords mostly, they would be running along the sides. No regulations; no stop signs. To get across Market Street below Grant was to risk your life. First, you had to go through two lanes of jitneys and then four lanes of street cars and then two lanes of jitneys. If you got across you did well.

Bary: Meantime, there were all these newsboys hopping on streetcars selling newspapers. We had more newspapers in those days than we have now.

People were agitated on the subject. None of the children had been hurt. It was quite amazing how those youngsters could skip up and jump on cars that were going pretty fast. If you stood still between two streetcars, and if you were not too fat, you would not be hit. If you were too fat, you might be. Or if you moved to one side or the other you would be hurt. But the kids were not being hurt. Still, it looked awfully dangerous.

People wanted to pass a law prohibiting children under eighteen or so from selling newspapers. The commission wanted to find some facts. I was asked to go to North Beach in the Italian section because a lot of the children were Italians, a lot of these boys. They were all boys, no girls. They gave me an interpreter because in those days people could be born and live their lives out and die without learning any English.

One difficulty that we had was that the interpreter was a Florentine and most of these kids were southern Italians--they were Calabrese or Sicilians. She did not know the southern dialect, but she was a lovely girl. Her name was Leopauldina Gherini. She was a university graduate. I thought, "Now this is going to be fine. I can be in North Beach for a month, and I will have all that good Italian food." I did not count on Leopauldina; Polly, for short. Polly had been properly brought up. She came from a very good family. She spoke faultless Tuscan, I am sure. By custom, a girl could not eat in a restaurant without her family. She and I could not go into a restaurant for lunch. All that month, all we could have was to get a chocolate brioche at a soda fountain. However, I liked Polly very much.

She had great difficulty in making herself understood among the Italians. If we had had somebody not so high class, it would have been much better.

Parker: So your newsboy family interviews didn't go quite as well as you had hoped?

Bary: No. We discovered certain things. Among the things which we discovered was that, with the American-born Italian mothers, there would be perhaps two children in the family, maybe three. With the foreign-born mothers, there might be eight--six or eight children. Where they were born was significant. Some of the boys were the children of American-born mothers. Those boys might be selling newspapers, but they were on routes; they were not down on

Bary: Market Street. All of the kids down on Market Street came from foreign-born mothers who really had no control over their children.

We noticed the differences in attitudes and the differences in control according to whether they were American-born or foreign-born. That is what happens among immigrants so much, that the immigrant mother loses control of her smart young children who go out in the street and learn everything.

The commission was rather surprised when I turned in a report recommending urgently that special classes be assigned to teach these foreign-born mothers English and teach them American ways, including teaching them some simple nursing care which might, of course, get into the range of family planning. That was not accented, but it allowed for interpretation.

They did start such classes. It would have been very difficult if you just passed a blanket law and prohibited boys from selling newspapers on Market Street. It would have been misunderstood. I think the root problem was to get at the education of the mothers and to give them the opportunity to learn English and to learn some American ways.

Everybody seemed to be quite pleased that we had not made a flat recommendation to the legislature about prohibiting the children from selling papers. Almost all the politicians at that time, if not now, had worked as newsboys when they were boys. They told us that they would not have voted for such a bill, it was hopeless. Of course, they may have been thinking of different conditions, not this really hazardous condition on Market Street. On the other hand, there was not another situation like that in the state. There was nothing in Los Angeles like it. An effort to pass a state law to reach that situation for a mile or two miles in San Francisco would have been thrown out. It would not be fair to pass a state law for that. If you wanted to do anything, it would have to be a city ordinance.

1915 Legislature: Labor Amendments

Parker: You had an interesting time in the 1915 legislative session. What happened then?

Bary: The Industrial Welfare Commission wanted some amendments to the law. Anything that touched labor would go to the Labor and Capital Committee of the Senate, and Henry Lyon was running that. If Henry

Bary: said he would put it through, he would put it through. If he didn't, it would not go through.

The commission asked Henry to put through the amendments. Henry said he would put them through if they would give me a leave of absence to go up and serve as clerk of the Labor and Capital Committee. They agreed. I went up.

Henry said to me when he was working on the commission bill, "Do you want to come? You can learn a lot." I said, "Yes, I would like to learn a lot about government." I went up and I did learn.

Henry ran his committee very effectively. Nothing much ever happened at a committee meeting except approval of whatever Henry proposed. Henry was the kind of person who never made a speech; he did not make public appearances. He would do all the homework with the members beforehand. When he brought in a suggestion, he had done his work, and it would be carried. Of course, that cut down a lot on my work as clerk.

I learned a lot about Henry. He was a person who seemed to embody the kind of service that Tammany gives. Whether he had any organization behind him, I do not know. He seemed to be acting as a loner.

During that time of unemployment, he was giving away money. People would come and ask him for help, and Henry would give a dollar here or a couple of dollars there. A dollar was worth about five times as much then. He shelled out money. He guaranteed dozens of grocery accounts. I asked him once whether people paid back the money, or whether he had to pay the grocery bills. He said, "They always pay back. I have never paid a grocery bill." He had guaranteed dozens.

Henry also did something which Tammany is supposed to do, and that is in the way of "squeeze" bills. A squeeze bill, as you may know, is a bill introduced in order to collect money from some special interest but without any idea of pushing the bill to enactment. Henry hated pawnbrokers--they squeezed the poor. I came to realize that there were certain people Henry hated. Pawnbrokers he hated because they did charge outrageous rates for people who were in trouble.

Henry got some assemblyman to introduce a bill to regulate pawnbrokers very stiffly. Then we wrote a letter to Mr. Abe Cohen of Los Angeles to the effect that, "As one of my constituents, I think I should tell you that there seems to be considerable unrest

Bary: about pawnbrokers. I enclose a bill which is introduced in the House." Just a brief note like that. I did not see what answer he got. The next one began "Dear Friend." A couple more bills had been introduced. He wrote, "I'm surprised to see the amount of interest that there seems to be in this question of pawnbrokers." I did not see what answer he got to that. The next letter we wrote was "Dear Abe." He had got on more chummy terms. Then Henry went down to see Cohen. He came back. Nothing happened to those bills. The men who introduced them did not try to push them. No more bills were introduced. I assume that Mr. Cohen had come forth with the wherewithal to discourage the passage of legislation.

Parker: In other words, a contribution was squeezed from the pawnbroker which forestalled passage of the bill.

Bary: Of course, squeeze bills are a regular feature. Mr. Cohen evidently had no way of checking the genuineness. If he had, he might have found out that the men who introduced the bills were not particularly interested. At any rate, he undoubtedly contributed to their nonpassage.

Parker: You met an interesting person in Sacramento when you were the clerk of the committee. Who was that?

Bary: That was Fred Wood. Fred Wood was a recent graduate of Wisconsin Law School. He had been appointed legislative reference librarian for the legislature. That is a job for a lawyer--to help legislators in drafting bills. Fred Wood was a very likable and earnest young man. I got acquainted with him because in my free time I was going around to committee meetings and hearings to see what was going on on a number of subjects I was interested in. He was also interested in the same bills. We got to going together to listen to these arguments and so forth.

I discovered that he was really very conservative. I had been digging through earnestly everything that Brandeis had written--his briefs on the minimum wage and his brief on the eight-hour law. I was tremendously enthusiastic about Brandeis. Fred Wood was not. He hung with the conservatives. Along with listening to arguments on this subject and the other, we had a sort of running argument on the subject of Brandeis and Holmes.

Henry Lyon saw that I was going around to committee meetings with Fred Wood. He nodded approval to me and commented on it. He said, "Educate that young man about labor." That was all he said. I was educating him about labor. However, he wasn't too easy to educate; he was not too responsive. I kept at it.

Bary: He showed no signs of weakening.

I did not hear from him again for about twenty-five years. One night I was at a meeting, and he came in. By that time he was a judge-- I think it was on an appeals court. He had with him several law students. When he saw me, he brought them up and introduced them to me. As he did so, he said, "I want you to know Miss Bary. She revolutionized my philosophy of the law." I asked him just how that was, and he said, "Well, you talked Brandeis and Holmes all the time. I got hold of every dissenting opinion of theirs and I read everything that they had published. I worked at it hard for two years. At the end of that, I decided you were right and they were right."

I said, "Do you think it made any difference in the history of California--your point of view, what you would recommend?" He said, "Yes, I think it did."

Parker: In terms of his work with the legislature?

Bary: Yes. When legislators come up with ideas, a great deal depends upon the background philosophy of the person they depend on. I think Judge Wood was a very good judge. I think that he would impress any of them with the soundness of his judgment.

Parker: I see you in these years as a young intellectual who happens to work for the Industrial Welfare Commission, thinking great things, and influenced by Brandeis and Holmes.

Bary: That was an extremely interesting period and a live period.

Community Figures

Parker: Can you tell us about some of the personalities that you met in line with your work, for instance Mrs. Emma Moffat McLaughlin?

Bary: Emma McLaughlin was a very fine and capable woman. Her husband was a doctor and he died fairly young. She had one son I think. She was a woman of vision and outstanding ability. When she was quite young, she became president of the San Francisco center of the League of Women Voters. They had weekly luncheons at the St. Francis Hotel, where they had public speakers, people interested in all kinds of programs and situations, national, international, and local.

She made the center a really very important platform on which to educate people. The newspapers used to send around to get the

Bary: reports of the speakers who would come there.

Parker: Any controversial speakers?

Bary: Oh, yes. There were plenty of them that were controversial.

Parker: You knew some people in San Francisco--Fremont Older.

Bary: Yes, I came to know Fremont Older. He was editor of the San Francisco Bulletin. Later, he went over to the Call to the Hearst people to the great consternation of liberals.

Older was recognized as one of the great editors of the country. Reporters came to the Bulletin for the opportunity to work under him from all over the country. They worked for very small wages. The owners of the Bulletin did not love Older. They did not agree with him. But the Bulletin was making money; as long as Older could make money for them, he could stay and be as liberal as he had to be. They were not in sympathy with his ideas.

He did a great deal toward prison reform. He had lived at the Palace Hotel. Then he moved to Los Altos down the peninsula where he had quite a large acreage for a house (in comparison to a city lot). He had several former murderers working down on the ranch. Mrs. Older was also quite in sympathy with his ideas. Older was quite confident that these men would go straight because, for one thing, he was getting men paroled from San Quentin fairly often. If any of them slipped, that would diminish his opportunity to get them paroled. I think that every man that was paroled on Older's guarantee lived up to it.

I knew one of the men. That was Jack Black. I lived on Telegraph Hill one year in a house with Rose Wilder Lane, who was a reporter on the Bulletin. Rose was writing the life of Jack Black. He used to come around and give us chapter after chapter. He had great loyalty to Older; he had no loyalty to the general order of society. He cheerfully admitted killing people; that did not bother him at all. He would have done anything for Older. He was the night circulation man for the Bulletin. He was doing a good job and you could be sure that he would live up to Older's code absolutely; you could trust him.

Parker: How did Older impress you personally?

Bary: I liked him very much; I think everybody liked him very much.

Parker: What did he look like?

Bary: He looked keen, for one thing, and kindly, humane; he gave you that feeling. I think he gave anybody that feeling that you were not going to pull any wool over his eyes. He had that humane quality of knowing all about humanity and still being tolerant and understanding of the various failures that people made.

Parker: Any other personalities that you might want to cover during this period in California?

Bary: Of course, I know a lot of people; as to how they affect history
 . . .

Resignation: Cost of Living and Pin Money Issues*

Parker: Let's go on to your decision to leave the Industrial Commission. How did that come about?

Bary: By 1918 the war had started; we were well into the swing of it. That was an absorbing topic. What made me leave the commission was the fact that the commission was not really doing anything. In 1917 it had put in orders affecting laundries and retail establishments--general work. It put in a minimum of \$10 a week. The cost of living had meantime gone up about 35 percent. The \$10 a week was based on the findings that we had in 1914.

I argued as strongly as I could that it was not realistic to put in \$10 when the cost of living increase indicated the \$10 should have been \$13.50. Mr. Dohrmann thought we ought to go ahead on the basis of the figures that we had, which I thought was fantastic.

The orders allowed two years' apprenticeship. You could begin at \$8 a week and get a raise of 50¢ in six months. It seemed to me that that was ridiculous. How long does it take a girl in Woolworth's to learn how to sell? What they really do is simply to take what the customer picks up and wrap it and pay for it. That two years of apprenticeship beginning at \$8 a week--below the minimum--meant that the beginners had \$8 and the cost of living was \$13.50. That was really ridiculous.

We went out and checked with current payrolls. You talked to employers and they would say you could not hire anybody for \$10, that wages had gone up. So it was ridiculous. I also discovered that in Nathan Dohrmann's store he not only was employing people

* For a critical exposition of these issues, see Bari, Yale Review (1926), op. cit. --Ed.

Bary: at \$10 and apprentices at \$8, but that his personnel office was exceeding the percentage of apprentices that was allowed under the law.

Also, I saw something that annoyed me very much. That was that an application for employment at Nathan Dohrmann's contained a statement just above the signature that the applicant was living at home and not dependent on her wages.

Parker: What was the purpose of this statement do you think?

Bary: When you talked about low wages with many people, they would tell you that these women were living at home and whatever they earned was just pin money. Every girl, in applying for a job, had to say that it was just pin money.

Parker: That she did not really need it to support herself.

Bary: She did not need it. You may say that cleared their skirts from the idea that they were grinding the faces of the poor, it was just a pin money occupation.

Parker: The pin money concept justified low wages below the standard of living for women.

Bary: Yes. I felt that I was just killing my time. I felt that I had given them plenty of time to issue realistic orders. I also was deeply concerned about Mrs. Edson because I felt that with all the stress of trying to provide for her children, she had gone too far in yielding to Dohrmann; that perhaps with different associations--she had a lot of ability--she might have gotten a job that would have been more self-respecting.

Parker: Mrs. Edson no longer supported your point of view on the commission--raising the minimum wage to a higher level?

Bary: No, she did not support it. She held back and let Mr. Dohrmann control the situation.

Parker: Yes. You felt Dohrmann sold out even in his own brother's establishment by hiring too many apprentices--more than allotted by law--and by this whole pin money situation.

Bary: Yes. I don't think that could have happened in his own establishment. I think that he would have been aware as to what would go on in his own establishment. Certainly anybody who was a commissioner of the Industrial Welfare Commission ought to inquire as to what his own store is doing. I can't imagine that he would not.

- Bary: He was quite frank in saying that he was on the commission only to keep it from doing something wild. He would say that this was an emergency, that they were putting on new people and that they had too many new ones, and it would be disrupting if they paid any of the newly appointed workers full wages. He would have some such justification. I did not see it that way.
- Parker: So you resigned?
- Bary: So I quit. The next day, George Bell, who was executive secretary of the Immigration and Housing Commission, called me up to say that he was leaving to join the War Labor Policies Board in Washington as the general executive of the board; and he asked me if I would not go along. I said I would, and I did.
- Parker: That turned out to be a good move.
- Bary: Yes, it did, because I was getting to feel that I had been altogether too patient with the Industrial Welfare Commission and I was not happy at all about it.
- Parker: Since they betrayed their own principles.
- Bary: Yes. So I packed up my belongings and went to Washington.
- Parker: Had you known George Bell previously?
- Bary: I had known him a little but not very much.
- Parker: You were telling me that you have a feeling about the way things work out--the myth of Philemon?
- Bary: Yes, I always had a feeling. I think that there are myths that persist through the ages all over the world which have deep significance. One of those myths is the myth about Philemon and his wife, Baucis. They lived by the side of the road among people who were very inhospitable; when strangers came by, the villagers would not do anything to help them. Philemon and his wife, from their very meager supplies, would give them milk. They had a pitcher that was full of milk and they would give everybody all the milk he could drink. The pitcher was always full.
- I felt from the time I heard that myth, when I was very small, that that was true; that if you gave to a good cause, your pitcher would be full. Not squandering what you have, but giving what a humane person ought to give.
- I needed a job. When I came to resigning, I just resigned. I felt the pitcher would be full again, and it was. I got a better job.

Parker: This philosophy enables you to risk yourself. Do you want to add anything about the California Industrial Welfare Commission before you leave California? I'm still kind of curious about what Dohrmann looked like and what kind of person he was personally.

Bary: Mr. Dohrmann was about a medium size person. He was not terribly good-looking, but on the other hand he was rather ordinary looking. His family had been Jewish and they had changed to become Catholic. I don't know what effect that had on him; I don't know anything else about the family. I know that many people admired him very much for his connection with civic affairs. I was sorry I could not go along with him.

Parker: He had feet of clay like you found Hiram Johnson did.

Bary: I wanted the minimum wage to be used as I thought it could be. I found in Southern California, which was supposed to be so hostile, that I could get every employer to cooperate to the extent of giving his payrolls and discussing matters, and that there was a real opportunity to change attitudes and accomplish a great deal. Then I found that up here in San Francisco they had not established those relationships; it was pretty much a dead letter.

The girls had not had the fun. I had had a challenge which had been really a great delight--meeting these challenges. They had not had that.

Parker: They were too closely supervised.

Bary: I don't know whether they were supervised at all. They were just turned loose to go out without any guidance, and they had not been helped by what they had studied at the university as far as economics was concerned.

I asked Marie Obenauer when she was out here, if there was any place I could go in the country where I could really learn anything that would help me on that job. She said there was not. You can't blame the university for not having vision; there just weren't people who could teach in this new area.

Parker: In fact, when you worked for the U.S. Children's Bureau, you actually turned out a report yourself that was somewhat critical of the minimum wage. This is later, isn't it?

Bary: Yes. I made a study of the minimum wage in Massachusetts, Minnesota, and California. The figures showed that as far as minors were concerned--that was all that the Children's Bureau touched--in the

Bary: industries that were governed by orders from the commission, the minors earned less money than they did when they were free of the orders. The orders of the commission had not raised wages.

Parker: For marginal groups the minimum wage was not helpful; it just meant they were unemployed.

Bary: No, it wasn't helpful. The commissions were timid; there was no vision--I could not see any vision anywhere. Later, as I saw labor commissions working, in almost all of them there was no vision. They were often manned by the labor hacks, people who were pensioned off. They pensioned them off but they lost the opportunity for doing something for labor, and it was a miserable business.

Parker: There's also a thin line for nonpartisan commissioners when they try to cooperate with employers; in a sense they become the employers' tool. Did you find that?

Bary: You have commissioners who are not too intelligent, who maybe don't know a situation, who have no zeal for improving conditions. And some of them would confess, as Mr. Dohrmann did, that they went on the commission to make sure that no wild-eyed person passed foolish regulations.

Parker: He must have seen you at that time as a bit on the radical side?

Bary: I did not consider that I was radical because, after all, I had established confidence with a man like R. I. Bentley and with so many employers. I was getting things done simply on the basis that it was good business.

Parker: Maybe you were the one who had the vision here.

Bary: I think I did. I had great enthusiasm for the possibilities. I think a great deal can be done. In so many things, we need leadership that will inspire people to enthusiasm, and we need knowledge. It is hard to get.

There are a lot of employers who are ready to cooperate. There is one thing in this situation that people don't always realize: businesses are usually not run now by owners who have a feeling that everything that goes to a worker is something that comes out of their personal pocket. They are run by other employees who maybe would not like to be called employees but they are. They are employed by a corporation. There is a certain fellow-feeling. They have seen the picture from a different angle than the owner. There is a different appeal. Many of them have come

Bary: up; some of them have been hardened by the process, but most of them have not.

Then there was the great discovery, for instance, that the market for American goods was not to be exported and sold to somebody else; the market was right here, and the big market was among the employees--the workers. If the workers had more money, they could buy more goods; maybe they would not be buying your goods, but some other workers would be buying yours. It is a different point of view.

I know when I first began to harp on it at a board meeting--that the market for American goods was working people--it was considered a pretty far-out statement.

Parker: Did you find in the 1920s that some of the employers were advocating this kind of view, like Swope at General Electric and Filene in Boston? Was there a community of employers that was progressive and cooperative?

Bary: There were various employers who were outstanding. Filene was one of them and Jordan Marsh in Boston was one of them.

VI: WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK, 1918-1920

(Interview 3, December 31, 1972)

War Labor Policies Board

Staff

Bary: The War Labor Policies Board was a small board organized to stop the labor troubles which were beginning to interfere with production for the war. The membership consisted of assistant secretaries of the departments concerned with labor plus certain outsiders. Felix Frankfurter held the position of assistant secretary of labor; he was chairman of the board. Franklin Roosevelt was assistant secretary of the navy, and he represented the navy. The army--I don't remember the man's name. The War Production Board sent an assistant secretary. The Fuel Administration and the Railroad Administration, the Food Administration, the Maritime Commission--those were all government agencies.

John Alpine was the vice-president of the AF of L and he represented labor. Herbert Perkins, who was vice-president of International Harvester Company, was nominated by the National Association of Manufacturers to represent industry. That was about the make-up of the board.

Under Frankfurter's guidance, the board adopted very fair standards of policy and reduced the unrest and competition between departments (which was becoming troublesome).

Parker: You had something to do with wages, working conditions, and hours? Women in industry?

Bary: Oh, yes. The policies of the board affected wages, hours, working conditions--everything relating to production.

Parker: Your friend George Bell was the executive secretary?

Bary: Yes. George Bell was. He had been secretary of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing.

Parker: Under Carey McWilliams?

Bary: Yes. It was he who brought me to Washington. He was a very effective, practical person who knew how to cut red tape.

Parker: Did he work well with Frankfurter?

Bary: Oh, yes. The board had on its staff William Chenery, who was a member of George Creel's Committee on Information. At that time, Creel had a man in the various departments of government, and William Chenery represented labor. He was one of the best journalists in the country. A Virginian by birth, he had lived in the North long enough to lose his Virginia accent. In Chicago he had lived at Hull House, had been connected with it. He had a wife who was a real asset.

There were four women on the staff: Clara Mortenson, who later became Mrs. Beyer, Edith Rockwell, Ruth True, and myself. Edith Rockwell left very soon after I came to go into housing for women in Washington, which was a very real problem. Occupying the old slave quarters in the rear of the house where we had our offices were three men who were, sub rosa, working on the problems that would confront the country after the war. Wilson had issued orders that government agencies should devote themselves to the matter of successfully carrying on the war and that they should not divert their attention to considering the problems that would occur after the war. That was why these men were working rather sub rosa. There was Walton B. Hamilton, who later became professor of law at Yale; Harold Moulton, an economist who became director of the Brookings Institute; and Stanley Arnold, a public-spirited attorney from San Francisco who was the son-in-law of William Kent (the congressman who donated Muir Woods to the government for a national park).

Parker: Can you tell us about the building itself--where you were located and the slave quarters?

Bary: We were located in a small mansion--that is, it was small for a mansion--on Lafayette Square opposite the White House. It had not been designed to be used as an office building and there were some handicaps in the arrangement. Someone suggested that Mr. Frankfurter had chosen the building because of the wisteria that decorated the outside of the building.

In the arrangement of offices, it was rather interesting. John Alpine, representing labor, was given a small reception room on the

Bary: ground floor. Herbert Perkins, representing industry, was assigned a servant's room on the third floor. He commented upon that once to me.

Parker: Three flights up to industry.

Bary: Bill Chenery had the dining room, which was a large room where I made my headquarters.

Parker: You worked in the same room with Bill Chenery?

Bary: Yes. It was a large room and he invited me to come in there. F. F. had two rooms on the second floor, one for his assistant, Max Lowenthal. We also had on our staff part of the time Harold Laski, who later became prominent in the British Labour Party. Harold was attached to Harvard at the time as a visiting professor. He had been in Australia studying labor laws. His father was a wealthy manufacturer, so Harold was independent.

It was perhaps interesting to note that Harold was the only person around who was called by his first name, even by the office boys. It was an idiosyncrasy of himself that he belittled himself. He put his hat on from the rear; it made his ears stand out, which did not increase the intellectual quality of his appearance.

Parker: Did you have an insight into another side of his life?

Bary: Harold had certain Oxford mannerisms; among them, he never liked to appear to be working. But he would turn in an amazing amount of work the next day. When he did it, I never found out.

Post-War Planning

Parker: Harold worked under you on a special project, is that correct?

Bary: Oh, yes. Towards the end of my stay in Washington, late in September, F. F. came to me one night and said that the war was going to be over, that it would be over in about six weeks, he thought. He said I should devote my attention to a number of people whom he was winging down to Washington. They were to translate from foreign documents everything available regarding labor, the prospects of what would happen to labor, and what their influence would be after the war.

First, he brought in twenty people, mostly professors from universities--economists--all of whom were to abstract foreign

Bary: journals. I felt entirely incompetent to assign people to work on different journals and different sources of information. On that first day, after I had interviewed a number of people, the next person who came to my attention was Adelaide Haase, a Dutch-born woman who had been librarian in the economics department of the New York Public Library for twenty-five years. She probably knew more about foreign publications because she spoke and read French, German, Dutch, Italian, and I don't know how many other languages, working with all those sources. When I discovered what she could do, I turned over the job to her, handling all these mobs of people who came, because in a matter of the next week the staff had increased to ninety people.

Parker: Ninety people translating labor journals from Europe on post-war reactions to--

Bary: They were labor journals, business journals, anything affecting labor. Some of them were general publications. Whatever would give us insight as to what might happen--the strength of labor, the attitudes--

Parker: Did they expect labor to be revolutionary, or what did they expect?

Bary: They were looking for much the same kind of thing that Keynes looked for later in his book on the economic consequences of the peace. In some of the countries there had been disturbances about the war; there were communist influences and socialist influences. Almost all of the European governments had promised their workers that there would be reforms and improvements.

A lot of unrest was expected. We were particularly looking for leaders who might be drawn in for counseling to keep the situation stable.

Parker: Was F. F. doing this for Wilson, do you think, or just to have ammunition to use with Wilson?

Bary: F. F. expected--I think he had been promised--that he would accompany Wilson to Versailles. He wished to be armed with all of this information.

The British material was handled by Harold Laski, who was assigned to a desk in my room. I was asked to make the beggar work. Maybe I should omit that.

Parker: No, no. That's lovely. We know he worked prodigiously.

Bary: What I was thinking--Max Lowenthal gave me one caution about dealing with Harold. He said, "When you ask Harold a question, watch him closely; Harold thinks quickly."

Parker: You found that to be true?

Bary: I never found that Harold was trying to fib or evade, but I was amused that Max Lowenthal had that opinion of him.

F. F. had an apartment in Washington where he and Lowenthal and Harold lived.

Parker: And Robert Valentine? This is the House of Truth?

Bary: I don't know whether it was the House of Truth. I think there were four or five of the men who lived there. In my earlier dealings with Harold, I had come to the opinion that he was a much more important person than he gave the impression of being. I discovered that he was rather in the habit of going over and taking tea with Lord Reading, the British ambassador, and that on occasion he went over to the White House and had tea with Wilson. After that, I was rather amused to see his efforts at belittling his appearance.

Parker: Before we leave the work you did with Harold Laski and the staff of ninety, I think we should include the titles: reports on "The Labor Situation," in Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and other European countries; "Report on Labor and Socialism in France"; "Report on International Action"; and "Machinery Regulating Labor and International Labor Opinion as to Peace Terms." Very good reports. You said they were in scarce supply though?

Bary: Only a few copies of that report were ever published. It was a rush job; it was not finished until nearly the end of December. F. F. got the State Department to pay for publishing. It was printed by the Government Printing Office as an overtime job. At any rate, it cost the State Department quite a lot of money.

When F. F. went to Versailles with Wilson, he had the report under his arm. It was considered remarkably fast to cover as much ground as we did cover in October, November, and a bit into December, and to whip it together and get it printed by the first of January.

Parker: And this was done under your direction?

Bary: I didn't finish it up because, unfortunately, I got the flu, which was rampant at that time.

Parker: The Asian flu?

Bary: They didn't call it Asian flu, but it was a very virulent kind of flu; a great many people died. My doctor expected me to die, but I deceived him.

Daily Digest of the Labor Press

- Bary: The job to which I was assigned when I went to the War Labor Policies Board was to review all of the books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers which came to the labor department. There were about 400 pieces a day. I had a very large table and the day's mail was laid out for me. I very soon learned, however, that I could put aside a large part of this load each day. There were in the country about, I think, four or five hundred labor papers. Of the labor papers, there were only four or five which had original material. The other papers were made up from a clip sheet issued by the American Federation of Labor. One side of a large sheet of paper was printed and contained news items, editorial comment. All that an editor needed to do was to use a pair of scissors and cut out what he wanted to use. By reading the clip sheet, I could dispense with reading all this volume of labor papers.
- Parker: You knew the labor line as soon as you read the AF of L clip sheet.
- Bary: Yes. You take one look at the paper and you see this is just from the clip sheet. There were only about four or five original labor papers.
- Parker: Do you remember which those were?
- Bary: No, I was trying to recollect, but I don't remember.
- Parker: Hillman's paper--Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers? I should think they would be kind of independent.
- Bary: Yes. His paper was original. That showed some originality; it was not just a clip sheet.
- Parker: What was the actual document that you compiled called?
- Bary: I turned out each day what was called the Daily Digest. That was mimeographed, maybe four to six pages, with the highlights of all the material which I thought was relevant in the books and other material that came to the library.
- Parker: This was circulated among the assistant secretaries on the board?
- Bary: This digest was circulated to everybody on the board. For the first few days, I ground it out on a typewriter. At that time, typewriters were very short in supply. The only typewriters that the stenographers had were a new invention called a noiseless typewriter which with skill could produce one readable carbon.

Bary: That, of course, was impossible for me to use.

I found a contraption called an Oliver typewriter, which was a noisy, crude affair, the brainchild of some inventor. It would turn out twenty copies, and the twentieth copy would be readable. With that machine, which was scorned by all the stenographers, I turned out the Digest for a week or so. Then I made one copy and turned it over to a stenographer who cut stencils. That solved the problem. The Digest attained a circulation not only among all the staff of the War Labor Policies Board and the various board members, but we had a few outsiders such as Justice Brandeis and Julia Lathrop who were privileged to have copies.

Parker: So they knew what was going on with labor and the trade associations?

Bary: They had seen it and had asked to be put on the list.

Parker: You also compiled an information file for a time?

Bary: Yes. I helped Laura Thompson, who was the librarian, to set up the information file. She had one or two of the librarians working on this. I could call her attention to the material coming in as to what was needed and deserved more attention. I could carry that on incidentally.

I also used to go to the Department of Commerce about once a week and also to the Library of Congress in order to get trade publications, to get at the attitude of employers.

Cooperation Between Capital and Labor

Parker: This was a remarkable period, wasn't it, when employers and labor leaders were actually cooperating instead of fighting each other?

Bary: Yes, they were. There was great enthusiasm in the country. When Wilson was elected in 1916, he was elected very largely on the slogan that "he kept us out of the war," and a great many people in the country wished to continue to be kept out of the war. In the spring of 1917, with the sinking of the Lusitania and the trumpet voice of Theodore Roosevelt, the country had to go to war. Wilson, very reluctantly--most reluctantly--saw no alternative.

After that, Wilson put a spirit of idealism into the war. It was the War to End War--that was the great slogan. The country responded. Capital and labor cooperated. It was very interesting that as soon as the war was over, the cooperation dropped.

Bary: We had a staff meeting and a staff dinner after November 11th [The Armistice]. At that meeting, Herbert Perkins warned us that the cooperation was over.

Parker: Did he actually say that?

Bary: Yes. It was rather a shock to us because we had been working through rather a halcyon period of peace between labor and industry. At the close of the dinner, F. F. made some brief remarks and called upon other people. Herbert Perkins warned us that labor had received a great deal during the war. There were all these privileges, as he called them, and that was an era that was closed.

I remember at that meeting that Bill Chenery rose to answer. He made a very statesman-like speech. I think all the rest of us felt that Bill had said the right things. But we all came away with a very ominous feeling that the days of cooperation were over.

Parker: Labor really had not won the right to bargain collectively yet.

Bary: No. All of these matters on which industry had gone along were going to come up for reconsideration. We ran into the depression of 1921. It was engineered by industry. It was not a natural depression. I studied the trade journals at the time and it was quite obvious that industry was looking for a fight.

The 1921 Depression

Parker: How did the employers put down labor during the 1921 depression?

Bary: In the first place, they brought on a depression; they hailed it. Instead of minimizing economic conditions, which happened in 1929 when everybody denied there would be a depression and tried to evade the question, all of these trade journals were trumpeting the depression. Now there would be all this unemployment. Under the threat of unemployment, wage contracts were not renewed and some of them were arrogated. It was a quick depression, but it broke various unions and it certainly made a very sharp ending of any semblance of cooperation.

Parker: So the wartime euphoria just collapsed, and with it the great hopes for reconstruction.

Bary: I think, as I have read the usual historical sources, people have not studied those trade journals of 1920 and 1921; they don't realize the extent to which that quick depression was engineered. It is a phase of history that's very interesting.

Leadership on the Board

Parker: Would you like to give some sidelights on some of the personalities associated with the board?

Bary: F. F. I admired very much. He was a man of great insight and liberal purposes. Towards the end of his career as a Justice of the Supreme Court, he was considered to have abandoned the ways of liberalism. But at that time, he was conspicuous in his feelings and in his desire to make industry recognize the dignity of labor and the rights of labor.

Parker: What was he like personally as an employer?

Bary: He had a remarkable intuitive sense. We would start work at maybe half past eight in the morning and we usually worked (Clara Mortenson and I) until about nine o'clock at night, with time off for lunch and dinner. Everybody else was working that way. F. F. had an intuitive sense of going around when a person felt that he was so tired that he had nearly reached the end of his spring, and with a few words he could give you a whole well-spring of energy again. I know people spoke about it; I felt it very sharply.

That intuitive sense. He had certain ways of proceeding which were rather different from other people. Ruth True on our staff (Clara and I felt) was stodgy and conservative in her point of view, and we were very surprised to find that she was writing speeches for F. F. That was something we could not understand until I got hold of the report of a speech which F. F. had delivered, which was a brilliant and very persuasive speech. Then I got hold of the script which she had written and I saw that F. F.'s idea of a speech writer was somebody who did not agree with him on point of view or fact. He would read that over just before he was called upon to speak and use it as a spring board for making a rebuttal.

I think that that is very revealing as to his character, that he did not want anybody to write a speech that he would deliver. A rebuttal, that is what he wanted. He was very busy and he did not have time to work over a speech. Ruth True could write a speech that was perfect for him. All he had to do was to read it over and then launch into a grand rebuttal.

Parker: He carried the adversary relationship into his speech writing.

Bary: It is really very indicative of the speeches that are credited to the President, many of them he had never written at all. The ones who write their own speeches or who modify their speeches are the exception.

Bary: Roosevelt was a great exception. He worked over his speeches for a long time and they were his own.

Parker: How about the other women on the staff?

Bary: Clara Beyer did various chores for F. F. Then she left to go to the Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia, which was being organized at that time. They had offered me the job but I had had enough of minimum wage and I was not sure that the Minimum Wage Board would really stand up.

Parker: Under the court test?

Bary: No, under their own character test. I thought that it might turn out that they were just glossing over the surface, that they were not really willing to get down to hard facts in order to act. As it turned out, they did act. They went to the bat very quickly on a line of industry where Negroes were employed at substandard wages. They put in the minimum wage which greatly increased their wages and promptly landed them in the courts. They were abolished.

Parker: How about the other staff person?

Bary: Edith Rockwell left to go into housing, and Ruth True stayed on as a speech writer; as far as I know, she never saw any of the speeches F. F. delivered, which were of course spontaneous.

Parker: Then you had an interesting volunteer.

Bary: Elizabeth Brandeis, yes. Elizabeth was the younger daughter of Justice and Mrs. Brandeis. Their older daughter was Susan, who was a lawyer in New York. Elizabeth had just graduated from Wisconsin, and she wanted to get into the action. She volunteered to do any chores that were to be done around the board. She was very intelligent, as you would expect her to be, and a very charming and lovely girl who, being younger than we were, thought that Clara and I were quite noteworthy.

Justice Brandeis's Dinners

Bary: She took us around to meet her parents. That was how Clara and I became acquainted with the Justice and Alice Brandeis. They were worthy of all of the admiration given them.

Parker: What were they like at home?

Bary: They were the kind of Jews who had been brought up with advantages. Justice Brandeis came from Kentucky. While he was simple, it was a simplicity that was based on aristocratic feeling. It was a noblesse oblige business. And so was his wife, who was a very superior person.

Parker: Alice Goldmark. What was she like?

Bary: She was worthy to be his wife. She was a university woman. She worked on various matters of civic interest. Both the Justice and Mrs. Brandeis had money of their own, and they contributed very generously to students. At one time Elizabeth complained to me that her father would get up at six o'clock in the morning and spend at least an hour writing notes to the students whom he was helping at college. At that time, he was helping some fifteen; his help meant not only financial help but a constant stream of communication with them, which of course was priceless.

Mrs. Brandeis was an active member of the Consumer's League and she paid the expenses of the Washington office, although it was not known that she did. I think it was characteristic of her that the secretary of the Washington office was a very capable woman who happened to be anti-Semitic. Mrs. Brandeis continued to pay her salary, and the young woman never knew that Mrs. Brandeis was paying her salary.

They had gone through an ordeal over the appointment of the Justice during the hearings that were held. It was brutal. The comments that many people made--they considered it outrageous that Wilson should appoint a Jew to the Court. There were a great many statements that were completely untrue. They endured it with a patience and a grace which was very commendable. That ordeal went on for months.

Mrs. Brandeis said something to me one time, that somebody had to go through that ordeal to break down that barrier. She thought that in a way it was a privilege that they were the ones who did it.

Parker: That they were chosen.

Bary: Yes.

The Brandeises were very earnest. The Justice was the head of the Zionist movement in this country; that was a deep and passionate interest. I was interested to find out that not only all the prominent European Jews but other statesmen from Europe were in the habit of coming down to Washington to pay their respects to Brandeis.

Bary: Both of them had the feeling that it was very urgent to do as much as possible. There was no time to waste. They used to have a dinner about once a week at which they would invite somebody who was doing something. Then they would also invite three or four younger people to listen in. There was no chit-chat at those dinners. The time was utilized to find out what such a person was doing, and why, and the background circumstances.

The Justice would lead off after food was dispensed with, asking very pertinent questions. He could ask very searching questions to get at the heart of things. He had a feeling that there was a generation of younger people in government who needed to be educated. He did not want to waste the opportunity of having a few people in, these important key people.

Parker: He was conducting a school of government in Washington, like Frankfurter did later at Harvard?

Bary: Yes. Brandeis had that feeling of educating people. In his own office at the Supreme Court he adopted the practice, which Holmes had adopted long before, of bringing in a new assistant every year. He commonly brought in one of the top men from the graduating class at Harvard. It was not necessarily the man who had the highest marks, but a man who was picked. Frankfurter used to pick them when he was at Harvard: somebody whom the Justice could feel would go ahead, who had the right spirit, and was educable.

Parker: What do you remember of the dinners?

Bary: I was invited to several of the dinners. One of the dinners that interested me most was when Mead from California, who was the agricultural commissioner from California, came back from Palestine. He had been sent over there by the Zionists to look into the agricultural possibilities; he spent some months on the job.

Before the Jews began their great efforts to take over Palestine and to develop the desert, Brandeis wanted to have the best opinion he could have as to the possibilities of irrigating the desert. Mead, who was land commissioner of California, had the best experience in this country because he had been engaged in irrigating our deserts, and the climate was much the same. Mead made a detailed study as to the feasibility of irrigating the Palestinian desert. He had a great deal to say about it. I was greatly interested and of course the Justice was.

Parker: Do you think the Justice had something to do with sending him over, financing the trip or the study?

- Bary: He never said things like that, but I am sure there would be no question about his seeing to it, paying it direct, or accepting some offer from somebody else. That is the one I remember the best.
- Parker: You were speaking of the students that he brought into his office as Justice from Harvard--the clerks?
- Bary: Dean Acheson was one that I remember. He kept Dean Acheson for two years. I know Elizabeth Brandeis spoke to me one time about Dean Acheson, and she reflected a certain question as to his basic attitudes. I felt at the time that the Justice kept him for two years for the purpose of educating him.

The Justice would not only deal with him in the office all the time, but he would also bring out his assistant to dinner repeatedly so that he would be educated. Then, he would trust that the man would go into some line of law, government or otherwise, where he would be of public service. The idea was to get public servants, to educate upcoming public servants from the legal class.

I don't remember any, except Dean Acheson, who were among the young men who had that privilege and education.

- Parker: A little later in the 1920s, do you remember Thomas Eliot among the people at dinner, or his brother Charles?
- Bary: I remember Thomas Eliot later when he worked for NRA.
- Parker: We can get to him a little later. I just wondered if he were one of Brandeis's pupils at dinner.
- Bary: I don't know. He may have been, but I don't remember, if I knew.

More on Staff and Board

- Parker: Would you like to go on with the personalities at the War Labor Policies Board? You mentioned Walton Hamilton and the two others in the slave quarters in back.
- Bary: I did not have much contact with Moulton and Stanley Arnold. It was just mostly a question of sitting down for lunch. This luncheon garden was really a great improvement. When they were getting in the equipment, it included a big stove in the basement. The board employed a man named Clark, a Negro who was a very good cook, and I think he had a helper. They were the ones who prepared lunch. Clark used to make a kind of apple pie that was famous.

Bary: In Washington at that time, housing was very short and some other things were short. Sugar was being rationed; you could not buy candy. The dinners that we could buy, I suppose they were adequate, but we would have liked a bit more. There were certain things in the way of food which one remembers perhaps out of proportion to ordinary standards of interest.

I remember we had very good food at the Brandeises. When Bill Chenery's wife invited us, she provided plenty of very good food.

Parker: You had a little place out in the garden where you ate at the War Labor Policies Board?

Bary: Oh, yes. The tables were set out in the garden. I don't remember that it ever rained. If it did, why they would have to bring the tables indoors. The house had a large basement, not a very pleasant dining room, but I don't remember eating there.

Parker: You also suffered from the heat in Washington?

Bary: Oh, yes. Washington has a very bad climate--it's muggy and hot and sticky in the summertime. Of course there was no air conditioning at the time. There were some nights that I did not really get to sleep. Other people would complain.

I was living over at the house occupied by the Woman's Party, which also faced on Lafayette Square.

Parker: Known as Cameron House?

Bary: Yes. It was popularly known as the "Yellow Peril." The suffragists used gold and purple for colors, and somebody dubbed it the Yellow Peril. That was the Cameron House. The room which I had did not have much ventilation. That probably accounted in part for the fact that on muggy nights I did not sleep very well. But we would tank up on black coffee in the morning and go to work all right.

Parker: Walton Hamilton stood out in your mind on these summer days?

Bary: Oh, yes. The men commonly wore linen suits, and on the hot days it was not unusual to see men arising from a conference table and the backs and the seats of their pants would be wet, which was not too dignified. Walton Hamilton was almost an ideal university professor. He had great respect for learning; he was humble as to himself. He was very anxious to help students, and he gave unsparingly of his time to help anybody. He was a very high-minded person who had been a follower of Alexander Meiklejohn and had followed him when Meiklejohn left Amherst.

Parker: Did Frankfurter bring him on to the board?

Bary: Oh, yes, F. F. brought him in. F. F. seemed to have wide connections, and that was how he was able to pick up on quick notice ninety people who would come down to Washington on a volunteer basis. I do not think any of those people who came to Washington to work on that final report were paid. I think most of them came from organizations that would agree to pay.

Parker: Is there anyone else on the board that you would like to cast a side-light or two on?

Bary: There was one incident which bobbed into my head. Herbert Perkins had a very pleasant young girl as a secretary who was not exactly a skilled stenographer. I had picked up some stenography, and when I got talking to the girl she told me one day she had difficulty reading her notes. She showed me, and I saw that she was writing the same kind of system that I had. Sometimes, when she was stuck and could not read her notes, she would come down from the servants' quarters, bring her notebook down to me, and ask if I could decipher.

She did not know anything about the kind of business that Mr. Perkins was talking about. She did not know the vocabulary. When she made word signs, she was not familiar with those words. I knew what they meant, so I would help her decipher her notes. I remember one occasion when she came down and she heard a footstep coming down the stairs. "Oh," she said, "that's Mr. Perkins." She flew behind the door. Then, he came and sat down and he said, "I hope you are not too busy. I do not want to start anything else, and I have an appointment. From this room, I can see if the man comes. I would like to talk to you."

There was his secretary behind the door. I tried to get rid of him to give her a chance to get back to her office, but he kept talking for I guess it was fifteen or twenty minutes. Sometimes the door would wiggle. He had his back to it and did not know that anybody was eavesdropping.

Parker: At least he was not talking about her.

Bary: He was interested in her. When he left the board, he offered to take her back to Chicago and give her a job at Harvester. I think that I helped her with words; I gave her a vocabulary of words that he was likely to use so that that would help her to recognize them. He told me that he liked the girl, and he would like to have her as a secretary, which struck me as rather interesting. I was reading from her notes stuff that he was writing to other manufacturers and to the National Association of Manufacturers which was really of a confidential nature. I do not think that he filed those letters

Bary: with his papers. He sometimes complained about the policies of the board as being too favorable to labor; but, he said, they had to go along.

Parker: Do you think that was just his way of persuading employers to cooperate, this kind of negative approach?

Bary: He went along with the policy of the board, but he did not like it. It was necessary under the circumstances. Also, as he reminded me, he had a servant's room and John Alpine had the reception room on the first floor.

Parker: That represented, you think, his influence on the board, that it was second to labor?

Bary: In a way it did. Labor was being given more dignity than the National Association of Manufacturers. He felt it. I liked Herbert Perkins; I found him in some discussion which I had with him very helpful.

Parker: In understanding the manufacturer's point of view?

Bary: Yes. He told me things. For instance, he said, "The hardest thing that the company had was to get executives who were willing to make decisions fairly fast." People complained about the slowness of going through government and all: this passion that bureaucrats have to get half a dozen or more to initial anything that they do so as to spread the blame if there is going to be blame. We had called a discussion one day about that, and he said that the greatest difficulty International Harvester had was to get executives who were willing to take a chance. He said, "My job is to make decisions." He was the vice-president. He said, "I make decisions all the time; I have to do it. I don't have time to gather all the information so that I am 100 percent sure as to the decision I make. If I can strike 80 percent, I'm satisfied and the company is satisfied. It's more important to make a decision and have the work go on, than to dilly-dally around until you can arrive at what you think is a perfect decision. That is the way that industry needs to be built."

He said, "We do have trouble. The employees who advance, men who are experienced, they may be too experienced. They can think of too many objections and contingencies, and they are not willing to step out and make a decision." There were things like that that he taught me, for which I am very grateful. He seemed to be glad to talk about such things.

Parker: This might have carried over to his approach toward labor, cooperating with labor during the war: you make the decision to cooperate even though you are not quite sure that is really what you want.

- Bary: Yes. I thought that basically I would not have too much difficulty with him because he was being honest. I think he was perfectly frank when he talked about such things. If a person is, you know where he stands. It is not like the people who hedge around, and then you find loopholes and discrepancies.
- Parker: How about John Alpine?
- Bary: I did not see much of him. He did not spend too much of his time at the board; he spent more of it over at the AF of L headquarters.
- Parker: So, really, Frankfurter was labor's man?
- Bary: He represented the best opinion of the government on a liberal policy for labor, but he was not talking as representing labor. After all, he was a lawyer; he was Assistant Secretary of Labor, and he had a strong sense of the rights and the dignity of labor. But the unions would not have recognized him as a union man; the AF of L represented the unions. Alpine was not around much, in spite of the fact that he had this choice office. I never had a chance to talk with him much.

Woman's Party Headquarters

- Parker: Can you tell us about your association with the Woman's Party headquarters group in Washington, D.C.?
- Bary: When I first came to Washington, a friend had arranged for me to have a room temporarily, but I was not allowed to stay there any length of time. Housing was extremely short; even servants' rooms on the fourth or fifth floor were at a premium.

Very close to us at the War Labor Policies Board, on Lafayette Square, was the Cameron House, which was the headquarters of the Woman's Party. One of the attractions for the public was a very good restaurant which was conducted in the basement of the house. Since that was only a very few minutes from the War Labor Policies Board, I usually had my lunch there.

In speaking to someone at the table, I disclosed the fact that I had been engaged in the suffrage campaign in California. This interested her, and she told me that the ballroom of the Cameron House had been cut up temporarily by partial partitions so that in place of one ballroom there were now nine small bedrooms. She said that since I had been engaged in the suffrage campaign, she thought

Bary: that she could get me a room there. I was very glad at the chance because it was so close to the office.

I stayed there until about October, 1918. Then I was asked to give up my room to someone else who was more devoted to the Woman's Party than I was.

Direct Action

Parker: What were the activities of the Woman's Party at this time?

Bary: They were carrying on education work; they had committees in various places. Also, they had been trying direct action going to jail. They considered that that policy was very effective.

Aura of the Leader

Bary: In staying at the house, I had the opportunity of meeting Miss Alice Paul. I was very much interested in her personality; she was a very intense and dramatic person. She was not conspicuous as to looks; her hair was very dark, straight, and pulled back into a knot at the rear. I discovered one thing which amused me. She used to sit in her room, which was on the second floor. The door was always open so that anyone going up the stairs to the second floor could observe her as she sat there. She always sat in a huge purple velvet chair and her head was outlined against a fireplace--

Parker: With the fire going.

Bary: Not always--not in the summertime. The fireplace was I think, as I remember, black and the woodwork was white; it made an intense picture. Miss Paul herself had a very white skin and this very black hair. The silhouette against the purple velvet chair had a dramatic quality.

All of the women who circulated around the Woman's Party were intensely loyal to her, almost worshipful. Some of them who were not staying at the house would walk up the stairs to the point where they could look in and see her (as she thought). As she sat in that chair, she was not reading, she was thinking. Her devotees were quite worshipful in their attitude and deeply grateful for the opportunity to observe her mind thinking.

Once or twice when I encountered her, she asked me to go to jail. She had decided that going to jail attracted a great deal

Bary: of attention, which it did, and that that was one of the best methods of presenting the injustices done to women.

Parker: First the women would picket in front of the White House and then the Washington police would arrest them and take them to jail, was that the idea?

Bary: Oh, yes. You provoked the police by picketing. There were guards around the White House. One night when I was walking with a friend by the White House, my friend had a sudden pain in her side and sat down on the curb. A couple of moments later, a guard came up and asked us what we were doing. My friend said that she had a stomach ache. The guard said, "Go across the street and have your stomach ache across the street; you mustn't have a stomach ache on this side of the street."

Parker: What did you tell Miss Paul when she asked you to go to jail for her, for the cause?

Bary: I told her that I was very busy working for the War Labor Policies Board and that I considered the work that was being done by the board to be essential; that suffrage was going to come anyway and that I thought it was more important for me to stay on my job than to go to jail. She did not say much, but she had a general air of not agreeing with me. There was a young woman in the house, a devoted adherent, who did go to jail at that time. I had chatted a bit with her previous to her going to jail. I was quite amused when she came back from jail in talking with her.

She had apparently considered the whole thing a great lark. She was very gay about it. On that evening when she came back, Miss Paul was holding a press conference with reporters down on the ground floor. The girl and I sat on the stairs listening. Miss Paul gave the reporters a very vivid, pathetic account as to the condition of the girl, that she was quite prostrated and could not possibly be interviewed. The experience had been a horrible one and Miss Paul hoped that the girl would recover. All of which struck me as very amusing. The girl sitting beside me was giggling.

Parker: What was your view of the Alice Paul strategy at this time?

Bary: I felt that suffrage was coming inevitably, that the resistance to women voting was disappearing, and that women could probably get farther by cooperating with the war effort than by trying to hinder it. I will admit that I was rather amused by the intense attitude of all the people around the Woman's Party. However, I appreciated the fact that I could live so close to my working quarters and that I could get good food down at the dining room.

Parker: But the atmosphere contrasted with your work at the War Labor Policies Board?

Bary: Yes, it did contrast very much. At the War Labor Policies Board, everybody was very busy; it was quiet and orderly and no time was lost. Around the Woman's Party, there was always a constant chattering which somehow made me sympathize with some of the men who made belittling remarks about women.

Parker: I think you referred to Alice Paul as kind of a one-idea person.

Bary: She was. Her one purpose in life was to get suffrage for women. As to what future plans she had, nobody discussed it. I did not spend much time talking to any of the people around there.

Parker: You have underscored the male versus female contrast: the frivolous females versus the quiet male workers at the War Labor Policies Board; and you pointed to the atmosphere of drama and intensity at the Woman's Party headquarters compared with the quiet effectiveness under Frankfurter.

Bary: There was that contrast, and I could sympathize with men who made remarks about futile chattering of women and doubting whether they should be given the responsibility of the vote. It seemed to me that Miss Paul was not furthering the advance of suffrage by the tactics she was employing.

Parker: You did not share her attack on President Wilson?

Bary: No, I did not. I knew how very reluctant Wilson had been to get into the war, how earnestly he had tried to keep out of it. I thought that feeling in the country had really forced him into that action. I felt that our entrance into the war was essential for the advancement of civilization.

American Committee of Russian Cooperatives*

(Interview 4, January 1, 1973)

The Cooperative Movement

Parker: After you left the War Labor Policies Board, I understand you worked for a year or so in New York City for the American Committee of Russian Cooperatives. Can you tell us about that?

Bary: Yes. I went to work for the American Committee of Russian Cooperatives, which was an interesting organization. Russia had long had

*Formally known as American Committee of Russian Cooperative Unions. --Ed.

Bary: some cooperatives, beginning with buying cooperatives among the peasants. It finally resulted in their having some 50,000 little stores all connected with cooperative merchandising. This effort had been fostered by Tolstoyan efforts and philosophy.

The cooperatives had branched out into cracker factories, creameries in Siberia, fur cooperatives in Siberia, and flax and other producing agencies. The movement had managed to increase activities in spite of the fact that the czar's police were very suspicious of any kind of collective efforts on the part of the people.

Staff

Bary: At the time that I joined the New York committee, there were some 150 Russians on the staff. The bookkeeper was a man named Webster. He and I were the only Americans. I helped out on various matters in which the Russians needed assistance; things which were familiar to us were not familiar to foreigners.

Parker: Who was your immediate superior?

Bary: I worked directly under Alexander Zelenko who was a professor and very definitely an academician. The head of the American Committee in New York was a man named Burkenheim, who was an interesting and even spectacular person.

Parker: Tell us about him.

Bary: He was well over six feet and well-developed--not fat but huge. He had a shock of black hair which rose above his head and made him look like rather a caricature of what people think of as the wild Russian. He was a very forceful person. To emphasize his points, he more than once slammed his huge fist on top of a desk and broke it.

Burkenheim had been a friend and associate of Lenin, but they had disagreed as to policy. Both of them were equally positive characters, and now they had become sworn enemies. The Bolsheviks at that time were fighting the cooperatives, endeavoring to absorb them. The American Committee in New York was sending over equipment and supplies wherever they could get into a port friendly enough to receive their goods.

Parker: They had to go to a Russian port that was not controlled by the Bolsheviks to get their goods back to Russia?

Bary: Yes, they had to. At the time I joined, the committee had some \$65,000,000 in the bank from the furs which the fur cooperative from Siberia had sent to the big fur market in St. Louis. We commissioned ships to take goods over. The kind of goods we were sending were the things that the cooperative stores needed--consumers' goods.

The office tried to keep track of war conditions in Russia so as to guide the ships. We would have a ship routed to Odessa; then we would discover that Odessa was being controlled by the Bolsheviks. So we couldn't send it there; it had to be diverted elsewhere. That made the situation precarious.

Consumer Goods Exported to Russia

Parker: What kinds of things did you send back to Russia?

Bary: What kind of things? We sent all these consumers' goods--anything we could get. At one time, we sent an enormous number of cigarettes. The tobacco companies in this country had changed the packaging of cigarettes; I think they changed from twelve packs to the carton to ten. It was necessary to make the change all over the country in one day, and then get rid of all of the old packaged stuff. They could not afford to re-package it. It would probably be damaged in the process.

I remember that we bought enormous quantities of cigarettes for 15¢ per thousand. The purpose of the companies in selling the cigarettes at such a low price was to get back the money which they had invested in the stamps that appeared on the packages. That was the valuable part that they wanted to get.

I remember, for another thing, that all the sugar we sent (we sent great quantities of sugar) was always lump sugar because the Russians were in the habit of drinking tea through a lump of sugar, and there was not going to be enough sugar to use for any other purpose. All the sugar was lump sugar. There were some other things like that that were interesting.

The people that worked for the committee ran all the range from Professor Zelenko, who was a typical intellectual, to more ordinary business people, to the Siberians who controlled the flax and the furs and the creameries. There were huge creameries in Siberia. The Asiatics looked more like Mongols than like Europeans.

Negotiations with the Department of State

Bary: All this time, the American Committee was endeavoring to get favorable treatment and understanding from the State Department. At the time, Bolshevik Russia was not in favor with our authorities. The great problem that faced the committee was to try to convince the State Department that the cooperatives were not just a front for the Bolsheviks.

Apparently we had nobody in the State Department who knew about the Russian cooperative movement; they had no realization that it was basically a democratic movement, perhaps leaning toward socialism, but very definitely against the totalitarianism which Lenin was advocating. Nobody in the State Department seemed to know anything about the inside of Russia.

For weeks, the activity of the committee that I saw was directed towards convincing the State Department to ease up on questions like export licenses. At one sad juncture, having arranged for an important meeting with top officials of the State Department, we spent weeks marshaling the facts which it was hoped would convince the State Department that the cooperatives were actually fighting against the Bolsheviks.

The most important ally that we could possibly have against the totalitarian practices of Lenin would have been the cooperatives. Throughout Russia the cooperatives were opposed to him. However, the communists established a small group in New York who published a daily paper--I think it was the Daily Worker. They were very shrewd in their tactics. They constantly endeavored to create the impression that the cooperatives were only a front for the communists.

On the crucial day when half a dozen of our top men were scheduled to go to Washington for this conference with the top state department people--

Parker: This is Professor Zelenko and other people?

Bary: Yes. The Daily Worker came out with huge headlines and an utterly false statement which would indicate that the coops were simply a front for Lenin. When our committee people were ushered into a conference room where they were to meet with State Department officials, in front of every chair at the table was a copy of this damning issue of the Daily Worker.

Parker: In effect, the Daily Worker sabotaged the meeting.

Bary: They completely scuttled it. When the State Department officials came in, they pointed at the paper and dismissed the meeting in a few minutes. The chance was lost, never to be recovered. By the end of the year, the Bolsheviks had made more advances against the cooperatives. The situation seemed quite hopeless, and the committee was dissolved.

Parker: Who had helped you obtain your position on the committee?

Bary: George Bell. He had met Zelenko, and Zelenko had told them they needed some American person with contacts. George Bell recommended that I should go over since the War Labor Policies Board had folded.

Government Censorship

Bary: I had had certain contacts while working with the War Labor Policies Board which showed me the attitude of the government on the question of communism, particularly their suspicions of anything Russian. When I first went to the board, Mr. Frankfurter asked me to go over to the Post Office Department and try to get into the censorship department to see what they were doing about censoring labor and other publications which they might consider subversive.

Mr. Palmer, the Attorney General, had been stirring up a great scare about the dangers of Russian influence and communism. The atmosphere was not as bad as under McCarthy later. A great many people were affected by it, particularly certain branches of the government.

Frankfurter had been told that labor publications were having trouble with the post office in getting their papers through the mails. I went over to see the Postmaster General. I discovered that as soon as I mentioned that Mr. Frankfurter was interested in this problem, it was taken for granted that we wished to help suppress papers. It was not necessary for me to say anything. I did not have to tell any lies or infer any falsehoods in order to open up his arms to me.

I was taken down to the censorship department, which at that time was located in a big room with perhaps a dozen people working around, reading papers and books. They also took me in, in a simple fashion, as though my only interest could be in suppressing more papers. I was given access to their files and their correspondence.

Parker: What did you learn?

Bary: I was very much interested in reading the correspondence between the Postmaster General and the postmaster in New York with regard to a

- Bary: Russian paper called Novy Mir. The postmaster in New York was instructed to hold up the paper. They had not been able to find any evidence strong enough to prohibit the use of the mails to this paper, but they remained suspicious of it. The postmaster was instructed that if he held up sending the paper for two or three months, that would undoubtedly diminish the circulation, and that would probably be as effective as prohibiting it the use of the mails.
- Parker: This happened under the instructions of the Postmaster General in Wilson's administration?
- Bary: Yes. Sometimes action of that kind can only be blamed on the Postmaster General; it was not an order from the White House.
- Parker: That is the way that you saw it?
- Bary: Oh, yes, that's the way that I saw it, and the way you see many things. At the present time, we know that the White House is in control of a great many activities which would normally go to the departments. At that time, the departments had more independence than we are suffering from at the present time.

I also discovered that the Post Office Department was deeply agitated about the Non-Partisan League which was functioning in the wheat-growing states: Minnesota, the Dakotas, that area. I understood the Non-Partisan League was simply a democratic movement on the part of the producers and many of the small farmers to get a fair deal with the millers, the big milling companies in Minneapolis.

It was really a continuation of the fight that had gone on earlier in Kansas, Nebraska, and those states under the Insurgents. The Post Office Department regarded the Non-Partisan League as a very dangerous organization. They were holding up papers and harassing them in every way possible.

I had read correspondence for two or three days. Nobody interfered with my taking notes, so I was able to report back to Mr. Frankfurter what I had found.

- Parker: Do you remember what his reaction to all this was?
- Bary: Well, it was just what he had thought, but now he had some evidence.
- Parker: This repressive atmosphere carried over into the government's approach to the American Committee of Russian Cooperatives, as you discovered later. Where did you go next after you left the committee?
- Bary: I came home to California, and I was here for several months. Then I returned to work at the Children's Bureau.

VII: U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU, 1920-1925

Chiefs of the Children's Bureau

- Bary: I had become acquainted with Miss Lathrop at the time of the War Labor Policies Board, since she was one of the few persons who was welcomed to our luncheons in the garden. There I came to know her.
- Parker: What was she like?
- Bary: Julia Lathrop was a very remarkable person. She was quiet but effective. She had been associated for years with Jane Addams, and she reflected all of the spirit of Jane Addams.
- Parker: How do you mean?
- Bary: A large point of view, great interest in people, a humane attitude, a hatred of war, of conflict, and along with that she had a very quiet, effective way of speaking. She was never bombastic. She told me that in the beginning she had great difficulty in making a speech, but she had trained herself so that she could deliver a speech very effectively. She never exaggerated.
- Parker: She has been known by some people as a reconciler among diverse and fighting interests--or a harmonizer.
- Bary: She was very much a harmonizer. Somehow, by her presence, she could go into a group of people who were disagreeing among themselves and lift the atmosphere so that small bickerings disappeared. She appealed to what was best in people, not by belligerence but by a certain quality of presence. At that time she was over sixty. I think everybody felt that she had lived through a great deal, that she knew a great deal and understood. She was very effective in appealing to what was best in men.
- Parker: Unlike Alice Paul.

- Bary: Oh, yes, she was completely different from the belligerent type of woman. She had a very keen sense of humor--quiet; it was quiet.
- Parker: Did she sparkle? What kind of a transaction was going on when you talked with her?
- Bary: When you talked with her? I think she had a way of conveying a great deal by her presence that was not put into words. That is a very rare quality, and I think usually occurs only to older people who do make you feel that they have been through a great deal in life, that they know what is good and what is bad, and they wish to discard what is trivial. They make you wish to discard what is trivial. A feeling is conveyed that efforts are worthwhile and that time should not be wasted on frivolity. An earnestness, but never an aggressive kind of earnestness.
- Parker: Did she contrast in this respect with her successor, Grace Abbott?
- Bary: She was completely different from Grace Abbott. Grace Abbott gave the impression of being a very strong person, which she was. Her idea, her general procedure, was to attack with all of her force. Very often that stirred up all the force on the other side. Grace Abbott could be sarcastic at the wrong time. She had no finesse; Miss Lathrop had great finesse.
- Parker: Can you give me an example of this?
- Bary: There was one occasion in which we had a meeting with some congressmen. There was one who started off and made an attack on women and mentioned old maids trying to run families. His remarks were rude and crude and they were made in a very forceful fashion. When he was through, there was a certain silence in the group. Then Miss Lathrop said that she wished to apologize. The chairman asked her why she wished to apologize. She said, "Well, I thought that someone should, and no one else volunteered." Then this belligerent person turned red. The quietness with which she said this had evidently cut him very deeply. He apologized and said that he really had not meant that, that he realized that Miss Lathrop and the people she represented were trying earnestly to do their very best. He recanted to a great extent.
- The whole meeting was changed from one of strain to one of pleasantness and relaxation, and then we could go forward.
- Parker: This was at a Sheppard-Towner hearing in the 1920s, this incident you are recalling?

Bary: I think it was on Sheppard-Towner [The Maternity and Infancy Hygiene Act]. At the time when the Sheppard-Towner bill was before the Senate, Senator Reed from Missouri made an announcement that he would address the Senate on the subject of the Sheppard-Towner bill two or three days hence.

Senator Reed had a vitriolic tongue. He had a capacity for making phrases that were very convenient to use in headlines. He was a person who was in the habit of having headlines when he made one of these set speeches.

I attended this meeting, along with Dr. Roode, who was in charge of the Child Hygiene Division and had been very deeply concerned about the Sheppard-Towner act. We heard Senator Reed start on a diatribe and wax eloquent about the old maids trying to run the families and tell mothers what to do. He had prepared his speech very well in advance, and he was making it vitriolic and aiming at the headlines. After about ten or fifteen minutes when we were feeling very much concerned about it, a page brought up a note from the press box. The head of the Associated Press sent a note saying, "Don't be concerned; all of the press have agreed not to run one line of Senator Reed's speech."

I had never known of a situation in which the press agreed not to publish something. Not a line appeared. I think that Senator Reed was probably very much surprised. Of all of the compliments Miss Lathrop could receive, I think that none could have been greater than to have the newspaper correspondents, who are naturally out for headline news, all agree not to publish anything about it.

Parker: That is a tribute.

Bary: It shows that they appreciated her character, and they showed their deep appreciation.

Parker: What was your job when you went to the Children's Bureau?

Bary: I had the job of Director of the Publications Division. That meant the final review of reports that were to be published by the bureau and any press relations, correspondence and all that.

Research and Demonstration Project, Puerto Rico

Parker: Very soon you became involved in a research and demonstration project sponsored by the Children's Bureau in Puerto Rico, is that correct?

Bary: Yes. Miss Lathrop, from all of her Hull House experience, was very much interested in minorities. She had been over in Poland and Czechoslovakia on a visit at the request of those governments after the war. She had great understanding of the problems of people under stress.

She had been interested for quite a while in our insular possessions. From all that she learned, she questioned whether we were really doing an intelligent job in Puerto Rico. We had taken over after the Spanish War and we had given Puerto Rico certain help. We did not give them as much in the way of democratic rights as they felt entitled to. We had not done as much as they said should have been done for health questions and for education. We knew from figures that there was a great deal of illiteracy and disease.

The Commissioner of Education, Mr. Miller, wrote to Miss Lathrop and asked if the Children's Bureau could make a study of Puerto Rico. He offered the cooperation of the Department of Education of Puerto Rico. By the way, the island name was spelled P-o-r-t-o and should have been spelled P-u-e-r-t-o. That was one point which the Puerto Ricans did not like. Every time they saw the word, it meant to them that we were ignorant--we did not spell their name right. It was a constant affront to them and a reminder that we were ignorant about their needs.

Parker: As you were to find out.

Bary: Yes. I helped later on in getting their name changed so as to give them the proper spelling.

Miss Lathrop had an immediate, friendly response to Commissioner Miller's letter. She wanted to help Puerto Rico. Without knowing anything about the island, she presumed that they did not have the facilities or the money to carry on social work and education at the level prevailing in the United States. She sent a woman from Hull House who, I think, was attached to the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago--Estelle Hunter, a very capable person. She decided that Miss Hunter would be a very desirable person to carry on.

Bary: Miss Lathrop wanted to get something done in a way that would be helpful, not merely to go down and come back and write a report; that would be rather futile. The Children's Bureau under the law was instructed to report on conditions affecting children. Miss Lathrop construed the word "report" to include reporting to people as well as to writing reports and perhaps to demonstrate and instruct as she went along. Nobody ever objected to her interpretation of the word.

Parker: That was the sanction for the Children's Bureau's entry into Puerto Rico, to investigate the conditions of children?

Bary: Yes. Miss Hunter went down and spent a month going around the island talking to people and observing the conditions. She came back. After about a month she refused to go back. She never explained why. Miss Lathrop endeavored to engage someone like Miss Hunter, outside the bureau, who would go down and conduct the survey. She was not able to find anybody who satisfied her, so she asked me if I would go.

Parker: What was the arrangement you made before leaving with your position?

Bary: Katharine Lenroot was to hold my job until I got back. It was a very definite arrangement. She would go back to her job as assistant director in the Social Service Division when I came back. However, she did not do that. That is another story.

Parker: Okay, we will get to that later.

Local Officials

Bary: Miss Hunter had recommended the bureau engage the services of Beatriz Lassalle to act as assistant.

Parker: As your assistant?

Bary: Yes. She had charge of the Junior Red Cross; she worked under the Commissioner of the Insular Department of Education. Beatriz had been in the States before. She had had some contact with social agencies. She had a touch of colored blood. Apparently in the States she had met with prejudice on that account, which made her highly sensitive on any possible topic that would reflect on race prejudice. At times it created situations that were a bit difficult.

Parker: Even in Puerto Rico Miss Lassalle felt this way?

Bary: In connection with some North Americans. Now, in general, Puerto Rico is fairly oblivious to the color line. The mayor of San Juan was a black man; the principals of most of the schools were colored; the population of the island had a large admixture of colored blood. The census figures were not indicative of the color line as we would draw it in the North.

Some families had the tradition of being white, and maybe they had chocolate-colored members; some families were considered colored who had members that could pass as white. It was certainly not like the northern way of drawing a color line.

Parker: Did you have other staff, besides Miss Lassalle, going down with you?

Bary: No. I had a Puerto Rican stenographer who helped out for a while, who greatly surprised me. About the third day she came to work, she was wearing a large Eastern Star pin from which dangled a dozen Catholic medals of saints. That caused me to open my eyes as to the relationship between the Masons and the Catholics. I discovered that most of the men with whom I had any dealings were Masons; all of the women were Catholics. The two were living very harmoniously in Puerto Rico. No one thought it peculiar to have Catholic medals hanging from an Eastern Star pin.

The Junior Red Cross was an organization much more effective than the Junior Red Cross in the States. It went through the schools. Every child was automatically a member of the Junior Red Cross, i.e., those who could pay 25¢ a year membership. The funds were used for various benefits for the children.

At the time that I went there, the Children's Bureau had been allowed \$25,000 to make this study. We also were to have as an additional asset a \$25,000 matching fund which the Junior Red Cross in Puerto Rico had accumulated. With this amount of money we were to do what we could do.

Parker: I see. The Children's Bureau and the Junior Red Cross were cooperating in a "Children's Year in Puerto Rico" project.

Bary: Yes. The Children's Bureau had organized a Children's Year in the States, which had been very successful in calling attention to the needs of children. We called this year that we were to demonstrate in Puerto Rico also Children's Year.

One of the first contacts that I made when I went down to Puerto Rico was to pay my respects to the governor, whose name

Bary: was Yeager, and to seek his cooperation in making an official declaration of Children's Year. I found Governor Yeager a difficult person to get along with. He was an old man and very tired and obviously a political appointee. He showed no particular knowledge about Puerto Rico when I tried to talk to him. When I approached the question of doing something, he became deaf. I was told afterwards that that was his tactic; when any subject was begun which he did not wish to discuss, he became deaf and offered no means of communication.

Harding had been elected President and that meant a change of appointive officers. I knew that Governor Yeager was likely to be replaced with somebody else. I did not try to do much of anything with him. Aside from all this deafness, the indications were that he was weary and not interested. I thought it was futile to try to do anything. Better to wait for a new governor.

That was one obstacle to starting a Children's Year because we expected to start it with a proclamation from the governor. As I began to talk to Dr. Miller, the commissioner, I discovered that we also had difficulties in that direction.

Parker: Even though he had invited the Children's Bureau to come in and make the study.

Bary: Yes, he had been very urgent in his invitation to Miss Lathrop to come in and make the study. But soon after I began talking with him, he told me that he would give us a report on conditions in Puerto Rico for the sum of \$5,000. He had learned evidently from Miss Hunter that we had a budget of \$25,000; he wished \$5,000. If that preliminary was over, then we would have direct access to the \$20,000 that the Junior Red Cross had in its coffer.

Parker: He tried to make a deal with you.

Bary: He tried to make a deal with me and I felt very much like saying, "millions for defense but not one cent for tribute." It struck me as all wrong that he should make these great protestations of wishing to cooperate on the study, and then to find out his first object was to be paid \$5,000 for his cooperation.

I told him that we had already budgeted all the money that we had and that I was following through on the cooperation which he had offered Miss Lathrop in his original letter of request. Our relations after that were not too cordial. He also wished me to pay \$3,000 to have the secretary of the department write a report. I felt the same way about that request.

Parker: Had Miss Lassalle come from his department?

Bary: She was in his department.

Parker: So you were paying her salary?

Bary: We were taking her over. We would pay her salary. I also remembered that Dr. Miller was a presidential appointee and that he might be replaced. If we had entered into a contract with him, by the time the presidential appointments in Puerto Rico became effective, we might find that he was no longer on the scene. But the contract might still be in effect.

Parker: You would have been left with a commitment that meant nothing.

Bary: He might have made a show of sending us a report. At any rate, it was an embarrassment. Looking at Dr. Miller and trying to talk with him, I thought that the appointments that were made in Puerto Rico were certainly not made with an intelligent desire to help. Dr. Miller was a crude person. Some way or other he had collected a Ph.D., but I do not know how he had secured it. I afterward discovered a couple of M.A.'s in Puerto Rico who had purchased for \$10 each a certificate of Master of Arts from a mail order outfit. I assume that Dr. Miller's Ph.D. was acquired in some better fashion.

Quality of Teachers^{*}

Bary: I tried to talk to him about the quality of teachers whom he might obtain, because in the first few days I was there I met several of the teachers who had come down from the North.

* Institutional vulnerabilities in the Puerto Rican educational system are exposed in two pointed fictionalized accounts. See Valeska Bari, "Fellow Citizens," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 133, no. 6 (June 1924), 806-812; and *ibid.*, "Majority Rule," vol. 135, no. 1 (Jan. 1925), 78-84.

Two other articles play contrapuntally upon traditions of superstition and ignorance which existed alongside Americanization. See *ibid.*, "The Gift of Tongues," vol. 136, no. 3 (Sept. 1925), 389-394; and *ibid.*, "The Rose of Love," vol. 141, no. 6 (June, 1928), 813-818. --Ed.

Bary: Under the school system of Puerto Rico, the first four grades of school were to be carried on in Spanish, during which time the children were to learn some English. The next four grades would be carried on partly in English and partly in Spanish (as much as possible in English). The teachers I talked to I thought were not of the quality that would be most helpful. They were all southerners who, at that time, had a very heavy southern accent.

When I talked to Dr. Miller, he told me that the salaries paid in Puerto Rico were very low. In recruiting teachers from the North to teach English, the salary he had to offer would be a salary that would be acceptable only to the lowest quality of teachers.

Parker: Or to those from a poorly paid region of the United States.

Bary: Yes. The salaries in the South were cheaper, and the only people who would accept such salaries were southerners.

Parker: Which also brought in the color prejudice problem, I suppose.

Bary: Oh, yes. I tried to encourage him to seek the cooperation of the Quakers and the Catholic welfare people to recruit people on a different basis. I argued that those groups in particular could be appealed to on the basis of the opportunity for rendering service. There were a great many Americans who would respond to the challenge of service.

Also, he had the advantage of offering the opportunity of living in a Spanish-speaking country. Many people would be willing to accept on that basis. His viewpoint, as you might expect, was that the only motivation that was really effective with people was the question of money. He scorned my suggestions.

Parker: So that was your first project--to try to raise the quality of teaching in Puerto Rican schools?

Bary: Yes. I felt that if they could start recruiting dedicated people to help in the schools, that would be a major step. I felt certain there were plenty of Americans who would respond to such an appeal. If they got general Americans, particularly from the North, it would be very much better for the Puerto Rican children than to learn English with a deep southern accent, which would make it hard for them to obtain employment if they went up to the North. You can see that with not too good a command of English, and with a variety of the English that was not very acceptable, their chances of advancement, either educationally or in jobs, would be very much diminished.

Bary: Personally, I think that Dr. Miller would not have welcomed high-class, devoted people into his schools. They would have seen deficiencies for which he might be held responsible. With the backing of the organizations that helped them to get the jobs, whatever criticisms they might make would be taken much more seriously than if they came as individuals.

Island Politics^{*}

Parker: How did the Harding transition affect the situation?

Bary: In July, Governor Yeager was replaced by a man named E. Mont Reilly from Kansas City, who was as unqualified for the job as one can easily imagine. He came from the lower slums of political influence.

He started out in a highly unfortunate fashion. When Harding had offered him the job, Reilly had not taken the trouble to find out much about the island. Among the people who visited him was a white man who came from Puerto Rico as a representative of the Republican party.

Now in the politics of the island, the Unionist party was by all means the biggest party; it corresponded to the then dominant Republican party in the North. It represented the more conservative people; its membership formed the political majority on the island. There were several minor parties. Among the minor parties was this so-called Republican party, which consisted almost entirely of blacks of not a high order. They were fronted, however, by this rather glib white man who visited Reilly.

The story that he told to Reilly, which Reilly did not trouble to confirm, was that the Republican party was confronted by a serious situation--an independence movement; that all over the island there were people wishing to be independent of the states; that it was necessary in going down as governor of the island for him to take a very firm stand from the outset against independence.

Reilly went down. He had not taken the trouble to find out that the so-called Republican party was a very minor affair consisting mostly of Negroes, for whom he personally had a racial antipathy.

*The problems of responsible administration of an insular possession are examined critically in: Valeska Bari, "Porto Rico--A Test," The Woman Citizen, n.s., vol. 9, no. 16 (Jan. 24, 1925), 9-10, 25.
--Ed.

Bary: But he had not learned that. His natural allies would have been the Unionist party.

Parker: He was faced, he thought, with the threat of an independence movement on the island when he came down?

Bary: Yes. He was inaugurated a few hours after he arrived. In his inaugural address he launched into a campaign against independence carried out in words that antagonized the Puerto Ricans so thoroughly that the following morning the whole island blossomed with Puerto Rican flags. In the time that I had been on the island, I had not seen a Puerto Rican flag, but the island was covered with flags the next morning.

The Puerto Ricans, from a long history of subjection to the Spaniards, during which time they had to be very careful as to what they spoke, had learned very subtle ways of getting back at people. A rumor started that when Governor Reilly, wearing evening clothes, had made his inaugural speech, he had also worn yellow leather shoes. That, to a Puerto Rican who had any sense of formality, was a tremendous insult.

The island also blossomed with yellow shoes. On the main square in Puerto Rico, two of the stores emptied their show windows of everything except a pair of yellow shoes. The governor replied hotly in the papers that he had not worn yellow shoes, that he knew how to dress, that he had two dress suits--not one but two--and that he had worn black shoes.

Having discovered that they could bait him into making such a retort, the rumors kept coming out about one thing after another. Soon after, another rumor was spread that he had appeared at an afternoon party in shirtsleeves, which was not a thing customarily done. Reilly replied in a hot interview which was very widely spread and repeated, that he had worn a silk shirt, which was good-mannered in any place, and also that he had worn it at a time when he was talking only to men, and you could talk to men in shirtsleeves.

Parker: He also banned the Puerto Rican flag, didn't he?

Bary: Oh, yes. These Puerto Rican flags came out around the island. He interpreted them quite properly to mean a criticism of himself. He banned them, which was certainly a peculiar position to take. The Puerto Ricans solved that problem by substituting the flag of Cuba, which greatly resembled the flag of Puerto Rico. The Cuban flags blossomed all over the island.

The people badgered him in front of the governor's palace. Almost every day a car would break down decorated with a large

Bary: Cuban flag. The battery would be gone or something, and it would be impossible to move the car for perhaps a couple of days. When it was removed, another car would break down all decorated with flags, so that when he went out of the palace he had to see some wreck with the detested flag.

Parker: You were faced with this inept governor. How did you approach him?

Bary: I realized almost instantly that all the officials and the people I was dealing with were highly incensed by having such a governor sent to them. I also felt that he was no one to cooperate with. I did not wish to be attached to him or to be identified as coming close to him because I knew that the people whom I regarded as friends would consider that very bad taste. They were all against the governor. I paid a courtesy call on him. He introduced me to his wife. She invited me to come to her afternoons at home. I decided it was frankly much better for me to steer clear of the governor; the entanglements were too sensitive.

Parker: What groups were you working with at this point?

Bary: I was working more or less with the Commissioner of Education who had succeeded Miller. His name was Juan B. Huyke.

Parker: He was a Puerto Rican rather than a northerner?

Bary: He was a Puerto Rican. He was not uneducated; the appointment was not a bad one at all. He was very much interested in the problems of education and very much engaged in them and was doing his best. He did not have much time to think about this outside affair of ours. However, he was friendly.

In the separate schools, we began to make an impression. I found good friends in the Insular Department of Health. There was particularly Dr. Fernos, who later became the Commissioner of Puerto Rico stationed in Washington.

Parker: There is a man whose name appears in the Congressional hearings concerning the Children's Bureau. His name is Iglesias. Did you have any contact with him?

Bary: Yes, I had some contact with him. He was a Spaniard, a socialist, the head of the small socialist party trying to organize labor. Conservative people considered him rather a menace. When I talked to him, I found him quite reasonable and really concerned about the miserable conditions of the working people. There was one thing that was quite amusing about that Socialist party. Originally they had flown a red flag over their office; then that had been declared illegal. In place of it, they used a bright green flag, which

Bary: indicates the way in which a rather oppressed people circumvent their oppressors. Everybody knew that the green flag meant the red flag, and it also meant that they were being prohibited from using their red flag. It was really more effective than a red flag.

Parker: You really began to love these people, it sounds like. You came to know their sense of humor?

Bary: I greatly enjoyed that subtle sense of humor and all that it implied. It was the way oppressed people develop humor as a means of protecting themselves.

The Puerto Ricans were very good people. I met a good many people, including middle-aged people, and all of them had had experience teaching. When we first took over the island, they had great enthusiasm for the United States. They thought they would have liberty and all the advantages of culture and be free from all the things they did not like under Spain. There rose a great surge of emotion among people in the cities, sending them out into the country to serve as teachers. Here I would meet these middle-aged people. They all knew something about education because they had worked for perhaps a year or two years for virtually nothing (which is just the same as the movement that happened in Mexico, a spontaneous movement of people to help the less advantaged). That was a real help, because they had a sympathetic understanding.

The Puerto Ricans were very kind to their children. They might, from poverty, neglect them. But they loved babies. I never saw anybody strike a child. In fact, when we endeavored to get leaflets and material to circulate, we suffered an embarrassment because the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children had issued various pamphlets that we wanted to use. As soon as people saw "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children," that was something they could not understand. They all got excited. They said, "Cruelty to children? Northerners are cruel to children here!"

We really found that we could not circulate those; I think nobody ever struck a child.

Parker: You became very tuned in to the sensitivities of the people.

Bary: You certainly do. You find that people will be sensitive to something that it does not occur to you they would ever be sensitive to.

Child Health Campaign: Baby Clinics

Bary: We wanted to do something for child health and baby care. The American Red Cross had said they would cooperate with us. They sent a field man to Puerto Rico and a nurse and had allowed them a small amount of money as a preliminary.

Parker: Can you remember who these people were?

Bary: The field man was a Christian Scientist named Mixer. He had a very strong objection to medical science, which he considered unnecessary. When I talked to him and endeavored to encourage him to expand the work beyond what one nurse could do, I found that he was adamant on the subject. He simply did not believe in medical science, and he was unwilling to accept anything more than just the services of this one nurse. This is an example of the careless way in which private agencies as well as governments fail to take into account conditions in the country to which they send people, and fail to consider such a matter that a health campaign should not be put in the charge of a Christian Scientist.

The nurse who was sent was an utterly dedicated and capable woman named Kathleen d'Olier. Miss d'Olier was Catholic. She was a hard-working, very well-trained nurse who established a baby clinic and worked long hours, and devotedly, and very intelligently, and did all that any one person could do. But she needed help, and Mixer was entirely unwilling to do anything more.

Parker: How did you get around this situation?

Bary: Well, I reported back to the Children's Bureau that that was the situation with the Red Cross. They had offered to cooperate with us. I think they would have been willing to put in much more money. But they were not willing to remove Mixer. They could not very well do anything more as long as he was there. Since the Red Cross seemed to be limited about just what Miss d'Olier could do, I tried to devise ways of getting baby clinics established by other means.

I found that the sugar plantations had doctors who took care of the workers. The doctors that I met were intelligent, very much interested in their work, and they were quite receptive to the idea of establishing baby clinics and clinics for mothers.

All that I needed was just to ask them to go up and talk to Miss d'Olier; in some cases, it was not necessary even to ask them that much. They had some literature, and we had some literature we could give them about baby clinics. They knew the people. They knew how devoted the people were to their children. They instantly



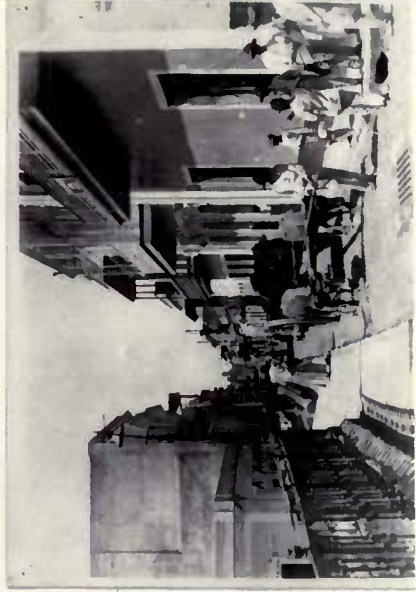
"In the crowded cities the poor families have usually only one room. Life is lived in the street." V8



A group of girls at Summer Camp Barrequitoes, Puerto Rico, July-August, 1921. Velaska Bary standing in rear (without hat).

Below: "In the old section of San Juan where all the streets are one-way and the bullock cart has not yet disappeared" V8

Left: "The lace-clad dentiste employs the most modern methods of dentistry on children whose parents very likely never slept in a bed" V8



Bary: recognized that a baby clinic would not really cost very much--a nurse, maybe a couple of nurses--and that it would be very popular among the workers.

Parker: It would benefit the sugar cane company.

Bary: Oh, yes. These centrales were large organizations. To add a few thousand dollars expense for good will would not make much difference. They could get certainly a lot more for their money than they could by any advertising.

In some of the local health departments, they managed to establish baby clinics. By the end of the year I think we had twenty-two running in different parts of the island.

Parker: Twenty-two health department and sugar cane company sponsored baby clinics by the end of the Children's Year that Bary et al. had established. That's great.

School Athletics and Games

Bary: We had decided that one of the activities which we could foster which had very fertile ground to grow on was to give help in the matter of school athletics. The Puerto Ricans love games. They love baseball, which the army had introduced after the Spanish War. In the schools they had developed some track contests, and they showed a lot of interest in such things as races. I endeavored to get a training recreation worker from the Playground Recreation Association, but their standard of pay was far more than we could possibly manage. However, to meet the situation, I persuaded my brother Dmitri (who had returned from the war and was in New York in a rather restless mood and not very happy with the business associations that he had) to come to the island and help to develop the program in Puerto Rico. I paid him about a third as much as the recreation association considered a standard of pay. He was willing to do it. Since he had spent his school days and college days in gymnasiums and athletics and was very much interested in boys and such work, I thought that he could do a very satisfactory job.

Our budget did not allow us to go into spending money for equipment. He began with a school in San Juan where there was a piece of land adjacent to the school near the docks. The land was covered with stones and not at all usable as a playground. He persuaded the dock workers to come over and clear the land and put it in shape to make basketball courts, on the condition that after

Bary: school hours he would teach the dock workers to play basketball.

They put the land in good condition and he set up basketball, which the boys adopted with great ability. Also the dock workers showed the same enthusiasm for the sport. We went from that playground to other playgrounds by the same process of getting outside help to clear available space, so that we were able to set up playgrounds in connection with many of the schools without any expense to us.

He also was able to encourage all forms of track athletics. At the end of the year at a general meeting of schools, there was a two-day competition which aroused a great deal of interest and encouraged the building of more playgrounds and more track athletics of all kinds.

As we discovered as we worked along, it was possible, by taking advantage of the interests of the people, to secure a great deal of cooperation and assistance, which we had no money to pay for. These endeavors greatly increased the interests of the community, since they began to participate in building their own playgrounds.

For girls, we wished to introduce the playing of games. Customarily in Puerto Rico, there were no games that the girls played. We secured the services of Martha Speakman, a very dedicated and devoted Quaker who had graduated from Miss Boyd's recreation school in Chicago, which I think was connected with the School of Social Service Administration. She began teaching the girls to play games which had been found to be most acceptable to girls.

In connection with this we took a volume, which was considered the bible of games, copied out the directions for playing about thirty different games, edited it with great care so that it would be easily understood by people who did not know too much English, and Miss Speakman was able to get girls started playing games in one school after another.

Parker: What kind of games did they like especially?

Bary: There were a good many bean bag games and rather simple girls' games--the games which most American girls play from childhood. They had never played them. Girls had been brought up to live in the home, to learn embroidery and sewing and such womanly pursuits. They had been kept on a very lady-like basis.

Institute for the Blind

Parker: You also did some work with blind children in Puerto Rico.

Bary: We became very much interested in this question of blindness because there was a good deal of blindness on the island. There had been quite a lot of trachoma, a situation which the health department had greatly improved. We had the advantage there of availing ourselves of the prestige of Loaiza Cordero^x who had a very dramatic experience of her own.

She had been a teacher in San Juan and had worked very hard and devotedly on that job. She was little and slender and not at all strong. She had exerted herself so much and had overstrained herself so, that at the end of the school year (several years before) she had become blind.

A woman from New York, who I think was a Miss Huntington, had become interested in her and had arranged for her to go to Perkins Institute in New York to learn how to function as a blind person. Loaiza went to Perkins and remained there for two years learning all the school could teach her. Her idea was that she would go back to Puerto Rico and work among the blind children there.

Meantime, during the two years her health had been greatly improved, and the rest and nutrition had built her up physically. Dr. Miller had promised that when she returned he would give her a class to teach, and she was enthusiastic at the prospect of getting back into the teaching field.

Parker: Teaching blind children.

Bary: Teaching blind children, yes. When she returned to Puerto Rico on the ship, the school children who remembered her with great love and affection flocked down to the dock. Probably a couple of hundred of them were there on the dock to welcome her home. As the ship docked, she came up on deck and the children burst into a song of welcome. She stretched out her arms toward them and said, "I can see."

As her eye doctor told me afterwards, when I asked him about her physical condition and how this was possible, he had told me that she was temperamentally a person who could become blind from exhaustion; that she had been so completely exhausted at the end

* For a fictionalized account of Loaiza Cordero's experience, see Valeska Bari, "The Eyes of Loaiza," Catholic World, vol. 127, no. 762 (Sept. 1928), 651-659. -- Ed.

Bary: of that school year that in order to save her life, nature had clamped down and made her blind so that she would be obliged to rest.

In Puerto Rico people love the idea of a miracle. Loaiza's recovery of sight was a very dramatic affair which attracted enormous attention. She remained a miracle, all of which added an air of romance to the school.

Dr. Miller installed her in a very miserable little building on a bare hill in Ponce. That was where we found her. She was working under very difficult conditions with very little equipment. But there were all the elements of utilizing her miraculous recovery and the attention she had engendered through the island, to use that to create enough public interest to establish a small institute of the blind. We felt that this was possible.

We asked the cooperation of the Children's Bureau to provide us with some additional help to carry on a campaign of education throughout the island. The bureau sent Dr. Van Cleve from the New York School for the Blind, he was superintendent, I think, Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, who was associate director of the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, and Sally Glendening, who was a special nurse for the blind in New York state. I think that all of these organizations paid their own people's expenses.

Parker: This is in 1921, is that right?

Bary: Yes.

Parker: I am interested that the Children's Bureau was already working with this constituency, because later the public assistance title for the blind [ANB] seemed to come about as if miraculously in 1935.

Bary: Yes. Mr. Van Cleve talked to some of the officials, but he did not remain too long. Mrs. Hathaway was a tremendous asset; she had brought along films with regard to the blind and the prevention of blindness. She herself was an ideal person for that job. Before taking the position that she then held, she had been a teacher of English at Wellesley. She had the most beautiful voice and diction.

People in Puerto Rico were very anxious to learn English. They would have been very grateful for the opportunity to listen to that beautiful voice and diction, no matter what subject she talked about. As she talked along with the films which we had to show, the interest of the children in the schools and in the community was greatly increased.

Bary: Mrs. Hathaway remained with us for six weeks. We took her from one school to another. She delivered two lectures a day and talked to people afterwards. During that six weeks we reached two schools a day for every day of the time. She did some work Saturdays and Sundays. But that was a great advantage.

Sally Clendening worked with the health department and the hospital in order to teach them the latest experience from New York state. She was very helpful indeed. She was a very intelligent and devoted person and fit into the whole program very well indeed.

As a result of all this interest, the following year the legislature provided the money to build an institute for the blind in Rio Piedras, near the state university. There, Loaiza was installed as the director. Perkins Institute volunteered to accept candidates from among the teachers who would be teachers to the blind. Loaiza carefully selected the kind of teachers whom she knew really cared deeply and would be willing to undertake the training and to work at the institute.

Parker: Quite an impressive accomplishment.

Bary: We were able to bank upon the fact that Loaiza had this great backing of interest from her blindness, and we were everlastingly indebted to Mrs. Hathaway for all this community work that she did as well as work in the schools. She remained a very good friend of Puerto Rico.

Hookworm Control

Parker: How would you sum up your accomplishments during the Children's Year in Puerto Rico?

Bary: We managed to do a few other things. For instance, the Rockefeller Foundation had sent a doctor to Puerto Rico to do some work in connection with hookworm, which was rampant in some sections. Many of the people in Puerto Rico lived in palm huts, and they lived in a very simple fashion, without what we would call sanitary facilities. In certain sections of the island, the ground was so saturated with hookworm that everybody had hookworm.

Parker: Because they went barefoot?

Bary: Almost all of them did go barefoot; it was a barefoot country at that time. The hookworm could be taken up through the pores of the

Bary: skin, travel up the body into the intestines, and then start on its deadly course, sucking the blood of people. In certain sections one could see people whose skin looked like a candle, absolutely bloodless. Just plain white wax.

The Rockefeller doctor had planned his campaign and had engaged a crew of some twenty men. They built outhouses which they naively expected people to use. They thought in that way they could gradually cleanse the land. To the surprise of the doctor, these outhouses were not used.

Parker: What happened?

Bary: I had employed two Puerto Rican girls as health teachers to go around in the schools and give talks to the children about the essentials of health. I talked to them about the Rockefeller doctor and the fact that people were not using these outhouses which his men had dotted the country with. I discovered to my own surprise that not everybody uses the same kind of toilet facilities as are common in the States. I was told that perhaps half the people in the world squat down upon the ground and are not in the habit of sitting on seats provided. The Puerto Ricans were squatters. Consequently, all of the doctor's outhouses went unused. We were able to tell the doctor something about the plain facts of life. I mention this fact as one of the examples of the lack of imagination of well-intentioned people who go into a foreign, perhaps underdeveloped, country without knowing the habits of the people, their thinking, their background. They introduce what seem to us are the simplest of actions but which turn out to be entirely contrary to native customs.

This doctor was spending quite a bit of money with lumber for outhouses and a crew of about twenty men building them. It never occurred to him, as he frankly admitted, that people would not use the facilities. I had early discovered that one needs to consider such background conditions.

I had employed a cook in my house who was a very pleasant young woman, anxious to do what I wanted, and who also could cook meat and vegetables very acceptably. After she demonstrated that she could do this, I felt that I was well settled. After two or three weeks, she came to me and said that she would have to leave. At first she was unwilling to tell me why, but I finally persuaded her and discovered that she was going to leave because she did not have enough to eat in my house. It had never occurred to me that a person who could cook meat and vegetables acceptably would not eat them, but that poor little thing was not eating!

Bary: When I found that she was not eating what we ate, and I asked her what she wanted to eat, she told me that she wanted rice and beans which, as I discovered, were the chosen diet of those who could afford to pay for them. I bought her a large sack of rice and a large sack of beans and two pots and told her to cook rice and beans three times a day; thereafter she was completely satisfied.

There are some simple points of that kind which we don't imagine when we go into a different country to deal with people whose culture is entirely different from ours. That, of course, was the case with the Rockefeller doctor and the money they wasted.

Parker: It sounds to me like you were pioneering in community organization and community development.

Bary: I suppose you would call it that. When I left for Puerto Rico, Miss Lathrop said that she did not know the conditions in Puerto Rico and she could not give me any instructions, but to go and do what I could do. I was following the idea of seeing what was possible and what could be done. I was trying to keep my eyes and ears open for the possibilities and also for the things to be avoided.

Pediatrics, as a New Specialty, and Infant Care

Parker: One of the things that interests me is that this movement started from the Children's Bureau and not from the sponsorship of the U.S. Public Health Service. How come?

Bary: I don't know. I do not remember now anything that the federal Public Health Service was doing excepting to run a quarantine station in Puerto Rico. Otherwise, the health service in Puerto Rico was run from the Department of Health.

Parker: They were not interested in baby clinics and things like that?

Bary: Some of those people, like other people, took things for granted and they let things go.

Parker: Really the Children's Bureau was farther ahead of them in the use of pediatrics, that medical specialty?

Bary: Pediatrics was a word that was just being introduced into the language at that time. Most people would not have known what you meant if you spoke of a pediatrician. It was a new field, and the few doctors who were practicing were not too eager to talk to the profession about this new venture of theirs. The care of babies

Bary: and children had been considered a matter for mothers and grandmothers.

In many parts of the States, as well as in Puerto Rico, babies were delivered by midwives. It was expected that a considerable number of babies would die. The infant mortality rate was very high at that time. A great many doctors did not wish to be bothered by obstetrical work, and they really knew comparatively little about the care of babies and their feeding.

When the Children's Bureau issued its pamphlet on infant care, which became a best seller in this country, as director of the publications division I used to order never less than a quarter of a million copies and frequently half a million copies at a time. Infant Care was published over the name of Mrs. Max West. She had the help and the professional information of three pediatricians who were outstandingly cooperative. There were Dr. Smith in Boston, Dr. Julian Hess in Chicago, and a third doctor, Carpenter in Philadelphia.

They gave freely of their time and their knowledge, but they were not willing to have their names appear. The bureau considered it wiser and more acceptable to publish Infant Care as the work of Mrs. Max West, a respectably married woman who had two or three children of her own, which guaranteed her knowledge. It was not until quite a few years afterward that her name was taken off the pamphlet and credit was given to the doctors who really were responsible for it.

At the end of the year, we had the satisfaction of seeing playgrounds in connection with many of the schools, and to see girls playing games and boys engaged in playing games and track. We saw baby clinics started; I think twenty-two were established. We saw the promise of the institute for the blind. Towards the end of the year, we had held a Children's Week in San Juan which attracted a lot of attention. To do this, we got the cooperation of the army to borrow about eight or ten tents, which were scattered around the city. Along with the tents, the army sent a couple of soldiers to each one to make sure they got their property back. These men were very much interested in babies, and they turned out to be great helpers in managing all the people who brought their babies.

We got the cooperation of doctors so that every station had a doctor to examine the babies and at least one nurse and perhaps some additional helpers. They turned out to be very popular. We had special days for different events; we managed to get quite a lot of publicity for it--all of which the Puerto Rican people loved.

Parker: What happened when you went back to Washington--what did you do next?

Bary: When we finished the Children's Year, I went back to Washington and wrote a report on Puerto Rico, not an extensive report, but it was published.* I wrote it in about three weeks and it was published very promptly, which set a noble example for publications by the bureau, many of which took years before they were finally published.

A year later, Martha Speakman and I went down to Puerto Rico to see what had happened. We found that baby clinics had increased, the games had increased, the athletics had increased, the funds for the institute for the blind had been passed, and the things which we had done which had been aimed at taking advantage of their interest in children and their willingness to cooperate had all flourished.

Parker: Your innovations had been accepted into the indigenous culture.

Administrative Transition in the Children's Bureau, 1921

Bary: When I got back, Katharine Lenroot told me cheerfully that she had decided that she wished to continue having my editorial job, which she had earlier agreed to return to me.

Parker: There was also a change at the top, wasn't there?

Bary: Grace Abbott. She had come in in the fall of '21. She was installed.

Parker: And Katharine Lenroot was really her protegee in the bureau?

Bary: There had been a good deal of difficulty--Miss Lathrop had encountered a lot of difficulty in regard to getting a successor. Political influences were very strong. The Republican administration suggested some political appointees. Miss Lathrop was unwilling to leave with the prospect that some political person would come in and, she felt, neglect or let the bureau die.

* U.S. Children's Bureau, Child Welfare in the Insular Possessions of the United States, Part I: Porto Rico, by Helen V. Bary (Bureau Publication No. 127, 1923). --Ed.

Bary: After various maneuverings, Senator Lenroot was very active in backing Grace Abbott, whom Miss Lathrop thought had the right attitude towards the work of the Children's Bureau.

Parker: He thought she was a fighter?

Bary: Oh, yes, Grace Abbott was a fighter, and a very effective speaker. She had none of the finesse that Miss Lathrop had. She had an unfortunate tendency to antagonize some people. She sometimes pushed the equality of women more rapidly than the men were ready to acknowledge. She did not have the tact and the strategy that Miss Lathrop had shown.

Grace Abbott had been working in social agencies in Chicago, largely in connection with university work, and more recently with immigrants. The Chicago delegation to Congress refused to back her. However, she had been brought up in Nebraska. The Nebraska delegation in Congress was willing to back her appointment. A presidential appointment was involved, requiring Senate confirmation.

Senator Lenroot had worked all this out and Miss Abbott was appointed and confirmed by the Senate. Katharine Lenroot moved into the position of Assistant to the Chief.

Parker: What did the former chief think of all this?

Bary: Miss Lathrop?

Parker: Yes; this kind of political maneuvering within the bureau after she left.

Bary: I never talked with her after I came back. I do not know what she felt about it. I know that before she resigned, she had expressed to me on more than one occasion grave misgivings in regard to Katharine Lenroot, who she thought was politically ambitious. She thought that Miss Lenroot was aiming at becoming chief of the bureau, which was not to her liking.

Parker: Was she a competent person, or what? I see her referred to as "quiet". I don't know what to make of that.

Bary: Katharine Lenroot had worked as assistant to Emma Lundberg, who was quite a capable person in regard to social service. She was a gloomy person, a "gloomy Dane" as Miss Lathrop once called her.

Research Publications and Methods

Parker: Lenroot was a "gloomy Dane"?

Bary: No; Emma Lundberg was. Both of them were rather theoretical. They worked on a study of juvenile courts--the first publication they issued. This was based on questionnaires which they sent to the courts. They made no effort to cross-check. Later on when they did check, they found that the statements they had received back from the courts as to what they were doing and accomplishing were what one might call grossly overstated. The report was not based on fact but based on statements of policy intentions.

Katharine Lenroot had come to the bureau almost directly from college. Emma Lundberg had had some work in private agencies but not very much. At times, I had arguments with them in regard to statements which they made based upon such things as the statements from the juvenile courts which they accepted at face value.

Parker: You questioned their field methods.

Bary: I had had enough experience of a practical kind to make me question the statements of officials as to the accomplishments of the organizations that they helped. I had seen something of the work of juvenile courts--what they profess to do and what they actually did. I was at times considered to be skeptical.

Juvenile courts were at the time in their infancy. Their statements as to what they were accomplishing sounded to me (checked by my own knowledge as to what had gone on in California) like propaganda rather than fact. So few people in the government service had had any practical experience dealing with such agencies; they were inclined to take the theoretical viewpoint. No one in the universities teaching such subjects had had practical experience.

Parker: Did this characterize many of the Children's Bureau's publications?

Bary: I would not bank upon any statements made in the early reports.

Parker: How about the mortality studies in the cities? The studies of infant and maternal mortality?

Bary: These studies were directed by Helen Summer, in general. The system which she adopted seemed to be a strange one. The agents who went out to gather information had general instructions and the data which they sought was not always the most important. The statistician for the bureau was a Robert Woodbury who had had training in statistics, but he had certain fixed ideas. When I consulted him about the subject, he laid out the skeleton of the statistical tables which he

Bary: was to develop and he was later unwilling to change those, even though an examination of the facts would indicate the desirability of gathering additional material. He was unwilling to do that--all of which seemed to me quite theoretical.

I argued that he ought to get all the material--all of the facts possible--which the competent people would say they needed to have, and then develop his tables when he had the facts and perhaps change his tables when the facts turned out to be different from what the original planners had thought. Certain subjects needed much more careful analysis.

Parker: You are speaking about the categories that he tabulated?

Bary: Yes.

Parker: That he should change his categories as he got new information?

Bary: Yes. He insisted upon laying out all the skeleton of the report from a statistical viewpoint before any study was begun. Then when the material was gathered and the statistical tables were prepared, someone else wrote the report who had had no connection with the study. There was an idea that an intelligent person could take all the tables and write a report which would really cover the subject. The people who were chosen to write the reports were supposed to be, professionally, entirely adequate. But they had not been in on the original planning; they had not been in on the ground; they did not know some human variations. When material came to me in the editorial and publication end, I questioned as to whether further study was not necessary in connection with various points. But Dr. Woodbury was unwilling to run any more statistics. If, for instance, a figure showed 85 percent doing something, and 15 percent something else, I would like to know more about that 85 percent-- I would like to analyze that.

Parker: Do further cross-tabulations within that data

Bary: He was not willing to run that. He was working from an academic viewpoint and I was working from what I considered a more practical viewpoint of having had some experience.

Parker: You wanted to use the data to discover new relations?

Bary: Yes. In making the studies that I had made, I had always found that there were factors in a situation which I had not known about and which were really of importance. Before you made a study, you did not know about those factors. You had not counted on them. Yet they were certainly worthy of consideration. However, that was one

Bary: point that we disagreed about.

I knew that at that time some English universities, particularly Cambridge, did not allow one department of a university to make a study by itself. If the sociologists wanted to make a study, they also had to bring in maybe the health people, the psychology people, perhaps education. They had the feeling that all those elements existed in any human situation, and that simply from a sociological viewpoint, you are not getting the true story. I knew that. I felt that if the health people wanted to make a study, they needed to have some insight from psychology, perhaps, or education or sociology. There were factors there that a single type specialist might not know anything about, that ought to be considered.

Parker: This fits in with the multi-dimensional "whole child" idea that Julia Lathrop initiated.

Minimum Wage Study

Parker: When you returned from Puerto Rico, you found yourself frozen out, with Lenroot in your former position. You were sort of isolated within the bureau?

Bary: Yes. I was given this job as Director of Special Studies. I went to work making a study of the effect of minimum wage on miners. I knew that in California the department had the figures on payroll and so on, that Massachusetts also had adequate figures, and Minnesota. We were using those states as a basis.

Parker: You were really checking up on the state legislation that had been passed in that field?

Bary: I was checking on the results of it, to determine whether the orders issued by the commissions establishing wage rates for minors produced any increase in the wages over the wages of children who were working in industries that were not covered by the orders. I knew the California situation. I spent two months in the winter in Minnesota examining the situation there, which was by no means beyond criticism.

The commission had as a director a woman who was very well-intentioned. She had been a school teacher, had had no connection with industry, had never been in a factory, and I think the only place that she had ever had any contact with employed children was in retail trade.

Bary: She felt her own inadequacy and was not willing to expose her lack of information. She had been on the job for two years but had never been in any establishment where women or minors worked. That, unfortunately, was not a unique situation.

The administration of labor laws, from all that I saw in many places, was a very sad situation in which an opportunity to accomplish a great deal was put into the hands of a political person or more commonly a labor hack who was being pensioned off by being put into a position which he was not competent to fill.

From Massachusetts we got figures. I went there only very briefly.

The study that we made showed that minors employed in industries covered by the orders of the commission received (a) no more or (b) even less money than minors working in industries that were not covered by the minimum wage law. My own experience in California had shown me that the orders of the commission were not realistic, that they lagged behind going wages, and that nothing had really been accomplished by the issuance of the orders.

Parker: So the minimum wage was really a maximum wage in the industries in some cases?

Bary: Not necessarily a maximum, but not really even a standard wage. It came back to the question that the minimum wage laws were not pushed by labor with a zeal for improving conditions but had been pushed by the retail trade industry in order to put a gloss over the accusations that low wages were causing prostitution. It goes back to that whole question as to who backs a law and who administers it, as to whether it is going to be effective. My minimum wage report was never published. I was never able to convince people about just that question as to who backed the law and how it is administered. The social reformers were all inclined to feel that it was a great triumph to put a law in the statute books, regardless of how it was put on and who was backing it and who was going to administer it.

Miss Abbott followed that same philosophy; she was not willing to publish a report which really showed that the minimum wage laws were not effective. I think you will find that that attitude among reformers is fairly general. In general, they all believed that a minimum wage was a good thing; they started with that--that it would

*However, Miss Bary did publish a critical review of protective legislation, with emphasis on the minimum wage, after she left the Children's Bureau. See Valeska Bari, "From Minimum Wage to Mass Production, Yale Review, vol. 16, no. 1 (Oct. 1926), 57-71. --Ed.

- Bary: raise wages--and were determined to stand by the idea. If a report came out which showed that they were not doing anything, they were not going to publish it.
- Parker: You challenged the conventional wisdom of the reformers, and your report was suppressed.
- Bary: Yes, the report was suppressed.

Illegal Traffic in Women

- Parker: What else did you work on in the Special Studies Division as its director?
- Bary: I performed some short studies for Miss Abbott. She had been appointed to the League of Nations Committee on the Traffic in Women. The delegates from the different nations were to report on what their governments had done. In this country there were two government agencies which got into that; these were the Departments of Justice and the Immigration Commission.

I had the task of going to make a study of what records I could get. When I went to the Immigration Commission, they were cooperative in letting me get into their files. I discovered what seemed to me in various cases a very callous attitude on the part of the Immigration Commission and the part of some other public agencies. There were cases of young girls admitted as immigrants who perhaps fell into the snares of organized prostitution, who were induced or forced into prostitution, later arrested on such a charge by the police and then deported. In some cases, they were sent back although the records of the Immigration Commission showed they had no families, no one. There was nothing to indicate there was going to be any help for them.

The only records that I had were the immigration records. According to the statements there, no action was taken against the people who had induced them into prostitution.

- Parker: Just the girls were punished.
- Bary: The girls were punished by being deported with no indication that they were going to be helped when they got back to their original country, and no indication that any action was taken against the organized vice groups that had brought them into that situation.

Bary: This was by action of the court. Nobody in the Immigration Service took a human interest in the case; but they had the case records.

That was the principal thing that developed as far as the traffic in women on the immigration files.

In the Department of Justice I had a more interesting experience. In asking permission to read files in another government department, the method of procedure is for a bureau chief to ask through the cabinet secretary and the secretary in turn would ask the head of the other department for permission, and so it would go down. A bureau chief in one department cannot approach a bureau chief in the other except through protocol.

I was given a letter from the Secretary of Labor to the Attorney General requesting cooperation. Before handing me the letter, Miss Abbott said, "You probably won't be able to get anything because I have tried before to get information and you can get nothing out of the Department of Justice. They never have what you want. You just don't get anywhere. I have tried repeatedly."

That rather stirred my desire to prove that I could do it. I thought I had better arm myself before I presented my letter. I asked Elizabeth Brandeis if she knew any of the upper lawyers in the Department of Justice who would help me. She gave me the name of a lawyer whom I found most cooperative. He seemed to be very impressed by the fact that this favor had been asked by a Brandeis.

I talked to him for hours, and he told me the story of the Mann Act, which is what I wanted. That is what is commonly called the White Slave Act. In its early history the enforcement of the Mann Act had been very important and very beneficial. There were certain cases that stood out. Particularly, there was the Cunio Case, which resulted in the deportation of a group of Italians who were operating a vice ring.

There were others that followed along that line. It was not only vice, but bribery, ransom, the most unpleasant kind of crimes. The lawyer told me that more recently the White Slave Act had been used for the purposes of blackmail. The White Slave Act punishes a person who engages in interstate commerce in vice. Interstate might mean going from New York City to Jersey City, or going across the river to any of the state borders. People had used it simply for blackmail. In the ordinary course of events, people do go short distances for action not strictly proper under marital laws.

Parker: They could be threatened with what--prosecution under the federal statutes? Is that the blackmail that was involved?

Bary: No. You see, the federal statutes put penalties on interstate traffic for the purpose of vice. If a man in New York City took a girl across the river, paying a nickel or so, to Jersey City and engaged in some affair, there might be no prostitution at all. But he could be pulled in under the White Slave Act for crossing interstate traffic for the purpose of committing adultery, as it were.

Parker: There was a famous case against a prize fighter, a black fighter who had a white mistress and who was prosecuted under the Mann Act? Do you remember that?

Bary: I don't remember that case. There was the famous Diggs-Camenotti Case, which concerned a couple of men in California who took a couple of girls across to Nevada and engaged in a weekend. There was no prostitution involved. It was rather, you might call it, a liberal weekend. That was prosecuted under the Mann Act. Diggs and Camenetti were convicted under it. It caused a great deal of trouble because they were both prominent people. You can see how, if the federal attorney was willing to prosecute in such cases as that, and you probably are old enough to know that such things happen, he could make an extremely unpleasant situation for a man who might go for a weekend of that kind with no thought of prostitution at all.

Parker: It could be used politically too.

Bary: It was used politically. By the time I was making the study, federal attorneys in a great many of the areas did not prosecute unless it was a case of prostitution, and a pretty severe case. In general, they were not prosecuting strictly in accordance with the law. They had prosecuted in a good many cases where no prostitution was involved and which were plain blackmail.

This lawyer told me about the Cunio Case and the Panama Canal Case and some others which had really been very important, revealing many things, including peculiar workings in the Department of Justice. When I had all the information, and I spent at least two days gathering information before I presented my letter, Daugherty the attorney general was out of the city. I was sent to the assistant attorney general in charge of the criminal division. It was a man named Judge Crim.

Judge Crim showed all the signs of cooperation. He offered to do anything they could. I let him go on telling me how anxious he was to cooperate and that the department was always ready to help. Then he told me that they did not have any records that were what I wanted, that I could go to the offices in New York or Boston or Chicago and so on, that it would be quite a job but he

Bary: would give me his recommendations and so forth. He assured me of their desire to cooperate. After he had protested his willingness, I told him in as innocent a fashion as possible that I had not explained properly what I wanted, that what I wanted was the records in Room 418. At that point, he turned red and then purple, and I really thought he was going to have a stroke or apoplexy or something.

This lawyer I had interviewed first had told me all about Room 418.

Parker: What was Room 418?

Bary: That was where the files were kept on White Slave cases. There were no other cases, it was exclusively for that. Since that was the law they were practically not enforcing, it was rather put aside. When he relaxed a bit, he said that I would have to get the permission of William J. Burns who was head of the Bureau of Investigation, because that came directly under him.

He sent me down to the office of William J. Burns, where I was seated in an office by myself. After a few minutes, the great detective opened a door at one side and fixed an eagle eye on me, walked very slowly across the room, and opened the door on the other side and walked out. Burns had the reputation of having a marvelous photographic memory. During that time when he was looking at me, he did not recognize me as a picture of any of the criminals and so forth that he was looking for. The secretary told me it was all right; I could go to 418.

Parker: That is how you got access to the Department of Justice files?

Bary: Yes. In those files I discovered quite a few interesting things. I read a lot of cases. There were two or three men who were managing the files who had very little to do. I think they were being pensioned off or something. They were as dumb creatures as I have ever known. It is just amazing to think how dumb they were.

They got used to the fact that I was there. They opened up their files and indexes and I was free to rifle them. I was bringing in a briefcase and my own pad of paper and things. Nobody checked me when I came in or went out. I was there for several days reading files. I could have filled that briefcase with cases anytime.

Parker: You could have blackmailed the people in the files.

Bary: Yes. The fact is I looked up in the indexes every name I could think of to see if anybody had ever got into the files. I did not find anybody that I knew. I discovered, for instance, as I looked for some cases that I think at least half of the case records were missing. When I inquired, they told me that any of the lawyers could check out cases, but they had no record as to where the cases had gone.

I presume that in their more critical cases they kept a record as to who took out the files, because these were the original files. When something was gone, it was gone. The dummies who were in charge of those files never questioned anybody and there were no records.

Parker: How did you make use of this material?

Bary: I gathered up enough old stuff to confirm what this lawyer had told me about the effective way in which the Department of Justice had originally gone after the organized gangs who were running prostitution. There were some cases in New York and Chicago, in particular, which had resulted in deporting and punishing men who ran the gangs. That was what the law was supposed to do, so that was very effective. They were going after serious cases of the relation of organized crime to prostitution.

Then, in the later cases, I read quite a few that were just plain blackmail cases.

Parker: Did you report that to Grace Abbott?

Bary: These blackmail cases that were there in the files were not pursued. They were just dropped.

Parker: Did you finally get a report to the League of Nations on slave traffic?

Bary: Yes, I filed a report which showed what the Department of Justice had done, and the really fundamentally good work which was done originally. In the more recent work, I found no more serious abuse of women. There may have been other cases which were missing from the files, because half of them were gone.

Parker: You stumbled on to quite a problem of bureaucratic enforcement of the law.

Bary: You start out to find one thing and then you are likely to find something else. You find out that, number one, the Department is not enforcing the Mann Act, and two, half the files are gone and no record is kept as to the case files. That is not what I went

Bary: in to find. Every time you make an investigation, I have always found that there were other factors which came to the fore. If you knew the complete story to begin with, then you would not have to make your investigation.

I filed those short studies for the League of Nations.

Parker: Then you left the Children's Bureau about 1925?

Bary: Yes. When I finished up what chores I had in hand and finished up that minimum wage study, then I decided that I would not stay any longer at the Children's Bureau. Grace Abbott was not a comfortable person to work with.

VIII: CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

1928-1931

(Interview 5, January 5, 1973)

Bary: In 1928 I went to work for the State Department of Social Welfare. It had been formed in 1927 by a merger of the State Board of Charities and Corrections and of the children's agents who worked under the Board of Control, investigating and supervising the granting of state aid to children in institutions and in their own homes.*

Previous to that time, although the law had been running since 1883, no inspection or investigation had been made as to how state charity was administered.

Parker: Previous to 1927?

Bary: No, the children's agents began working in about 1913 in the Johnson administration, when it became evident that somebody needed to see how the law was being administered or how the law was working out.

Department Administrative Officials, 1928

Bary: The director of the department in 1928 was Mrs. Anna Saylor who was appointed by Governor Young. Mrs. Saylor was a very well-intentioned woman who had had no experience in administration. She had been a housewife and an active member of women's clubs, particularly the club in Berkeley interested in civic affairs.

*For a historical account of the development of social welfare in California, see Frances Cahn and Valeska Bary, Welfare Activities of Federal, State, and Local Governments in California, 1850-1934 (University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, Berkeley, 1936), 398 pp. --Ed.

Bary: On several occasions, the club had gathered a bit of information and had gone to the city council and had secured some improvements in operation. That was, you might say, her only work experience. It was not a very good introduction to the idea of administering a state department with state laws.

Parker: Whom did she represent then?

Bary: Mrs. Saylor had been an assemblywoman for one session. Since there were very few women in the legislature, she had attracted a certain amount of attention.

To add strength to the department, Governor Young appointed Mabel Weed as assistant director. Miss Weed was very well acquainted with the whole field of social welfare. She had originally come from Seattle and came of pioneering and imaginative background.

She had worked for years with the Community Chest in San Francisco which covered the Bay Area. There, much of her time she had worked in close cooperation with Ray Lyman Wilbur, who was a distinguished physician and had been president of Stanford University. He then held the position of Secretary of the Interior under President Herbert Hoover.

Dr. Wilbur was a very public-minded person, one of the early conservationists. That was why he had gone to the Department of the Interior, to consider the question of public lands in the hope that he could do something to establish better policies.

Parker: What were Miss Weed's special interests?

Bary: Miss Weed was particularly interested in children. As a top administrator in the Community Chest, she had the opportunity to closely observe the operation of the various institutions and agencies concerned with children. Do you want me to put in that peculiar set-up of charities in San Francisco?

Parker: Yes. That would be interesting, because her job gets endangered because of it.

Private vs. Public Auspices of Relief Administration

Associated Charities

Bary: San Francisco had a unique set-up as far as the giving of any relief. All the other counties in California had a county

Bary: welfare department. In San Francisco none had been established due, in the main, to the attitude and ability of Katharine Felton, who was the head of the Associated Charities in San Francisco.

Miss Felton was a very capable person, but her attitude was by no means modern. She was a brilliant woman, domineering, and had the strong support of employers who thoroughly approved of her attitude toward labor and working classes.

Parker: What was her attitude?

Bary: Miss Felton came of a well-to-do and very intelligent background but conservative in outlook. She had what you might call an aristocratic viewpoint and looked upon the working classes as decidedly inferior.

Towards the matter of dispensing relief, she believed firmly that if a person had to apply for relief, he was not able to take care of his affairs. She was very reluctant ever to give out any money. People were helped with food packages, and rents were paid when absolutely necessary, but usually not unless people were evicted from their homes.

Parker: So the definition of mission by the Associated Charities in San Francisco was quite narrow. They did not give outdoor relief. They did not give cash relief to unemployed people. They gave groceries and rent in kind.

Bary: Yes, but no help would be given to unemployed people because they ought to go to work--they should find work. That was the general attitude.

Parker: How did the Community Chest, which funded the agency in part, react to this?

Bary: The Community Chest, certainly under such leadership as Dr. Wilbur and Miss Weed, had a constant running battle with Kitty Felton. One of Miss Felton's habits was to employ workers on a part-time basis, but give them more duties than they could fulfill in eight hours. At one time, the Community Chest sent back the budget which the Associated Charities had presented and told them that the wages they were paying their workers were altogether too low, that they had no right to exploit them in that fashion.

Miss Felton had the old idea that any person doing welfare work should be paid as little as possible, that she ought to be devoted to her job to the extent that she would be willing to work long hours for the privilege of being associated with that type of benevolence.

Parker: I guess her board liked her?

Bary: She had a very large board, which included some of the men supporters and many of their wives. One board meeting which I attended, I found very entertaining. She could tell stories and give dramatic pictures about the people who applied for aid. These stories were amusing, rather patronizing, but often told with an element of spice, which really made positions on her board quite desired. This gave her a great deal of support.

Aid was also administered to a certain degree through the Catholic charities. They did not have too much money, but they gave social services and counseling and helped in every way that they could.

Jewish Charities

Bary: There was also the Jewish welfare agency which had by all means the most enlightened policy. They gave their people cash. They worked for rehabilitation with every person possible of being rehabilitated. They reflected a far more enlightened and modern policy than any other agency in the city.

Parker: Were they using family budgets at this time in the Jewish agency?

Bary: Yes. They paid cash and they found jobs. They sent children to school and they gave scholarships. They set people up in business. When they gave money to set people up in business, they also gave them the advice and counsel of businessmen who would know what a person engaged in that business should have and how he should conduct his affairs.

Parker: Can you remember any of the leading lights associated with Jewish charities?

Bary: Charles Wollenberg was one of the most articulate. He came of a very good Jewish background. After the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, he had been placed in charge of the relief home, which was hastily established for people of all kinds in need. He continued to manage the relief home for many years.

Parker: What was this called?

Bary: It was the Relief Home.

Parker: Did it later become the Laguna Honda Home?

Bary: Yes. Later. First, he maintained the building and did the work

Bary: around the place through the employment of the inmates. Almost everybody who was not bedridden had some kind of job. It was an outstanding institution in that respect--they were all workers. It made a very healthy relationship.

As the years went by, this rather changed as people grew older and more and more of them became like hospital inmates. Laguna Honda finally ended up as a hospital for long-term cases, terminal cases. No longer did they have any able-bodied people around.

Catholic Charities

Parker: Who were some of the leading lights associated with Catholic charities?

Bary: Father Flanagan was one of the people whom I remember most, and he had several workers under him. The Catholic charities worked as a network. They had children's agencies, a home for the aged, and various different services. Using the Catholic charities as a center, they tried to take care of all the special needs of the people who came to them. They were not able to take care of all the relief needs of Catholic families. Some of them went instead to the Associated Charities. They were, I think, mostly people who drifted away from close connection with the church, and went directly to the Associated Charities.

Miss Felton endeavored to serve Catholics, because the Catholic church was very powerful in San Francisco. She wished to identify herself with their strength.

Parker: And gain their support. Did she have Catholics on the board?

Bary: Oh, yes, I think so. I said that aid had been administered from 1883. Children's aid in San Francisco was administered in part through the Associated Charities, in part through the Catholic charities. Also, some came through the juvenile court, and a fraction came also from a widow's Bureau in city Hall maintained by the county. I am not sure how that was established.

Miss Felton's relations with the board of supervisors were not always too close. Like most elected officials, the supervisors had more respect for voters than was evinced by Miss Felton. They felt that she showed no regard for the dignity of the people who came to her.

Widow's Bureau

- Parker: All of these agencies received public funds, but the widow's bureau was actually the only agency operating under public auspices?
- Bary: Yes, except the juvenile court which had jurisdiction over dependent and neglected children as well as delinquent children.
- Parker: Who can you associate with the administration of the widow's bureau?
- Bary: That was administered by Eugenie Schenk, who did an outstanding job in gaining the respect of everyone around city hall. She never yielded to political pressures. She was a very intelligent social worker and I think was as respected as anybody in San Francisco.

Establishment of the San Francisco County Welfare Department

- Parker: When the law changed in 1929 to admit Old Age Assistance, I understand you had something to do with the role that the widow's bureau would be playing in that.
- Bary: Yes. In 1929 the legislature passed the Old Age Assistance Law and also the Aid for the Blind. This was a matter of giving state money to the counties to care for these cases. That money had to go through public agencies.

When the question came up as to what agency would administer the funds in San Francisco, Miss Felton pushed very hard for a separate bureau. I happened to know Franck Havenner who was president of the board of supervisors, who was very skeptical about Miss Felton, and he asked my advice as to where the funds should be administered. I told him by all means they should be administered by Miss Schenk of the widow's bureau, and the name of the bureau should be changed to the county welfare department.

He found a very ready acceptance by the board of supervisors in that suggestion. I understood at the time that Miss Felton was greatly displeased by the action. She was really intelligent enough to know that with the county welfare department established under county auspices, she was likely to lose her jurisdiction over aid for children, and perhaps over general relief as well.

Parker: This goes in the direction of public assistance being administered by public agencies rather than private?

Bary: Yes; that came a bit later under Harry Hopkins.

Department Politics: Felton-Weed Dispute

Parker: Miss Felton carried her animosity toward Miss Weed rather far when Miss Weed was with the State Department of Social Welfare?

Bary: Oh, yes. Miss Felton went so far, at one time, as to marshal all of her forces to persuade the governor to dismiss Miss Weed.

Parker: Why did she want to do this?

Bary: Miss Felton never forgot an antagonist. She had struggled for years against Miss Weed when Miss Weed was with the Community Chest. She did not agree with Miss Weed's more modern idea as to how aid for children should be administered. The antagonism between them had never died down.

I was apprised of the situation when Miss Felton had used all of her ammunition to prepare the way for Miss Weed to be dismissed. The plan was that Mrs. Saylor would be sent out of the state to attend a conference. In her absence, I would serve as acting director. Immediately the governor's secretary called me up and told me that Miss Weed was to be dismissed, and I was delegated that task. The secretary happened to be a Catholic, as I knew, and I promptly went back to San Francisco and went to Monsignor Ramm, who was a man who was greatly respected generally. He was rather above the squabblings that existed between some of the Catholics. I knew that he was a friend of Miss Weed's and I knew that he also had battled against Kitty Felton. When I told him what was afoot, he put his hand on my shoulder and told me to rest contented.

The governor's secretary had made an appointment for me to see him two days later. When I went up to see him to keep the appointment, he denied having ever spoken to me on the subject of Miss Weed.

Parker: He took it back.

Bary: It was simpler to deny he had ever said anything than to make an explanation. But I thought immediately that Father Ramm had gone to bat and gone to bat very effectively.

Parker: Do you think he went through the archbishop? Did you have a friend there?

Bary: Yes. I had a friend in the archbishop. That was Archbishop Hanna, who was a very distinguished person. He was a man who had the manners and the manner of a diplomat. You might call him a prince of the church. He was a scholarly man, a man of great wit, and he had a very large civic sense. He was very popular with almost everybody in San Francisco, non-Catholics as well as Catholics, and was particularly the pet of the Jews who were delighted whenever he would joint them for dinner or on any other occasion.

Catholic Institutions *

Bary: The archbishop had many problems on his hands in regard to the children's institutions. We were endeavoring to put through higher standards of care in children's institutions, and the archbishop was very modern in his views. I soon discovered that the Catholic church was not a monolith, as I had thought.

For instance, on one occasion, I went up to Ukiah to an institution there which was conducted, I think, by the Ursuline sisters. It was German in origin and was managed by a very capable woman, Mother Hyacinth. When I talked to her at one point, I told her that the archbishop agreed with certain items. She looked me in the eye and told me that the archbishop was her spiritual counselor and advisor; but in temporal matters, she managed her own house under the direction of the mother house.

Parker: The mother house in Germany?

Bary: Yes. At that time in California, there were many orphanages. Some of them were called orphanages, and some were beginning to be called children's institutions. These harked back to the early days in California. In those days, there were a great many more

* For the indoor vs. outdoor relief controversy in California and the subsequent investigation of orphanages during the Hiram Johnson administration, see John Francis Neylan, "Politics, Law, and the University of California," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1961, pp. 58-67. --Ed.

Bary: men than women; women were very much at a premium. When the pioneers brought their wives and began to have children, the question arose about schools. That was a very real problem; there were virtually no single school teachers in the population.

Some children were sent over to Hawaii to school. Hawaii had been settled a couple of generations earlier, and they had the institutions of normal life. Hawaii was 2,000 miles away by sailing ship.

When efforts were made to bring teachers from the East, they were not very successful because there were always a great many men looking for wives. A single young woman would usually succumb within a few months. However, to meet the emergency, the Catholic church brought in nuns, who were not eligible for marriage.

There was in San Francisco at this time a very remarkable woman named Katherine Russell, known as Mother Mary Russell.

Parker: When is this?

Bary: In the early days. Katherine Russell had brought a few Sisters of Mercy with her from Ireland in the early 1850s. She first established a hospital and later expanded it and added to Catholic charities. She was a very well-educated woman from a very good family. Her brother was the Chief Justice of England, which gives you some idea of her social standing.

She started St. Mary's Hospital and Catholic charities, and I think was responsible for about all the Catholic charities in the area. When she finally died in the '90s, she had what was called the biggest funeral in San Francisco. Everybody in the city wanted to pay respects to her.

Parker: She helped establish the Catholic parochial school system and charity system, which received state subsidies in the 1920s.

Bary: Yes. When the Catholic church began bringing in teaching sisters to supply the needs of schools--I think this went back into the '60s--they established orphanages, as they were called then, which not only took care of orphans who had no parents, but also half-orphans who had one parent and children who had both parents.

They taught these children without regard to religion but they followed certain Catholic customs. They were more like boarding schools than orphanages, although originally they were called orphanages.

Parker: They were widely used by Protestant as well as Catholic groups?

Bary: Yes; any child they would take in. The children used to go home for Christmas vacation and the long summer vacation. They really had the character of a Catholic boarding school.

These were established at strategic points around the state. In 1928 there were quite a number still in operation that had as many as 400 children. By that time, a good many of them were called convents.

Parker: No longer catering only to orphans or half-orphans but people who wanted to send their children to school.

Bary: Yes. In the absence of anything like day-care for children, a woman who was working really could not find any other way of taking care of her children.

Some non-Catholic orphanages were built up also. There was the Protestant orphanage, originally occupying quarters at Fourth and Market Streets. As the city grew, it found itself in the middle of the city; they moved to a spot that was rather out. The Masons also had provided an orphanage for children. The Jews in this area had Homeward Terrace, which was very well run. That was in San Francisco.

State aid, which began in 1883, was originally directed to children in institutions. Then it was broadened to include children outside institutions--children living with their mothers.

Parker: This was the Widow's Aid legislation?

Bary: Yes, the Widow's Aid legislation. The law provided not only a subsidy for each child in the institution, but the still greater benefit of tax exemption to any institution having ten children receiving aid or more. Many times, things like tax exemption amount to much more than social welfare provisions written into laws. Tax exemption was really a very important thing because many of these institutions had a lot of land, and tax exemption was very convenient to have.

Adoptions

Parker: When you were with the State Department of Social Welfare, what was your job with respect to these institutions?

Bary: I had the title of statistician. I was making some studies in the department. I was working closely with Mabel Weed on standards for the care of children. I made an independent study on the Adoption Law, which was passed in 1927. This law made it obligatory for a court to have a report from the State Department of Social Welfare as to the suitability of an adoption before the court decided to pass on it.

Parker: For the first time, the state department intervened before an adoption was final by making a report on the suitability.

Bary: Yes. At that time there were two institutions endeavoring to handle the problem of adoptions. There was the Native Sons and Daughters, under Mary Brusee, and the Children's Home Society.

Parker: Who was associated with that?

Bary: Mrs. Mary Page.

Parker: What were these people like?

Bary: Miss Brusee was a very kind woman interested in children. She was of a romantic turn of mind. Most of the cases of children that came to her were babies, most of whom were illegitimate. She received applications from people who wanted babies.

In my contacts with Miss Brusee, I found her perhaps too romantic for the job. She was gullible as to interesting stories which might be told as to the parentage of the children.

Mary Page was a very good social worker, a woman of large sympathies, but open-eyed. We felt that she did a much more intelligent job than Miss Brusee.

Parker: As far as the home study?

Bary: As far as judgment and as far as the ability to arrive at the truth, both as regards the people who wished to adopt children and the mothers who wished to relinquish them.

Parker: How did your agency work with these two other agencies?

Bary: We had a very small staff to handle this responsibility of making reports to the courts. We were very happy to accept the reports of the two agencies and to confine ourselves to checking on the independent petitions for adoption which came to the court.

Parker: What kind of situation existed in independent adoptions at that time?

Bary: A large number of independent adoptions were cases in which a widow with children had remarried, and her new husband was adopting the children. That, of course, was a legal protection to the children. There was really no ground for state intervention in such cases. That was quite a simple matter.

Some of the other cases that came to us were not so simple. We had more cases of older children (the agencies received the infants). Sometimes people would petition under conditions that were quite unwise or that raised real questions.

One of the problems we had was with Catholic institutions, and some of the mother superiors who were not native Americans, who were really not so capable as we thought they should be in adjusting to this country.

There was one situation that existed in several of the orphanages in regard to very young children whom they had taken into the orphanage. It was their practice to bring them up until they reached fourteen years of age and then to place them in homes where the girls would act as mothers' helpers while going to school.

I had found in previous contacts that the girls who were brought up from infancy in the orphanages without contacts with any relatives were desperately in need of an affectionate relationship. They had been fed on an acceptable plan, and they had been clothed, and they had been taught to sew and to help, but nobody had ever shown them any affection. They never played games. Life had been very serious for them.

Some cases came to our attention of people who exploited these girls, keeping them in the house all the time as servants and not giving them the opportunity to go to school any more. In some cases, the girls had been treated badly by men in the household. From contacts which I had with the girls at that time, I felt that in their hunger for affection, anyone who would treat them with affection could do almost anything with them. They were helpless emotionally.

Parker: The institutions had not made good home studies before they were placed?

Bary: The institutions themselves had no outside contacts. They did not have social workers working out of the institutions.

Parker: They were not professional in terms of standards in the sense that we think of it today.

- Bary: No. They provided care and training in good habits, but they did not go outside their walls. That was a later idea.
- Parker: The diocesan charities did not work with the religious in the institutions to provide follow-up or supervision or case work at that time?
- Bary: They were not always able to do that, in that lack of contact either before or after a placement. Sometimes it worked out all right and sometimes it did not. We felt that it was essential for them to work closely with Catholic Charities on placements before, and then continue working.
- Parker: You encouraged Archbishop Hanna to strengthen his hold through the diocesan charities on placements by religious institutions?
- Bary: Yes. That was one thing about adoptions. The agencies always tried to have a child adopted into a home of the same religion. Usually that was carried out.

Standards^{*}

- Parker: What did you try to do to correct the situation in the boarding out of children?
- Bary: In preparing standards, as in doing many things in administration, you have to remember that rules as well as laws in the field of social work are an educational process. You need to do educational work beforehand so that people will accept the law. You need to educate people in order to continue to administer the law, and sometimes to educate yourself to know that the law is not so good and be willing to change it. You need to keep your eyes open to know that your job is to be educated as well as to educate others.

In making standards, we tried to bring people together and have them agree on standards by having a series of meetings and sending out preliminary drafts and having them studied to prove that preliminary education could be carried out. Besides, we were

* For a contemporaneous account of the thinking about child welfare services, see Helen V. Bary, "The Trend of Child Welfare Work," North American Review, vol. 213, no. 785 (Apr. 1921), 494-501.

Bary: modest enough to believe that we were not able to write standards just by ourselves without consulting the people who were going to be supervised under those standards.

Parker: Even though you had the power of the purse with these people?

Bary: Yes. We had the power to withhold child aid if they did not meet the standards. On the other hand, we knew that there would be a howl and a cry if we withheld aid. If we withheld aid, that would mean withholding tax exemption also.

If you can get away without the threat of enforcement, it is a great deal better. It is an educational job anyway.

Parker: How did you succeed with people like Mother Hyacinth in Ukiah?

Bary: We would endeavor to consult with her and to talk with her. We would endeavor to understand what she was doing and her point of view. Since we found that she was not following the archbishop, we had to work slowly. Some things have to come along slowly. She was really a fine woman, but she was, I think, German-born and had probably gone into the convent young. Sometimes we found that these convent mother superiors had read a lot; they were very well-educated. There were all kinds.

Parker: They cared for a large part of the dependent children in California at one time?

Bary: Yes, they did. For many years, they were the only agency at all that was giving any money to dependent children.

Parker: You also reverted to legal means to correct the abuses in the boarding out of teenage children. You tried to amend the 1927 law?

Bary: On that subject, we worked closely with Catholic Charities and asked them to exert themselves with local committees. The idea was, with respect to institutions too far away to personally supervise their placements, to bring in lay people to befriend the boarded-out child.

There is a great deal of that that can be done when you have devoted adherents to a religion and a church. They will develop adherents to a religion and a church. They will develop cooperation and volunteer help. They had a very devoted woman in charge in San Francisco under Father Flanagan who was always ready to listen to suggestions.

Legal Protection of Illegitimate Children

Parker: There was some work with the attorney general also in California?

Bary: On the question of adoptions, when I made the study and we gathered together all the information that had been compiled from the records that we had kept for a year, there were certain questions which showed up. One of those questions was in relation to illegitimate children.

California did not register births as illegitimate. That was considered a very humane and kind thing to do. Various of the other states did make that distinction. In an effort to figure out how many illegitimate births there might be in California, I took the figures from other states which did register them and found out the percentage of births in those states which were illegitimate.

All such figures as that are untrustworthy because many doctors are thoughtful and kind. They would register a girl going into a hospital as married and not as unmarried. Many hospital nurses also would register. I think it was only common sense to figure that the number they reported as illegitimate was undoubtedly less than the actual number.

Still, when compared to the number of children born in California, it showed that there were a very large number of illegitimate children in California of whom we had no knowledge whatever. They were not being adopted.

Parker: You mean they were placed in homes but just simply lost somehow?

Bary: They were not adopted. We knew that in some cases the girls kept those babies. In some cases, a very young girl might say that the child was her mother's child, that it was her sister or brother and not her own child. We knew that there were many cases of that kind. That would not account for all of them by any means.

We were concerned about them because children have a right to be protected. Other cases came to our attention. We knew that young girls, perhaps in desperation at not being able to support a child, would give the child to almost anybody. We felt that we needed to know more about the situation.

Also there were questions of protection, such as the right of inheritance of children who might be brought up in a home. Some of those children who were brought up in a family which had other children were not treated too well; they were made to do more work and they were given less education. That was a very

Bary: unfair thing to do, but they had no rights if they were not adopted.

In one case that came to our attention, a boy had been adopted into a family that had a daughter. As he grew up he showed a great deal of capacity. The family had a farm and he applied his intelligence to it. He made it very successful. He was able to do much more than the man in the family had ever done.

When the man died, he left all of his property to his daughter and specifically stated that the boy had never been adopted. Legally the boy had no rights, though he had been working from the time he got through high school. He had been working all that time and had built up a very comfortable small fortune.

Parker: So you were interested in protecting the rights of children who had kind of an ambiguous status in some families?

Bary: Yes. We felt that something should be done about it. I took that question up with a man named Mitchell in the attorney general's office. He was an assistant who was socially minded. I asked him to work on the problem to see what kind of legislation could be formulated to help children in similar situations where they had never been adopted. I had in mind something which might correspond to a common law marriage, where a man and woman living together respectably in a community as man and wife might not be married, but for all intents and purposes were regarded as married by people in the community. But the woman did not have widow's rights; if you took the matter to court, she could not prove any marriage.

We wanted him to work on such a problem, as to the possibility of giving such children some rights.

Parker: How did you fare?

Bary: He had not worked it out. It would be a good deal more difficult to stipulate all the conditions in these varying situations. It would be much more difficult than this common law marriage business, although California at that time, maybe still does not, recognize common law marriages.

Parker: There was also a political change in the administration of the state, wasn't there?

Bary: That came along in 1930 when James Rolph Jr. was elected governor. He had been mayor of San Francisco for quite a long time and he was a very politically-minded person. That created a situation.

Bary: In San Francisco, the center of the League of Women Voters was a very powerful organization, under the leadership of Emma McLaughlin, with quite a large number of similarly intelligent, well-educated women like herself. They had not been enthusiastic about Rolph as mayor. When he decided to run as governor, they refused to endorse him, which was by no means acceptable to him.

Many people called him "Sunny Jim" and that was the impression he tried to create. He could be a very vindictive person, and he said that he would get even with those women. With the change of administration, department directors were dismissed.

Parker: So the attorney general's office, which had been working on your amendment to the law, changed also?

Bary: I don't remember what changes were made. So far as I know, Mitchell never worked out anything which would satisfy the lawyers.

Parker: It wasn't necessarily the political change that caused this?

Bary: I don't know. The attorney general is an elective office, and I do not remember whether the attorney general changed. Many times the assistants change if the attorney general changes. Sometimes it is quite an upset and sometimes not. I don't know. I never heard that anything happened about it. I know that we tried.

Administrative Transition Under Governor Rolph, 1931

Parker: How did Governor Rolph's regime change the State Department of Social Welfare?

Bary: Rolph took office early in 1931, but he did not make any immediate appointment. Mrs. Saylor was out of the department. There was a good deal of gossip that he was going to appoint Rheba Crawford, who was a very picturesque person but not one who would be favored by such a person as Emma McLaughlin.

Parker: Can you tell us why that would be so?

Bary: Rheba was the daughter of a Salvation Army colonel, who was head of the Salvation Army in this area. She was married to a man named Splivalo who had health food stores; he did not figure particularly in the picture. Rheba was a very determined woman, I would say completely ruthless, who told me frankly that she intended to administer the department with a view toward political advantage for the governor. She said she thought that we had been

Bary: very stupid and childish in not administering it in a way that would help the political fortunes of the governor.

Parker: What did this mean?

Bary: She started out by sending out a letter with the first check that went to an old age recipient--a letter which brought him the congratulations of the governor and a feeling that the governor had personally interceded in his behalf to get him placed on the pension rolls. What she sent out was so bald and so obvious there was rather an outcry about it, and that letter was withdrawn.

She made two or three appointments within the department which were of persons, you might say, who were not qualified for their jobs. During the time before she was appointed, in those months of 1931, I was asked by the State Department of Finance to go up to the legislature in Sacramento to watch legislation in regard to Old Age Assistance. That law had been passed in 1929, and it permitted up to \$30 a month to persons age seventy or over.

Holding the Line on Old Age Assistance in the Depression

Bary: There was a great deal of agitation at that time because that was about the bottom of the slump after 1929. We were solidly in the depression. A great many schemes were being presented. The Townsend Plan had begun. Later that became the main campaign throughout the country. In addition, there were half a dozen different schemes mostly coming up from Southern California. There was "Thirty Dollars Every Thursday," one called Ham and Eggs, and I don't know how many others.

The Department of Finance figured that there was going to be a great deal of pressure to loosen up the Old Age Assistance Law to an extent that the State Treasury could not meet. Rolph had been spending money rather freely. Governor Young had left a surplus, but I think the surplus vanished early in the Rolph administration.

Parker: What did you find in the 1931 legislative session?

Bary: The Department of Finance wanted me to supply facts and to give them help in holding down any extravagant procedures.

They knew that there would be a lot of forces coming up to work on the legislature to make the Old Age Assistance Law much

Bary: more generous, beyond what the State Treasury could bear. They wanted me to be around to help out so that I could talk to individual legislators, and I could post them with information, and be of general assistance in repressing the wild efforts that they expected.

Parker: You presented the legislators on the committees with the factual arguments for maintaining the OAA system as it existed on the books.

Bary: Yes, to make them realize that, as much as we would like to, it was not possible for the state to open up. I made calculations that showed if we opened up, that is, doubled the number of people who were receiving aid and doubled the amount of aid that they would be getting, the state was going to be bankrupt.

Parker: You were speaking as a fiscal expert.

Bary: Yes. Back in 1883 a law had been passed giving money to anybody over sixty who was in need. It provided no system of administration. It could be just given out by the counties and was an open-end drain on the State Treasury. That was the first law in this country for what you would say was an old age pension. That went on until 1895 when the country ran into the depression of the '90s and the State Treasury was being drained. By that time, the number of people getting pensions had increased so much that the legislature had to abolish it.

The Department of Finance did not want to abolish Old Age Assistance, but they were mindful of the fact that once before, when the system had been allowed to expand unduly without checks, the whole thing had to be repealed. I had the job of putting a wet blanket on legislative efforts to expand the system unduly.

Parker: And letting the Department of Finance know when things were getting out of hand so that they could be blocked.

Bary: We had some committee meetings where the question came up, where the enthusiasts presented very real pressure.

Parker: The Townsendites and EPIC people and so on?

Bary: Yes. In those hearings I sat in with a man from the Department of Finance who wanted to tell them what it would cost to do these things. In that way, we held down and kept things from getting fantastic. It is not always the pleasantest thing to hold down when you knew that the amounts that were being paid were by no means generous.

Parker: The temptation was for the legislators to depend on Old Age Assistance instead of some kind of unemployment relief, when the main problem was **unemployment**. Is that what was happening?

Bary: Yes, that was very much in the picture. The pressure for relief to the elderly did not come so much from the old people as it came from their children. Their children needed help. There was no unemployment insurance at the time, but if they could get their parents to have pensions, that would relieve them. All over the country the pressure was coming more from the children of old people than from old people themselves.

Sometimes people seemed to feel that it was greedy old people who wanted something for themselves, but it was much more their children, who wished to be relieved of the burden.

The law said that children must support their parents, their grandparents, their children, their grandchildren, their brothers and sisters. Those laws were sometimes enforced very brutally.

Now, we certainly do not expect people to be supporting these miscellaneous relatives, and the rising generation does not expect to do anything for their parents either.

1931 Legislature: The "Two Amendments" Device

Parker: At that 1931 legislative session, you became familiar with the "two amendment" technique. Can you tell us what that is?

Bary: There were a couple of amendments which we wished to have put in to clean up the law. They were not important at all, but it would make it more tidy. One of them came to me, just very close to the closing of the legislature. I was asked to put that through.

There was no time to introduce and start it from the beginning, going through both houses of the legislature. The only way to do it was to utilize a piece of skullduggery, which had been very popular at one time and had been banned because it was considered very bad practice. This was the device known as the "two amendments."

The object was to take a bill which had already advanced to be on the calendar of a committee, and to offer two amendments: The first amendment changed the title of the bill; the second amendment changed the text of the bill. All that was left of the original bill was a number and a place on the calendar.

I remembered that device from my earlier experience with the legislature and I used it. Grudgingly, the chairman of the committee let me put it through. It had been declared off bounds.

Bary: As you can see, it certainly should be. It was a device that was very often used by smart lobbyists in the past, who would go in during the last hours of a legislative session and take over some number on the calendar, change it completely, and then pass it out.

Parker: That was the way the Department of Finance got the law amended in 1931; through this "two amendments" device, putting its own measure in at the last minute.

Bary: It is one of those things that, as a good citizen and all that, you should not engage in; but you sometimes do.

Resignations

Parker: Then you went back to San Francisco and did a very high-minded thing before Mrs. Crawford came into office--you resigned. Can you tell us about that?

Bary: Yes. It was after the legislative session was through. There was gossip to the effect that Rolph considered that his appointment of Mrs. Crawford would be so objectionable to a lot of people that he waited to make the appointment until the legislature was out of the way. Three of us in the State Department of Social Welfare figured that we certainly were not going to stay on under Rheba Crawford. There was Mabel Weed and I and Cecil Mosbacher. We resigned.

Parker: Who is Cecil Mosbacher?

Bary: Cecil Mosbacher is a very capable woman. When she left the department, she went over to Boalt Hall and graduated from the law school. She went to work in the district attorney's office and later was appointed judge. As far as I know, she has remained as a Superior Court judge in Alameda County. She certainly improved her status in life by resigning at that time.

Mabel Weed was urged to take the job as manager of a progressive school down the peninsula in Palo Alto. I went over to the Bureau of Public Administration at the University in Berkeley.

Aid to the Blind*

Parker: Before you actually left the State Department of Social Welfare in 1931, you became acquainted with the administrator of the Blind Aid. Can you tell us about her as an administrator?

Bary: That is a very picturesque story. Mrs. Saylor appointed a woman named Mary Cronen to be in charge of Aid to the Blind. Mary Cronen was a very likable, easy-going Irish woman, whose father had been a street demagogue in San Francisco. His favorite target was corporations, which he considered inventions of the devil. He used to do soapboxing on the streets excoriating corporations.

Mary had learned that the revenues of the state were derived in considerable part from corporations. She had a feeling of great zest in spending any state money. She was carrying out the wishes of her beloved father. She was spending corporation money.

Since we had a lot of other things to take care of, and we had found it necessary to go against Mrs. Saylor on quite a few points, Miss Weed and I rather overlooked the fact that Mary was administering a small program in a fashion which would not have stood auditing.

Parker: She used a loose definition of blindness, or what was the problem?

Bary: She did not believe in hampering doctors who would sign a certificate for a person who was asking for Aid to the Blind. Blindness, under the law, does not mean total blindness. Under the law, the definition of blindness is any person who has 20/200 vision. That means if a person can see at twenty feet what a person of normal vision can see at two hundred, then he is blind.

For some things, a person with 20/200, or even a bit less, can get along. He is no good on distant vision, but for some things he can get along all right. However, as I have discovered, a great many doctors would sign any piece of paper offered them, if the person said, "Now, this will give me so much help." I had discovered that long before. Doctors were sending certificates without examining people.

* For a different perspective on Aid to the Blind, see Newell Perry, "Dr. Newell Perry and the California Council for the Blind," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1956, pp. 119-126; and the interviews of Lillian McClure and Perry Sundquist (1955), and of Allen Jenkins (1956) in the ROHO collection. --Ed.

Parker: Mary Cronen did not attempt to establish standards?

Bary: No. She refused to hamper doctors by establishing standards. She accepted pieces of paper that a person should not have accepted.

Parker: This was her private charity.

Bary: Yes. I could not quite understand it until she told me about her father. She was devoted to him. He apparently was a magnetic speaker and he loved this self-appointed task of doing soapboxing on the subject of corporations. He had died by that time and she was, as it were, honoring his grave by spending as much corporation money as she could. It is one of those situations that you occasionally run into.

Department Officials in the 1930s and 1940s*

Parker: Did you get to know Martha Chickering, who became Director of the Department of Social Welfare later on?

Bary: I had known Martha Chickering since I first met her about 1915. There have been long periods when I did not see her, but I knew her then. Our friendship was established over a long basis.

Parker: What kind of person was she?

Bary: Martha Chickering was a very fine person. She came from a professional background of people who were New Englanders. Her father was an attorney who built up a highly respected firm, which was then carried on by his son, and I think grandson, and so on. It is still Chickering. Martha is a person of complete integrity and a fineness of character.

Parker: Do you know anything about her early career?

Bary: Yes. At the time when I first knew her, she was working for the Industrial Committee of the YWCA. That was a quite remarkable committee. It consisted of some very intelligent women who had more contact with realities than many committees have. They had standing in the community, they had their contacts with settlements, they knew the problems of poverty. They were working very largely on the problems of employed women.

*The following section is drawn from Interview #7 and is recorded on Tape 12, Side 2. --Ed.

Bary: She worked on that for a number of years. After the first world war, Herbert Hoover established the American Relief Administration. Martha went to work for them in Poland. Amy Tapping was in charge of that group. Almost all of their staff members were recruited from among young women of Polish ancestry, largely living around Milwaukee. Miss Tapping wanted to have Polish-speaking people. These girls were not social workers, and had not had experience.

Martha was in charge of a group. They were trying to give relief in a situation that was really desperate. Poland had been devastated in the war. Health conditions were very serious; they were nearly starving for food, which was bad.

Amy Tapping was a very knowledgeable and utterly devoted person. She put a spirit into the group. Maybe she overdid it, because they really worked altogether too hard; they worked to the point of exhaustion.

Parker: Their health was affected?

Bary: Yes. When they finished the job, Miss Tapping herself had pernicious anemia; Martha Chickering had had a very serious case of pneumonia and then she got jaundice. As was later found out, the combination of malaria and jaundice nearly destroys the liver, but that was to come later.

The other people on the staff were so anxious to help the Poles that I think everybody was exhausted by the time they felt that they had completed their job.

I rather lost track of her after that. She went back to the University of California. She was quite devoted to Professor Jessica Peixotto, who was head of the Social Economics Department. Martha got her Ph.D. in economics and went on when Jessica established a school of social work.

I know at that time there was a lot of controversy about sociology. Dr. Peixotto was very much opposed to the current thinking in sociology, which was much more sentimental and religious than it is at the present time. Miss Peixotto managed to keep the university from establishing a department of sociology; instead, they had social economics. She insisted on the economic basis regarding society, not religious, and so forth.

Parker: She studied family budgets?

Bary: Yes. Miss Peixotto had the interest of Mrs. Heller. Mrs. Heller provided the money for a Heller Foundation. They worked on the

Bary: question of cost of living. They had only a small staff.

When they started the studies on the cost of living, almost nobody was paying any attention to it. It was a neglected piece of work that very much needed to be done.*

Parker: Is Lucy Sprague tied into this as far as you know?

Bary: Yes. She was over there at Berkeley. I never had any contact with her. I am not too sure just what she was doing, but she seemed to be highly respected.

Parker: Then Jessica Peixotto helped establish the School of Social Welfare at Berkeley, and your friend, Martha Chickering, became its director.

Bary: Yes. Miss Peixotto felt that they ought to have a school of social work; it was needed. Also it was needed to give social workers an adequate foundation in economics.

She established the school. Martha Chickering was not the first director, but after she got her Ph.D. she became director.

Parker: Then she had the support of the social work community and became director of the State Department of Social Welfare. Can you tell us what happened there?

Bary: I think everybody had great respect for Martha Chickering, and for what she was doing as director of the School of Social Work. The woman who had been appointed--Mrs. Turner I think--as director of the Department of Social Welfare was not at all fitted for the job. She was definitely political and really did not know what the department should be doing.

I had some disagreements with her [when I was working in the regional office of the Social Security Board] because she was not paying any attention to various bulletins which we had sent out regarding the handling of money. We were faced with the problem that, when the audit came, our auditors would have a long list of exceptions to take as to what the state was doing.

I had great difficulty in talking to her because she seemed to have no sense of what the department was doing. There was the likelihood that we should, if we followed the law strictly, levy very heavy deductions from the state.

Sometimes, when you try to talk to a woman about such business matters, no matter what you can say she seems to be unable to grasp the fact that the situation is serious. You feel a certain

*See also Emily H. Huntington, "A Career in Consumer Economics and Social Insurance," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1971, ch. 6. --Ed.

Bary: sympathy for men who make remarks about women's incapacity. She was that kind of person.

However, she did not last too long. The State Board of Social Welfare, which at that time controlled the appointment of director, appointed Miss Chickering [in August 1939]. That was greeted with great enthusiasm throughout the social welfare field.

When Governor Warren was elected, the situation became very difficult. The chairman of the board was Archibald Young, who was a lawyer. He was a very wealthy man, with an extremely wealthy wife. He had never faced problems of poverty and did not have an appreciation for them or the sympathy that a person would have who had really struggled with them.

In the campaign he had ~~come~~ out against Earl Warren, and they had had quite an unpleasant situation. When Governor Warren came in, he did not wish to speak to Mr. Young. That lack of cooperation was extended to Miss Chickering. She had a very difficult time.

The social workers had passed a bill which aimed at making the Department of Social Welfare quite independent of political influence, which was what they aimed at. It did not take into account the fact that the department was responsible for spending a vast amount of money. From any practical viewpoint, a department that is spending so much money has to work closely with the governor. The governor has to raise the taxes; he can't be expected to give the department a blank check.

That is one of the problems that goes back to that question as to the importance of size, and the importance of being the right size. For a board that is scientific or research-oriented and not spending any particular amount of money, the idea of an independent board, utterly free from political influence, is a very good idea. When a board becomes really large and is spending great amounts of money, it is part of the structure that the governor has a right to control. After all, if the board did something which antagonized people, that would go straight back to the governor.

Parker: So the governor was responsible for operations and budget, but he did not have open channels of communication. What happened?

Bary: He did not like to ask Miss Chickering and Mr. Young to resign, so he adopted the tactics of not speaking to them. Miss Chickering asked for interviews, but she could not get them. Since she could not get them, I think Colonel Young never asked for interviews; he knew he would not get an interview.

Bary: That dragged along for I think more than a year. Expenditures were increasing. Finally, Miss Chickering felt that the situation demanded that she resign. She and Colonel Young resigned.

Parker: The governor then appointed his own man.

Bary: Yes, he appointed his own man, Charles Wollenberg. He was a very good administrator, a man of large capacity who had been in charge of institutions in San Francisco. He had charge of the county hospital and Laguna Honda Home for the Aged. He was a man who knew everything that was going on. He had very general respect.

Parker: Did the social work community back him?

Bary: Not as they backed Miss Chickering. They felt that he was perhaps too business-minded and not quite so idealistic. He got much better cooperation from the counties and also from his own staff than Miss Chickering had been able to get. He knew the county people from his previous contacts, and he had been a leader in their organizations. They considered him one of them. They would do something he told them to do, where they might hesitate to do it if Miss Chickering had told them to do it.

County directors have a way of hanging together. The County Welfare Association is a very powerful group.

Parker: Of business-minded types?

Bary: Well, the county directors were not so much business types, but they were not social workers either. Many of them had worked up in the ranks.

Parker: They were bureaucrats.

Bary: Yes. They were bureaucrats. They had a general tendency to resist the state.

Parker: They were allied with the county board of supervisors, then?

Bary: Yes, their own county boards. They had been a powerful force when the state department was being run by incompetents. The state department had not had a really competent director.

Parker: Who was the first competent state department director?

Bary: I suppose Wollenberg was.

Parker: Wollenberg. He began a professional administration of social welfare at a centralized level.

Bary: Yes. You might not always agree with Wollenberg, but he was a competent person. Previously, they had always had women; it was a tradition.

Parker: From the charity tradition?

Bary: Well, most of those women had been political. They had been rather nonentities who did not know the job but had been active in politics. No governor had really accepted the idea of the importance and the potential size of the department. They had allowed it to run along as if it were a charity board or something. After social security came in, then it really opened up the money end. Somebody had to make large decisions.

IX: THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION, 1934-1935
 (Interview 6, January 13, 1973)

Parker: Can you tell us about the National Recovery Administration?

Bary: In the first hundred days of Roosevelt's administration, a great mass of legislation had been passed to try to pull the country out of this depression which had paralyzed industry, labor, and the general public. The National Recovery Act was only one of a whole string of measures that were passed.

Emergency Legislation: The FERA

Bary: One which had affected more people than anything else was the Emergency Relief program under Harry Hopkins under which Congress had allotted four billion dollars. Frantic efforts were made to put that money into the hands of as many people as possible.*

Parker: Why the frantic effort?

Bary: For the speed. Nobody had previously administered any relief program excepting on a small, local basis. Nobody was accustomed to handling large amounts of money and distributing them. There had been local appropriations by cities here and there, but they had not amounted to anything like the proportions under FERA.

Hopkins organized his staff, which included as many social workers as possible. But none of the social workers had been in the habit of dishing out money on such a free and easy basis. There was no time for any elaborate investigations. It was principally a matter of applying and getting it.

*For a shrewd analysis of basic changes in the economy which preceded the 1929 crash, see Valeska Bari, "The Decline of Ownership," New Republic, vol. 57, no. 737 (Jan. 16, 1929), pp. 241-243. --Ed.

Bary: The social workers were rather disturbed at this free and easy way of dealing with people (which was quite contrary to the care which they had been obliged to exercise in passing out what limited amounts of money the states and counties had given them).

Hopkins had set up field representatives to deal with state agencies. In every state there was a state relief administration, and local administrations organized in centers to reach as many people as possible.

Some of Hopkins' field representatives were rather overwhelmed by the size of the job and by the ability that they had to hand out a million dollars here or there. They had never been used to dealing with such money. Particularly during those early depression days, money was such a rare commodity that a million meant a great deal more than a million would mean now.

Parker: They became almost insensitive to the fact that they were dealing with huge sums?

Bary: Having power and dealing with money on a large basis like that has an effect on people who have never been used to dealing with such amounts of money. Some of them remain cool but most of them were overwhelmed with the size and responsibility of their jobs. They were over-worked. They were rushed. I found in the contacts I had that they were bolstering themselves up at the end of a hectic day by too much drinking.

Parker: You also stumbled upon a payroll one time, didn't you?

Bary: The unreality of money in some places was rather shocking. At one time, I stumbled on a large envelope on the floor of a building that had been walked over by people, and the address was almost eliminated. I picked it up and could see that there were payrolls inside. I opened it up to find out where it belonged, and here was a huge payroll--checks--which somebody had dropped. The carelessness with which they were handling huge amounts of money was quite startling.

That was just a sample of the ways in which many people were talking about money and handling figures or actual checks.

Parker: Why did they feel the pressure to get such large amounts of money out to the states immediately?

Bary: In the depression that we were trying to pull out of, even professional men sold apples on the streets to try to earn a bit of money. In San Francisco there were apple men in front of the larger buildings, and it was customary for anybody who had jobs to buy an

- Bary: apple when you went for lunch. You would be shocked to see a man who was of professional appearance selling apples. But he could not get a job.
- Parker: The Emergency Relief Administration people also feared revolution, didn't they?
- Bary: They certainly did. A bit later, in 1935 (by that time I was employed by the Social Security Board), I contacted Emergency Relief Administration people in a dozen different states. They knew that an end was coming to this emergency relief. They all seemed to feel--these over-worked people--that the life of the country depended upon this emergency relief that they were handing out. I heard their fears of revolution all over the country.

Field Organization of NRA Offices

- Parker: When did the NRA become organized?
- Bary: The NRA law was passed in 1933. I went to Washington in early 1934 and Arthur J. Altmeyer was just setting up a field service.
- Parker: He was head of the Labor Compliance Division?
- Bary: Yes. That was Labor Compliance. Trade Compliance was entirely separate and I had practically no contact with them.

Codes had been established under the law governing wages and hours and working conditions. The right to organize labor unions was specifically authorized in the law itself.

In setting up the state offices under the NRA, Roosevelt had been obliged, from the viewpoint of practical politics, to promise that the state directors in each state would be appointed by the senators.

- Parker: Senatorial patronage would have a heavy hand in the appointment of state directors in the NRA.
- Bary: Yes. Also, Roosevelt had appointed the National Emergency Council, which consisted of the leading Democrat in each state. Generally speaking, the leading Democrat in the state was working with the Democratic senators in Washington (if there was a Democratic senator from that state). Otherwise, I think the appointment came very largely from the National Emergency Council director.

Bary: For the most part, I contacted perhaps thirty or more states, the state directors were very able people. Roosevelt had inspired them with a sense of urgency and dedication.

Parker: Can you tell us exactly what the state organization consisted of-- what positions?

Bary: In each state, the state office had a state director, an executive assistant.

Parker: What was the nature of the executive assistant position?

Bary: He was the office manager. Those positions were filled with men who had been in the Department of Commerce. When Herbert Hoover was Secretary of Commerce and afterwards President, he had built up the Department of Commerce to huge proportions.

When Roosevelt came in, it was necessary, considering trade conditions and conditions of business, to make drastic cuts in the Department of Commerce.

These men knew government procedure. They could be relied upon to follow general government policies.

Parker: These executive assistants were drawn from the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Department of Commerce. They were kind of old line, civil service bureaucrats working with people in the states.

Bary: Yes. They had all had civil service. When the department was cut down so sharply, then efforts were made to place them; they could not be kept on the payroll indefinitely.

In addition, every office had an attorney and a labor compliance officer and a trade compliance officer. Under these compliance officers, there were assistant compliance officers--the number depended on the size of the state and the amount of industry.

Parker: You said you visited about thirty states in the beginning of your job. What was your position?

Bary: When Altmeyer came in in charge of labor compliance, the offices had been set up. He did not know who was in the offices; he did not know the state directors. He was confronted with a fait accompli. There were three of us field representatives.

Parker: You were a field representative?

Bary: Yes. That was the title that was given to people very generally in Washington who were dealing with states from Washington.

Parker: What was your civil service classification?

Bary: We were not under civil service. In that emergency, there was no time to go through civil service procedures. People had to be put on the rolls. I happened to have civil service from Children's Bureau. There was no time to go through all those formalities.

Parker: You were a P-6 in the Children's Bureau?

Bary: We had a different rating at that time. Later under NRA, I had a P-6 rating.

Parker: That is very high, a high professional classification. How did you get your job as field representative? Who recommended you?

Bary: Clara Beyer, with whom I worked at the War Labor Policies Board, who was in the Department of Labor, gave Altmeyer my name. In that emergency, there was no time to go through a lot of rigamarole. People were put on the payroll and started to work without very much examination of qualifications. I think that I had never met Altmeyer before. The two other field reps were unknown to him. He had to take a chance. There was a great deal of "taking a chance" under the emergency, but that is the way you spell emergency.

Assessment of Labor Compliance Units by Field Representatives

Bary: The three of us at first went out to state offices. I went to Boston, and I think Connie Cochrane went to Philadelphia, and the third representative--whose name I have forgotten and who didn't stay with us very long--went to some other office. We each spent two or three days. We found out how the offices were organized, and got a general estimate as to the personnel in the office, and a résumé on the problems that confronted them.

With that information we came back to Altmeyer and he saw the pattern. Then we started out to find out what was going on in all of the states. That was a hectic job. The three of us had to divide up all the states.

I was given the Pacific Coast states and down through the South, along the Gulf, and then up the Atlantic Coast.

Parker: That is just a huge territory.

Bary: On that trip, I covered about eighteen offices in three weeks and spent seventeen nights in sleepers.

Bary: The train service at that time was really very good. Plane service was just beginning and everybody used trains. I could get overnight from one city to another, for instance, from Seattle to Portland. That is a short distance, and I could get a night train. Then to San Francisco, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Santa Fe, El Paso, Dallas, New Orleans, Jackson, Montgomery, down into Florida, the Carolinas and up to Washington.

Parker: Can you tell us your procedure when you first arrived at an office to see what the situation was?

Bary: I found I was very, very welcome. The offices had been set up. But they had had no contact with Washington. They had no interpretations of law. They had no bulletins telling them what to do. Everything considered, they had done really a very decent job. There were about a hundred questions they wanted to ask.

I would try to land in an office by eight-thirty; usually the trains would get you in at seven or seven-thirty in the morning. Every once in a while I had time enough to go to a hotel and get a bath. There were so many questions that they wanted to ask that I tried to be there at eight-thirty. Then we would have discussions all day, including lunch and dinner. Usually, they still had questions; there would be two or three coming down to the train with me.

Then I had nothing to do except to write a report and give a résumé and sketch of the different officers in the agencies.

Parker: You did this in your berth at night on the train?

Bary: Yes. It was the only place.

Parker: Non-stop work.

Bary: Altmeyer had to have the information and there was no time in the day when I could write anything.

The "Pensioned" Alcoholic (Washington State)

Bary: We found a few emergency conditions that we had to ask him to clear up immediately, but there were not so many of those.

Parker: There was a case in Washington state?

Bary: Yes. In Washington the senator from Washington had insisted on appointing as a labor compliance officer a man who had been a real friend of organized labor but who had become very ill, and they wanted to pension him off.

Bary: Unfortunately, it had been a pattern in labor departments to pension people off by putting them into state labor offices, where there were state labor offices. We did find a few cases where that pattern went over into NRA. This man in particular was unable to talk coherently.

Parker: He had an alcoholic problem?

Bary: Yes, a very serious problem. The state director, given the insistence of the senator on keeping the man, tried to solve his problem by saying blithely that everybody had to begin at the bottom. He gave him the work of a stockboy, really, to keep him out of the office. He was kept in the stockroom.

Parker: In other words, the labor compliance man in the Washington state office just was not functioning and dealing with the public or looking at the complaints.

Bary: He couldn't; he was unable to do it. When I wrote all that in to Altmeyer, he went to talk to the senator but he did not get anywhere. However, the man solved the problem by dying in a couple of months.

Parker: He was just so ill.

Bary: Yes. He was in a desperate situation.

Recruitment of Labor Compliance Officers

Parker: In general, what kinds of men would go into the labor compliance position?

Bary: We had rather a variety of people. There were a number of college professors of economics; in some of our larger offices we had those men. Men from the colleges welcomed the opportunity. I think a good many of the economics people realized that they had a good deal of book learning and not too much practical experience.

Then we had some men from the ranks of labor. Labor union official type.

Parker: In other words, the labor unions probably had a hand in their appointment.

Bary: Yes. If a senator or so were anxious to get labor votes, he would be inclined to appoint a labor man. I remember one who was a newspaperman who had handled labor questions. He was one of the best-informed men that we had. That was the sort of general type that we had for labor compliance.

Parker: So they were, by definition, sympathetic to complaints coming from workers on hours and wages violations?

Bary: Yes. Most people were complying. But we did have a good many cases of employers who either did not know what wages had been established, or there were some who were slow about complying. The offices were getting restitution made; various of the offices were bringing in really large amounts.

Parker: Of money. Fines and back-pay?

Bary: Back-pay. There had not been any instructions as to the handling of that pay, as to whether the companies who were shown to be out of compliance would pay out to their own people. In some cases they preferred to send the money to the state office. If they had disagreements or something, that was rather a face-saving device. In most offices the money was paid to the men. We assured ourselves that it was, and that saved us work.

Parker: I see. The employer paid the back-pay--the wages--to the men directly rather than going through you in many cases?

Bary: Yes.

The Embezzler (Michigan)

Parker: Did you ever find a situation in which an NRA office misused the funds they collected from employers?

Bary: Unfortunately, I did find one case where an executive assistant, in his function as office manager, was receiving the money, keeping it in the office in cash--not depositing it in the bank--and then waiting a while before he tried to contact the men to whom it was due. If he held back the money for a few months, probably a certain percentage of the men would have moved on. Maybe they did not make contact and they may not have left an address. So there was money left over which he was pocketing.

Parker: How did you find that out?

Bary: I was a bit suspicious of the office. In the first contact I had with the executive assistant, I did not feel confidence in him. Then I discovered that if I used the telephone for an outside call, somebody was listening in.

Parker: Really? How did you check that out?

Bary: When I heard a click go on after my call went through, I knew somebody was listening. When I went out to lunch, I called up

Bary: a person I knew and told her that I would call a bit later and tell her some inside, rather salty gossip from Washington. But she was not to believe anything I said. She could just trust me, that's all; I had a purpose. When I got back to the office, I called her up and told her this fairy tale. I also heard a click go on that time so that I knew somebody was listening. Not very long afterwards, when I was talking with the executive assistant, he repeated the fairy tale to me. Since it was absolutely unfounded and nobody else would have invented that fairy tale, I knew that he was the person who was spying on my telephone.

Something like that starts you working. Then I found that he was handling this money so badly.

Parker: Keeping large amounts of cash in the office?

Bary: There were several thousand dollars. He had been encouraging the companies to pay into the state office instead of paying directly to the employees.

He had no records of money. The state director was a very honorable man who was too honest to suspect anybody of dishonesty. He was rather horrified to find that there was all that cash in the office. He very promptly put all that cash in a bank account.

The next day was a holiday. I asked the state director to come down to the office, that I wanted to look into some more files undisturbed. We found a very bad situation. The executive assistant begged for mercy.

He had not only absconded with money but he had forged the state director's name. He had been careless enough to leave all that evidence right in his own files. He really was fundamentally stupid as well as utterly dishonest. The state director was not willing to prosecute.

Parker: You did not want to discredit the NRA in that state--in Michigan?

Bary: The man had a wife who apparently was an all right person, and he had two or three children. The state director was a very merciful person. He did not want to disgrace the wife and children, as well as raising all this question about NRA. It does not do a government agency any good to disclose the facts that they have had dishonest persons in crucial positions.

The man resigned instantly and left the office. The next time I went down to Washington I inquired and found that he was working for procurement in the Department of Treasury. I went to the Secret Service in the Treasury Department and told them the story. They investigated; a few weeks later the man to whom

Bary: I had talked came around and told me that they had found out a lot more than I had found out. He assured me the man would never work for the government again. They were not going to prosecute but his name was blacklisted.

That was the only situation of the kind that I found,

Parker: Actual misuse of funds.

Bary: Yes.

Problems with State Directors

Lack of Sympathy with NRA Goals (Illinois)

Parker: There are other cases in which there was some question about the state director's devotion to the mission of NRA--like the Illinois case?

Bary: I encountered only one state director who told me flatly that he was not in sympathy. He held down on the appointment of sufficient staff to handle the job. That was Cassidy in Illinois. The labor compliance people had half as many people as the budget allowed them to have, and they could not possibly handle the job. The labor compliance officer was a professor from the University of Chicago and a very earnest, conscientious and able person; but he needed enough staff.

When I talked to Cassidy about it, he told me flatly that he was not in sympathy and that he was not going to appoint enough people to do the job.

Parker: That is, to investigate complaints from employees on wages violations?

Bary: Yes. He did not want to interfere with industry. There are some people who would not want a wage law enforced.

We had quite a pointed discussion and I told him that he was not at liberty to act in that fashion; that he really should not be occupying a position as state director if he did not desire to enforce the regulations.

As it happened General Hugh Johnson, who was the administrator of NRA, came to Chicago the following day to make a speech to some rather prominent group. Cassidy saw him and complained about

Bary: me. By that time, I was in Wisconsin. General Johnson got me on the telephone and told me that there were too many people in Chicago representing NRA. I told him I was not in Chicago. That rather took him aback, because he was under the impression I was. He said I had better go into Washington anyway and report to a man named Glancy who was then occupying the position which Altmeyer had left.

Altmeyer did not stay with us very long; he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Parker: In Washington you were faced with changing personnel and possibly changing policy.

Bary: Yes. Every man had his own emphasis at least, even on general policy. During the year and a half that I was on NRA I think there were four or five men in the job that Altmeyer had originally held.

There was a lot of discontent in Washington about Hugh Johnson. Unfortunately, he was in the habit of drinking too much, and he made decisions when he was not himself. There was quite a contingent of people who were trying to get rid of him.

Glancy happened to be among those. When I went in to see Glancy, he asked me a few questions. Then he asked me how much money I was getting and I told him. I had expected, you see, when I was ordered into Washington, that I would probably be fired. But then he asked me how much money I made. "Oh," he said, "you ought to get more than that." He boosted my salary nearly a thousand more a year and told me to go back--that I could go back to Chicago and go after Cassidy.

So I did. I got there about ten days later (I had other appointments to meet in other states). When I went back to see Cassidy, I found that he had resigned to everybody's great relief.

With all those changes in Washington all the time, you go out in the field for a month and you don't know what the place is going to look like when you get back.

Parker: Or whether you are going to be supported.

Bary: Yes. New people were coming in. You don't know their point of view. That is part of the emergency. You really could not do an honest job if you were not willing to face the fact that you might be fired. That was always in the cards.

In other agencies I know the field representatives--some I encountered and some I heard about obliquely--some of them were timid; they did not want to be fired and also they did not relish being unpleasant to some people in charge of agencies.

Bary: I think Altmeyer originally had quite inspired me with an idea of mission. It was a genuine national recovery act and I was on a mission. I never hesitated on the question that I might be fired.

Firing of a State Director (Missouri)

Parker: What was the situation in the St. Louis office?

Bary: The St. Louis office was about the worst of which I had any knowledge in the country. Most of our offices were doing a very good job. They were collecting a lot of money and doing a lot of educational work, which got compliance without any argument or confusion.

When I went into the St. Louis office, I found that the state director was an incompetent and rather obviously disreputable character. I do not know how the office had been set up. As his labor compliance officer, he had a professor from a local university who was a very intelligent and hard-working young man. The attorney in the office was also young and intelligent and hard-working. He had one compliance officer who was a woman--unusually intelligent. She was middle class; her husband was a dentist I think. I forget her name.

Parker: How about the executive assistant?

Bary: The executive assistant was all right; he was a commerce man of no distinction--not a very keen person.

I very soon found that the compliance officer, whose name was Charles Hodge, was very anxious to talk. He and the attorney and his woman assistant wanted help because the other compliance officers whom the state director had appointed looked like something that had been dragged up out of the gutter. They were the type of men that nobody could send out to talk to an employer or to talk to anybody else.

Parker: What was the source of their support?

Bary: They had been appointed by the state director who had been appointed by the senator who was Champ Clark. He was a senator who had a great deal of influence. He certainly had not treated the administration right in his choice of state director and in allowing these disreputable bums to go on the payroll.

Parker: Were they associated with the Prendergast machine.

Bary: Not directly. I discovered afterwards that an office for NRA had been established in Kansas City, which was working with the Prendergast.

I went out to Kansas City to see what was there. I discovered that they had no sign to indicate that they were an NRA office. The man who was in charge of the office took me for a ride from the office down to a hotel, and when I got into the car I found it was full of campaign literature. As I discovered, nobody knew that they were NRA people.

At that point, I went over to the Kansas City Star which was, and I suppose still is, one of the very best papers in the country. They were not Democratic; they were independent. But they were in sympathy with the administration and they wanted to help. They offered to give me a desk and to call up the leading industrialists and invite them to come over and talk to me. They offered to give me any other help that they could.

It has been my experience that most government people have no feeling of being able to get any help from newspapers. They seem to think that a newspaper is good only for publicity, if you want publicity. I have discovered that if you do not want publicity, and you have a high-class paper in the neighborhood, the best thing to do is to go to the paper and talk it over and tell them that you do not want publicity. They will respect what you are doing.

Parker: The editor will.

Bary: Yes. Newspapers are a force in the community. They know a great deal as to what is going on. In general, you can trust their motives of really helping. People do not realize that they are ready to render such service.

I saw that they did not know we had an office in Kansas City, and I did not tell them that we did. I told them that I had to go back to Washington and that I would avail myself of their kindness afterwards. That was that.

While I was there in Kansas City, I began to hear about Judge Truman who was apparently not one of the Prendergast people. Everybody spoke of him with great respect. I don't know quite what he had done, but he seemed to have reached out. I found in St. Louis that people there spoke of Harry Truman with great respect.

In St. Louis, when I was trying to figure how we would meet the situation that I had found there, this woman officer in our compliance office suggested that she take me over to talk to the editor of the Post Dispatch which, of course, is a famous Democratic paper and one of the leading papers of the country.

Bary: I went over and I found the editor very friendly and anxious to help. He was quite aware of the political situation. He gave me information that I was very glad to have.

Parker: What kind of information?

Bary: As to the local situation bordering on the political set-up and matters of that sort.

Parker: And Senator Clark's influence and relationship to the state director?

Bary: Yes. And I realized that Champ Clark was a very powerful force. I wanted to get as much information as I could because some very drastic steps had to be taken. Washington would be reluctant to get in a battle with Champ Clark since he had been identified so closely with the director. I wanted to be armed as much as possible before I went back.

When I went back to Washington and told them what the situation was, that it was a disreputable situation that could not go on, and that the only thing to do was to fire the state director and his secretary and the characters they had picked up out of the gutter, without too much reluctance my chief authorized me to go back to St. Louis. He agreed to fire the state director.

Parker: Who was your chief at this time?

Bary: That was Larry--I forget his last name; I should remember that.

Parker: It was anyway your third chief or so?

Bary: Third or fourth. I guess he was the third.

Parker: He was backing you up.

Bary: Yes. He was willing to back me up, with less reluctance about getting into a political situation than most people would have. Although I will admit, I sat on his desk and told him I would not go back until he gave me authority. I think that is the only time I have sat on a man's desk and given him an "or else." I really felt, considering Hodge and the attorney and this woman and what I had learned from the Kansas City Star and the Post Dispatch, that there was nothing else to be done.

I went back and told the state director that he had to fire these disreputable officers that he had appointed. One by one, he called them in and fired them. When he had finished firing them, I handed him a telegram which I had received as per plan

Bary: from Washington, which fired him and appointed me as temporary state director. I think he considered that I had not played quite fair in making him fire these men instead of showing him my telegram first and taking on the job myself of firing.

Parker: It was strategically better for him to fire the men though, wasn't it?

Bary: I thought it was much better that he should fire them than that I should. After all I was to be state director, and I was an outside person, which was not at all according to pattern.

Then we began to clean up the office. He left immediately and his secretary left immediately. We began to rearrange things. The office seemed very crowded. When I asked the executive assistant how much space they had, he told me. I was sure we were not receiving the space we were paying for. He was not the kind of person who would check on things like that, which ~~to me~~ seemed very obvious. I stepped off the measurements and found that we were obviously short.

I went to the office of the building and asked them about it. They showed me in their books as to the space that we had. In addition there were three offices on the lower floor. When I asked what those were, they told me those were Champ Clark's offices. We were paying for his offices.

Parker: The federal government. NRA.

Bary: Yes. At that time, the government did not give congressmen and senators an office in their home town. They do now, but they did not at that time. I presume it was not unusual for some federal agency to be paying for office space for them.

At any rate, we went house hunting. We found the full amount of space in a better place. Within a couple of days we were moved to another office at the same rent that we were paying and getting all that we were paying for.

Later I heard that Champ Clark was not enthusiastic about me. At any rate, the Washington office backed me up, even though he was a very powerful senator.

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Ad Hoc Powers of Field Representatives

Parker: It sounds to me that as field representative, you had extraordinary powers at your command in your work with the states.

Bary: We really did. We were sent out to do the job that had to be done without very specific instructions. Now, some of the field reps were a bit timid in stepping out where situations might involve political repercussions; some were careless. I think for the most part, particularly in that emergent time, a great many people had, as I had, a sense of mission.

Roosevelt had inspired people with a sense of mission. He had inspired the whole country. His fireside chats simply breathed life and hope into the nation. The nation was pulling itself up in a quite extraordinary fashion--pulling out of a depression into a period where there was hope for activity.

It is very difficult for people now to have any comprehension of the disastrous effects on people of the depression. They seemed to get bloodless and fearful. When the tide turned, and they began to hope and to feel that they could do things, it was possible to do things that you could not possibly have done at any other time.

The way that the field reps functioned at that time was definitely on the basis of the emergency. When I went out and got into certain political situations, I was quite prepared to be fired the next time I got back to Washington, or to be hauled back to Washington to be fired. That was part of the game.

Parker: You learned to make decisions very quickly in the field on your own?

Bary: We had to make decisions. Herbert Perkins, back at the time of the War Labor Policies Board, was a vice president of the International Harvester Company, which is a huge corporation. As he told me one time, his job was to make decisions, and that it was difficult to find people who were willing to make decisions quickly. If they had time enough to study, they could have made perhaps better decisions. What was important was to make the wheels go round. He felt that he himself hit about an 80 percent of sound decisions, and he considered that that was quite good. He said he could probably have done decidedly better if he had waited. But if he had waited, the wheels would not have gone round, and the effect would have been much more serious.

Parker: That is what you learned to do in the field.

Bary: Yes, I did. The way that Herbert Perkins told me that and illustrated it gave me confidence to feel that I had to make decisions.

Bary: I would try to hit 100 percent, but if I hit 80 percent I would be satisfied.

The wheels had to go round under bureaucracy. So many times the impatience that we have with government is due to the fact that people will not make decisions. They are not willing to risk hitting an 80 percent.

Parker: To take the responsibility.

Bary: And so the wheels don't go round.

Parker: You spoke of this sense of mission, particularly in relation to labor provisions which you had first administered as an agent for the California Industrial Commission and then under Frankfurter in Washington--wages, hours, and working conditions. Then you found this sense revived with the NRA in 1933. You felt this was an important task that you had to carry out, to represent labor fairly?

Bary: Oh, yes. I had contacts with labor unions, labor people. It was essential to get things moving. Administrative problems in one place are very much the same as they are in another place. The factors are about the same. Every bit of experience that I had had in one place was very useful somewhere else.

Intellectual Influences

Parker: You started breast-feeding from the Webbs in 1913 or so? Can you explain their influence on you?

Bary: Yes. When I first expected to go to work for the Industrial Welfare Commission, I had begun to read the books and articles published by Sidney and Beatrice Webb in England. I thought that their approach was by all means the ideal approach to this question of dealing with labor. They had been very active in the Fabian Society in England and then in the British Labour Party.

The British Labour Party was very different from the American Labor Party. Under Gompers' influence, American labor was very suspicious of the middle class, of intellectuals, of socialists. Their attitude was very largely responsible, I'm sure, for the fact that in various places we had violence in connection with labor disputes.

The British Labour Party included the socialists and the intellectuals and the middle class. The labor unions had a socialistic viewpoint. They were not afraid to deal with middle-class intellectuals. That was what I got from the Webbs, as well

Bary: as direct information in regard to their activities in research on labor.

Parker: They were not afraid to use the powers of the state in their cause.

Bary: No, they weren't. They believed in it; that is the socialist part of it. Whereas, the labor people that I had contacted before had had this very stubborn viewpoint that you could not trust middle-class people or socialists, that the relations between labor and management were warfare, and that violence was unavoidable.

The British point of view was I think the point of view that anybody would accept at the present time. From the methods that they used in dealing with labor, I got the ideas which I had when I was appointed to the Industrial Welfare Commission and told to go out and examine and get payrolls and deal with employers. I had no instructions.

Parker: They weren't your enemies, in other words; you could work with them.

Bary: Yes. I did not feel they were my enemies. All I felt was that they needed a bit of education. We were all working together. I got cooperation. I got a payroll from every concern that I visited. I felt I had not done my job unless I had impressed upon the employers that we were all working together.

Parker: It was in their own interest to join with you and the state?

Bary: Exactly. I think I succeeded in convincing them that the commission was fair and equitable and knew industry; that it was not one-sided and that they would get a fair deal.

Parker: And that they could participate in the decision-making.

Bary: Yes. That was very important. I feel that I owe a great debt to the Webbs. The girls in the San Francisco office, who also were not getting much instruction from anybody, did not have the benefit of understanding that point of view. They did not put it over, and consequently they did not get the cooperation of employers.

Parker: You also were following the early Brandeis briefs.

Bary: Yes. Brandeis had brought a case for the eight-hour law and for the minimum wage. He had written voluminous and very well-organized briefs which were a whole testimony to conditions of labor. His briefs were my bible.

Parker: You actually learned to read law at that time.

Bary: Yes. After all, when you are dealing with law, you pick up a lot of knowledge about it. So I did.

Parker: In fact, one of the members of your board suggested that you take the bar exam, didn't he?

Bary: No, not a member of the board, but a member of the faculty at the University of Southern California law school, who also examined for the bar. He told me that with the knowledge I had and a general grasp of the theory of the law, that if I worked very hard for six weeks I could pass the bar examination. At that time, I suppose the majority of lawyers had never been to law school. There was no great disfavor toward people who had passed the bar examination without going to law school.

Parker: Who suggested this to you?

Bary: His name was Seward Simons. He was one of the most respected lawyers in Los Angeles. He was teaching a couple of courses at the law school. When he suggested it, and I thought it over, I decided that I had better not do it because I would not know enough law. I might be tempted to get into situations where I would be entirely inadequate. If I was going to be a lawyer, I would go to law school.

Sex Role Management*

Parker: When you were working with the NRA and you were no longer negotiating with employers, with codes and cooperation, who were your clients?

Bary: I ~~was~~ supervising the operations of the state offices. That is different. At first, I found a little difficulty being a woman, going to these offices which were all manned by men. The men had not been accustomed to the idea of having a woman come around with supervisory power.

That was when I took up smoking because I figured that a man was reluctant to deal with a woman. Conditions then were very different from what they are now. These men had never seen a woman in a supervisory capacity; this was something strange. They did not think of women being officials in positions above them. I found it was a good deal easier to break

*See also, below, pp. 223-224, 226, 237, 253, 256. --Ed.

Bary: the ice if I would take out a cigarette and sit down so that we could be fellow sinners, because they all smoked.

At first, most of them would not take cut a cigarette without asking permission. I found that if I took out a cigarette and offered them a cigarette, they were greatly relieved. It made things much easier.

Parker: How about traveling alone as a woman; was there some special problem?

Bary: Yes. Women ordinarily did not travel alone unless for some very definite reason. In going to a hotel, for instance, in the larger cities they were used to it; but smaller cities rather wanted to know why a woman was traveling alone. Sometimes it was a question that they wanted to offer services or something special. Various hotels sent flowers up to ladies in the hotel. That was part of the hotel custom.

Usually I gave an official card, and that explained why I was traveling alone. There were a good many disadvantages that women had to break down at that time. In an earlier period, it was very difficult for a woman to get a superior position, except if she was a professional, a doctor. Even women doctors had to struggle against the prejudices of men doctors.

Parker: You mentioned something like that in the U.S. Public Health Service with respect to women doctors?

Bary: Yes. In the Public Health Service the doctors there made it very difficult for any woman. That went back to the medical schools. There were many medical schools where a woman would practically be barred from entrance. I have had women doctors tell me that even in schools which would admit women, they had to meet the prejudices of certain of the professors who would not lecture to a class if a woman was there.

I remember one woman who told me how she had to squat behind a screen because she wanted to take a course. The professor would not give the lecture if there was a woman in the audience.

For that reason, there was the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia, which was exclusively for women. There a woman could go. There were few other colleges where a woman had even a fair break. Various colleges just did not admit them.

The men put up some alleged reasons about women. A couple of the girls who worked over there whom I met, who had semi-professional positions, told me that there was a rule in the

Bary: Public Health Service that every woman had to take two days off every month because she was physically unable to work.

Parker: During her menstrual period?

Bary: Yes. That was the reason. These girls said it was just a flat rule: you had to do it. Of course, it was a point of honor that they never took the two days off every month to coincide with the menstrual period. They seemed to feel that if they built up a sufficient body of evidence that they had not taken off any time--that they had worked through the menstrual period --that they could break down the rule.

When these men said, "You cannot advance these women, you can't rely on them--they're off every month," they were holding women down from any position of authority and advancement.

Parker: There was really kind of an ignorance about women's biology in the U.S. Public Health Service.

Bary: I don't think it was ignorance. I think it was just plain prejudice. They just took that as an excuse. The doctors were not any more prejudiced than a great many other people. Women lawyers had an awfully hard time. Women executives of any kind had a very difficult time. Women in general were marrying and staying home and taking care of the children; men in general had the feeling that that was a woman's function.*

Parker: How did you handle your relationships with the offices that you visited? Did you get into informal contacts with these people, or did you keep it strictly formal?

Bary: I considered it best (and I'm sure I was right) to keep a perfectly friendly relationship but to observe certain formalities. There is a tendency always among a certain number of people to give gifts to a superior and expect special favors. You will find that almost everywhere. It is extremely embarrassing if you have been the receiver of special favors to deal with a person as you would if you were on a purely formal basis.

If you accept favors on the basis that you are a woman, then you come under the general prejudice of being a woman. Such

*For an analysis of the limitations of protective legislation for women, see Valeska Bari, "Shall Women Be Protected?" The Nation, vol. 124, no. 3124 (Feb. 9, 1927), pp. 143-144. --Ed.

Bary: things as lunch. I always told people who wanted to pay for my lunch, that I was on an expense account. Sometimes, if a person were too persistent, I would tell them that civil service regulations said that we should not accept gifts from anybody.

In California there was a law that said that it was a misdemeanor for a superior to accept a gift from a subordinate. I think that that same law existed in various other states. I don't know whether it was federal or not. I stretched a point.

I think that to be friendly and to stay on a basis of equality is very important.

Parker: You found that you could work with the state directors on an equal and easy relationship.

Bary: Yes. The state directors--I think commonly I let them pay for my lunch. That seemed rather different. Presumably, we were on an equal basis. I let governors pay for my lunch at times; that really seemed almost unavoidable.

Sometimes women representatives, if they were to be sent out in the field, said they could not go for a couple of days because they had to have clothes cleaned or they had to get their hair shampooed first or some other reasons like that which prejudiced people against them. I tried to keep myself ready to go on a half-hour's notice.

This battle for women's rights has been going on slowly; we win a point here, we win a point there. Nowadays, discussion about the rights of women is much more active than it has been in some previous periods. This follows a pattern in various other matters of social relationships that when discussion is widest, education on the point is advancing and has advanced to a point where the goals are much more nearly within reach.

Administration as Education

Bary: The whole process of education in connection with social change is very essential. In any laws relating to the subject of social change education must be done before a law can be enacted. Or sometimes a law is passed before educational work has been done, so administration should be an educational process in everything that they do in the enforcement of the law.

Bary: The object of any such laws is to educate people so that the laws will become self-enforcing by general acceptance. It comes down, in a way, to a question of using force, or using intelligent persuasion.

Parker: In labor compliance problems, you were trying to educate the public.

Bary: We tried to educate everybody to accept what those who passed the regulations believed was equitable and fair. When you can get general acceptance, then you get enforcement. Enforcement which is carried out without education leads to friction and to all kinds of difficulties.

Parker: What accounted for the backlash against the NRA do you think?

Bary: I think the backlash was chiefly against the code authorities on trade practices. Some of those code authorities were administered in very self-seeking ways. Force was used to bring competitors into line without teaching them that cooperation was the way that we would have to go to achieve harmony and understanding.

Retail Trade Industry Code

Bary: I think everybody would admit that the best-administered code authority on trade practices was in retail trade, of which Richard Neustadt was director. He carried on an educational program to convince the department stores and other retail trades that the regulations were fair, that they would cut out the small number of unfair members of the trade. In a larger sense, he tried to educate them, to show them that the great market for American goods was in the working people of the country--the consumers. If the consumers were properly educated, they themselves would exercise discrimination; it would benefit everybody. If wage earners had more money, they would spend all the money that they had, and that would expand the market for everybody else.

Very few of the trade code authorities grasped that point. They did not do the educational work. The members of the code authorities were seeking their own advantage. A great body of antagonistic viewpoints grew up. In 1935 the U.S. Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional.

We had rather expected that decision because the Supreme Court had been throwing out many laws which had been put in during that first hundred days. Provisions had been put in

Bary: hastily; they were definitely emergencies. As the country grew out of the depression, the emergency ceased. People took a more critical viewpoint and were looking for something more permanent. We were not surprised, but it was a bit of a shock.

However, the NRA staffs were put on the payroll of the Commerce Department--it had money. So much was developing in Washington that there was a general feeling that we needed to hold all the employees--hold all the desirable ones at any rate --in order to utilize their services in the programs that were being built on a more permanent basis, such as social security which was passed in August of 1935. That was where many of the better staff people from NRA were transferred.

NRA Officials

Parker: Can you tell us something about the personalities that you knew in NRA?

Bary: Of course, Altmeyer was the first person I contacted. I liked him very much, but I thought he had certain shortcomings as an administrator. At first, he worked very closely with Bill Galvin, who was an attorney. Bill had been in the navy; that was his background. The two of them developed policies and regulations for NRA.

Then Altmeyer moved over to become Assistant Secretary of Labor, and Bill Galvin went into the legal department of NRA.

I remember one time when social security was being built up. Congress gave them virtually no money to start with (the appropriation was not usable until February of 1936). But work had to be done. For months we remained on other payrolls until social security money became available. I was talking one time with Altmeyer. He told me about all the people that he knew under NRA who had come over to him asking for jobs under social security.

Parker: Altmeyer then was one of the commissioners of social security?

Bary: Yes, he was one of the commissioners. He commented upon the fact that Bill Galvin had not come, and he asked me if I knew why Bill had not come, whether Bill had decided he did not like him or what.

Bary: Altmeyer was not intuitive. That was, I think, the cause of misunderstandings on the part of many people who criticized many things that he did. When Altmeyer made that remark to me, I told him that he did not understand Bill at all. Bill was a gentleman. Bill had worked closely with Altmeyer; he loved Altmeyer. But he could not come over and ask Altmeyer for a job when he felt that Altmeyer could not refuse.

Altmeyer did not get the point instantly, but I pressed it a bit more. He said, "If that's the answer, I'll call Bill." He did, and later in the afternoon I saw Bill with a happy smile on his face; he said that Altmeyer had called him and asked him to come.

Parker: In fact, Galvin accepted a job on the early Social Security Board.

Bary: Yes. I think I was the twelfth person or so on the board. I was the only person around there who had had any experience in Old Age Assistance. California had enacted its law in 1929, and while I had not been directly connected with administering that law, I was familiar with what was going on.

I think a few other states had some kind of Old Age Assistance. If they wanted people with experience, they had very little to choose from.

Parker: I wonder if Altmeyer used women as kind of an extension of himself to make up this intuitive lack that he had. Did he work well with women?

Bary: Not too well. Some of the women around him had no intuitive instinct.

Parker: How about Maurine--well, of course, that's later. I was thinking of Maurine Mulliner.

Bary: She was a sensitive person and she had a good administrative sense.

New Deal Women*

Parker: Altmeyer chose as his field representative in NRA you, a woman, which was rather daring of him in those days, wasn't it?

*See also, below, pp. 213-217. --Ed.

Bary: Roosevelt opened up the way for women in a very remarkable fashion. Frances Perkins was the first woman cabinet member; that rather set a pattern.

Roosevelt had a marvelous wife in Eleanor. He had a view-point of women different from many of the men who had stay-at-home wives with no confidence in their ability to do anything outside the home.

One of the most fundamental things that Eleanor Roosevelt did was to be the kind of person that she was and to give Roosevelt confidence in women. He had a number of very able women in whom he did have outstanding confidence.

Parker: Whom are you thinking of?

Bary: I was thinking of Josephine Roche, who was certainly tops. There was Mary Isham from Colorado, who was a very remarkable person. There were some others. They were much more of the same pattern as Eleanor Roosevelt.

Parker: So women's patronage in the New Deal was powerful. Hugh Johnson of the NRA--what was his attitude toward women?

Bary: The conspicuous attitude, I think, was in his secretary, known as "Bobbie."

Parker: Bobbie Robinson?

Bary: Yes. I forget what her first name was, but she was Bobbie. She was no help to him. Very shortly after I went to NRA--I think within just a few days--there was a big conference in Constitution Hall. The place was filled. It holds about 6,000. People had been called in from all over the country. Hugh Johnson was presiding and he had about ten other men lined up in a row on the platform.

I think that Bobbie showed a side of her character which prejudiced everybody against her. Johnson had a chair beside him where she was to sit. She did not come on until all the men were seated on the platform. Then she came on. Instead of walking around behind the row of men and taking her seat quietly, she walked in front of them. She stopped in front of the man on the end, offered her hand, and naturally he had to stand up, and she said a few words to him. Then she repeated that, going down the line, making about five men stand up to talk to her and shake hands with her before she seated herself.

Everybody was waiting for the meeting to begin. For Bobbie to behave in that fashion prejudiced everybody very much against her. I think that started all the gossip against her, which

Bary: reflected on Johnson too. It started from that very early meeting. Everybody considered that for a secretary to hold up a meeting while she stops and chats a bit and makes these men stand up--these were important men--that for a mere secretary to do that showed that she had no sense.

But she wished to show that Johnson gave her the right to do things of that kind. It prejudiced people against him. You can see it was very bad taste, and just the kind of thing that would make people say, "Just what is her relation to Johnson; why does he allow this snip of a girl to hold up a meeting?"

Parker: In fact there was gossip that she was among his drinking companions.

Bary: Yes. There was a lot of gossip of all kinds. On that drinking question, it was very freely said that she encouraged him to drink. I do not think he needed too much encouragement. Sometimes he made hasty decisions when he was not quite himself.

Industrialists and the NRA (Michigan)

Parker: Are there any other personalities in the NRA that you can tell us about?

Bary: We had some men who came from industry who had a civic-minded, public-minded sense of proportion and who were devoted to making NRA go. I think perhaps the outstanding one that I had contact with was Abner Larned in Michigan.

Larned was a Democrat, which was quite extraordinary in that corporation-minded community. He had been president of the chamber of commerce; he was an outstanding citizen.

There had been a mayor of Detroit named Frank Murphy, who was a Democrat. He was a liberal man interested in labor, but a very intelligent one. However, the industrialists of Detroit would have nothing to do with him; they could not cooperate. He had never been invited to the Detroit Club, which was the men's club of Detroit to which all the industrialists belonged. I think they had made it a point among themselves not to invite the mayor ever to any function at the Detroit Club.

When Roosevelt came along, Abner Larned was appointed state director. He decided Detroit should do something to honor Frank Murphy, who had been appointed by Roosevelt to be Commissioner to the Philippines. Just as a matter of the self-respect of

Bary: Detroit, Abner Larned arranged a dinner at the Detroit Club for men only.

He invited sixty-odd men, including all of the top businessmen of Detroit. He personally invited them and insisted that they should come. At his insistence, everyone came. They came to honor Frank Murphy and to make restitution for the way they had treated him when he was mayor.

Probably, there was nobody else in Detroit who could have done that. That was his feeling of justice.

Parker: Murphy had supported the union organizing drive in of the auto industry?

Bary: Yes. He had gone against this autocracy of big business.

Parker: Also he had run for senator from the state and been defeated?

Bary: I am not sure about that. Detroit had bcomed up with Henry Ford's Model T. They were newcomers; they had a sense of power. Cleveland, Ohio, for instance, had long-time wealth. This automobile industry was, you might say, short-time. You get a different attitude.

Parker: Abner Larned stood out as a very civic-minded person in this cut-throat atmosphere.

Bary: Yes, he did. When I was in Detroit, I would hear over and over again that, if they had had a chance, they could have bought for \$5,000 or so, so many shares of Ford stock, and they would have been millionaires now. That seemed to be very much on their minds. I think it was indicative of the fact that they were thinking of this booming automobile business. It was a different atmosphere from any city that had grown up more slowly.

My grandfather had lived in Detroit. He went there in the early '70s when Detroit was a small country town. He had bought a farm, not that he knew anything about farming because he had been a professor. I went to the public library one time when I was there on a weekend, and I looked at maps. I found a librarian who was very much interested in old maps; she found where the farm had been. We laid it on the present map of Detroit and it was right downtown. The next time I heard somebody say that he could have bought so much, I told him that if my grandfather had kept his farm, I could have forty acres in the heart of Detroit. I never heard anymore about Henry Ford stock.

Parker: This is your grandfather Bary whowas educated in a German university?

Bary: Yes. He came in the 1870s. It would show you how Detroit has grown, mainly due to Henry Ford.

It had boomed, you see, with the development of the automobile. Cars were manufactured in different places, but they had come to be centered so much in Detroit that that was why Detroit had boomed. The whole city looked different from most cities of that size.

Parker: Were there a lot of labor compliance problems in Detroit?

Bary: No, not unduly. Generally speaking, the wage rates that were put in throughout NRA were not unreasonable. It was not as if they had jumped everything unreasonably high. The automobile industry paid fair amounts. I think the unions had made progress. They had come up to a better-than-average wage scale, so that there were no such great problems.

X: THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD, 1935-1948

Members of the Board

Bary: After NRA was declared unconstitutional and I was put over on the Department of Commerce payroll, I went down to Washington. They began to recruit people for the Social Security Board. There were the three commissioners. First, there was Altmeyer. John Gilbert Winant was chairman. He had been governor of New Hampshire and had made a record as a liberal and intelligent administrator. Of course, New Hampshire was a very small state. I think at that time it had not more than 400,000, about half the size of San Francisco.

He had been forward-looking as governor and had attracted a good deal of attention. I think he was not a very good administrator. From the contacts I had with him, I would not call him an administrator.

Parker: What was his style?

Bary: He would be nervous and upset if somebody came along and criticized something. I remember one day he asked me to come into his office. He had me sit down, and then he paced up and down the room. He was upset because somebody from Maine had lodged a complaint for some reason or other. I tried to talk to him. He told me to keep quiet, he had to think. I tried again and he was impatient. Then, when he finally let me tell him, I told him that what he had heard was not true.

That is not a good indication of an administrator. I do not think that he was particularly informed about the problems of social security. He did not stay with us too long. He went to England as ambassador. He did much better as an ambassador because he was quite charming and intelligent and could go anywhere.

Bary: The third member was Vincent Miles. Vincent Miles was a lawyer from Arkansas. He was appointed to the board because Roosevelt had to have political support to get the Social Security Act passed. In order to get it passed, he had agreed that the American Legion would be given a pretty free hand in appointing managers of Social Security Board field offices. That was another of those political pressures.

I think Roosevelt had been reluctant but, on the other hand, without support of that kind he probably could not have got his legislation. He had to be aware and responsive to such situations.

It was Vincent Miles' job to put American Legion men in Old Age Insurance offices. After a very few months, the board set up regional offices; there were twelve regions in the country. In San Francisco we had a Legion man whose appointment Neustadt resisted as hard as he could; but he was not able to.

Parker: This Legion man was head of Old Age Insurance administration in the regional office?

Bary: [Nods yes.] Of course, to begin with, we did not say "insurance." Insurance was a word you could not use. We were still living under the cloud of the Supreme Court. So many laws had been declared unconstitutional that the Social Security Board was very careful to avoid words like insurance.

Parker: It might not stand a constitutional test?

Bary: It would prejudice us with the Court. In the original act, the program is called Old Age Benefits, which sounds like a welfare provision.

Parker: Like a Civil War pension.

Bary: And unemployment insurance was not called insurance. It was compensation, which is a more innocent word. There were many subterfuges like that to avoid stirring up the prejudices of the Court.

Parker: So Ernie Tallman, the Old Age Benefits field representative in Region XII, was appointed because of his Legion background with Miles' influence.

Bary: Then he had the authority to appoint managers of the local offices, because we had to have local offices throughout the region. Those managers were all Legion men. Richard Neustadt did not like that, but he found himself powerless to go against it.

- Parker: Richard Neustadt was the regional office director in Region XII?
- Bary: Yes. When Miles had secured the appointment of all these representatives in the twelve regions, he left. That was his job.
- Parker: He left in 1937, and by that time the Social Security Act had passed the constitutional test?
- Bary: Yes. Then I think it was in 1939 they changed the name to insurance; that was a great triumph.
- Parker: How did you get on the board in 1935?
- Bary: I went over to talk to Altmeyer and he immediately said okay. Then I went over to the personnel office. They asked me about my previous experience. When they found that I knew something about Old Age Assistance, they immediately put me to work on the state plans for public assistance, which were already beginning to come in.

Submission of State Plans for OAA

- Bary: The law provided that a state plan must be submitted. It did not specify what must be in the plan. There was no definition of a plan. I tried to get the board to define what they meant by a plan, but they were not able to do that. At any rate, personally we would tell people they must submit the laws--any laws regarding a state department, laws regarding public aid of any kind, or any other provisions which would be affected by public assistance.

People began to flock in from all the states--that is, nearly all the states. I talked to people all day. Some were governors, some administrators, some officials, some were lawyers.

- Parker: What they wanted was to get an approved state plan so that they could get federal money for these programs, is that the case?
- Bary: Yes. Money was to be available in February. They wanted to get their plans in and approved, all ready to get the money sent to them in February.
- Parker: Did a state law have to be enacted, too?
- Bary: You had to have some state agency--a state department--to administer the assistance program.

Parker: The governor could appoint a state department, even though there was not state legislation for such a program?

Bary: Yes. With all of this unrest and this threat of revolution which the emergency relief people were feeling, and with the fact that the emergency relief was going out--their money was nearly gone --all of the states were anxious to have plans approved so that Social Security Act money could pour in in February.

They came down. We set up the legal department, and certain of the lawyers were assigned to public assistance. We thrashed out as to what was necessary.

Tom Eliot was our first general counsel; he did not stay too long. Then Jack Tate succeeded him.

Parker: Who else did you work with in 1935?

Bary: Mostly, Jack was there. Tom Eliot had other ambitions; I did not see much of him.

Parker: Can you tell us anything about him as a young man? He was about 29 or so?

Bary: Something like that. I think that he was a grandson or something of Charles Eliot, the president of Harvard who was such a distinguished person. From his relationship, he had all kinds of connections. I felt that he considered himself a very special person.

Parker: He had a great deal of ego?

Bary: Yes. He was tall and blondish and very good looking. He left us and went to Congress.

Parker: In '37 I think.

Bary: Yes. That was what he wanted. I think the general feeling was that he was an able person but not too much interested in what we were doing. He had a very good opinion of himself. I suppose from his connections that it was only natural that he should be rather spoiled.

Parker: He also helped draft the unemployment compensation title, didn't he?

Bary: Yes, I think so.

Parker: Who else in the general counsel's office worked with you on the state plans? You mentioned Tate. Can you tell us about him?

Bary: Jack Tate was a very intelligent lawyer who came from Tennessee. He was a Yale law school man. Jack did an outstanding job in choosing and training the lawyers under him. At the end of his career, he was associate dean of the law school at Yale, where he was greatly beloved and quite adored by the students.

Jack was flexible. In its great rush to get money for the states, the board accepted some laws which did not offer a very sound basis for legislation. Many lawyers might not have been willing to be as flexible as he was. But the situation was urgent.

In a number of states the legal basis was totally inadequate, and special sessions of the legislatures were necessary in order to amend laws and pass new laws. I went out to a number of the states on that errand, because the states did not know what they ought to do.

Parker: Do you think that was a mistake made by the Social Security Board, to accept questionable state plans and laws?

Bary: It was an emergency. If you realized how people felt, that "we've just got to have the money; ERA is going to be cut off; we've got to have this money at the first possible moment--there's revolution in the air." You have to be flexible.

Role of the American Public Welfare Association

Parker: What about the question of standards; no national standards were established under the board's supervision.

Bary: The APWA [American Public Welfare Association] had had conferences. Fred Hoehler, who was the director, was a very public-spirited person. He had called for conferences of the leaders all throughout the country. They had worked over the laws that had existed in the states, and he presented a draft of a skeleton of the law creating a State Department of Public Welfare, showing the powers and the duties of the department and all the other necessary trimmings.

They also had a skeleton law for Old Age Assistance, Aid for Children, Aid for the Blind. They did really a very good job. They sent those drafts down to us, and I think we made very few changes--nothing crucial.

Parker: In the beginning, the American Public Welfare Association was an extension of your own field staff in working with the states?

Bary: It wasn't exactly an extension, but it was certainly a very, very good friend. You might call it an extension. You have to remember with all these things this emergency situation.

At times, when state laws really did not conform to what we wanted--what was necessary under the law--our legal staff had to ask for opinions from the attorneys general of the states to furnish opinions. We made a rule, which I suppose is a good rule of law more or less, at least in an emergency, that we would accept the opinion of the state attorney general as to the interpretation of any state law.

Texas

Bary: We accepted some interpretations that said that white was black or black was white. I remember one case. I was in Texas, where I went down to the legislature to help them pass a law. They had a constitutional provision which limited the amount of money you could give to any old-age applicant to \$15 a month.

Parker: That is including state matching and federal matching?

Bary: The wording was not as simple as that; the wording was legal. Nobody could interpret it really as meaning \$30. Our lawyers looked at it and all that, and said it would be half of \$30. I remember that was going to hold up Texas law from approval.

I went to the attorney general who was a man named Bill McGraw. He knew the snag that was preventing us from approving the law. We could approve the law; but as it stood, if we read it as anybody would read it, it would limit the amount of money that could go to an old person to \$15 a month. I wanted to talk it over with him.

I know it was rather a warm day. We began to talk. McGraw was sweating. He wanted to make it \$30. I told him that we had a rule that we would accept the opinion of a state attorney general as to the interpretation of any state law.

He looked a bit relieved, but he asked me two or three times, would we accept it? I assured him that we would, even though we thought that what he was saying was not a correct interpretation. Finally, I convinced him that we would accept it. He said all right.

He was a good lawyer, and I think he was very reluctant to say that the law meant \$30 instead of \$15. But he accepted my word that that would be accepted. He said he certainly did not

Bary: want to limit people to \$15 a month. I remember he said, "I don't want to walk down the street and hear people say, 'There goes Bill McGraw; he kept me from getting \$30 a month.' Hell no," he said, "the law says \$30."

That, in a way, expresses the kind of way that we had to proceed. Later on, Texas fixed it up.

Parker: Changed the statute.

Bary: Yes. All of this was emergency.

Nebraska

Bary: I went to Nebraska. The legislature had met. They had been trying to produce a law. They met for twenty days I think, and that was as long as the law allowed them to receive a per diem. If they stayed any longer, they would have to pay their own expenses.

The governor's name was Cochran. Governor Cochran had not asked us for any help, and we did not know that they were having such trouble. When I went out, I landed on the very last day that they were to be paid a per diem. They were in no mood to be reasonable. At first they wanted to explode; they simply had not been able to draw up a bill. I don't know how it was that they could not draw up anything, but they hadn't.

I sat down and we began to work. They were all squabbling about all kinds of things. It was one of the most difficult atmospheres because on the second day they were paying their own expenses and they wanted to produce a law instantly.

When I produced our skeletons, they got into the habit of squabbling. I tried to get them just to rush it through, but some of them had arguments on things. After twenty days of squabbling, they had been quarreling about different provisions, and they were not in a cooperative mood.

Finally we got a law. That was one of the most difficult situations. If they had only called us in earlier, everything would have been smooth.

Parker: Was Nebraska then under a Republican governor?

Bary: I think so.

Parker: Sometimes they did not use your help from Washington?

Bary: I know there were some states that did not. I think they were probably Republican states, although various of the Republican states came in and we did not pay any attention to what they were. They seemed to assume that we would not help Republicans as much as Democrats; but that was not true a bit.

Parker: Also, they might have distrusted Washington in general.

Bary: There are always situations of that kind.

Search for a Director of Public Assistance

Parker: You were acting as a field representative for the Social Security Board's Bureau of Public Assistance in 1935?

Bary: The bureau had not yet been set up. The board was trying to find a director for the Bureau of Public Assistance. The board met great difficulty. They wanted to find a person who had administrative experience in public agencies, but there was nobody of an outstanding character.

They looked to the Community Chest to see if there were executives there who had been handling large problems of relief and all. They began quite a frantic search.

The board first decided on Josephine Roche, and she accepted the job. When the matter was discussed with the White House, Roosevelt said that he wanted her to do something that he thought was much more important; he said she could not take it.

Parker: She became Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

Bary: Yes. She had been Associate Director of the National Youth Administration before that. Before I went to the Social Security Board, she offered me the job of associate director of NYA. I went over there for a few days, and the situation was extremely difficult. I felt that I could not work with--you probably know who.

Parker: Aubrey Williams?

Bary: Aubrey Williams. The office was so confused. As one sample of what NYA was like, at the time there were three press bureaus, none of whom had any connection with the other. Aubrey had appointed one, and then forgotten about it, and appointed another

Bary: one, and then appointed a third. There were other situations like that. All these press bureaus were issuing different press releases. When I talked to them, they did not seem to know there were these others. There were other situations like that.

I have heard people say that Aubrey Williams was a brilliant administrator. But I would say from what I found out he was not, definitely not, an administrator at all. He was a very nobly-intentioned person. But that is not enough to make an administrator.

I don't remember whether Josephine was still an administrator of NYA. She found she could not control Aubrey, and she did not stay there too long. At any rate, the board could not get her.

Finally, the eighth person who was considered and offered the job was Jane Hoey. The board was desperate. By that time money was due to go out, and there was no bureau.

Jane Hoey came from New York City. She did not know the country. She was working with Catholic charities and she had no experience in administering a public agency. She had certain very fixed ideas of her own.

Parker: For example?

Bary: Her brother was the Collector of Internal Revenue in New York, which was a political plum.

Parker: A Tammany plum.

Bary: A Tammany plum, yes. I think from him she had formed ideas as to how you get along in government--by certain ways of evasion and not following the rules. She felt that that was the way it was done and it was all right. Some other people--civil service, for instance--did not think it was right.

She was a graduate of the Catholic School of Social Welfare [at Catholic University] and was completely identified with Catholic activities.

Parker: So she had links both to Tammany and to the Catholic hierarchy in Washington and New York.

Bary: Yes. Those were her sources of strength.

Parker: And FDR's patronage.

Bary: I am not sure whether she got any White House clearance.

Line Appointments in the Bureau of Public Assistance

Bary: One of the difficulties of the appointment of a director who is to choose staff is that they choose staff of their own kind.

Parker: Staff with whom they have had personal relations or some kind of contact.

Bary: Yes, it is quite natural. They have confidence in these people; they appoint them. Hoey did not appoint people who had experience in public agencies. Most of her closest people were from her own ranks. She knew them; she had confidence in them.

We were still in an emergency, and we had no time to go through the usual channels of civil service in appointing people. The civil service accepted statements as to training and experience, and sometimes those statements were, you might say, at variance with the facts.

Miss Hoey believed that what she did was right, and that it was usual or not unusual to get around civil service, even by a matter of making statements that were not true.

Parker: You questioned the administrative qualifications of her division heads and assistant director?

Bary: Yes. At one point, she appointed a woman as associate director. When the board saw what was going on, the board demoted this person.

Parker: This is Mary Austin?

Bary: Yes. I have been very critical as to what Miss Hoey did. I personally think it was very regrettable that she did not know people in public administration. She did not know people from the West; there were no westerners. It was mostly New York. New York people are not representative of the country. They have their own viewpoint. I suppose every region does. The national bureau should represent a nationwide viewpoint. But it did not; it was rather overwhelmingly New York.

Parker: From mainly private backgrounds.

Bary: Yes. She really thought she had a right to circumvent civil service. She was quite convinced of that and convinced that the government worked that way, which I think her brother had probably told her. She was at times quite frank about making statements. I was surprised sometimes to hear her appointees referring to various irregular practices quite frankly.

Parker: Can you give us an example?

Bary: We had one example. Miss Hoey wrote to the regional office and said that she wished to appoint a certain woman to a certain position, but civil service had rejected her because she did not have the qualifications which had been set up for the job. Miss Hoey went on to say that she had appointed her to a position as a regional representative in our region: she was duplicating my job. But she assured us that her applicant would not appear in our office. She would actually be employed on the job for which civil service had rejected her.

For a person to write a letter like that, setting out all the facts--that she was circumventing civil service--showed that she may have thought she had a divine right to do it, for which reason she did not hesitate to say so.

Parker: This would involve sending the woman's check from Washington to San Francisco, Regional Office XII, on the assumption that that is where she was employed, and your office would be in collusion with this subterfuge. You would have to send the check back to Washington so the woman would get paid, is that it?

Bary: Yes. You see, the payroll office was a central office. The bureau did not issue the checks. If a person was stated to be regional representative in San Francisco, that is where the check would go.

Parker: Actually, she expected your director, Richard Neustadt, to go along with it?

Bary: Yes, she did. And the openness of it simply showed that she thought she had a divine right to do it.

Parker: She put her priorities above every other kind of constraint.

Bary: I didn't hear you.

Parker: Okay. She put her priorities, or justifications for doing things, above any kind of limiting factors like civil service laws. She expected personal loyalty, not to bureaucratic principles, but to her.

Bary: Yes, she did. That is a Tammany idea. It is a question of personal loyalty. She also felt that she had a right to go on trips for personal use at government expense. In the first few months that the regional office was set up, it happened that she had a brother here in San Francisco who was quite ill. She came out at least two times, if not three times, and stayed with him for three or four days. She was not supposed to use official travel for a personal family matter like that, no matter how much she cared for her brother.

She was drawing her salary for this time; she was drawing her expenses and per diem for traveling. She thought that that was all right, that the bureau director could do things like that.

Parker: I once saw a memo that said--apparently directed toward her staff--"There must not be this promiscuous use of the telephone." I suppose that goes for promiscuous travel too.

Bary: Things like the use of the telephone. I have known instances where a person had--well, one woman had a family situation in which her mother was not well. She would come down to the office and then start telephoning about all kinds of things about the household and groceries and this and that and the other thing. She would spend perhaps an hour on government time taking care of her personal affairs.

That was I suppose what you would call promiscuous use of the telephone. There were times when things like that went on in the bureau. She seemed to feel that it was only human to allow a person time like that in the government office to take care of personal responsibilities.

State Administration: The Nevada Case

Parker: How do you suppose that Jane Hoey's being in that position affected the way that public assistance was set up in the states?

Bary: Sometimes they made rules and regulations that would fit New York, but they would not fit Nevada at all. We had instances of that kind. They had no idea as to the difference between a mountain state with a small population at great distances, and a city population where you could reach everybody quite easily.

Bary: At that time, as I remember, Wyoming only had about 200,000 people; states like Colorado and Montana had about 500,000; and Nevada had 100,000 scattered over a huge territory. The regulations did not fit those circumstances.

Parker: What kinds of regulations are you referring to?

Bary: We had a situation in Nevada. Nevada wanted to pass an Old Age Assistance Law. Nevada has a territory about as large as all of New England and New York and perhaps part of Pennsylvania, with 100,000 people scattered in seventeen counties. Reno was the largest city, which then had about 20,000 population; Las Vegas had perhaps 5,000 or 6,000, and the rest were very small.

Jane said that administration should be all through county departments. Nevada asked me to come over and help them to draw a law; the state attorney general was not able to draw it. In spite of the material that was sent to him and all that, he could not do it. He was not, you might say, a very bright lawyer.

To administer a law in those smaller counties the regulations called for a social worker in every county. You could not have a full-time employee in a county that had perhaps fifty residents of whom four or five were old-age people. That is no job. Also, to have county machinery for paying out the money, it would be something quite different from anything they had ever done.

Finally, I talked it over with the governor who happened to be a good banker. We wrote a law providing for administration by the state. We provided a budget so that there would be an ample number of social workers. Some of them would be covering four or five counties. Reno had enough population to have a worker full-time.

We provided that the counties would send their share of the money to the state and the state would send out the checks. Then the state would have its social workers visiting all of the applicants. That was a good system for Nevada, but it did not fit Miss Hoey's pattern.

When I went in to Washington, I was confronted with a meeting. About ten of the bureau people sat there, and I was to be raked over the coals for having assisted in drawing up this law. One after another told me that I was breaking the pattern, that I was not obeying instructions and all. I called for a map and census figures, and I showed them that Nevada had a population of

Bary: not much more than 100,000 and had all this territory to cover, all these small counties that could not possibly have a social worker. Confronted with a problem of that kind, the only way to obtain properly trained social workers was to have them on a staff covering the state by automobile.

After they had looked at the map and I had shown them my figures and so forth as to the comparative amount of territory which would be represented by the square mileage of Nevada and the size of the population, they sat back and somebody said, "Well, there shouldn't be a state of Nevada." There was no other answer.

Nobody on that bureau staff had ever looked to see what the population of Nevada was, or the size, or used a little common sense. They did not have a single western person. Then there were other mistakes made on the same basis. Maybe you would have a person in charge of something who came from Mississippi. They had a few outsiders. There was one man from Georgia. He had no comprehension of the West. Sometimes I felt I was conducting geography classes.

Parker: How did you come out on the Nevada question?

Bary: They had to pass it; there wasn't any other answer.

Parker: State administration in Nevada?

Bary: Yes. There was nothing illegal about it. These were regulations which we were supposed to enforce. There was nothing in the law; it was not illegal at all.

Parker: Do you consider Hoey responsible for the idea that public welfare should be administered at the county level?

Bary: Yes, she got that idea. There was always this question of not getting flexibility enough to understand a local situation.

Parker: By local, you mean state situation?

Bary: Yes, state situation--a locality different from New York. We had a problem about Texas, because Texas had about 256 counties. You could not have a worker in every county, and Texas did not have the population. You had the same problem of population that there was in Nevada. You had to combine them; then when you combined them, you had to have more state administration to handle these combinations of counties.

Bureau vs. Executive Director Conflict

- Parker: I'm interested in another question as far as Hoey goes and her policy preferences. How closely did she work with Frank Bane, the executive director?
- Bary: She did not work very well with him. She would not follow any guidance from him. She had a feeling that the bureau had a right to do what it wanted to do. She did not want to accept any guidance or supervision from the executive director, and she thought the board had no right to interfere with what she was doing.
- Parker: She operated in the tradition of the powerful bureau working with the congressional committee?
- Bary: Yes, that was her idea. She seemed to feel that she was at liberty to deceive Frank Bane if that was the only way she could get her way. He naturally resented it, and so did Altmeyer.
- Parker: How about Jane Hoey and Winant--did she have a supporter there?
- Bary: I don't think she really got going until after Winant had left.
- Parker: Oh. In '36 and '37.
- Bary: On other occasions, as far as this travel business was concerned, on one trip that she took to a conference in Seattle, she stopped off. She brought her assistant along with her and stopped in Salt Lake and spent several days at a ski resort. Then they went on to Seattle. After the conference, they went up on Mount Rainier for a few days, and then they came to San Francisco and went to Carmel for a few days, or Laguna Beach--I forget which--and then back to Washington. They did not hesitate to say that they were in Salt Lake on government business when they were over at this resort. In the same way, they said that they were in Seattle all the time that they were vacationing, and that they were in San Francisco when they were vacationing down the line. They did not conceal it from us; they thought that was all right.
- Parker: You would consider that "mission distortion" or "mission sabotage"?
- Bary: I would consider it plain dishonesty to claim per diem as being engaged on business when you are off on a vacation. It has the advantage that it does not get charged to vacation time, so that you can take vacations as you go along and then also take your legal limit of vacation.

Regional Office Administration*

Drawing Boundaries for Region XII

Parker: From this experience with the Social Security Board in 1935 and 1936, you then went into Region XII in San Francisco under Director Richard Neustadt. Can you tell us about that experience?

Bary: The board decided that the only way to administer the law was by a certain measure of decentralization of operations. They decided to cut the country up into twelve regions. I think it is a bit indicative of the attitude of the people who were doing that job of laying out the regions that they showed me the country with red lines as to how they would cut up the regions. I took one look at it and I saw they did not know anything about the West.

It was all right to draw the Pacific Coast--a line up and down--because there was communication. Then, according to the way they were going to cut it up, they took a tier of the next states, and then the next, and they got down to the Mississippi River in four layers.

All the trains and planes and all communications ran east and west.

Parker: Following the river valleys.

Bary: They weren't quite that way. There was the northern tier of railroads, and then the second tier that came down and got to San Francisco, and the third tier, and so on. The communications were running east and west, excepting for the Pacific Coast.

I asked them to go and get some railroad schedules and see how anybody could travel that way. For instance, to get from Helena, Montana down to Arizona you would probably have to come by way of San Francisco; or they might have crossed the Great Divide and got to Salt Lake; then I think they would have had to come to San Francisco.

They changed the regions as they laid them out. That was only a sample of the fact that the people who were running the show were easterners. They did not know western people and did not have them. It was really only by chance that they showed me this thing; but they changed the regions so you could communicate a bit.

*The material for the first part of this section is located on tape 11, side 2, of Interview #6. --Ed.

Parker: You went out to San Francisco as regional representative for the Bureau of Public Assistance. What year was this?

Bary: That was about June of 1936 that we opened up the office.

Parker: When did you become assistant director?

Bary: That was several years later. I found it very difficult to work with Miss Hoey. I consider that she was very unreasonable. At any rate, we did not get along. The board redefined the jobs in the regional office and boosted this position of assistant regional director.

Parker: You were still working under Neustadt at this point.

Bary: Then I went with him and left the bureau.

Parker: You stayed with the regional office until 1948?

Bary: Yes.

Parker: And at one point succeeded Neustadt (when he died) and became the acting director?

Bary: Before he died, he had two long illnesses; he was ill for about four months twice. I was acting regional director during that time.

Bureau vs. Regional Office Authority in the Field

Bary: One of the basic problems in the regions, and also in Washington, was that Miss Hoey did not see eye to eye with the board or the executive director as to the relation of bureaus to the board. It was her idea that the Bureau of Public Assistance was an independent agency that should not be subject to any supervision by either the executive director or the board. They should not interfere with anything that she did.

That, of course, was an impossible situation. She held to it very firmly. In the regional offices she wanted the bureau representatives to have nothing to do with the regional director.

Parker: That is, not to be subject to his authority?

Bary: She maintained that they were not. She maintained that the bureau people--bureau representatives--were given free space and service by the regional office but that they should not either inform the regional director as to what they were doing or certainly not take any guidance from him, no matter whether he knew the region

Bary: very well and they were outsiders.

Parker: This is actually a structural conflict on which personalities are superimposed?

Bary: Yes. Most of the regional directors were very good people who wanted to advance the program; who realized that in dealing with the states unemployment people and public assistance people and all were not entirely separate--that they all represented the regional office.

Hoey wanted me to have nothing to do with Richard Neustadt. When they set up the regional office in the beginning and we had many problems in regard to the states, we needed help and guidance. Public assistance programs very quickly ran into a matter of large amounts of money. The states had to work with their governors to get enough money; they had to work closely with the governor.

Parker: You mean the regional director or the state departments?

Bary: The states. The state public welfare departments had to get their budgets through the governors. Somebody had to deal with the governor. In various instances, it was extremely helpful to have the regional director come in and help with the governor.

Parker: He would approach the governor directly.

Bary: Yes. Richard Neustadt was a man of large capacity and understanding. He also was a very gracious person and persuasive, and men always liked him. There were governors who did not like women, and public assistance people were always women--almost always women.

Parker: The regional representatives from BPA.

Bary: Yes. Originally, when we set up social security, we were dealing with governors in Washington. Afterwards, I was dealing with governors--I knew twenty-odd governors. In some cases where the governor had appointed a director of his public welfare department who was entirely inadequate, I needed to go to the governor. In most cases, I had established a certain relationship so that they rather identified me with the board and all.

You go and discuss with the governor in a friendly fashion; you tell him what are the duties and responsibilities of a state director. When you lay it all out on that basis in a couple of the states the governor did not say anything, but within a week or so he fired the man whom he had originally appointed.

Bary: You cannot go to him and tell him, "You've got to fire that man." But, if you bring it in and explain what the duties are, and he recognizes that he has made an appointment of a man who cannot meet those requirements, if he wants to have a good program he will fire that man.

Parker: In a sense, you were making it non-political and making the administration professional.

Bary: Yes. And making it pleasant for a governor. The governor of a sovereign state--and as I said, they were always reminding us, these sovereign states--is a person to be treated with dignity; his position demands it. That is one thing that Jane Hoey got into trouble with, with some governors. Her idea was to go to them and tell them flatly that she did not like something and that they ought to change. She had some rows.

The governor did not want to have any woman coming around and saying, "You've got to do this." That is just bad manners. She might say that as a matter of principle the governor had made a mistake, and she ought to tell him so just man-to-man. But you don't treat a governor that way if you want to get anything accomplished.

Just by devices of that kind, I found it possible to save the face of a governor in instances where he had made a mistake. Being the governor of a state, it is only fair to save his face. Also, if you want to have any more relations with him, you had better not put him in an embarrassing situation.

Parker: Also, there is the fact that this program was so new.

Bary: Yes. They had no idea as to what was involved.

Parker: They had no expertise in this line.

Bary: No. They had gone ahead and made questionable appointments. In the two instances when I had bumped men off, they were rather old. They had had maybe a distinguished career in some field or other, but they were not at all equipped.

Parker: What was Richard Neustadt like? What did he look like?

Bary: Richard was a man of medium height. He was only 59 when he died. He was obviously a gentleman and intelligent, a person who would command your attention and respect. When you looked at him, you knew he was well-educated, and when he spoke he carried that out. He was very courteous.

Bary: He had been greatly interested in social insurance for a long time. He had pursued a career in the field of management-- personnel management, largely--and through that had come to realize that if you had good working conditions and a stable work force, you could operate much more efficiently than if you scrimped on this and that and had poor wages and bad attitudes and all.

He had learned all that and he knew how to tell people that from his own experience. Men would listen to him who did not perhaps want to listen.

Parker: He could get the support of business leaders in the community?

Bary: Yes. He could talk to any businessman no matter how important he was. He could make a very good speech. He had one difficulty in administration; that was that he was unwilling to fight against any woman no matter what she did. He thought that women should be treated with courtesy; in a good many instances the women did not have as much sense of courtesy as he had.

Parker: How about your personal relationship with Mr. Neustadt?

Bary: I respected and admired and liked him very much.

Parker: You were kind of in an inner circle that met after six?

Bary: Well, when we first set up the office, Mr. Neustadt and I and the regional attorney, who was Art Miller (he was really a very fine person and an outstanding attorney), used to meet at the end of the day when the office closed and discuss all the problems that we had. I was out of the office a good deal, out in the field. I would discuss with them all the problems that I found, and they were always helpful in devising ways and means of meeting situations.

Parker: Did Ernie Tallman participate in these--the QAB representative?

Bary: No.

Parker: He was not trusted?

Bary: His problems were different. Old Age Insurance did not start paying until 1939 I think. They were really rather quiescent to begin with. That was a different layout. I had a certain amount of contact with him, but not very much. They did not have much contact with the welfare program or unemployment insurance.

Parker: How about the unemployment insurance rep? Did he meet with you at all?

- Bary: No, they didn't. We had rather not too easy a situation as far as they were concerned. They had not begun paying out. The states had to build up their reserves. They had their own problems. Mr. Neustadt used to meet with them. He was particularly interested in unemployment insurance because that was one of the things which he had worked for over a long time.
- Parker: In the beginning the policy committee consisted of you and Art Miller, the regional attorney, and the director, Neustadt.
- Bary: Yes. They were thoroughly informed as to public assistance, and I learned a great deal about the law--general aspects. Mr. Neustadt was a great help. He had to go to governors about unemployment insurance particularly. They always wanted to know something about public assistance. It was really very valuable to me that he could answer all their questions.
- Parker: You kept him informed.
- Bary: Yes, I kept him informed. The governors had problems with the public assistance program. The money kept mounting and they had to meet budgets. They assumed that if they talked to a regional director of social security, that he could talk about public assistance, even though they may have come to talk about unemployment insurance.

Miss Hoey had no concept of that relationship and the advantage that we could have if the regional director knew what was going on--that he could help us. We did strike governors who were not too much in the habit of meeting women who were in top positions. It was very helpful on occasions to have Mr. Neustadt in the situation.

- Parker: Can you mention the states in the West which had reservations about working with women?
- Bary: Oregon and Washington and California. The governors were men who had been dealing on a political basis with men. They were not in the habit of dealing with responsible, political women--there were not many of them.

Administrative Transition, 1946-1947*

- Parker: Around 1946 you had a new regional director. Can you tell us about him?

*The material from this section to the end of the chapter is drawn from Interview #7 and is located on tape 12, side 2.--Ed.

Bary: After Richard Neustadt died, the board in Washington appointed Oscar Powell, who had been the executive director of the board. They appointed him to succeed Mr. Neustadt.

I think that the move was more for their convenience than for our benefit. They had been trying to get rid of Oscar Powell. After Frank Bane left [in 1937], Oscar Powell was appointed to succeed him. At that time, people were quite enthusiastic about Oscar Powell; he seemed to be deeply concerned about the work of the board and to have a quality of leadership which the directors welcomed. I think he had been regional director in San Antonio, and in general the regional directors had a very favorable opinion about him.

Over the years, he had changed. He found outside interests and devoted less time and less thought to the board. He was a curiously selfish person.

Parker: In what way?

Bary: He was always thinking of himself. In money matters, personally, he was very stingy. Whenever I went in to Washington, I always encountered a lot of the current gossip.

Parker: I understand that the scandal surrounding him was somewhat similar to the scandal that surrounded Harry Hopkins when he divorced his first wife in New York City and came to Washington and married a younger woman. This happened to Oscar Powell about the time he left Washington?

Bary: Yes. That was something which caused a great deal of gossip around the board. People, I think in general, felt a great deal of sympathy for the first Mrs. Powell. As they became aware of the terms of settlement, there was a great deal of suppressed, or not too suppressed, indignation. They thought that in making a settlement he had been very far from generous; and that he had juggled papers and things to make it appear that he had much less money than he had, so that she got a smaller share. Also, of course, his immediate reason for divorce was that he wished to marry a younger woman.

Parker: Then when he came to California as regional director, he bought a farm in Santa Rosa.

Bary: Yes, he did. I was greatly surprised. In the first conversation I had with him after he arrived in San Francisco, he told me about the fact that he had gone to the Department of Agriculture and had asked for all kinds of information, particularly on the point of where to buy a farm. He wanted something not too far from San Francisco and with good climatic conditions and all that.

Bary: He was on to all sorts of pamphlets and everything the Department of Agriculture would give him. He had catalogues. I was not prepared to have a regional director come to the office and immediately wish to discuss buying a farm. I thought that he ought to pay attention first to the business of the office.

He was quite wrapped up in the idea, and he talked to almost everybody who came by. Everybody was surprised. He did buy a farm not far from Santa Rosa. He used to go up there Friday afternoons and stay over until Monday.

Parker: That was very unlike Richard Neustadt before him.

Bary: Completely different. Richard Neustadt devoted himself to the business of the office, the agency, and public affairs. There was never an element of self-seeking; that was just out of the picture. This sudden contrast was a great letdown.

Parker: Was there much change of policy under Mr. Powell in Region XII?

Bary: Not particularly, because he did not seem to be interested. He really did not get down into the work of the office.

Parker: In effect the work of the office--the administration of the office --was left to you?"

Bary: Yes.

Parker: What did he look like?

Bary: He was rather tall and thin; he was a man around fifty. He looked like a professional man. There was no warmth about him. With Richard Neustadt the instant reaction that almost anyone had was to like him. That was not true about Oscar Powell. He seemed cold, and at times when I discussed things with him, he seemed to take pleasure in an action that would hurt somebody. That was a characteristic that I greatly regretted.

Parker: Can you give an instance of a situation in which this occurred?

Bary: I know at one time there was a redefinition of a certain position in the office staff, which meant that a person was reduced in grade. That meant a reduction in salary. When he spoke about it (it was one of those cases where a general rule was passed, which perhaps applied to most of the people, but it was unfair to the person that we were talking about), he seemed to think that that was a good idea, that maybe the office was overpaid or something like that.

Bary: There was no regret that in that individual case the general rule was working a hardship. That coldness was a very real quality.

Parker: He lacked the humaneness that you had liked in Neustadt.

Bary: It was such a sharp contrast. We had all been used to the idea that you take any situation or any idea to Mr. Neustadt, you would have a warmth of reception. Maybe he would not always go along with you, but you could be sure you would have a friendly reaction.

Nobody wanted to go to Powell for anything.

Governor Earl Warren and State Health Insurance*

Parker: Did your office work with Governor Warren at any point?

Bary: We had one situation. Governor Warren was of Norwegian background. I think there was some change in the name Warren (which doesn't sound Norwegian). He did have that background, so that there was an acceptance of the idea of health insurance or other social measures which Scandinavia has had and has found successful. Warren was very much interested in the idea of having health insurance in California. He thought we needed it, that from all he had heard of it, it was a very beneficial measure to have.

The Social Security Board had in the background the idea that we should have health insurance at some time, not immediately. We had a statistician, a man named Isador Falk--Issie. Issie had been working on the question of health insurance and the various aspects, particularly the question of cost.

That was what Warren wanted to know. Before you could launch a state program, you need to know as closely as possible what it would cost. He raised the inquiry with us, and we took it up with Falk. He sent us some material, and then he sent out his assistant, a woman named Margaret Klem.

*For a discussion of Warren's health proposals from the point of view of state medical and legislative leaders, see "Earl Warren and Health Insurance, 1943-1949," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1971.

Bary: She brought all kinds of computations which indicated that health insurance could be put over in California at a very low cost. When Richard and I looked over her figures, it seemed to us that actually it would cost two or three times as much. She insisted that those were the figures.

With certain regrets we sent her up to see Governor Warren. She did, and the governor liked her and discussed things with her. I think she stayed around several days and went back again afterwards.

The governor did not believe the figures; he thought they were altogether too low. We argued with Falk about the figures. Like so many statisticians who go to work on a human problem, he made no allowance and had no understanding of the psychological factors that would be developed. Perhaps, the psychology in some European countries is quite different from ours and people were not going to take advantage of a thing like health insurance as we were quite sure Americans naturally would. It has been shown wherever a benefit of that kind has been made available, the utilization of the benefit is heavy.

Falk was dealing with figures as figures and not allowing for any difference. Governor Warren finally came to the conclusion that our figures were wrong, that he could not rely on them, and he did not push the program as he originally intended. It may be, we thought perhaps likely, that if our figures had been doubled as to costs, they would have appealed to him as reasonable. As it was, he could not accept them.

XI: THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE: A CASE STUDY
OF COLORADO, 1935-1936

Governor Ed Johnson vs. FDR

Parker: One of the interesting experiences you had in the states in the 1935-36 period was in helping Colorado enact its state OAA plan. Can you tell us about that?

Bary: That adventure in Colorado was an extreme case of rather picturesque dealing. Colorado had a governor, Ed Johnson, who was a Democrat but who had become violently opposed to Roosevelt; that was much more serious than the opposition of the Republicans.

Colorado sent in a plan late in 1935 to be used as a basis for receiving federal funds for Old Age Assistance, Aid for Children, and Aid to the Blind. The plan was impossible. The laws were quite at variance with the requirements of the Social Security Board. Even the greatest efforts on the part of our legal division to bring the plans into conformity with federal requirements could not get away from the flat contradictions.

Governor Johnson was in a very powerful position. He had absolute control over his legislature. He could reach out into the newspapers. The Denver Post was the most influential newspaper not only in Colorado, but in the surrounding states of Wyoming, Utah, Nebraska and Kansas.

When Ed Johnson disagreed with Roosevelt, the Denver Post screamed his opposition in five-inch headlines. His influence and all was more feared in Washington than that of any other governor. He had opposed various federal programs and had created great dissatisfaction in the surrounding states. He had brought suits in court and had also made himself very objectionable to federal officials going into Colorado in connection with many of the programs.

Threat of State Plan Disapproval

Bary: After the board had struggled with the Colorado plan and finally gave up, they went to the White House to tell Roosevelt that they could not possibly torture the Colorado plan into conformity. Roosevelt told them that they ought to go ahead; that there was no alternative, they would have to go ahead.

Parker: Go ahead and do what?

Bary: Issue formal disapproval of the plan that had been submitted. In order to get federal funds that meant that Colorado would have to change all the laws regarding welfare.

I had been traveling around among various of the states. Frank Bane came to me and told me what the situation was about Colorado, saying that the board would have to turn down their request. I told him that in view of the circumstances they should not turn down the state's request merely by a formal letter. They ought to try to soften the blow by sending someone who could perhaps, by an offer of help, mitigate the expected blast from the governor.

Frank Bane emphasized the difficulties of other representatives from other agencies who had gone there, and finally asked me if I would dare to go. I told him that I certainly would.

Parker: At this point, the Social Security Board had decided to disallow the Colorado state plans for public assistance, and you were going on the mission to Colorado to tell them.

Bary: They would send a letter notifying Colorado officially that the board was obliged to disapprove their plan, and then I would come along, presumably at the same moment, and offer help. They thought that the chances were very strong that the governor would blast off. They told me about the five-inch headlines, and that I perhaps would have an extremely unpleasant time. But they would back me up by arranging support from Oscar Chapman, who was the Assistant Secretary of the Interior. He was the leading Democrat of those who were opposed to Governor Johnson, and he was a loyal follower of Roosevelt.

It is rather interesting to note that Chapman was a disciple of Senator Costigan, who had been an outstanding liberal senator, and of Josephine Roche.

Parker: All from Colorado.

Bary: They were all from Colorado. The plan was that Chapman would go out to Colorado, using every caution not to be observed; that he would arrange for a meeting which I would attend. The meeting would be made up of a dozen or more of the leading citizens who were pro-Roosevelt--the presidents of universities and heads of various organizations and so forth. I would meet with them on the following Sunday evening so that I could explain to them exactly what the situation was and answer all their questions so that these people, who could command space in newspapers and on the radio, would be primed to come to my rescue in case the expected blasts came from Governor Johnson.

All of this was to be done with great secrecy. The board would send a letter to Governor Johnson aimed to arrive on Monday morning. I would appear at his office promptly at nine o'clock to take the first blast of his fury.

The plan went off as scheduled. I stayed at the Brown Palace Hotel, which was the main hotel in Denver where everybody stayed. At six on Sunday evening, a charming young woman called for me and took me out to Chapman's house. There I met about fifteen of these leading citizens. We had dinner and then I explained everything and answered all their questions. They discussed the avenues that they could use for publicity.

Before I left, Chapman told me very carefully not to use the telephone from my room at the hotel because he said that my telephone would be monitored, and not to say anything that I did not wish to go to the governor. He said the Brown Palace Hotel was very much under the thumb of Ed Johnson, and anything that happened there would be reported to Ed Johnson instantly. They told me not to send a telegram from the desk, because that would go to the governor.

This seemed to me a bit fantastic, but I later found out it was no exaggeration of the truth. On Monday morning I was to receive a telegram from Washington stating that the board had disapproved the Colorado plan and telling me to go to see the governor and to offer any help which I could give him in the preparation of new legislation.

At nine o'clock I appeared in the governor's outer office. This was a large room and a dozen people were milling around. When I handed my card to the receptionist and said that I would like to see the governor and could she arrange it, a large man stepped up, took the card and announced, "I am the governor; what do you want to say?"

Bary: I had not expected to interview the governor in his outer office amid the milling crowd. I handed him the telegram, which he read very slowly and carefully--I watched his eyes as they moved down. Finally he said, "This appears to be authentic. I have not seen any such letter, but I have not looked at my mail." Then his tone became quiet, almost kind. He said, "Your board could not do anything else. Our laws are lousy." This was, of course, a startling deviation from what I expected.

Parker: You expected a blast.

Bary: I did. This almost kind and reasonable way in which he spoke. Then in a tone of ordering me he said, "Go back to the hotel. I will send a messenger and I will see you later." I went back to the hotel; it took me about fifteen minutes. When I reached the desk and asked for my key, he handed me a note saying, "Be at the governor's office at one o'clock."

Then a young man touched me on the shoulder and said, "I'm from the Denver Post. The governor has called a special session of the legislature for next Monday to pass social security legislation. What have you to say?" I told him that it was all news to me, that he would have to get his information from the governor. I wanted to avoid any publicity.

Parker: What had happened?

Bary: The governor had called a special session; within fifteen minutes he had called a special session of the legislature. He had called the Denver Post, and their reporter was over at the hotel. Now that's speed.

Parker: So he was going to cooperate with the federal government on social security legislation.

Bary: He had said, "Our laws are lousy." He undoubtedly knew all the time that this is what would have to happen. Probably his speed was due to the fact that he had made his decision before. He would have to call a special session and enact new legislation and wipe out all the old conflicting stuff.

Parker: He had to avoid the position that he would be put in if the federal government cut off public assistance funds to his state.

Bary: We would have to deny them. With the banishing of ERA, there was great need. All of the states had to have social security--public assistance--as quickly as possible. They all needed it. But we certainly had not expected him to acknowledge that his laws were so bad and that he would have to straighten them out.

Bary: Before I went back (it was not more than an hour later) the Denver Post came out with an extra with a statement from the governor, a very friendly statement, to the effect that the board was cooperating in his desire to enact proper legislation and had sent me out to help.

Parker: His desire to enact legislation!

Bary: I could not help wondering what Oscar Chapman thought about it because he probably was in a position to get that edition as soon as it came out. I was not communicating with him because he told me not to communicate unless I needed help.

At one o'clock I went back to the governor's office. There he introduced the deputy attorney general, a man named Charles Roach, who was an old man but, as I discovered, a very fine old man who had spent his life working for the state of Colorado. At the time, he was going blind. He was attended by a young lawyer named Fuller, who was obviously devoted to him and tried constantly to anticipate any needs that Mr. Roach had.

Also, there was a man named Quigley, who was the legislative reference counsel. In working with these men, I found that they were without question the best lawyers and the ablest and most public-spirited which I had met in any of the states. I had not expected to find that Colorado had such excellent public officials.

Working Out State Plans in Conformity
with the Social Security Act

Bary: After introducing us, the governor turned to me and said, "You don't like our laws. Now you will sit down with these gentlemen and they will help you and you will write laws that you do like. You will write laws to create a Department of Public Welfare and to provide for Old Age Assistance and Aid for Children and Aid for the Blind. The legislature will meet here Monday morning; the bills will be on their desks when they come at nine o'clock. Have you any questions?"

I asked him if he had money enough to swing the program. He asked me how much. I told him what I had estimated he would need, and he said he had. I asked him if he had any reservations in regard to provisions of the law. He said that he wanted the law administered by the counties under state supervision, and that was the only requirement that he made. With that we went to work.

Bary: I had brought with me, as I always did, skeleton laws which had been provided by the APWA in conjunction with committees working throughout the states with some help from us. By following these skeletons and filling in what was necessary to meet local conditions, we really had a very firm foundation for what we considered the best legislation that could be provided on the whole subject of public assistance.

The two lawyers had the job of drawing up legislation to repeal all of the welfare legislation then on the statute books of Colorado, which was quite a job. As I discovered, they knew their laws. Mr. Roach could recite laws by the yard, and Quigley knew all his references. Without their expert knowledge, it would not have been possible to draw up all those provisions and to wipe out the old conflicting stuff and have it all ready by the following Monday.

It did not take more than an hour or so to realize how much the men knew and to realize that it was going to be possible to complete the job. It was remarkable to find such high-class people in a state where we felt that Governor Johnson was a rather brutal tyrant. At least he was efficient, as far as I could see.

In everything else that we did, the arrangements were very efficient. Quigley would take any papers into the next door room. They would appear back retyped in beautiful shape; no trouble about that.

Parker: Quigley had another function, didn't he?

Bary: Quigley was the legislative reference counsel.

Parker: I mean, didn't he check on things with the governor?

Bary: As we went along a question arose as to alternatives, and I explained what the alternatives were and what I thought was the best way to go at it. Quigley would vanish and be back in a few minutes and nod. He did not say that he had checked with the governor, but I think it was quite obvious that the governor was following closely everything that we were doing.

Soon after we started Mr. Roach turned to me and said, "This is the last job which I shall do for the state of Colorado, and it's got to be a good job." As I came to realize his great love for Colorado and his lifelong service, I came to have a feeling of deep respect and almost affection for that old man.

The Image of Social Workers and the Children's Bureau Provisions

Bary: On Wednesday, as I was going to the capitol, I met Florence Sullivan, who was a field representative of the Children's Bureau. On learning that there was going to be a special session of the legislature concerning social security legislation, she had flown out to Denver to see if there were any possibilities of including the bill which the Children's Bureau wanted for child welfare services, maternal and child health, and crippled children.

Parker: Title V of the Social Security Act.

Bary: Yes. Miss Sullivan said she would like me to come and talk to the state director of public health. She told me that he was not on speaking terms with the governor, which was rather a peculiar situation. I went with her. The director promptly told me that he could not go to the governor and ask him to introduce these three measures for the Children's Bureau because he was not on speaking terms, and the governor would not receive him.

He asked me if I would ask the governor to introduce the bills. Both he and Miss Sullivan volunteered that they thought it was better that she should not go.

Parker: Because she was identified with the public health department.

Bary: Yes. She had been identified with them on a previous visit. Also, she had the appearance and manners of a social worker, and the director said that the governor thoroughly detested social workers.

Parker: What's the appearance and manner of a social worker?

Bary: It is rather hard to explain unless you have seen a good many of what was then the old line of social workers. Sometimes they talked too much. They did not talk in a business-like fashion. It's rather hard to describe the appearance.

Parker: Careless?

Bary: No. At that time, many people used the word "old ladies." If that conjures up a picture, it means rather more than just an unmarried woman. She looked like an old maid who, a man might think, was interested in other people's business.

Parker: I see--a pokey old maid.

Bary: I told them that I was there for the Social Security Board, that I was not willing to back their bills, but that I would give them to the governor and let him make his decision as he saw fit.

I went over to the governor and told him that Miss Sullivan had given me the bills. He asked me a bit about it. I told him they were enabling acts; they represented very little money. He asked me what I thought about them. I told him that they were part of the social security program; that I was not backing them because I was sticking to my own business, but I thought that he might like to. And I added, "if you're interested in children." He said, "I am interested in children."

Then he asked me about the money. As he stopped to think he suddenly said, "Where's my turtle?" He told me that on his desk he had had a little green turtle--dark green--exactly the color of the rug in his room. His desk was really clean, and the turtle was not there; somewhere the turtle had vanished.

Parker: It had crawled somewhere.

Bary: It perhaps had fallen off and crawled away. The governor had seemed quite concerned. He told me that Governor Allred of Texas had given him that turtle. They had some meeting or other, and Governor Allred gave all the governors little turtles from Texas. Since the turtle was not on his desk, we looked around and did not see it. Then he dropped to his hands and knees and began prowling around.

I had to think a bit quickly; I did not wish the governor to come around the desk and start rummaging under my feet. I thought that what was least embarrassing was if I also dropped to the floor and started prowling around on the carpet.

So we went around the room in circles, widening as we went. I could not help thinking that the governor, who was a large man and by no means thin, was in a highly undignified pose for the governor of a sovereign state. (At that time the states used that word all the time--sovereign.)

At last, as we reached the edge of the rug, the governor shouted, "I got him." With that, he got up and I got up and we went back to our chairs. During the time when we were prowling, when both of us had our backs to the door, it opened and we heard a feminine gasp. Then the door closed quickly and a bit noisily. We surmised that his secretary had wanted to interrupt us but had departed at the vision.

Parker: What do you think this incident symbolized in your relationship with the governor?

Bary: I think he was completely unself-conscious. Most men his size who had any idea what they looked like from the rear, considering his previous long-standing relations with the federal government, would not have wished to prowl around on the carpet in the view of a federal official. They might have thought that I would tell somebody in Washington how undignified it was.

Parker: By the way, for the record, will you describe your own physical height and weight and so on about this time?

Bary: I was about 5'5-1/2" and I weighed close to 140. I wasn't fat but I was muscular. The governor was much bigger than I.

Parker: I should say that Miss Bary is a very slender, agile woman as of this moment.

Bary: I am now shorter, which has come with age; I weigh less because I don't need to carry around any extra weight. I don't diet, I might say.

However, when we were seated the governor said, "I will think about these and I'll let you know later." I might say that I rather came to like the terrible governor, and I never told anybody in Washington about the fact that we had crawled around on the carpet looking for a turtle. I wondered at the time whether the governor was trying to make up his mind.

Parker: About Children's Bureau sponsorship?

Bary: Yes. He created a diversion so that he could be thinking about it, because I think he liked to make fast decisions. He may have been diverting attention while he thought about it.

He told me then to prepare the bills and then he would decide. With that, I went up and began work. While we worked along, I was greatly impressed by the attitude of the deputy attorney general. On several points he stressed the desirability of liberalizing points in the model laws which he thought were not liberal enough.

ADC for School Children, Ages 16 to 18

Bary: On the Aid for Children bill, the model laws had said that aid should continue until the children were sixteen. When he reached that point, he turned to me in great impatience and said that at this time it was important for any boy to have a high school

Bary: education, that none of them could finish high school by sixteen, and that aid should be continued for them until they were eighteen. He looked at me as though he thought that I was illiberal, but I told him that we would be only delighted to make it eighteen. With that, Quigley vanished from the room and came back in a few minutes and nodded. I reached over and crossed off sixteen and wrote eighteen.

With the memory of how hard we had worked in California some years before with committee meetings and publicity and letters and appeals and all that to accomplish this change from sixteen to eighteen, here and with this dictator, I had just reached over and crossed off sixteen and written eighteen and accomplished the same result.

Parker: Being close to the seat of power makes a big difference.

Bary: Yes. As I discovered, Ed Johnson had a steam-roller under him. But I had a feeling that for once in my life I was riding on a steam-roller, which was a delightful change from some occasions in which I had to work hard to accomplish something.

State Legislative Strategy

Parker: How did the bill fare in the legislature?

Bary: We finished the bills; they were all typed and in shape Saturday morning. We took them down to the governor. He looked at me and said, "Are you satisfied?" I told him that I was satisfied. Then he told us that he would add the Children's Bureau bills. He said, "We're satisfied." He said, "The program is: on Monday morning the senate and the house will meet together as a committee of the whole, and you and Mr. Quigley will be on the platform; the chairman will call upon you for information at anytime that it's desired. The bills will be read by the clerk, and an opportunity given to any of the legislators to ask questions. The whips of the house and the senate will be there to keep order.

"Then, when you have finished the senate bills, then you will come back and meet as a committee of the whole to deal with the house bills. And you will finish tonight." "Well," I said, "there are some alternatives. There are some alternatives that are quite reasonable. I think that I've chosen what would be best, but suppose there are amendments?" He looked at me in surprise and said, "There will be no amendment." He said so, and I found it was true.

Bary: On Monday, we met as per schedule and discussed the bills. Before long, somebody rose and offered a very reasonable alternative. Before he was allowed to speak, the whip reminded him that time was short--please be brief. None of the governor's people rose; none of them asked any questions or took any stand. The chairman very quickly called for a vote, and the motion was steam-rolled down, with obvious glee from the whips.

That happened two or three times. Then the legislators saw that there was no hope. So, we went through; we finished up about six o'clock. That constituted the first reading. Then, the following day was the second reading, on both sides; then the third reading on Wednesday, and it passed. (They had accomplished the first reading; then on Thursday and Friday morning, the second and third readings, and they were all passed.) As scheduled, there were no amendments.

Friday afternoon we went down to where the governor was going to sign the bills, which was rather a large room. They had invited the legislators to attend the grand ceremony. The governor signed the bills. When they were signed, the doors opened and showed another large room in which the Denver Post had laid out an elaborate cocktail party.

Parker: They were in cahoots.

Bary: They certainly were. It was a very elaborate and lavish party. I was a little amused at the first thing that happened: The man who wrote the bitter editorials in the Denver Post denouncing Roosevelt arose and offered a toast to me, which was something I had not expected and would be quite a surprise to Altmeyer and Bane and other members of the board.

Parker: And a great tribute to you.

Bary: I certainly had never expected that.

Parker: The governor also used your pen to sign part of the bill, did he not?

Bary: Yes. The governor signed the first two or three bills with my pen. Then I took it away and let other people have the honor of offering their pens. There was a good deal of talk about this great program and welfare; the governor went so far as to make some pleasant remarks about my help.

Parker: That is how public assistance came to Colorado.

- Bary: Yes. There was one thing that followed on that adventure: Roach resigned after the legislative session. His eyesight continued to fail; he found himself really blind. He could not face it so he put a bullet through his head.
- Parker: That's very sad.
- Bary: It was sad. I felt very sad to think that that ended his career.
- Parker: He had perhaps been telling you that when he said that this was going to be his last work, and it was going to be good.
- Bary: Yes. He was resigned. Then he shot himself. That was the most dramatic of my adventures with legislation.

Role of the Social Work Community

- Parker: There was a sidelight in Colorado. Before you had the bill before the legislature, you spoke of a meeting with the social work group.
- Bary: Yes. That was really a very interesting sidelight. On Monday, after the governor had called the legislature, the president of the State Conference of Social Work came over to the hotel. I had had an early lunch so that I could be over at the governor's office at one. As I came out of the dining room, he had joined me at one side and, in an unobtrusive fashion so that people would not have noticed in general that he was talking to me, he had said that he had called a dinner meeting of all the leading social workers in Colorado which would be that evening, and that I should be there and explain to them what happened. I told him I would be there, and with that, he vanished.

When I went to the dinner, I could not help noticing that he was standing by the door to see who came. A couple of people beside him were obviously making sure that they knew everybody who came. That was one of those sort of dramatic touches--people looking for spies and all.

After dinner, I began and I told them just what had happened. Some of them expressed doubt that the governor would play fair. I told them that I felt certain that he would. I felt certain that he had his reasons for wishing to have a decent program; and that he acknowledged that their present laws were no good. But they were all very bitter about the governor.

Bary: They were, to begin with, rather hostile to me. One young woman arose at one point and said she wanted to ask me a question: What would I think if somebody from Washington came into my state and started writing laws, without knowing anything about the special conditions in the state and without consulting any of the social workers or really anybody excepting this hostile governor? I told her very promptly that I would consider it an outrage. I added that their situation was outrageous.

In opening the subject, the president of the conference had made a public announcement in introducing me. He told me that at the regular session of the legislature the social workers had presented a program of legislation which they had drawn up with great care. Then they organized committees, they wrote letters, they talked to legislators, they telephoned, and did everything they could in the way of lobbying. But the legislature was against them, the governor was against them, and they had not been able to get anything at all.

At the end, when I had answered their questions and when I agreed that it was outrageous for an outsider to come in and write legislation, the president rose and said he had a suggestion to make: that inasmuch as they had been completely rebuffed by the legislature and in spite of all their efforts had not been able to get a single thing through, he suggested that they dump everything in my lap and let me take the entire responsibility; and that no social worker should speak to a legislator or write or telephone or write anything to the papers. They should remain absolutely out of it and dump the entire responsibility onto me.

There was some objection to that at first. But he reminded them of the governor's attitude toward social workers. He talked very persuasively and sensibly, and they finally agreed that they would spread the word and nobody was to interfere.

Parker: So the social workers stayed out?

Bary: Absolutely. At that final signing session, the whip of the house and the whip of the senate--I caught their eye; they were looking at me--they marched over and said, "We want to ask you a question. At the regular session the social workers presented a string of bills; but they made themselves so objectionable that we decided to turn down every one of them, although there were some of them that we wanted to vote for. We had to teach them a lesson."

"Now," the whip said, "no social worker has spoken to a legislator or communicated in any way. Tell us the story." I told them that I thought it was much pleasanter this way. I did not tell them any details. I just said, "It is much pleasanter this way."

Parker: Who was behind the president of the state conference when he made his statement suggesting that the social workers stay out of this battle? Whom do you think the president of this state conference represented when he presented his point of view to the meeting?

Bary: Of course, I think that Oscar Chapman told him to call that meeting and that since he judged that the governor was going along and that the governor was going to have a good program, that he thought it was much wiser for the social workers to obliterate. I doubt that that president, or really any social worker, would have the political astuteness to muzzle all the social workers. I think that was an instant decision of Oscar Chapman; I think it is reasonable to assume that.

I was rather interested. I went back to Colorado a few weeks later and they had set up the state department. They asked me to come back and discuss some things. When I signed in at the hotel, they sent me up with a bellboy and, instead of giving me a room, they gave me a grand suite. I telephoned down and told them that they had made a mistake, that the boy had taken me into this suite.

It was a suite that had a big living room with a huge fireplace and chairs--you could have a party with a hundred people--and a huge bedroom and a bathroom with double sets of wash stands. I telephoned down and told them that they had made a mistake. The clerk there said, "No, it wasn't a mistake; we understand that you did something for the state of Colorado," which made me think also that the hotel was certainly in cahoots.

I might say that that is the only time I have ever had a suite like that, and they charged me \$3 for it; that was the rate they charged. But when I entered and had to walk the length of that living room and then the length of that huge bedroom to get into the bathroom, I decided that I would just as soon have a small room, just an ordinary room. I had no occasion to show it off to anybody.

Parker: These were the fruits of friendly formality in your work with the states.

Bary: You see, we had been friendly, but considering all the background I had kept it on a formal basis. We did not go out to lunch together; nobody suggested it. We never mentioned anything except business. I liked those men; I would like to have known more about them. Under those circumstances, I thought it would be out of place to have any kind of informality.

Parker: That is a remarkable story.

The Governor's Change of Heart: Senatorial Ambitions

Bary: I think there was no other state that presented that situation. We discovered afterwards that the governor had decided to run for the senate--resign as governor and run for the senate--and that, when it came to the campaign, he laid great stress on these remarkable, liberal welfare provisions that he had enacted.

Parker: So that was part of Ed Johnson's record when he went into the U.S. Senate.

Bary: Nobody had any idea that that was what he was going to do.

Parker: That was an about-face.

Bary: It may be, as I had thought, that when Roosevelt had immediately told the board to go ahead, that he really knew that Ed Johnson was going to run for the senate.

Mary Isham was this remarkable woman who was a very trusted and devoted friend of Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt. She was also a trusted friend of Ed Johnson. She and her husband owned a string of newspapers--country papers. They were a political force in Colorado.

She was a woman of great discretion and intuitive understanding. I think it was fairly likely that she knew that the governor was going to run for the senate, that she had told Roosevelt. There were a good many occasions when Roosevelt kept information close and did not divulge it to anybody. That may have happened.

On the other hand, it may be that Roosevelt saw that the board had no alternative and told them to go ahead regardless. I would not be surprised if Mary Isham had intimated to him that that was what was going to happen in Colorado.

Parker: You had a remarkable political education.

Bary: Government is not a matter of reports and laws. It depends on people--whoever administers a law. Sometimes you run into extremely interesting characters; some of the most interesting are the people behind the scenes.

Field Representative's Consultative Role

Parker: You have spoken of the difference between principles and courtesies in working with the states.

Bary: I have found at times that people will talk a lot about their principles--the matter of principle. In a good many cases, I think it is a matter of manner, not principles.

I discovered particularly when I was in Puerto Rico that the educated, cultured Puerto Ricans could preserve their privacy by great courtesy. By that courtesy they kept things on a formal basis. They had learned that, perhaps just because it was good manners. Also, in the long domination from Spain, they had to struggle to preserve their privacy. Some of the people in Puerto Rico were aristocratic. Until I met it in Puerto Rico, I had not realized that courtesy and formality could be such a great asset.

Parker: You secured good will and cooperation without coercion.

Bary: Yes. You keep things on a high level.

Parker: Not ad hominem. It's a remarkable gift.

Bary: You learn something everywhere you go; you meet different people. Sometimes you learn from bootblacks or all kinds of people. If you keep your eyes and your ears open, you can keep on learning as long as you live. That is part of the fun of life; you learn a lot of things that you did not believe.

Parker: That is openness to life.

Bary: Yes. I had a good many lessons in regard to some social reports. I came to be very suspicious of them from the viewpoint that people who originated them and went out to make a study had a preconceived notion. They did not go out to find the facts--they went out to prove what they thought. That was their purpose; they called it research but it was not research.

If you can really get behind some of these social studies, you will find that that is altogether too common.

Parker: It happens to administrators who stay in Washington and don't have contacts with the field, too, I should think.

Bary: Yes. I have seen examples where research organizations went out to get the facts, as they called them. If the facts did not prove their theory, they suppressed the report--the reports were not published.

Bary: Some of the most respectable agencies do that. There are a lot of tricks. I think you will find that most social reports prove --or would prove if you believed them--what the people who originated them wanted to prove. You can always be suspicious of that.

XII: JAPANESE RELOCATION: VIEW FROM A REGIONAL OFFICE, 1941-1942
(Interview 7, January 14, 1973)

Bary: After Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, a situation arose in which many people began to talk about the necessity for removing the Japanese from California, and rumors of rather a wild character arose. Many times these rumors had no foundation at all. But in the general situation with the country going to war, it should be rather easy to see why even fantastic rumors should be given credence.

Many of the army people began talking about evacuating the Japanese from San Francisco in particular, from the coast area, and putting them back where they could have no access to an invading army if it came from the sea. Particularly in the summer months, there is a very large fog field over the ocean close to San Francisco and the surrounding coast. This fog field is of great extension and would be quite enough to conceal the navies of the world. After the way in which the Japanese navy had pounced upon Pearl Harbor unannounced, it gave rise to the feeling that an even larger navy could easily conceal itself a comparatively short distance from the coast.

Parker: So there were military concerns in this anti-Japanese feeling?

Bary: Yes. The navy and army had been bitterly criticized for their lack of realization about the impending attack on Pearl Harbor. Various investigations were being made as to why that attack was made with no forewarning.

Anti-Japanese Feeling in the San Fernando Valley, 1902-1907

Parker: What were some of the other elements in the anti-Japanese feeling at this time?

Bary: There was a background fear about the Japanese, which had roots from long ago. I came to California in 1902 with my family on account of my father's illness.

Parker: You were just a teenager then.

Bary: Yes. I was fourteen. His doctors had recommended that he adopt the outdoor life. He leased some land in the San Fernando Valley, only seven or eight miles out of the heart of Los Angeles, and there he proceeded to grow strawberries. We had Japanese labor at that time throughout the San Fernando Valley and through much of the farming area around Los Angeles. This was a really very convenient arrangement, much easier than getting farm help in the Middle West, where somebody had to feed and house the farm workers.

Here in California the Japanese were living in camps of their own construction and were eating their own food; there was no problem at all of that kind. Near us there was a Japanese camp run by a labor contractor named Sato.

Sato was a very good businessman. All that you needed do was to telephone to Sato and say how many boys you wanted and what type of work and when you wanted them to report, and the boys would be there. All of these Japanese seemed to have farming background; they were really skillful and used to farm practices.

Parker: So your father employed these contract laborers, or laborers under contract with Mr. Sato?

Bary: Yes.

Parker: This is your first acquaintance with Japanese labor in California?

Bary: That was the first that I ever knew about it. There were similar camps in some other areas of Southern California. Many of them were working on market crops, but also in orange groves and other fruit work. They were generally very well-liked because they were efficient, they minded their own business and they never had any strikes. It was very much easier than farming in the Middle West where so many of the people had come from.

Then came the Russo-Japanese War. The general feeling in the community was friendly to the Japanese.

Parker: You were teaching school to some of the Japanese workers at this time?

Bary: Yes. I began to teach some of the boys English. There was a man nearby who had been a missionary in Japan, who liked the Japanese people and spoke Japanese; he was definitely their friend and advocate. When the boys went to him and said they wanted to learn English, he endeavored to recruit people who would help a few Japanese to read and write English. He asked me if I would help.

I was going to school at the time. I had not finished high school. I undertook to teach. Usually a class would be only two or three, maybe four boys. They would come in the evening after dinner. I would do my best to add to their vocabulary, to help them with pronunciation and, by the aid of a dictionary (since they could all read and write Japanese), I aimed to teach them ten words each lesson, the meaning of the words, and how to use them in a sentence and all that.

When the Russo-Japanese War came along, I decorated the room where I taught them with some Japanese pictures and a flag. That, I think, promoted our friendliness very much. They were all patriotic and they celebrated all the Japanese victories.

Then I began inviting them to stay a bit longer after the class, and we engaged in general conversation to the limit of their knowledge of English. They insisted on paying me. The general fee recommended by the missionary was 10¢ per lesson. When the war came on, we got in the habit of staying after the lesson doing this extra talking.

When the war ended in 1905, soon after a large influx of Japanese came over from Japan. Sato increased the size of his camp. He had a large building which looked rather like an army barracks might have looked. As I talked to the boys, they told me that this influx were all soldiers. They had been in the war, and the government had helped them to come over to America.

We were still enthusiastic about the Japanese. But people began to observe that in this camp near us every Sunday the boys would have gymnastic drill. Word began to spread that this drill was really about the same as army drill.

Then somebody started rumors to the effect that this was army drill, that the Japanese government had sent them over as fore-runners: in the great desire for the Japanese government to obtain additional land for their growing population, it was their long-time strategy to infiltrate, to increase the Japanese population in this country; ultimately, they intended to invade.

Parker: Already you saw the beginnings of anti-Japanese feeling in the San Fernando Valley.

Bary: It began that way. That began to happen. Then another circumstance added to that. We began to have picture brides coming over in considerable groups. These were brides for the men who had been sent over. There was a great deal of discussion about the morality of picture brides, of marriages of people who had never seen each other before.*

Parker: Discussions in the churches?

Bary: In the churches? I think it was largely a moralistic idea. So many of the people who had come to Southern California had come from what was considered the Bible Belt in the Middle West. They were of the opinion that picture brides, and this marriage of people unknown to each other, was highly immoral. That aroused a great deal of discussion and righteous indignation.

Between this drill, which they thought was military, and the picture brides who, according to rumor, were expected to produce a large crop of Japanese children, a fear came into the community that before too long we would have a very large Japanese population, that they would be devoted to Japan rather than the United States, and that we should guard ourselves against being overrun in this fashion.

Parker: How about Japanese ownership of agricultural land?

Bary: The Japanese were very thrifty. All of these boys that I had any contact with at all seemed to have a rural background. Rural people, in particular, have a passion for owning a bit of land; they wanted to have some land.

*On the effects of restrictive legislation on Chinese as well as Japanese citizens, see Valeska Bari, "Citizens Who May Not Have Wives," The Woman Citizen, n.s., vol. 12, no. 7 (Dec. 1927), pp. 20-21.

For the point of view of labor, see Paul Scharrenberg, "Reminiscences," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1954, pp. 62-66, 105-108.

For the point of view of a state legislator, see Herbert C. Jones, "On California Government and Public Issues," Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1958, pp. 92-95. --Ed.

Bary: They did not have money enough to buy developed land. They would buy undeveloped land, which might lie close to developed orange groves or something of the kind.

Southern California presented at that time an unusual condition. With irrigation land which looked like desert could be made to bloom like a garden. The Japanese were ready to take over land that looked like wasteland. By very diligent labor, they very soon made it look flourishing.

As they took over land and made a garden out of what had looked like a desert before, people also began to be a bit fearful. So many of the people who came to Southern California came for health reasons, or because they were old. They did not have the strength which these young Japanese men had. For themselves Japanese farmers would work twelve or fourteen hours every day. That kind of work other people were not able to do. They saw themselves being displaced.

We moved away from that location in 1907, and I did not have any more connection with the Japanese farm business. In my other contacts, living in the city, I did not encounter any prejudice against the Japanese. They were not competing with anybody there.

In the background I think that the fear which had existed was not dissolved. It is very difficult to get rid of a fear. It may remain with people and be brought down as a tradition.

Parker: How did the Progressive period and World War I affect this underlying fear?

Bary: I think that whipped it up. We had not had any big war for quite a long time until World War I came along. Then, of course, there was great prejudice. The prejudice against the Germans was so strong and so unreasonable that no symphony, no music of German origin was allowed. People stormed against anyone who wanted to play Beethoven. All of the German composers were barred.

That unreasonable prejudice, going as far as to bar German music, was I think more severe than anything we developed in World War II, but I would not trust my memory on that too much. However, it was a very unreasonable feeling.

During World War I there was a very strong feeling against American involvement in the war. When Wilson ran in 1916, he was running largely on the slogan "he kept us out of the war."

Role of the Federal Security Agency in Relocation

Parker: In 1941, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, you found this anti-Japanese fear aroused again. How did your agency become involved in this problem?

Bary: By that time, the Social Security Board had been expanded and was renamed the Federal Security Agency. We included then the Public Health Service, Vocational Rehabilitation, and I think some other things. The regional director was expected to perform services that might be needed.

As this prejudice against the Japanese continued to grow, and the army began talking about removing the Japanese from the coastal area, Mr. Neustadt exerted himself to bring about a more reasonable attitude. He felt very strongly on the subject of removing the Japanese as a race rather than on an individual basis.

Parker: What was Richard Neustadt's point of view?

Bary: It was very largely formed, I think, because he was Jewish. His parents had come from Czechoslovakia. I think they had suffered discrimination which was against them as a race and not as individuals. He had great sympathy for any discrimination based upon race, which is what the Jewish people have suffered for centuries and centuries.

He had Japanese friends whom he trusted. He felt certain that they were loyal Americans and that they thoroughly disapproved of Japan--at least the Japanese behavior.

Parker: His view contradicted the military point of view?

Bary: Yes, it certainly did. The military were so conscious of the criticisms that had arisen after Pearl Harbor about the fact that they were utterly unprepared. They wanted to make certain that they were thoroughly protected against any invasion or attack upon California. I think in a way it is easy to understand that they were over-anxious to be prepared.

Parker: Did Neustadt work with General DeWitt?

Bary: There were committee meetings and discussions. I did not get into them very much because army officers are not as generous in their dealing towards women as the population in general. They are used to a world of men and not of women. They don't care to take the advice of women. So I did not get in on those discussions.

- Bary: Mr. Neustadt was a very knowledgeable person and a man who could talk very effectively with men. He had dealt with men of importance almost all of his working life, and they accepted him as they would not accept all civilians. He worked particularly well with Colonel Bendetsen in their discussions.
- Parker: Colonel Bendetsen was head of the Wartime Civil Control Administration under General DeWitt, I believe.
- Bary: Yes, I think that was the title.
- Parker: What did you hear about Colonel Bendetsen?
- Bary: Mr. Neustadt liked him. He thought that he was more intelligent and open to additional information than most of the other army people. He gradually, I think, became more willing; at first he had not been too willing to go along with the wholesale evacuation idea.
- Parker: Is this Neustadt?
- Bary: No--Bendetsen. Gradually he did.
- Parker: In the beginning under the Wartime Civil Control Administration, the Federal Security Agency was given jurisdiction over registration at control centers and also interviewing people to see if they had health and property problems. Did Mr. Neustadt have any role in that?
- Bary: Yes. That was what he was working on. He wanted to have every precaution taken to preserve property in case of relocation, to give the Japanese time enough and notice enough if they were to be relocated so that they could dispose of their property and move it to safe places. If they had to sell, they would not have to sell in an overnight rush sale.
- Parker: This is during the voluntary evacuation phase.
- Bary: We began to feel that the army was moving very definitely towards relocation. We encouraged whatever Japanese came to us for advice; we encouraged them to go East. There were comparatively few Japanese in the East. There was not the prejudice that had arisen on the West Coast. We wanted to encourage them to make an orderly change and avoid the possibility of a sudden evacuation with all the confusion and harm that would come from that.

Quite a few of them did go, particularly to Illinois. I understood that, perhaps from the influence of the University of Chicago, efforts were being made to help the Japanese to get

Bary: positions in that area and to keep down any prejudice that might arise. Quite a few went to Colorado, which seemed to be more friendly to the Japanese than many of the other western areas.

According to the plans that seemed to be agreed upon, attention was to be given to taking over certain warehouses, to remove property in an orderly fashion, and to make certain that no damage would result--that there would be no vandalism. In those efforts Mr. Neustadt was very active. While he did his best to prevent relocation, he recognized that it was undoubtedly inevitable. He bent his energies to trying to make the transition in as business-like, orderly a fashion as possible.

Parker: What was Mr. Neustadt like personally? What did he look like?

Bary: He was a man of medium height. His hair was grey. He was not too sturdy a person, but he looked well. He looked very intelligent, as he was. He was interested in people, and there was a warmth about him. You could feel that he cared about people.

Parker: He tried to deal with this humanely.

Bary: He was the most humane kind of person. At the same time, he was very discriminating. It was not a sentimental humaneness but an intelligent humaneness. He had very good presence; people would naturally accord him respect. He was always very courteous. I think he managed a good many people by courtesy. He dissolved the anger of people who at times would bob up with explosive anger.

He did not deal with women as happily as some people. He was, I think, unwilling to fight against a woman if she was fighting against him. For that reason, he preferred to deal with men rather than women. In situations which I have observed, women seemed to realize that, and they were unreasonable and unfair, which rather bolstered his opinion that most women are like that. That never extended to myself. I think he always had confidence that I was not going to trick him into any situation.

Parker: However, on this particular subject--that is, the plan for the Japanese relocation--he did hold his counsel tightly to himself. You were not aware too much of what was happening in the Federal Security Agency?

Bary: I was not too well aware because he devoted a great deal of time and attention to it, and I had a lot of other extra things to take care of.

Parker: Like general office administration?

Bary: Yes. He was deeply absorbed in this whole relocation. I was not in on any of the conferences with the army people, because we agreed that it was very much better that no woman should get in.

Parker: That would not be acceptable to the army--to negotiate with a woman?

Bary: No. I think it would have put a false note into the thing. The army is not used to being very respectful about women. At that time I think they regarded women as lower clerical people. Since then they have accorded them better treatment.

Parker: Did you have any involvement at all in setting up the civil control stations in the exclusion areas?

Bary: Yes. We had one specific task that was given to us--to prepare all the forms and papers that would be needed. There were I don't know how many: there were tags, forms, letters, and quite a bundle of things. I put on a small crew who assembled all of these various items and put them into large envelopes so that as the centers were organized, we could supply all of the forms that were needed in individual packages, which was aimed to simplify the operations in those centers. Instead of shipping the forms in bulk, each person, as he came up had his envelope with all the papers that he would need.

Parker: All the federal forms that had to be filled out by the local people.

Bary: Yes. Everything that had to be filled out. They numbered more than you would expect. We had a couple of rooms. The centers would notify us as to the number of people whom they expected, and we would ship it out, allowing enough surplus. They did tell us that that greatly simplified and prevented confusion in the centers.

Parker: Did the regional office have any control over the selection of personnel at the local centers, or was that through the state department--social workers who worked in the centers?

Bary: I think that was entirely in the state department; they provided social workers through their local offices.

Parker: Local public welfare departments.

Bary: Yes.

Post-War Returnees

Parker: You had some more contact with the Japanese who had been in relocation camps after the war was over--rather personal contact. Can you tell us about that?

Bary: Yes. As soon as the war with Japan was over and the army lifted its ban on travel so that people could leave the camps, we moved in in order to help them come away. Many of them were very reluctant to leave. They expected to be treated badly if they returned to their former locations.

We were not allowed a special budget to try to make a transition for any of the returnees. However, we squeezed our budget and began by taking four girls who had had instruction in stenography in the relocation camps. We found that they were not too skillful. Presumably, the ones who were sent to us were the best in those classes. However, they really were not up to a good standard of performance.

However, we had our pool supervisor drill them for perhaps a month to six weeks until they could handle the job acceptably. Then, as we saw they were coming along, we got jobs for them in other agencies and brought in new ones. We wanted to make certain that the girls who went to other agencies were proficient enough so that they would have an easy time. When we brought them back, I took them out to lunch the first day. I wanted to make sure that they were going to be treated politely.

Parker: At this time, you were acting regional director of the office, is that correct?

Bary: Yes.

Parker: You took a very personal responsibility for the reception of these people.

Bary: We did. The Quakers were very active in helping the Japanese. They had committees working and they had a whole list of places which had invited the Japanese to come. If we notified them that we were getting four girls, they would come and take them and house them. They also expressed an interest in taking girls to lunch to make sure they were not treated in any prejudicial fashion.

When I took them out, I found nothing but kindness. People came up to them and shook hands with them and said they were glad to see them back. Nobody spoke to them in any other fashion.

Bary: I was rather interested. Soon after that we had a street railway strike and there was no bus service for a bit. I arranged for transportation for the office; we had to figure it out by district. I found that all the Japanese girls were living in the most expensive part of town, and they were all living as guests.

Feelings about the Camps

Parker: Did you talk with the girls about their experiences in the relocation camps?

Bary: Yes, I talked to them about that. The girls that I contacted had all gone to classes. From what they told me, the women had cooperated in the camps much more so than some of the Japanese men. I myself have contacted a number of Japanese since then who told me very firmly that they did not work when they were in the relocation camp; they rested.

None of the girls had adopted that attitude. They seemed to feel that they had better go to classes and be prepared for whatever would eventuate after this experience.

When I had talked to them enough and had established friendly relations, I wanted to ask them what they really felt about the whole relocation. I recognized the fact that it was difficult to find out the true and deep feelings of people who wish to be very polite, that they are much more inclined to tell you what they think you wish to hear than to tell you the truth.

They knew that we had been opposed to the relocation and that we were not at all in agreement with the idea that it was necessary. I think that I got below that first desire to please me, and all the girls that I talked to said that they knew Japanese whom they would expect to sabotage if they had been left free. In some cases, it was a father or a father-in-law.

Of course, during the war we saw the kamikaze movement among many of those flyers who were quite willing to fly a load of ammunition aimed at a warship. They thought that if those men had had freedom to move, some would have committed outrages which would have brought down vengeance on the whole group. I think there is a real point in that. It is rather interesting to see from the sociological viewpoint another development which happened in the camps. That was according to Japanese tradition when a bride moved into a household, she was virtually a slave--a servant--of her mother-in-law. That was a very difficult

Bary: situation for the Nisei--the Americans born of Japanese ancestry. They had learned to be much more like Americans, to have respect for themselves, and not to be meekly subordinate to the mother-in-law.

In the camps the way that life was set up, the mother-in-law lost her authority. A couple of the Japanese young married women told me that they thought maybe a whole generation had been saved from breaking from that tradition. That may be a minor point of some benefit from the relocation.

Parker: The authority of the mother-in-law was broken in the camps.

Bary: Yes. Family structure varied. That pattern was broken. But there were so many things that were bad and unjust about the relocation that I do like to think that there was some small benefit, something, that came out of it.

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APPENDIX

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Porto Rico—A Test

By Valeska Bari

Miss Bari knows Porto Rico well. Three times she was sent down for the Federal Government, and she wrote the report on Child Welfare in Porto Rico, which was published in 1923 by The Children's Bureau. A few months ago she went down again on her own account to study some pressing problems, and this article, giving her general view of the situation, comes direct from the field.



A typical house in Porto Rico towns

OUR island possession of Porto Rico commemorated last year its twenty-fifth anniversary under the American flag, and from the stock-taking which anniversaries suggest one realizes that Porto Rico, the only Spanish colony in America which never attempted revolution against the mother country, under American control has had to face a peaceful but complete revolution. In these twenty-five years the island has passed, economically, from a land-owning feudalism toward industrial feudal-

pansion, on those former occasions we acquired much land and few people so that the acquired land filled up with settlers from the older States, but with Porto Rico we annexed an overpopulated island offering no possibility of adding enough people from the States to make automatic its integration with the nation. The problem is very different from that of Hawaii where, with greater wealth and far less density of population, thousands of Americans have established themselves and have made our language and traditions dominant. There is also no comparison with the

United States but without citizenship. In that year citizenship and a larger share in self-government were extended to them, but now the Governor is appointed by the President and the heads of the executive and judiciary departments are chosen by the President or by the Governor. This means that except for the activities of the Legislature—and over this the Governor has more control than have most governors in the States—the President, and back of him the American people, retain the control and consequently the responsibility for the development and well-being of Porto Rico.

Psychologically, the most persistent stumbling block between Porto Rico and the States is the constant reminder that, in spite of the fact that the American people hold control over their destiny, a large part of the nation does not even know that Porto Rico is under our flag. Foreign postage on the mail is too common to notice; national organizations and even government bureaus have been known to demand certification of papers before an American consul; and the number of our universities which list Porto Rican students as "foreign" is disheartening.

The problem of trying to extend



The Public Square in San Juan, showing a city government building

© Ewing Galloway, N. Y.

ism while, politically, a strongly centralized government has been endeavoring to teach the people to walk in the ways of democracy. The great currents have moved quietly; on the surface there have been occasional breakers and whitecaps—strikes which usually failed from the weight of overpopulation and political outbursts made extravagant and picturesque to catch the illiterate vote—but there still remain ahead many dangerous and uncharted rocks.

The problem of making Porto Rico a part of the nation is an experience unique in the history of the American people. Its conditions are different from those of any other territory annexed to the United States. In contrast to the territory absorbed in our Western ex-

position of the Philippines as the Porto Ricans are racially assimilable while the Filipinos are not.

The status of Porto Rico is different from that of these other islands. Hawaii as a Territory has a definite place in our political scheme but Porto Rico, like the Philippines, is only a possession; but, unlike the Philippines, to whom eventual independence has been held out, our policy toward Porto Rico—undefined in many respects—has never admitted independence as a possibility. Congress has been vague in stating what position Porto Rico should occupy in the nation, and this vagueness has made the question of status a political football. Until 1917 the Porto Ricans hung between heaven and earth, belonging to



The splendid military road

democratic government to Porto Rico is made slow and difficult because of the feudal background of the island. Under Spanish rule there existed two sharply defined classes—a small, upper class, educated in Spain and France, with wealth and Continental culture and traditions, and a large mass of uneducated people who lived irresponsibly and not unpleasantly from day to day, rendering an easy amount of labor to the landowner on whose estate they dwelt. Only a small percentage lived in towns, the professions were adornments of the upper class rather than occupations of the middle class, commerce was mainly in the hands of the Spaniards, and the middle class was few in number and of little importance. With this background, for the poor as well as for the rich, readjustment to the theory of democracy presents many difficulties.

The problem of introducing our social and political machinery is essentially an immigration problem, handicapped by the necessity of performing the work at arm's length from the body of the nation. We know in the States the difficulties of fitting into our social machinery those who come to our shores. In Porto Rico this is rendered more difficult by the fact that the islanders cannot be introduced in small numbers to a system already in operation, but that the system has to be brought to them and started among a mass of people all unfamiliar with its workings.

We are trying to give to the Porto Ricans the things which the Anglo-Saxons gained gradually through long struggles and by the proof of ability to bear responsibilities. This situation raises many searching questions and calls for working definitions of what we mean by all such easily uttered words as "democracy" and "education" and "justice." The translation of words from English into Spanish is only a symbol of the necessity of a translation of ideas.

Roads, Houses and Health

The sense of responsible participation in government which comes with the payment of visible taxes is had by a very small percentage of the Porto Rican people. The masses live in houses of almost no value, on land which usually belongs to some landowner, company, or to the government, with no definite idea of property and responsibility. Most of the people are too poor to pay for medical service, and the bulk of this work is performed gratis by government or company physicians. The splendid highways which—outside of town limits—traverse the island are the work of the Insular Government; in the towns the streets are frequently in poor repair, although everywhere one sees enough idle men to put them into good condition if there existed a sense of responsibility.

On education the Insular Government

spends proportionately more of its revenue than any of the States; everywhere the schools are the finest buildings in the community but one wonders what it means to a child, whose family of eight or ten persons lives in a hut of two rooms, to go to a beautiful, modern school. One wonders a little what jail means to a person who has never before had three meals a day; or what the half pay of workmen's compensation means to a man who is not unwilling to work only half time. For several years the International Health Board has been making a demonstration of the eradication of hookworm; latrines have been built and the population cleared of hookworm in considerable sections of the

From Porto Rico Miss Bari goes to the Virgin Islands. We have asked her to tell us about this newer possession of the United States in the same way that she has done about Porto Rico. Later, we shall hope to carry the series still further.

island, but reinspection has shown that a large part of the cured people have gone back to the old insanitary habits which make reinfection inevitable.

In the political organization of the island Congress granted the franchise to men without a literacy test. Today sixty per cent of the voters are illiterate and the ballots are adorned with kindergarten symbols and pictures, and again one wonders what democracy can mean to a man who painfully picks out a torch, or a palm tree, or a coconut on his ballot.

The island points with pride to the growth of its trade in twenty years from \$17,000,000 (1901) to \$240,000,000 (1920) at the peak of sugar prices, or \$136,000,000 (1922) at the low prices; but these figures do not reflect a proportionate increase in the general development of the island but rather a disproportionate development of sugar and tobacco under the stimulus of American protective tariff. To a great extent this means a substitution of a feudalistic industry for the old feudalism of birth and traditions. Also it presents all the hazards which single cropping has brought to other sections of the country. The scientific, large-scale production of sugar and tobacco has increased these crops enormously and has provided labor for thousands of workers, but it has also diverted much of the land from the production of foodstuffs and has created periods of inevitable unemployment. A generation ago the country people were poor to the point of destitution but they lived on land which produced food. They had no money but existence was not dependent upon money.

Now they live on rice and beans imported from the States, which have to be paid for in money. Thrift, which is no virtue in an undeveloped tropical country, has become a necessity. The standard of life and desires has been raised, people have been brought together into settlements, education—undreamed of a generation ago—is within reach, horizons have been flung open; but people may stumble as much from sudden light as from darkness.

This quick evolution of a simple people, living on the soil, to a life which has more the nature of industry than of agriculture, has been greatly stimulated by capital from the States. The rapid changes which have taken place have not been brought about by growth from within but by outside stimulus, and the necessary supporting social structure has lagged behind. With a gesture reminiscent of some of our own attempts to curb the evils of corporate control the island passed a law prohibiting the ownership of more than five hundred acres of land, but sugar and tobacco can be handled far more advantageously in large units and evolution is not to be stopped by such legal gestures. Strikes and the denunciation of American capital have produced little effect except to create a vague discontent and to raise at times the menace of an uneducated people moved by a blind sense of injustice.

Overpopulation

In this situation Governor Towner has taken a long step in the establishment of orderly relations by securing from the sugar interests a working agreement to pay a rate which is, in Porto Rico, a living wage, with automatic increases whenever the selling price of sugar advances beyond the basic cost. The establishment of this wage scale is the more important because, left to the unsentimental law of supply and demand, the overpopulation of the island leaves labor with little bargaining power. If the people were not peaceable and patient this natural disadvantage would probably cause them frequently to follow strike leaders into demonstrations of physical power. What little violence has occurred in the past in connection with strikes has been of slight importance except as it indicates what might happen in the future if the masses became convinced that they could not obtain natural justice through the orderly processes of society.

When we took over the island Porto Rico had a population of about 900,000, which has increased in twenty years by about 400,000, and this rate of increase may still be greater in the next decade as public health measures have already reduced the death-rate a third. Only three of our states have greater density of population and those states have vast

(Continued on page 26)

industrial development which provides work and wages for the people. Porto Rico has virtually no manufactures and to support its population according to any American standard of decency by means of agriculture is out of the question.

To meet this difficulty attempts have been made to introduce manufactures, but as yet these do not begin to provide work for the unemployed, and with no coal or other fuel for power only light manufactures can be attempted. Some of the surplus population has been sent in colonies to Santo Domingo and the Hawaiian Islands, and thousands have gone individually to New York, but far more needs to be done if the island is to avoid the troubles which this increasing menace of overpopulation will inevitably cause.

Our policy toward the immigrants within our shores has not always been distinguished by intelligence, and Porto Rico has suffered the additional handicap of being out of sight and too often forgotten. Governor has succeeded governor and few have remained long enough to develop a policy to meet the island's needs. At the present time under the leadership of Governor Towner, and with sugar bringing a good price, Porto Rico is probably better off than it has ever been before, but this condition rests upon insecure foundations.

It was we who annexed Porto Rico, and not they who asked to be taken into our family, and it is we who define the measure of their dependence, which is to say, our responsibility. They are a peaceful, law-abiding, friendly people, who can make a very real contribution to our culture. With friendliness and understanding on our part they will undoubtedly meet with credit the difficulties of readjustment inherent in their situation, but without this help these problems—for which we are so largely responsible—may well develop into ugly

situations. And in addition to the desire which we should have to acquire ourselves in a self-respecting fashion, it is well to remember that to all Latin America what we do in Porto Rico, and what we leave undone, is the test of our intelligence and sincerity. If we are to build for peace and understanding with the republics in the South, we must remember that the first span of the bridge rests upon Porto Rico.

FROM MINIMUM WAGE TO MASS PRODUCTION

BY VALESKA BARI

THE decision of the Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional the Minimum Wage Act of Arizona undoubtedly marks the end, so far as the United States is concerned, of a series of experiments in the control of wages by law. True, the laws enacted in several other States are not automatically invalidated by the Arizona decision, as those other laws have certain points of legal difference. The main difference is that under the Arizona statute, the legislature prohibited an employer from paying a woman employee less than a living wage and then specified that a living wage was not less than sixteen dollars a week; while according to most of the other minimum wage laws, the legislatures did not specify the amount of the living wage, but instead created boards or commissions to determine the amount of the minimum wage and stated that the orders adopted by such commissions should have the validity of laws regularly passed by the legislature.

By the Arizona decision, the court rules that it is an interference with the freedom of a woman for the legislature to say that she may not be employed at less than a stated amount; and while predicting what the Supreme Court may decide is one of the wildest gambles, it seems most unlikely that the court will permit a legislature to delegate to a board or commission a power which the legislature itself is forbidden to exercise. In 1923, the Supreme Court declared that Congress did not have the power to enact a minimum wage law for the District of Columbia; and since that decision, the enforcement of the state laws has been most difficult. Now comes the Arizona decision, knocking away the chief remaining props. Until the last point is settled by the

Supreme Court, the state commissions will probably continue some form of existence; but with the end apparently in sight, we may well ask ourselves just what has been the significance of minimum wage legislation, what was behind the movement, what it accomplished, wherein it failed, and to what extent its failure presages the failure of other measures of protective legislation; and, lastly, when we contemplate the removal of a force designed to benefit the mass of working women in the United States, we may ask if some other solution has presented itself, some other force been put in motion to accomplish the object which minimum wage laws were expected to accomplish.

The first minimum wage law in the United States was passed by Massachusetts in 1912, followed the next year by those of California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin. Then the Western landslide lost its force, and the only States which have since fallen into line are Arizona, Arkansas, Kansas, and the two Dakotas. In 1914, before the various commissions had had time to do more than map out their tasks, their work was halted by the appeal of the Oregon law to the Supreme Court, and pending that decision, not rendered until 1917, their hands were pretty well tied. The decision of the Oregon case — a tie vote of 4 to 4 which permitted the law to stand — left the States free to go ahead with the fixing of minimum rates, but by that time the war had reached us, wages and the cost of living were soaring, labor was in sharp demand, and the time was unfit for any but emergency measures. During the feverish period which followed, various attempts at constructive development were made, but the uncertainty of the time rendered such action very difficult, and while conditions were still unsettled came the decision invalidating the minimum wage act of the District of Columbia. The Washington board was stripped of its power; the state commissions limped along, legally still empowered to enforce their rulings but actually crippled by the general

belief that a test case would wipe out their authority also. The Arizona law was selected for a test in the belief that it had the best chance to stand in the courts. And now the Arizona law has been thrown out.

In weighing any social movement, it is essential to consider, not so much its stated purpose, as the source from which it flows. This, in the end, will be the deciding factor in its character and direction. To raise this point is to note the sharp difference between minimum wage legislation in the much-cited experience of Australia and the minimum wage in the United States. In Australia, the minimum wage has been a weapon of organized labor, applying to men as well as to women and children. It amounts to a recognition by the state of the union scale of wages. In the United States, on the other hand, the impetus for minimum wage legislation came from a middle-class reform element representing neither labor nor employers. It was largely a result of the suffrage campaigns and the feeling on the part of many suffrage leaders that the struggle of women for what the vote represented was closely allied with the struggle of labor for greater power. With their newly acquired vote, the women of the West rose to abolish industrial injustice.

The impetus for correcting the maladjustments of industry by legislation received reinforcement from various other quarters, such as the reports of the vice commissions in Chicago and other cities, which pilloried the employer whose starvation wages drove girls into prostitution. These reports furnished a dramatic and emotional appeal. Besides the women who worked for a minimum wage with one eye on the millennium, were those who had come into closer contact with industry. Here were found supporters of exactly opposite points of view: those who worked for a minimum wage because they considered it an avenue to the organization of women into unions, and the others who worked for a minimum wage in the belief that if the state gave women a certain standard of working conditions such action would

forever destroy the possibility of interesting women in unions.

Organized labor, as a whole, being skeptical of industrial reforms guided by middle-class persons, has been opposed to the establishment by the state of minimum rates of pay. Some of the resolutions of the conventions favored such legislation, but in actual performance they have withheld their support or have actively opposed such measures. Thus, for example, in California, the chief opposition came from the Garment Workers' Union, and the only representative union official who would accept appointment to the commission was from the building trades, whose membership includes no women and whose general point of view was that industrial strife was a man's fight and that women should be placed behind the fringing-line of protective legislation.

Most employers have been equally loath to see the state encroaching upon the right of the individual employer to regulate conditions in his own plant. The department store interests, however, were more friendly. They had been advertised so persistently as the cause of the downfall of young girls through paying starvation wages, that they welcomed almost any action which would put an end to such charges and place the stamp of official approval on their payrolls. Conditions in department stores have been improved greatly during the past decade; the stores wanted the public to realize that fact, and being accustomed to spend huge sums in announcing their wares, they regarded the minimum wage as an effective and not expensive means of good-will advertising.

This diversity of backing gave the administration of the minimum wage a different emphasis and significance in practically every State where it was put into effect, and the policy of each State changed as the appointees changed. If the Secretary happened to be a union enthusiast, the law could be used to stimulate interest in organization. If the

commission were dominated by some employer with, for example, a strong belief in the standardization of industry by its own action, the law could be used as a club to force industries to adopt standard practices—to "get there first"—and then place the stamp of official approval on industry's own regulations. And if the administration of the law was given to a political commission with no special knowledge or point of view about industry, the law might become an absolute dead letter whose very existence was unknown a block from the state house.

Just what minimum wage legislation has accomplished in the United States is a highly debatable point, and an accurate statement would necessitate a detailed account for each State of the social and industrial background as well as the operation of the law. The various commissions have issued reports at intervals, usually showing the rate of wages paid in certain industries before and after wage orders were adopted, the inference being that notable increases in pay occurred as a direct consequence of the orders. Now, the fact of the matter is that the principal minimum wage activity took place over a period when all wages were rising rapidly, and during that time virtually every payroll in the country showed a higher rate of pay than did the corresponding payroll for a year before. It may be that wages rose more rapidly because of the legal orders, but also it may be true that wages would have risen higher and more rapidly if employers had not held back on increases, waiting for the States to establish standards. In general terms, it is not possible to say that the minimum wage either raised or lowered wages, as no adequate statistics are available.

During the period from 1914 to 1920, the cost of living in the United States doubled. No governmental agency could be expected to keep abreast of the rapid and unpredictable changes which were taking place, and the commissions had to move slowly, knowing that it would not be easy to lower

a rate of wages once legally adopted. While none of the minimum wage commissions increased the legal rates proportionately to the increased cost of living, we should also bear in mind the fact that all wages, excepting the minority which went skyrocketing during the war, lagged behind the rising costs.

One of the battle-grounds of argument concerning the legal minimum wage was whether this legal rate would become the rate commonly paid to women. "The minimum will become the maximum," insisted the opponents, arguing that if some wages were raised to the legal rate, employers would even up this added cost by reducing the wages of other employees, so that the total amount paid out in wages would not be increased. This argument assumes that the legal rate would become the controlling factor in the situation, but as events have proved, economic laws are far more potent than state regulations.¹¹ In the States which fixed low legal rates, such as Minnesota and Wisconsin, most of the workers were paid in excess of the legal rate; this legal rate had practically no influence, and wages rose to the level caused by competition. (In California, where the legal rates were revised a number of times, the effect of different rates on the same groups can be noted, and we find exactly what we should expect: at the periods when the legal rate was low compared with prevailing wages, few women received only the minimum rate as competitive wages fixed a higher level; and later when competitive wages had declined to a point nearer the legal rate a much larger proportion of workers received no more than the legal standard.) And in the District of Columbia, where the legal rate was high compared with prevailing wages, a large proportion of the women received the legal amount and no more.

The same results were demonstrated in the matter of "learning periods." These learning periods—varying in different industries and in different States from a few weeks

to two or three years—permitted inexperienced workers to work for less than the legal minimum on the theory that the training which they were receiving served as partial compensation. The argument concerning learning periods involved the question whether employers would employ as many learners as permitted, keep them at the reduced rates as long as possible, and then discharge them when an increase in pay was due. In practice, what happened was just what might have been expected. Where the legal rate was high, employers classed as learners as many workers as possible, paid this reduced rate as long as permitted, in some instances discharging the learner when a raise was legally due; and experienced workers were known to take jobs as learners if they could not obtain jobs at the full rate. However, when competitive wages were distinctly higher than the legal rate, the workers were not obliged to begin at the low rates permitted by law, and the allowances for learners had no effect. All of which is to say again that economic laws are not to be waved aside by Canute-like gestures of legislation.

Undoubtedly the greatest effect of minimum wage legislation has been psychological. To write on the statute books the statement that all working women are entitled to a living wage means that women are recognized as a definite part of industry—regular workers and not casual, pin-money employees. But to write it also calls attention to the fact that it is a new condition, new to society, new to industry, new to the women themselves.

Industry, being better organized than society or than women at large, has made more definite strides towards the needed recognition and adjustment. In the main industries, employers have been organized for a long time. They have been getting together for common purposes; as a rule these common purposes have not included a frank discussion of payrolls, which were commonly considered private matters, but once the question of state regulation

become a controlling factor in industrial relationships. If we ask why that promise was not kept, we shall realize that the lack of development was a direct consequence of its background—enthusiasm and good intentions, not backed up by adequate knowledge of conditions, and reflecting no clear point of view. The minimum wage was a child of the progressive movement which seized upon industrial problems in the spirit of religious revival. We are frequently told that the way to cure a radical is to give him the responsibility of carrying out his theories, and much radical enthusiasm in this case was dampened by the difficult task of administering such laws.

According to the letter of the law, the commissions were given a large amount of police power. Under most of the minimum wage laws, the commissions could subpoena persons, compel employers to show their books, payrolls, and other documents relative to employment, and take to court any person who did not obey all the elaborate provisions of their formal orders. In actual practice, however, the commissions have done little compelling. They have waited at times for years for the co-operation of an industry before establishing legal standards, realizing that the American people have not yet been "sold" to the idea of government interference between employer and worker, and that with minimum wage as with all other labor legislation, it is not enough to say that a provision is according to law—it must be able to stand the test of reasonableness and workability.

Theoretically, the legal minimum wage is based on a scientific determination of the cost of living. In actual practice, the fixing of this cost of living has been a matter of bargain and compromise. The whole question of standards is a matter of opinion. Life can be sustained on a diet of rice, and people can sleep ten in a room. That would be a Chinese standard which no one would advocate for an American working woman, but just how far above that standard we shall draw a line and mark it "minimum," or

of wages was thrust upon their attention they took up the problem. In many instances, this led to the consideration and adoption of much more intelligent policies regarding all the problems of industrial relationships, as those problems, formerly left to foremen or superintendents, were now forced upon the attention of the responsible heads, whose time had previously been devoted to the financial, rather than to the human, factors of industry. As a result, vastly more thought has been given to personnel work, the selection and training of employees, and the creation of conditions which will make for stability and efficiency. Employers have been thinking in the terms of labor cost, rather than merely in terms of wages, and this, in turn, has shown the high cost of labor turnover, the value of retaining a well-trained working force and of fostering incentives to produce; all of which, again, has led to many constructive policies for improving the condition of the workers. This trend towards a more systematic handling of employment problems has been going on, of course, throughout the country. The threat of legal interference in the matter of wages—directly in the States where minimum wage laws had been enacted, and indirectly in the other States—stimulated and speeded the process.

Among the workers themselves, far less effect can be noted. Employed women fall naturally into two groups: those who regard their occupation as casual and temporary and are not even keen about their pay checks so long as they can "get by"; and those who take work more seriously, in which case they regard themselves as individuals and do not expect to be benefited by legislation aimed to protect working women—in fact, they more often consider themselves handicapped in the race with men by such measures of protective legislation as apply to them. As neither of these groups is interested in such laws as minimum wage, the insignificant response which the commissions encountered from employed women is not surprising.

Twelve years ago, minimum wage legislation promised to

lowest, is a highly debatable point. The Massachusetts law specified that the board should consider the condition of each industry before establishing minimum rates; none of the other laws called for this consideration of the ability of an industry to pay increased wages, but in practice, every commission had to weigh carefully the condition of the industries, otherwise the orders would have been almost certain to cause disturbance and dislocation. What the commissions really did was first to make investigations as to current wages and then to standardize the practice of the better establishments. Some of the commissions gave serious attention to the standard of living, but with others it was a mere legal justification for fixing rates. Thus, at the present time, under the Massachusetts orders, in the millinery workroom an experienced woman over eighteen may not be employed for less than \$10 a week, while in the men's clothing industry an experienced woman of the same age must be paid not less than \$15 a week; all of which, regarded simply on the basis of cost of living, is not easy to understand.

When it came to adopting regulations, the crux of the problem was invariably the worker who is below the average. The competent worker could always produce enough to justify a living wage, but industry utilizes the services of many persons who are not competent or are not prepared to earn their living. The attempt to establish minimum rates immediately brought up all the problems of education and the proper equipment of women and children for industrial service. The commissions found themselves faced with the need of sweeping changes in the school system, and that, as everyone knows who has tried to re-organize the schools, is an uphill fight against solidly entrenched forces.

Besides the need of better training for workers before they enter industry, came the large question of the efficient handling of labor on the job. Just as the requirement of workmen's compensation placed a burden upon industry

which could be shouldered only through the application of safety measures to cut down the cost of accidents, so the requirement that every woman be paid a living wage called for the application of efficiency measures which would make sure that the employee accomplished enough to earn such wages. If all establishments were efficient and profitable, the problem of good wages for all workers could easily be solved. But to make industry profitable was a task quite beyond the power of the minimum wage commissions—a task which all our chambers of commerce and business associations have not yet been able to solve.

Here, then, were the great stumbling-blocks. To administer a minimum wage law intelligently, without damaging the community which it was intended to serve, called for fundamental changes in the structure of industry, finance, and education; and to raise wages without giving proper consideration to the underlying conditions was like trying to lift a table by jerking up one leg. Most of the commissions came to realize this fact, if not clearly enough to state the matter in open terms, at least enough to move slowly and to stimulate interest in the fundamental problems involved. In thus helping to define the problems which lie behind the problem of wages, the movement for legal regulation of wages has indirectly rendered a vast service.

If the legal minimum wage is to go by the board, we are confronted naturally with the query: what will happen to other protective legislation, particularly to the child labor laws and the laws restricting the hours of labor of women? So far as constitutionality is concerned, the States have been upheld in the right to enact such laws, but in the last ten years it has become increasingly difficult to secure their passage. We are now suffering from a conservative reaction against social measures, the advocates of this type of legislation maintain. But it would be more intelligent to say that we are suffering from a reaction against ill-fitting solutions for our problems, and we are gathering the courage to say

"No" to measures, altruistic in purpose, when we consider them ill-advised.

The first flush of victory has faded since women gained the vote, and they have had time to learn that it takes more than laws to make the world over. They are realizing rather pointedly that in the one labor problem controlled by women — that of household servants — women have made a conspicuous failure; and as more women have gone into the business world and taken a responsible part in public affairs, they have come to see how complicated are many of the problems which from the outside appeared so simple. This knowledge has made women for the moment reluctant to plunge into experimental legislation.

Twice the federal government has been prohibited by the Supreme Court from trying to regulate child labor by indirect means; and the proposed constitutional amendment which would enable Congress to pass a direct child labor law, presented to the States for ratification, was either ignored or rejected in 1925 by most of the legislatures. Most of the legislatures will meet again in 1927, when we shall doubtless have another general campaign for ratification. The setback to minimum wage legislation — and, more important, the fact that this setback has been received with general unconcern — will probably add to the doubts with which the proposed amendment has already been received by the States.

So many problems are involved in that of child labor, that we need to examine all the conditions before deciding that the point of attack should be by means of a federal child labor law. The chief evil in child labor to-day is not that the child will be hurt directly by his work, but that he will be denied because of it the education necessary to fit him for the struggle for existence. There is no value in keeping a child from work unless it is made possible for him to spend that time more profitably. There is no use in raising the age limit at which children are permitted to go to work unless the school system is prepared to fill the gap, and the problem

cannot be solved by police measures to keep the children in school; the gap can only be filled by making the school compete in interest with the realities of work.

Many of the working children in this country are the children of immigrants, and the basic problem is that of the immigrant family, rather than that of the child's work. And even for the much-advertised exploitation of native American children in the Southern cotton mills, there is more to be said than appears on the surface. Life in the mill towns is certainly not ideal; and yet the standard of life in the families who have moved down to the mill towns is so great an advance in comfort and decent living over the abject poverty, isolation, and lack of schools in the mountain districts, that one needs to appreciate what the mountaineers have gained in coming to the mills before insisting that they be placed immediately on a level with those who have earned for themselves still greater advantages of education.

Behind the movement to shorten the working hours of women, there is a different backing. While minimum wage and child labor activities have come from a middle-class reform element, the various eight-hour and other laws to limit the work of women have been due mainly to organized labor. Union labor is committed to the programme of securing a shorter working day for women, and its efforts will go on, though retarded, undoubtedly, by the recession of the progressive wave which lent great help to this movement ten years ago.

Organized labor knows that its effort to shorten the working day is one of the chief incentives to bring women into unions. Its leaders also know that the passage of a law restricting the working hours of all women would lessen the reasons why women should join unions. To this extent, it is not to their advantage to have the state step in and limit the hours of work — unless such a law is passed because of pressure of labor. Also, to pass again from a point of theory to one of practical fact, most of the labor departments of

our States are sympathetic to organized labor, and their standpoint is not uncolored by the feeling that an eight-hour law, for example, is a state recognition of a union principle, rather than a law to be literally enforced; which is to say, bluntly, that the union shop which works overtime and pays for that overtime is less likely to be taken to court than a non-union shop which works overtime and does not pay for the excess labor. With this point of view on the part of many labor officials, we may expect a steady but not dramatic effort for limiting the working hours of women.

Whatever the shortcomings of the legal minimum wage, it must be considered in the light of its purpose, which was to raise the standard of life of those least able to help themselves. Directly, it did comparatively little to accomplish this object, but indirectly it did a great deal to illumine, if not to solve, the problem, and in the clearer light of to-day we may see emerging, as this artificial, legal device is removed, a natural and far more potent means for raising the standard of life: the movement towards mass production.

In the last ten years, and particularly in the last five years, the idea of mass production as the way out of our industrial maladjustments has permeated our business world. The theory of mass production is based on a revolution in point of view — the realization that labor is the great consumer as well as the producer, and that therefore the expansion of American industry depends upon the payment of "comfort wages" to the bottom half of the national payroll. Most foreign markets to-day are doubtful, but the vast American market is at hand, trained to buy as far as its pocketbook will stretch, to raise its standard of taste, its standard of education, its standard of investment, with incredible speed. Manufacturer and distributor alike have gained a vision of the consuming power of the American people. It is through the nation-wide business associations that this revolution in standpoint has come about. To the individual employer, the workers on his payroll are em-

ployees, but to employers in the mass, the workers are consumers as well as producers. In this change of attitude, accepted by the financial leaders and now permeating business as a whole, has been generated a force for raising the standard of life of the workers in the United States vastly more powerful and far-reaching than any dream of those who tried to prop up the standard of life by the artificial means of legislation. ¹ *Industrial Revolution in America, 1870-1914*

Undoubtedly, minimum wage laws have done much to spur on the brains of industry to solve the problem of raising the standard of wages of the low-paid groups through some means within the process of industry itself, in order to keep free from the hampering influence of legislation and politics; and industry has found the solution in mass production. If minimum wage advocates are interested primarily in the end at which they were aiming, rather than in their own chosen path for arriving at that end, they may take satisfaction in realizing that they have given a stimulus to what is proving to be a larger and more effective means for raising the standard of life and wages of all the workers of the country.

Citizens Who May Not Have Wives

Loyal Chinese Americans, Deprived by Law of an Elemental Human Right, Are Asking Us to End This Injustice

By VALESKA BARI

“THIS is the reason I wish I were not an American citizen,” a Chinese merchant remarked to me recently as he handed me a photograph of a charming Chinese girl holding in her arms a shining-eyed youngster. “If I were an alien and not an American citizen I could have my wife with me. And I’ve never even seen my boy.”

“But you must be mistaken,” I assured him. “The United States wouldn’t deny to citizens the rights which it gives to aliens of the same race.”

“That is what we all thought, too, but it isn’t so,” he replied. “I was born in California, and my father before me. It’s my home, my country. I was educated in the public schools and went to the state university. I own property, and I pay taxes. Three years ago I went over to China for the first time and married, but when I tried to bring my wife back with me I found that the law had been amended and she could not be admitted to the United States. Yet last year my assistant, who is an alien, born in China, went back, married, and returned with his wife. So you see, the alien has rights which are denied to the citizen.

“At first we all thought there must be some mistake and we carried a test case to the Supreme Court, but the court ruled that the law was clear and that any relief would have to come from Congress. At the short session Congressman Dyer, who has traveled extensively in China and knows the Chinese people, offered to introduce a bill to restore to citizens who had alien-born wives the right to have them admitted, but the Immigration Committee did not even report the bill to the House. You don’t believe me,” he added with a poor attempt at a smile. “Won’t you look it up?” So I have.

The Immigration Act of 1924—known in immigration circles as the “Irritation Act”—is remembered by the average American because of the affront which we offered to the dignity of Japan. In “face” Japan was the conspicuous sufferer, but the actual hardships of the

new provisions fell most heavily upon American citizens of the Chinese race, for indirectly, but none the less effectively, the great majority of our citizen Chinese were prohibited from any chance of marrying. Previously the wife of a citizen was admissible as a non-quota immigrant. But no longer. Now, if a citizen of Oriental ancestry desires to enjoy the society of his wife he must marry a woman who is already here—which for the Chinese is not so simple when one realizes that there are over twenty thousand single Chinese men in the country and less than one thousand unmarried women over fifteen.

Gloom spread through San Francisco Chinatown when the Supreme Court decision upholding the law was handed down. This is the largest and oldest colony of Chinese in America, once the focus of race prejudice but now one of the show places of the city. Before elections, mayors and legislators and congressmen come to Chinatown to ask for votes. They appear in the beautiful assembly hall of the Chinese branch of the

Native Sons of the Golden West and address their hearers as “Fellow citizens,” but none of the members of Congress have returned to that platform to explain to those fellow citizens why Congress presented them the alternative of extinction or expatriation.

The new Immigration Act went into effect July 1, 1924. At the time thirty-five wives of citizens were on the high seas. Their passports had been visa-ed by American consuls in China; with high hopes they had started out to make homes in the land of their husbands, only to be held up at the ports of entry with the information that the law had been changed and that their passports, for all their seals and stamps, were no longer valid. Some were brides coming with their husbands. Some were wives who had waited in China while their husbands saved up money for the wife’s passage and for equipment for a home. Some had children—the children were citizens and could remain but the mothers were ordered back to China. One mother had a nursing babe, a delicate infant whose life would have been endangered by separation. The immigration inspector wired Washington for a decision—should he risk the life of a citizen by insisting upon separation of mother and babe?—and Washington wired back admitting the mother for three months, under bond to depart at the end of that time.

No more wives were allowed to sail from China. Of those held in detention the Chinese branch of the Native Sons came to the rescue with attorneys and at last secured permission for them to join their husbands for three months, under bond, while the cases could be tested in the courts. No one in the Chinese colony could believe that Congress had intended to take away from citizens the possibility of having their wives live with them, but as the months dragged by, punctuated by conflicting decisions, they began to doubt. In three districts the judges ruled that wives of citizens must be admissible, but in other districts the judges ruled adversely. The three months passed, but amid scenes of



San Francisco's Chinatown is the largest and oldest Chinese colony in America

parting came an extension of time while the Supreme Court was to decide the question. So the cases lingered. One child died at Angel Island detention station, and several children were born. Then came the Supreme Court decision that the law, as written, was clear and that only a new law could grant admission.

Again the wives prepared to leave their husbands and go back to China, but again their attorneys secured an extension of their bonds. Congress was going to meet and Mr. Dyer would introduce a bill to restore to these citizens the rights which they had formerly exercised and which all other citizens enjoy. The Immigration Committee of the House promised a public hearing and from all parts of the country came delegations of citizen Chinese to present their case. Their testimony was not organized, nor did they think it necessary to ask the support of the social welfare groups. All that was required, they thought, was that Congress understand that an obvious error had crept into the law when it was rewritten, and that this considerable group of citizens were now permanently separated from their wives.

NO more than that was needed, they thought, but as the hearing progressed they discovered that the committee apparently did not consider that a citizen had an obvious, fundamental right to the society of his wife. One after another of the Chinese raised the question: "We are American citizens. Is it right that American citizens should be prohibited from having their wives live with them?" No one answered Yes or No, but the question was side-tracked and argument was shifted to charges of fraud against Chinese and several of the committee seemed to think that if some Chinese endeavored to perpetrate frauds concerning entry this fact offered sufficient excuse for denying to all citizens of the Chinese race the right to have their wives join them in America.

In the past comparatively few Chinese brought their wives to America and of the children born here the majority of the girls were sent back to China. This situation the committee took as evidence that the Chinese were only technically citizens and that they had no desire to become citizens in spirit. In explanation of the small number of women and girls the Chinese referred delicately to race prejudice, but from a mistaken sense of courtesy they refrained from defining what race prejudice had meant.

What they should have explained, what lies at the root of many circumstances which we hastily interpret as evidence of unassimilability—is this: In

every Western town in the good old days where there were numbers of Chinese, they were required to live in a restricted district. Housing was indescribably cramped and unsanitary. At one time Chinatown in San Francisco housed nearly 30,000 persons on less than thirty-five acres, living in dwellings seldom over three stories high. This meant sleeping ten, twenty, even thirty in a room, often on racks, one bed above another, with barely enough space between racks to permit a person to pass in and out. Even a merchant of wealth might not be able to rent more than two small rooms for his family.

Then add to the congestion and lack of sanitation the fact that in the old



Ralph Quan, an American citizen and the son of an American citizen, was brought to America by his mother so that his father might see him. She could enter only as a temporary visitor

days of segregation the Tenderloin was always planted next to Chinatown. Old St. Mary's Church in Chinatown, San Francisco, still bears beneath its clock the words, "Son, observe the time and fly from evil," a warning put up when the clock looked down upon the most notorious alleys of the redlight district.

San Francisco was a "man's town" in those days, a port of the world welcoming the ships of the world to a holiday free from restraints; but what the Chinese, forced to live in that district, thought of American civilization would be illuminating.

I was talking the other day with an old settler, who referred to another pioneer, recently dead. "He was a very humane man," she remarked, "exceedingly humane—he never even allowed his boys to throw stones at the Chinese."

Such were the conditions to which the Chinese referred as "race prejudice," conditions which the present generation of Californians has hardly realized; but

those who remember know why home-loving men preferred to leave their wives in China.

To discuss adequately all that is implied in the exclusion of the wives of citizens of Oriental ancestry would fill a large volume, but a few high points stand forth. The change in the law may possibly have slipped in by mistake, for no one has come forward to claim responsibility, but if it was intentional it was probably directed not at the Chinese upon whom it has fallen but against the Japanese. There are now in the United States twice as many Japanese as Chinese, including far more women and American-born children. As yet few of these children have reached marrying age, but the numbers of boys and girls are approximately equal and there is every probability that most of them will choose mates among those with whom they have grown up, rather than go over to Japan to marry; in which event, to restore to citizen Japanese the right to bring in alien-born wives will result in very little addition to the Japanese population in this country.

As to the Chinese, we are faced by no yellow peril. Their numbers in the United States are diminishing rapidly. The 1920 census lists only 61,639 and at the rate of decrease there are today probably not over 50,000. The American-born Chinese numbered in 1920 only 18,532, and of this number 13,318 were males.

TO permit these few thousand citizens to go to China and bring back wives—their only chance of marrying within their own race—threatens no peril. To expect them to live celibate lives, without homes and without families, is to make a joke of their citizenship and to invite a very genuine moral hazard. And to take the stand that all the citizen Chinese should be punished because attempts are made to bootleg alien Chinese into the country is hardly becoming to a nation with our record for breaking prohibitory laws.

Mr. Dyer will again introduce his bill when Congress meets in December, and it is to be hoped that the forces in America which are working to protect the rights of citizens and to promote good will and understanding between the different elements which make up our nation will give to this problem the attention and interest without which the present injustices will not be corrected.

(If you sympathize with these fellow-citizens of yours, why not drop a letter to your Congressman and tell him what you think about the matter? It does no good for citizens to think about things if they do not let their representatives know what they think. In a cause like this, every sign of interest helps.—ED.)

Shall Women Be Protected?

By VALESKA BARI¹.

ALL the laws passed by the various States to shorten the working hours of women, to protect them from starvation wages and from the strains of night work are again threatened by the renewed campaign for the Blanket Amendment. The right of the normal woman to her freedom is argued against the theory that the state should restrict the liberty of all women in order to protect the helpless. On either side the theories are convincing; discussion of them brings us flatly to the question, What does protective legislation mean in our national life?

We class these laws as labor laws but they have been held constitutional only on the grounds that they are health measures, designed to protect women as potential mothers. On this biological basis we restrict women from the freedom of contract which the Constitution guarantees to citizens in general. Logically, we might expect that the administration of such measures would be given to the health authorities so that enforcement could be directed with a rounded awareness of all working conditions which might be harmful to women in their biological functions, but nowhere are the laws enforced as health measures. The muddle of protective legislation is due mainly to this basic subterfuge.

Other countries have enacted legislation controlling the conditions of employment for women compared to which our laws are mere gestures, and those laws have been accepted by industry because they rest upon definite and responsible foundations. Imperial Germany, with an eye on world domination, developed a complete system of protecting all the workers—men, women, and children—on the theory that the citizens existed for the benefit of the state, and the state was protecting its property. Britain has enacted legislation which to us appears highly socialistic

but which is understandable on the basis of fixed classes: the recognition of a ruling class carrying with it the responsibility of that class for those beneath it, and the fixed position of the laboring class. Australia's labor legislation is a recognition of union principles, the controlling class placing the stamp of official approval on its own regulations.

Our protective legislation, in contrast, is chiefly an outgrowth of charity. Our charities grew from a personal and volunteer to a professional and organized basis, then widened into social agencies which discovered that many of the persons they were called upon to assist were the human wreckage of industry. In seeking to get at the roots welfare workers lent their strength to the movement which labor was making to obtain politically what it was too weak to obtain by industrial organization.

The attitude of labor toward protective legislation is a confused mixture of aggression and defense. Organized labor has had no clear policy concerning political action. Few women have been organized into unions. Some of the leaders who hoped to organize the mass of women have opposed the passage of laws which would wipe out the incentives to organization, and others, losing faith in the possibility of getting women to join unions, have accepted the viewpoint that the struggle for organization was a man's fight and that the women should be taken off the industrial firing line and placed behind a barricade of protective laws. Most of the women of organized labor have worked valiantly for ameliorative laws, partly hoping for the prestige of victory and the chance to use the administration of the laws to the general advantage of organized labor, but largely from a genuinely altruistic desire to improve the conditions of all working women. They have

been responsible for introducing many of the bills to shorten the working hours of women and to curtail night work, even though they knew that such laws would lessen the incentives to unionization. To minimum-wage legislation they have given little support—and at times active opposition—but minimum wage has been from the start a reformers' and not a union program, and labor has been suspicious of surrendering the control of wages to boards on which it would have only a minority vote.

The officials to whom the enforcement of these laws has been given have been drawn partly from organized labor, partly from the social-welfare group, and partly from groups chosen for political reasons. More have been appointed from the ranks of labor than their political effectiveness warranted, but often these appointees have been the "old war horses" of the labor movement rather than the more aggressive younger blood, and they have taken their positions rather as rewards for past services than as opportunities for constructive use of the power given to them. It is a matter of interest, at times of discouragement, to observe how little is often accomplished by labor representatives when given the enforcement of labor laws. They are, of course, seldom given a free hand from above as few governors would stand back of a policy which would irritate business interests. They are hampered in taking cases to court as usually they have to employ the legal services of public prosecutors both ignorant and suspicious of social-welfare legislation.

The position of a labor representative enforcing a labor law is far from easy. He can hardly be expected to prosecute a union establishment as readily as a non-union shop; for this there is considerable justification in spirit if not in the letter of the law. The union recognizes the principle of overtime work and overtime pay, and this overtime pay serves not only as a deterrent to extra work but also it pays for some "extra" which either actually or psychologically tends to offset the strain of additional work. A non-union shop usually does not pay for overtime, particularly if in violation of the law—partly for the reason that the extra wage would constitute evidence of the violation. The recognition of the union by an employer gives the workers a greater degree of protection, and a more tangible protection, than is given by protective laws. If all the workers belonged to unions protective laws as we now have them would be unnecessary; consequently it is only natural that labor representatives should consider protective legislation as a political substitute for organization, to be enforced only against non-union establishments. This point of view, while almost unavoidable, is of course quite without the law. It makes protective legislation, as administered by labor representatives, a weapon in the struggle between workers and employers and reduces the scientific bases, such as those of strain and fatigue, to mere subterfuges.

A further weakness of enforcement by labor people is that they know too much of the conditions they are called upon to improve. They know all the practical, workroom difficulties of the present system and by familiarity are tolerant where an outsider, less aware of the difficulties, by the very attitude of being unreasonable would force industry to direct more of its brains and imagination toward improving conditions.³

Where the enforcement of protective legislation is given to members of the social-welfare group they have usually

found themselves stranded like orphans in an alien world. The background of the social worker consists of a half knowledge of economics, sociology, public health, and kindred subjects. In seeking the passage of such laws the group argues not merely in general humanitarian terms that the long working day, low wages, and night work are harmful to the individual woman and her family but also that they are directly and indirectly inefficient, and harmful to industry itself. On this basis the enactment of such measures becomes a matter of giving the advocates a chance to use the force of law to demonstrate their point. Herein lies the essential difference between protective legislation gained by the efforts of reformers and laws gained by the strength of labor. The police club of enforcement is needed to compel attention, but the effort of the law should be directed toward changing the viewpoint of industry. For instance, the object of enforcing an eight-hour law should be to demonstrate that long hours are bad business practice. So, too, with low wages and night work; once get industry to realize that they mean inefficiency and higher costs and business will exert itself to solve the problem.

There are two approaches whereby officials enforcing protective legislation can carry their point. One is by knowing more than business knows and by telling business exactly what to do to correct its shortcomings. The other method is by using the force of law to irritate business into solving the problems in self-defense. Either method would be effective but the social-welfare group has neither the knowledge necessary for first-class scientific administration on the one hand nor the courage and dramatic insight requisite for first-class propaganda on the other; consequently, its enforcement of protective laws has been a muddled mixture of the two.

Most enforcement officials have utterly failed to realize that protective legislation occupies much the same relation to industry as does a guard placed around a dangerous machine, which serves to prevent the operator from being hurt but which is usually hampering to the worker who desires to turn out a creditable amount of product. The guard is clumsy because it was not designed as part of the process; such a guard should be considered merely a temporary expedient. The next step is to build a new machine whose operation will embody the principle of safety to the operator.

The foundations of protective legislation are muddled and its administration has been muddled, but to abolish the whole structure would not necessarily clarify the situation. To remove the special legislation which has been enacted because of the biological functions of woman would not change the physical handicaps of those functions or their importance to society but would only grant the doubtful benefit of an eighteenth-century liberty to engage in twentieth-century industry. But in bringing to public consideration the whole question of protective legislation, in questioning its value and pointing out its weaknesses and inconsistencies, the agitation for an amendment which would wipe all such laws from the statute-books is rendering signal service. It has reduced protective legislation from its niche of sacredness and permanence to its proper position as a temporary expedient, and it has stimulated thought as to the possible solution by industrial means of the problems which protective legislation is striving to meet by legal and political means.

The Decline of Ownership

WITH increasing frequency European economists are citing American experience as an example of the development and entrenchment of capitalism, and we ourselves commonly remark that there is less danger of communism in the United States than in any other country of the world. But the very acceptance and reiteration of the statement carries a challenge. With the front door so definitely barred, may there not be side doors through which the essential spirit of communism may enter?

The bulwark of our present prosperity has consisted in the activity in our building and automobile industries. Both these industries have owed their expansion to an extension of credit so general that the change in degree has become a change in essence. An increasing proportion of our population lives in houses and rides in cars which nominally are owned, but the word "own" has lost its sharp definition.

At the present time a person can "buy" a house for virtually no down payment and continue to pay interminable instalments at practically the same rate as rent. Who really owns the house? Through various ramifications the money ultimately comes out of savings institutions, which means the resources of the general mass of the people. Thousands of these houses are allowed to revert to their former ownership, with no heartrending regrets, and the "tragedy" of mortgage foreclosure has been relegated to the melodrama of a past generation. So, too, with cars, many of which are not paid for until they are ready to be scrapped. Likewise furniture—prominently the davenport suite now being foisted upon the country, built to last only until the final payment is made—with household equipment, phonographs, radios and even clothes. Once we bought things. Now the term "buy" has been modified to a less definite method of acquisition. *Instead of things we are getting the use of things.*

This shift in emphasis from things to service is a commonplace of advertising, which is the keenest barometer we have of the attitude of mind of both producer and consumer. A small percentage of exclusive articles is sold for possession, but the mass

of goods today are sold not as things to be owned but as instruments of service. The salesman who sells a motor talks not of initial cost, but of cost per mile, and the man who comes to your door with a broom gives you the price in terms of cost per month of service. Prices themselves are changing from solid figures to cost per unit of use. It is carefully planned sales psychology, directed at a public whose viewpoint toward ownership has undergone a fundamental shift.

A generation ago no one would have believed that credit would be extended in the widespread fashion and in the considerable amounts which are now a matter of daily practice. We should have referred to such a condition as approaching the millennium of faith and good feeling. Possession in those days commonly meant a bleak self-denial, possession was colored with an unlovely self-righteousness. The objects acquired became of value chiefly as evidence of denial of natural desires. To have made acquisition less back-breaking would have been considered immoral.

We have passed from these stern virtues to a materialistic age. We have things, we want things, and we enjoy them, frankly; sometimes vulgarly and ostentatiously. It might be interesting to consider how much this is a subconscious revolt against the worship of things, not for themselves or for their usefulness, but as symbols of the puritanical virtues of thrift and denial. At any rate our relationship to things has changed profoundly. In place of the virtue of denial we are taking a frank pleasure in possession. It may be materialistic but at least we are stripping possession of much of its rigidity and ugliness.

In a generation the aspect of our cities has changed. Our architecture reflects in stone an unarticulated realization that many possessions are mere burdens, too heavy for the individual to carry. Families which would have considered it beneath their dignity a generation ago not to maintain a pretentious home have moved into hotels or apartments. The quarters they occupy are simplified, with the possibility of using on occasion reception and dining-rooms more elaborate than those they had in their

former houses. They entertain in a public ball-room, with no aristocratic shudder to think that the room may be rented the next evening to someone else. They are abdicating possession in order to gain use.

The club-houses which are springing up all over the country, whose building operations have shot up into the forefront of our national statistics, are serving the function of taking the burden of social activities out of the individual home. Membership may carry an aristocratic flavor, but the steady process goes on of building up community facilities and minimizing the need of individual possessions. With their thousands of members and their fees within the reach of the bulk of the population, these clubs have passed beyond the assumption of acquaintanceship, beyond the range of any special groups, halfway toward community projects.

With restricted living space the ownership of books is yielding place to patronage of circulating libraries, and this fee service is growing much more rapidly than the free service of public libraries. People quite able to purchase books are renting them to escape the burden of ownership. The public is willing to pay, but in its new desire for freedom and under the conditions of living it is choosing to pay for the use of things rather than be burdened with possession. The same movement has started in connection with pictures and other works of art. Some of our libraries now loan reproductions of paintings. Chicago has instituted a system of circulating originals on a yearly fee basis which suggests enormous possibilities. Among the group of persons who know current values there is a steady flow of possession in etchings, paintings and other objects of art, partly for the educational value of knowing by association a wider range of subjects and partly to overcome the sense of restriction in city quarters by frequently changing the decorative content of those quarters. Much of modern painting has an interesting and stimulating character which suggests temporary rather than permanent ownership, and the establishment of a system of circulating modern works of art has been prophesied by several dealers as a logical outgrowth of present-day conditions.

The fashion in antique furniture has wiped out the stigma of the word "second-hand," and with the increased manufacture of copies of antique design the successive and temporary ownership of furniture has become fairly common. In offices it is not unusual to exchange the typewriters and other office machinery each year for new ones, reducing the status of ownership to that of use only. The towel supply has virtually abolished the individual ownership of towels throughout offices and business establishments, and restaurants and hotels are ceasing to own their own linen, finding it simpler to buy service rather than goods. The window cleaners provide their own equipment, the household cleaners come with their own vacuum cleaners and other tools, and

the caterer brings his own silver and linen. It is probably only a matter of a short time before city dwellers at least will buy service from laundries and not attempt to own their own sheets and pillow-cases.

To come down to the very personal possession of clothes, some laundries now guarantee a certain minimum of washings for collars, which is only a step to furnishing service, when a man will no longer own his own shirts and collars, but will pay for so many changes a week. Certain brands of hose are sold under guarantee of a minimum length of service, which alters the nature of ownership. In the matter of women's clothes, certain current expressions indicate that the sense of appropriateness is coloring the sense of possession. "This is yours," we say, or "This is not yours," with no meaning of legal ownership. A slang expression, of course, but an indication of a widespread feeling that use is one of the elements of ownership. For a long time masquerade, dress, riding and other special sports clothes have been rentable and these services are being extended and are now used, not apologetically, but frankly as a modern space- and money-saving convenience. In many communities the clothes of the rich are being renewed to their pristine freshness and sold, not to the charity group which can make no proper use of them, but to middle-class women whose grandmothers would have been horrified at the suggestion of purchasing second-hand clothing, who regarded garments as intimate possessions and not as their granddaughters do, as articles of temporary use.

In our habit of placing black or white labels upon human institutions we lose sight of the fact that one condition grades into another by imperceptible degrees. We think, for instance, of human slavery and human freedom in terms of black and white without realizing that private property in human life was a matter of a thousand shades of gray. We forget that slavery in the North faded out as economic conditions changed, that slavery in the British West Indies was abolished by gradual process, that in the Spanish colony of Porto Rico where the natural flow of conditions was allowed to operate, the edict of emancipation in 1873 found nine-tenths of the colored population already freed.

It is by no means impossible that the black and white of communism and capitalism may not shade into each other by imperceptible degrees. The idea of the forcible confiscation of private property and its conversion to general use is abhorrent to the American mind, and the attempt to bring about such a change suddenly would undoubtedly lead to a civil war more bitter than the war which grew out of the threatened confiscation of private property in slaves. The fact that we engaged in a ruinous civil war in order to settle one problem of private property challenges us to meet with intelligence our changing relationship to property in things, and vastly more important than the steps which are

marked by laws is the background psychology showing itself in our daily relationships.

To gain the freedom and efficiency which are the vaunted goals of our civilization, we are slowly but surely exchanging the burdens of possession for service. Voluntarily, of course, and as a logical and intelligent development of our capitalistic system. We reject with asperity the vague doctrine of the brotherhood of man and the contention that every human being as such has a right to his share in the fullness of earth, but we hail the soundness of the capitalistic doctrine of the development of the domestic market which asks in the interest of mass production that each one of our 115,000,000 citizens be regarded in a new light as a purchaser and consumer and be given the respect and the wages which will enable him to function in this new capacity. And when this and other present-day tendencies have been permitted to develop a few steps farther, we may discover that the undesirable alien whom we have barred from entrance by the front door has come in at the side to argue with us the meaning of some of the sacred words of our economic faith.

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