LAVINIA LLOYD DOCK:
AN ACTIVIST IN NURSING AND SOCIAL REFORM

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for
the Degree of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

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The Ohio State University
1998

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ABSTRACT

This historical study focused on the life of Lavinia Lloyd Dock as a reformer in nursing and social movements during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lavinia Dock was devoted to the ideals of freedom and justice for oppressed individuals. Her contributions as a reformer focused on the professionalization of nursing and the equality of women. She was among the early group of nurses who were committed to professionalizing nursing through development of organizations, improved educational standards, and registration. She gave her support, talents, and writing abilities to all of these early efforts to place nursing on a professional level. But she was also interested in the condition of woman as citizen and worker. Her early experiences with poor working women and providing nursing in the slums of New York City broadened her views to include women as a group for reform.

Most of Lavinia Dock’s contributions to nursing and to improving women’s lives are known. However, the specifics of her development over time are less evident. Her words can give a clearer idea of her progress as she moved from reformer of nursing to social reformer of woman’s condition. She believed that women
had to have equal citizenship, if they were going to improve their lives and the conditions of society.

I have attempted to give some chronological sequence to the presentation of what she believed and did. I have used her published writings and personal letters to present the development of her ideas over time in addition to her achievements. I have tried to use primary and secondary sources of her day to correct what seems to be inaccurate information.

Lavinia Dock gave her considerable ability to the development of nursing as a profession. But she did not limit herself to a narrow professional involvement. She asked nurses particularly and certainly any specific group of women to look beyond their own interests to the broader needs and benefits of all. She was an example of a socially conscience and committed individual.
Dedicated to Paul D. Burnam
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Dock's FBI file. The librarians at the Library of Congress gave initial assistance and later provided additional information. Thanks goes to all those who searched and retrieved many old and forgotten items from storage.

I wish to thank my committee who supported my research topic and interest in a most talented woman.
VITA

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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Education
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Lavinia Dock wrote, "I had always had certain inarticulate instincts that were sound: - a strong sympathy with oppressed classes, a lively sense of justice and a keen love of what we mean by 'freedom' and 'liberty.'"¹ In reviewing her life in the unpublished "little biographical sketch that I promised" for the American Journal of Nursing in 1932, Lavinia Dock pinpointed the belief that guided her professional and public involvements and contributions for nearly 70 years.² She was an activist in the social reforms of the progressive period, in the professionalization of nursing, and in the woman suffrage movement. Throughout her life, she was modest about her contributions to nursing and women, but the results were of lasting importance.

Lavinia Dock was from a middle-class family who gave her a proper Victorian education in art, music, literature, and language during the years after the American Civil War. Counter to what was considered "proper" for young women of that day, she decided at the age of twenty-six to attend a nurse's training school. After graduation, she helped develop a visiting nurse service for a church mission in New York City and then became the first visiting nurse in
a Connecticut town. The visiting nurse practiced autonomously within the community by deciding the frequency of visits and when to make referrals. By 1896, influenced by her belief in freedom and justice, Dock came to work and live at the Henry Street Nurses' Settlement on the Lower East Side of New York City.

The experiment at Henry Street was a response to the economic and social conditions of a developing industrial nation. The settlement came into being in the early months of the panic of 1893 to 1897. Lillian Wald, nurse and founder, at first was responding to the industrial conditions of poverty, overcrowding, and illness of the immigrant population. The nursing settlement relied on the skills of nurses, who developed public health nursing, and the philanthropy of Jacob Schiff, his family, and friends. The settlement was one of many responses of individuals to a society that had changed since the American Civil War. The reforming spirit that began before the turn of the century became evident on a larger scale in the new century and later was called the progressive era.

Nurses were also inheritors of an earlier reform spirit that began in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first achievement was when Florence Nightingale instituted sanitary practices that saved the lives of British soldiers in the military hospital at Scutari in the Crimean War from 1854 to 1856. One outcome was the founding of the first secular training school by Nightingale under the control of nurses in London in 1860. The second achievement was the establishment of the first schools of nursing in the United
States in 1873, by women who had been members of the United States Sanitary Commission in the American Civil War. Because of their social status and experience, these women had reformed several city hospitals and introduced apprenticeship education for pupil nurses into these institutions. In both experiences, the women instituted reform through establishing order and altering the environmental conditions.

The women, who inherited this tradition and were the nursing leaders at the end of the nineteenth century, came of age during the confusing changes of the nation's industrial growth that would define a new century. The settlement of the country had been completed by people moving from cities and rural areas into the western lands. People moved from small towns and rural communities to work in the factories, mills, and packing houses of larger cities. An increasing number of immigrants settled usually in cities and expanded the nation's diverse cultural heritage. Those of native American and African American culture were segregated and generally excluded from the opportunities in education and employment. Women in increasing numbers left home for schooling or work. However, many more women, men, and children worked for long hours at low wages in dangerous conditions and lived in overcrowded tenements in the industrial cities. The extremes of wealth and poverty were clearly evident, because the members of each group were in daily contact with one another. The middle and upper middle classes responded to the ills of industrialization. The
progressives believed fervently that they could change people's lives for the better and thus improve society. They used existing groups, created new groups, and associated groups to produce changes in the lives of many. Their reform efforts gave rise to new ideas that became part of society.

Women took part in the reforming activities of the new era through their existing groups or through new voluntary organizations aimed at the ills of the cities or to advance their positions. Women of the upper and middle classes assisted working women to organize women's unions against the dangerous working conditions, long hours, and low wages. Women's groups, nurses, and physicians combined their skill and the scientific knowledge of the day to educate the public on prevention of tuberculosis and venereal disease. The progressives put their trust in science and experts to find the causes and treatments of diseases, to clean up the cities, and to make the factories efficient and safer. Orderliness and efficiency were ideas accepted in all areas of life from the home to the workplace, even though they were difficult to apply in all settings. Many Americans in their search for orderliness in a democratic society pushed for Americanization of the new immigrants through schooling, but the success of this practice was generally limited to immigrant children. An increasingly bureaucratic society became controlled by educated professionals, whose status came from science and expert knowledge. in turn, the professional advocated further education and specialization. Within
this context, women continued to shape their occupations of nurse, teacher, and librarian into professions, and they created new professions of social work and home economics. They sought higher education for professional preparation in such institutions as the recently founded Teachers College. The focus of these educated women was public service. Even black women made great efforts to achieve education, to found schools for black pupils, to organize, and to contributed to the uplift of their people.³

Among the women reformers of this period were those identified later as the New Woman, who was educated, committed to a career, and usually unmarried. These women wanted to live useful lives and had creatively transformed domesticity of an earlier period into municipal housekeeping of the progressive era. Their reform work often focused on improving the lives of women and children. They actively participated in the public sphere, and as a result came to support woman suffrage. They believed in their abilities and wanted full citizenship in the democracy they had helped to support and shape.⁴

As a New Woman and a nurse, Lavinia Dock found that the environment of the Nurses' Settlement permitted full expression of her abilities. The Nurses' Settlement was the first to provide nursing care by trained nurses to the immigrants being served by settlement house residents. The settlement provided a female support system and allowed nurses, social workers, suffragists, pacifists, and socialists to be active in the social reforms of the
period. Here Lavinia Dock and Lillian Wald became lifelong friends. Here Dock met Florence Kelley, Leonora O'Reilly, Crystal Eastman, future politicians, and labor organizers. Living among the immigrants brought a clearer vision of the conditions of urbanization, industrialization, and poverty. Here she supported a garment workers' union and the shirtwaist strikers. The settlement workers focused on the local needs of the immigrant poor for better housing, working conditions, and health care, but they also focused on state and national legislation to regulate child labor, working conditions for women, housing regulations, pensions, and health insurance. Within this supportive setting, Lavinia Dock was able to express her ideas of freedom for women's personal lives, for professionalization of nursing, and for woman suffrage.

Lavinia Dock was one of the few nurses to take an active role in the social hygiene movement. She spoke and wrote about venereal disease and perhaps influenced the introduction of the subject into the pages of the American Journal of Nursing when the words could hardly be spoken in American society. She wrote a book on social hygiene that was well received and informed nurses and women about the dangers of ignorance. She also supported birth control when laws prevented dissemination of this knowledge.

During the 1890s, Lavinia Dock was a member of an extended group of women beyond the settlement house who focused on the professionalization of nursing through improved education, development of nursing organizations, achievement of registration,
and the creation of a professional journal. This group included Isabel Hampton Robb, Adelaide Nutting, and Sophia Palmer. Other groups were making their claims as professions by strengthening their positions with the public. Lavinia Dock helped found three nursing organizations that focus today on education, practice, political action, and international nursing. She held positions in all and served as secretary for the International Council of Nurses (ICN) from 1900 to 1922. As International Council secretary, she learned about nursing in many countries and kept American nurses informed through her columns in the American Journal of Nursing until 1923. She espoused internationalism and brotherhood before the founding of the League of Nations. Through the International Council, American nursing leaders knew the leaders and conditions in other countries before two world wars. Before World War I, she made several trips to Europe on ICN business that gave her personal contact with nurses and their countries.

At home, Dock focused on promoting American nursing organizations and registration. She used her skill as a writer within the pages of the American Journal of Nursing and at the nursing conventions to persuade nurses to establish and support local, national, and international organizations. She urged nurses to develop and support legislation to protect the practice of nursing through state registration. Nursing had developed as an acceptable occupation for women out of their sphere of domesticity. However, if nursing was to advance beyond domesticity, nurses had to improve
their education and status. To be a profession, nurses had to organize, to define education and practice, and to obtain protection in the law. Dock was in the forefront of promoting the legislation for the first registration act in New York state in 1903.

A profession needs a means to communicate with its members and a history to give it a past and an identification among other groups. Lavinia Dock filled both of these professional literary needs. She supported the founding of the American Journal of Nursing in 1900 and served as an editor of her own department until 1923. It was here that she wrote about nursing practice, education, organization, registration, social reforms, and woman suffrage almost every month. In the early years, she wrote numerous articles that informed readers on such topics as the work of the nursing settlements, tuberculosis, almshouse nursing, organization, registration, nursing history, and suffrage. Many of her papers presented before the nursing conventions were published in this nursing journal. Several papers focused on organizations and their responsibilities.

Lavinia Dock was the major author of the first history of nursing published in four volumes. This history covered the development of nursing from ancient times to her day and included nursing development in the United States and other countries. In later years, she coauthored A Short History of Nursing that condensed and revised the original work. The Short History served as a textbook and went through several revisions. Dock's histories
of nursing are considered classics and were the standard from which new histories were written.

Early in her writing career, Dock provided nurses with their first pharmacology textbook. This text made it possible for nurses to know what medications they were giving and the observations to make. The knowledge from this text gave nurses more control over these aspects of nursing care. She revised the text several times, and even medical students bought it. First published in 1890, this is the only book Dock considered her idea to write.

Lavinia Dock's experiences in social reform and registration convinced her that women had to be politically active. She was an ardent suffragist and supported the British suffragettes in their militancy. She even went to England for a brief period to work with the Pankhursts. Among her nursing associates, Dock was alone in her suffrage militancy. She was among the first group chosen by Alice Paul to be a member of the National Woman's Party Advisory Council, and she was an associate editor of The Suffragist newspaper for a year. Lavinia Dock called herself a "radical" and was arrested three times as a National Woman's Party picket at or near the White House. She was almost 60 at the time and did not match the stereotype of young, college women around Alice Paul.

By the time of her arrests, Dock had retired to her home to live and care for her aging sisters. However, this did not diminish her interest in her friends still involved in nursing education and the settlement. For a few years, she continued to write for the
American Journal of Nursing and to serve as International Council secretary. She wrote and revised the two textbooks. She expressed her views in letters to friends and in the journal. The difficulties of illness and aging affected her friends and family. The years brought loss of her dear friends, so that she outlived her contemporaries. But age did not prevent Dock from speaking for freedom and liberty even when her associates were less than supportive. In 1947, when being honored by the International Council of Nurses at their congress in Atlantic City, she protested to the federal government that Russian nurses had been prevented from attending because of the government's foreign policy. And until her death, she supported the equal rights amendment, because she believed that it protected the freedom of all not, just one group.

Lavinia Dock was perceptive about her time. She focused her energy and her pen in supporting her ideas and persuading others. At times her dearest friends thought she was perhaps "injudicious," but they loved her and thought her a scholar of rare ability. She was an outspoken conscience for social change, of women, and of an outward-looking perspective for nursing.

The purpose of this study is to provide a more comprehensive portrait of Lavinia Dock as a person and of her contributions to the profession of nursing and to the lives of women than now exists in the literature. Her activities and writings focusing on the organization of nursing and women's freedom drew these two important reforms together and called women to take an active part
in the reform movements of the day. She was a complex person and an important voice for her profession and for women in this period of social reform. She provides not only an historical example of women's achievement, but she continues to be an example for the busy professional woman of today. Lavinia Dock and many other women in her generation came to their chosen professions later in their lives, but she committed herself to the profession's improvement, and she was always a supporter of women's advancement. She is an example of the professional woman who was involved in various political actions to reform and change society.

This narrative presents an extensive account that recreates the world through the perspective of a pioneer nurse and reformer. The approach taken here contributes to understanding the worldview of a number of persons in important historical developments a century or so ago. The detail given would be unimportant except that it provides a picture of the world in which these reformers and others functioned. Such detail as their descriptions of the surroundings and even social events of their meetings give these gatherings a significance beyond the personal.

Today when we are asked to be fully involved in our professions and politically active, we think that no others have ever been as busy in their lives. However, the women of Lavinia Dock's generation were absorbed in defining their careers, creating a more livable society, and expanding their personal interests. Their lives were not less and ours more demanding. The same expectations to
move beyond our self-interest, to use our knowledge and skills to benefit a broader community, and finally to become citizens of the world continue to guide careers of professional women.

Lavinia Dock would be the first to remind us not to build "up too much reverence for persons in historical retrospect. The important thing to learn from history is, the meaning of principles or ideas of life which may be taken to our hearts and minds as enduring principles--good in themselves and good for us for all time."⁵

Limitations of this study are related to the sources and the ability of the researcher to interpret the material. Not all documents related to Lavinia Dock can be identified or obtained. There are letters in unknown collections and articles that have not been identified. Some of the reports of conventions and congresses are unavailable and others are deteriorating. Some letters on microfilm are of such poor quality that they cannot be read. Published references to some sources are incorrect and could not be located. Lavinia Dock did not date many of her letters; and therefore, it is often difficult to determine when they were written. Other letters have had the year added at a later date by someone who had access to the archive, and some of these additions are inaccurate based on the content of the letters. The letterhead of an undated letter cannot be used to identify specifically its time frame, because the writers of these letters were thrifty individuals and used out-of-date letter paper. Most of the letters used are in
longhand, which can lead to interpretation errors. Some secondary articles and books and newspaper stories about the individuals and events in this study are inaccurate.

The writing style of the period is different in construction from that of the present day. In her early writings, Dock used British spelling. In her letters, she used the ampersand and the dash in place of the period. In block quotations, the exact form of Dock's letters has been reproduced. In run-in quotations, the dash has usually been replaced by a period, and the ampersand has been changed to the word "and" so that the text has a consistent appearance. She rarely indented paragraphs, and she used underlining frequently for emphasis. She and her colleagues used formal language when referring to each other in speeches or in written material for publication. Even when they were together at the same meeting, they used the formal form of address. The present day reader might misread the constant positive nature of the personal descriptions, as if the writer had prepared a flattering obituary that excluded any doubts about the other's character or abilities. This form was a way of acting civilized and showed others how they were expected to act civilized. Their private letters indicate disagreements and misunderstandings, but these were not to be public matters. Actually they shared long years of friendship, respect, and admiration.
CHAPTER 2
EARLY YEARS

Family and Early Experiences

Lavinia Lloyd Dock was born into a middle-class family with inherited property and social position in Harrisburg, a canal and railroad transportation center on the Susquehanna River, a small town surrounded by rich farmland, and the capital of Pennsylvania. Harrisburg was the home of her parents and grandparents and where she and her siblings lived for most of their childhood years. Her father, Gilliard Dock, was a businessman in several enterprises and a prominent citizen, the son of a county judge, and the grandson of a Revolutionary War soldier. During the Civil War, Gilliard Dock was appointed a superintendent of coal mines in Schuylkill County. His brother, George, was a surgeon, professor of medicine, and a founder of the county medical society in 1866. Her mother was Lavinia Lloyd Bombaugh, whose father assisted Dorothea Dix in founding a state hospital for the insane near Harrisburg and served as an early trustee. He was an abolitionist and cared for Pennsylvania soldiers in the army camp and hospital during the war.¹ Lavinia’s grandfathers were of German descent; her paternal grandmother was descended from French immigrants, and the other was of English
descent and held Quaker-Hicksite beliefs, which "attacked the divinity of Christ and expounded an exemplary theory of Christ's saving work."²

Lavinia Dock considered her parents to be "well taught" and to have "liberal views" for their time. While she considered her mother "broad on all subjects and very tolerant and charitable toward persons," she thought her father held "some whimsical masculine prejudices."³ Into this comfortable, educated, liberal minded family were born five daughters and one son. The first three siblings left home and distinguished themselves in the developing professions. Lavinia Lloyd Dock was the second daughter born on February 26, 1858 in Harrisburg. Lavinia, three sisters, and her brother were born in the turbulent years before and during the American Civil War.

The first born, Mira Lloyd Dock(1853-1945) distinguished herself in the areas of land and forest conservation and urban revitalization in Pennsylvania. She studied botany at the University of Michigan from 1895 to 1896. By 1898 she had helped found the Civic Club of Harrisburg that focused on cleaning up the town and developing parks, paved streets, and clean water. In 1901, she was appointed to the Pennsylvania Forestry Reservation Commission and held that position until she declined reappointment in 1913. She lectured for years at the Mont Alto Forestry School. She also served as Vice-Chairman of the Conservation Department of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. She was a feminist and suffragist. Mira Dock was described as a large woman who captivated with her
"wit and charm." In 1903, she decided to live in "forest country" and later built a home on South Mountain outside Fayetteville, near Caledonia in the Graeffenburg Hills, and west of Gettysburg. This is the home she and her sisters shared until their deaths.4

Their brother George Dock (1860-1951) was distinguished in medical practice, teaching, research, and writing. He graduated from the department of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania in 1884. He was one of the first professors to supervise the clinical practice of medical students at the University of Michigan. George Dock was dean of the Washington University School of Medicine in St. Louis until 1922. He served as vice president of the International Medical Congress in Moscow (1897) and London (1913). He was a surgeon during the Spanish-American War and World War I. He received many honors for his professional accomplishments. His pet interest was medical history, for which a lectureship was named in his honor. George Dock married and had two sons and grandchildren. He lived in California at the time of his death.5

The three younger sisters were born in Harrisburg and lived together, sharing the home in Harrisburg and then on South Mountain when Mira and Lavinia returned home. Margaret Dock (1862-1938) was the fourth child. She liked travel and seems to have done the housekeeping until she became disabled with arthritis. It is Margaret's illness that may have resulted in Lavinia's resignation of her positions with the American Journal of Nursing and the International Council of Nurses. Margaret died at an early age.
compared with the others. Laura Douglas Dock (1864-1954) was an artist and exhibited at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Laura was deaf. Emily Gilliard Dock (1869-1957), the youngest, was accomplished as a pianist and violinist and had traveled to music centers in the United States and Europe.6

Lavinia Dock saw herself "enjoying a very free and happy life" as she grew up in Harrisburg. She and her sisters attended "nice" private schools, but the teaching was "conventional." She would later call her education "superficial." Lavinia liked studying music, French, and history, and she disliked grammar, arithmetic, dates, and names of kings. Her teachers described her as lacking application and ambition. In later years, Dock described the young Lavinia as being "easily satisfied, happy-go-lucky, . . . placid," generally "good-humored" but with a "flash of temper" that was quickly over and as being "forgetful - a bad fault." She was a "tomboy" and liked nature, the hills and streams, and pets, but she did not care for dolls nor have any. Years later, Mira attested to Lavinia's "considerable experience of camp life" when they made a visit in September 1902, to the invalid camp on the Mount Alto Reservation high in the mountains that reminded them of the Black Forest. Also, Dock remembered that during her childhood she learned to read at a very young age and read "everything but had few definite thoughts." However, at about the age of twelve she was moved "when I read some of the earliest challenges thrown out by defiant women and these aroused a fellow feeling in my inner self." Her formal
schooling ended at the age of sixteen, but she continued her education in the large family library with "something practically on every subject," including "new magazines and papers." She learned from reading "especially Dickens, Scott, Thackeray, English poets and many English novels." She believed that her education was improved by travel at home and abroad in Germany, France, Italy, Greece, and other European countries.7

Lavinia's feelings about the proper place of women was influenced by an experience when she was about seventeen. She and her sisters freely associated with boys and young men. During an extended visit to some married friends who had the young, famous Polish violinist, Adamowski, as their guest, she enjoyed his presence while she played the piano "(quite nicely for I had a good touch)." Then one day, she heard him remark in a "casual, patronizing tone" to their hostess, "'She would make a good wife.' Something in his manner conveyed a sense of inferiority. I felt keen mortification - also a sense of alarm. In a flash I seemed to see my freedom gone, myself perhaps a household drudge, and no way out. I said to myself 'I never will' and that impression stayed with me all my life."

Lavinia realized that she was not attracted "to the domestic hearth" and that she did not want children; although, she was fond of them.8

It was after this rejection of marriage that certain events began to draw her eventually toward nursing. In 1876, Lavinia's mother, who was forty-four, died after a brief illness. She thought Lavinia had "some instinctive gift at making her comfortable."
Lavinia did not identify this experience as influencing her thoughts about nursing. Lavinia remained at home to help Mira care for the younger children and considered her actions as "practical and steady." Emily, the youngest, was almost seven, and George was sixteen. After their mother's death, their father had financial difficulties because of a business crash. One day Mira asked Lavinia, "'If father was ruined and we had to go out to work . . . what would you do?'" Without thinking about the words, Lavinia replied, "'I would go and work in a hospital.'" Then life in the household went on as before, with the sisters playing musical instruments, painting, supporting charitable and civic causes, and taking camping trips with their father. As she wrote, "'[I]t was unheard of then for girls of our class to earn their livings. . . . Teachers: they were born, we supposed. . . . No matter how poor 'nice' families scraped and pinched and would have been horrified at the thought of girls doing anything but live at home.'"

Even in the late 1870s, Lavinia Dock's words convey how strong was the belief among upper middle-class Americans that the home was the sphere of the ideal woman. A woman's life was to be a wife and mother. If she did not marry, she would continue this role within the family structure. Her attributes were piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. The ideal woman could express her domesticity as comforter in her role of family nurse, and thus fulfill an aspect of her feminine function of usefulness. As comforter, she was to add the qualities of "patience, mercy, and
gentleness" to her housewifely arts. The ideal woman was to approach her social and family duties with cheerfulness. A woman had her authority and protection in the home, so why would she leave it to go into a dangerous world.¹⁰

This was a powerful ideology that held women to a prescribed life that made them subordinate and persuaded them to comply with the subordination. More powerful beliefs would be needed to bring women into a wider sphere. At the same time, other forces supported the continued adherence of the members of the middle class to this idealized image of woman's place. Industrialization would probably have drawn middle-class women sooner into the work force, if the increasing migration from rural towns and the immigration into larger urban areas had not expanded the work force. Therefore, middle-class women's domestic sphere was a luxury sustained by immigrant and migrant labor.¹¹

Nursing Education and Nursing Experiences

A few years passed after Lavinia said that she would go to a hospital to work. Lavinia, Mira, and several friends changed their cooking club to a music club that became the well-known Wednesday Club in Harrisburg. The club was for playing music and having discussions. Lavinia was, therefore, involved in the Victorian life of a young woman when she read an article, "A New Profession for Women," in The Century Magazine of November 1882, about the training school for nurses at Bellevue Hospital in New York City. The
author described the two-year course and gave examples of patient care in the charity hospital. The student nurses received lodging and board in a nurses' home separate from the hospital, and they wore the Bellevue blue-and-white striped seersucker uniform with white cap and apron. After passing an examination, the graduate received a diploma and the nurse's badge. The graduates might nurse the sick poor or private families, or become superintendents of schools or hospitals. The author made a brief reference to what would be called professional ethics in later years and concluded the article by predicting that "the profession of trained nurse will rise as the value of her services becomes better known."12

After reading the Century article, Lavinia simply replied, "Well, I think I'd like to do that." She recalled years later that "I abruptly came to the realization my life was empty. . . . I didn't know anything. I had no special talent." Lavinia entered the Bellevue Hospital Training School for Nurses in 1884; the same year her brother George graduated from medical school. Her friends said her decision was "disgraceful," since the public had a low opinion of hospitals and considered some to be "dreadful, dangerous, and dirty." Lavinia Dock's decision was revolutionary in her community. A member of a "foremost family" in Harrisburg responded, "Oh, I thought the Dock girls were ladies!" A farm woman said to one of her sisters, "Oh, must Miss Lavinia stay two years in the hospital? Why we know a girl went to be a nurse. She went to a hospital & learned for two weeks, and then she knewed it all!" Lavinia Dock
remembered that the advertisements for correspondence courses were "flowery" and promised earnings of "$15.00 a week." ¹³

In 1949, Lavinia Dock described her life as a student at the Bellevue training school and indicated her later beliefs.

From a good deal that I hear today I am inclined to think that the current attitude of nurse students & the general atmosphere of the schools & hospitals were more serious, grave, & earnest, - in fact more of the nature of a *calling* than today.

Life in the schools was quiet, regular, & serious. There were no diversions save an occasional concert or opera; no festivities except making chocolate in the evenings over a gas jet; - no celebrations except the bestowal of the cap or diploma were more like churchly ceremonies than like dramatics or play. *Smoking* cigarettes by nurses was unheard of - *make-up,* lipstick, red nails were **undreamed** of. (I think them all horrible)

Study courses were elementary; learned lectures were few; **school libraries were then not built up:** - but practically the whole daily conversation was centered on work & study. In the hospital the atmosphere was serious and formal, with a trace of military manner & discipline & careful ethics. The patients were all-important, & were interested in the progress of probationers to the "Cap." The doctors did a great deal of teaching - passing it down through the headnurses.

The students were considerably **older** than today, especially at Bellevue- Many had had previous responsibilities- This of course had settled them a good deal. . . .

She continued her recollections with a humorous story about her student days.

One of my nursing adventures amused the charitable, for it was not according to the books. One of those altogether lovable characters who can't help drinking was to go to Bellevue to be treated for alcoholism. I was deputed to take him there. On the way to the street car we passed a saloon; he
stood still and vowed he could go no further without a drink. Persuasion was useless and though we had never heard of psychiatry, I went into the saloon with him, saw that he had only a small drink. He was then quite willing to go the rest of the way, and I landed him safely in the hospital. . . . 14

Dock's recollections indicate that her student experience was only somewhat improved compared to those of students in the first years of the Bellevue Training School.

The Bellevue Training School with the Connecticut Training School at New Haven and the Boston Training School opened their doors to students in 1873. The schools were the result of women's experience as Army nurses and as members of the United States Sanitary Commission during the American Civil War. These women knew the work of Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War and tried to base the three schools on her plans for nurses' training. In New York, Louisa Lee Schuyler founded the State Charities Aid Association and obtained legislation for its Hospital Visiting Committee to visit institutions of public charity "for the purpose of reporting their conditions and bringing about reforms."

. Elizabeth Hobson was a member of the Visiting Committee for Bellevue Hospital and in 1916 published her account of the founding of the school at Bellevue. After asking the medical board at Bellevue Hospital to establish a training school in 1872 and finding that nothing had been done, the association raised the funds and on May 1, 1873, opened a training program with six students and three wards of the hospital under the direction of the English nurse, Sister Helen. The founders wanted the school to provide trained nurses for
public hospitals, private families, and the sick poor. However, almost from the beginning, there was confusion whether the purpose of the school was charitable service or education of the nurses. The training was for one year, but the students had to give an additional year of service to the hospital. Students learned by "imitation" and "trial and error" and received one evening class a week in the nurses' home. In the school report of 1879, it was noted that well-educated women were leaving teaching to enter nursing.\textsuperscript{15}

The conditions of meager instruction and long hours would be major concerns of the nursing leaders in a few years. The number of hospitals in the United States increased from 178 in 1872 to about 2000 in 1900. The number of nursing schools increased from four in 1873 to 16 in 1880, 159 in 1890, and 549 by 1900. Primarily hospital schools were for the purpose of providing "better nursing" to the hospital patients. Trained nurses and students did improve conditions in hospitals. They cleaned, fed patients, and carried out the physicians' orders for treatments. In time, patients came to the hospitals for care from the nurses when there was no cure. In 1874, the Visiting Committee at Bellevue reported the high death rate of the maternity patients to the State Charities Aid Association. The women were contracting puerperal fever after being examined by the physicians in the surgical wards. The training school took charge of the maternity wards and finally removed these patients from Bellevue. By the 1876 report of the school, the physicians believed that the training school was responsible for the improved nursing
service that contributed to quicker patient recovery and fewer patient deaths after an operation. By the 1880s, the accepted practices of asepsis and aseptic surgery associated with skill in anesthesia made hospitals safer places for patients. The training school had improved the care of patients in the hospital, home, and community, but the hospital structure exploited the students as a cheap labor source at the expense of their health and education.¹⁶

What made it possible for these women to leave home and go out on their own? The very forces that kept middle-class women at home were also the forces that pulled them from home and the ideal of womanhood. The Civil War and its aftermath required some women to adopt new roles of nurse, teacher, shopkeeper, and reformer beyond the confines of home. Cities continued to expand because of manufacturing based on the new technology and improved transportation of the railroads. Migration of people from the farms and small towns and immigration from abroad caused overcrowding of the cities and produced or expanded slums. The cities offered economic independence and educational possibilities.

By the early 1870s, the popular literature that had been used to identify woman's place as home was also being used to identify new opportunities. The editor of Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine proclaimed "The need of training schools for young women . . . who are supporting themselves, and, in many cases, their families also, by daily toil in various trades and occupations." In October 1872, Godey's editor in referring to the Women's Visiting Committee for
Bellevue Hospital predicted that the time would come when hospitals, asylums, and other public institutions, which "are only large households maintained by the public," would be under the supervision of women. Before the work of the visiting committee, Godey's editor, Sarah Hale, wrote an editorial on "Lady Nurses" for the February 1871 issue.

Much has been lately said of the benefits that would follow if the calling of sick nurse were elevated to a profession which an educated lady might adopt without a sense of derogation, either on her own part or in the estimation of others....

There can be no doubt that the duties of sick nurse, to be properly performed, require an education and training little, if at all, inferior to those possessed by members of the medical profession.... The manner in which a reform may be effected is easily pointed out. Every medical college should have a course of study and training specially adapted for ladies who desire to qualify themselves for the profession of nurse; and those who had gone through the course, and passed the requisite examination, should receive a degree and diploma, which would at once establish their position in society. The "graduate nurse" would in general estimation be as much above the ordinary nurse of the present day as the professional surgeon of our times is above the barber-surgeon of the last century....

When once the value of the "graduate nurses" becomes known, there is no doubt that the demand for them would be very great.... In any case of severe and protracted illness, their services would be called for as a matter of course, when the circumstances of the family allowed it. Every physician would be glad to recommend an assistant, on whose intelligent co-operation he could rely.... There are many diseases in which the patient must owe his recovery chiefly to diet, regimen, and careful attendance....

.... In short, whenever such a profession is once established, it will soon be deemed as useful and respectable
as any other; . . . and, we shall wonder as much that we could have done without its members. . . .17

According to this example of Victorian thinking, woman could extend her domestic role with its qualities of comforter and nurturer beyond the home into a new acceptable role, trained nurse.

American women responded to the social changes around them. The ideal of womanhood prescribed a woman's usefulness as domesticity. She could turn her abilities toward perfecting and reforming the world since she was superior morally. She could reject a life of leisure and fulfill her sense and need of being useful. She would take the ideal of womanhood and turn it into the New Woman. In addition, the women of the late nineteenth century accepted their responsibility for family health practices. Some women extended their beliefs in health reform beyond the confines of the family and entered society to promote social change. These New Women were born between the late 1850s and 1900. They rejected conventional female roles and asserted their claims to a public sphere of career and social and economic independence. These women were familiar with the women's clubs and associations of the cities. The first generation New Women accepted the traditional values of honesty, morality, and service to others. For some of these women, nursing provided vocational independence and gave them possibly more freedom than other women to move among the classes and geographically. The early nursing leaders as New Women were mainly from middle and upper middle-class families, unmarried, older than twenty-one, and had a private or normal school
education before entering the nurse training schools. These women were members of female networks that supported their major achievements in nursing education, nursing organization, public health nursing, and writing. As an organized group, the nurse leaders influenced society and other nurses. Therefore, during this period, a New Woman with ability could use nursing for self-advancement and to make an important contribution to society.18

When Lavinia Dock graduated from the Bellevue training school in 1886, she began to function in the role of the New Woman. Dock's first experiences as a graduate nurse expressed her sympathy for those in need. First, Dock and her roommate, Alice Green, assisted Dr. Huntington of Grace Church to begin a visiting nurse service that he developed into a deaconess order in New York City. In 1887, Dock took a position as the first visiting nurse for the United Workers of Norwich, a pioneer social organization. She began the three-month experiment, probably in July, that required a trained nurse "to attend cases of illness in all parts of the town." A review of her work stated that Miss Dock "entered upon her duties with enthusiasm and soon proved the value of such work." The United Workers' district nursing committee may have "considered itself very fortunate in securing the service of such a well-educated young woman to institute its district nursing service." From Lavinia Dock's reports, the nursing committee "realized as never before the need of such work in our midst." When Dock left Norwich to care for yellow fever victims in Florida, the nursing committee hired another
trained nurse and eventually developed the public health nursing service of Norwich, Connecticut. The superintendent of the Bellevue Training School, Eliza Perkins, was from Norwich. Dock noted years later that Eliza Perkins' "unusual perception of character enabled her to increase the prestige of the school by her skill in selecting nurses for pioneer positions."\(^{19}\) Perkins was superintendent when Lavinia Dock was a student at Bellevue; had she been perceptive in selecting Dock for a pioneering position in Norwich?

Dock's nursing at Norwich was interrupted when her former Bellevue classmate, Wilhelmina Weir, asked her to volunteer during the yellow fever epidemic in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1888. They arrived to find their former classmate and a head nurse at Bellevue, Jane Delano, acting as superintendent of the temporary Sandhills Hospital that was erected on the sand dunes outside of Jacksonville. All three women were volunteers and not members of the Red Cross, which was in charge of the relief. Jane Delano wore the cap and uniform of the training school at Bellevue, and Dock noted that she served with distinction. Lavinia Dock and Wilhelmina Weir each had charge of a ward in the hospital, which was needed for two months (perhaps late August to October). Then the northern nurses and physicians were quarantined and returned home.\(^{20}\) Many years later Jane Delano became director of the American Red Cross and lost her life during that service.

After the yellow fever experience, Lavinia Dock returned to New York City and was appointed night superintendent at Bellevue
Hospital. However, even in this responsible position, she was able to leave to provide volunteer services. Bellevue sent her as a volunteer to care for victims of the Johnstown flood on May 31, 1889. She remained until the Red Cross nurses under the direction of Clara Barton arrived. The nurses and physicians cared for the ill and injured flood victims in tent hospitals. Also while at Bellevue, Dock substituted in the Grace Church work for a friend, who was dying. 21

During the time she was night superintendent, Lavinia Dock decided to write the Text-Book of Materia Medica for Nurses. She told no one about the book and spent a year preparing the manuscript by writing the text during the morning and coping it at night. When she wrote the authors of medical pharmacy texts for permission to use their works, some seemed to agree happily, and others were skeptical. Her purpose in writing the text for nurses was to identify the therapeutic and side effects of drugs, because physicians "gave large doses of dreadful poisons and expected nurses to watch the results and not allow any untoward effects." She collected every recipe she could find to make the nasty, oral, liquid drugs of the day easier to take. Dock sent her text and letters of explanation to Putnam's by messenger. Her letters were lost, and Putnam's had to find her to explain the book. Putnam's was unwilling to publish the text at their expense, but Dock agreed to pay $3007.50 for the cost of printing plates and 1000 copies on June 23, 1890. She received 50 percent of the retail price. Her father endorsed the contract and
"was certain I was gambling on a gold brick." In a year, she started repaying her father. Medical students also bought her book for the "practical details." Lavinia Dock's little book was the first pharmacology text for nurses; it went through seven copyrights and several revisions from 1890 to 1926 with over 6000 copies being sold in one peak year. After the first edition, she received 25 percent of the retail cost. Dock remembered the Materia Medica as "the only piece of work that I ever thought of myself."22

About this same time in 1890, Lavinia Dock met Isabel Hampton, the principal of the new training school at the Johns Hopkins Hospital. Isabel Hampton, a graduate of Bellevue in 1883, had returned to visit friends. At their meeting, Hampton reproved Dock for not being in bed, since it was "nearly noon" and Dock was on duty as night superintendent. Dock was "surprised and pleased." when Isabel Hampton wrote and offered her the position of assistant at the Johns Hopkins school.23 Lavinia Dock had supervisory hospital nursing experience and pioneering community nursing experience, and now she would be involved in nursing education at the Johns Hopkins. However, the fortunate result of Lavinia Dock's arrival was her beginning association with those women who would shape nursing not only into an accepted field of work for women but would give nursing the structure of a new profession. These efforts would also finally sharpen the struggle for rights.
CHAPTER 3
EARLY YEARS OF COMMITMENT

The Johns Hopkins Years

Lavinia Dock arrived at the Johns Hopkins Training School for Nurses as Isabel Hampton's assistant on November 1, 1890. She recalled Hampton's reproof about her being out of bed when they were introduced at Bellevue Hospital. From that first encounter, Dock identified instantly the "serious, dignified, sympathetic yet restrained manner so characteristic" of Isabel Hampton that was "the perfection of bearing for a nurse."¹ What a contrast to Dock's description of herself as a nurse. "I was never a really good nurse. . . . I continued to be too easily satisfied - not keenly observant - hazy, rather than dreamy - not sufficiently vigilant - too optimistic - I continued to wish only to do the things I liked." In remembering, Dock considered herself "so crude and inexperienced that I thought everything coming my way was perfectly natural and to be expected. It amused me greatly to learn that home friends . . . concluded that there must have been some hidden 'influence' at work."² Isabel Hampton and Lavinia Dock formed a relationship that appeared to be based on opposite personalities. Although they were together only a
few years, their influence would reach far beyond their initial relationship at the training school.

The Johns Hopkins Training School for Nurses was an integral part of the Johns Hopkins Hospital. In his 1873 will, Johns Hopkins, a Baltimore businessman, endowed the hospital and the university named for him. He "demanded excellence in service and innovation for education." In a letter to his hospital trustees, Johns Hopkins clarified his relationship between the hospital and the university. "In all your arrangements in relation to this hospital, you will bear in mind that it is my wish and purpose that the institution should ultimately form a part of the medical school of that University for which I've made ample provision in my will." He then continued with instructions regarding "nursing service and the education of nurses: 'I desire you to establish, in connection with the hospital, a training school for female nurses. This provision will secure the services of women competent to care for the sick in the hospital wards, and will enable you to benefit the whole community by supplying it with a class of trained and experienced nurses.'"3 Therefore, the proposed medical school was situated within the university, but the training school was managed by the board of trustees and physicians who governed the hospital. On April 9, 1889, the board approved the selection committee's appointment of Isabel Hampton as the Superintendent of Nurses of the Hospital and Principal of the Training School. Hampton was firm that her title should include
principal of the school, "thus placing the education and training of the nurse distinctly in the foreground."4

The hospital and the training school were the only buildings constructed on the site proposed by Johns Hopkins. Even though the hospital buildings "were far ahead of their time," they "were not entirely satisfactory." The buildings surrounded a garden with lawns and trees and had roofed, "open-air" bridges connecting them. The buildings were lighted with gas, wired for electricity, had "telephone communication between all departments and a pneumatic system of clocks" that assured "uniform timing." Elevators were not installed in order to prevent their interference with the meticulous ventilation system based on an outdated view "that most forms of disease were due to emanations from the ground and that infection was air-borne." Henry Hurd, superintendent of the hospital, considered the ward units "decidedly inconvenient" for nursing, and he continued,

The whole structure was too much upon the line of the army hospital. It was deficient in modern facilities for nursing and in the modern laboratories for studying disease. The sick rooms, ward bathrooms, linen rooms, etc., were too small and not arranged for the convenience of nurses. They seemed to contemplate the presence of the army orderly at every turn. There was also imperfect provision for housekeeping and store rooms and other conveniences which housekeepers love to plan and sometimes to use.5

Lavinia Dock remembered the hospital as

... new, and though the fortune bequeathed to it had been gathered by the most unlovely business methods, the trustees,
who were all men of the highest aims, framed a noble ideal of its mission. It was designed to be a centre of liberal teaching and instruction, and to radiate the pure light of science for truth's sake. A fresh and inspiring atmosphere did indeed permeate the whole place, and there was not then the rush of work that has now fallen upon it. In contrast to the vast and crowded Bellevue it struck me at first as being "nearly all hospital, and very little patient." . . .

The hospital opened with formal ceremonies on May 7, 1889, and the first patients were admitted on May 15, 1889.6

The "Nurses' Home" for the training school was considered "far superior" to those previously constructed. The building had accommodations for fifty nurses with reception rooms of "grace and dignity." The building was separate from the others of the hospital and was solely for the use of the female nurses. The home included private rooms for each nurse, a common parlor, library, dining-room, bath-rooms, "a training kitchen, and a lecture room to aid in the work of instruction."7 John Shaw Billings, who supervised the construction of the hospital, took "pleasure in planning" for the school. He believed that the intent of the home was "that when the nurse has finished her six or eight hours of duty with the sick, she shall be quite away from the ward and all that pertains to it and take her rest and recreation in a totally different atmosphere, and special effort has been made to have this home attractive and pleasant."7

A ceremony inaugurated the opening of the Johns Hopkins Training School for Nurses on October 9, 1889, at which Isabel Adams Hampton assumed her positions of superintendent and
principal. Isabel Adams Hampton (1860-1910) was a Canadian by birth, was educated as a school teacher, and taught for almost three years. She desired a change in career and entered the Bellevue Training School in 1881. She was the model for the sketch of "The Nurse" in the Century Magazine article, "A New Profession for Women," 1882. Upon graduation, she served as substitute superintendent of nurses at the Woman's Hospital in New York. Eliza Perkins at Bellevue recommended that Isabel go to St. Paul's House in Rome where she nursed English and American travelers. While abroad, Hampton "studied Italian and German, visited art galleries, heard good music, learned how to dress, and conversed with men and women of the great world." Upon her return to the United States, Hampton did private duty nursing until Perkins recommended her for the position of superintendent at the Illinois Training School. The Cook County Hospital in Chicago was subject to the political corruption of the city, but an able board of women managers directed the school.  

Isabel Hampton's student experiences at Bellevue influenced the changes she instituted at the Illinois Training School. Remembering her pupil days at Bellevue, Isabel "spoke of the long hours, of the great responsibilities, and often of the lack of proper teaching. Many times . . . she felt she had learned from what she had not, rather than from what she had." In Chicago, the pupils learned therapeutics from the medical books they bought. The training lasted only one year, and then the pupils were required to be head
nurses in the hospital for the second year. Hampton had resolved to end what she called the "pernicious practice" of certain assignments. A pupil was on hospital duty from eight in the morning to eight in the evening each day. An hour for dinner and time for rest and exercise were prescribed. A pupil might possibly have one free afternoon a week and part of Sunday if she attended church. By the fourth month of their training, pupils were sent on twelve-hour night duty and were awakened to attend class. Even those on private duty in the patient's home were assigned responsibility for twenty-four hours.9

Isabel Hampton was superintendent at the Illinois Training School from July 1886 to the summer of 1889. She brought "a new spirit" and "a new ideal in nursing" to the school. Her focus was on "the professional education of the nurse" with a more "scientific" rather than narrow "practical" approach. She used textbooks in addition to lectures and extended the instruction through the two years rather than having second year students serve as head nurses. She discontinued the practice of having students do private duty. The course of study was graded, with a "distinction made between the Junior and Senior classes." Isabel Hampton established "a regular schedule of classes and holidays" and set June as commencement. By 1887, her recommendation to discontinue the monthly allowance to each pupil was accepted by the board of women managers. The school now provided uniforms and textbooks besides the usual board and lodging and gave each graduate $100.
This change in practice supported the idea that the training school was an institution "to educate women for a profession" similar to "a medical or dental college." In 1888, the Illinois Training School accepted the students from the Presbyterian Training School and took charge of nursing at the Presbyterian Hospital. This expansion made it possible for the pupils to have training in areas not available at Cook County Hospital. A former pupil and later a superintendent of the school paid a glowing tribute to Isabel Hampton [Robb] after her death in 1910.

I have always been thankful that I had Isabel Hampton for my superintendent when I was in training. Her fine presence, her charming manner, her enthusiasm and devotion to duty, her high standards and ideals were always a source of inspiration to me, and my experience is shared by hundreds of others who have come in personal touch with Mrs. Robb.

Isabel Hampton's ability in "organizing" and her attitude about "excellence" at the Illinois Training School brought her to the Hopkins. At the ceremony to open the school, her address to the audience went beyond the usual plans for educating the first pupils of the training school. She emphasized systematic "theoretical teaching" in classes accompanying the "practical work." She proposed that second year pupils have an experience in district nursing in the homes of the poor under the direction of a "competent head nurse." The pupils would give not only care but would give instruction in "hygiene and right living that may result in better health and happier homes." She was concerned about the establishment of schools in small hospitals that could not provide
an adequate education experience and were using the schools as a "cheap method of securing hospital nursing." Another problem was how to provide the services of the trained nurse to the poor and those of "moderate incomes" in their homes. As Isabel Hampton ended her remarks, she made a comparison:

... as the University and the Hospital are looked to from all quarters for what is best in science, so may it follow, that as time goes on, and women go forth as graduates of the Johns Hopkins Hospital School for Nurses, this School may be looked to for what is best in nursing and her graduates uphold their part of a grand work with all faithfulness."\textsuperscript{12}

The applicants to the training school from 1889 to 1893 were mostly middle to upper middle class from the larger towns and cities. A majority of the women "had completed a good secondary education at a local seminary." They were "restless" and "eager for an absorbing occupation out in the world." A few had worked as school teachers, or given language and music lessons, or served as companions and housekeepers for the elderly. Notes from Lavinia Dock on the student records indicate certain social practices of the day. A student's training could be disrupted by family responsibilities, because a daughter or sister was expected to care for ill family members or for small children after a death. Dock even noted that one mother objected to her daughter being a nurse and removed her from school. Also, Dock noted that Hurd was irritated when she would not permit him to admit a candidate to the school in the absence of Isabel Hampton and he was reminded that the principal had admission authority.\textsuperscript{13}
Among the first-year class was Mary Adelaide Nutting (1858-1948) from Canada, who would succeed Isabel Hampton at the Johns Hopkins. She had attended local and private schools and other institutions to learn French, music, and art, was talented as a pianist and singer, and had taught music at a school. In her application letter, Adelaide Nutting said that she was "educated almost entirely at home" and studied music for several years. She indicated that she was "not remarkably strong" but had "a good deal of endurance." Nutting had cared for her dying mother a few years before. A Hopkins classmate and friend believed that Nutting's feeling of "inadequacy" in caring for her mother and her "profound sympathy for the unfortunate" were the reasons for her becoming a nurse. She was almost thirty-one when she entered the nursing course and was described by the same classmate as "a thoughtful young woman of dignity and charm, of intelligence beyond the average in our midst, and with a personality which quickly impressed itself upon her classmates."14

Adelaide Nutting with her classmates experienced initial confusion in their first year of education as the school was being organized. Students began with ward duty and were transferred from one to another. Georgia Nevins remembered that the "Hours were long, the number of patients increased rapidly, there weren't enough nurses, and we were often too weary to prepare properly our theoretical work." From the beginning, the needs of the hospital took "precedence over everything." Isabel Hampton gave her regular
weekly lectures, the physicians gave "formal lectures," and "informal teaching" was done on the wards. In the spring of 1890, two innovations were begun. A diet kitchen was equipped for the teaching of cooking and dietetics by a graduate of the Boston Cooking School. In June, the school extended nursing training to a summer country home for infants and children, thus providing students with their first affiliation. However, students did private nursing in homes, ward duty at night, and several were in charge of wards by the end of the first year.\textsuperscript{15}

When Lavinia Dock came to the Johns Hopkins training school, the school was in its second year, and she was the first to hold the position of assistant superintendent. Isabel Hampton had worked with Bellevue graduates as her assistants during the years in Chicago, and they had gone on to other administrative positions. The Hopkins school was unlike the Bellevue and Illinois Training Schools that were located in the congested central city to serve the poor and were subject to political corruption. They were founded by boards of women managers who wished to improve patient care by reforming the nursing service. The ideal at Hopkins was to provide the best of nursing service and to educate women for the profession of nursing. However, the nursing administrators at the Hopkins Training School lacked a board of women reformers to provide support and intercede on their behalf with the hospital administration when the needs of the school were separate from those of the hospital. Billings' views and not Florence Nightingale's
prevailed with the board of trustees, so that the position of superintendent of nurses was made subordinate to the superintendent of the hospital. He did not want "to establish an independent female hierarchy, which will consider from the commencement that one of its main objects is to endeavor to be independent of all males, who are to be considered as the natural enemies of the organization." In her old age when asked about the Hopkins, Dock responded, "They had everything there. There was no reason for having a separate school because they did not have any politicians to fight. The school was a part of the hospital and it, like the medical school, was expected to be the finest of its kind in the world. The doctors were very helpful, although even Dr. Osler thought or said that we were going a little too far on nursing education."\textsuperscript{16}

Upon her arrival at Johns Hopkins, Lavinia Dock's second meeting with Isabel Hampton left her with a deep and lasting impression to accompany the first.

I shall never forget my first sight of her there. I had been shown to my room and was taking off my things when she knocked at the door and appeared, so gracious and cordial, so wholesome and buoyant, yet so dignified; I thought I had never seen a more beautiful or majestic figure except on the pedestal of some classic sculpture. She wore the uniform that was habitual with her through most of the year, a soft black china silk with thin white cuffs and collar, and a cap, whose pattern she designed herself and which was most becoming to her. Its extreme simplicity, almost severity, suited her perfectly. . . . Miss Hampton's color was rich and fresh, her eyes the clearest blue, unusually large and beautifully set and
opened; her voice was one of her greatest charms, being very sweet and quiet, yet with a certain thrill in it when she was in earnest...\textsuperscript{17}

Even at 91, Dock had not lost her image of Isabel, when she recalled that "Isabel was such a massively beautiful person. No one could fail to be impressed by both her beauty and her enthusiasm. She had a real gift for administration, but was not a scholarly person. Isabel had... a gentle force, which was almost irresistible."\textsuperscript{18} Hampton stood five feet ten inches tall and would have towered over Dock. There seem to be no descriptions of Dock in her early years, but pictures in the nursing literature show a very short, small woman next to much taller colleagues. Dock also had blue eyes.\textsuperscript{19}

Dock recalled during the years of her assistantship at the Hopkins a simpler time, but one of regimentation that was characteristic of the period. She also indicated an easy relationship with Isabel Hampton.

Life in the training school was cheerful and simple. It was Miss Hampton's custom to read prayers just after breakfast, in the parlor, and with military discipline every nurse attended. It was always a new sensation to see her, serene and beautiful, enter the room with her prayer-book in hand... We had a hymn, which I played on the piano, then it was our custom to go with the nurses to the door and watch them go down the corridor. When I think of the hospital now, it is always this picture that I see: - the nurses in their blue dresses streaming down the corridor, the green lawn, and young trees outside in the sunshine (the sun always shines in Baltimore), and Miss Hampton's caryatid-like figure, clad either in white or black, her large eyes radiant with pride and joy in her flock. Never was any mother prouder. Almost always, as we turned away, she would say to me with, perhaps a little squeeze of the hand, "Docky, aren't they nice?"...\textsuperscript{20}
This is Dock's earliest indication that one of her colleagues called her "Docky," a name that became familiar as her signature on correspondence and in her relationship with Lillian Wald some years later. Dock went on to describe their life when she and Hampton had time to talk and plan even over breakfast at a "small table in an alcove" near a large bay window in the pleasant dining room of the Nurses' Home.

... Sunday used to be a leisure day. I don't believe it is now, but then there was no rush in the morning and everybody felt a little relaxed. We used to have breakfast a little later than usual and then we would sit and talk over things. It was at these breakfasts that Miss Hampton used to work out her views on special courses for nurses. She would see very clearly the picture of what she wanted and then she would describe this picture... I would sit, unable to contribute anything, but thinking it all delightful. I think perhaps I helped her by being a good audience. It was very wonderful... Miss Hampton then, at breakfast, used to dilate on special courses for nurses and how these ought to be under a University because there was the whole plant to offer intellectual nourishment and there were the fountains of knowledge ready to pour forth their learning... 21

Upon Dock's arrival at the school, the pupils were divided into three groups, senior, middle, and junior, with classes on Monday, Tuesday, and Friday respectively from 3:00 to 4:00 P. M. Dock was assigned the first year pupils, the junior and middle classes, and Hampton instructed her on "how to work out demonstration classes." Isabel had obtained visual aids, a skeleton, a mannequin, charts, specimens, and pictures for classroom instruction. A notebook in the school files illustrates the content of Dock's first classes. The
"topics were anatomy and physiology, materia medica and practical nursing." The content was organized systematically and supported the physicians' "more advanced lectures." The pages included references to related readings, oral reviews, and written examinations. Dock's notes reveal that she and Hampton as graduates of Bellevue accepted the military tradition in schools. Dock wrote for a class perhaps on ethics that "The nurse is a soldier. Absolute and unquestioning obedience to a superior officer is the fundamental idea of the military system in order that responsibility may be rightly placed. . . . There is a necessity for drill in producing quickness, skill and quiet. Criticisms are not accusations. Strictness and exactness produce better nurses."22

Students recognized and commented on Dock's abilities and personal characteristics. Adelaide Nutting was in her second year as a student and thought the new teacher was exceptional. "Very soon we learned an extraordinary mind was among us. . . . a scholar, a student, a teacher of rare originality and ability. I recall with delight how she would come into the ward to follow us up and see how we were doing our work, how she illuminated a task, every step in a process was interesting and significant." In 1915, Nutting sent a short article about Dock to the editor of The Johns Hopkins Nurses Alumnae Magazine in which she recalled how students would remember Lavinia Dock.

As Assistant Superintendent Miss Dock had a good deal of teaching to do, and she was indeed an admirable teacher, whether in the class-room or at the bedside. But it is not
perhaps in connection with actual work, with definite tasks, that her pupils will most often think of her. They will, I think, remember her as an unfailingly generous friend and helper, and occasionally a frank and merciless critic; as one who gave them new conceptions of duty, of loyalty, of justice, - new ideas of the value of human life, and the worth of human labor, - new incentives to better and higher effort. No one who ever left our school has carried with her more genuine affection and respect, and no one ever left a gap so entirely impossible to fill as did Miss Dock. . . .

And yet, another student simply remembered that she "learned more from Lavinia Dock than from all the others put together."  

Responding to the lack of nursing literature and probably influenced by the physicians' Hospital Journal Club, which she and Dock sometimes attended, Hampton assembled the Hopkins nursing staff and students "for the purpose of organizing a Nurses' Journal Club" on January 28, 1891. The students were required to attend every other Monday evening for one hour. The superintendent, assistant superintendent, head nurses, and senior students were expected to "prepare papers," while the junior students were to participate in the discussion. Hampton's objectives were to develop an esprit de corps within the school, to learn about practices in other schools and hospitals from reports and discussions in current English and American nursing and medical magazines, and to compel all to read the prepared student papers. These meetings gave nurses and pupils practice in discussion and introduced them to nursing issues beyond the isolation of the Hopkins. Each year, "a few short original papers were produced" on such topics as "Loyalty among Nurses" and "The Care of Children." Adelaide Nutting won first prize
from the *Trained Nurse*, which published her short paper, "A Case of Typhoid Fever," in March 1891. Dock may have been the one who added the thought-provoking magazine articles about capital punishment, the Hampton Institute for Negro pupil nurses, and Hull House to the reading material. At the first meeting, Hampton spoke on "The Scope and Aims of the Johns Hopkins Medical School" that was yet to open. With help from another "old-timer" of the Johns Hopkins, Dock remembered that the compulsory club was "unpopular" with the nurses. "They had to be rounded up to attend it and went grumbling, and grumbling came away. . . . It did not last long because of the air of gloom that hung over it."26

Perhaps Dock was influenced by the club to publish her views on a nursing issue. It is reported that her first magazine article was an attack on Henry Burdett's proposed pension plan for American nurses based on an English model. She objected to the plan as a "benevolent scheme" of "patronage" and suggested a remedy so that nurses could manage their own finances.

Justice is preferable to generosity.

If the nurse is insufficiency paid for her work, she should be better paid. If she is paid all she is worth, why make her an object of charity? Why take for granted that she is improvident; that she needs to be taught how to save her money, and bribed to do it? . . .

As a matter of fact, nurses are not always properly paid.

Especially in hospital work is this true. Few hospitals can resist an opportunity to save money in the nursing department, or to make the nurse a source of income at the sacrifice of her teaching. . . .
The truest kindness, then, to the nurse, as to any worker, is to pay her fairly and treat her honestly, and then to leave her free and self-reliant, to manage her financial affairs in an ordinarily private and business-like way. . . .

She concluded by noting that even in private duty a "man nurse" is paid more and that there would always be those who would support benevolence, while they decreased the nurse's pay and increased her hours.27 The signature on the brief article is "A Bellevue Graduate," but Dock referred to herself in this way at other times. The language is very much in her style. In this first statement in support of nurses, Dock was asking for fair and equal treatment of women as adults.

Hampton and Dock were concerned about the need for nursing texts. Books were given to the school to start a library, and holdings would have included magazines, early journals, and medical texts. Clara S. Weeks's A Text-Book of Nursing, For the Use of Training Schools, Families, and Private Students (1885), a compendium of information, was the first text written by a trained nurse, and it was used at the training school. Dock, as noted previously, had written the first Text-Book of Materia Medica for Nurses (1890) before coming to the Hopkins. Hampton wanted to provide a more advanced text than Weeks's, so she wrote Nursing: Its Principles and Practice for Hospital and Private Use (1893) that described nursing education and administration. Also, Mary Boland, who taught cooking at the training school, published A Handbook of Invalid Cooking (1893). In the same year, another graduate of the Bellevue Training School, Diana Kimber, published a Text-Book of
Anatomy and Physiology for Nurses that could be added to the others for teaching.28

Life in the training school was not all teaching and making rounds in the hospital for Hampton and Dock or ward work for the graduate nurses and students. Hampton urged attendance at the theater and concerts, tennis and croquet were played on the lawn, and teas, dances, and parties took place in the reception room of the Nurses' Home. Dock and Hampton had a sense of humor and laughed "over some ludicrous happening in the wards" or some teaching endeavor. All were interested in the activities of the four senior hospital physicians, William Osler, Howard Kelly, William Welch, and William Halsted, who were reading, researching, and writing while funds were being raised to open the medical school. Osler would stroll into Hampton's office talking about some topic or rehearsing one of his speeches, which Dock could hear next door in her "small office." In the late afternoon after she had made "last rounds," Dock would sit in Hampton's office and listen to her read the "newest pages" of her manuscript on Nursing: Its Principles and Practice. Hunter Robb, assistant to Kelly, would "wander in and help with suggestions as to phrasing." In the future, Dock would follow his helpful advice to "Get something down, it does not matter what; after making a beginning you can go ahead and then correct." Dock had fleeting and vague suspicions about Robb's visits, but she did not dwell on their meaning.29
Isabel Hampton and Lavinia Dock gave support to the Women's Medical School Fund Committee whose purpose was to raise funds for the opening of the medical school. The members, Carey Thomas, dean at Bryn Mawr, Mary Garrett, Elizabeth King, Mary Gwinn, and Julia Rogers were interested in securing more educational opportunities for women. Hampton was made a member of the committee, but she and Dock did not campaign for funds. However, they did create within the hospital a receptive attitude toward the fund raising. When the trustees invited the committee to visit, they had luncheon in the Nurses' Home, and training school members provided a tour to inspect "the remarkable clinical facilities which the Hospital was ready to offer to medical students." The committee enlisted other socially prominent volunteers in their campaign. After they had given and raised over $100,000, Mary Garrett donated more than $300,000 to meet the university trustees' goal of $500,000. Having provided the money, the women dictated the conditions for admission to the medical school. Their conditions required that the medical school "shall be exclusively a graduate school" and "that women . . . shall be admitted on the same terms as men."

Thus, these women elevated the level of medical education in the United States and opened it to women without the support of many physicians at the Johns Hopkins.

The first class of the training school was ready to graduate before the funds were obtained to open the medical school. All seventeen students passed their exams in nursing in surgery,
medical, hygiene, gynecology, materia medica, children, dietetics, urinalysis, and massage that Hampton taught to senior students. Adelaide Nutting ranked fourth in the class. Graduation ceremonies took place on June 5, 1891, in the rotunda of the hospital administration building, and while Dock and three students played a march on two pianos, the graduates took their places on the marble staircase. Hampton gave a brief history of the school and reminded the graduates of the "sacredness of their calling," and Osler followed with the graduation address, "Doctor and Nurse." Then Hurd presented each graduate with a diploma and a scroll as the wife of the university president handed each a bouquet of roses from Osler. The ceremonies ended with a benediction and a recessional, and the evening ended with a reception for five hundred at the Nurses' Home.31

A few months after graduation, Hampton placed Adelaide Nutting and others of her classmates as head nurses in the hospital. In this way, Isabel Hampton was filling vacancies in the nursing staff with nurses she had trained, thus producing uniformity in the teaching and training in the hospital. Nutting's new position brought her into closer contact with Hampton and Dock. Sometimes Nutting breakfasted with them on Sunday mornings, and at other times they met in the evening in Hampton's apartment to discuss plans. Nutting took classes in Italian and renewed her interest in history and literature. Through a closer association, she learned of Dock's love for books and music, and they attended symphony concerts together.
Dock remembered "our musical half hours" in which she would accompany Nutting's singing of Schumann's and Schubert's works, and Nutting had instructed her on a more "impassioned" technique. Dock's description of Adelaide Nutting was that of "intellectual."  

Once there were graduate nurses of the Johns Hopkins Training School, Hampton could plan to organize an alumnae association of its graduates. Before the second graduation, the members of the first class were invited to join the second class to form the association. Twenty-five members founded the fourth association in the United States at the Hopkins Training School on June 3, 1892. Adelaide Nutting was elected vice-president. On the ninth, the association invited Isabel Hampton and Lavinia Dock to honorary membership. The objectives were to "promote unity and good feeling among the graduates," to advance interest in the profession, to provide a members' home, and to make provision for the ill. The Hopkins' alumnae society began the practice of admitting each class as a group. The Bellevue Training School organized an association in April, 1889, and Dock is identified as a charter member of that society. This is possible, since Dock, by her own account, was employed at Bellevue Hospital at that time. The objectives of the Bellevue society were to promote "goodfellowship among its members," to establish an "Annuity Fund," and to provide for "friendly and pecuniary assistance in sickness." Dock described the constitution as "rigid," "not expressive of the will of the majority," and limiting growth until it "was liberally amended and broadened in
1896-97. The objectives of the Hopkins society included an added interest in the profession, and this was probably the influence of Isabel Hampton. Having had experience in one association, Dock may have given guidance in organizing the one at the Hopkins. These alumnae associations would later be united to focus the members on the issues of professionalization.

Female Support and Mentoring

Isabel Hampton, Adelaide Nutting, and Lavinia Dock were in their thirties when they came together at the Johns Hopkins in 1890. They were mature women with some similarities in education, with self supporting work experiences, and with interests in literature, music, and art. They lived and worked together, shared ideas and plans about nursing, and provided each other support. Their relationships as professional colleagues developed into friendships that lasted a lifetime.

In her early days as a pupil, Adelaide Nutting had a "close and constant association" with Isabel Hampton that developed into a friendship that she considered "one of the strongest influences" of her life. Nutting and her classmates were devoted to the principal who "held up to us the highest ideals in our work, placing before us unceasingly the importance of nursing and the great responsibilities which rested upon those who undertook it, urging that they must always be women of exceptional character and ability. She filled us with great pride in our work and a desire to contribute to its best
development in all ways open to us. It seemed to us better worth doing than any other work in the world."34 Hampton shared her experiences in teaching and her ideas for changing nursing education, so that Nutting recognized her teacher’s abilities to plan and organize, her "love of uniformity," and her desire to "promote greater uniformity in educational standards." She acknowledged that Hampton "was in every sense of the word a leader, by nature, by capacity, by personal attributes and qualities."35

Dock was able to attest to Hampton’s creative mind while they were at the Hopkins, where they lived rather secluded from the city.

... I saw her conceive and develop all the various ideas which are now embodied in living groups of persons and in broad lines of organization. ... Miss Hampton’s mental visions of future nursing growth and development came as a sort of picture, hazy at first, with outlines more or less indefinite, gradually taking form until the whole was clear and vivid, filling her with joy and enthusiasm, eager interest, and an untiring energy. ...

It was this reality to her of visions of the future that made her so delightful to live with and gave her her great fascination, for even if one did not always get clearly the drift of her talk, which was often impressionistic and suggestive, ignoring details, one could not but be stimulated and thrilled by her rich vitality.

She had a wonderful feeling of the solidarity of women; her devotion to her profession was based on great loyalty to the cause of women’s progress. She believed women to be the superior moral force, and was impassioned for every advance, that brought them upward. ...36

These women were in a supportive mentoring relationship with one another and fulfilled the mentoring functions of teacher,
advisor, sponsor, role model, counselor, and personal friend. As a mentor to Dock, Hampton promoted her career by offering the assistantship at the Hopkins and by serving as a model teacher and nurse. In return Dock was an eager listener and supporter of Hampton's ideas and visions. A student in the class of 1892 remarked that Isabel Hampton "blossomed and bloomed when Miss Dock was with her."37

For Adelaide Nutting, these two women opened to her the new world of nursing education and the ideas of nursing as a profession. She admired them for their teaching ability that made "nursing concepts clear" and created a "feeling for their calling." This close association fostered her "early interest in nursing education" that would become the focus of her life with continued support from Hampton and Dock. Hampton had advanced Nutting's nursing career by placing her in a head nurse position at the Hopkins and later promoted Nutting as her assistant. They inspired Nutting with their ideas and visions for nursing and with their ideals of responsibility, duty, loyalty, justice, and the worth of life and work and one's best efforts. In time Nutting would institute some of Isabel Hampton's plans, but it was evident to one who knew her that Nutting also had abilities and "creative ideas." It was her character "to set about making her ideas into realities without too much delay. She had the imagination to pioneer and the will to experiment."38
Even in later years when she was being honored, Adelaide Nutting remembered the influence of Isabel Hampton Robb and Lavinia Dock on her personal and professional development.

... More and more do I realize the value of those early years of close association in work with Isabel Robb, whose commanding mental and personal qualities would have made her a leader in any field of work. She was my teacher and my friend, and her influence, the strongest in certain ways that ever came into my life. Whatever work I may have been permitted to do has been due very largely to her inspiring and energizing influence. And then comes Lavinia Dock, most noble, most unselfish, most largely helpful of women, a student, a scholar, in many ways the greatest spirit that has ever moved in our midst... 39

The mentoring relationships of these three women developed into a deep personal friendship that saw them through personal disagreements and years of professional organization and development. If a mentor relationship is the "most important facet of an adult's professional life" in the achievement of "greatness," then these women had a strong foundation for their achievements. However, the merging of their interests and abilities through a mentoring relationship resulted in supportive female friendships and perhaps "created the force and power in the early years of the profession." 40

The Chicago World's Fair and the Beginning of Organization

Isabel Hampton was given an opportunity to exercise her organizing abilities at the gathering of the International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy of the World's Columbian
Exposition in Chicago in June 1893. A board of women managers had control of the Woman's Building and its exhibits. In the winter of 1892, Ethel Fenwick (1857-1947), the British nursing leader, visited the United States to prepare Britain's nursing exhibit. Fenwick was a trained nurse from the upper middle class, and after marrying a physician in 1887, she focused on nursing organization and registration. She had founded the British Nurses' Association, the first "professional" nurses' organization, and believed strongly that "only trained women should be allowed to call themselves 'nurses'" and that "hospital administrators and antagonistic doctors should be prevented from exploiting nurses." She advanced an entry level of education for training school applicants, standardized training across programs, and licensure for the graduates. While in Chicago, she suggested to the women on the fair boards that a nursing congress be included. John Billings, chairman of the Hospital and Medical Congress supported the idea and asked Isabel Hampton to preside over the nursing subsection.41

Before returning to England, Fenwick stopped in Baltimore for two days to meet with Isabel Hampton. Lavinia Dock remembered that "they talked of everything." Another version is that Fenwick, Hampton, Dock, and Nutting "sat around the table - breakfast time and dinner, and luncheon - and talked and talked and talked." Previously a few efforts had been made to organize American nursing without results. Training school superintendents were concerned with the increasing numbers of schools, a lack of
standards for training students, and the lack of controls on who could practice nursing. Working conditions also stimulated interest in organization. Hospital nurses worked eleven hours a day, private duty nurses worked for weeks with only a few hours of rest, and students provided the hospitals with a cheap source of labor. By 1893, more nurses in leadership positions recognized the need for organization for the purpose of establishing standards of nursing education and nursing practice and promoting the general welfare of nurses. They were familiar with the increasing number of women's voluntary organizations that ranged from religious and benevolent groups to those promoting social reform and change in the social and political position of women. Certainly these nurses were influenced by women's organizing efforts. As Lavinia Dock said, "[T]he association idea was in the air." The meeting with Ethel Fenwick gave them encouragement and began a long, supportive relationship with her that focused on the professionalization of nursing in the United States and Britain.

In preparing the nurses' section of the congress, Isabel requested superintendents to attend, or to present papers, or to participate in the discussions. Dock recalled that "Miss Hampton really went through a mental process of construction of the entire subsequent evolution of the nursing profession. She placed the papers so that certain ideas should be worked out, and waited almost breathlessly for the results she hoped for." The three Hopkins' nurses planned a program focusing on the relationship
between nursing education and service, the uniformity of educational standards, and the formation of a national organization. These women and their colleagues were influenced by their nursing history and nursing school experiences of order and military efficiency. Isabel Hampton's "love of uniformity" was directed against disorder, lack of standardization, and amateurism within nursing education and practice. Also, her belief in the "solidarity of women" must have encouraged her efforts to unite the group. When nurses did reveal their social vision, "they praised expertise, collective purpose, and discipline."43 Dock described this early group of leaders as experiencing "anxious years and incessant struggle, even friction."

... The women who brought nursing reform through what we may call its first phase, were a strong, determined, and intrepid set of workers, full of energy and the uncompromising spirit of the reformer. Their work was largely housecleaning on an extended scale. They warred against physical dirt and disorder, against immorality and irresponsibility, political corruption, and every form of opposition and hostility. They strove to regenerate the moral atmosphere, and to banish vulgarity, neglect and indifference, where these conditions were found. ... 44

The Nurses' Congress took place in the Hall of Columbus from June 15 to June 17. The world's exposition was set in a group of buildings of classical architecture that shown in the sunlight like "white marble." and represented the ideal of the new urban industrial society. The exposition in the "White City" took place in a society that hovered on the edge of the past and the promise of a new future.
The exposition lasted from May to October during the early months of a devastating panic that crippled the nation for years. Worsening economic conditions would draw more people from rural areas and with the continuing flow of immigrants they would be caught in the expanding poverty of urban slums. The extremes of lavish wealth and crushing poverty existed side by side in urban centers. Even the promise of a better future was denied to Native Americans and African Americans. By 1890, the American West was closed to expansion, and the last Native Americans were defeated, removed from their lands, and confined to reservations. "Jim Crow" laws deprived African Americans of the economic and political progress they had achieved after the American Civil War. And with few exceptions, African American nurses would be educated and employed in segregated institutions.

What was the immediate future in 1893? The increasing immigrant population and migration brought a diversity of minority groups to the urban setting and a source of labor for expanded industrialization. The New Woman was seeking her independence in a career in the public sphere. Public health nursing would be established in the nursing settlements to educate and serve the poor. Nursing was organizing and promoting itself as an alternative career for educated women and as a means to improve the health of society. The Social Darwinism of the day was continuously challenged by groups, often women, who promoted the welfare of others. Many of these groups, focusing on social justice and social legislation,
would turn their reform efforts into the social movements of the progressive era.\textsuperscript{45}

At the World's Fair, the nurses had an international platform for presenting the issues of their emerging profession. Florence Nightingale, at the request of Isabel Hampton, sent a paper, "Sick Nursing and Health Nursing," to be read at the congress.\textsuperscript{46} The papers arranged by Isabel Hampton encouraged standardization in education and formation of organizations. She addressed the congress at the general session on "Educational Standards for Nurses" emphasizing uniformity of education and unity of programs to improve educational results.

. . . Each school is a law unto itself. Nothing in the way of unity of ideas or of general principles to govern all exists, and no effort towards establishing and maintaining a general standard for all has ever been attempted. . . .

A "trained nurse" may mean then anything, everything, or next to nothing, and with this state of affairs the results are far from what they should be. . . .

. . . But now that wealthy philanthropists and societies are erecting hospitals of all kinds, they should see to it that the question of maintaining a nursing corps is provided for, instead of expecting the nurses to do philanthropic work by earning money to support the hospital at the sacrifice of their own education. . . . the services rendered by a good training school to a hospital are sufficient to warrant the expenses incurred by the school. . . .

. . . Our founders achieved well and nobly, but it surely was not intended that we should work on forever on the old lines. . . . some of our chief aims should be to bring about a spirit of unity among the various schools, and to establish a standard of education upon which we may all be judged. . . . the first step should be to bring about in all our schools . . . a uniform system of instruction, so that the requirements for
graduation should be about the same in each. We might well lengthen the course of instruction in training schools to three years, with eight hours a day of practical work.

Isabel Hampton went on to suggest that instruction be divided as a college academic year, that the teachers in nursing schools have preparation in a normal school beyond the training school, and that applicants to training schools have a high school education. All of her suggestions were eventually taken up by the new nursing organizations and were achieved in time.

Lavinia Dock presented her first paper of many to be given over the years at congresses and conventions. In her paper, "The Relation of Training Schools to Hospitals," she addressed the nursing subsection on the issue that all aspects of the training school must be controlled by nurses.

... The organization of a training school is and must be military. It is not and cannot be democratic. Absolute and unquestioning obedience must be the foundation of the nurse's work, and to this end complete subordination of the individual to the work as a whole is as necessary for her as for the soldier. This can only be attained by a systematic grading of rank, a clear, definite chain of responsibility, and one sole source of authority, transmitted in a straight line, not scattered about through boards and committees, but concentrated in the head of the school as their representative and delegate. Most unsound is the policy of the hospital which habitually interferes in the affairs of the school.

... The nurse and the physician have different professions. The doctor is not a nurse, and only now and then is one found who fairly comprehends the actual matter-of-fact realities of the training school. On this fundamental difference rests the claim of the school to be ruled, as an educative and disciplinary body, by those of its own origin.
On one field only does the school properly come under the command of the medical profession, and that is in the direct care of the sick. . . .

Of all the attributes of the school its moral strength is the most easily demonstrable, and its reformatory work is the part of its whole work in which it can most securely stand on its own merits. . . . degraded and vile they [hospitals] remained throughout until the youth, strength and energy of the training school assailed them and, by coming to live among them, transformed them. . . .

. . . It will be shown that the shortcomings of the school are largely due to imperfect preparatory training, and to the crowding of work and study into the short period of two years time. . . . 48

On the following day, Louise Darche, a Canadian, a graduate of Bellevue, and Superintendent of the New York Training School, addressed a similar theme in her paper, "Proper Organization of Training Schools in America." She stressed that nursing is a separate department in the hospital "and is to be organized and managed as such." She continued by indicating that the larger schools had provided a standard of education, but "a general standard of excellence must be arrived at before trained nursing can take that stand among the professions which it is entitled to take, but which it will never take until its training methods are more universally exact, and its course of instruction in every school more definitely and strictly laid down." 49

The next day, two papers were given on the organization of nursing associations. Edith Draper, a Canadian, a Bellevue graduate, and Superintendent of the Illinois Training School, presented the paper, "Necessity of an American Nurses' Association." She proposed
that a national association would promote professional and financial assistance, conferences and lectures, publications, and the exchange of new ideas. Then Isabel McIsaac, a graduate of the Illinois Training School when Hampton was superintendent and now assistant superintendent, spoke on "The Benefits of Alumnae Associations." She urged every school to establish an alumnae association and thereby cause obstacles to a national organization to disappear.50

Immediately after the discussion of these two presentations, Isabel Hampton was ready to suggest the formation of a superintendents' association to the gathered nurses.

... our meeting here in Chicago is the first step in the right direction. Superintendents being the heads of schools have a great deal of influence, not only among their pupil nurses, but graduate nurses, and until we can get superintendents united regarding the fundamental principles of the work, we cannot expect the nurses to work and to unite and to be as successful as they must be later on when we hold ideas in common. The next thing we can take steps towards accomplishing is to organize a superintendents' society and also alumnae associations in connection with every good school in the country. The alumnae associations should be as nearly alike as possible. ... I do not think superintendents should take too active a part in such associations; they should be organized and sustained by the graduates of the schools. Until these alumnae associations are in good working order it will be impossible to organize a national association, because in that we must have schools and hospitals and nurses represented. ... so the organization of the alumnae associations and superintendents' society is necessary before we can have any qualified members for the larger national association. ...
Before the congress adjourns it is desirable that we should hold a superintendents' meeting with the view to forming a superintendents' society.51

On June 15, 1893, Lavinia Dock and Isabel Hampton met with other superintendents of training schools and selected a committee to draft resolutions for presentation the next day. On June 16, the superintendents adopted the resolutions for a preliminary organization, the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses, elected officers, and called a convention for January 10, 1894, in New York City. (This organization is the present National League for Nursing.) Hampton no longer had to hold her breath, for her plans were being realized. In looking back, Dock could "see how almost terrifying was the solemnity with which we took ourselves and the initial stages of this association," and she could smile and wonder "if any other people were ever so solemn." But she also remembered the women's organizations as being "very friendly, encouraging, and sisterly to us." When writing A History of Nursing many years later, she judged the society as timid for not admitting the heads of small and special hospital schools, even though their training had been as good as those who headed larger schools. The superintendents of small and special hospitals had not objected, and it was some time before membership was more open. Although critical, Dock went on to praise the society members for being "conscientious and high-minded," "altruistic", and hard working. In 1949, when the reprint of the nurses' papers at the Congress was to be published, Dock described the superintendents as

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"serious as deaconesses" and "true pioneers" as evident in the
"pioneer spirit" of their papers. She considered the nursing section
the "beginning of our profession." Dock proclaimed the new edition
to "be useful to those who have a regard for the past and an ideal for
the future." She was sending a copy to the memorial library at
Bellevue and one to the Florence Nightingale library in London.52

Failure, Home, and Another Organization

On July 1, 1893, Edith Draper resigned her position as
Superintendent of the Illinois Training School in Chicago, and the
board elected Lavinia Dock to the position. Isabel Mclsaac, the
former student of Isabel Hampton's, remained as the assistant. Dock
left no explanation about taking this position. It is suggested that
she accepted, because "Bellevue graduates were in great demand." In
addition, her experiences at the Johns Hopkins Training School with
Hampton could have made her a desirable candidate for the position.
Dock's move to Chicago made it possible for Adelaide Nutting to
become Assistant Superintendent at Johns Hopkins.53 Thus, both
women advanced in their careers. Was Lavinia asked to apply for the
position, or was she just asked to accept it, or was she seeking
advancement? Did Isabel Hampton ask her to accept the position,
since this was her old school and her former student was assistant
superintendent? Did Lavinia remain in Chicago after the World's
Fair, or did she return to Baltimore or to her family home before
becoming superintendent? The documents do not provide answers.
Whatever her reason for accepting the position as superintendent, according to Dock, it was not one of her more successful endeavors.

Lavinia Dock remembered her years at the Hopkins as "the most delightful possible" and that she "was very faithful and diligent . . . and happy." But there was another who remembered Lavinia Dock's years and recalled her contributions to the school and to nursing in glowing terms. Adelaide Nutting, professor of nursing at Teachers College, gave the address at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the training school at John Hopkins. She knew of Lavinia Dock's modesty and how she was allowing her accomplishments to be forgotten. So, Nutting paid tribute to her friend and colleague before the audience at Johns Hopkins.

There was one other in these early days, a woman of rare character and qualities, who as assistant and teacher, filled a large place in the School for several years. Independent, fearless, loyal, Lavinia Dock exercised unconsciously an influence which was both strong and enduring, and few connected with that early life had more to do in the last analysis with shaping ideals and giving directions to future activities than this beloved teacher. A student and a thinker with a mind of a peculiarly fresh and original cast, with ideas clear-cut and logical and considerably in advance of the time, there were few of the problems of the Training School or Hospital or of the professional life of nurses to which she could not give illuminating thought. She had an extraordinary way of driving directly to the heart of a matter, pulling out the essential facts in the situation, and showing us the right way to think about them and to deal with them. Her sense of justice was keen, but her sympathies were well-nigh boundless. It has been her chosen task to write of the lives and deeds of nurses in many fields, and she has written the history of this Training School with such characteristic self-
effacement that no trace of her own years of rare work with us can be discovered. It is important that her share in the upbuilding of our School should be well understood. . . .

While Dock was superintendent at the Illinois Training School, a few changes were begun. At the subsection on nursing at the World's Fair, it was suggested that the two-year course be extended to three. In 1894, the Illinois Training School Board passed a resolution to adopt such an extension, but the implementation did not occur until after Dock left. In November, 1894, Dock accepted the first nurse to do post-graduate work, and the nurse paid her own expenses. By January, 1895, the board agreed to accept nurses for post-graduate training, but they would pay their expenses and a fee. Dock's experience as a superintendent was brief, and her description of her personal inability was blunt. At one point, she wrote, "I was in no wise fitted to be the head of a large school and so in Chicago I was a failure." At another time, she expanded on her inabilities but not on the specific experiences that caused difficulty. She explained, "At the Cook County I was really a failure. Let me say that, looking back I can confidently assert that my principles, aims, and endeavors were right and sound, but I showed no diplomatic skill in personal relations. I was not careful enough in avoiding trouble beforehand." This was Lavinia Dock's last administrative position in an educational institution. She had learned that she "was better in the assisting than in the leading position" in a hospital.

During the time Dock was in Chicago, two conventions of the Society of Superintendents took place in the East. She was present
for the first convention at the Academy of Medicine in New York City on January 10 and 11, 1894. The charter members were from the United States and Canada and voted on the constitution and bylaws accepted at the organizing meeting in 1893. The Society's purpose was "to further the best interests of the nursing profession by establishing and maintaining a universal standard of training, and by promoting fellowship among its members by meetings, papers and discussions on nursing subjects, and by interchange of opinions."

Only two formal papers were given during the meeting. Mary Littlefield read a paper on "What is a Trained Nurse, and What are Nursing Ideals." In the discussion, many superintendents thought that lengthening the course of instruction to three years was "desirable" but "almost impossible." Isabel Hampton asked for a committee to investigate the conditions in training schools regarding the three-year course and the eight-hour system.

Hampton, Dock, and Lucy Walker were appointed to the committee. Dock was either elected or appointed as one of the councillors for the Society. Dock presented the other convention paper on the "Non-Payment System as Established in the Illinois Training School." In the discussion, some believed that this practice would elevate the standard of applicants, and others believed that it would exclude "a large number of desirable but self-dependent women" who could not be without an income for the period of training. The membership discussed again the formation of school alumnae associations and using them as a basis for a national organization.\(^{57}\)
Sometime before the second convention of the Society of Superintendents in February, 1895, Lavinia Dock spent a weekend with Adelaide Nutting and Isabel Hampton Robb at Isabel's new home in Cleveland, Ohio. Isabel Hampton had married Hunter Robb in July 1894. Nutting was now superintendent at the Johns Hopkins and had come to visit while on a study tour of American and Canadian hospitals. The three friends held one of their planning sessions before the up-coming convention. Nutting would come to think that Isabel had made a mistake by marrying. In her later years, Dock would write the same conclusion in a letter.\textsuperscript{58} Certainly they wanted their friend to be happy. But perhaps they resented the loss or the felt loss of her leadership. Of course, they felt the change in what had been a close relationship for the three of them. They seem to have thought that her resulting leadership in nursing was not as great as it could have been. Even after marriage and a family, Isabel Hampton Robb continued to be involved on the national and international nursing scene until her tragic death in 1910.

Adelaide Nutting joined Lavinia Dock and Isabel Hampton Robb at the second convention of the Society of Superintendents in Boston on February 13 and 14, 1895. At the end of the convention, the Society began to print the text of the papers in the meeting report. Isabel Robb's paper on "The Three Years' Course of Training in Connection with the Eight Hour System" served as the report for the committee appointed the previous year to investigate the topic. This proposal was to improve the education of students and protect
their health. The third year was to give students some preparation in administrative skills. She even indicated that laborers were advocating the eight-hour day. In other presentations, Mary Snively of Canada endorsed a uniform curriculum for schools, state recognition, and examining boards. Sophia Palmer had surveyed 164 schools and urged all schools to form alumnae associations, because organization was the means to obtain individual cooperation in progressive movements.

Lavinia Dock presented the last paper on "Directories for Nurses" in which she proposed three principles. Nurses were "to fix the rates of payment charged in private duty" with the registry and not the reverse, women nurses were to be paid equally with men, and nurses were to exercise "self-government" in all that they did. She suggested that schools form directories under the control of nurses, thus bringing unity and organization to graduate nurses for their economic benefit. Dock had written about the same issue in The Trained Nurse prior to the convention. She had discussed the present types of directories and urged graduate nurses to be "self-dependent and self-governing" by controlling their own directories. At the convention, she developed principles to support her beliefs of equality and autonomy. The members of the Society created four committees to report the next year, one on directories, one on publication, one on a two-year curriculum, and one on a three-year curriculum whose members were Robb, Dock, Nutting, Lucy Walker, and Isabel McIsaac.59
Dock's remaining time in Chicago was brief, for her father died in April 1895. She returned home to Harrisburg to look after the family for over a year, while Mira Dock went to the University of Michigan to study botany. Mira Dock's choice of a school may have been influenced by their brother George, who was now married, being at the same institution as professor of theory and practice of medicine and clinical medicine. The sisters received a "modest income" from inherited land until the great depression of the 1930s severely reduced that income. Lavinia thought that her being at home improved the possibility of Mira's going to the university. She saw this "as one of the fortunate turns in events in my rather unplanned life." She was proud of Mira's accomplishments and in later years described Mira's life as "very important and really distinguished." She thought that the others being younger might have prevented Mira from attending school. However, Emily, the youngest, was twenty-six in June of 1895. Laura and Margaret were in their early thirties. It appears that Mira and Lavinia thought that one of them had to be at home with the other sisters. Or was this a good reason for Lavinia Dock to end her very difficult experience as superintendent in Chicago? When Mira Dock completed her education, she returned to Harrisburg to teach and to work in city beautification and forestry conservation.

While at home with her sisters, Lavinia Dock continued her active role in nursing. She wrote an attack on the new scheme for a national pension fund for nurses, and she prepared for the 1896
convocation. She continued to oppose the plan on the grounds that it was "repugnant to the instinctive feelings of self-dependent, self-sustaining people." She discredited the idea that a national organization for nurses could be built on a financial project. Then she listed the reasons for a national organization.

... The hope of a national association does, indeed, lie close to the hearts of all who have worked for the progress of nurses and nursing, but a financial project cannot be the foundation on which to build it. Only upon an educational basis can a national association of nurses successfully and honorably rest, and for this the training schools of the country are preparing and toward this they are striving. A national association must primarily mean a national union for the ethical and practical perfection of our work as nurses; for the standardizing of our teaching; for the strict governing of our professional relations, and for our protection against quackery, pretenders and imposition. ...61

Since the first meeting at the Columbian Exposition in 1893, nurses had discussed the formation of a national organization that was inclusive of graduate nurses. Just as Isabel Hampton had given form to the Society of Superintendents for the purpose of improving nursing education, Lavinia Dock was to give form to the Nurses' Associated Alumnae, the second oldest national professional organization for nurses in the United States. (This is the present American Nurses' Association.) The superintendents met for their third convention in Philadelphia on February 11 to 14, 1896, and the focus was Dock's presentation. In a lengthy paper, "A National Association for Nurses and Its Legal Organization," she set out the process of organization for such an association and its functions.
She had reviewed the laws regulating professional organizations and the structure of national associations. She explained the relationship of the local, state, and national levels as "a systematic division and sub-division of work and responsibility." The state organizations would work for a close network within the state, invoke state laws if needed, and develop standards. The associated alumnae of the schools would be the primary source of strength.

... Their work will be to keep watch over the professional standing and general character of future candidates for membership in our organization.

Among their unpleasant, but necessary obligations will be these: To exclude or expel unworthy individuals, to censure or warn backsliding members, to expose, so far as can be legally and honorably done, such wrongs and injuries done to our best standards as they may encounter, and to check harmful tendencies as they may meet them. Their responsibility will be tremendous, but they will be equal to it, if they will do their duty. ... 

She continued by describing how the national organization would have to develop and that reform would take time.

... You know that the growth of such a common feeling of loyalty to our work and responsibility toward one another as we need to cultivate is a slow one, not to be hastened, but to be fostered through years with painstaking care; that radical changes are not to be brought about in a day, and that reforms that are worth anything have to be worked for long and arduously.

You all realize that what we may hope to do now is ... to unite and fraternize all the best of our profession that they will learn to stand together, move together, work together. Then in the future we may safely expect them to progress in the right direction, to acquire influence, moral dignity and force as a body, and to undertake successfully the solution of
those varied complications which we can now see time and circumstances are fast bringing into nursing questions. . . .

She had not only developed a structure for the association, but she was clear about its purpose. She asked the Society to consider a broad basis for membership, suggested a delegate plan for the state and national levels and state incorporation, called for a convention for the preparation of a constitution and bylaws, and recommended the development of a code of ethics when the new association had more representative membership. She believed strongly that the membership should only include graduate nurses, but nurses should be working to secure membership on hospital and training school boards. Her concluding remarks were to remind the Society members of their purpose. "Let our work be solely and singly educational and ethical, and our one object the development of higher standards in all departments of our work. Let us differentiate ourselves sharply, right here, from trades unions, and conform in motives and methods to professional and educational bodies. The feeling with which nurses should regard a national association ought to be entirely free from motives of self-interest." Her paper was published later in *The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review*, probably to inform and interest as many trained nurses as possible.63

discussion of Dock's paper took place the next day on February 14. The members thanked her for the extensive development of the topic and for drawing up definite organizational plans. At the end of the discussion, Adelaide Nutting moved that a committee be appointed to form the nucleus of a convention to prepare a
constitution. The committee would report at the Society's next annual meeting. The members of the committee, Dock, McIsaac, Isabel Merritt, M. B. Brown, and Walker, were to select other convention members with half of them not holding hospital positions.

Members of the Society heard other papers and conducted further business. Louise Darche gave a paper on "Training School Registries," Nutting gave one on "A Statistical Report of Working Hours in Training Schools," and McIsaac's paper was on "Should Undergraduates Be Sent Out to Private Duty." After the last paper, the members passed a resolution that the Society condemned "the practice of utilizing pupils in training as a means of revenue to the hospital or school." The committee studying a two-year uniform curriculum reported. The committee on a three-year uniform curriculum let the report from the previous year stand, and the same committee continued with Dock as one of it members. She was also appointed with Darche and Nutting as chairwoman to a committee on preparing a "scheme for limiting the number of hours of work for pupil nurses to a minimum, compatible with hospital requirements." Nutting and Dock took on more responsibilities for the Society when Nutting was elected president and Dock became secretary. Dock was elected continuously to this position and served until 1903.64

At the conclusion of the convention, the Committee on a National Association with Dock as chairwoman and secretary "met to
consider methods of forming a convention for the work of organizing" an association. The committee invited seven members of the Society to be delegates and twelve representative alumnae associations to each send a delegate to the convention. The delegates met at the Manhattan Beach Hotel in New York City on September 2, 1896, and drafted a constitution and bylaws for The Nurses' Associated Alumnae of the United States and Canada. The delegates agreed to meet at the next annual convention of the Society of Superintendents in February 1897, for adoption of the constitution and election of officers. The objectives of the new association were to "establish and maintain a code of ethics; to elevate the standard of nursing education; to promote the usefulness and honor, the financial and other interests of the nursing profession.""65

For a short time there was a break in Dock's organization building. After Mira Dock returned home from the university, Lavinia Dock must have felt free to explore another area of professional activity. A new phase in her life began in 1896, when she went to live and work at the Nurses' Settlement on Henry Street in New York City. She saw this experience as the most influential on her thinking for the rest of her life. She described herself as having a "desire for change wherever I went, until I finally reached the Henry Street Settlement with Miss Wald. There I learned all that I have ever known, of social systems - their underlying basis in the money power; in financial management; in an unseen government
behind the government, and only dimly comprehended in the presence and actions of 'Captains and Kings,' 'aristocrats,' 'moneyed classes,' and millionaires." In that setting, Dock's ideas of revolutionary change in society were formed, developed, and remained with her.

I had already learned of Evolution as a force of nature. Next I learned to see the process of Evolution in human society, and this the more plainly as I read, or was told, or saw the downtrodden & miserable existence of the world's workers.

This gave me the revolutionary coloring that is now a definite part of me. An evolution towards raising up the level of the toilers seems now inevitable, and also desirable, to be helped peacefully - not resisted nor opposed.

The painful beginnings of such revolution coming as evolution - appear to me like the beginnings of an education in a strict school which will become less painful and finally prized & cherished in its later stages as its meaning and its results appear. . . .66
CHAPTER 4

MIDDLE YEARS OF COMMITMENT AND CONSCIENCE

The Henry Street Settlement

Lillian D. Wald (1867-1940) was the founder of public health nursing and the first nurses' settlement where trained nurses provided nursing care to the poor and promoted social reform for improving lives. She was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, and was of German-Jewish heritage. Her father was a dealer in optical goods and provided the family with a comfortable living. Wald attended a private girls school in Rochester, New York, where the family had moved during her childhood. At sixteen she was ready to be admitted as a sophomore to Vassar, but was not accepted because of her age. She was an attractive young woman with brown hair and eyes and tall at five feet seven inches. She was popular, charming, and concerned with her appearance. After completing school, she had studied mathematics and science and could speak French and German. Wald had no specific career plans until she met a young nurse, a graduate of the Bellevue Hospital Training School for Nurses, who came to help her sister during a pregnancy. She became interested in nursing, entered the New York Hospital Training School, and graduated in March, 1891. Lillian Wald described her decision to
enter nursing as "an irresistible impulse" but never as "self-sacrifice." Isabel Stewart understood and commented on this same experience, for "nursing offered 'a pioneering kind of job' - a new profession - where 'there was a chance to see life in all its aspects.' In an era when few careers were open to women, nursing appealed to the 'restless,' to those who 'wanted to see more of life, wanted to see different kinds of people, wanted to travel, wanted to do things.' It appealed to those who wanted a career. 'Marriage was just an ordinary type of thing that everybody could do.' After graduation, Wald spent a year as a nurse in an orphan asylum, where she developed a deep love of children and concern for their welfare. She left this position but decided that she did not want to do hospital nursing or private nursing for those who could pay.

Lillian Wald wanted to "change things - to do things better." The next year she spent studying at the New York Women's Medical College. While at the college, she gave a few classes in home nursing to a group of poor women in the tenement district of the lower East Side. During one of these classes in March 1893, a little girl came to request help for her mother who had hemorrhaged after childbirth. Wald followed the child through the foul streets of the tenements to care for the mother. She had not been prepared by education or experience for this "baptism of fire." She decided something had to be done and believed that her "training in the care of the sick" would give her "an organic relationship to the neighborhood."
When Lillian Wald came to the lower East Side in 1893, a million and a half people were crowded together in Manhattan. Five of every six people lived in tenements, and the death rate was twenty-six per thousand annually. The people died because they lacked adequate medical and nursing care; because they lived in foul, overcrowded, and sunless rooms; because they were underfed or improperly fed; because they were cold or suffocated in the summer heat; because they were overworked in the sweated trades; and because they were ignorant of needed health practices in a different country. To the lower East Side had come the Irish, followed by the Germans, and then by the Jews and Italians, each taking the place of some of those before them but always increasing the population. Three of every four people were foreign-born or native-born to foreign parents. They were exploited by government, by the police, and by employers. Their streets were not properly cleaned, and they were not protected from fire, crime, or disease. Those who were ill were afraid to go to the public hospitals which still had reputations for high mortality rates and poor treatment. If the sick had a contagious illness, then others were infected in the overcrowded homes. To these conditions was added the depression with its falling wages and lack of jobs. In 1893, the streets and houses of the lower East Side were filled with homeless and unemployed men. For these masses, "the promised land" was only a dream, and the spirit of the "Gay Nineties" did not touch their lives.
Wald asked a former nursing classmate, Mary Brewster, to join her on the lower East Side. "We were to live in the neighborhood as nurses, identify ourselves with it socially, and in brief, contribute to it our citizenship." They committed themselves "to a twin service of ministration and education." In July and August of 1893, they lived at the College Settlement on Rivington Street while they made calls on the sick. By September, they had moved to the upper floor of a tenement on Jefferson Street. "Their tiny rooms were charming in the simplicity of clean bare floors, six cent white curtains and green growing plants. They did all their own work, except laundry and scrubbing, and got acquainted with their neighbors." Lavinia Dock put this description in a future article after visiting them at the tenement. They took any case and acted independently as to care, treatment, or referral. Nursing included care of the sick, finding work for the unemployed, and sending children to school. They were not tied to any specific religious beliefs or organization. In the summer of 1895, the nurses moved to a three story house at 265 Henry Street that would give the nursing service its permanent identity. It is here that Lavinia Dock came to live and work for nineteen years. She described the street as "quiet," the house as "charming," and the life as "full, free, and untrammeled in its cooperative independence" within an interior of "simplicity, comfort, and beauty."³

Lavinia Dock suggested that the long years of reform by nurses in the settlements contributed to "freeing the nurse from the
old 'handmaid' status to that of originator and collaborator in good works." In the years to come, the public health nurses would use private and public agencies and groups to achieve social improvements. Their ultimate intent was to promote acceptance of the "concept of care of the community health as a public duty - a proper function of the governments both local and central, rather than as a charge upon private philanthropy." Nurses and lay members at the Henry Street Settlement contributed to many reforms during the years before and during the progressive era. They were activists in the labor movement, peace movement, suffrage, tenement house reform, prevention of child labor, immigration reform, and creation of the Children's Bureau. Locally they established parks, playgrounds, recreation centers and kindergartens, passed pure food laws, provided school lunches, developed ungraded classes for mentally handicapped children, developed the school nurse program, and created the first visiting nurse program for workers provided by an insurance company. As a result of their concern for improved race relations, Henry Street was the site for the first meetings that created the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.4

Three years after Lillian Wald's death, Dock was asked about Wald's philosophy. Wald's views had influenced the social reforms of the settlement, and Dock's interpretation of those beliefs gives an indication of her own social perspective. Dock believed that Wald was a humanist and did not hold to a specific doctrine.
I never heard her express any philosophy or creed except human kindness & mutual helpfulness.

She was first of all, I think, a social worker—What she cared for most of all was for people throughout to have the "good neighbor" spirit—. . . You are right about her total disregard of class lines, casts, pride of wealth, prejudice of race, color, sex or education—. . . She was not "feminist" so much as "humanist"—She wanted equality for everybody—. . . I believe though, that she always held Florence Kelley's & the Consumers League views about protective laws for women workers for the reason that in that day these laws chiefly affected girls of youthful ages for whom she was deeply devoted—. . .

Now about nursing—Nursing was part of her social view rather than the other way around. She loved & upheld her profession for itself, & also because she knew that it was perhaps the most useful & acceptable path to the confidence & love of the "neighbors"—also because she was horrified at its absence among the poor—Out of the work of nursing she & her little circle grew all of the early social items--clubs, picnics, books, & classes, dances, help for mothers, trades unions for fathers & brothers at work—. . .

. . . Lillian strongly believed; or thought, that communities should take over in a big & comprehensive way all such activities as affected all the citizens—In short, her idea was that the city government should eventually take over the nursing organization & make it reach evenly every corner of the big city & states should do the same—This I had often heard her say—she & Miss Addams—As the settlements started useful movements, the city Fathers should take them & make them permanent—Thus she helped to initiate the school classes for retarded children and home-making classes to be taken over by the schools—Also the special nursing of contagious diseases was begun by the settlement & taken over indeed handed over to the Board of Health—Her belief in the municipality & what it should do was definite—She realized the limits of privately directed undertakings—So she always thought that the logical development of the nursing service
would be a publicly managed service like that of the Schools or the Health Boards.

Along with this was a firm conviction that nurses should direct nursing . . . she believed most strongly that only nurses could know whether nursing was being carried on in the proper spirit with the right methods, with enough time for good work, & under good conditions- of course also the nurses must have the social outlook- this to be given by special bodies of experts- There must also be criticisms & suggestions by nurses as well as by the laity or the medical fraternity-

There was of course the difficulty that city administrations might be & often are corrupt, mercenary, selfish & hard hearted- This problem is for the whole citizenry & so long as corrupt men are in office surely she preferred & held fast to the management of private individuals whose intentions were good & their purposes pure- even if they make mistakes sometimes- . . . 5

In this letter, Dock interpreted Wald's progressive views. They believed in their ability to change society for the better. Women reformers were concerned that their successful voluntary efforts become the function of state and national governments, thus producing more uniformity or equality across the population than what would occur at the local level. Wald then advocated eventual government control of proven reform activities for the benefit of everyone in the community.

Lavinia Dock came to the settlement on Henry Street to be a member of the nursing service when she was thirty-eight.6 Dock's first contact with the settlement came when she visited Lillian Wald and Mary Brewster at the tenement on Jefferson Street before their move to the house on Henry Street in the summer of 1895.7 It has been suggested that Dock met Lillian Wald at the Chicago World's
Fair in 1893, and that she asked to join the settlement or Wald recruited her. Dock stated in a letter to Lillian Wald's biographer, R. L. Duffus, "Then there was the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. Of course all the New Ideas were written up then but I never heard Lillian speak of what she heard. I believe she was at the nursing sessions but I did not know her then." Duffus carried on a correspondence with Dock and included her description of the settlement and material about Wald in his book. Lavinia Dock did not indicate when she learned about the settlement or exactly when she visited before becoming a nurse and resident.

Lavinia Dock also did not explain why she decided to join the Nurses' Settlement. She knew that she "had a desire for change wherever I went." And, she believed that "I never began to think until I went to Henry Street, and lived with Miss Wald." However, she realized that she had always had a "strong sympathy with oppressed classes, a lively sense of justice and a keen love of what we mean by 'freedom' and 'liberty.'" On the matter of the settlement, Isabel Stewart thought that "Lavinia . . . was very brilliant, and quite a radical in her social thinking. It was that that took her to Henry Street . . . and [she] had a strong feeling for the underdog-- oh, a very strong feeling for the underdog." Dock had been a good teacher and had practiced as a visiting nurse after graduation. She had experienced independent nursing practice. She had known mentoring and supportive relationships at the Johns Hopkins. The settlement setting made it possible for Dock to use her intellect, her nurse's
training, her desire for change, and her sense of independence to promote and support social change in an environment that needed equality and justice.

About 1898, Dock wrote a sketch of the life at the Nurses' Settlement. She stated that while the founders were on Jefferson Street "attention of many people was drawn to what they were doing. Other nurses desired to join them, and opportunities of extending their influence were offered them by different friends." Dock might have been one of these other nurses. In time a second house had been added to the first at 265 Henry Street making it possible to create a garden and playground in their backyards for mothers and children. When a third house in an uptown location was given to the settlement, workers began to live in "small scattered groups." The settlement planned to obtain a "small country house" that would provide hospitality to the "city-worn and convalescents." Dock described the daily routine at Henry Street.

... Breakfast is at half past seven, and unless guests are staying in the house, this is often the only meal at which the members of the family find themselves alone together. The postman comes; letters are opened and read, work and plans for the day are talked over and arranged. Afterwards the rooms are set in order; new cases that have come in are distributed by the head of the family, and the nurses go off on their rounds. The entire day is spent in caring for the sick, and in following out the different lines of work which develop from this, the primary one. The nursing is of course much like the work of district nurses in general, except for the entire absence of any kind of restrictive regulation. Each nurse manages her patients and arranges her time according to her best judgment, and all points of interest, knotty problems, and
difficult situations are talked over and settled in family council. The calls usually come from the people themselves, though charitable agencies, clergymen, and physicians furnish a certain percentage. Often the nurse is sent for before a doctor is called, and then, if one is needed, she decides whether to apply at the Dispensary, or to submit the patient's case to one of the best uptown specialists, or to advise hospital care.

... Beside the professional care of the invalid, all the circumstances of the family, so quickly learned in this intimate relation, become the nurse's interest, and, so far as is possible, her concern, and through the acquaintance thus established, she is sometimes able to open the door of a different life to one or another; to bring longed-for but hitherto unattainable opportunities within reach of different ones who had been by circumstances deprived of all for which nature had fitted them. As the settlement family is quite a permanent one, its members entering for indefinite periods and never wishing to leave, the nurses form real friendships with their people, who call upon them in every emergency, year in and year out. In addition to her nursing, each one takes up some special work of her own according to her talent. What this may be will appear after luncheon to which we now return and where one usually finds some visitor or visitors interested and interesting, for no dull or stupid people ever appear at the Settlement. Those who come there have some work or purpose in life and feel a love for it in its various aspects.

In the afternoon, nursing work is finished, it may be in one or two hours, or not until dinner time, and the specialities are pursued. ...\textsuperscript{10}

These "specialities" were a nurse teaching home nursing and hygiene in Yiddish to a class of foreign-born Russian mothers, or a class on how to prepare food nutritiously and cheaply, or lessons on nursing, cooking, house-work, and hygiene to a girls' club of fourteen and fifteen year old wage earners, or nursing lessons to young women and mothers in the evening.
Besides providing a nursing service and health instruction, the houses of the Nurses' Settlement provided activities similar to other social settlements. They had clubs for boys, girls, and mothers, a kindergarten, groups for mothers and young children, a study and reading room, reading and game rooms for men in the evening, lectures and discussion groups, and classes conducted by outside groups. The lay member of the settlement planned plays, music parties, and recitations for the young people. The social life at Henry Street included the privileged from uptown, friends who were labor leaders, young Yiddish and Russian writers, and young musicians.  

By 1898, there were eleven members in the "family" of women; nine were trained nurses; one lay member managed the housekeeping and the dispensary; the other ran the house across the yard that provided various activities. The family members shared the living expenses. "For a long time some of the nurses were paid and some were not. . . . After a while it seemed essential to the dignity of the nursing profession that all should receive salaries, and that these should be sufficient to attract the best nurses." The nurses and the lay members, after they also received salaries, often returned the endorsed salary checks for the work of the settlement. Other nurses gave their services for a month or two to the nursing service, and still others paid board, so they could "get an insight into the work." In 1900, there were fifteen nurses at the settlement and twenty-seven by 1906. In that year, two black nurses were employed by the
Nurse's Settlement to live and work "in an upper west side region where the colored people live. . . . Besides being excellent nurses they are both especially alive to social movements and organized preventive work." According to Isabel Stewart, the "Henry Street nurse was always a fully trained nurse. She often came from one of the better schools. . . . They attracted a good many who had a good income, so they weren't working for salaries, they were able to give. Now, that was true of Miss Dock. I don't think she ever took any money for what she did. There were a number of that type. There were some very able women who went down there, and they became pioneers, not only in visiting nursing in homes, but they showed through their work in families that they could save lives."\(^1\)\(^2\)

In living at the settlement, Lavinia Dock became keenly aware of the conditions under which the poor and working poor lived. The experience had a profound influence on her thinking and views, while at the time it imparted an appeal and interest to life at the settlement. She recognized early that "here one has the opportunity of learning at first hand the movements and tendencies of modern life from the people who are working them out. Questions of municipal management, the schools and educational problems, industrial and economic conditions, the various directions in which social reforms are trying to develop; all these are being lived by the people who come to the Settlement, and this daily contact with the real things that are going on in the world gives an indescribable charm and fascination to the life. One seems, here, to be at the very
heart of things." Years later, Dock recalled how meeting her East Side neighbors affected her. I "learned of their lifelong ideals for a better life for all humanity and saw their struggles and their persecution in the Labor Movement. Learning something of the historic labor movement and its significance for humanity I became a radical in my opinions- hopes, and beliefs." Adelaide Nutting confirmed that Dock had acquired at Henry Street "that sure grasp of certain social problems which we have learned to look for in her writings." 13

As the Nurses' Settlement workers learned from their neighbors about the problems of the slums, they lived within a recreated "family" of all women in the early years. This female institution made possible and acceptable the extension of woman's sphere. The settlement on Henry Street provided the family members the traditional resources; economic and emotional support, associations with women's and men's organizations, and a setting for implementing reform activities. The settlement structure allowed women to live in supportive female friendships while they responded with social activism to the challenges of the city. The settlement supported the development of women's abilities by creating an environment of security, liberation, and autonomy for fulfilling their chosen role of reformers. Often these women developed bonds of affection and at times passionate relationships within the community that nurtured them. 14

Lavinia Dock and Lillian Wald were New Women drawn
together by their interests. Both had happy childhoods and similar educations. Both were interested in change and social justice. Wald's approach regarding her actions was pragmatic, and she did not usually reflect on motivating influences. Dock recognized Wald's capacity for public leadership and offered support for the reform efforts of the settlement. Dock along with others influenced Wald's thinking and other activities. As Dock developed into a militant suffragist, her counseling probably persuaded Wald to become less conservative and to embrace more feminist views. Wald came to refer to herself as a suffragist. During the years at Henry Street, their experiences with societal and patient needs influenced their beliefs about nursing. They identified compassion as a core value of the spirit of nursing through which they could achieve social progress. They believed that a commitment to compassion would be demonstrated in ethical practice. At Henry Street, the ideas of reform, compassion, and progress were bound together "as a means to redeem humanity."

Over the years of their long relationship, Lillian Wald would ask Lavinia Dock for assistance in giving ideas expression in some of her writing projects, books and speeches. In 1918, she asked Dock to write a book for which she would supply the material. She also indicated Dock's contribution to Adelaide Nutting's writing. "Whenever Miss Nutting and I meet we discuss the tragedy of not having you do the writing for us all, for nobody else can do it as you can. What do you say to writing the book for me that Putnam's want
using my material?" In 1931, Wald asked for assistance with a
speech for Armistice Day at a mass meeting for peace. "Would you,
as the personification of vigorous thought among womankind, write
something that I could use? . . . I want to say something that will be
expressive and I don't know anyone in the wide world whose
expressions I cherish more than yours, so please sit down and let the
meat burn." After Wald received Dock's written remarks, she sent
her thanks. "There is no one like unto you, and there never will be!
Your outline is very suggestive, and I am using parts of it and finding
inspiration in the material that I have already put together. You
know how I prize not only your interpretation of things that count,
but your clear insight, at which I marvel, too. It is as if you were
following the utterances of the people who are making or unmaking
history." After giving the speech, Wald sent a report. "Everybody
seemed to have liked my contribution, and ten thousand thanks to you
for the many suggestions, which you will see incorporated." Dock
also made her contribution to the history of public health nursing for
its early anniversaries. In 1922, her review of the developments in
public health nursing in the United States was reprinted, and she had
given credit to Lillian Wald for her work over the years. In 1937,
Wald asked Dock to write an article for the twenty-fifth anniversary
of the founding of the National Organization of Public Health Nursing.
Dock was to make it clear that Wald was the "first" to use "the term
public health nursing." Isabel Stewart thought Lavinia Dock "did a
great deal of Miss Wald's writing for her. She was the kind of a
person who would be extremely helpful in things of that kind."
Lavinia "helped her in many ways."16

Though unlike in temperament, Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock
developed a warm and caring friendship that endured until Wald's
death. Wald called Dock "Dockie," "Docky," or "L.L.D.," and Dock called
her "Dearest Lady." Dock described her friend in glowing terms.
"Miss Wald's personality is fascinating. Poised and steady in
judgment, of rare perception and insight, with a care-free vivacity
in conversation, her character is one of sunshine, radiating lavishly
without effort or exactions and evoking the best from those about
her." At one point, because of knowing Lillian Wald well, Dock to
supported and encouraged her work above writing a book. She
reminded Wald that she was "essentially a woman of action and
initiative. . . . keep on with your active work and let those who are
already sitting behind desks write the articles." For her part, Wald
recognized Dock's contributions to nursing and to the cause of
women in her second book, Windows on Henry Street.

Lavinia Dock, pioneer nurse, pioneer suffragist, has
shared in almost countless measures that have increased the
nurse's education and opportunities. An educator herself, her
Materia Medica has gone through repeated editions, and the
history of nursing which she and Miss Nutting prepared is a
classic. But this represents only one segment of her interest.
I cannot even say it was always the dominant interest, for the
rights of women have been well to the fore. In her years with
us, everyone admired her, none feared her, though she was
sometimes very fierce in her denunciations. Reputed a man-
hater, we knew her as a lover of mankind. . . ."17
Dock called the time at Henry Street "my happy years." And Isabel Stewart believed that Lavinia Dock "really was very much happier in that than in any of the other things she'd done."18

Much has been made of Lillian Wald's statement, "Reputed a man-hater, we knew her as a lover of mankind." Blanche Cook makes a reference to this statement as if it explained why Dock left Henry Street in late 1915, almost 20 years before the publication of Wald's book. Blanche Cook's assertion that this is the only reference in the book to Lavinia Dock is incorrect, because there are four different page citations for Dock. Cook also did not find correspondence giving the reason for Dock's leaving Henry Street and states there was a lapse in this correspondence until Wald's illness in 1925. There is a problem with both of Cook's statements. Wald wrote Dock in early January 1916, asking her to come for the January musicale. Dock replied with appreciation for the Christmas candy and said that she could not come on Sunday. She further indicated that her sister, Mira, was now well but was leaving for New York to plan a forestry exhibit for the Federation of Women's Clubs. Wald and Dock's correspondence continued over the years, never indicating a serious disagreement or break in their relationship. Dock's letter probably indicates as always that when she was needed she returned home to her sisters. Maureen Ott's study of the friendship between Lavinia Dock and Lillian Wald indicates no break in the relationship.19
Lillian Wald's biographer in three references to Lavinia Dock mentioned her opinion of men. He noted that she was "suspicious," "despised," and had a "low" opinion of the race of men. However, in each case the author indicated how Lavinia was "unfailingly kind" or "considerate and helpful" to individual males when they were troubled or needing help. Lillian Wald's characterization is accurate of Lavinia Dock. She knew that Dock considered women and nurses oppressed by male legislators and physicians who opposed suffrage for women and registration and improved education for nurses. Dock's experiences in the social hygiene movement would not have improved her view of men. Dock had been in the forefront of these campaigns with her pen and her person. She believed that men as a group restricted the progress of women. But according to Wald's biographer, Dock's general views did not seem to prevent her from assisting individuals in need. In her "Self-Portrait," Dock wished to have "more affection for the individual person." However, her actions demonstrated concern in various ways. When she was away, she would ask about specific neighbors of the settlement. After being in Europe, she offered to work in the summer, for nurses at Henry Street, so they could continue to receive their salaries and go away to rest. Once she and her sisters moved to the mountain, she offered their home frequently as a place of rest in the mountain air to Adelaide Nutting, Lillian Wald, and other workers at the settlement, and she tried to help other town's people who lived on the mountain when times were hard. She could attack mercilessly
those who prevented what she considered progress, but contrary to her words, she seemed ready to offer help when needed. 20

When discussing supportive female friendships of women reformers and settlement house workers, there is the question of lesbian relationships to consider. Blanche Cook seems to be the first to speculate on this possibility among the women at Henry Street. She defines lesbian as "[W]omen who love women, who choose women to nurture and support and to create a living environment in which to work creatively and independently." Other historians find this definition too broad. Ellen Langemann does "not find it useful to apply the term lesbian" to women of Wald's "generation who had close, affectionate, and enduring same-sex friendships." Leila Rupp suggests the "need to distinguish between women who identify as lesbians . . . and a broader category of woman-committed women who would not identify as lesbians but whose primary commitment, in emotional and practical terms, was to other women." After considering the continuing debate, Kathryn Sklar prefers the term homoerotic because of the indirect nature of the evidence. Doris Daniels in her work on Lillian Wald discusses examples of letters to and from Wald that reflect a Victorian time of style and accepted female friendship. None of her examples include Lavinia Dock.21

Cook names a group of women at Henry Street and says they worked on projects, lived, and vacationed together for over fifty years. A sweeping statement, since Lillian Wald only lived there for
forty years until she retired to her country home due to ill health in 1933, and Lavinia Dock only lived there off and on for nineteen years. Cook asks, did Dock leave because of a new lover? And contrary to Cook's suggestions of political differences, the reason, after looking further into Dock's correspondence at the time, seems to be family need. In this group, whom Cook identifies as living and working together for so long a time, is Annie Goodrich who first came to Henry Street in 1917, as director of the nursing service. She returned after the war in 1919, and held positions at Henry Street and Teachers College until she became dean of the Yale School of Nursing in 1923. In contradiction to Cook's statement is that Dock did not vacation or travel to Europe with Wald. In order to study the friendship of Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock more closely, Maureen Ott analyzed thirty-three of Wald's letters and fifty-six of Dock's letters for the years, 1898 to 1930. The results did not indicate "the Dock-Wald friendship to be a romantic friendship. There is no hint of romantic passion, erotic longing, nor sexual expression in their letters. . . . the fact remains that the analysis of the Dock-Wald correspondence provides no evidence of lesbian activity between the two friends." These results do not support Leila Rupp's claim, made without definition or reference, that Lavinia Dock "lived in an intimate relationship with Lillian Wald" at Henry Street. The results of Ott's study do not deny that Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock can be seen as woman-committed women "and that they may have had a romantic friendship, with or without a sexual component." The
use of "personal endearments" and "expressions of warmth and sentimentality" are "found in their letters to other friends" at the settlement. Certainly women in these communities gave each other "loyalty and love." However, the possibility of a lesbian relationship in this particular female friendship has to be based on evidence other than their letters.22

More Organizing Work

Lavinia Dock's position as nurse and resident at the Henry Street Settlement made it possible for her to continue her professional nursing activities, to become involved in major reform movements, and to expand nursing internationally. In February, 1897, she traveled to the Johns Hopkins for the annual convention of the Society of Superintendents and to complete the organizing work of the new Nurses' Associated Alumnae. Dock was returning to a place where she had been happy; she visited and checked arrangements with Adelaide Nutting. The meeting of the Society was from the tenth to the twelfth in the university buildings, and Nutting's address as president was described by the local newspaper "as sounding the 'keynote of high aim and strenuous endeavor.'" Nutting as usual advocated raising the standards for admission to nursing and lengthening the education to three years in order to prepare a competent graduate. She supported fewer and better schools in order to limit the number of graduates. The program of the convention was to review the progress of the profession and

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consider some new suggestions. The members of the Society heard papers on registries, a uniform curriculum, progress in establishing a three years' course in training schools, and providing trained nursing for people of moderate means. Isabel Hampton Robb gave a paper on "Nursing in the Smaller Hospitals and in Those Devoted to the Care of Special Forms of Disease." In the discussion after this paper, Dock made a suggestion that a national association could regulate schools "working through state societies to secure state laws." Thus, she made an early suggestion for future state and national regulation of educational standards for nursing.

Lavinia Dock was very busy at this convention with reports of her committee work and her duties as secretary. She gave the minutes of the last meeting and had seen to the publication of the convention report for the previous year. She reported for the Committee on a National Association on its organizing work in September 1896, described previously. Dock was a member of the committee for limiting the hours of work in hospitals that suggested to the superintendents that pupil nurses not have more than nine hours of duty per day and night nurses not have more than twelve hours of night duty. An important letter was sent to Dock by the Matrons' Council of Great Britain and Ireland in which Ethel Fenwick asked the Society of Superintendents to join the Matrons' Council in "an International Congress on Nursing in London, in the summer of 1898." Also, the council thanked Dock for sending the report of the Society to the council and congratulated the Society
"on the valuable work accomplished by them for the nursing profession generally." Plans were made to confer with the council about the proposed congress. The members reelected Dock secretary and elected Nutting vice-president.24

At the conclusion of the Society's meeting, Dock had the organizing work of the new Nurses' Associated Alumnae to bring to completion. The delegates of the new organization met, adopted the constitution and bylaws, and elected Isabel Hampton Robb president. She held the presidency until September 1901. Here was the fulfillment of her plans for a national association since the World's Fair in 1893. Dock remembered that "long before a national association had been thought of she [Isabel] saw all its groupings, powers, and activities, and rejoiced over its great possibilities." Isabel Robb had to depend on others to do the initial work to bring the association into reality. Isabel Hampton Robb missed the Society of Superintendents' meeting in February 1896, because she had delivered her first son on Christmas day 1895. She was not at the organizing convention for the new association in September 1896, because she was traveling in Europe with her husband. She ended her long term as president before the birth of her second son in February 1902. The delegates at the meeting in February 1897, became charter members of the Nurses' Associated Alumnae, and these included Lavinia Dock, Adelaide Nutting, and Isabel Robb.25

Very early Lavinia Dock must have decided that communicating with other groups was important for the Society. "Let us teach the
public what we really are . . . let us consider one of our
responsibilities the by no means light one of educating public
opinion." As secretary of the Society, she was responsible for the
minutes of the meetings and the publication of the annual reports.
The first and second convention reports of the Society were not
published until 1897, when she was secretary. Dock sent the annual
reports that would convey a part of the profession's history to the
New York, Boston, and Chicago Public Libraries. Her interest was
organization of the profession; therefore, a record of the
profession's development was needed to inform others. She had sent
the report of the Society's meeting to the Matrons' Council, and with
the publication of the fourth annual convention, she began sending
reports of the Society to the U.S. Commissioner of Education. She
asked the commissioner to include it in his annual report. Although
he was unable to do this at the time, he asked for future information
on the Society. He sent labels to Dock so that mailing of later
reports would be free. Dock's efforts to communicate the Society's
activities may have been influenced also by her view of its members.
She considered that "[o]utside of hospitals, the members of the
Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses were even
more serious. They were absolutely centred on their
responsibilities and the upbuilding of their profession."26

About this time, Lavinia Dock was involved with the labor
movement and organizing a local garment union at Henry Street. In
1897, Lillian Wald with other benefactors provided funds for
Leonora O'Reilly (1870-1927) to leave her work "as a forewoman in a shirtwaist factory" and to move with her mother near the settlement. O'Reilly had grown up in poverty, worked in factories, and been a member of the Knights of Labor and the Working Women's Society. In 1896, she and Dock had investigated sweatshops together and tried to organize young women. Later Dock and Wald stopped O'Reilly's investigating work, so she could focus on union organizing. O'Reilly's supporters recognized her intellectual ability and wanted to give her some time for rest, study, and reform work. The settlement provided her a learning experience by setting up an "experimental cooperative shirtwaist shop" to demonstrate good working conditions. She trained six girls to become "expert seamstresses" by constructing the whole garment instead of a piece. O'Reilly, Dock, and others organized a women's branch, Local 16, of the United Garment Workers of America for the settlement shop. Dock served as secretary for the executive committee of the local. From the shirtwaist shop experiment, O'Reilly learned that she was a good teacher. However, the shop was not a success, because the shirtwaists were of such a high quality that they could not be placed in the general market. The shop closed in the fall of 1898, when O'Reilly became a student at the Pratt Institute. However, her relationship with the family at Henry Street continued. O'Reilly had received support and "total acceptance" from Lillian Wald, Lavinia Dock, and Helen McDowell of the settlement, and she saw them as having practical experience in the world she knew. From them she
felt a "sense of sisterhood" that she would try to bring to her future union organizing, and she learned again that women of nonworking-class backgrounds could sincerely be devoted to social reform.27

The nursing organization meetings in 1898 and 1899, culminated in important achievements for the development of the profession. The Society of Superintendents held their fifth convention in Toronto, Canada from February eighth to the eleventh. Linda Richards, considered the first trained nurse in the United States and elected the first president of the Society in 1894, discussed the characteristics and duties of the superintendent in her paper, "The Superintendent of the Training School." In some institutions the superintendent was still responsible for administering the school and the hospital, and often she experienced opposition, from physicians and hospital administrators, to the education of the students. Isabel Robb responded to the problem that the skills needed for a superintendent were not included in the content of training programs. In her paper, "'Suggestions on Qualifications for Future Membership' in the Society of American Superintendents," Robb suggested that nurses needed preparation in the "theory of teaching" before they became superintendents. She proposed that such education could be obtained at a training school for teachers, "notably one just recently affiliated with Columbia University." Better prepared superintendents could more likely produce a uniform curriculum. Isabel Robb saw the "educational standard" as the means to obtain knowledge and skills for the role of
superintendent and thereby improve the curriculums in training schools. This was one way to achieve the Society's objective "to leave the work of nursing in a better condition than we found it." A committee including Robb and Nutting was appointed to study the suggestion for educational preparation of superintendents. At the convention the members discussed the need for the national association to form a code of ethics. In the discussion on the constitution, Dock disagreed with Nutting's suggestion that the office of president have no term limit. She stated that without a fixed term limit "a political element is likely to be introduced." Finally, the Society decided that it did not have the financial means to send delegates to London for an International Congress.  

Lavinia attended the first convention of the Nurses' Associated Alumnae in New York City from April 28-29, 1898, a week after the United States declared war on Spain. Because of the war, the association offered the services of representative trained nurses for relief work to the Secretary of War. In her presidential address, Isabel Hampton Robb reviewed the founding of the organization and acknowledged Lavinia Dock and her committee for their contribution. She asked the association to postpone development of a code of ethics until the ideas of the members were better known. She saw the main problem as education, since the present schools needed to be improved and further creation of additional schools discouraged. She suggested that the alumnae associations provide post-graduate study and that they should participate in educational and
philanthropic activities to promote social reform. Finally, she pointed out the need for a financial assistance plan for nurses and for publications and literature that concerned the profession. For some reason, Dock was not present to hear this address, but made similar points in a paper presented in May. A committee was appointed to investigate the creation of a nursing magazine. During that discussion, Dock pointed out that a nursing periodical was necessary for professional life. Dock might have influenced Robb to delay a code of ethics. Dock had consulted John Billings, who responded "that the medical code had been the cause of untold wrangling in the medical profession. 'Be good women,' he added, 'but do not have a code of ethics.'" She had reacted in "shocked consternation," for his words "seemed like blasphemy."29

It was during the war with Spain, that Lavinia Dock altered her beliefs about religion. She had attended Episcopal services with her family, although this was not required. Because she loved music, she had played the church organ. She thought that she believed religious doctrines until she "heard a clergyman - a most excellent and good sincere man defend our conquest of the Philippines and say: 'They (the natives) have no business to resist us.'"

Instantly all regard for and belief in the Church as an institution fell out of my mind as a stone sinks in water, and never came back. Years before that the histories of the Civil War time and the defence of slavery made by the churches had deeply impressed my emotions but I did not then think it out. Now I one day recited to myself the Apostles Creed in order to see what I believed. I found that I only accepted the two last
words "Life everlasting" but the life I believed in was what we see in nature and not the immortality of the individual.

... No pain or sense of loss accompanied my disbelief. On the contrary as I saw more of the misery and cruelty of human beings and read more of the long ages and mille[n]niums of slavery, cruelty and pain I would have felt horror of an omnipotent God who could preside over such suffering and now I feel confident that whatever the vast creative power is -it has no human feelings; - does not care or know. The presence of love and kindness in human beings (and also in animals) I interpret as being the effect wrought into living cells by sunlight or rays of light. ...

A change came about in my feelings toward Jesus. So long as I thought that I believed he was a divinity I could feel none of the gratitude and devotion for him that the clergy told us we should feel. ... Very different were my sensations as I came to see him as a humble Jewish working man - one of the long line of such martyrs and prophets in the ages. Then, gratitude and reverence and love came fully without artificial stimulation.

All this became plain to me in my life on the East Side as there I met in person working men of exactly the type of Jesus- ... 30

Dock's experience on the East Side probably had the greatest influence on her beliefs. At this time, she also expressed her opposition to the Spanish American War by saying "all liberals were intensely opposed." Thus, she gave expression to her pacifism. She examined her religious heritage and rejected it. However, hymns and religious music remained a source of enjoyment, and she liked the poetry, legends, and prophecy of the Bible. Sometimes she would include scriptural phrases in her writing and letters. Throughout her life, she declared that she had no religion, but she admired Jesus as an example and would make reference to him in her letters. 31
On the East Side, Dock met Russian revolutionaries, and this also influenced her adoption of socialism and her support of the Russian revolution. Lavinia accepted the philosophy of mutual aid as a factor of evolution proposed by Peter Kropotkin, the Russian anarchist, scholar, and revolutionary, who had visited the settlement and published his ideas in 1902. He believed that mutual support and devotion among the life of the masses had been ignored and developed this theory by observing animals and primitive peoples. He held that survival was based on assistance and not competition. Dock expressed this idea of mutual assistance in promoting the evolution of society.32

At the end of 1898, Dock wrote to Lillian Wald a letter that illustrates various aspects of her life. She had suffered an infection of a toe that destroyed part of the joint, and the toe's amputation made it necessary for her to be absent from work at the settlement. In the letter, she expressed how important the family at Henry Street was to her and asked about the neighbors who were her nursing cases. She showed her protective nature toward her adult sisters by not wanting them to know about the amputation until she returned home in two weeks. Her sister, Margaret, stayed with her through Sunday, the day of surgery, but she was not to tell the other sisters about the amputation. Dock expressed irritation about her situation, but she was interested in her medical therapy. She wrote to Wald early in December explaining her situation.
... My dear girl you will have to get a substitute for me for Jan. & Feb. because I shall have to stay away a long time. My poor old toe had to come off & off it is. & I am an amputation case. ... I must not return to such an active life where I must constantly be using my feet - for that length of time. ... I can walk just as well as ever but that I must give it a long rest & of course I will. Now is not this a pretty kettle of fish for me to cook up! I am so surprised at myself that every other feeling is lost in amazement. Anyway there is no use in bewailing the inevitable & it is all done & past now. ... So if any of you should chance to write to any of them don't divulge the whole truth. If they heard it now they would worry & when they see me & hear it they will accept it as a "done gone thing".

I can't tell you how I feel at being cut off from so much of the Settlement life. I am more fortunate than I deserve in having had so much of it & maybe when I return I will be better fit for it than I now am. It will be a constant source of pleasure & interest to think of you all & to wonder what you are doing. Write when you have time. ... Give my best love to all the dear family & tell them all to try & keep well. ... write & tell me about ... This hospital is certainly a sort of little heaven. ... Such goodness & kindness & thoroughness. I have a nice little private room & my foot is kept in a perpetual bath of hot salt solution - no dressing. That is the treatment for infected wounds & it is deliciously comfortable. When I get back I shall be full of pointers & new wrinkles for the nursing sisters. ... The irony is that she had caused her difficulty. "Of course all this thing is my fault originally for if I had not snipped my toe the nail wd not have gone in & I shd not have had to have it removed." Even in difficulty, Dock told the truth, but she also could write with humor.33

In 1899, the Nurses' Associated Alumnae met prior to the Society of Superintendents in New York City from the first to the
second of May. Isabel Hampton Robb in her presidential address reminded the members that nursing had celebrated twenty-five years of trained nursing in the United States in 1898. She informed them that a representative committee had formulated and presented a bill to congress "for the establishment of women nurses in military hospitals" based on the difficulty of securing trained nurses for the past war. In concluding, she called on the profession "to put into our work only the highest and best we have to give. Remember we are the history makers of trained nurses. Let us see to it that we work so as to leave a fair record as the inheritance of those who come after us, one which may be to them an inspiration to even better efforts, instead of a regret or a reproach. It rests with ourselves entirely just how honored, how useful, and what place this nursing work shall hold in the world."34

The Society of Superintendents met in New York City on May 5 and 6, 1899. Lillian Wald gave a paper on "Work of Women in Municipal Affairs" concerning the activities of women for reform in cities across the country. She explained that women and nurses served on boards of charity, education, arbitration, in police stations, and as factory inspector. This last position was performed by Florence Kelley in Illinois; however, she had just become secretary of the National Consumers' League and had moved to the Nurses' Settlement. Wald emphasized that women had obtained sanitation legislation, inspected tenements, collected data and statistics on labor and homes, founded playgrounds, kindergartens,
vacation schools, traveling libraries, and had raised the "age of protection" and achieved reforms in the county jails in Chicago. She stressed the need of all citizens to participate in civil service reform, for women would not be appointed on the spoils system but when a merit system was in place. After this paper, Dock and Nutting among others were appointed to a committee "to study the subject of urging the promotion of trained nurses to membership on sanitary and school boards. Dock continued in her position as secretary of the organization and as member of the committee on publication.35

The most important report for the future of professional nursing was given by Isabel Robb for the education committee. She and Adelaide Nutting practically on their own achieved the placement of a course to prepare trained nurses to be teachers within the curriculum of Teachers College, Columbia University. By December 1898, they had met with Dean James Russell and had prepared a course of study. The course would be eight months long with three or four months of private duty before or after the course. A board of examiners of the Society would determine the eligibility of the candidates. After an examination, a certificate would be awarded by Teachers College. Robb reported, "The college is splendid, The atmosphere purely educational. I am sure any candidate would find the extra time and money well expended." The course began in October 1899, with two students. The college faculty taught the major portion of the course, and members of the
Society taught the hospital economics portion as visiting lecturers without pay. The course in hospital economics was in the Department of Domestic Science and was supported by donation through the Society until 1910, when the program was endowed. The Society took this path to establish uniform curricula in training schools and thought this could be achieved through uniform training of the teachers. Even though the first purpose was not to place nursing education in a college, the result was that Teachers College became the first academic setting for nursing, and it developed into a full academic department. In 1899, Isabel Hampton Robb's vision was coming to reality that women should have higher education to prepare them for their nursing positions. Lavinia Dock would remember that when Isabel Hampton was at Johns Hopkins, "the course . . . showed itself to her in long vistas of certainties. She saw the women at work, knew what they would do, and what would come of it." And Dock would say at another time that she "had the great pleasure of being associated with Mrs. Robb when the . . . course came into her mind. I saw it dawning in her eyes at breakfast; at dinner time it was nearing completion and at supper it was finished in all its details."36

After these conventions, Lavinia and Mira Dock, each for her own professional interests, sailed to England to attend the International Congress of Women from June 26 to July 2, 1899, in London. Mira Dock had been invited by the landscape gardener of the London Public Gardens Association "to attend the horticultural
section" of the congress. After this invitation, she was asked to be
the representative of the Federation of Pennsylvania Women and the
Parks Association of Philadelphia. This was followed by a request
from the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture to make her visit
"a study of forestry and urban arboriculture in England and the
continent." Mira Dock's visit would be longer and broaden her
professional knowledge for her later career development. On July 1,
Lavinia Dock attended the nursing session under the Professional
Section of the congress, and during a discussion she brought up the
subject of state registration for trained nurses. Ethel Fenwick had
requested this session and was made its presiding officer. Nurses
from several countries attended the congress and had an opportunity
to form an international organization. Florence Nightingale sent a
letter of welcome to the nurses. Lavinia Dock reported to Adelaide
Nutting that "Mrs. Robb's paper impressed them all very much. . . . My
remarks were very feeble but Mrs. Bedford Fenwick made up by
saying all the things I ought to have said. She is a tremendously
clever woman and her ideas are those which we are in perfect
sympathy with."37

On July 1, Ethel Fenwick called an annual conference of the
Matrons' Council of Great Britain and Ireland and invited the nurses
at the international congress to attend. Of the six nurses from the
United States who attended the meeting, four, including Lavinia Dock
and Isabel Robb, were honorary members of the group. Fenwick
proposed that a "Provisional Committee" be formed "to consider the
best methods of organizing an International Council of Nurses, with power to add to their number." On July 2, the nurses met to discuss resolutions and decided that the English members would draft the constitution and send it round to all the other members. The members were to inform heads of training schools and organized societies of the proposal to found the international council. Margaret Breay acted as the honorary secretary and treasurer for the Provisional Committee until the constitution and elections were acted on in July, 1900.

In July, 1900, some of the Provisional Committee members met in London and completed the business of organization. The draft constitution was amended according to the comments received by mail and then adopted. The objectives were "to provide a means of communication between the nurses of all nations, and to afford facilities for the interchange of international hospitality" and "to provide opportunities for nurses to meet together from all parts of the world, to confer upon questions relating to the welfare of their patients and their profession." It was suggested that Lavinia Dock was "the creative genius who brought into being the first constitution." It would be difficult to know, since the document went through many hands, and written suggestions were sent to the committee. However, the document served the organization for twenty-five years with only minor changes. Mary Roberts, who knew Dock for many years, credited her with writing the preamble:38
We, nurses of all nations, sincerely believing that the best good of our Profession will be advanced by greater unity of thought, sympathy and purpose, do hereby band ourselves in a confederation of workers to further the efficient care of the sick, and to secure the honour and the interests of the Nursing Profession. 39

This does sound like Dock with the focus on organization for the benefit of the profession. Also, the term "workers" and not nurses would indicate her sympathy with the labor movement. Election of officers was the next item of business that was accomplished by mailed in nominations and "voting papers." Ethel Fenwick was elected president, Lavinia Dock, honorary secretary, and Mary Snively of Canada, honorary treasurer. In the beginning, the membership was composed of individuals as representatives from each country until countries could develop nursing societies. The first six countries represented were Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Denmark. Dock sent a proposal to have the Canadian and American members arrange a congress in 1901. The suggestion was accepted, and Lavinia Dock and Mary Snively were appointed to make the arrangements. When Dock was notified of her election, she sent a letter that was characteristic of her modesty to Ethel Fenwick.40 Here also was Dock's hope for unity among all nurses.

I am indeed much gratified that you should think me capable of doing the Secretary work of the International Council. I hope you will not be disappointed. Are you President? No one has told me. I hope so, for I am confident that you are one of the few who are able and willing to undertake rolling such a mountain uphill. I sincerely trust that
our labours may not be fruitless, and that nurses over the world will draw together.\textsuperscript{41}

Ethel Fenwick and Lavinia Dock had begun a lifelong friendship when they met at the Johns Hopkins. Fenwick and Dock developed common interests in women's rights and women's suffrage and would become known as feminists and suffragists. They recognized the other's intellectual abilities, shared the other's perspective for the advancement of nursing, were able to express themselves in the written word, and seemed tireless in their efforts to promote nursing's causes.\textsuperscript{42}

Lavinia Dock and Ethel Fenwick did labor over the development of the Council as an organization for nurses to communicate internationally. They began with hope for its development and with limited financial means. Lavinia held the position of honorary secretary until 1922, when she finally laid it down as one of the great endeavors of her life. She was devoted to the purposes of the organization, received no salary for her work, used her considerable language skills, and sailed back and forth to Europe several times at her own expense. She kept the records of the International Council in a trunk that traveled with her. When in London, the centrally located board room of the Registered Nurses' Society was available to her for the work of building up the Council.\textsuperscript{43} Over those years, Lavinia carried on an extensive correspondence with nurses in many countries and informed nurses at home about the progress of nursing, public health, and social legislation through the pages of the \textit{American Journal of Nursing}. To many nurses, especially in the
United States, Lavinia Dock represented the International Council of Nurses.

Lavinia Dock was interested in representative organizations, so she tried to have different groups become members. Isabel Stewart told this story about Dock's attempts to bring the Sisters into the nursing organizations.

She said, "I really think I helped to bring the Sisters in, because I was over in Ireland, and I was talking to a Catholic priest over there. I told him that we wanted very much to have the Sisters come into both the International Council of Nurses and the Association, . . . "

She told me, "I just asked him, and he agreed it was a good thing." Now, the Irish Sisters didn't associate very much with the other nurses in organization work. The priest said to her, "Write Father So-and-so, in Chicago, and tell him I asked you to write to him, and just tell him what your problem is, and I think he'll help you."

She said, "I never got an answer from him, but the Sisters began to come to the meetings, and very soon they began to find that they were interested, and little by little they came in and attended and became members of the Association."\footnote{44}

Lavinia Dock's friends knew her contribution to the success of the International Council of Nurses. Adelaide Nutting in a letter referred to Dock's achievement in the organization and in her journal articles, when she stated simply, "Our International relationships were largely built up by her, and our interest in them has been kept fresh and living as month by month she has presented to us events in the nursing world." Mary Roberts wrote, "She it was who kept the organization alive through the confusions and horrors of World War
I. And Lillian Wald recognized Dock's contribution to internationalism on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *American Journal of Nursing* by stating, "This anniversary number may happily chronicle and give tribute to the priceless gifts brought by Lavinia L. Dock to the formation of international leagues. Her secretarial files will never divulge what she gave and what she was and is, -- but implicit in her accomplishment is the valiant spirit of her internationalism. Whether her contribution is recognized or not is of slight consequence (none to her whatsoever), but her spirit will always hover over those nurses who are freed to give expression to their aspirations."45

The labor and praise were in Dock's future. After the congress In 1899, she began her international experience by visiting England and Germany while Mira Dock was studying horticulture and forestry. Lavinia Dock wrote Adelaide Nutting a letter describing her visit to Kaiserswerth, Germany, where Pastor Fliedner and his wife had founded the Deaconesses and Florence Nightingale had studied for a short time. Nutting responded, "'We must have a history of nursing. Will you help me to write it?" Dock answered simply that she would and began to visit countries and "gather material in libraries." So based on a very brief request, Lavinia Dock started another endeavor that took many years to complete. When Lavinia and Mira Dock returned to the United States, they were ready to publish their experiences. Lavinia Dock sent a lengthy letter to *The Trained Nurse* describing "Nursing in Germany" that was reprinted in *The Nursing*
Record & Hospital World. She was excited to tell "our nurses" about what she had learned and began by ignoring her feelings regarding travelers who write. "Having always denounced as inexpressible egotists the people who, after making short trips in other lands, come home and write articles about them, I now find there is such an irrepressible temptation to commit this same fault, that even the dread of falling under my own condemnation cannot deter me from being guilty of it." At the same time she wrote a memorial to a friend, Louise Darche, who had committed suicide earlier that year. She had learned of Darche's death while in London for the International Congress. Whether Dock was influenced by her visit to historical settings and the memory of past nursing heroines, she used her pen to remind American nurses of a present day heroine in reform. She never mentioned how Louise Darche died, but described her work as a superintendent of a training school on Blackwell's Island and her ten year struggle against the spoils system of Tammany. Darche had attended the first meeting at the World's Fair to establish the Society of Superintendents and had supported the organization since 1893. Dock concluded her tribute by reminding her colleagues, "Shall we, then, look only into the past for our ideals? Rather let us give to those about us, while they yet live to need it, the comfort and strength of our approbation and sympathy." Many years later, in trying to recall for Isabel Stewart the articles that she had written, Dock thought this memorial "was really good."46
By 1900, Lavinia and Mira Dock published the results of their European experiences. Mira published her studies as *A Summer's Work Abroad, in School Grounds, Home Grounds, Play Grounds, Parks and Forests*, Bulletin 62 of the Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture. Lavinia published her travels in a small collection titled *Short Papers on Nursing Subjects*. In "A Pilgrimage to Kaiserswerth," she gave a historical and present-day description of this important community to nursing. An early version of this description in a letter to Adelaide Nutting may have been the stimulus for her to suggest a history of nursing. From her study presented in "Nursing Organizations in Germany and England," Dock found that the nursing sisters in Germany were under the control of the church or the state and had no initiative for independence in organization. "An American is astonished at the silence among these women of the Old World. The superintendents of nurses in these vast establishments, women of immense ability and possessing authority in certain directions more extensive than any of our superintendents possess, have no associate life. They do not unite, write papers, or speak in public." In England, she basically found two groups of nurses. She considered the Matrons' Council to have ideas similar to the Society of Superintendents and to believe "in affiliating nurses with other progressive women . . . busy with practical reforms." The second group had joined the Pension Fund, and the "real grievance, the real injury done these women . . . is that they are prevented from developing; they are forbidden to have a life of their own; they are
not allowed that sweetest of all pleasures, the pleasure of giving oneself voluntarily and freely to the work of one's choice. . . . The Pension Fund assumes that nurses are poor things and must always remain so; that they do not know how to manage their money and never can learn." Dock had written several years earlier about her opposition to a pension fund. In her third paper, "The Nurses' Settlement in New York," she described life at the settlement. She brought an earlier version of this paper up to date for this publication.47

The most important paper in the group is "Ethics - or a Code of Ethics," because it not only had meaning for its time but also for the present. Lavinia Dock separated ethics from etiquette, while most educators of her day taught etiquette as ethics. She did not accept blind obedience, unquestioning loyalty, submission to rules in place of "judgment, responsibility, and humanitarianism" as the nurses of this period have been characterized. She had once supported the development of a code and then questioned the need.

. . . For what are ethics and can they be codified? Do we aim at ethical exclusiveness and shall our ethical development be bounded or limited by a code? "Code" suggests statutes, infringements, penalties, antagonisms. If we have the ethics, we will not need a code. The code is to regulate those who have no ethics, and in proportion as ethical principles are made a part of our natures and lives, our codes and restrictions will shrivel away and die the death of inanition. . . . so exaggerated a notion of the potency of drafted laws; so strong a tendency to make rules the end and aim of life rather than simply conveniences, changeable contrivances.
Ethical life is more than maxims, just as intellectual life is more than book-learning. . . . But it is not rational to suppose that our training school teaching could be more than the preparation, the ground-work of our professional life. Our self-conducted associations are the true schools for our broader education. Here we may take up the study of ethics, sharpen our perceptions, and learn to form our judgments. Such study, if taken in a wide sense, will end only with our life-times, and will not be completed then. . . .

Let no one deride or belittle etiquette; it has its place, a very important one. However it is not to be mistaken for ethics.

Etiquette, used, needless to say, within reasonable bounds, is like a common language. Its purpose is to avoid confusion in daily life and to introduce order by establishing one definite and generally understood set of good manners in the place of two or three hundred kinds of good manners. . . . Let us recognize etiquette, and acknowledge that the training schools teach it conscientiously and carefully, but that it is not all we need to learn. . . . We have had many talks and addresses from the doctors. . . .

Oh, these yearly recurring talks! One on every graduation day in every training school throughout the land! Let us be frank and admit plainly once for all that they are wearisome, perennial rubbish. These men who among themselves are so brilliant, so learned, so interesting, how can they --from which their brain-cells do they produce the thin, unflavored mental pabulum which they gravely serve out to us? And we, as we sit on the platform full of enthusiasm, how gladly would we hear something to stimulate and inspire us as thinking beings! . . .

But what do they teach us of ethics? . . . the nurse's whole duty, loyalty, and obedience begins and ends in subordination to the doctor. . . . Ponder over this dictum and acknowledge that there is something unsatisfying in it. . . . One would like to see the nurse allowed the same amount of independence as any other moral being.

Suppose she were to be taught that her duty and loyalty were to be, first, to truth and justice as living principles. . . . According to justice and truth, her loyalty might be due, not to
the doctor, but to the patient. Or, not to either of these but to the patient's friends. Or, away from them all and to the public.

There is an obedience which is slavishness, and a subordination which is moral cowardice. . . . It requires a knowledge of our obligations and duty to all classes of people, not only to one class.

Would we not, in a study of these obligations on all sides, find our ethics, and would not such study be more profitable than didactic regulations? How much new light would be thrown upon our own problems, and what fresh meaning appear in all branches of our own work! . . .

In studying our obligations to others we will incidentally learn what we owe to ourselves and each other. . . . Among the obligations we owe to ourselves and to each other comes before everything else, independence of outside control in our personal and professional affairs. . . .

. . . Can we go far in applying a strict ethical standard to our own actions without demanding that we shall also find it in the actions of others toward us? If I treat you as I wish to be treated, equally true is it that you must treat me as you wish to be treated. Otherwise, you become an aggressor and I have soon lost my dignity and spirit and am imposed upon unfairly. . . .

. . . the necessary obedience is only the harmony and order by which all may be accomplished. It is only, like our old friend etiquette, a preventive of friction, not a principle of ethics. . . . We need not to condemn or discard rational and purposeful obedience, but to avoid the pointless and uncalled for obedience and tractability to others in general affairs which are of mental laziness, and which prevent initiative, independent thought, and self-reliant action.

The wonderful thing about the study of ethics, one's relation to others, is that it has no end. It expands indefinitely as we go forward in it. . . . Our obligations were yesterday to ourselves; to-day, they are to our classmates; to-morrow they will be to all human beings. . . .

Lavinia Dock held the copyright for Short Papers on Nursing Subjects, and its extent of circulation is unknown. In the same year,
Isabel Hampton Robb published the book, *Nursing Ethics: For Hospital and Private Use*, that was later used in training schools. Dock's book was the only one by a nurse reviewed in the first issue of the *American Journal of Nursing* in 1900. The reviewer, who was not identified, stated, "Miss Dock is so well known to the nurses of this country that her little book hardly needs an introduction. Her residence abroad and her connection with the Nurses' Settlement of New York have afforded her unusual opportunities for studying the subjects she presents, and the papers are both instructive and interesting." Were the reviewer's comments so bland, because this was the first issue of the journal or because much of Dock's writing had been very critical of particular groups?

1900 was not only a year of personal achievement for Lavinia Dock, it was a year when nurses realized the progress they had made in implementing the supporting structures for a developing profession. Dock attended the conventions for the Society of Superintendents and the Nurses' Associated Alumnae in New York City from April 30 to May 5, 1900. As secretary of the Society, she reported on the formation of the International Council of Nurses and the invitation to join the National Council of Women. After lengthy discussion on the relationship between the two organizations, the Society asked the secretary to send their "unanimous endorsement" of an International Union of Nurses. Then the Society passed a unanimous motion to "apply for membership in the National Council of Women of the United States." Dock also reported for the
Committee on Publication that it had continued to send copies of the annual report to libraries, the Commissioners of Education in the Department of the Interior, and others to inform them of the Society's work. Beginning with the report of the previous year, the committee started sending copies to Teachers College and the Regent's office of New York. She told the Society members that the "committee believes it to be important that the reports of the Society be freely distributed among hospital managers, and urges all members to co-operate toward this end."  

Dock voiced her views on two issues that were of continuing concern to the Society. Some schools had tried to end the system of paying a monthly stipend to pupil nurses, and Dock had begun a limited non-payment plan when she was at the Illinois Training School. At the convention, some superintendents gave reports on their non-payment plans. However, Dock was concerned that the money being saved should benefit the school and its program.

... Who is going to benefit by that financial saving? Is it fair that the hospital or the managers should benefit? Training Schools need funds, to supply needs in the home, or to enlarge their educational advantages. I know progressive and ambitious schools, which would like to have third year lectures upon special advanced subjects given by experts ... distinguished in educational and reform movements. But experts cannot afford to lecture for nothing, and these schools have no funds for such purposes, although they are saving considerable sums by the non-payment system. Such saving ought to be allowed for the educational work of the school.

When some of her colleagues responded that the boards at their institutions were generous to the schools. In characteristic fashion,
Dock replied, "We are so thankful for small favors that we do not ask, as much as we might, whether we could get any more." She wanted them to be more aggressive in seeking support for the needs of the schools. Dock's other concern was "broadening the membership" of the Society. The recorder of the convention minutes summarized Dock's response to the discussion on membership. "Miss Dock asked for equality of membership. She protested against the distinctions which now divide members into three classes, one of which is deprived of the voting power. . . . She believed that the time had come when the constitution should be more specific in stating the standards of education to be upheld, and undergraduate private duty be plainly mentioned if it was the desire of the society to discourage it." The discussion on membership resulted in the appointment of a committee to revise the constitution of the Society.51

At the meeting of the Associated Alumnae, Lavinia Dock was involved with organizational matters and presenting a paper to the delegates. She reported on the formation of the International Council of Nurses in London in 1899. Then the members discussed how the nursing organizations could join the International Council of Nurses. Isabel Robb inquired whether the association could be a member of the International Council of Nurses without belonging to the National Council of Women. Dock replied, "Of a logical necessity they hang together, as one includes the other. We can only share in the quinquennial, where our International Council of Nurses will
meet, by belonging to the National Council of our country." The Society of Superintendents in their meeting had suggested an affiliation between the Society and the Associated Alumnae, but had taken no action. The discussion ended with Dock being appointed to a committee to report on the means for the nursing organizations to join the National Council of Women. On the last day of the convention, the delegates accepted the resolution that the two nursing organizations affiliate as the American Council of Nurses and apply for membership to the National Council of Women. The question on affiliation with the International Council of Nurses was not resolved. The plan was for two appointed members to confer with the Society of Superintendents and then leave the decision with the Executive Committee of the Associated Alumnae. By November of that year, the Society members had voted by mail and were in favor of affiliation and membership in the National Council of Women, and the process was left to the Associated Alumnae to complete.

Dock continued her convention activities with a paper presentation and discussion of the association's interest in incorporation on May 4. She gave the opening paper, "What Benefit will the Associated Alumnae be to me?" It is unusual that this paper was not reprinted in the American Journal of Nursing. Later that day as chairwoman of the Committee on Incorporation, she gave an oral report that "nothing has been done by your committee as to incorporation of the association. The incorporation is a very simple
process and will not take a very long time. I have made inquiries of different organized societies, and I find that there is not much difference between the different States, -- very little more advantage in one State than in another. It will not take any time to effect the incorporation, but owing to the pending change in the constitution, nothing has been done as yet." The Associated Alumnae sought "incorporation for purposes of stability and continuity." When incorporation was obtained, it required that Canada be dropped from the title of the organization; however, the Canadian societies could become "visiting members." 52

On the last two days of the Associated Alumnae convention, a report and an amendment would have importance for the profession and for Lavinia Dock. Mary E. P. Davis from the Committee on Ways and Means of Publishing a Magazine reported that the committee had "exceeded the bounds of its duty in asking for subscriptions and forming a joint stock company." She asked the delegates to approve the use of a publishing company to assist the editor and staff, who were "doing all this work gratuitously." Each share of stock cost $100 and was sold only to alumnae associations and nurses who were to hold the stock until it could be bought back. The first stockholders were Linda Richards, Sophia Palmer (the first editor), Ida Palmer, Isabel Hampton Robb, Lavinia Dock, and Adelaide Nutting. Dock returned her dividends to the association for the Purchase Fund, and at the convention in 1904, she donated the first share of stock to the Association when it began efforts to acquire all the
stock of the journal company. Upon the founding of the American Journal of Nursing, Dock began another long association as the editor of the Foreign Department until her retirement in 1923. When asked years later if the Association had tried to purchase the Trained Nurse as its professional journal, Dock replied, "We were very snippy and looked down on it. We were very sure of ourselves." Mary Roberts recalled that the commercial nature of the earlier magazine made it financially out of the reach of the nursing organizations. 53

The amendment before the convention delegates also had far reaching effects. It would allow local associations to become members of the Associated Alumnae. The discussion focused on the development of local and state associations for "legislative purposes." Lavinia Dock voiced her interest in nurses organizing. "I think the great thing needed is to get nurses to organize -- to get them into organizations. . . . I do not think the alumnaes will be weakened by having other organizations spring up. If we find common ground to work together, all will be strengthened." Isabel Robb suggested "that the school alumnaes throughout New York State form into local associations and form a State association, and that during the year they formulate how much more extensive they wish to make their membership and place it before this association next year." The development of a state organization in New York would serve as an example to other states. 54 Dock became involved in the development of a state association in New York and the efforts of that association to obtain legislation for nurse registration.
The delegates passed unanimously two resolutions that were efforts to influence education and practice. In the first the delegates petitioned "the American Society of Superintendents that they individually and collectively use all possible means to discourage the practice of sending third-year pupil nurses outside the hospital for private duty." Lavinia seconded this resolution. The other was to overcome the defeat of the Army Nursing bill in the United States Senate. The delegates resolved that "this association strongly and unanimously endorses the principles contained in the bill recently before Congress, to establish a permanent Army Nursing Service, under the direction of a properly qualified trained nurse, subject to the control of the Secretary of War and the Surgeon-General of the United States Army, and furthermore pledges its hearty support to every effort to secure its passage." In 1901, an army nurse corps became a reality and was the earliest example of nurses obtaining legislation to establish a standard of competency and to require supervision of nurses by nurses.\[55\]

When nurses left the convention in 1900, they could look back and ahead to the progress they had made in establishing the structures that would support the development of their profession. Nurses had taken the responsibility for their development through organization and education and would continue that progress toward professionalization through registration. They had founded the Society of Superintendents, a group of teachers, to improve and standardize education and the Nurses' Associated Alumnae to unite
the practitioners of nursing. The Society had established a course within a department of Teachers College for the purpose of preparing teachers of nursing, thus placing nursing in an academic setting for the first time. The Associated Alumnae made their contribution by beginning a nursing periodical owned and operated by nurses. Nurses in the United States were interested in communicating with nurses in other countries and accepted the invitation to create the International Council of Nurses. Added to these achievements, they had the example of independent practice at the Nurses' Settlement on Henry Street. In her presidential address to the convention delegates of 1900, Isabel Robb recognized the progress that nurses had made and what had to be their focus for the future.

... For to be a member of a profession implies more responsibility, more serious duties, a higher skill and work demanding a more thorough education than is required in many other vocations in life. But two things more are needful, -- organization and legislation. ... We were, therefore, a most indefinite quantity. How, then, could we ask for legislation as a profession when we did not exist as such? We had, therefore, to know and understand ourselves, in some measure, before we could possibly determine our rightful status. Modern medicine, in requiring of us the professional attributes, has taken the decision out of our hands, and has made trained nursing a profession; but how soon we shall attain to the full professional level depends upon ourselves entirely. Before all, then, it was necessary to organize. ... Thus organization has developed through the Society of Superintendents standing for educational advancement, to the school alumnae, representing home as well as professional interests, to the national association, representing the profession, with its larger life and affairs, and where each
alumnae has equal representation. . . . we look for the formation of at least one State association, the last link in the chain of organization.

. . . State registration is certainly the next and most important step towards achieving a fixed professional standard. . . . Only by a complete system of registration will it be possible for trained nursing to attain to its full dignity as a recognized profession and obtain permanent reforms. . . .57

To this new challenge nurses would give their knowledge and energy while they sustained the development of their previous efforts.

The Progressives and the Socialists

The progressives believed that they could change American life for the better, and through their efforts they influenced the lives of millions. In the years between 1900 and the Great War, nurses took their place in the social reform movement in American society. One focus was the development of a profession, and the other was the improvement of health care for society. The women who came together in 1893, at the World's Fair, had a shared experience of being superintendents of training schools or involved in nursing. They could draw upon women's previous organizing experiences and realized that association would give them unity for promoting the structures of professionalization. In using medicine as their model, these nurses developed professional organizations, started a professional journal, sought educational standards for their schools, tried to elevate admission requirements, and discouraged an increase in the number of schools. When Johns Hopkins would not place its training school within the university structure, nurses
established an academic program within Teachers College. The nurse leaders recognized the trained nurse as the expert and emphasized knowledge based on the developments in science. They wanted to differentiate the trained nurse from the untrained by means of registration, thereby providing the status of professional. While their efforts to obtain registration met with resistance from legislators and some physicians, other physicians recognized the importance of the trained nurse who could support the practice of medicine as it became increasing based on science. The struggle against male domination for nurse registration led some nurse leaders to become politicized and to identify as feminists.58

Nurses' involvement in the reform to improve health care is illustrated by the experience of the Nurses' Settlement at Henry Street. Through their shared experience in the depression of 1893-1897, these nurses and others developed a reform approach to ameliorate the conditions of those who lived on the lower East Side. Some of their achievements and involvements in social movements have all ready been presented. The nurses and lay members of the settlement respected their neighbors, recognized their cultural differences, and worked with them. The nurses gave care, delivered infants, found jobs for adults so children could go to school, taught their neighbors how to care for themselves and their families, and used any service, whether the legal system or charities or public institutions, they could to improve the health and lives of their neighbors. A few physicians saw the community as an area of social
outreach for practice, but for most the independence of the visiting nurse became one more threat to their control of medicine. Medicine focused on specialization and the poor served as teaching and research material. As Lavinia Dock pointed out in an article,

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\ldots \text{the sick poor are often attended, in large cities, by a class of nurses above, and of physicians below, the average. It results that the nurse, -- whose duty in district work it is to consider the family as a whole--the fundamental feature of visiting and friendly nursing,--must sometimes be animated by a purpose quite the opposite of that held by the medical attendant, who seldom considers the whole family in all its bearings, but more often than not, considers only the patient from the sole standpoint of therapeutics.} \ldots
\]

Nurses, civic leaders, and reformers throughout the United States and the world visited the settlement in their attempts to recreate the work at Henry Street. In the settlement there was a lack of the racism and nativism present in the rest of American culture. Lavinia Dock and other nurses learned the languages of the immigrants, and they included them in their campaign for woman suffrage. Lavinia Dock and Lillian Wald considered themselves progressives and liberals. When possible they were interested in their local achievements becoming public policy at the state and national levels. Lillian Wald had personal ties to Theodore Roosevelt, Alfred Smith, Herbert Lehman, and Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt. In the New Deal, she saw the possible fulfillment of progressive hopes when she noted how many former settlement house workers were in the administration.59
To some, the responses of the progressives appeared inadequate to eliminate the "abuses and inequalities of industrial capitalism." One of the socialist strongholds was within the immigrant community of the lower East Side. This community influenced some members of the settlements to become socialists, while others were socialists before they came to the settlements. The Nurses' Settlement hosted the Social Reform Club on Tuesday evenings. The members were "wage-earners and non-wage-earners" who had "a deep active interest in the elevation of society, especially by the improvement of the condition of wage-earners." Lillian Wald explained that the members "were to gain enlightenment regarding methods and theories for the direct improvement of industrial and social conditions." Wald gave the names of the organizers of the club but not the members in her book on Henry Street. However, since Lavinia Dock attributed her social reform ideas to the settlement experience, it is very likely that she also participated in these discussions. Mary Roberts described Dock as "mildly socialistic," but Dock described herself as having a "revolutionary coloring," and being "radical in my opinions--hopes, and beliefs." She helped to found trade unions and supported striking garment workers on the lower East Side. She wrote about and supported better working conditions and wages for women in general. In later years, Dock stated her socialist position.

...I content myself with voting the socialist tickets. Socialists deplore violence and believe in the appeal to Reason. I firmly believe that only by some mode of
communistic ownership and sharing of wealth can there be any hope of a social system, better than this crazy, mad one that we have when millions starve while boundless resources are available, and food is burned or thrown into the ocean to keep prices up. . . .\textsuperscript{60}

She continued to express these views throughout her life.

The Campaign for Registration

In October, 1900, the first issue of the \textit{American Journal of Nursing}, "owned" and "controlled by nurses," was published to provide an "official channel" of communication between the nursing organizations and nurses, who were "widely scattered." Sophia Palmer, first editor of the journal, stated that the aim of the editors was "to present . . . the most useful facts, the most progressive thought, and the latest news that the profession has to offer in the most attractive form that can be secured. . . . It will be the policy of the magazine to lend its pages freely to the discussion of subjects of general interest, presenting every question fairly and without partisanship, giving full recognition to all persons offering a suggestion that shall be in the line of nursing progress." Palmer assured the new readers that "the women who have been selected to manage and edit the magazine should be a sufficient guarantee of the conscientious and thorough manner in which the work will be performed. Each name stands for a recognized force in the nursing world." Furthermore, these women were adding the work of the journal to their busy lives without any salary for a year. The first department editors were Isabel McIsaac, Louise Brent, Isabel
Hampton Robb, Lucy Drown, Mary Riddle, Linda Richards, and Lavinia Dock.\footnote{61}

Sophia Palmer (1853-1920) was a graduate of the Boston Training School. She had done private duty nursing, organized two hospital training schools, helped found the Society of Superintendents and the Nurses' Associated Alumnae, and been editor of *The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review*. Palmer was involved in the formation of state nurses' associations in New York. Some time previous to becoming editor of the journal, she had taken a leave of absence from her position as director of the Rochester City Hospital to study journalism for three months. After nine months as editor, she resigned her directorship to devote full time to her demanding position at the journal. Sophia Palmer was "intense," impatient with "blind acceptance," and an able writer, and she approached being editor with "zeal and enthusiasm." The journal office was in a sunny second-floor corner room in Palmer's house in Rochester, until it was moved to an office building in 1912. Authors of most of the journal material sent it by mail and in longhand to the editor. Sophia Palmer was editor until her death in 1920.\footnote{62}

Even though Lavinia Dock served as a department editor for many years without compensation, she was recognized as one who widened the "horizon of *Journal* readers." Years later, another editor described Dock as "not merely a reporter. Endowed with the spirit of a crusader, an inquiring mind, and a trenchant pen, she contributed some of the most stimulating and farseeing articles the magazine
published in its earlier years." Dock's friend, Adelaide Nutting, praised her contribution while she was in the midst of her journal work. "Miss Dock has brought to us nursing news from foreign countries, and she is one of the faithful few whom one could be sure of finding always at her post. She never fails. Her pages have always been interestingly filled." At some point, Dock did receive a salary at the journal of $25.00 a month. Since she did not need the money, she sent it to the German nursing leader, Sister Agnes Karll, "who was having a hard time establishing an organization in Germany. The amount was sufficient to help her set up a headquarters and obtain help." Dock remembered that later the salary was reduced to $2.00 a month, because "somebody seemed to feel that we were being paid too much money by the journal."63

Lavinia Dock and Sophia Palmer provided "substance" and "leadership" to the campaign for registration legislation in the United States. In May, 1898, Dock had given a paper covering various concerns in nursing. Her main focus was the overcrowding in the profession due to the increasing "number of small hospitals, which establish training schools." She suggested that examination and legislation would be needed to protect the "higher standards of education" being instituted. As the editor of the American Journal of Nursing, Palmer wrote editorials on registration and printed supporting letters, discussions, and proposed registration bills in the journal. As early as November, 1899, she and Eva Allerton spoke before the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs on the
"subject of state legislation" that would place "training schools for nurses under the supervision of the University of the State of New York. Such a law would require every training school to bring its standard up to a given point, . . . would require every woman who wished to practise nursing to obtain a diploma from a training school recognized by the University, to pass a Regents' examination, and to register her licence to practise." Palmer also wanted the examining board to be comprised of nurses just as other professionals were examined by members of their own professions. The Federation of Women's Clubs endorsed "the formation of a board of examiners chosen by a state society of nurses" and recommended "the inclusion of nursing education in the list of professions supervised by the Regents."64

Two years before Sophia Palmer's paper, Lavinia Dock had taken steps to prevent the premature introduction of legislation before the newly formed Associated Alumnae was ready. The Graduated Nurses' Protective Association of the State of New York appeared and planned to submit a bill to protect nurses that contained a "loosely defined clause providing for registration." Upon determining "the Association's goals premature, insensitive to the needs of the larger nursing community, and incompatible with those of the Associated Alumnae, Lavinia published her criticism and "rallied support from the superintendents" of the larger training schools. The superintendents published their objections in the Trained Nurse, and the proposed bill did not develop. The Protective
Association represented one type of concern, while correspondence schools and small and speciality hospitals turned out an increasing number of inadequately trained nurses to compete with trained nurses. The nursing leaders were concerned about an oversupply of nurses and the protection of the public from the untrained nurse. By 1900, the leaders of organized nursing were ready to work for registration to improve educational standards and to differentiate the trained nurse from the untrained or inadequately trained. Lavinia Dock gave her full support by publishing in the *American Journal of Nursing* the first article on registration that would become a classic and be referred to often. Dock cautioned nurses that the first laws would come through compromise and would require constant review and revision as times changed.

... We must first decide what we want to do, then find out what others who are of different opinions want, and finally by mutual agreement decide on concessions which we can get a good working majority to support. ...

To be effective, a compulsory law must not only provide the penalty for disobedience, but must make provision for enforcing this penalty and for defraying costs.

Many laws ... fail entirely to effect the desired changes because they have been so constructed that the method of enforcing the penalty has been left out. ...

So it comes down to this: not, What can we expect from the law? but, What can we expect from ourselves and from the people all about us? They will not willingly allow us an advantage which they think will disadvantage themselves, and we may not disregard their interests in considering our own, but should rather seek to safeguard both, and so go amicably on together.

... The secretary of the University of the State of New York writes: "It would be wise, in a movement for licensing
trained nurses, to establish a State society and then to determine minimum qualifications to be exacted in preliminary and professional training. The object of the law will be defeated if the requirements are fixed too high at first."

Restrictive legislation affecting the professions, then, is not to be gained once and forever; this is another point for us to remember. It does not mean just one effort, but continuous efforts for the rest of time. . . .

Dock continued with points that had to be considered. They had to resist any attack on the established two-year courses in training schools, but they would not be able to set the list of courses to be taught in the first law. She specified certain methods to improve the education in small and specialty hospitals, since the law would not prevent these institutions from starting training schools. Dock concluded that practicing nurses would not take the examination or would be given a time period to prepare for it.65

State registration was a function of state government, so the nurses of New York began building a state association as the means to obtain registration. After the Associated Alumnae convention in May, nurses from New York met and discussed forming a state association. Lavinia Dock was appointed to a Committee on State Organization to arrange a meeting in Albany during the fall to "discuss organization" and to act on the formation of an association. Each committee member was to meet with the graduates of a specified number of training schools and explain organizational efforts and future aims for association. Dock spent November speaking to the graduates of seven training schools. On January 17, 1901, her election as vice-president of the Bellevue Alumnae
Association placed her in a position to help the association unite with others to form a state organization. The planned state meeting finally occurred on April 16, 1901, when the nurses of New York met in convention in Albany. Dock represented the alumnae of the New York Training-School attached to Bellevue Hospital. On April 17, the nurses voted affirmatively to form a state society and thus founded the first state nurses' association in the United States. Dock was appointed to the nominating committee to prepare a slate of officers. The nurses present became charter members of the society and paid a one-dollar fee. The objectives of the organization were the "advancement of the educational standards of nursing; the furtherance of the efficient care of the sick; the maintenance of the honor and character of the nursing profession; also the furtherance of cordial relations between New York State nurses and the nurses of other states and countries."66

In addition to working for state organization, Lavinia Dock had to plan for the International Congress of Nurses to be held at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in September 1901. For the American nursing organizations to be international members, they had to complete their affiliation with the National Council of Women. A committee representing the nursing organizations was to resolve the matter of affiliation. They asked Dock to become a member-at-large, and in early January 1901, the committee applied for membership as the American Federation of Nurses and received confirmation in a few weeks. Dock served as provisional secretary.
for the Committee on convening a Congress of Nurses, which had been enlarged to include members from the Buffalo Nurses' Association, the Society of Superintendents, the Associated Alumnae, and the International Council of Nurses. She reported at their meeting on January third and fourth in New York City that she had sent announcements to the nursing journals, letters asking for delegates from organizations in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Australia, and Africa, and invitations to individuals. The invitation began with hope. "The new century is near, and it must be the desire of all people that it may bring with it new promises for peace and hope and opportunity of rising into a higher and fuller life for all humanity." It ended with a call to meet. "It will be a rallying-time such as does not often come in our busy lives, and we therefore call upon you, our sister nurses of all lands, to meet us and let us meet you, in a congress where we may lay the foundations of new international affiliations to our mutual enrichment and to the upbuilding and advancement of our chosen work." The committee was still seeking addresses and had not written to the press. After the reports, the committee elected officers for the International Congress, who were Isabel McIsaac, president; Isabel Robb and E. J. Keating, first vice-presidents; Annie Damer and Mary Agnes Snively, second vice-presidents; Maud Banfield, secretary; and Mary Riddle, treasurer.67
In May, Lavinia Dock continued her activities to plan the International Congress and to form a state organization, and in addition she became editor of two issues of the American Journal of Nursing. On May 16, the Congress Committee met in Buffalo to consider the program and the local arrangements. The committee appointed Lavinia Dock, Annie Damer, and Sophia Palmer to a press committee, who were to prepare an exhibit of written and published material by nurses and societies. Damer was to receive display items of books, articles, papers, reports, pamphlets, and constitutions and bylaws. Dock's task was to obtain a brief biographical sketch of each delegate and a description of the delegate's association for publication in the September issue of the American Journal of Nursing that would then be sold for twenty cents at the Congress. Dock's handiwork seems evident in the sections, "Foreign Delegates and Organizations" and "American Delegates and Societies." The sketch on Ethel Fenwick is much longer than any of the others and reveals the writer's admiration for her achievements. The information in these sections certainly served Dock later when she was writing the history of nursing. Dock was included as a delegate from the Bellevue Nurses' Alumnae Association. She obviously did not write the concluding remark which describes her as an able editor of the journal's "Foreign Department" and "one of the most active promoters of the Congress, and has done an inestimable amount of hard work to make it a success." Since they were in Buffalo, the committee visited the
Pan-American Exposition and marveled at its "tropical luxuriance of color" and its "wonderful lace network of electric lights" at night. On Saturday, May 25, Dock was in Baltimore at the Johns Hopkins Hospital to address the alumnae association on state registration and its progress in New York. Adelaide Nutting may have asked Dock to visit, since Nutting would provide the leadership for registration in Maryland. On the following Friday, Dock was in Poughkeepsie, New York, speaking to a graduate nurses' club about the state nurses' association, organizing, and registration.68

Lavinia Dock became acting editor of the journal for the July and August issues, when Sophia Palmer took a vacation in June after resigning her superintendent position in Rochester. Dock apologized for "any deficiencies" and acknowledged the "substantial debt we owe our Editor." In the editorial pages for July, she wrote that she hoped the delegates to the International Congress would present a "wide variety of opinions and many diverging points of view, . . . for beside being so much more interesting, nothing does one so much good as having people disagree with one." She restated that the purpose for the Congress was "to compare ideas and to become acquainted with each other." She then turned to health and civil matters. Referring to two articles in the journal, she reminded nurses of the need to teach their patients and families about "limiting the spread of tuberculosis," and she asked them to support the work of the Consumers' League by buying only clothing bearing the label of the league in support of "fair conditions of work for the
worker." She used her voice of experience to remind the reader of the relationship between sweatshops and disease. "We have seen these horrible sweat-shops, the thought of which rises like a nightmare behind every counter of cheap clothing. It is there that people are made ready and started in tuberculosis, . . . scarlet fever, measles, and skin and eye diseases." She concluded her editorial by referring to the new law in New York that gave women with property the right to vote in local appropriation issues. She encouraged nurses to vote "conscientiously and with intelligence," so the right would be "extended to other places." In the August issue, Dock took up a comparison between a three-years' course at a hospital in Cleveland and a ten-weeks' course in Philadelphia in which the students had "no practical work," except on their own to "'visit and nurse the poor' (oh, long-suffering poor!)." She excused the philanthropists and clergy who supported this course, because of their "ignorance of what nursing ought to be," but not the doctors who managed the "sham training-schools and the training-schools run for financial profit in private sanitariums." She wondered "if they do not all remember their own early history and struggles against bogus colleges of medicine." She believed that it would take nurses supporting the "highest educational standards" and openly protesting "against quackery in nursing" to remove all medical men from these institutions. She suggested that the Associated Alumnae should develop a "classification of desirable schools of nursing" to guide the "uninformed applicant." Dock concluded by admonishing
nurses who talked about their patients, or families, or friends in public settings and by expressing the gratitude of the profession that a member of the Army Nurse Corps would be a delegate to the International Congress. These editorials reveal Dock's concern for the profession, belief in open debate, support of the nurse in reform work, her ability to propose future professional actions, and her wit. Upon her return to the journal, Sophia Palmer informed the reader that "almost the entire responsibility of these numbers fell upon her [Miss Dock's] shoulders; this was especially the case with the August issue, which in her able hands proved to be one of the handsomest numbers of the year." Palmer stated that she had "loyal support and invaluable advice " from the editorial staff. To Adelaide Nutting, Palmer wrote that "Miss Dock is so in touch with all my plans, and after the experience of the 'July and August' numbers, she could take up the work at any moment . . . Miss Dock's August number is quite the best of the year. I am delighted."69

By September, the nurses, who had thought about and planned an International Congress of Nurses, were therefore ready to meet at the Pan-American Exposition. Annie Damer of Buffalo was a member of the board of women managers who planned the women's building and exhibits. In 1900, she sent the International Council of Nurses an invitation to meet with the nursing organizations of the United States and hold a congress in Buffalo. The exposition was to present the "progress of man in the western hemisphere." The exposition buildings were in bright colors and came to be called the "Rainbow
City." The displays included "modern plumbing and garbage disposal" and advances in electricity, such as lighting, incubators, and electrical elevators. The Great Electric Tower was the central focus on the grounds, and the night was lit by electrical exhibits. A women's building was included, and there were sculpture and flower gardens. On "The Midway," visitors could travel to the planets on an "air-ship." The nursing organizations met in the Women's Educational and Industrial Union Building, which was not on the exposition grounds but nearby and could accommodate them.\(^7\)

The nursing organizations held only business meetings before the International Congress, since it would include the papers and discussions. The Society of Superintendents, the Associated Alumnae, and the International Congress sent telegrams of sympathy to Mrs. McKinley on the death of the president, who had been shot on September 6 and died on September 14. Lavinia Dock was a delegate to the Associated Alumnae meeting, secretary of the Society of Superintendents and the International Council, a member of the press committee, member of the program committee, member of the committee on publication to prepare the published report of the congress, and she had a paper to give. The Associated Alumnae held its first meeting in the morning of September 16, 1901. The first concern was how to insure payment for the annual reports by the members of the alumnae associations. Dock suggested that since the journal was the official organ of the association that it should contain the annual report. After some discussion, the decision was
to have the journal reprint the reports for the associations. Dock served as secretary for the Committee on Affiliation and reported that the Society and the Alumnae Association were affiliated and accepted as a member of the National Council of Women. This committee was to continue and report yearly to the association.

The report on affiliation began a discussion within the organizations that would continue over the years. Some members suggested that affiliations with other organizations drew nurses away from the work that they needed to accomplish. Others thought that the older members should help younger nurses learn the work of the organizations in order to relieve some of the burden. Still others, such as Sophia Palmer, believed that nurses and members of other groups could learn from each other. Palmer said, "I believe that other organizations of women need us just as much as we need them." Ethel Fenwick, a visitor at the meeting, responded, "I am inclined to think we stay too closely to ourselves. I think that the women do not take many steps forward unless they become interested in public affairs." The nursing leaders tried to persuade nurses that nurses needed to give their support to other women's groups if nurses wanted support in return.

At two o'clock, the Society of Superintendents met and heard several reports. Isabel Robb reported on the course at Teachers College, and Dock reported on the completion of affiliation with the Associated Alumnae and membership of the two organizations as the American Federation of Nurses in the National Council of Women.
The Joint Committee on Affiliation became the Federation Committee and was to provide the two representatives to the National Council of Women. This five member committee conducted the business of the Federation, and by February 1902, Adelaide Nutting had consented to be the president and Lavinia Dock the secretary. The Society held a brief meeting, so members along with delegates of the Associated Alumnae could attend the meeting of the International Council of Nurses.71

According to Lavinia Dock, Ethel Fenwick, honorary president of the International Council of Nurses, opened the public meeting by expressing her appreciation for being elected president and her sense of responsibility. Her address was on "Work." The work of the International Council was to spread world wide and to include members of every race and creed. The National Councils were to develop the individuality of their members and encourage "diversity of opinion." Dock read the minutes of the last meeting in London in 1900, when the constitution was adopted. She then read extracts from the reports on nursing organization and education in the countries of Great Britain and Ireland, the United States, Denmark, Sweden, Egypt, South Africa, South America, New Zealand, Tasmania, Australia, and Cuba. The entire reports from Italy and France were read to illustrate the scope of problems in many countries. Dock concluded that "the United States is at present the only country in which organization among nurses has gone to the point of being fully ready to affiliate in international relations." These reports of the
International Council were printed in the back of the published report of the International Congress. Two of the reports are under Dock's name; one is "Nursing Organization in Germany" and is almost exactly the same as part of her chapter, "Nursing Organizations in Germany and England," published in Short Papers on Nursing Subjects. In the other report, "Nursing in the United States," she reviewed current conditions of organization, founding of the journal, and the changes in education. She advocated more use of demonstration, the laboratory, and "practical work" for students before they were sent into the hospital wards. She was referring to the preparatory course begun at Johns Hopkins. Dock supported nurse-operated registries, attacked quack schools, and promised that the state societies would begin work on state examinations and registration in the "next year or two."  

On the following day, September 17, the organizations concluded their business meetings before the Congress began. The Associated Alumnae met in the morning and continued to hear reports. Dock's report for the Committee on Incorporation informed the delegates that the Association had been incorporated in New York State and as a membership corporation was responsible for its acts and could hold property but could not conduct a business for profit. Therefore, under this charter, the Association could hold stock in the journal but could not publish it. Mary E. P. Davis reporting for the Committee on Periodicals gave a history of founding the American Journal of Nursing and mentioned that Lavinia
Dock and others had been asked to attend the committee meeting on January 3, 1900, when the plan to establish the journal was outlined. She informed the delegates that the editor was now full time and receiving a salary and the assistant editors should not be expected to continue without "some compensation." The discussion concerned the need to increase the number of subscribers. Dock informed the Association that it would have to change its incorporation status when it acquired the journal. The Committee on Periodicals was reappointed until the Associated Alumnae owned the journal. The stockholders were to meet the next evening. The meeting concluded with a resolution to thank "Mrs. Robb for her untiring energy in the promotion of all the best interests of the association." Isabel Robb had ended her five years as president by requesting that she not be considered for reelection. She asked the delegates to work for their local associations.

The Society of Superintendents met in the afternoon and voted on two matters that interested Lavinia Dock. The members revised the constitution so there were only two types of members instead of five, thus placing all "on exactly the same footing, the former inequalities having been swept away." The only qualifications were the applicant's "professional education and general acceptability." Dock thought this "more just plan" would cause the membership to increase and "its power for influencing the education of nurses be greatly augmented." She had supported a broader membership at the last annual meeting. She further expressed her views in a short
article in April, 1901, in which she rejected the "exclusion principle," . . . or, rather, after a long, slow decay it died peacefully in my mind, and I would now willingly hasten its demise in the minds of other." She asked, "Is it not time to lay it away with the other outgrown habits, and conscientiously act in accordance with the theory of progressive development, seeking affiliation with all who have kindred enthusiasms and making common purpose the true test of membership in our young and growing associations?"

Perhaps she had influenced others to change their thinking. At this meeting, the membership also supported Dock's request that "all routine announcements to the society" be printed in the journal, so that the secretary did not have to correspond with each member. That evening the New York State Nurses' Association held a meeting that was open to the foreign delegates and representatives from Illinois and Virginia, where state societies had formed. Through discussion, all learned that they had the same difficulties in organizing.73

The International Congress of Nurses was held from September 18 to 21, 1901, and had 500 registrants. The papers for the first three days included the topics of hospital administration, associations, instruction of students, the graduate nurse, military nursing, and district nursing. Isabel Robb gave a paper on "Women on Hospital Boards" on Wednesday, and Lillian Wald gave a paper on "Nurses' Settlements" on Friday. Lavinia Dock presented her paper, "What We Are Doing with the Three Years' Course," on Thursday,
September 19. She supported Isabel Robb and Adelaide Nutting on the benefits of a three-year course for students. She noted that advances had been made in the curriculum by giving more attention to the "housekeeping and dietetic basis of nursing" and by adding sociological aspects in order "to have the nurse see herself and her work in relation to humanitarian and reform movements; to open her mind to the duty of the preservation of the public health, the value of preventive movements, and the relation of health and disease to morals and immorality." She considered the weaknesses to be a lack of "definite entrance qualifications," the absence of a preparatory course such as the one at Johns Hopkins, and the problem of defining what constituted preparation for "supervisory and executive work." She suggested "uniformity" in the fundamental curriculum but "experimentation" in the advanced courses so comparisons could be made. Dock took a very adamant stand against sending pupils out on private duty and supported the eight hour day. She advised an increase in the ward staff, and she wanted the students to benefit from the shorter hours. The shortened ward work was to be replaced with "physical and intellectual work" and "recreation" for an "ideal life." The student who went out for private duty missed her class and hospital experience and was used by the private patient at less cost.Dock also saw this as an injustice to the graduate nurse who would not be hired. She identified the "economic injustice" of schools preparing women to earn a livelihood and then sending students out to replace them. She proposed that because of "the
charge of institutionalism, of martinet discipline and routinism being made against us, would it not be more sensible . . . to bring more of the private patient atmosphere into our wards." Finally, she thought two factors contributed to nurses being "mechanical." One was the "understaffing of wards," and the other was the "increasing tendency of hospital internes to limit and restrict nurses to the strict and literal carrying out of 'orders' and to a technically perfect attendance upon themselves." Superintendents deplored this "repressive tendency" that Dock called "the hedging in of the nurse's initiative with her patient in nursing ways." In the discussion that followed, nurses in the United States and Great Britain gave examples and were supportive. 74

Ethel Fenwick, president of the International Council of Nurses, addressed the Congress of Nurses twice. On Friday afternoon, in her presentation, "The Organization and Registration of Nurses," she stressed the public benefit from nursing and proposed a structure for its future. She supported the alumnae associations as the basic structure for the nursing societies. Fenwick encouraged each country to found a national council, so it could have membership in the International Council of Nurses. She emphasized professional control by nurses, for "our profession, like every other, needs regulation and control, and we claim that this power of control should rest in our own hands. . . . that it is from our own ranks that the women must step out to whom the responsibility of guiding our destinies must be entrusted." She urged the listeners to
support organization and registration for trained nurses. Sylveen Nye, president of the New York State Nurses' Association, and Mary Agnes Snively of Canada spoke after Fenwick and endorsed state registration. Nye favored membership of all graduate nurses from recognized schools be included in state societies. She considered this form of representation more equitable than alumnae associations. Then the International Congress of Nurses passed a resolution "that it is the duty of the nursing profession of every country to work for suitable legislative enactment regulating the education of nurses and protecting of the interests of the public, by securing state examination and public registration, with the proper penalties for enforcing the same." The assembled nurses passed another resolution in which they strenuously protested "the sending out of pupil nurses to private duty during their period of training in the training-schools." The day concluded with a "delightful reception" given by the nurses of the local societies.\textsuperscript{75}

Ethel Fenwick gave the final address of the Congress on Trained Nurses' Day, September 21. The nurses and their friends met in the Temple of Music for the farewell meeting. In her paper, "A Plea for the Higher Education of Trained Nurses," Fenwick recognized that "much has been accomplished, . . . but . . . much remains to be done."

. . . we require preliminary education before entering the hospital wards; we need post-graduate teaching to keep ourselves in the running; we need special instruction as teachers to fit us for the responsible positions of sisters and
superintendents; we need a State-constituted board to examine and maintain discipline in our ranks, and we must have status to protect our professional rights and to insure to us ample professional autonomy. . . .

I claim that the time has come when nurses need their educational centres, their endowed colleges, their chairs of nursing, their university degrees, and State registration, and the present seems the psychological moment to come to the public, not as strangers, but as professional workers. . . .

. . . they must take their part in the civil and social movements of the time, realize the obligations of citizenship, and appreciate at their true value national and international events. They must live with others, not altogether for them. . . .

The nurses ended the Congress meeting with a reception given by the board of women managers in the Women's Administration Building.

Lavinia Dock wrote to Ethel Fenwick after the Congress,

Already the past seems almost a dream . . . I have put on my uniform for the regular Settlement work once more . . . apparent divisions are mostly based on personal preferences and not on ultimate purposes at all. This makes it much more promising for the future, for we can surely all control our personal prejudices to a great extent. The joy over the Congress is still heard in enthusiastic remarks and letters. Our nurses did appreciate it to the full -- and our delegates' visits were so much enjoyed.

Lavinia Dock, a member of the program and publication committees for the Congress, was anxious to have the proceedings published quickly. However, Isabel Robb, also on the publication committee, seemed to be causing a delay. In January 1902, Robb was still asking Dock if plates should be made or simply an edition. Dock advised an edition, since she thought the demand would not pay for plates. Robb was making a comparison of printing costs in Cleveland
and asked Maud Banfield, the other committee member, to make inquiries. But comparison shopping was not the only reason that Isabel Robb was delayed in arranging for publication of the Buffalo meeting. She was almost forty-two years old and nearing the delivery of her second child in February after the loss of an earlier pregnancy. In a later letter to Banfield, she seemed to have thought everyone knew about her condition since September. To Lavinia Dock, Robb said that she could not do anything until March and asked her to send the January letter on to Banfield. Robb closed with "I'm well but tired." Dock thought that Isabel Robb should have let Maud Banfield take over the matter of publication. Dock's irritation is evident in her written comment to Banfield on Robb's letter. "How provoking of her to make it necessary to wait all that time! Why does she not just let you put the whole thing through. Hanging round and hanging round! Everybody will forget about it!" Thus, the publication date of the Third International Congress of Nurses was sometime in late 1902, because Maud Banfield announced its availability in the September 1902, issue of the American Journal of Nursing. Dock's impatience may be somewhat understood. She seems to have been rather prompt in seeing that the proceedings of the Society of Superintendents' conventions were published. This was the first congress under the International Council of Nurses, and certainly she was interested in having the papers distributed. Isabel Robb may have delayed not only this publication, but she may have been responsible for the proceedings of the Associated Alumnae not
appearing in the *American Journal of Nursing* until the January issue when they had been promised in each issue following the meeting.

With the International Congress behind them, Lavinia Dock and others were able to return to organizing state associations in preparation for registration legislation. Some nurses such as Mary Wyche of North Carolina, who attended the Congress, were inspired to return home to crusade for state organization and registration. Dock continued her crusade against quack schools that increased the numbers of untrained nurses. In two letters to the journal, she identified another school that she considered was "turning out a sort of under assistant for the doctor." In the circular advertising the school, she noted that the patient was not mentioned at all. She was emphatic that the practitioners of each field were not the appropriate teachers for the other. She wanted nurses to "resist all attempts to take our right of teaching our own work out of our hands." She went further and instructed nurses to protest as groups by writing the medical societies and the press so that the public would be informed. She further helped with organization work by attending the state organizing meeting in New Jersey on December 4, 1901. In her address to the 175 nurses, she supported a membership comprised of delegates of local associations and individuals from remote districts who could form local groups when they had sufficient numbers. Sylveen Nye spoke in favor of individual membership. The New Jersey nurses voted to organize an association during the meeting. Two views of membership in the
state association were held by the eastern and western portions of New York. However, the nurses of New York had to complete the process of state organization before a bill could be supported. The state association met in New York City on January 30 and 31, 1902, to approve the bylaws. No progress was made the first day, while the members struggled with opposing views and bylaws that had not been prepared by the bylaws committee but submitted by the president, Sylveen Nye. On the second day, Dock did not let the western delegates adjourn the meeting, and setting aside the work of the bylaws committee, she worked from the draft of the president. She proposed amendments to the "eligibility" and "composition of members" sections and finally obtained their acceptance. In this fashion all the articles were presented and amended. It seems Sophia Palmer and Lavinia Dock waged a parliamentary battle to keep the western delegates from destroying or certainly delaying the formation of a state organization. At one point both had to speak against the "advisability of including physicians in the management of the association." Dock considered physicians who would assume such positions as "ones who could not always be trusted to work for our interests, and that they might prevent our development as individuals and as women." Palmer reminded the delegates that one of them was the sister of a physician and the other a daughter of one, so she did not think they could "be accused of disloyalty to the medical profession." Both were willing to make some compromise to move forward.
The New York State Nurses' Association continued to meet to complete its bylaws and to organize a committee on legislation. On April 15, 1902, the New York nurses met in their first annual meeting in Albany and completed the bylaws. The Committee on Incorporation chaired by Sophia Palmer had applied for state incorporation. Among the new officers were Sophia Palmer as a two-year trustee and Lavinia Dock as a three-year trustee. Sophia Palmer became chairwoman of the press and publication committee, and Eva Allerton became chairwoman of the legislative committee. With organization completed, the association was ready to work for legislation to improve the standard of education and to identify the trained nurse. In May, the Buffalo Nurses' Association resolved not to affiliate with the state association based on differences over the constitution and the bylaws and their belief that the support of the medical profession had to be obtained. At this same time, Lavinia Dock was appointed to one of the school boards of New York City. This may have given her a position to influence the introduction of nurses into the schools at this time. It certainly gave her a position for influencing public support for nursing legislation.

Lavinia Dock did not give the reason for her absence, but she did not attend the Associated Alumnae convention in Chicago from May 1 to 3, 1902. Miss Palmer acknowledged that Dock's absence was noticed by the often heard remark, "Isn't it strange to have a meeting without Miss Dock?" Neither Isabel Robb nor Adelaide Nutting attended the convention, where the delegates were
predominantly younger women. Dock was there in spirit, because she sent a report and made two requests of the delegates. She asked the Association to print its annual report in the journal, the official organ, in place of the usual pamphlet report, since this would save secretarial time and expense. As secretary of the International Council of Nurses, she asked the Association to pass and make public a resolution supporting preparatory work. The Association voted to print its proceedings only in the journal, and it resolved to use its influence for universal adoption of a preliminary course of instruction. As secretary of the American Federation of Nurses, she reported that the two representatives to the National Council of Women had presented papers at its February meeting in Washington, and she told of nurses who would be doing future work in relation to the National Council.81

Progress toward a legislative bill was made, and written persuasion was clearly evident in the summer of 1902. Sophia Palmer and Lavinia Dock were at the quarterly meeting of the New York State Nurses' Association in Utica on July 15. Eva Allerton reported that one of the Regents of the University of New York had provided an outline for "a simple registration bill" and that Senator Armstrong would sponsor the bill. Palmer considered these achievements with support from the medical profession and the public as indicative of early success. The assembly was surprised when the Regents advised them that they must choose a title to differentiate the trained from the untrained. The secretary of the
state association was to send each member a list of choices for comment before the next meeting. In her editorial, Palmer supported "registered nurse" (R. N.), because it would be "the most descriptive, the most definite, and also the most dignified." The Committee on Publication and Press, composed of Sophia Palmer, Lavinia Dock, and Frances Black, prepared 2000 circulars for mailing to the nurses of New York State. In the circular dated July 20, 1902, the committee reviewed the history of the association, clearly stated that its purpose was "to secure laws which will establish a uniform and definite basis for the practice of nursing," and indicated the benefits. They asked nurses to become informed, to join the association, to "talk of the importance of this movement to their patients," physicians, and friends, and to contact legislators, members of women's clubs, and those influential in education. In her journal article reviewing support for registration by the American and British medical journals, Dock stressed the importance of nurse examining boards being comprised solely of nurses, who were nominated by the state nurses' society. She told the reader that the "real advance" would come when the law set a minimum length of training, a minimum course of study, and preliminary preparation. Her concern was the autonomy of nurses in controlling their profession, which she also supported in a letter advocating the responsibility of nurses, and not physicians, for teaching student nurses. She identified nursing as a separate "sphere belonging of
right to the nurse by virtue of her work and responsibility upon which the medical man cannot justly or rightly encroach."

Lavinia Dock was secretary and attended the meeting of the Society of Superintendents in Detroit from September 9 to 11, 1902. She gave the same report on the American Federation of Nurses that she had sent to the Associated Alumnae meeting. Considerable time was given to Maud Banfield's report on the course at Teachers College, and the Society decided that it would need to provide more financial support. Eva Allerton gave a report on the "New York State movement for legal status." Dock had tried to arrange a set of papers on "discipline" in training schools, because the schools were considered repressive of individuality and initiative in the graduate. Only two presenters accepted Dock's letter for papers on training school discipline. She told those at the meeting that it had been very difficult to obtain speakers on the topic. At the end of the second day, Messrs. Parke, Davis and Co. treated the members to luncheon and a tour of the laboratories for making antitoxins. Dock, the author of a text on medications, thought the "visit of intense interest and great educational value." Lavinia Dock was reelected secretary.

The work of the New York State Nurses' Association finally resulted in the preparation and passage of a registration bill. This process took another six months that culminated in nurses testifying at the legislative hearings. The state association met in Rochester on October 21, 1902, and received an encouraging
welcome from a frail Susan B. Anthony, who remained for the entire day of meetings. She reviewed the development of the nursing profession, "referred to the great power of women's organizations," and believed that the right to vote would have made it easier for graduate nurses to obtain registration. Eva Allerton of the Committee on Legislation presented the bill, and after debate a majority of members voted for "registered nurse," which indicated training and graduation from a school endorsed by the Board of Regents. Sophia Palmer's committee on publication had sent 1400 of their circulars to nurses to inform them before the vote. A physician and a member of the Regents spoke to the group about the benefits and administration of a registration bill. That evening, the out-of-town members and guests were treated to dinner and dancing at a banquet hall.

Before the next state meeting on January 20, 1903, Lavinia Dock published a letter in which she made two suggestions that would assist the movement of nurses from state to state. First, it was desirable to adopt "the same title" in each state to prevent confusion, and second, it was important to arrange "reciprocity clauses," so that registration in one state was acceptable in the others. At the state association meeting in New York City, Eva Allerton reported that Senator Armstrong had the registration bill in committee, but it was best not to present it until the middle of February. She urged the nurses to promote the bill with the public and the legislators. The members heard a reading of the petition for.
signatures of citizens and physicians supporting the bill. Sophia Palmer reported that the publication committee had sent letters to eighty-seven medical societies and ninety-two letters to women's clubs in the state. Palmer and Dock urged the nurses to be more interested and responsible and willing to work for the profession. Dock and others talked about the outcomes of the bill and how to assist its passage. In the afternoon session, two New York physicians and the chairwoman of the Advisory Board of the New York City Training-School for Nurses spoke in favor of the registration movement.84

It was expected that the nurses' bill would be introduced during the middle of February, and opposition was mounted. Sylveen Nye's brother submitted a substitute bill on February 16. Lavinia Dock sent a letter to Calvin McKnight, private secretary to the governor, inquiring about the nurses' bill. McKnight told his cousin that he "wired Miss Dock and suggested that she have someone present to support the nurses end of the argument." He promised his cousin, Sara Mekeel, who was a private duty nurse in the governor's family, that "I shall watch it carefully and do everything that I can to push it along." It seems that Governor Odell agreed to sign the nurses' bill before the hearings. Supporters and opponents arrived for the senate committee hearing on March 11, 1903. Only two physicians spoke in opposition, while physicians, hospital managers, and nurses spoke in favor. Sophia Palmer presented a written argument in support of an all-nurse examining board. The hearing in
the Assembly was postponed until March 18. A large gathering of nurses attended this hearing where five physicians opposed the bill. A member of the Regents, four physicians, a representative of the managers of Bellevue Hospital, and Lavinia Dock and Sophia Palmer spoke in favor of the bill. Palmer said that "the bill was not prohibitory," but it made a "distinction between the trained and untrained nurses." Lavinia Dock "showed the numerical and geographical strength of the Nurses' Association" indicating its representativeness. Hospital managers and superintendents and physicians supported the regulation of nursing, because "it furthered their interests" in the promotion of "scientific medicine and hospital efficiency." On April 19, the New York Assembly passed the nurses' bill on a vote of 102 to twelve, with many delegates of the state nurses' association present.

On April 20, 1903, the nurses' association met in Albany for its second annual meeting. Eva Allerton was absent due to illness, but her report reviewed the progress of the bill that would make "the art of nursing a profession." During the committee reports, Sophia Palmer submitted a resolution that made the association's Executive Committee responsible for nominating candidates for the Board of Examiners to implement the registration law. The resolution was adopted; and thus, Sophia Palmer and Lavinia Dock, as trustees, became members of the committee that made the nominations. Sophia Palmer, one of the nominees selected by the Regents, became the president of the first examining board. On April

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22, both houses of the legislature agreed to the bill, and Governor Odell signed it on April 27, 1903.\textsuperscript{85}

Even though the first laws did not provide for all that was desired, Lavinia Dock had reminded the members of the state association at their meeting in January 1903, of the importance of this early legislative effort.

\textldots We all understand that these little bills are only an opening wedge. We all know that the idea for which we are working is a state examination, to be passed, fixed upon a sound basis of work. I think our ideal bill would demand a specified time for graduates. I mean a certain amount of work to be done before they enter upon the study of nursing; then a specified time for practice in the work constituting the nurse's work. \ldots Then our ideal bill would no doubt contain provisions for definite preliminary education \ldots before taking up the work of nursing and would specify the number of years a nurse would be required to practice before taking her examination and make a compulsory examination before practice. I think in working for our first steps, we should keep in mind our ultimate ideas, otherwise we may wander \ldots away from our real purpose.\textsuperscript{86}

Lavinia Dock's involvement with registration continued when attacks were made on the law. In the winter of 1905 to 1906, opponents made an attempt to repeal the existing law and substitute a commission of physicians. Another group wanted to abolish the board of nurse examiners and replace them with physicians. In October 1905, after returning from two years in Europe researching material for a history of nursing and working on international relationships, Dock addressed the New York State Nurses' Association on the progress of registration in other countries. In
conclusion she posed several points for the members to consider. She wanted "good nurses" to take positions in small institutions and ignore the commercialism of society. She asked that educational standards and examinations to be kept practical and that professionally controlled nursing journals be recognized for their importance in the registration movement. She associated the progress of registration with improved education and the elevation of women.

Lavinia Dock returned home with the strong belief that full woman suffrage placed women "on an equality with men in sharing public duties and responsibilities." She associated the progress made under registration with an increased demand to elevate the educational standard for nurses and with an increased demand by women for equality. She also told the nurses that the lay press was "hostile to the union of nurses" and "opposed to state registration."

Her address to the nurses' association was probably published early in 1906, as a response to the attacks on registration, because she associated registration with woman's progress. Given this belief, Lavinia Dock responded with anger when she thought women's progress was being limited. She wrote to Lillian Wald.

... I am sick at heart, crushed over this dastardly treachery of our enemies about the registration-... Has it been sprung so quietly that the Regents do not know of it, & can any hope of defeating it be seen? I am afraid we are done for-... There is some deep laid villainy- it means body- soul & mind under the doctors heels if it goes through-... We had better compromise & admit a couple of physicians to our Board
& keep it under the Regents rather than have it all fall into the hands of vipers & pigs— I am really quite wild— If there is anything to be done that I can do I will come over—

Later she responded with another letter to Henry Street when the proposed bill was defeated.

Thank the whole set of powers of good for the defeat of those devils; I must say I was deadly ill, for I thought probably the whole Medical society was back of it, and if it was we could simply never stand out against them. Well what a fiendish plot it was, what next for goodness sake? . . .

A few years later, Lavinia Dock was involved in the verbal contest over registration in Pennsylvania. The nurses of Pennsylvania "met the hostility of vested interests" from small and private hospitals and the largest nurse directory controlled by physicians. The first registration act was sent to the legislature in 1904, however a bill was not signed until 1909. In a letter to one of the anti-registration physicians in this long struggle, Dock attacked these interests and presented the well known arguments for registration. She was responding to a letter from him and intended to be just as frank without "quite so much waving of the big stick." She was sharp and persuasive and identified a few sticks of her own. Her letter is typed, which is rare in her correspondence, double spaced, and on Henry Street Settlement letterhead. She wanted to be certain that he could read all the words? It is an example of Dock's willingness and ability to confront an adversary and to say what she thinks.

It seems to me peculiarly unseemly and ungrateful for physicians to talk about "fighting" nurses. Fighting with
nurses! Why, you owe seven tenths of all your success and prestige to nurses. I am certain, and I have also heard competent medical men say, that the trained nurse had trebled the opportunities, the money-getting, and the reputation of physicians, especially surgeons. For what good would your knowledge and skill be to you if you could not get your patients kept alive? And here you are, trying to beat down and crush the very women on whom your success depends, and why? Because they are endeavoring to protect and safeguard that very education which has enabled them to be such an asset to the medical profession as it has never had in the world's history. Now, if you do not think that is shabby, I do, and I challenge you to put it up to your Code of Ethics.

Now, I do not mix up private and special hospitals at all, as to commercialism; I know that the proprietor of the private one puts his money in his own pocket and that the staff of the special ones do not; but as to educational standards they are each actuated by the same law, and shall I tell you what that is? It is the law of selfishness.

Leaving aside all sentimental or moral conceptions of selfishness I would like to explain that what annoys me about it is that selfishness is unintelligent. In fact it is stupid. It does not see what is ultimately and in a large way best for its own selfish interests.

Let us take the case of some of these Pennsylvania hospitals. First, do you not really think it sounds a little absurd to talk about nurses "wiping out" all the work of the past and "abolishing" all the special hospitals? Why, it sounds to me as if you were shaking in your boots, and yet you say it is so easy to defeat us. If it is, why this panic? As a matter of fact, nurses are not so powerful as to be able to abolish them nor such simpletons as to wish to.

I will explain what actually happens to the special hospitals under a good registration act, such as we have in New York, Maryland, and a lot of other states. Three or four such hospitals agree together, with or without written contract, to
pool their facilities for teaching nurses, and to turn out between them one large group of diplomaed women instead of three or four small groups. In a three years course, and with a small staff of permanent trained women to supervise and teach, this system gives you, as well as the nurses and the public, better results. First, a better grade of woman applies because the reputation of your course is better; next, your special hospitals are better nursed (unless you try to save by not having the paid staff of teaching heads) and finally you turn out a set of women who are a credit to you, whom other people respect, and you thus safeguard in the best way your own interests for the future. This is no visionary theory; it is what is actually being done, and is largely the result of our good laws. There is another thing too, that the special hospital can do, that is good for it[s]self and of public benefit; it can offer a post-graduate course in its specialty, as many special hospitals here do with distinction.

Supposing that you are determined not to advance with the trend of modern progress, but to depend on telegraphing to Mr. Penrose to kill all bills with a general educational standard, what will happen? You may, as you say, do this for a time with great ease, but you are between New York and Maryland, with good laws, and you can hardly hope to change them, as they are supported by an enlightened public sentiment. You will therefore simply lose prestige; your particular schools will become known as inferior - they in fact are so known already. You will only get the women who cannot get into the general hospitals, and it will only take you 25 years to get back to a state of general degradation like that of twentyfive years ago, or that which you may see today in Vienna and Paris as a result of the control by the medical profession of the teaching of nurses.

Today, the calls and demands for women of superior qualifications are far more than can be filled. Absolutely no one wants women of the servant class, except a few doctors, and they do not keep them busy when they get them.
Now as to your point that it does not matter where the nurse acquires her knowledge; I agree that it does not matter in what competent school or hospital she gets it, provided she gets it under proper supervision and not at the expense of the patient. All nurses know that a good deal of medical experience is gained at the patient's expense; and, if we were ever to tell all we know on this head it might prove a potent argument with the public for careful teaching. It will be a bad day for the sick when nurses are taught as medical students sometimes are, and I could not wish for a better proof than your words give to show that physicians do not know how to teach nursing. We do not want our state examinations to be a sort of hurdle over which nurses may leap or go to the wall; we want them to stand for solid experience in the branches which they uphold as basic. Your estimate of a minimum education is not generally regarded as sufficient. And then you must remember that Dr. Noble has another standard, and your quack school run by philanthropists has still another, and perhaps they too can call up to Harrisburg. It is agreed in all countries, by disinterested experts, that medical, surgical, gynecological, and obstetrical training form a genuine foundation. And it is not hard to affiliate with an obstetrical hospital or to develop an out-patient department for your nurses training. If it should ever come, as you suggest somewhat melodramatically to "War", do you know I am not so sure the nurses might not win, if they got their case well before the public? We found that many legislators did not care for the medical profession at all, whereas we have a strong hold on a sort of brotherly, blunt justice and chivalry, and, if some of our plain lawmakers got the idea that the doctors were oppressing the nurses, I think we might not be the ones to die. Our experience in New Jersey and some other places indicates that the doctors can only defeat us by underhand methods and that they know this. As to fees, I would say too, let nurses work for what price they choose, but that does not mean the price that YOU choose, does it? They earn their money hardly enough, and there is a standard of life which they must maintain to be efficient. Over here, I do not know any one except Dr. Gilman Thompson who is paltry enough to find fault with a living wage for
nurses, and even with him I think it is more talk than anything else, as I do not know of his actually employing many nurses.

I trust you will not think me illnatured in saying these things. I would like to see Pennsylvania come up in nursing. Except for a few hospitals, it does not stand high, and the nursing situation there commands no general respect.89

Their experiences in the registration movement persuaded many nurses that woman suffrage was important if women were to control their lives. Lavinia Dock returned home from Europe in 1905, equating the registration movement and the woman question. Isabel Stewart made the same connection many years later in her oral history.

. . . We had then of course passed laws in a good many states, and it was partly the experience of these women in trying to get legislation that led them to the conclusion that something must be done to improve, shall I say, the intelligence of the representatives of the people. Because they would go to present their case to the elected officers in the state legislatures, and they found so much ignorance and not only that but rudeness that it egged them on. Many were converted to suffrage, from the campaign for legislation. It was always a difficult campaign, that campaign in different states to get laws to govern the practice of nursing, because a good many of the hospitals opposed it, a good many of the doctors opposed it and said that it wasn't necessary and all the rest. Of course, the hospitals didn't want to have any inspection or anything of the kind, and they didn't want to meet legal standards, even though they were minimum standards. So really, the suffrage movement, and the movement for state legislation, were very closely related. A good many of the very intelligent women who hadn't been interested in suffrage at all became interested in it, as I said, when they saw what they were up against in trying to get something that was very necessary for the well-being not only of nurses but of their patients. . . .90
Writing for Publication from 1901 to 1903

In addition to the publications that have been used as references, Lavinia Dock wrote several more articles influenced by her settlement experiences in public health and social issues during these years. In her extracts from the report of the Tenement-House Commission in New York City, she focused on the connection between the structure of the dark and airless tenements and the presence of disease, especially the increasing cases of pulmonary tuberculosis. The tenements were sites of disease, filth, and labor for the needle trades. The need was for routine sanitary inspection of the tenements. Two years later, she suggested in an article that nurses become sanitary inspectors under the Tenement-House Commission. She considered this position a form of preventive work for nurses who "love teaching, explaining, enlightening, and demonstrating." The nurse who did this work had to be "sympathetic" to the conditions of the people in the tenements and understanding of their cultures. This preventive work would be part of a "Science of Health." She offered suggestions for a course of study in hygiene and sanitation that included building construction and plumbing, and she included a list of books. In the same issue, Dock asked with perhaps some humor in a short article, "Is the profession becoming overcrowded?" She told the story of five former nurses who were employed in related areas of health care. She decided that nursing would not be overcrowded, since nursing preparation could be the entry point for other types of women's employment. This brief tale
may have been used to fill the pages of the journal, because Sophia Palmer had requested items for the April issue.

Dock's article on the experiment of placing a nurse in the schools of New York City gave publicity to what would become another new specialty for nurses. The plan was developed at the Nurses' Settlement and begun on October 1, 1902. The school nurse treated certain conditions of children at school and visited others at home for care and teaching of the mothers. Previously children were sent home without treatment or advice. Lillian Wald wanted children to remain in school, since they left at fourteen to be wage earners.

In 1903, Dock returned to the subject of tuberculosis in a series of articles that reviewed the progress of organization and treatment worldwide. In the large cities, decent housing to replace tenements and good nutrition needed to be added to the treatments of fresh air, sunshine, and rest. She used the work of the Forestry Commission of Pennsylvania as an example of a governmental agency that opened public lands for the treatment of consumptive patients. She named Mira Dock as a member of the commission and quoted from Mira's report of "The Invalids' Camp at Mont Alto." When Lavinia Dock used the report in her article, she removed any mention of herself. Her reference to Mira Dock's work revealed pride in her sister, because she described the forest and water conservation efforts at the beginning of this segment.91
Of all the articles she wrote, Lavinia Dock considered one important and was interested in having it found. She told Isabel Stewart many years later that "I would be glad to have it found . . . because it is a bit of Henry Street Settlement history . . . because I think that the settlement never had any publicity about it." She had written about her work of caring for children with contagious diseases of scarlet fever, diphtheria, and measles during a three-month experiment. She described the conditions in the tenements and the practices for treating disease. Isolation of cases was really impossible in the "excessive crowding" in the neighborhood. Later the health department assigned three district nurses to provide care for the contagious cases. These nurses worked out of the settlement until they had their own facilities. Dock used the data from the cases in the settlement experiment for her article in which she referred to herself as the care giver.\textsuperscript{92}

Dock had agreed "to write an article on the proper position of the nursing service" for the editor of the \textit{National Hospital Record} when she was in Detroit at the Society of Superintendents' meeting in September 1902. This project stirred up a disagreement between Sophia Palmer and Lavinia Dock and brought out their views about each other. In her article on "Hospital Organization," Dock opposed the position of physicians who wanted the superintendent of the training school appointed by the medical staff and subordinate to the superintendent of the hospital. She considered the superintendent of the training school responsible to the board of trustees who were to
be responsible for the appointment. She suggested that the management of the hospital be divided into medical, business, and nursing sections. In January 1903, Dock had the article ready and sent it to Adelaide Nutting for criticism. "I do not want to make any statements that can be refuted or can be shown to be erroneous. Will you give any suggestions and criticisms on it?" Palmer wanted to print the article in the *American Journal of Nursing*, and Dock did not consider it a topic on nursing but on hospitals.

This difference over the article led to Lavinia Dock finally objecting to Palmer about certain physicians being allowed to publish in the nursing journal, especially if they were opposed to nursing organization and registration. She thought physicians should be allowed to publish articles on only "practical work" and not "general subjects" in the journal. Dock continued her explanation in the letter to Nutting. "If we can't trust the Editor on such a vital principle- we must make it impossible for her to use her own discretion in this matter- You know how I have always stood up for her- and I do yet think she is the best Editor we could have in one Person- for her business head is fine- But I think she is off the track with these doctors- Now will you talk this over with the stockholders- and get them prepared to vote- I shall bring the matter up- if it is legal to do so- If not we must make an informal statement to her." In a letter to Nutting, Palmer referred to Dock. "I hope you are going to reply to Dr. Rowe's article? Miss Dock's paper is fine but the men so dislike her that I do not think she will have
much weight- and some of the women in active work ought to take this opportunity of expressing your views. It is the person more than a just argument that bears the weight." Adelaide Nutting sent some items for the journal and responded that she was unable to respond to Dr. Rowe's article. She further indicated that "Miss Dock's paper seems to me to be so admirable and complete that just now I cannot see where anything could be added or taken away which would be to its advantage. Its moderate tone cannot fail to give it unusual weight." Palmer wrote again stating her view that "I agree with you that Miss Dock's paper is excellent in every way, as every thing is, nearly that she writes, but her name, with the men we want to influence, carries no weight." Lavinia Dock's article was published in both periodicals. Even though Dock and Palmer considered each other as capable, they did not always agree on the publishing policy of the journal. Sometimes Dock challenged Palmer's publication practices.

Sophia Palmer and Lavinia Dock were together the longest among the first editors of the journal. They probably had many differences. The journal was incorporated in New York City on October 13, 1902, and both were elected as two of the five directors of the company. In January 1903, they were elected again to the board of directors by the stockholders, therefore, giving them both some say in the business of the company. Because of their various disagreements, Dock wrote several years after Sophia Palmer's death that she had "thought me jealous and trying to undermine her
but in this she was wholly mistaken." Dock admitted that she did want Palmer to alter some of her attitudes about international affairs. "Otherwise I always admired her strong character and great ability. As for wanting to be Journal editor myself I would have run away without stopping."94

Two Years in Europe and Nursing History

By the summer of 1903, Lavinia Dock had made plans to travel to Europe and do research for a book on nursing history. At the council meeting of the Society of Superintendents in Philadelphia on June 8, 1903, she resigned as secretary after seven years, and Adelaide Nutting was appointed in her place. Nutting described Dock as "the indefatigable and able secretary" and the "most familiar and much loved presence" at the meetings of both associations "for many successive years."

Dock attended the Nurses' Associated Alumnae convention in Boston June 10 to 12, 1903. Mary A. Livermore, member of the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War and advocate of women's suffrage and education, gave the opening address, "Nurses in the Civil War." The following two days were given to reports, papers, and discussion. Dock's focus seemed to be on educational standards and business concerns of the association. In the discussion on membership, she held a more restricted view than she did for the Society of Superintendents. She thought the Associated Alumnae had to continue to hold to the highest standard
in education at present until the state societies could raise their standard and be equal members. She suggested that state societies be included on a "fraternal delegate basis." This discussion turned to the misuse of the "three-years' course," and Dock declared that "in many instances that the third year is often a fraud to the nurse. . . . many schools . . . have in nowise improved their curriculum; . . . have not shortened their hours; . . . really give the nurses no extra advantages in education. . . . I would like to see this association set an example to all the societies by . . . specifying a course of practical training which this society thinks is the ideal at present for the nurse. I would like to see private work done by undergraduates . . . absolutely condemned." The question of membership was referred back to committee for another year. Dock gave the report prepared by another member on "State Registration for Nurses" that described the current progress. The last discussion of the second day focused on means to acquire ownership of the journal. Dock suggested that contributions be made to a fund so that the "stock could be acquired."

On the third day of the meeting, Lavinia Dock was concerned with the relationships of the association with its members and other groups. Maud Banfield reported on the course at Teachers College and its financial needs. She listed those who had recently contributed, and Dock had given ten dollars. In a discussion on communication between the association and its members, Dock suggested that the association's secretary be paid a salary. "I move
that the delegates consider whether they shall pay some kind of a salary to our secretary, even if it is only sufficient to enable her to have her clerical work done by a typewriter." The motion carried. She had not asked the Society of Superintendents to pay for her clerical work. Lavinia read Adelaide Nutting's report on the association's relationship to the National Council of Women. Then as secretary of the International Council of Nurses, she invited the delegates to the business meetings of the International Congress of Nurses during the meeting of the Quinquennial Congress of Women in Berlin in 1904. She told them that "[s]elf-governing organizations of nurses in the Old World is quite a new development, even in England . . . In Germany independent organizations of nurses are just in the bud, and I believe it would be a great help and encouragement to such development if we could hold a good meeting there. During my year abroad I hope to do all I can to further and strengthen the idea of an International Council of Nurses, which undoubtedly will, in five years more, take vigorous form." Isabel Robb, Sophia Palmer, and Lavinia Dock's names were among those submitted to the executive committee as possible delegates to the meeting in Berlin.95

Dock did not attend the Society of Superintendents' meeting in Pittsburg in October 1903, but she sent a strong challenge to the Society to recognize its political power in her paper, "The Duty of this Society in Public Work." She had been secretary for seven years and had "a few suggestions" for those who had been too busy to give "special time or attention to the question of the character and
efficiency of the society as a whole." The question was, "'How to make the society more effective.'" She recognized its "sporadic pieces of good work" in the Associated Alumnae, the Teachers College course, and the congresses. However, questions had to be asked. "But to what extent is the society an influence? To what extent does it affect the public?" She believed that she had made "[a]n honest searching after true answers," and her response was forceful and blunt.

... the society, in all these rather abstract but most important ways, has not done what it might do; has not made itself a moral force; is not a public conscience; takes no position on large public questions; is not feared by those of low standards; allows all manner of new conditions and developments in nursing affairs to arise, flourish, succeed, or fail without taking any notice whatever of them, apparently not even knowing about them. ... Yet this society, as one body, would often be astonished at the actual extent and weight of its influence if its whole latent and at present unsuspected power were actually to be systematically exerted in an intelligent and energetic manner. ...

Dock noted that occasionally she had spoken for the society when she was sure of its position. She suggested "that a small standing committee ... be authorized to watch public events as related to nursing and to make the voice of the society constantly heard, whether in criticism, in commendation, in warning, or in petition." She discussed education, legislation, "professional injustice and indignities," and interpersonal ethics as areas of concern. She hoped that the society would "truly become an effective public force." The secretary, Adelaide Nutting, reported
that Dock's paper "aroused much interest and discussion." The Society passed a resolution "protesting against the correspondence schools now so freely advertised." She was asking the Society to communicate its positions to the public beyond the profession.

Lavinia Dock and her sister, Margaret, sailed for Europe in August and found the weather warm, the "sea like a smooth river, glorious changeable days from 'gray to gold' moonlight nights to make a porpoise sentimental (not being one I have not become so) . . . the only thing that is bad is the band which is beyond words atrocious and so unconscious and zealous in their atrocity."

Margaret was "sick the whole time," while Lavinia did not have "a single qualm" during the trip. She reminded the Henry Street family that "my new mattress is not to be carried away-- I am determined my substitute shall have it to rest her bones on." Even though Lavinia Dock was busy visiting hospitals, museums, libraries, churches, and translating documents, she was still interested in what was happening at the settlement.

She was upset about the defeat of Seth Low, the reform mayor of New York City, and what it would mean for nursing in the neighborhood. She expressed feminist views in her letter to Lillian Wald.

I can hardly bear to write of the awful calamity- for it seems nothing else- Tammany's return & the complete overthrow of our splendid administration- How are you all bearing up under it- How can you all keep on from day to day- it seems to me such a sickening testimonial to the deep-rooted corruption of men that it almost destroys faith in the
possibility of their doing any better-. . . Will the School Nursing & the contagion go under? . . . it makes me feel deathly ill- I am convinced there will be no salvation for municipal politics until the women get their own votes- Do write me a letter from yourself- & tell me how you see the situation-. . . Oh I could sit down & weep over it all-. . .

In another letter on the same situation to Wald, Dock expressed her exasperation and consideration of future suffrage plans.

. . . I wish now you would give up every & all labor toward municipal betterment- & let the men work out what they have started to ruin- Devote yourself for a while to the extension of the nursing (I am so delighted to hear of the additions) rest yourself a little- look after Social Halls (oh how lovely to hear that it seems so promising!) . . . write some articles- Write up the civic & municipal situation-. . . I tell you my solemn & definite conviction is that we will never have municipal good government until women vote- That I'm convinced of- This trying to get good things done by persuading men to do them is degrading to us- effeminizes men- & has no effective result-. . . I feel more & more impelled- now that I am getting a little too old for nursing work- for active hard work I mean-- to put what work of the intelligence I have in me- at the service of the woman suffrage- It is the next step in civic virtue- & there is room in their ranks for older women- whereas younger ones are better for the nursing work- If I can continue to have enough money from my little bookey & magazine to live on- I will do thus- some of these days-. . .

Lavinia Dock wrote to Lillian Wald and the journal about the district nurse being free to go to a case without the order of a physician. She advised Wald on the practice of nursing and autonomy regarding the new registration law that could restrict as well as protect practice. She ended her letter with a comparison between the past and the present.
... if the doctors really get worked up to the point of being disagreeable they could be so. Especially now since we have our Registration Bill - in which the Med. Society secured - you remember - the clause that no nurse should practise medicine - Of course we don't practise medicine & don't want to - but they might say that our First Aid was a practise of Med. And those ulcers! When we know how the doctors neglect them! I think will have to be more careful than ever to have always some Drs orders behind us - The English have the same contentions with the Drs - The Queens Nurses Society openly declares in Nursing Notes that the fundamental principle on which district nursing was founded is that the district nurse is for the benefit & service of the patient & not the doctor - We may have to assert the same as definitely - ... 

... There are various revivifying influences at work in the nursing world but the church has a strong grip on the hospitals & the economic question complicates it - The nuns are Cheap Labor! But it is splendid to see how Italy is coming up - becoming more prosperous & undoubtedly a great future is before her - The modern invasion of Barbarians from Germany, England & America is as important a phenomenon in its way as the old invasions of Goths - but its influence this time is good & they are bringing the money back instead of carrying it off -

She expressed the same concern in a letter to the journal about the district nurse being for the patient's benefit. She supported the right of the poor to send for a nurse the same as the rich, without a physician's order. 99

Lavinia and Margaret Dock traveled over Europe including Florence, Venice, Rome, Switzerland, Vienna, Athens, Constantinople, Paris, Holland, Belgium, Bonn, Berlin, and England in their stops. Lavinia Dock reassured everyone that they were "having a perfect time and on such moderate outlay - quite delightful to see our account book." She could write that Margaret was "devoted to
the old churches," though she disliked "all the middle-ages religious demonstrations very much." However, she was interested in the early Christian "jumble of pagan and nature symbols." After a year away, Lavinia was pleased that "Margaret is enjoying it all so much. I intend she shall have the time of her life." She wanted her sister to "rest her mind." For since the death of their father, Margaret had "tended to business things and kept accounts until she was just half dead." Lavinia Dock told her "dear democratic friends" that in Florence, during the off season, they had stayed very cheaply in a "really old beautiful mansion" with central heating, modern plumbing, and electric light. While in Venice, they stayed modestly in a house run by a little German woman who provided breakfast. She enjoyed the travel and saw the prosperous and the poor. However, in May 1904, she decided to stay "for another six months— not for more travel or sight seeing but for study."

I am just getting well started in German & Italian & I want to work at them both & also to rub up my long-forgotten French— not so much for speaking as to be well fitted for all the translation work that I need for my Journal of Nursing foreign work— Modern nursing movements are beginning to arise in all lands— & organization will follow— & I really must be able to read & translate readily these three languages— I can do it now— but laboriously & with the expenditure of much time— I shall sit down in a little German town & not move to see a single sight— but just work & dig— I need the reading & writing knowledge of these languages also for our International Nurses Council— if it is to be worked up at all— Already my small amount of German has enabled me to get hold of the German nurses when without it I would have known nothing of them nor they of us— The English women— so much closer to them— more
quite uninformed just because—- they do not read the language.

After the congress I will take my Fresh Air (who has had the time of her life— to Paris & England— & then come back here (not to Vienna) when she sails. My Materia Medica has done so well this past year that (for the first time not having any business tie-ups or obligations) it will enable me to remain—

This coming year I shall have to revise it & that costs a good deal— but Putnams are very considerate & easy & I shall live very inexpensively & not go about— One can live very cheaply over here when stationary— Even with our travelling we have done wonderfully well I think— Our expenses have never averaged over three dollars a day & most of our time not much over two— . . . this is just to tell you not to look for me until next spring— Then I will surely turn up in time to relieve some of the old war-horses for vacation— . . .

By June 1904, she told the settlement family that she was visiting hospitals and working on translations and papers.¹⁰⁰

Lavinia Dock sent the first report of her visit to a hospital for the October 1903, issue of the journal. In her reports, she described the history of the institution, the buildings, the kitchen, cleanliness of surroundings and patients, the appearance of the nurses, and the type of care given. Some old friends accompanied her on the hospital visits. Ethel Fenwick and Dock visited the Medieval Hospital of St. John under the care of the Augustinian nuns in Bruges, Belgium. In Munich, she and Isabel Robb visited the general hospital and were impressed by the lavish kitchen, which was one of many in European hospitals that were well equipped, clean, and attractive and not stuck away as in American hospitals. In many of these institutions, she questioned the training of the nurses but not the kitchens. In her journal stories, pictures of the institutions were included, which provided a source of material for her later history of nursing.
Wanting to encourage others to venture abroad, Dock used her journal department to inform readers about economic travel. She made it clear that it was necessary to know a country's language in order to select lodgings and third class transportation. She gave advice on clothing, baggage, and purchase of tickets so one could have extra money for concerts, theater, opera, and "noteworthy sights." 101

Before the meeting of the International Congress of Women in Berlin, Lavinia Dock sent a notice to the journal expressing her hope that "our presence at this congress may cheer and help the organized nurses of Germany, who are just now making a strenuous--almost desperate--effort to improve their conditions of work and to obtain a reasonable amount of consideration from the public." The nurses' section of the International Congress met on June 16, 1904, and the focus was education and organization. Ethel Fenwick gave the first paper, "Nursing as a Profession for Women from an Educational, Economic, and Social Aspect." Dock gave a sketch of the development of nursing in the United States and related progress to organization. Annie Goodrich from the United States reviewed the development of the national organizations, legislation, and the work of the Nurses' Settlement. The representatives of Germany, Italy, and Sweden spoke of developments in education and organization in their countries. These presentations were followed by prepared remarks of delegates and discussion.

On June 17, Dock attended the first quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Nurses. She and Fenwick had met in
Amsterdam in August 1903, to make arrangements for the meeting. As secretary, she focused on reports and business of the Council. Agnes Karll, President of the German Nurses' Association, welcomed the officers with bouquets of roses and cornflowers. Because of the struggles to free nursing from the control of religious orders, Karll considered the invitation from Fenwick and Dock to meet in Berlin as "sunshine." Dock gave her secretary's report on the founding of the Council and the international meeting in Buffalo in 1901.

In her address, Ethel Fenwick asked the professional nurses to perform community work that was "preventive" and "to leave the world in some slight degree better than we found it." Dock's report on the status of nursing organizations in various countries suggested her "constant communication" with nurses in the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Holland, Germany, and South Africa. This report indicated that three countries, Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, had national councils and thus were accepted as the first affiliation members. Before the vote on affiliation, Dock told the American delegates, "Don't take a three thousand miles trip across the Atlantic to get to this meeting and then sit silent." The election of officers made Susan McGahey of Australia, president; Lavinia Dock, secretary; and Margaret Breay of Great Britain, treasurer. Dock was considered "so cosmopolitan that we felt she belonged to us all, and it would be impossible to have a more acceptable honorary secretary." Dock pointed out that Fenwick had become honorary
president based on the constitution, and she moved that Fenwick "do all the work on this side." The British Journal of Nursing and The American Journal of Nursing were made the official organs for the International Council in their respective countries. Dock reminded the delegates of the power of the press and asked them to publish the ideas and principles of the Council in their journals. The afternoon session was devoted to receiving reports on registration from countries and discussion of Adelaide Nutting's paper, "Suggestions for Educational Standards for State Registration," which was read by Annie Goodrich, a future president of the Council. The delegates passed a resolution specifying a minimum standard of preparation for a nurse and supporting examination and registration by the state. Dock seconded the motion but desired a higher standard and thought training schools needed to realize "their educational responsibilities."¹⁰²

After the meeting in Berlin, Lavinia Dock spent her time conducting the work of the secretary of the International Council, studying French and German, and attending hearings in the British House of Parliament. She wrote her settlement family that she went to Paris after Berlin and was "busy brushing up my French translation." Then she arrived in London in time to attend "three of the hearings on the nursing question before the select committee of the House of Commons," who would report on the "desirability of registration." Dock was astonished "to see a flock of nurses entering that gloriously beautiful pile, under the towers and turrets and
arches, and to meet the words 'Nurses' Registration' on a card on the committee door." She saw it as "a sign of big changes in the times, as important a sign as was the reception of equality-demanding women by the city officers in the stately Rathaus of Berlin" at the end of the Congress of Women. She had written her reports and papers about the International Council meeting and was ready to enjoy her "fresh air" in England before she returned to Germany to "study hard and help the German nurses if I can to sharpen their weapons." She had been so busy that Margaret had to go visiting with others. Lavinia Dock was interested in the European developments because the "nursing affairs are simply wildly exciting in all these countries. And it is all a part of the big woman movement, so that in helping it on we feel we are working for others beside ourselves. It is much more a part of the whole emancipation movement over here than with us at home." Although she was busy, Dock responded to the financial needs of the course at Teachers College and believed that American nurses could "make some sacrifice" and "invest in the future." She contributed another $25.00 to support the control of the course by nurses.103

Besides lengthy formal reports about the Council meeting for journal publication, Dock wrote papers and the invitation for affiliation. She authored a very positive article about the "stirring and wonderful week" of the congress. Nurses used the meetings, she reported, to support each other in promoting education and organization, to renew friendships, and to form new relationships.
The women met in beautiful surroundings and were entertained by receptions, concerts, and garden parties. But from her experience at the conference, Dock "perceived that the nursing movement is a part of the whole woman movement. Not only for the benefit of the patient must the nurse rise to a higher plane than she is now on, but also for the sake of all women who need to support themselves and who wish to be educated."

Her next article on the conference examined the lack of representation in the Council, because of the disagreement in the Old World over the conditions to "prepare the woman for her work as a nurse." She concluded that the Council was representative by its definition, since the members wanted to work together, and those on the outside who were opposed to registration or fees would not associate. She voiced her hope again, that after these preliminary conferences nurses were "on the verge of forming definite international relations" with one another. As secretary of the Council, on September 2, 1904, she sent an official invitation to the president and members of the American Federation of Nurses "inviting them to affiliate with The International Council of Nurses." She went further and explained the struggles that nurses were having in organizing for registration in the countries of Italy, France, Germany, and England. In conclusion she asked for support from her associates:

... To witness all these efforts drives one to the irresistible conclusion that mutual encouragement and support of one another is urgently demanded. In many ways, Americans
are in a better and more independent condition than the nurses of any European country. This being so, we may be of the greatest help to our struggling fellow-workers in their efforts at reform. Moral support alone is worth much, as we found in Germany, and as, with men of affairs, actual numbers count for much, every thousand, every hundred women even, that we can total up as being united in their requests and aims will help to bring about more quickly the reforms which each country is working for.\textsuperscript{104}

In the midst of her activities, Lavinia Dock was solicitous of her friends' needs in her letters. When she returned to Berlin, she wrote Lillian Wald assuring her that she was not "anxious about my own little bit of money" invested in the settlement social halls. She was just sorry that Wald had to bother about money for the halls at the present time. Wald wanted to write a book on district nursing, and Dock gave her many suggestions for content and approach. She suggested a collaborator, but offered herself to "help in every way I can." And she told Wald that "Miss Nutting wants me to help her on a History of Nursing!" In a letter to Adelaide Nutting, she discussed the International Council, but she was now more concerned about Nutting and if they should write a history.

She wanted Adelaide Nutting to consider whether the book would sell. She did not think that Nutting could consider living off the book and speculated on the preparation of a textbook instead. She must have reconsidered and decided that "I really think a good complete history of nursing would be a most splendid bit of work, but I would not like to depend on it for a living. . . . And I will help in every way I can but the book shall be your own." She urged Nutting
to "stay at the JHH as long as you can possibly hold out. You have already done enough there to give you a right to rest on your laurels and take it a little bit easy." She informed Nutting of Fenwick's idea that the Council should meet in Paris before the next Congress of Women, because "[t]he men are most anxious to reform things but the old story of total unwillingness to give women the Control arises." She explained that she might be called to testify before the select committee in London. "They have asked various questions about America and I have offered to tell them what we have done. The women there thought it might help . . . Adelaide, when you see these women and men and conditions over here, you feel actually as if you saw with your eyes the earth crust cracking, and human beings struggling to come out! We must help all we can. Am sorry Miss Palmer not well for I think barring her prejudices she is strong and admirable."

Some days later in another letter to Nutting, Dock was "excited over our history. I am digging out such lovely old treasures from the library." She advised Nutting to announce "that you have a history in preparation." However, she hinted that it would not appear for a couple of years. The announcement appeared promptly in the journal, but she wrote Nutting in surprise about who told Sophia Palmer that the history would be ready in a year. "I was quite paralyzed . . . because I had at least a three year period in my mind."105

Lavinia Dock returned to Berlin for a lengthy stay. She gave English lessons on Mondays to nurses in the German Nurses'
Association office and wrote English letters for Agnes Karll, the president, whom Dock described as "all courage and wisdom . . . with sweet reasonableness." Dock was considered a "cheery influence" by all who met her. In a paper, "Der Stand der Amerikanischen Krankenpflege," she described the training and organization of American nurses and the work of the nurses' settlement. She included the paper, which Karll corrected for her, with literature on the new German movement that she sent to Nutting for the historical collection. She also gave an "interesting" talk to the American Club about the settlement work and activities. When Dock wrote the family about her activities, she acknowledged the arrival of her registration certificate "to my great awe and self-respect." She asked about Florence Kelley, who prophesied the Russian revolution. She thought it the "most glorious and pathetic and intensely interesting thing ever heard?" In another letter, she informed Wald that she was learning to read Hollandisch and hopefully Danish, so she could read the nursing magazines from these countries. The usual story is that Dock "studied languages" while going to her cases during her settlement work. She probably did use these experiences to develop her language skills; however, she really learned through planned study abroad.106

While she was studying and assisting the German nurses, Dock completed several more articles for publication in addition to her journal department material in 1905. She practiced her Italian by translating an article on the progress of eliminating malaria in
Italy. Later, for publication at the end of the year, she translated an article on meningitis. She turned her attention to a sharp attack on Worcester, a physician, who opposed registration and after being abroad advocated "voluntary examination by a voluntary board." He was simply "unaware of the actual status of nursing educational movements" and that where voluntary registration had been tried it had failed. She did not see the Old World as providing an example for effective organizations.

... Even Europeans, who are little inclined to admire American ways ... admit the superior freedom of American women and the superior effectiveness and untrammelledness of the organizations of American nurses.

What we may learn abroad to endless extent is, sympathy with the struggles of the human race, understanding of different phases of development, recognition of the inner bond which unites all nations. ... But in questions of the organization of workers, the control of women's work by men, and the best ways of attaining higher educational standards for women, we have nothing to learn there except--what to beware of.

A month later in a letter to the journal, Lavinia supported trade unions as an example for nurses to emulate in developing sisterhood so that the "concern of one is the concern of all."

She prepared her paper, "International Relationships," and sent it to be read at the May 1905, meeting of the American Federation of Nurses during the combined conventions of both American nursing organizations. She reviewed briefly the history of the International Council and then discussed the conditions in Europe that were aligned against the organization of nurses there. From her travels
and interactions with nurses, Dock identified four cultural oppositions to the European "pioneers of modern nursing." She categorized these oppositions as religious prejudice that supported the church's control over nursing, social prejudice that was based on class, masculine prejudice that supported male authority, and industrial prejudice that feared registration as a safeguard for the "employed against the employer." She proposed to the convention delegates that international union was helpful, because it gave encouragement through understanding and sympathy that others were "not struggling alone." She had to suggest that perhaps the Federation could not belong to both the National Council of Women and the International Council of Nurses because of the demands by the Council of Women upon the officers. If a choice had to be made, she supported the international nurses' association. Dock was recognized as the authority on the conditions of nurses in Europe. The delegates voted to withdraw their membership in the National Council of Women and accepted the "invitation to affiliate with the International Council of Nurses."

While the American nurses were meeting in convention, Lavinia Dock was waiting to be called to testify before the select committee of the House of Commons before she returned home. She was "excited and also scared at the possibility" and thought that she would run away except for knowing the "bitter hostility the English nurses have to struggle against." She testified in early May and wrote in the journal that "I told them something of the effect of our
registration acts, but rather imagine that they look upon us as awful examples and that it did more harm than good." The select committee did report support of registration by a central group appointed by the state. However, a registration law did not pass Parliament until 1919, thus ending a campaign that began in 1887. Through her journal department, Dock continued her support for British registration over the years remaining years. Dock returned home in early June and was welcomed back in the pages of the journal. She went to see her sisters "to talk over all the events" of nearly two years. Then she gave her services to the settlement summer camp for East Side children, so Henrietta (VanCleft) could have a paid vacation. One letter from camp indicates that Lavinia used her newly learned languages by sending a postcard in Italian to a settlement neighbor for whom she was "trying to find work in the country." 108

Lavinia Dock and Adelaide Nutting worked on the nursing history for the next two years. Nutting had been collecting rare books and Nightingale material for years, and Dock sent her books or lists of books to be added. Nutting had very early prepared a lengthy history outline for visiting lectures in the hospital economics course at Teachers College, and Dock worked from it and added only the "introductory material on mutual aid." While abroad Dock collected material from the libraries and museums. She "enjoyed" the experience "from beginning to end" and considered "all the digging in public libraries, translating, researching and correcting
... pure pleasure." While in Europe, she had written Nutting that she would "help to write or collaborate or what you like? I will for instance write up lots of the modern stuff. But finally you must put the finishing touch on all because your literary style is really distinguished, admirable." Dock began work on the book the winter of 1905 to 1906, since she decided not to "undertake regular work at the settlement." She was feeling "a little too old to carry the bag" at forty-seven years. Dock wrote most of the text, and Nutting read, commented, criticized, and suggested additional material. Nutting's responsibilities at Johns Hopkins limited her time for writing, but at night she wrote two of the chapters, "The Military Nursing Orders" and "French and Spanish Hospitals in America," that were important to her. In April 1906, Adelaide Nutting resigned her position at Johns Hopkins to become Professor of Domestic Economy at Teachers College in the fall of 1907. In a short time, Adelaide Nutting's leadership would be present in the nursing curriculum, and she would have two strong supporters, Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock. Dock was working in the libraries in Washington, D. C. and sent Nutting a note that she would "stop a couple days ... to go over things." She also commented on Nutting's decision to leave Johns Hopkins, since their long and supportive friendship had begun at the Hopkins and she felt Nutting had achieved much there.

So you have decided! Well I certainly am terribly sorry to see you leave the J. H. H. I always wanted you to be there continuously to shine & enjoy the fruits of your labors-- yet this thing is so special I could not advise or wish you not to
take it -- It is so exactly the thing that you like & are interested in & have always wanted to have done- So- best wishes & may it turn out all you hope - . . .109

They worked on the manuscript that became two volumes and found that they could not easily secure a publisher. With "self-assurance" they had not consulted a publisher in advance for advice or whether the book would be accepted for publication. In October 1906, Lavinia Dock sent the incomplete text for an estimate to Houghton, Mifflin and Company, who promptly returned it. She had hoped that "we could decide on a publisher and then finish it up at our leisure afterwards." She and Adelaide Nutting considered others before making their final selection of Putnam's, who had published Dock's first text. The history would be more expensive, because of the photographs. Nutting had each chapter typed and submitted to Frank Smith at Johns Hopkins for review of style and English usage, which Dock thought probably made their different styles "less noticeable." When they had a final copy, they consulted the officials at Putnam's, who were unsure whether the book would return the publishing costs. Nutting and Dock obtained a bank loan and paid $570.00 for the electroplates that became their property. The contract of January 1907, was for ten years with six free copies and 25 percent of the retail cost. Their investment was repaid within a year. Dock transformed the manuscript and the "grand hodge-podge" of footnotes into the final copy for the publisher on her typewriter. Lavinia had to finish the book so that she could leave on the first of June for the Paris conference of the International Council of Nurses.
She wrote Nutting that she was "trusting in Providence for getting book through" and promised that she would "jam in every last plate that is possible." The book was titled *A History of Nursing* based on Putnam's preference. In her will, Dock left her half of the royalties for the first two volumes to the American Nurses' Association, the former Nurses' Associated Alumnae. She did not expect to live until she was ninety-eight.

The history by Adelaide Nutting and Lavinia Dock was much anticipated. The *American Journal of Nursing* announced the forthcoming work twice before it was published. By December 1906, the journal editor focused on Nutting's collecting of historical materials and her outline for history lectures and then listed the contents of the book. The first review was from printer's proofs, and the reviewer declared the book to be the "most important work which has ever been contributed to the field of nursing literature. . . . After one has read the book, however, one feels a large and growing scepticism as to whether there is anything in this wide world more interesting, more fascinating, more enthralling than the study of the history of nursing. It is a book bound to be read by everyone interested in the process of human evolution." The reviewer concluded with a reminder that nurses "are only too apt to pity ourselves as being in a way less favored than our sisters who have perhaps adopted brighter and pleasanter paths in life. The nurse who reads the History of Nursing will find herself allied to so great and splendid a body that she stands in danger of becoming unduly puffed
up with the glory of her connection." After publication, the reviewer congratulated the authors and advised that the book be included in the education of the nurse.\textsuperscript{111} The reviewer ended with a quote from the preface that expressed the purpose and hope of the authors.

As a result of this paucity of literature upon the subject, the modern nurse, keenly interested as she is in the present and the future of her profession, knows little of its past. She loses both the inspiration which arises from cherished tradition, and the perspective which shows the relation of one progressive movement to others. Only in the light of history can she clearly see how closely her own calling is linked with the general conditions of education and of liberty that obtain - as they rise, she rises, and as they sink, she falls.

It has long been the deep desire of the two collaborators in this work, that the touching and often heroic history of nursing should not remain unknown to our modern order. . . .\textsuperscript{112}

Adelaide Nutting and Lavinia Dock gave nursing another supporting structure to base its claim of being a profession: a past on which to build a future of progress. After the next two volumes were published by Lavinia Dock, Adelaide Nutting modestly let it be known who should have the credit for the history. "The history would never have appeared at all had it not been for the generous and liberal way in which Miss Dock took hold of the plan and worked it out, devoting her full time for nearly two years to the task, and bringing to it a great amount of careful research and study, and that freshness, spontaneity, and originality which has characterized all of her writings. There is no literary value in the book except that which has been contributed by Miss Dock."\textsuperscript{113}
CHAPTER 5

Later YEARS OF COMMITMENT AND CONSCIENCE

In Support of Women

After the history was ready for publication, Lavinia Dock turned her attention to social movements. She had repeatedly emphasized the relationship between nursing and the woman's movement in her letters, her writings, and in the paper on registration before the New York State Nurses' Association. Now she planned to raise the question of suffrage for the first time before the national association. The influences on her had accumulated: the years at Henry Street assisting the immigrant poor, experiences of organizing and obtaining registration in the United States and in Europe, and writing the nursing history illuminated the position of women in society. With Lillian Wald, she was a supporter of trade unionism and the Women's Trade Union League founded in 1903. In January 1907, in New York City, Harriot Stanton Blatch founded the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women to energize the suffrage campaign. Dock may not have been a member by the middle of May 1907, but she certainly knew about the League's activities in New York, and she is identified among the early members. Others in the League were suffrage and labor
supporters Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Florence Kelley, Leonora
O'Reilly, Gertrude Barnum, and Rose Schneiderman.¹

In May 1907, Lavinia Dock attended the tenth annual convention
of the Nurses' Associated Alumnae in Richmond, Virginia. She came
to present her paper, "Some Urgent Social Claims." In her paper for
the convention of the Society of Superintendents in 1903, she had
asked them to be a moral force. Now she asked the Associated
Alumnae, a much larger and diverse group of trained nurses, in
powerful eloquent terms to debate the questions of the day, become
involved in specific movements, and to give their support to women
workers if they wanted support for themselves. This time she
identified the particular movements for women's involvement and
their responsibility for that involvement. She asked the association
to make its position known publicly on the social issues before
them. Her words represented the beliefs and aspirations of those
committed to social reform.

It is a long time since I have had the pleasure or
privilege of meeting this society, . . . I am seizing it to speak
to you on a subject which . . . presses itself upon me. . . . I
mean the subject of the political enfranchisement of women,
which embraces the whole consideration of the many fields in
which women are striving for a secure foothold, that they may
live and express themselves and share those rights of life,
liberty, and the pursuit of happiness which Thomas Jefferson
declared to be inalienable. There are a number of reasons why
I wished for permission to speak to you on this theme. One is,
that I surmise to the majority of nurses it is a far-off,
abstract, uninteresting theme, or even, it may be to some, one
to be avoided with disapproval, or with the indifference of the
extreme specialist toward all outside of a specialty. Another is that I am ardently convinced that our national association will fail of its highest opportunities and fall short of its best mission if it restricts itself to the narrow path of purely professional questions and withholds its interest and sympathy and its moral support from the great, urgent, throbbing, pressing social claims of our day and generation. Another is that I suspect many of you, absorbed in your patients and your direct duties, are unaware . . . of how soon you may be called upon to respond to its actual presence in your midst. . . .

. . . We belong to an age which rejects the theory that misery and sickness are unpreventable, - which is learning to place prevention before amelioration, . . . that human society can be voluntarily and consciously built into nobler and fairer forms than those of the past. . . . Are we to choose for ourselves only the personal advantages of a greater freedom and to neglect the claims it makes upon our intelligence and our unselfishness? . . .

As the modern nursing movement is emphatically an outcome of the original and general woman movement and as nurses are no longer a dull, uneducated class, but an intelligent army of workers, capable of continuous progress, and fitted to comprehend the idea of social responsibility, it would be a great pity for them to allow one of the most remarkable movements of the day to go on under their eyes without comprehending it. . . .

. . . What is to be our attitude toward full citizenship? Shall we be an intelligent and enlightened body of citizens, or an inert mass of indifference? . . . Let us now come to the position of our National Association on this subject, embracing as it does, . . . the whole field of self-supporting industry and of education to prepare men and women for that industry. What I feel strongly is that our National Association might and should rise to a broader and more general consideration of large, general subjects than it has heretofore done. . . .

. . . I would like to see our national body . . . consciously make itself a moral force on all the great social questions of the day. . . . But now the day has come when we might here decide on our place, our share, and our policy toward the great
social claims of education and educational reforms, - industry
. . . as it relates to women - child-labor, . . . prostitution . . .
the recent movement to teach sexual hygiene, . . . so closely
are all the threads of modern life intertwined that it is a
question how long we may as an organized society withhold our
interest from these subjects and yet demand the interest and
the respect of society as a whole for ourselves and our
individual problems. . . . we must observe what conditions are
affecting the great mass of self-supporting women. . . .
. . . The problems of the modern city are almost entirely
housekeeping questions on a vast scale. . . . These
responsibilities do not belong to men alone . . . So far, in our
own legislation, we have been fairly successful, but let me
close with this prophecy: Until we possess the ballot we shall
not know when we may get up in the morning to find that all
we had gained has been taken from us.2

Dock's paper surprised the delegates, because they seemed
unsure as to a response. The member, who was to lead the
discussion, thought that "to take hold of this question [woman
suffrage] might injure us, and probably would." Another member,
who had lived and voted in Colorado, stated that she did "not believe
in women having the franchise." She considered Judge Lindsey of
Denver to be doing more for people than the votes of women. Dock
reminded her that it was the voting women who kept him in his
position. At this point, Isabel Hampton Robb changed the subject
with a lengthy discussion on the need of teaching school children
anatomy and physiology and hygiene in the campaign against
tuberculosis and venereal disease. The result was that the
delegates passed a motion for the president to appoint a committee
on public health. Dock had made her first appeal to arouse the
interests of the delegates on the subject of suffrage, and they were
unable or unwilling to respond to the full meaning of her words. She called her colleagues to the responsibilities of full citizenship and that required their possession of equal rights.\textsuperscript{3} This paper with some of her others would be referred to often over the years.

Lavinia Dock sailed for Europe to attend the conference of the International Council of Nurses from June 18 to 20, 1907, to encourage the French in their development of modern nursing. Ethel Fenwick and Isla Stewart had visited Paris earlier in the year to arrange for the important hospital officials and nurses to attend the conference. Dock met Adelaide Nutting, who was the representative for the Society of Superintendents, in Paris where they stayed at Edith and Edmund Kelly's home. Over 300 nurses came to Paris from as far as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and India, and thirty from the United States. Isabel Robb was the representative for the Nurse's Associated Alumnae. The receptions for the conference were lavish, and the meetings were open and informal in order to attract many nurses from Europe. The program was printed in French and English to accommodate all in attendance. Agnes Karll of Germany, Anna Hamilton, a physician who was developing a school at Bordeaux, and Sophie Mannerheim, who informed the group about previously unknown nursing developments in Finland, were present. M. Mesureur, Director of the French Assistance Publique, presided at the first session and gave the opening address. Due to serious illness, Adelaide Nutting had not completed her paper for the conference, so Dock described the organization of the Society of
Superintendents and the Nurses' Associated Alumnae, establishment of the course at Teachers College to prepare nurses to teach, and the affiliation with New York hospitals to provide experiences for the students in the course. Nutting presided at one of the sessions. The receptions allowed the representatives to form friendships and discuss common professional concerns. The reception by the Municipal Council of Paris was given on the first evening of the conference in the Hotel de Ville for 300 to 400 people. The honorary officers of the International Council of Nurses, Ethel Fenwick, Lavinia Dock, and Margaret Breay, were invited to sign the Golden Book for distinguished visitors, thus honoring their profession. Because of illness, Dock could not attend the banquet on the last evening of the conference. However, on the following day, the executive committee of the Council, including Dock, met at the Hotel Normandy to discuss the site for the quinquennial meeting and officers for 1909.4

After the conference, Dock and Nutting visited and traveled in Europe. They visited Edith Kelly at her country home near Aisne, France. Then Agnes Karll invited them to visit her in Berlin to discuss issues surrounding the development of German nursing. From Berlin, Dock traveled to southern France to see Anna Hamilton at Bordeaux and to do more research for the third volume of the nursing history, and Nutting returned to England for her visit with Florence Nightingale. Before her departure for the United States,
Nutting received Agnes Karll's letter that conveyed how much the German nurse valued the support of Nutting and Dock. From the "prosaic town" of Bordeaux, Lavinia Dock wrote Lillian Wald to share her activities, concerns, and plans. She offered Wald assistance, and she asked support for her friend, Adelaide Nutting.

... I am getting our volume of Transactions of Paris Conference printed here- & it will keep me here most likely all of this month. There was quite a little to do to get them in order- now of course the proof-reading & then I must see to the distribution- Many of the papers are in French- among them yours & Miss Rogers- so you see you will go down to Posterity now with pompous glory even if never before! We hope this volume will help out the tide which is now really rolling in from all sides about reforms in hospitals- So it is worthwhile to take a little trouble with it- No one at home of course will ever bother to read Transactions but here they will, just at present- as much is in French I hope they also will in neighboring lands- As I still have a number of places I want to visit I have ordered my sailing for the 2nd of November (winter rates) ... Putnams ought to have our book finished soon- ... Now really if no body buys it it will be too sad to consider for it has cost all of our united fortunes, ... Fortunately my good little Materia Medica stands by me- ... & it really has in the last few years done better than ever- Miss Nutting will get to Columbia early in October & I know she will be just secretly frightened to death & homesick- You will invite her down soon will you not- ... If there is any way I could be useful in New York I ought to have a free winter to help you in some small way for now all these writing jobs that make one so self-absorbed & selfish are out of the way-6

To Adelaide Nutting, Dock sent a letter of encouragement and support. She wanted to share the friendship and comfort that the Henry Street Settlement could provide her friend in the strange, new
surroundings of New York City. She wanted Nutting to know the progress she was making in research for the history and to remind her that she could not help with lectures until the new year.

You will be arriving at New York about now, & I am sure you will be homesick, lonely, & scared enough at first- You must go down to the Settlement early & get a little friendly cheer & comfort into you- Oh dear, I am agog to know how you like it & what you think of it all at first- I fear there will be times when you want to kill Miss Ross, me, & every one who ever advised you to take it- But my dear girl, I think it is without a doubt destiny, for we shall get this chair endowed & you must hang on to it at least as long as that,- even if you do not like it- & that will be an objective point for you to go by in case brother Russell & the others turn out less well than you had hoped- I wonder when you wanted my lectures to come in- I hope not first thing for I shall only get back the end of Nov- I am making a pretty good inspection of the progress of education in the hospitals here- It is a most interesting movement and I am laying in stuff for our Third Volume- which will really be exciting enough to keep one awake at night- Dr. Hamilton is a remarkable woman, & her influence over her graduates remarkable- they are a fine set of women- all convinced feminists. . . . You would be quite touched if you realized the admiration & almost reverence with which many women over here look up to you as to a Superintendent who has done so much for education- I encounter this quite frequently, especially among the Hollanders- How delightful that you saw Miss Nightingale- I am dying to know what you said to her- Wonderful old lady- Do be sure to have Putnams send her the very first copy that is finished- The first volume is already completed & off the press- I hope she will live long enough to look over it- Our French report is finished- will send you a copy- All paid for too- . . . I have quite a few odds & ends picked up for you & a fine long list of books. . . .
Adelaide Nutting did come often to the settlement where she experienced friendship but also developed a broader social awareness. On many Sunday evenings over dinner, the friends would talk about nursing and other interests. Adelaide Nutting wanted improvements in schools and hospitals, and Lillian Wald wanted better prepared public health nurses. Over the span of eighteen years, Nutting expanded the program at Teachers College, and the nursing settlement provided important public health experiences for the students. A course to prepare public health nurses was begun. In her first plan of lectures for the hospital economics course at the college in October 1907, she included Lavinia Dock to teach the history of nursing and hospitals, and by June 1908, it was combined with Annie Goodrich's course to become the history and function of hospitals. In time Lillian Wald was included to give lectures on visiting nursing. Dock had previously taught at Teachers College when Nutting had been ill and could not complete her course of lectures in 1906. She had also taught nursing history at the training-school at Johns Hopkins in Nutting's last year there. Effie Taylor, who graduated in 1906, remembered Dock as being "most inspirational, and the students looked forward to meeting her with the keenest pleasure. She had a brilliant and resourceful mind—a unique sense of humour. Her delightful, quaint personality won the affectionate respect of all who were privileged to participate in her classes."
The new year began with nurses involved in a new endeavor to bring nursing care to the poor in almshouses and ended with nurses presenting papers on the care of the tuberculosis patient at the International Congress on Tuberculosis. In the late summer, "colored" graduate nurses who were usually excluded from the main organizations founded their own organization (as will be noted below). And in the midst of these purely nursing concerns, the members of the profession began the struggle over woman suffrage.

At the convention in Richmond in 1907, a committee for the relief of sick in almshouses had been appointed with Lavinia Dock as the chairwoman. At the same convention, Caroline Crane had asked nurses to investigate almshouses to identify the sick, insane, and children who needed nursing care and to bring this information to the attention of the local groups of the National Federation of Women's Clubs. After returning from France, Dock wrote to the state nurses' associations requesting nurses to perform a census of almshouses in their states. Then she used the pages of the journal to inform readers about the work of the committee, to seek volunteers, and to describe Crane's experiences when investigating almshouse conditions. Dock supplied the data collection forms prepared by Crane. By the time of the Associated Alumnae convention in May 1908, Dock could report that associations in nineteen states had begun or intended to conduct investigations. She stated that the concern for almshouse nursing would "require years of patience and unremitting attention" as the nursing in hospitals
had. A few nurses were employed in almshouses when the committee began its work. At the end of the year, the committee suggested that each state association select one almshouse and work to place a nurse there in charge of the sick. By 1912, Dock was able to write that state nurses' associations allied with women's clubs had accomplished definite almshouse reforms but that "thorough-going improvement" depended upon women's attaining "full citizenship."\(^9\)

Lavinia Dock did not attend either convention of the nursing organizations in 1908. In May, the delegates to the Associated Alumnae meeting in San Francisco reappointed Dock's almshouse committee and heard her paper, "Progress of Registration in Foreign Lands," which she had sent. However, to Dock, the most important event of the convention occurred on the third day when a letter from the president of the Woman's Suffrage League was read. She asked the association delegates to endorse a suffrage resolution.

WHEREAS, The thinking women of America are striving more earnestly than ever before to be a helpful part of the people, in the firm belief that men and women together compose a democracy, and that until men and women have equal political rights they cannot do their best work, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Nurses Associated Alumnae of the United States, numbering 14,000 members as a company of patriotic workers, heartily endorse every well-directed movement which tends to emancipate the women of our land and give them their rightful place in government.

The delegates engaged in "some discussion" and defeated the motion "by a large majority."\(^10\)
When Lavinia Dock learned of the delegates' vote, she addressed a letter to the *American Journal of Nursing* immediately.

Since the historic meeting in September, 1896, in the Manhattan Beach Hotel when you and a little group of women, who were very loyal to their profession and the cause of women generally, met, to bring the Nurses' Associated Alumnae into being, I have never been disappointed in the actions of that body, of which you and I are charter members, until this year, when I read, with humiliation I must frankly say, that a negative vote "by a large majority" was recorded at San Francisco against the reasonable and temperately expressed suffrage resolution offered to it!

It was a shock, because, though I know many nurses have never given the subject a thought, yet I believed that they might always be depended upon, in their associations, to take instinctively the intelligent and above all the sympathetic position on large human questions. I am far from thinking that nurses have time or strength for work outside of their own field, and do not expect to see them actively engaged in the equality movement, but to give moral support and endorsement takes no time; to feel intelligent sympathy costs on money. . . .

I hope that at a future meeting our members will reconsider their hasty snapshot verdict.

She told nurses that they could not be involved in almshouse and tuberculosis nursing without considering the social causes that contributed to these conditions. Women needed the vote for authority to support their municipal housekeeping, for citizenship in a democracy, and for "just and equal opportunities."11

To the *Nurses' Journal of the Pacific Coast*, she sent another letter expressing deep disappointment in her colleagues.

I have felt so chagrined and pained over the surprising incident relating to equal suffrage that occurred at the San
Francisco meeting that I really hardly know when anything has happened to so disappoint me.

I know very well that nurses are, as a rule, singularly outside of and away from all equal suffrage thought and talk, and that they know very little about it all; and yet, somehow, one always expects a body of women like that to respond instinctively to the progressive step and the intelligent idea, especially in anything relating to women, and, honestly, I would not have believed that they could actually vote to stand on the side of negation and stupidity--for it seems nothing else, when we remember that it means denying the principles on which our free country is based. I cannot see why a nurse should forget that she is a citizen, and a citizen who owes a great number of her advantages to the women pioneers who have fought the women's fight. An intelligent, progressive nurse has so many opportunities to shed the light of a higher civilization. I am more and more convinced that the one who simply nurses, clinging to narrow ideas, does very little good in the world. Where were our Western sisters when this unfortunate vote came about? How did it happen?²

In this same period that the question of woman suffrage was being considered, fifty-two negro nurses met in New York City on August 25, 1908, under the leadership of Martha Franklin to found the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. Many belonged to their school alumnae associations and thereby were members of the Nurses' Associated Alumnae. However, they experienced segregation and discrimination throughout the country and received little encouragement to participate in the national association. Some of the purposes of the new association were to "break down discrimination," to "develop leadership " within their ranks, and to improve the "health of the Negro." Following the three day meeting, some of the nurses visited Henry Street for a luncheon, and Lillian Wald discussed the work of the settlement nurses.
Lavinia Dock gave her support by providing organizational advice to the officers over the years. In 1910, Dock, as secretary of the International Council of Nurses, invited the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses to send a delegate to the International Congress in Cologne, Germany in 1912. In 1911, she sent another letter inviting the association to send an additional delegate to the congress after she had been invited to attend an annual meeting. She asked the delegate to bring a "full report of work done by colored graduate nurses." The organization accepted and began its "contact with nurses in other lands." The recognition of Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock was considered important to the organization. When Adah Thoms, a former president, wrote the history of the organization, she asked Lillian Wald to write the preface, and she referred to Dock "with affection" in her letter.\textsuperscript{13}

Lavinia Dock was very much involved with the nurses' session of the International Congress on Tuberculosis in Washington, October 1, 1908. Tuberculosis was called the white plague, and Dock had written some early articles on the topic for the journal. This was the sixth world congress, and the first to have a nurses' session. Adelaide Nutting was chairwoman of the committee to prepare the program for the special session for nurses under the section, "The Economic and Social Aspects of Tuberculosis," and Dock agreed to be secretary. The committee had its first meeting with the president of the congress section on April 16, 1908. Perhaps the work for this committee prevented Dock from attending the nursing conventions
that spring. In addition to the nurses' session and the exhibits of nurses' work, a few nurses gave papers at the general session of the congress. Dock's report of the nurses' session was full of praise for the number and quality of the papers. The session attracted a general audience in addition to nurses. She felt inspired and gratified for the "advance of the nursing profession . . . to see the splendid array of young and enthusiastic women who presented their papers, and to realize how extremely intelligent and thoughtful they were on all the social and economic questions underlying the strictly medical and nursing aspects of the great white plague." It must have been of special interest for her to report that she heard Robert Koch speak on popular education and on the institute being founded in Berlin in his honor.14

The Suffrage Debate in the Nursing Journals

A month after Lavinia Dock responded to the defeat of the suffrage resolution at the convention in San Francisco, Sophia Palmer, who supported suffrage, printed the journal's policy.

The letters which are appearing in the JOURNAL, and which come to the editors personally, on the suffrage question, are evidence of a misunderstanding of the JOURNAL's position in this matter. This magazine is a professional journal, devoted to the interests of nursing. On every nursing subject it has a definite policy. On all other broad questions its attitude is neutral. Among so many thousand women as go to make up the nursing body there is great diversity of opinion on the suffrage question, the members of one group being extreme in their support of it, others being just as extreme in their
opposition to it, and still a third group taking a more moderate ground, the editor-in-chief being among the last.

Our correspondence department is open to a free expression of opinion, but it must be understood that the JOURNAL's policy, editorially, must of necessity remain neutral.\textsuperscript{15}

The debate in the pages of the \textit{American Journal of Nursing} began. The first letter in support of suffrage appeared in the issue with the policy statement. The letter writer declared that the defeat of the resolution meant that "the representative women of the nursing profession refuse to even endorse the struggle other women workers of the world are making for the organization and self-government we as nurses enjoy to a perhaps greater degree than any other body of working women." In the next issue, Mary Dixon was critical of the editorial policy and suggested that "your logical attitude must be that 'a nurse's place is inside the sick room, not mixing up in affairs outside of her sphere,'" and another writer supported Dock. The letters continued up to the time of the convention in June. Those opposed to suffrage or a vote of support by the Associated Alumnae held that the profession should have no opinion on the subject or that support would make licensure laws difficult to secure. By November, Adelaide Nutting spoke out in support of suffrage and considered that the delegates had lacked knowledge on "what woman suffrage really means and involves." She suggested that the nursing associations and societies study the subject for the next year. Those in favor held that suffrage was needed to carry out their work effectively in the care of the sick.
and to remedy social conditions, to obtain licensure laws more efficiently, as a measure of equality, and as a way of acknowledging the women of the past who worked to make the lives of the present generation better. Still others asked the journal to educate them on the subject. In the May issue of the journal, Palmer included an article supporting suffrage by Julia Ward Howe and one against by Lyman Abbott. In the pages of the Foreign Department, Lavinia Dock included items on suffrage activities. Dock let it be known in the journal pages that she had spent the winter working for suffrage by speaking to twenty-three women's organizations and writing letters and articles. She had more time to engage in suffrage activities, since the settlement house report in the nursing journal listed her as a resident and not a nurse.16

Lavinia Dock and Mary Dixon also used the Nurses' Journal of the Pacific Coast to convey their messages of support for suffrage. A paper by Dixon in the Johns Hopkins Nurses' Alumnae Magazine was reprinted in the western journal. She argued for woman suffrage on the basis of equality, full citizenship, and improved social conditions. Dock sent a paper, which she had given before a meeting of nurses in Philadelphia, to the western journal for publication.

... It is not simply that I believe in political equality for women and want you to believe in it also, ... The foremost reason I have for wishing to present this subject to nurses is that we owe the existence of our profession to the woman movement: we owe it all that we are, all that we have of opportunity and advancement; we owe it our social and educational and economic status; and, all this being true, we
surely owe it our gratitude and our recognition; we owe it our 
loyal allegiance and our moral support. We can give it that 
without taking time from our professional considerations. . . . 

The woman movement cannot be separated from the 
principles of political equality based upon the possession of 
the ballot, for the simple reason that an equality of social 
justice cannot be gained in the first place, nor held securely in 
the second, by those who do not possess it. . . . 

The woman movement, in brief, is the gradual pressure of 
women onward into opportunities of fuller and broader living. 
It has, within three quarters of a century, changed the status 
of women from that of a household chattel to that of a citizen 
with full and free human rights--for we must remember 
that there are countries and states where women have the 
ballet. . . . 

We must not forget that everything was said in 
opposition to the reform of nursing that is to-day said about 
voting. . . . 

Lavinia concluded with examples of how women were improving 
conditions in hospitals and in the care of children and the sick in 
other countries, because of the woman's movement.\textsuperscript{17} 

In their papers and letters, Mary Dixon and Lavinia Dock used 
all the arguments of the woman's movement supported by their 
belief in progressivism. Each woman argued for equality and justice 
and the improvement of social conditions. They considered the 
issues of social reform and the ballot as one, so that the betterment 
of society was directly tied to the possession of the ballot that was 
their right of citizenship. Dock's insistence on the right to vote was 
based on her belief of social justice and her belief that women had 
the responsibility to reform society.\textsuperscript{18}
Organizational Work for Health

Lavinia Dock attended the nursing conventions and the International Congress of Nurses in 1909. The Society of Superintendents and the Nurses' Associated Alumnae met in early June in St. Paul and Minneapolis on consecutive dates. Adelaide Nutting and Isabel Robb also were present, and Nutting was elected to succeed Robb as president of the Society. Dock proposed that the Society affirm the principle that "the instruction, discipline, and guiding of nurses should be in the hands of women who are themselves nurses, and that the association should object to any policy which will take the authority and responsibility of all matters which pertain to nursing and to nurses out of the hands of women" who were heads of schools and departments of nursing. The resolution was carried, and Dock had achieved the Society's position of support for women. However, she probably received a blow when the delegates at the Federation of Nurses' meeting, sandwiched between the two conventions, instructed the representatives to the International Council of Nurses' meeting to vote in the "negative" on suffrage. Before the beginning of the Associated Alumnae meeting, the Minneapolis graduates of the course at Teachers College started a new tradition by entertaining at breakfast the visiting instructors, Robb, Nutting, Dock, and Goodrich, and visiting graduates. It was hoped that enjoyable "togethers" would occur at other national meetings.
The delegates at the Associated Alumnae meeting spent considerable time in discussing the broadening fields of nursing work. Dock focused attention on the work of nurses in her almshouse committee report. She informed the delegates that the committee’s focus was to place a nurse in at least one almshouse in each state and to have each state nursing society appoint a standing committee on almshouse work. Her report was lengthy, showing the progress or planned work in each state, and the report was shortened for the printed convention publication. She had actually carried out the correspondence without the assistance of her committee. The report was considered encouraging, and Isabel Robb asked the almshouse committee to contact the tuberculosis leagues for their involvement in these institutions. The delegates discussed tuberculosis at length in regards to health teaching in schools, visiting nurses in homes, and the need for an educational campaign to improve the environment. To illustrate the need, Dock stated that the settlement could not fill all the requests for nurses to do tuberculosis work.

The contrast between committee accomplishments came when the public health committee report was requested, and no work could be reported. The committee was then assigned the focus of venereal prophylaxis, and Lavinia Dock became a member. The committee’s charge was to report on legislation and the enforcement of existing laws to prevent prostitution and limit the spread of venereal disease, to recommend professional literature for nurses and
literature for teaching mothers and children, to recommend courses on prevention for training schools, and to promote similar committees in state societies and alumnae associations.

The delegates continued their ongoing discussion about reorganization and instituted new committees to meet the needs of those requiring educational preparation and appropriate health care. Dock was now willing to give up the alumnae associations as the organizing structure and accept state associations. She believed that state laws would "set the standard" in the future and not the alumnae associations. The Associated Alumnae was moving closer to accepting state representation. Influenced by discussions and papers, the delegates created three new committees. One committee was to develop plans for a course to prepare district nurses. The other committees were to focus on the care of those with tuberculosis and of the insane.¹⁹

Lavinia sailed to England for the International Congress of Nurses from July 19 to 23, 1909, and as usual she was a guest in Ethel Fenwick's home when she came to London. This was the tenth anniversary of the International Council of Nurses. Dock had nothing but praise for the Congress. She was certainly among friends, Agnes Karll, Anna Hamilton, Isla Stewart, Isabel Robb, and Annie Goodrich were among the delegates. Seventeen countries were represented with delegates or visitors from the continent, Cuba, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The surroundings were grand, and all entered the Church House, Westminster to organ music on the first
day. Ethel Fenwick gave the welcoming address, and she and Isla Stewart were made honorary members of the American Federation of Nurses. Then the four councils of Holland, Finland, Canada, and Denmark were received as affiliation members. In the elections, Margaret Breay and Lavinia Dock were reelected as treasurer and secretary, and Agnes Karll was elected president. Karll, the new president, invited the Council to Cologne in 1912, to "help German progress," and this was appealing because the delegates and visitors could make a trip to nearby Kaiserwerth. Resolutions were the next order of business. The first resolution proposed by Isabel Robb was in support of registration and passed unanimously. J. C. Van Lanschot Hubrecht from Holland proposed a resolution in support of the rights of citizenship. A message of endorsement came from Adelaide Nutting, who stated that "I am glad to say, personally, how heartily I support Resolutions in favour of the enfranchise of women." The vote was thirty-eight for, two against, and two abstentions; the two negative votes were from the United States. The business meeting of the Council ended with a luncheon set among gardens filled with flowers and music. And Dock was able to describe the day as full "of serious interest, picturesque ceremonial, and unity of feeling . . . the like of which we have never had."

The Congress included four days of papers, receptions, and a banquet. Isabel Robb gave one of the papers on education entitled, "An International Educational Standard for Nurses." Later a standing educational committee was formed with Isabel Robb as the
chairwoman. After the Congress, the executive committee of the Council and Robb developed the educational committee's structure and focus. Lavinia Dock presented the second of three papers on the topic of morality and health. In her paper, "The Need of Education on Matters of Social Morality," Dock advocated the present campaign of public education for prevention and thought nurses needed to know "everything there is to know" about venereal diseases. She spoke specifically against the double standard and prostitution. Ethel Fenwick considered these three papers noteworthy, because in England the nursing profession became "the first to break down in public conference the conspiracy of silence in regard to the venereal diseases, and to direct public attention to the need for an active campaign against them." The Congress passed a resolution that each member association establish a standing committee on morality and public health with a focus to determine the influence of national and local laws on immorality, to recommend educational literature for nurses, to communicate with "national societies of moral prophylaxis," and to urge instruction of nurses on this subject. Dock had proposed the resolution, and Robb had seconded it. Later in her report, Dock described this set of papers as "terribly earnest." To Lavinia Dock the London Congress was "the most successful and inspiring." Always ready to promote the International Council of Nurses, Dock gave a paper, "The International Congress in London," to the New York State Nurses Association during the annual convention of that group in New York City on October 19 to 20, 1909.20
Lavinia Dock showed much interest in the social hygiene movement. She had referred to education and prevention in her paper before the Nurses' Associated Alumnae convention in 1907, and she had given a paper on the topic to the International Congress. Her interest in this topic may have been stimulated by hearing a physician, G. Morgan Muren, give a paper, "Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis," at the New York State Nurses' Association meeting on November 20, 1906. At this meeting, Dock had given a paper, "Ideas of a Graduate Nurse," and Sophia Palmer's paper, "State Board of Nurse Examiners," was read by another person. In December, 1906, Dock reviewed very positively Social Diseases and Marriage by Prince A. Morrow, the social hygiene leader, for the magazine, Charities and the Commons. In early 1907, the American Journal of Nursing included its first papers on the topic, Muren's paper presented the previous November and a lecture by Marion Potter on venereal prophylaxis. Thus, when she returned home from England in 1909, Dock was ready to inform journal readers that she was "preparing a manual for nurses on venereal diseases" that would include the medical, moral, social, and legal facts on the subject. Nurses added the campaign against venereal disease to that of tuberculosis, because they believed that education could change behavior and prevent the spread of these conditions.

In the middle of May 1910, Lavinia Dock attended the national conventions meeting in New York City. In addition to the papers for both conventions, the organizations were concerned with the reports
of their established committees from education to reorganization to public health. But the first order of business for the Society of Superintendents and later the Associated Alumnae was to recognize the death of Isabel Hampton Robb at the age of 50 in a streetcar accident in Cleveland, Ohio, in April. Dock was chairwoman of the committee to prepare a resolution of grief to be sent to the family. She was also responsible for preparing a resolution of sympathy for the death of Isla Stewart, who had helped found the International Council of Nurses. The Society and the Associated Alumnae joined to create the Isabel Hampton Robb Memorial Fund to provide scholarships for nurses in post-graduate courses such as the one at Teachers College. Lavinia Dock and Adelaide Nutting were made members of the memorial fund committee. At the Associated Alumnae meeting, while Adelaide Nutting remembered Isabel Hampton, she remarked that "Miss Dock helped plan what Mrs. Robb was trying to bring about." In a happier sense of remembrance, the nurses sent cable greetings to Florence Nightingale on the "celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of her founding the first training school" in London. An exhibit of Florence Nightingale's writings and artifacts and articles about her was arranged at Teachers College for viewing. Commemorative exercises to honor Nightingale were held one evening in Carnegie hall. Later in the year, Florence Nightingale would die at the age of ninety.

Lavinia had completed her committee work, but she expressed concerns for the structure and relationships of the Associated
Alumnae. The chairwoman of the public health committee had to report that Lavinia Dock and Caroline Hedger, a nurse and a physician, had done all the committee work. Based on the objectives for the committee, Dock had sent letters to superintendents of training schools and hospitals requesting them to engage a teacher to give instruction on venereal diseases to their nurses. She provided lists of educational literature that she and Hedger had developed. Dock also carried out the work of the International Council by writing to the member countries to establish committees for moral prophylaxis, that is, morally oriented sex education. She then turned to the work of the almshouse committee and reported that it had carried out the instructions from the last convention. Standing committees were ready or promised in the state associations to affiliate with the Federation of Women's Clubs when they were ready. Many of the tuberculosis societies had responded and were beginning or had been engaged in work in the almshouses. Lastly, she reported on the International Congress and told the Association that "on the resolution about granting the franchise to women, I am sorry to say, I had to apologize to every one in every direction that I turned. I almost wished sometimes that I could go and hide my head under the table, I got so tired of apologizing for you, but I had to do it. I had to say, 'the American nurses are not well awake on this question; they do not know what it means. They have voted in the negative there.'"
During the discussion on reorganization, Dock was concerned only that the Associated Alumnae "widen our affiliations, still further to affiliate all sorts of other groups of nursing societies, if they are not yet affiliated." In respect to membership, her remarks following a paper on ethics revealed her concern for relationships within the profession. Like many progressives, Dock opposed racial prejudice, but when she spoke about the issue of race, no one replied at the meeting.

... I want to say that I hope that this association of nurses will never get to the point where it draws the color line against our negro sister nurses, who are our sisters of the human race and are our coworkers in our profession. In the early days, when we were small, this line was never drawn. I often used to say to other people, "There is one association that has never drawn the color line, and that is the nurses." Now as we get bigger and are spreading all over the country I have seen evidences that made me think that this cruel and unchristian and unethical prejudice might creep in here in our association. We should on no account follow the cruel prejudices of men, whose tendency is toward destructiveness. Woman's place is to show how the world can be made a sweeter and pleasanter place; and I do hope that in this one human problem, in dealing with the question of the negro race in America, that there, especially, we nurses will exercise and simply practise that one simple rule, to treat them as we would like to be treated ourselves.24

Did this belief influence Lavinia Dock to invite the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses to send representatives to the International Council of Nurses' meeting in 1912? Their attendance would give them equal status with other nurses in the international meeting.
By the time of the nursing conventions, Dock's text on venereal disease must have been ready for publication, since it was reviewed in September. At the same time, events in New York focused the debate on prevention and control of venereal disease. In June, the leaders of the social hygiene movement formed the American Federation for Sex Hygiene with Prince A. Morrow as president and with education of the public to the dangers of venereal disease as their main concern. Also, the New York legislature prepared the Page bill to control prostitution and the resulting threat of venereal disease. In the same period, a grand jury reported on the white slave trade in the United States. Lavinia added her book and voice to the debate in the social hygiene movement. The book was a text for nurses on the treatment of disease, and she advocated prevention of prostitution through sex education, social reforms in living and working conditions of women, and elimination of the white slave trade. She advocated the feminist position of opposition to the male double standard and the regulation of prostitution. If prostitution were regulated then women were singled out for punishment and men were not made responsible for their behavior. Of course she championed woman suffrage for the purpose of giving women a voice in legislation to promote social reforms.\textsuperscript{25}

The book review of \textit{Hygiene and Morality} in the \textit{American Journal of Nursing} was lengthy and positive, and the book was accepted by the professional and lay press and by readers. The journal reviewer declared that "[i]t is indeed a hopeful sign for any
cause when Miss Dock makes herself its champion. We have learned to look for her in the forefront of battle, and in a righteous cause she yields to none; there is, therefore, a new inspiration, and a fresh stimulus to the discouraged and the weary, to find her taking the field in the warfare against the greatest social disgrace of civilization. Miss Dock makes no overtures for compromise; . . . it is . . . a call to the whole nursing profession to join themselves to a cause too long neglected." Other reviewers considered the book a resource for parents and a textbook for colleges and schools of philanthropy. Still others believed that it would be a stimulus for social reform. One reader thought "there ought to be a copy in every family" and each school teacher should have one. This reader grouped Dock among those women who would "release us from our shackles." Another reader found the book "interesting and instructive" and sought literature for the instruction of children. Adelaide Nutting called the book "brave" and "wise" and noted that the proceeds went to the woman "suffrage cause." Many years later, when Isabel Stewart wanted to have some of Lavinia Dock's early works reprinted, Dock commented on this little book as "quite useless. I made a great mistake in it by writing in connection with European countries and kidnapped girls, that nearly all the girls died. This was quite erroneous and was so shown up by a book written on the subject by a well known M. D. or social worker of that day." Her book was well documented and read by others before publication, but
she was able to admit that she had been in error about at least a part of her subject.  

Beginning in 1910, Sophia Palmer, editor of the journal, used information from Dock, as an authority, to oppose the Page bill. Dock was a member of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis and considered a leader in the opposition to the bill. The New York State Nurses' Association joined other women's groups in opposition to the portion of the bill that established a court to retain prostitutes. Dock was involved in at least two activities of opposition to the law. In September, she accompanied Edith Hooker, president of the Just Government League of Baltimore, and Mary Allan, a New York lawyer, to the night court for women. They stood outside the court, and Hooker "announced plans to appeal to the suffragists and women's organizations around the country." In October, at a meeting of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, the women prevented adjournment when they had not been given an opportunity to speak on the law. Lavinia Dock was one of the speakers and declared the law an "attempt to fasten state regulated prostitution on this country." By September, 1911, the journal editor reported that the night court portion of the law was declared unconstitutional.

"I am going to get myself a vote."

When her book, *Hygiene and Morality*, was perhaps near completion, Lavinia Dock intended to turn her attention to woman
suffrage. She wrote Adelaide Nutting about her plans. She seems to be declaring her own freedom, at least for a time.

... Now dear Professor, do not hold forth any tempting jobs - I am arranging my life plan on a consistent frame - I will tell you what it is, so as not to seem plain disoblige when I refuse small jobs - From now on I intend to take more & more time away from nursing affairs & devote it to Suffrage - At present I have 3 nursing jobs (outside of Journal which I do not count) International, Almshouse Committee, Venereal Propaganda Com - I cannot & will not take on even the smallest nursing job in addition - As soon as I can I will shift off the two committees, & for the international, it has been my hope & plan to provide for that even a little steady income by sale of 3rd vol - That accomplished & paid clerical work made possible, I shall withdraw from the routine writing, desk work of that (my friendly correspondence on the Internat ought to be much better attended to than I now can do) and I shall then give all my time except for these fragments to Suffrage -

The ballot gained, I shall let everything else go after being wound up & I shall join the Socialist party & work for nothing else - So you see in refusing all & every sundry job I am simply carrying out a harmonious plan - You must look about for some other good men & true to stand by - Sorry, but it can't be did! Shall hope to see you soon - The Industrial Revolution is my Goal.28

Sometime later after writing to Adelaide Nutting, Dock decided to resign as chairwoman of the almshouse committee of the Associated Alumnae. In September 1910, in her last report on the committee, she addressed her reasons for resignation to the professional community of nurses. She thought the committee had completed its work, and she made suggestions that nurses could implement in their areas. Then Dock ended her report by stating that she was retiring from the committee.
... my reason is that, becoming daily and hourly more convinced of the underlying and primary need of the vote in order to enable women to claim the right to do their own work in their own way, I am daily more unable to feel that it is worth while attempting to push one's way along lines of prevention of misery and illness without having it. Therefore, just as the good nurse, before attempting to give the patient a bath, goes and brings basin, water, towels, and soap, leaving him for that brief period in his dirt and discomfort, so I am going to get myself a vote before I try to push politicians out of almshouses, or any of the other places where they are now securely intrenched. Let those who are not yet adherents of political equality do the ameliorative and palliative work;--as for me, I am sick of wasting time and strength on such confused issues. In resolving, for the future, to drop all and every other detail of work save only the International Council and JOURNAL, and to devote time and energy to the cause of the enfranchisement of women, I feel that I am doing the best of which I am capable for the nursing profession, which I see in its full relation to the woman movement and to humanitarian advance; for the sick in institutions; and for the prevention of illness and the development of health nursing in the future.  

Lavinia Dock was fifty-two years old, and she had spent seventeen years involved in organizing and supporting the work of the two American nursing organizations. She withdrew from the Society of Superintendents in 1911, but her friends made her an "active life member" in recognition of her "long and invaluable service." Dock had decided that she must act to commit herself to the important issue of woman suffrage, so women could take their place as full responsible citizens. She was serious in her endeavors to persuade nurses and to influence the residents on the lower East Side. She was assembly district leader for assembly district two, Manhattan Borough that included the Henry Street Settlement. She
informed the readers of the suffrage paper, *The Woman Voter*, that the foreign born citizens "devote much space" to the question in their newspapers and the women discuss the issue. Dock must have been well known for her suffrage activities in the area by 1911, for when another worker tried to enroll some young men as suffrage supporters, she found them "well instructed" and "strong suffragists." "One young man, when asked to enroll, replied: 'I don't have to I know Miss Dock.' 'That means a whole lot,' said his companion."30

Lavinia Dock continued to enlist the support of nurses, she took steps to prevent a repeat of a negative vote on suffrage from the American delegates to the International Congress meeting in Cologne in 1912. In 1911, through the journal, she asked the state associations to prepare their delegates and "give explicit instructions" to vote on important resolutions at the American Nurses' Association convention. The convention results would provide instruction for the delegates representing the United States at the congress. The resolutions focused on state care of elderly and invalid nurses, support of state registration and improved educational standards, and "'Votes for Women.'" She urged careful attention to this business, so that "there shall be clear and definite understanding." She did not want a repeat of 1909, when all the delegates to the convention had not been instructed by their local associations. By April 1912, she informed readers that she had
contacted each society stressing the importance of the delegates coming prepared to vote on suffrage.

Then in May, along with her continuous reports on the suffrage activities in England, Dock included in her journal department that the "National Council of Nurses of Great Britain and Ireland has unanimously instructed its four delegates to vote for the resolution on the enfranchisement of women, and, of course, for state registration. Of these two points, so closely linked, we must note that six nurses are among the martyrs now suffering imprisonment and hard labor in the cause of setting women free, and that the Nurses' Registration Bill has been again introduced into the House of Commons." Also in May, at a suffrage meeting, she spoke on "Suffrage and Trained Nurses."31

The American nursing organizations met in consecutive conventions in June and began with addresses that focused attention on suffrage. In the discussion on delegates to represent the American organizations at the International Congress, Annie Goodrich reminded the Associated Alumnae of Lavinia Dock's request.

. . . We have a member who is internationally known, Miss Dock. We have a secretary, an international secretary; she is not our secretary, she is a world secretary of nursing and professional nursing, and that is Miss Dock. Miss Dock has the interests of nurses very much at heart, but she has another interest very much more at heart and that is the interest of her sex; she has asked that the association send over their recommendations concerning suffrage by these four delegates. Shall we vote for suffrage or shall we vote against equal suffrage? That is the question. I would like to make a motion
that the association put itself on record as in favor of women suffrage.

Sophia Palmer requested the "privilege and the honor of seconding the motion." Jane Delano did not want any delegate to be "embarrassed" by having to vote contrary to her convictions in favor of suffrage. Isabel McIsaac added her support when she declared, "We cannot possibly let it go negatively this time. How in the world will we ever face Miss Dock if we do?" Even though Lavinia was not at the meeting, her presence was felt. After some discussion, the delegates voted in the affirmative on woman suffrage.32

Lavinia Dock returned to Europe for the International Congress in Cologne, Germany, on August 5 to 7, 1912. In 1909, the International Council had changed the frequency of congresses to triennial meetings. About a thousand nurses and others from twenty-three countries attended including nurses from Japan, Russia, India, South Africa, Turkey, Australia, and New Zealand. Dock considered the congress "a brilliant and important occasion, bringing surprise and joy even to those who have come to expect great things from the international meetings, and causing real ecstasy among those whose first visit to such a gathering it has been. Even the most self-effacing nurse has realized with surprise and gratification that our world-association is an important one and our world-meetings of consequence to the countries where they occur." The city provided "art, music, legend, poetry, and history" to the visitor. The congress received "official notice" when the German Foreign Office sent programs to all the countries requesting
delegates. However, Belgium was the only country to send two official paid government delegates. The women and officials of the city were involved in making the congress memorable. The women of Cologne took the responsibility for preparing the program and reception for the congress members. The city officials made the art collections and museums free to those at the congress, and the exhibits on nursing and health were opened on Saturday for all to visit. The reception on Sunday was in an ornate fifteenth century banquet hall, where the members of the congress were entertained by a "tableaux of living pictures" representing historical nursing figures accompanied by music. All were so impressed that the portrayal was repeated on Wednesday evening.

On Monday, Agnes Karll, president of the International Council of Nurses, gave the opening address for the business meeting of the council in the great banquet hall. India and New Zealand were received into membership. Then Karll followed with a memorial speech for the five members and Florence Nightingale who had died since the meeting in London. The remainder of the meeting was occupied with the regular business of the council. Dock reported that the California Nurses' Association and the President and Director of the Panama-Pacific Exposition had invited the International Council to meet in San Francisco in 1915. Annie Goodrich, who was not in attendance, was elected president, Lavinia Dock and Margaret Breay were reelected, and Agnes Karll was invited to be an honorary president. Dock put forth the resolution in support
of registration and the resolution in support of woman suffrage. Adelaide Nutting, one of the American delegates, seconded the suffrage motion. Both resolutions passed unanimously. The suffrage resolution rested formally on the beliefs of equality and brotherhood.

In the belief that the highest purposes of civilization and the truest blessings to the race can only be attained by the equal and united labors of men and women possessing equal and unabridged political powers, we declare our adherence to the principle of woman suffrage and regard the suffrage movement as a great moral movement making for the conquest of misery, preventable illness, and vice, and as strengthening a feeling of human brotherhood.

The concluding business consisted of reports. The committee on nursing education with the assistance of Karl I and Dock had conducted an inquiry into preliminary education that resulted in several supporting conclusions. Nutting, who was now professor of the department of nursing and health at Teachers College, was elected as chairwoman of the committee on nursing education to succeed Isabel Robb. The rest of the afternoon was given to reports on organization and registration from various countries.

The congress sessions were held on Tuesday and Wednesday followed by a banquet and a pilgrimage to Kaiserswerth. Adelaide Nutting and Ysabella Waters of the Nurses' Settlement gave a paper on social work and the nurse, and Nutting presided at a session of papers. Several papers were related to the topic of the nurse and social services. A paper by H. Hecker, a physician, on overstrain and
exhaustion of nurses was considered the most important and was reprinted in pamphlet form. The congress ended with a banquet in a gold and white ballroom adorned with roses and filled with music. During the banquet, Ethel Fenwick suggested that the International Council found a Florence Nightingale educational memorial. The next day, over 300 of the congress members including Dock went by steamer up the Rhine to visit Kaiserswerth where the Fliedners had started the modern deaconess movement and Florence Nightingale came briefly to study. Dock was making a return visit to a place that sparked the idea for writing a history of nursing so many years before. And from Cologne, she sent greetings from Agnes Karll and herself to Fenwick and the National Council of Trained Nurses of Great Britain and Ireland. She thanked them for their support of the congress and Agnes Karll and hoped "that these few words may assure your members that their labours were not in vain, but had much to do with the gratifying success of our meetings."

At some point after the congress, Dock went to London, perhaps to visit Ethel Fenwick, since she was a welcome visitor in the Fenwick home. For whatever reason, she was in London, Dock spent time selling the suffragette paper, "Votes for Women" in a loud voice on the street in Piccadilly. Her sympathy was with the British suffrage cause. However, it is unlikely that Dock was in contact with Emmeline Pankhurst, the suffrage militant, who was abroad during August and September and did not plan to return to London until October, and Christabel Pankhurst was in Paris. Dock
was acquainted with Sylvia Pankhurst, for she and Harriot Stanton Blatch had welcomed her at the ship dock in New York harbor in January 1911. It is not clear that Dock met any of the Pankhursts in England at this time.\textsuperscript{34}

When Lavinia Dock left for the International Congress, the last two volumes of the history of nursing were at the printers and probably in production in the summer of 1912. In the spring of 1910, she had told journal readers that the third volume was "well under way," before she became involved in preparing the book on social hygiene. Then she spent the summer of 1911, at home in Fayetteville planning to send the text to the publisher in the fall. She told suffrage workers that it was "hard luck destiny for me to have to leave the suffrage work for so long just as I thought I had gotten everything else pushed off." The text was not ready until the next spring, and Dock was back at her suffrage activities. In March, she presided at a district meeting where a resolution was sent to the borough assemblymen demanding a constitutional amendment on suffrage. Dock had served as writer and editor of these last volumes that covered present day nursing around the world based on contributions of material from nurses in other countries.

Dock attributed her success in preparing the last volumes of the history to the "unfailing co-operation" based on "international friendship and comradery grown from the International Council of Nurses." She believed that some of the data for the book was "too truthful to be published at present," so she put it in a "strong box"
and placed "it in the Library of the International Council of Nurses in London" for access after the present generation was dead. She explained that in writing a history of "living persons the background is often too close for us to get the right perspective, and living persons cannot be discussed as impersonally as those who have passed and gone." She paid admiring tribute to Isabel Hampton Robb for her leadership, and she identified many others for their contributions. Once again Dock gave up her financial profit in a book for the benefit of a cause that interested her. She made the third and fourth volumes of the history the property of the International Council of Nurses so that all royalties were for the work of that organization.\textsuperscript{35}

In a letter after the Cologne congress, Lavinia Dock told Adelaide Nutting about her work for the International Council and her hopes for the sale of the last two volumes of the nursing history.

\ldots At present we have in the ICN just enough cash to print our report.

I will frankly say that I have no intention of devoting all or even the largest part of my time to Internat work- I shall leave some of these things for the day when we have a paid secretary- Just the ordinary correspondence of it takes a very considerable share of my time- & I look forward to the sale of the History to enable us someday to pay an executive secretary. I think in doing that & in bearing all my own expenses in its service I am doing my full share & some of these other things will have to wait-\ldots\textsuperscript{36}

Three years later, Adelaide Nutting commented on the purpose of the last two volumes and who was missing from the pages.
The last two volumes of the History of Nursing are of particular interest to the present generation of nurses, for they show the steps, slow and often painful, through which the modern profession of nursing has grown to its present status, since, that is, that system of training was established by Miss Nightingale out of which it was possible for a profession to arise. These two final volumes of the History devote generous space to those nurses who have labored in their several ways and places to the upbuilding of our profession, and the list is long. It has, however, a serious omission in the lack of any reference whatsoever to one of the most able, devoted and loyal women who have ever entered the ranks of nursing in any country. I speak of Lavinia L. Dock, Honorary Secretary of the International Council of Nurses and Member of the Henry Street Nurses Settlement. It is partly because Miss Dock is the editor of these two last volumes of the History that all reference to her is so carefully excluded from its pages, but it is also partly because she has a positive genius for self-effacement in such ways. An exhaustive search through the history reveals one single reference to one who for at least a quarter of a century has worked with unceasing energy and zeal by pen, voice and personal effort for the improvement of nursing in all of its aspects.

Lavinia took credit for only one contribution to nursing when she indicated that a "Bellevue nurse had the temerity to write the first handbook for nurses on Materia Medica."37

Lavinia Dock's civic involvement appeared more intense after her return from Europe in 1912. The history of nursing was complete and waiting for the acceptance of nurses. She was definite in her letter to Adelaide Nutting that suffrage came even before some work for the International Council of Nurses. Dock spoke to groups, held street meetings, and took part in additional marches for suffrage beyond those held once a year in New York City. In October and November, she spoke at four street meetings held individually
for the Irish and the Italians on the East Side. She prepared a banner inscribed "Democratic Plank Refers Woman Suffrage to Voters in 1915" for the street meetings. For the banner, she used green cloth instead of the usual yellow for suffrage in order not to offend the Irish of the district. Often the Irish men took off their hats when the women and the banner passed. Women patrolled the streets weekly carrying the 1915 banner, and women distributed Jewish, Italian, and Irish literature at times when the people would be on the streets. For election day, Dock had prepared and carried through the streets of the second district a banner inscribed "Votes for Women." Isabel Stewart remembered being taken to an open air meeting by Docky, where she and other women "talked suffrage" on their soap boxes to the crowd of mostly working men. "They got a good hand because Miss Dock and others sympathized with the labor groups which were then fighting against long hours, sweated labor, and bad working conditions." She spoke on suffrage to the various women's clubs of the settlement that gathered at Henry Street. Much of Lavinia's suffrage activity occurred on the lower East Side among the immigrant and working poor. Her efforts do not support the usual view that middle-class women did not support suffrage for immigrants, blacks, or those in the slums. Of course the experiences of the nurses in the settlement influenced them to support reform for those they considered neighbors and not just for themselves. Lavinia Dock considered the vote not only a right but a means to correct the ills of many conditions.
Suffrage parades were becoming common in cities, so variations were devised to draw attention to the cause. A group of women decided to make a pilgrimage the 170 miles from New York City to Albany on foot to convey a written message to the governor-elect that they hoped "his administration may be distinguished by the speedy passage of the woman's suffrage amendment." The leader was Rosalie Jones, her assistant was Ida Craft, and Lavinia Dock was the group's "official Red-Cross corp." They left the city on December 16, 1912, with knap-sacks bearing the words "Votes for Women" and hickory staffs tied with "squares of chocolate to sustain them." Their plan was to sway the people in the small towns and rural areas to suffrage. Moving pictures were taken as they marched out of the city. They walked in sun, rain, snow, and ice, and Dock was one of the five who walked all the way. They arrived on December 28, and were escorted by crowds through the streets of Albany to a hotel. Receptions and meetings were held, and Jones did see the governor-elect later. As for Dock, she was the oldest on the hike and the "bravest since she had some blisters to deal with rather worse than the others. She faithfully carried her message in the more intimate, personal appeals by the way and was the well-beloved of all."39

A second pilgrimage from New York to Washington D. C. with participants from other states was planned by Jones. This group would then join the suffrage parade on March 3, 1913, the day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration. Dock's involvement in this second
march has caused considerable confusion. It seems that she participated in the preparations, but she did not march. Lavinia Dock acquired the name Little "Doc" Dock from her previous hike to Albany. She let it be known that she would "not be able to be in attendance all the way to Washington," so pilgrims were advised to carry certain first aid items, absorbent cotton, adhesive plaster and roll of gauze." She also advised "large soft leather shoes with rubber heels" and "woolen stockings." The marchers were to leave on February 12, 1913. A picture of Lavinia Dock with three other women dressed in their hooded brown cloaks and carrying knapsacks and staffs was taken on February 6, 1913. On February 11, many of the participants including Dock rode a bus around New York City, posed for pictures on the steps of a church, and handed out leaflets advertising Jane Addams' speech in Carnegie Hall on the seventeenth. Lavinia Dock is not listed among the marchers on the first day or on any of the other days in the newspaper articles. Marchers did drop in and out of the hike, and since Dock was well known from the previous hike, the press would have listed her. The other three women in the picture did march. Dock may have decided against the pilgrimage based on her previous experience of a difficult hike. Another explanation is that she was a member of the committee to plan the nurses' section of the suffrage parade in Washington, and she needed to be there in advance of the date.

On March 3, 1913, 5000 women marched in a rainbow parade in Washington that was planned by Alice Paul of the Congressional
Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The committee members to organize the nurses' section were Lavinia Dock, Estelle Wheeler, Isabel McIsaac, Jane Delano, Georgia Nevins, Reba Taylor, and Lily Kanely. The program for the procession indicated Lillian Wald as the leader of the nurses' section. Isabel McIsaac described the experience for the readers of the American Journal of Nursing. The nurses' section included about forty nurses under a Florence Nightingale banner, but other nurses marched in their state suffrage leagues. They wore light gray capes with red at the neck and soft gray turbans and marched between the homemakers in lavender and the college women in academic caps and gowns. There were long periods of waiting to move, because the "head of the procession was being hemmed in and buffeted by a seething, restless, jeering multitude" under the watch of an "indifferent" and "incompetent" police force. McIsaac said that they stood "with an outward show of courage and an inward tremor of fear and righteous wrath against those who were responsible for the disorder." She thought the "nursing section fared better than many others, perhaps because even the worst of men can recall having been nursed by some one." The cavalry from Fort Meyer arrived, pushed the edge of the crowd back, and opened "'up a way for us to escape." They appreciated the work of the trained horsemen. But the experience stiffened their resolve. "'We knew that we had tried to be a small part of what should have been an imposing spectacle of thousands of good women, intent only upon making a dignified appeal, and that we
came away astounded at what had been revealed, but more than ever determined to be working parts of the great struggle--world without end."41

On March 21, 1913, Lavinia Dock sent the new President a handwritten letter under the letterhead of the International Council of Nurses. She is questioning whether Wilson's statements on liberty in his book The New Freedom apply only to men. The suffragists use his statements on freedom as a focus for attack in their suffrage campaign.

As a nurse with 25 years of professional & social work, all of which has impressed me with the need women have of the ballot in order to be able to do our own work as it ought to be done- I write to plead personally with you- to ask you to recommend a woman suffrage amendment to Congress in your special message-

It seems incredible that any other question should appear of more urgent importance than the enfranchisement of one-half the People!

Can it be true that the splendid sentiments expressed in your last book- refer solely to Men?42

Lavinia Dock helped organize the neighbors of the lower East Side to take part in the suffrage parades, but she also had a part in their support of suffrage. Lillian Wald recognized her work among the immigrants in 1913. "The conviction that the extension of democracy should include women had found free expression in our part of the city, and Miss L. L. Dock . . . has mobilized Russians, Italians, Irish, and native-born, all the nationalities of our cosmopolitan community, for the campaign. When the suffrage parade marched down Fifth Avenue in 1913, back of the settlement
banner, with its symbol of universal brotherhood, there walked a
goodly company carrying flags with the suffrage demand in ten
languages." The women of the community responded to the suffrage
influence and were able to use the soap box and "appeal for the
franchise" to groups of "laboring men."  

Suffrage activities consumed most of her time, but in late
June, Lavinia Dock gave her last and important paper before a
nursing convention in Atlantic City. The American Nurses'
Association met jointly with the National League of Nursing
Education, the former Society of Superintendents, and the National
Organization for Public Health Nursing, which met for the first time.
Lillian Wald was president of the new public health organization.
Dock spoke on the "Status of the Nurse in the Working World," and
changed the title to "The Relation of the Nurse to the Working
World." She asked nurses to give their understanding to other women
workers in their need for education, shorter hours of work, and
better wages. She asked for support for those in the labor
movement, because the needs were similar between both groups.
Dock stated in this paper that she had collected data for Josephine
Goldmark's book, *Fatigue and Efficiency*, a study of "overstrain in
the world of work," that is, the effects of long working hours.

... as her status in the world of work is assuredly one of
unceasing change, growth, development. But as to her relative
position to other workers in the world of work, it seems to me
there is something for us all to study with some seriousness.
That the nurse is a worker no one can deny. However high
professionally she may build her career, however distinguished
and noble she may make it . . . , she is still closely related to
the world of workers whom we may call toilers . . .

. . . A vast field of human work and striving with which
we are closely, though unknowingly, related, is the field of
trades unionism. I remember well when my own ignorance of
what the labor movement was and what it meant to humanity
was profound and illimitable. . . . Life in the Settlement gave
me the opportunity to learn what the labor movement was,
with its yearning aspirations for a higher life and its
boundless heroism and self-sacrifice, and left me without a
doubt that it was within that movement Jesus of Nazareth
taught two thousand years ago. Because we have not
understood it, we and our professional brothers, the doctors,
have fallen into a way of assuming a tone of superiority and
aloofness which are funny examples of little human pride. Do
let us learn to see that the trade unions are for workers the
same that our organizations are for us--bonds of brotherhood
and protection, designed for mutual aid, conference,
stimulation and uplift. . . . now that women and young girls
down to fifteen years of age are in industry by the millions,
and are also forming their protective and upreaching
organizations, we are able to see that this movement is just
another variant of our own.

. . . We are morally and honorably bound to do nothing that
 crushes it down and makes its struggle harder, and we should
be glad and thankful to do everything we can to help it upward
and onward. . . .

. . . The struggle for the shorter working day is the
struggle to live --to be a human being--to have a soul. It is
this struggle we must learn to comprehend, for we have a
relation, to it that we do not now understand and there is a
claim upon us which we are not fulfilling when we oppose
legislation to limit the hours of work in hospitals. . . .

Society is not benefited by the presence of a poorly paid
working class, nor by the ministrations of underpaid nurses,
for the underpaid worker is liable at any moment to become a
dependent, even a public charge, while from the standpoint of
public health no class that is habitually overworked and
underpaid ever shows a good grade of general healthfulness. . . .
You will hardly expect me to open my mouth without speaking of suffrage, and I do want to say most seriously that, in the world of work, the three needs of workers--education, shorter hours and a living wage--are terribly precarious, terribly uncertain, unstable and insecure unless protected well and firmly by legislation which is steadily and uniformly enforced by proper inspection and suitable penalties. And I should like to ask you to answer candidly this question. How likely is it that workers can secure such legislation and enforcement without the ballot? They are then a negligible quantity in the eyes of law-makers, and find a powerful body of employers armed with political power opposed to them. For the sake of the working woman, whose foothold is less secure than ours, no nurse should be opposed to enfranchisement for women. . . .

. . . If we are exclusive and shut our minds to all except "professional" subjects, we shall become one-sided specialists and in time lose our usefulness. . . . If we acknowledge our relation to the working world, and fulfill the obligation that this relation brings, we shall live and become ever more useful and respected.

Dock was asking her professional colleagues, just as she had in 1907, to understand, to support, to give one's sympathy to others. She asked them not to live in their own narrow world but to consider others whose lives were harder and not to put self-interest before the benefits to all. As always, she asked nurses to not look inward to narrow professional interests but to look outward to a world that needed their involvement. Many years later, one of the nurses at the convention remembered seeing "a very determined little lady with a hat on one side and a large yellow ribbon across her front with 'Votes for Women' in large letters coming down the staircase. She had seen "[t]hat most dear, courageous, grand old warrior, Lavinia Dock!"44
Lavinia Dock's concerns in her paper were influenced by many experiences. She and Adelaide Nutting had been very interested in the study on overstrain given at the International Congress in 1912, and she had assisted in data collection for Goldmark's study on the same topic. Since the 1890s, many nurse educators had been interested in limiting the hours of work for the pupil nurse to an eight-hour day. It had been a topic for discussion and committee work in the Society of Superintendents. By 1911, the California legislature had passed an eight-hour law for women and by the spring of 1913, had passed an eight-hour law for student nurses. There was considerable opposition from the hospitals, physicians, superintendents of nursing schools, and some nurses. The nurses saw the law as an attack on professionalism and support for trade unions. Dock and Nutting held different views from the opponents of the law. In a published letter, Nutting considered the law a protection for pupils and workers and not a lowering of "the status of nursing." Dock advised the nurses "to stand together solidly and resist the dictation of the medical profession in this as in all things." She encouraged nurses to "make alliance with the labor vote" if necessary.45

Lavinia Dock wanted her words to persuade nurses not only for their own benefit, but for the benefit of those workers who did the less than desirable jobs in hospitals. These individuals needed "shorter hours and a living wage" in order to reduce the drudgery of their lives. She knew the struggle against long hours and sweated
labor by workers on the lower East Side. In the winter of 1909 and 1910, the members of the Nurses' Settlement and the Women's Trade Union League had supported the young shirtwaist strikers by picketing, fund-raising, and watching the police. Later when the cloak makers, who were mostly male, struck, Lillian Wald and Lavinia Dock distributed the funds from Jacob Schiff for the strikers' needs. And early in 1913, women garment makers had struck again. Certainly in Dock's mind, the struggles of these workers were always present as an example together with other workers who needed support to improve their working conditions. Dock had asked nurses at least not to impede the improvement of other workers' lives.46

After the convention, Lavinia gave her attention again to suffrage. Her letter describing her involvement was published in the British Journal of Nursing.

... I am passing through a period that seems actually like a sort of intoxication- over the work for woman suffrage. The things that are happening are so wonderful- so engrossing and absorbing- that I have to be candid and say everything else seems shadowy and dreamlike. Do what I will I can't make anything else seem really important just now- I only live for the work of meetings, propaganda, headquarters, and the reading of suffrage news. Its the most fascinating, most exhilarating work I ever did. Our glorious victory in Illinois- then Norway, and the prospects for the next two years- Well! Some nurses wonder at my slighting my own profession these days- but I feel I am doing the best in my power for it is helping ever so little with the suffrage work. Such other services as I would have it in my power to give for nursing
would not do it as much good as the services I am giving in this other direction.47

In August 1913, Lavinia Dock sent another letter to President Wilson. She was not seeking suffrage for women, but she was concerned for justice for another group. This letter is an example of her concern for workers, for minority groups, and for the nation. Her efforts may not have produced satisfactory results; but based on her beliefs, Dock had to make her concerns for justice known.

As a lover of justice, and as a citizen jealous for the honor of my country, I feel I must protest with all possible earnestness against the segregation of colored employees in the government departments of Washington. It is humiliation and disgrace which these loyal, American born citizens have done nothing to deserve, but leaving them out of the question, I think we may feel sure from the teachings of history that, in enforcing it, the white race will suffer the greater deterioration in character; and how, Sir, I may ask, is this disgraceful ruling to be harmonized with the constitutional amendments which assert the security of the negro race against unjust discriminations? It is surely a most sinister step toward the caste system which curses and hampers older countries, and a lamentable betrayal of democratic principles by a democratic administration. If caste is to be established, what classes are safe? and what becomes of our constitution guarantees? I earnestly hope this dangerous path may be abandoned.48

Again because of her involvement in suffrage activities, Dock wrote Adelaide Nutting late in the year to explain that she would promise only two lectures at the college and not four. She described her life as busy with family and suffrage plans. She would not return to New York until after Christmas, which was Mira’s sixtieth birthday. Dock was excited to report that she had attended a lecture
by Emmeline Pankhurst, who was visiting the United States, and she could only think of "Mrs. Pankhurst . . . fighting for her life and the souls of women." She would arrange to make one trip to Washington to give her "talk" and then come to New York because of expenses. On December 9, Dock spoke on the subject "social purity" for the "Suffrage School" program in Washington. She pointed out that women had raised the age of consent in those states where they had the vote.49

In March 1914, Lavinia Dock was in London volunteering her service to Emmeline Pankhurst for two months. She was "having a wonderful time" and wished Adelaide Nutting could join her. She wrote Nutting that the militant movement was "stupendous and sublime" and "its leaders the noblest spirits of our day." While in England, she had a "delightful visit" with Sir Edward Cook, the biographer of Florence Nightingale. He had her talking about the "making" of the nursing history, and she was chagrined that she did "all the talking."50

When Dock returned from England, she picked up her suffrage activities, but she also helped Lillian Wald to prepare a peace parade. In June, she was in charge of a flower sale on the New York City streets for the suffrage cause. By July, she had agreed to be a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union under the leadership of Alice Paul. Others on the committee included Florence Kelley, Mary Wolley, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Mary Dixon. The CU had split from the National American Woman Suffrage
Association over the policy of tactics for passing a federal suffrage amendment. Dock gave "enthusiastic approval" to the Congressional Union's approach of focusing pressure on Congress and the President to pass the suffrage amendment and of sending suffrage organizers into states that had an association working for a state suffrage referendum. Then on August 29, Dock marched down Fifth Avenue in a peace parade organized by Lillian Wald and Fanny Garrison Villard. Dock was one of the marshals and was accompanied by a division of Henry Street nurses in their blue uniforms. Many of the women in the parade wore white or black for mourning, and all marched to the beat of "muffled drums" before respectful crowds. The parade was a protest against the early fighting of the European war and was among Wald's earliest involvements in peace activities. Wald considered war a threat to social progress and became a leading member of groups that opposed conscription and military preparedness and supported peaceful solutions to international conflicts.51

Lavinia Dock was a pacifist, and she let her views be known in her department of the journal. She wrote about her opposition and stated that blame or praise for any one nation would not appear in her column. The war had brought to an end the international correspondence between the nurses in Europe and the International Council secretary. Her first words of opposition to war appeared in October 1914. She noted that war had interrupted the "work of
international nursing organization. Nothing is heard now but the arrangements for sending nurses to the scene of war."

... the writer at least is no longer able to regard war and army nursing with any feeling save that of sick horror and aversion, as being a part of a vast and hideous stupidity which a civilized nation should cast from it for ever. Does it not seem that the very work of the Red Cross itself is a tacit giving of a moral support to war which every human being should refuse to give? Does it not make war more tolerable, more possible and, by mitigating, keep it bolstered up and alive, just as organized charity helps to bolster up poverty and keep it from appearing as the needless, preventable, useless survival that it is? War and poverty are twin monsters with their roots in the same foul soil, the despotic belief that individual and country can only find prosperity by crushing some other individual or country; the spirit against which it is time for women to oppose a moral resistance that shall finally break down the savage in man....

By March 1915, Dock had to accept that the International Congress of Nurses that was to meet in San Francisco that summer had to be abandoned because of war. She had been making the plans, since the last congress in 1912. Now the International Council could only look hopefully to a meeting in 1918. In her journal department, Dock called into question again the work of the Red Cross during war for it seemed only to strengthen the "worship of militarism and militaristic ideals." She believed that the "new ideal" was a "revolt against war as war," and that women were looking for "ways of preventing at their source such horrors." In May, she used her department to publish a portion of the Woman's Peace Party proclamation in which women no longer consented to war's "reckless
destruction" and demanded "that women be given a share in deciding between war and peace in all the courts of high debate." She recognized Jane Addams and Lillian Wald as members. Then Dock continued her column by calling for a World's Health Department that would ban war, since it "is a most prolific cause of diseases and pestilences." In July, she took up the topic of war again in response to an inquiry as to why she did not record war events. She was forthright in her intentions and explanation.

... the Foreign Department, at any rate, intends to boycott this particular war. The only mention it will draw from us will be denunciation of "War" as a specimen of man's stupidity. This war will get no advertising, no 'write-ups' from the secretary of the International Council. It is a colossal piece of atavism ... though one or another country may be most conspicuous in aggression and attack, yet all the Great Powers, our own not excluded, share the guilt of maintaining the system and moving along lines which every[b]ody knows must and will lead to war.

In monopolistic control of land and the earth treasures within-- in race hatred and jealousy-- in fierce, lawless and greedy rivalry for trade; in the promulgated belief that one nation can only live and grow by destroying, by exterminating another, in all these things, what great nation has a clean record? ... Therefore in this column there will be no lines that sound like criticism of this or that nation; no condemnation or disapproval of this or that act. ... What we condemn is the frightful mismanagement of this fair world; the enormous stupidity of the destruction of life; the pretense that organized, legalized war can be legitimate, that it can have rules, that it must have a place among institutions. ... 

As a pacifist, Dock held onto her hopes for peace. But finally in May 1918, she had to admit that she had "given up the last hope of negotiated peace" and believed that only the removal of the rulers 

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from Germany and Austria "will bring the smallest good." . . . I am now for a fight to the finish trusting that other kings will topple over as those worst ones are brought down." She felt the "war coming closer" in the families of her neighbors and because her eldest nephew was "still flying over the front lines in France."

Lavinia Dock gave her full attention to the suffrage campaign in New York in 1915, because the state referendum for woman suffrage was to be voted on in November. She told Alice Paul that she was concentrating on the Eastern campaign states and not on the work of the Congressional Union. She thought "militancy . . . just the thing for the suffrage states - but bad in campaign states." In the latter states this practice "would only split up the women among themselves and array them against each other." However, she promised Paul that if the state referendum in New York or Pennsylvania failed that she would "withdraw from state campaign work [entirely] and adhere solely to your federal work." She initiated the protest meetings in the New York district of a congressional representative who did not support the federal suffrage amendment. This practice supported the program of the Congressional Union. But most of her time was spent in canvassing workers for their votes on the suffrage referendum in November. Dock and Margaret Hinchey went down into the subway excavations to talk to the workers and ask for their votes on suffrage. Then they visited the longshoremen on the piers each day for an hour and a half, talked, and handed out leaflets in Italian, Irish, German,
English, and Yiddish. They went to a different pier each day and even went aboard boats at anchor. Dock said that the men gave them a "kind welcome" and most were willing to sign the "enrollment slips." Dock had given her reasons for securing the votes of the workingmen in a letter to Carrie Chapman Catt when she wrote that the "only hope we have for winning is in the labor vote. If we don't get that we can't win, and that vote is not at all disturbed by the heckling of a President. I will tell you what is a much more serious injury to the New York campaign than the activities of the Congressional Union, and that is the fact that the National [American] Woman Suffrage Association has earned the ill-will of organized labor, by persistently refusing to unionize its office." In the fall the suffrage referendum vote failed in New York, but the east side, according to Lillian Wald, made a good showing in its vote for woman suffrage.54

In the spring of 1915, Lavinia Dock gave her support to one more issue for women, and the nursing organizations voted for suffrage. In May, Dock attended meetings with physicians, nurses, and settlement workers who advocated the legal prescription of birth control. The Committee on Birth Control requested support from professionals and the public on behalf of their request to change the New York penal code to allow such authority. The supporting arguments included limiting "unfit" children, reducing the number of children in a family, and a woman having the "right to decide how many children she shall have." Because of her settlement experiences, Dock's position was the reduction of family size.55

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Since her suffrage activities were of the upmost importance to her, Lavinia Dock decided not to attend the nursing conventions in San Francisco. The International Congress of Nurses had been abandoned because of the war, although a few representatives of foreign countries, including two from England, did attend the conventions. A short meeting was held to hear the report of the International Council and reports from the visiting representatives. Henny Tscherning of Denmark was elected president, and Margaret Breay and Lavinia Dock were reelected to their honorary positions. Annie Goodrich, the outgoing president, gave the secretary's report in place of Dock and voiced her disappointment in Dock's absence. Goodrich commented, "I am sure the work she is rendering for the nurse in obtaining the vote for women in New York City will quite repay us for her absence." After the American Nurses' Association in their convention endorsed the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, Anna Jamme reminded the delegates that the vote had been negative when the association met in San Francisco in 1908. She said, "Miss Dock was so bitterly disappointed at the result that she has hardly recovered from it to this day. I believe it would be a very courteous and humane act to telegraph to Miss Dock stating that this Association has gone on record as favoring this amendment to the Constitution." Lavinia Dock was probably very pleased to receive such news from the association she helped to organize in 1896.

Suffrage had been the consuming interest for Lavinia Dock in 1915. After the defeat of the New York suffrage referendum, Dock
returned home to Pennsylvania. It is unclear whether she intended to leave Henry Street permanently at that time. She wrote to Adelaide Nutting and Lillian Wald during the interval between her departure and her resignation from Henry Street. In an early December letter to Nutting, Dock indicated that she was "enjoying the change. . . . I really feel that the pace in N. Y. is too much for me now." In early January 1916, she wrote again to Nutting referring to her needed release from the suffrage campaign. "I am just released from the suffrage exactions in time- Every last cent went into that up to election day. I was like a man on a reckless jag looking to a certain day when he can stop and counting on that day to pull him up." Dock further explained that she could not come to New York during the winter, for she had to revise the American and English versions of the *Materia Medica*, which was "frightfully expensive." Also she would make "needed corrections" in the nursing history before a second printing was done. But she concluded that suffrage and the Congressional Union were her foremost interests. Dock never indicated any problems at Henry Street in these letters. Nutting responded in a few days to Dock's letter and advised her that another friend involved in suffrage was against the Congressional Union. In her January letter to Wald, Dock said that she could not come to New York, but wished Wald well with her peace work and asked about book sales. (This was probably *The House on Henry Street*) Then in March, Dock wrote Wald a formal letter of resignation.

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As it is probable—indeed certain—that I shall not return to New York to live, and as Pennsylvania is too far away to be useful to you—I feel it necessary to resign as a member of the Henry Street Settlement Corporation, in order that some active member may take my place. Needless to say I shall retain the deepest interest in the progress of the House and proffer my best heartfelt wishes for success and activity to the new members.

Dock said later that she retired to family life about 1916.57

However, she continued her correspondence with her two dearest friends, wrote for her department in the American Journal of Nursing, served as secretary for the International Council of Nurses, and continued her campaign for suffrage, which included speaking, writing for The Suffragist, and protests.

By 1917, Lavinia Dock was ready to take part in the picketing at the White House for the National Woman's Party, formerly the Congressional Union. On January 10, the first pickets began their vigil as "Silent Sentinels" outside the gates holding banners that reminded the President of their petitions for suffrage. Dock wrote Adelaide Nutting that she was going to picket during inauguration week. And in early June, she encouraged Alice Paul with a note, "Congratulations to you for not giving up the Pickets! Stick to it—I think it is getting under the skin!" She was perhaps right, but not in the positive sense. On June 20, a bystander destroyed a banner, thus beginning the heckling of the pickets and destruction of property. The country had entered the European war, and the crowds began to consider the women's petitioning unpatriotic. On June 22, the first
women were arrested for "obstructing traffic," and women were arrested on June 23. So when Lavinia Dock went to picket on June 25, she certainly knew that she could be arrested. She was among the twelve women arrested on that Monday. Dock and five others refused to pay the $25 fine, were sentenced to three days in the District of Columbia jail, and were released on June 29. Dock made the following statement while in jail:

I must conclude that I have been mistaken, heretofore, in crediting the American man with a sense of the ridiculous that would prevent him from committing the grotesque stupidities of his British brother in dealing with the woman suffrage demand. The course of events in England during the activities of the militants showed clearly that men in power deliberately and systematically compelled each advance step in militancy, --first by their stubborn denial of justice, and next by reason of repression. I saw something of that struggle, and often said, "The American man will not be so densely stupid because he has a keen sense of the ridiculous.

Wrong! The American brother at the very helm of government is making the identical blunder in persistent denial and shunting aside of a demand which is sharpened by the most dire emergencies. And as a result of this, repressive measures are now being resorted to, though it has been a thousand times proved that each act of force and denial kindles fresh fires of determined resolution on the part of those who are bound to be free. How far will an American administration go in copying the stupid densities of Englishmen? Why not imitate the splendid example of Russia? 58

She made reference to Russia, because those women had the franchise. The pickets believed that they had the right to petition their government, they continued to picket and to be arrested.
Lavinia Dock knew that arrest was likely if she picketed the White House again. On August 17, Dock was one of six women arrested. They refused to pay a fine of $10 and were sentenced to thirty days in the Occoquan government workhouse in Virginia. Dock's comment about the conditions were that "I really thought . . . that I could eat everything, but here I have hard work choking down enough food to keep life in." The designated "political prisoners" were honored with a reception and dinner at the headquarters of the National Woman's Party after their early release on September 11. Lillian Wald tried to intercede on her friend's behalf, even though "I am not converted to the wisdom of your propaganda." Dock replied later in a letter that if Wilson wanted suffrage to go through Congress, it would. She told Wald, "I regard going to jail for this protest as one of the very few things I have done in my life which I can always contemplate with genuine and unqualified satisfaction—A protest is better than submission—To lay down tools is better than to be stifled—To tell the truth in war time is more important than in peace."\(^{59}\)

Some authors of the suffrage movement list Lavinia Dock as being arrested in November 1917. However, the articles about the arrests do not include Dock's name. The women who were arrested during November where subjected to physical violence while they were in the workhouse.\(^{60}\)

Lavinia Dock was arrested again, when the National Woman's Party tried a new tactic to bring attention to suffrage after seven months
of no militant action. The United States Senate had failed to vote on the suffrage amendment by the summer of 1918. So to attract attention, about one hundred women carrying white, purple, and gold banners marched from the headquarters of the National Woman's Party and assembled in Lafayette Park on August 6, 1918. Dock was to be one of the speakers at the meeting. When the first woman began to speak, the police moved in and arrested forty-eight women. The next day the women appeared in court and had their cases postponed for a week, until a charge could be determined. When the women appeared again before the court on August 13, some were found guilty, fined, which they refused to pay, and sent to jail for five to fifteen days. Others were released, because they could not be identified by the police. The charge against the women was "for holding a meeting in public grounds," and some of them were also charged with "climbing on a statue." Dock and the other prisoners were held in below ground cells of an abandoned and condemned unsanitary prison. All went on a hunger strike except the two older women; Dock was probably one of the oldest women in this group, and she experienced "an irregular fluttering pulse." After five days of cold, foul odors, and illness, the women were released without explanation. Lavinia Dock said little about her specific suffrage activities, picketing, and arrests. More than a decade later she wrote that "[i]t was a great joy to do a little guerilla war in that cause and I believe that going to jail gave me a purer feeling of
unalloyed content than I ever had in any of my other work where I always saw some imperfections to cause chagrin.\textsuperscript{61}

The meetings in Lafayette Park did not produce a Senate vote, so the National Woman's Party tried a more dramatic approach. On September 16, the suffragists began burning Wilson's statements and speeches on freedom during the gatherings in the park. They continued to be arrested and sent to jail. By February 1919, only one vote was needed in the Senate to pass the suffrage amendment. Alice Paul proposed a new approach, and the suffragists burned a paper drawing of Wilson in a symbolic act recalling the burning of King George's portrait during the Revolution. The Senate suffrage vote failed.\textsuperscript{62} Lavinia Dock's response to the National Woman's Party was swift and disapproving.

\[\ldots\text{ I must tell you that all your little group here myself included are entirely out of sympathy with the burning in effigy- not from any personal feelings for Wilson but because it approaches so terribly to lynching- I can't stand for it \& am very thankful that I could not go down as I would have had to withdraw-}\]

\[\text{I feel its the first mistake that has been made- We can never prove now that it did not lose the victory though we all know that it was lost at any rate because of the negro question we are in a very weak position for defending our tactics-}\]

Dock received two letters smoothing over the effigy burning. Dora Lewis, writing from Washington, thought Dock would have approved if she had been present and knew they were trying to sway a wavering vote. The second letter came from Alice Paul, who seemed to see a positive outcome in the reintroduction of the bill upon
Wilson's return to Washington. Paul did not see any harm in burning the paper cartoon of the President, since it was only symbolism. As she reminded Dock, the ceremony was "really beautiful" with the purple, white, and gold banners. Dock and Paul, out of their different experiences, did not see the same symbolism. Dock's view was formed by a long past of social activism among those who were often forgotten. Both women had to wait until August 1920, when the suffrage amendment was finally ratified by the states, to see woman suffrage a national reality.

Retirement

When Lavinia Dock "retired into family life," she went to live in a house set in the woods surrounded by birds and flowers and filled with music, art, and books and four sisters. New writing projects and revisions of her pharmacy text occupied the first years. She formed a new collaboration with Isabel Stewart, who was Adelaide Nutting's assistant at Teachers College, to write A Short History of Nursing, which was first published in 1920. Stewart took over the major work of revising the book after the first three editions. With several others, Dock wrote the massive History of American Red Cross Nursing published in 1922. By this time, she was ready to retire from the two positions that she had held almost simultaneously. In May 1922, the International Council of Nurses accepted her resignation at its first meeting since 1912. Dock received an illuminated scroll of thanks for her years of service.
She thought the words "more praise than I ever merited." A year later, Mary Roberts of the *American Journal of Nursing* announced Lavinia Dock's retirement, because "home cares demand more of her time." The Foreign Department of the journal ceased with Dock's retirement. Dock wrote a few more articles over the years and continued her correspondence with friends, the nursing journal, and nurses in other countries. She read extensively in history and literature, played the piano, enjoyed concerts, and raised a garden. She continued to read the *American Journal of Nursing* and marveled at the development of science and nursing. She did not travel abroad, but for many years she made excursions to Philadelphia and New York City and to Lillian Wald's home in the country.64

After the winning of the vote, Dock became a supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment proposed by the National Woman's Party. She and Annie Goodrich headed the Nurses' Council of the organization. Dock privately printed and circulated to nurses a leaflet in which she gave the amendment and arguments for its support. She had once believed in protective labor legislation, but came to see it as a "form of segregation." She wrote about the issue in articles and letters. Her relationship with some old friends changed because of the ERA, but her friendship with Lillian Wald and Adelaide Nutting continued.65

In 1947, Lavinia Dock and Annie Goodrich were honored by the International Council of Nurses meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Effie Taylor, the president, presented the citation noting
Miss Dock's "invaluable contributions to the nurses of the world." She was described as an "ardent and active internationalist and an independent and original thinker of strong convictions and loyalties, a doughty crusader in many causes besides nursing." Dock was eighty-nine and deaf. She peered at the citation as it was being read and remarked, "Oh, My,' 'Would you think it?" A fund of $3,000 from her friends was given to the ICN to begin a program "for the interchange and translation of educational materials" and to replace materials of national organizations lost during the war. Dock received a portfolio of letters from the contributors to the fund. Being honored did not prevent her from taking up one last unpopular issue. When she learned that Russian nurses had not attended the ICN congress, Dock wrote to the secretary of state and objected to the policy that prevented them from coming to the first international meeting of nurses after the Second World War. Receiving less than a satisfactory reply, she sent a letter of apology to the Russian ambassador. Age did not dim her concern for international unity and justice.66

At the age of ninety-eight, Lavinia Dock fractured her hip in a fall at her home. On the evening of April 17, 1956, she died in the Chambersburg Hospital. A nurse wrote Isabel Stewart that Miss Dock "refused certain care which might have prolonged her life for awhile." The only surviving sibling was Emily Dock. Following cremation, Lavinia Dock's ashes were buried in the family plot under the trees in the Harrisburg cemetery.67 Lavinia Dock left behind a
developing and thriving profession supported by national organizations, international relationships, and a history of a rich past and present. She left a spirit of activism in pursuit of justice.
Abbreviations

List of Archives identified by these abbreviations.

AJNHC  AJN Sophia F. Palmer Historical Collection, Mugar Memorial Library, Boston University

DF Papers  Dock Family Papers, 1865-1951, State Archives, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Dock Papers  Dock Papers, Kittcochtny Historical Society, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania

FNYSNA  Foundation of the New York State Nurses Association, Center for History, Guilderland, NY.

HN  The History of Nursing from the Adelaide Nutting Historical Collection and the Archives of the Department of Nursing Education, Teachers College, Columbia University (microfiche)

LDPLC  Lavinia Dock Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

LWPCU  Lillian Wald Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Manuscript Division, Butler Library, Columbia University (microfilm)

LWPNYPL  Lillian Wald Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (microfilm)

NWPLC  The Records of the National Woman's Party, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (microfilm)

O'Reilly Papers  Leonora O'Reilly Papers of the Women's Trade Union League, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College (microfilm)

WWPLC  Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (microfilm)
Chapter 1: Introduction


Chapter 2: Early Years

1. Genealogy of Dock family, DF Papers and HN, microfiche 2438; Michael Barton, Life by the Moving Road: An Illustrated History of Greater Harrisburg (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, 1983), 18, 48, 131; George P. Donehoo, Harrisburg and Dauphin County: A Sketch of the History for the Past Twenty-Five Years, 1900 - 1925 (Dayton, Ohio: The National Historical Association, 1925), 95.


6. Obituaries of Dock sisters from the Chambersburg Public Opinion, Dock Papers; Alice K. Marshall, "Little Doc': Architect of Modern Nursing," Pennsylvania Heritage (Spring 1984): 5. Errors occur in the newspaper items in the collection. Margaret's housekeeping and Laura's deafness are referred to in several of Lavinia Dock's letters. In later years, Lavinia took over the housekeeping for Margaret because of her illness.


9. Dock, "Self-Portrait," 23; Alice Marshall, "Little Doc," 5. Lavinia's statement of her age at the time of her mother's illness and death makes it clear by calculating dates that her mother did not die shortly after Emily's birth as some have written. Her father's financial difficulties were probably about 1879, since this occurred after her mother's death and there was a financial crisis in the U.S. at that time.


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17. Editors' Table, Godey's Lady's Book and Magazine, 83, no. 494 (August 1871): 183; Editors' Table, Godey's Lady's Book, 85, no. 508 (October 1872): 368; Editors' Table, Godey's Lady's Book, 82, no. 488 (February 1871): 188-189; Benita Hall Sharp, "The beginnings of nursing education in the United States: An analysis of the times," The Journal of Nursing Education 12 (April 1973): 28-29. Sharp's article is a good discussion about the times; however, the citation for the material in Godey's is incorrect for February 1871.


Chapter 3: Early Years of Commitment


16. Johns and Pfefferkorn, The Johns Hopkins Hospital School of Nursing, 14; Lavinia L. Dock, interview by Mary M. Roberts, Visit to Miss Dock at her home in Fayetteville, Pa., October 5 and 6, 1949, 1-6, AJNHC.


18. Lavinia L. Dock, interview by Mary M. Roberts, AJNHC.

19. James, "Isabel Hampton and the Professionalization of Nursing in the 1890s," 211; Lavinia L. Dock, interview by Mary M. Roberts, AJNHC; pictures of Lavinia in her later years are in "Annie W. Goodrich - Crusader," American Journal of Nursing 34 (July 1934): 669; in "Forty Nations - and One World," American Journal


24. Johns and Pfefferkorn, The Johns Hopkins Hospital School of Nursing, 76.

25. Marshall, Mary Adelaide Nutting, 44-45, 371; Johns and Pfefferkorn, The Johns Hopkins Hospital School of Nursing, 80; James, "Isabel Hampton and the Professionalization of Nursing in the 1890s," 226.


27. Lavinia L. Dock [A Bellevue Graduate, pseud.], "The American Pension Fund for Nurses," The Trained Nurse, (June 1892): 256-257; "Authors in the Nursing Field: Lavinia Lloyd Dock," The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review, (February 1926): 181; Victor Robinson, White Caps: the Story of Nursing (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1946), 299-300. The authors of the 1926 and 1946 references indicate that Lavinia's attack on the pension fund was published in 1891. A search of Index Medicus does not indicate an article for her in 1891. The above cited article seems to be the earliest possibility. The Bellevue Graduate refers to Mr. Burdett, is opposed to his plan, and does not refer to having written earlier. The language of the article sounds like Lavinia.

28. Johns and Pfefferkorn, The Johns Hopkins Hospital School of Nursing, 79, 284, 290; Eugene Flaumenhaft and Carol Flaumenhaft, "American Nursing's First Textbooks," Nursing Outlook 37 (July/August 1989): 185-186. Titles and dates of these early textbooks are inconsistent in various references. The titles and dates cited here are based on a computer search by title and author on the bibliographic database WorldCat.


34. Nutting, "Memorial Services for Isabel Hampton Robb," 5, 8-9.


44. Dock and Stewart, A Short History of Nursing, 3d ed., 158.


57. The American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses, *First and Second Annual Conventions*, 7-8, 10, 14-17, 19; Lewenson, *Taking Charge*, 75, 141 n. 55 indicates appointments and elections are in unpublished minutes.

58. Marshall, *Mary Adelaide Nutting*, 68; Christy, "Portrait of a Leader: Isabel Hampton Robb," 27; LLD (Lavinia L. Dock) to Isabel (Stewart), n.d., HN, microfiche 2632. Someone has written the year, 1930's, on the letter at a later time. But the letter is sometime after July 17, 1940, when Lavinia wrote to Miss Bean mentioned in this letter. See Christy, 29, for letter to Mary Cloud Bean or L. L. Dock to Miss Bean, July 17, 1940, HN, microfiche 2207.


61. L. L. (Lavinia L.) Dock, "The Pension Fund," The Trained Nurse, (June 1895): 348, 349. Lavinia dated the letter to the Trained Nurse May 9, 1895, Harrisburg, Pa., which indicates that she was at home.


64. The American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses, Third Annual Convention, 19, 22, 31, 61, 64, 68-69. Lavinia was not the first secretary of the Society as so many authors have stated. She was elected in 1896, and may have held the position longer than anyone else.


Chapter 4: Middle Years of Commitment and Conscience


5. LLD (Lavinia L. Dock) to Isabel (Stewart), November 16, 1943, HN, microfiche 2636.


8. Karen Buhler-Wilkerson, False Dawn: The Rise and Decline of Public Health Nursing, 1900-1930 (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 37-38 n. 41; Carole Estabrooks, "Lavinia Lloyd Dock: The Henry Street Years," Nursing History Review 3 (1995): 161 n. 2; LL (Lavinia L.) Dock to Mr. Duffus, April 11, LWPNYPL. Buhler-Wilkerson suggests that Lavinia Dock and Lillian Wald met at the Chicago World's Fair and Estabrooks adds that Lavinia could have been recruited or requested to join the settlement. In addition to Lavinia's stating that she did not know Lillian at the World's Fair, there are a few problems with the suggestions. The nurses met in Chicago in June 12-17, 1893, before Lillian and Mary Brewster had even begun to stay at the College Settlement; therefore, there was no settlement yet. See description of settlement development above. Lillian and Mary Brewster went to Jefferson Street in September, 1893, and Lavinia was at the Illinois Training School. I suggest that Lavinia could have visited the settlement for the first time in January 1894, when the Society of Superintendents held their first convention in New York City. At the third convention in February 1896, Lavinia was listed as being in Harrisburg, her family home. See the previous chapter on this meeting for reference.


10. L. L. (Lavinia L.) Dock, The Nurses' Settlement in New York (n.p., n.d.), LDPLC or HN, microfiche 2012, pp. 5-9, 15. Duffus gave this small booklet the year 1898 and used it in Duffus, Lillian Wald, 63-69. It is the same content printed in
Dock, *Short Papers on Nursing Subjects*, 29-31, 36; except she updated the last paragraph for 1900 publication.


12. Dock, *Short Papers on Nursing Subjects*, 35-36; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 69-70; "Nurses' Settlement News," *American Journal of Nursing* 6 (September 1906): 832-833. The news item was supplied by Miss Dock. Stewart, "Reminiscences of Isabel M. Stewart," HN, microfiche 2740, p. 144. It is very possible that Lavinia did not receive a salary, since she had a small income. When she was paid in other positions, she gave it to some charitable cause.


16. Lagemann, *A Generation of Women*, 79; Lillian Wald to L. L. (Lavinia L.) Dock, March 7, 1918, LWPNYPL; Lillian Wald to Docky (Lavinia L. Dock), October 13, 1931; November 4, 1931; November 19, 1931, LWPNYPL; Lavinia L. Dock, "The History of Public Health Nursing," parts 1 and 2, *The Public Health Nurse* 14 (October 1922): 522-526; (November 1922): 590-593; Lavinia L. Dock to N.O.P.H.N., "Whence the Term 'Public Health Nursing'?" *Public Health Nursing* 29 (December 1937): 712-714; D (Dock) to Dearest (Lillian Wald), n.d., LWPNYPL. Lavinia refers to the article for the public health journal in 1937. This may have been Lavinia's last article. Stewart, "Reminiscences of Isabel M. Stewart," HN, microfiche 2740-2741, pp. 139, 285; Other examples include: LLD (Lavinia L. Dock) to Dearest Lady (Lillian Wald), February 23, 1905, LWPNYPL in which Lavinia states she is helping Miss Nutting with her History of Nursing and offers to help Lillian with her book; LDW (Lillian D. Wald) to Docky (Lavinia L. Dock), April 18, 1929, LWPNYPL in which Lillian asks Lavinia to add information to a book preface; LLD (Lavinia L. Dock) to Dearest Lady (Lillian Wald), August 31, [1931], LWPNYPL in which Lavinia asks "about those materials to be written up."

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20. Duffus, Lillian Wald, 62, 172, 324; Dock, "Self-Portrait," 26; LLD (Lavinia L. Dock) to dear Leading Lady (Lillian Wald), December 12, 1987?, Johns Hopkins Hospital, LWPNYPL; LLD to Dearest Lady, April 30, 1905, LWPCU.


26. Mary M. Roberts, "We Honor the Memory of a Citizen of the World," American Journal of Nursing 59 (February 1959): 195; publication date of first and second annual reports is 1897, in Harrisburg; The American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses, Seventh Annual Convention of The American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1900), 7; Marshall, Mary Adelaide Nutting, 88; Lavinia L. Dock to Mary M. Roberts probably, "I am afraid that my recollections . . . .," October 25, 1949, AJNHC; Lavinia L. Dock, "I Remember - Our Beginnings," American Journal of Nursing 50 (December 1950): 803. The October 25, 1949 letter seems to be the one used for the December 1950 journal with editorial changes.


29. Flanagan, One Strong Voice, 33, 36, 39 n. 23, 301-311; Dock, A History of Nursing, 3:129-130; Isabel Hampton Robb, "The Aims, Methods and Spirit of the Associated Alumnae of Trained Nurses of the United States and Canada," The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review, (June 1898): 307-313. This is Mrs. Robb's presidential address for April 1898. L. L. Dock, "Overcrowding in the Nursing Profession," The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review, (July 1898): 11 n. Lavinia makes it clear that she did not know of Isabel's remarks until after she gave this paper in May, 1898. The note on p. 8 about the paper being given in May 1896, is incorrect, because the references are to years after 1896.


31. Dock, "Self-Portrait," 24; Lavinia L. Dock, interview by Mary M. Roberts, Visit to Miss Dock at her home in Fayetteville, Pa., October 5 and 6, 1949, 1-6, AJNHC.

32. M. Adelaide Nutting and Lavinia L. Dock, A History of Nursing: The Evolution of Nursing Systems from the Earliest Times to the Foundation of the First English and
American Training Schools for Nurses. 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), 1:5-7; Estabrooks, "Lavinia Lloyd Dock: The Henry Street Years," 167 n. 69; indicates Kropotkin's was very influential in the United States from the 1890s to WWI.

33. LLD (Lavinia L. Dock) to dear Leading Lady (Lillian Wald), December 12, [1898?], Johns Hopkins Hospital, LWPNYPL.


41. Breay and Fenwick, *The History of the International Council of Nurses, 1899-1925*. 15. Lavinia was not the first secretary of the ICN in 1899. Margaret Breay had been appointed in 1899, and Lavinia was elected in 1900.


47. Wilson, "'More Almost Than the Men': Mira Lloyd Dock and the Beautification of Harrisburg," 493 and n. 9; Dock, *Short Papers on Nursing Subjects*, 5-10,12, 14, 16, 22-27.

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53. Nurses' Associated Alumnae of the United States, "Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention," 80-82; Flanagan, *One Strong Voice*, 37, 39-40 n. 26; Lavinia L. Dock, interview by Mary M. Roberts, AJNHC; Roberts, *American Nursing: History and Interpretation*, 46; L. L. Dock to the Secretary of the Nurses' Associated Alumnae of the United States in "Report of the Seventh Annual Convention," *American Journal of Nursing* 4 (July 1904): 764; Lavinia was in Europe when she gave the first share of stock; she gave another share in 1906, as a "token" when she was the secretary of the Society of Superintendents in Georgia Selvins, "Report of the Secretary of the American Society of Superintendents of Training-Schools for Nurses," *American Journal of Nursing* 6 (July 1906): 716; the "Foreign Department" appeared in the first issue as "Foreign News," and Lavinia's name was not given under the title until the next issue.


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59. Kennedy, "Overview: The Progressive Era," 465; Schneider and Schneider, American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920, 80-84, 106-110, 244; L. L. Dock, "The Visiting Nurse," Charities and the Commons 16 (April 7, 1906): 12; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 242-245; Duffus, Lillian Wald, 87, 95, 274, 301; 314-315; Lillian Wald knew all four men as governors of New York. Theodore Roosevelt was one of the police commissioners of the city from 1895-1897 and visited the settlement. Alfred Smith grew up in the neighborhood. Herbert Lehman had worked with the boys' clubs as a young man. Eleanor Roosevelt worked in the settlements as a young woman. See letters in Lillian Wald collections. [Sophia Palmer], "Charities' Special Number," American Journal of Nursing 6 (May 1906): 506; Palmer noted that the April issue of Charities was devoted to visiting nursing "under the supervision of Miss L. L. Dock, who is a department editor of that magazine."


64. Nettie Birnbach, "The Genesis of the Nurse Registration Movement in the United States, 1893-1903" (Ed. D. diss., Teachers College, Columbia University, 1982), 49 and n. 2. 63-64. The note indicates that Palmer and Allerton would have given their presentation in 1899 and not in 1898 as indicated in some sources, since their remarks were published early in 1900. See Miss Allerton's report to the New York State Nurses' Association in which she refers to November, 1899. In "New York State Nurses' Association," American Journal of Nursing 3 (June 1903): 727; Dock, A History of Nursing, 3:143-145; Dock, "Overcrowding in the Nursing Profession," The Trained Nurse and Hospital Review, 8 n. 9. The date for giving this paper was May, 1898, and not 1896 as indicated in the note. See chapter 4, note 29 above.


68. "The Congress of Nurses," American Journal of Nursing 1 (June 1901): 675-679; "Foreign Delegates and Organizations" and "American Delegates and Societies," American Journal of Nursing 1 (September 1901): 861-917; "Report of the Annual Meeting of the Alumnae Association of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Training-School for Nurses," American Journal of Nursing 1 (July 1901): 749-750; "Dutchess County Graduate Nurses' Club," American Journal of Nursing 1 (July 1901): 751. Lavinia's biographical sketch includes information through the publication of Short Papers on Nursing Subjects; therefore, it provides a brief but adequate reference up to 1901. There is no indication of any involvement of Red Cross nursing during the Spanish American War, which sometimes is mentioned in The Suffragist and in texts on the women's movement. These statements are incorrect and never appear in the nursing literature, see American Journal of Nursing 1 (September 1901): 899.

69. [Lavinia L. Dock], The Editor, American Journal of Nursing 1 (July 1901): 776-778; [Lavinia L. Dock], The Editor, American Journal of Nursing 1 (August 1901): 854-858; [Sophia Palmer], The Editor, American Journal of Nursing 1 (September 1901): 942. Lavinia even reviewed two books on cookery for the July issue, see p. 765. Sophia F. Palmer to Miss Nutting, August 9 [1901], HN, microfiche 2184.


85. Birnbach, "The Genesis of the Nurse Registration Movement in the United States," 89-93; Eva Allerton, "Report of the New York Bill," American Journal of Nursing 3 (April 1903): 556-562; Calvin McKnight to Sadie (Sara Mekeel Cooke), n.d. and Sara H. Mekeel (Mrs. Wm. Cocke) to Miss Dock, 1939, FNYSNA; Lavinia L. Dock to New York State Nurses Association, September 12, 1939, FNYSNA. Lavinia sent the letters with Mrs. Cocke's permission to the state association thinking "they will be interesting material for your archives." L. L. Dock to Miss M. K. Jacobsin (New York State Nurses' Assoc.), September 19, 1939, FNYSNA in which Lavinia replied that "I am glad . . . that you are pleased with the old records. . . . Am sorry that my days for meetings are over!" [Sophia Palmer], "New York State Meeting," American Journal of Nursing 3 (May 1903): 672; Elizabeth Sanford, "New York State Nurses' Association," American Journal of Nursing 3 (June 1903): 725-729; Nancy Tomes, "The Silent Battle: Nurse Registration in New York State, 1903-1920," in Nursing History: New Perspectives, New Possibilities, edited by Ellen Condliffe Lagemann (New York: Teachers College Press, 1983), 113. Tomes's essay is not a positive view of registration in comparison to Birnbach. Virginia Aita, "New York State, The Leader in Nurse Registration: 1898-1908," Journal of the New York State Nurses Association 25 (March 1994): 4-7, provides names of persons supporting or opposing the nurses' bill.


88. LLD to Dearest Lady, n.d., LWPNYPL; LLD to Dearest Ladies, n.d., LWPNYPL. These letters cannot be 1900, because preparation of the registration bill did not begin until 1902. Lavinia refers to writing a two volume book, and she was writing the nursing history from 1905 to 1907.

89. Dock, A History of Nursing, 3:175-176; L. L. Dock to Dr. Baldy, February 28, [1909], LWPNYPL (Miscellany section). Underlining and added words were done by hand. One typed sentence was added later at the end of a paragraph and squeezed in between the lines, since the letter was double spaced. Lavinia began her paragraphs on the margin without any indentation. The year portion of the date is handwritten, and perhaps this was done later. The year is probably the right time frame for the letter.

90. Stewart, "Reminiscences of Isabel M. Stewart," HN, microfiche 2740, pp. 142-143.


93. LLD to Adelaide (Nutting), January 9, 1903, HN, microfiche 1997; L. L. Dock, "Hospital Organization," The National Hospital Record 6 (1903): 10-14; L. L. Dock, "Hospital Organization," American Journal of Nursing 3 (March 1903): 413-421; a few words are changed between the two publications, and the format of the referencing is altered. Sophia F. Palmer to Miss Nutting, February 4, 1903, HN, microfiche 2183; Adelaide Nutting to Miss Palmer, February 19, 1903, HN, microfiche 2183; Sophia F. Palmer to Miss Nutting, February 21, [1903], HN microfiche 2185.


97. LLD to Dearest People, August 11, 1903, T.S.S. Potsdam, LWPCU.

98. LLD to Dearest Lady, December, [1903], Italy, LWPCU; LLD to Dearest Lady, December 26, [1903], Florence, LWPCU.


100. LLD to Dearest Lady, December, [1903], Italy, LWPCU; LLD to Dearest Tante (Helen McDowell), December 30, [1903], Ravenna, LWPCU; the indexer has identified the wrong McDowell, because Helen McDowell is "Tante Helene" in Duffus, Lillian Wald, 62. Dear Lady, September 1, [1904], Bonn, LWPCU; LLD to Dear Family, December 5, [1904], Florence, LWPCU; LLD to Dearest Lady, May 22, [1904], Vienna.
LWPCU; LLD to Dearest Lady, June 30, [1904], LWPCU. Some years added to these letters may be incorrect when compared to Lavinia's discussions of visits to hospitals she wrote for the Foreign Department.


105. LLD to Dearest Lady, September 24, [1904], Berlin, LWPCU; LLD to Adelaide (Nutting), October 2, [1904], Berlin, HN microfiche 1997; LLD to M. A. (Nutting), October 19, 1904, HN microfiche 1997; "A History of Nursing," American Journal of Nursing 5 (December 1904): 145; LLD to Dearest Adelaide, January 13, [1905 and not 1906 because Lavinia is studying German and will only go to England if called to testify], HN, microfiche 1998; LLD to Miss Ross, n.d., HN microfiche 1998.

106. Agnes Karll to the Editor, American Journal of Nursing 5 (February 1905): 326; LLD to Miss Ross, n.d., HN microfiche 1998; LLD to Adelaide (Nutting), April 24, [1905], Berlin, HN, microfiche 1998; LLD to Dearest Lady and all the Family, Last day of the old year, [1904], and LLD to Dearest Lady, February 23, 1905, LWPCU; Roberts, "Lavinia Lloyd Dock - Nurse, Feminist, Internationalist," 177.


112. Nutting and Dock, preface to A History of Nursing, 1:v-vi, quote includes phrase before and sentence after the quote given in the review.

Chapter 5: Later Years of Commitment and Conscience


6. LLD to Dearest Lady (Lillian Wald), September 7, [1907], Bordeaux, LWPCU.

7. LLD to My Dear Adelaide, October 6, [1907 not 1903?], HN, microfiche 1997, year was added later and 1907 based on content.


and the extinction of prostitution. The innocent could contract venereal disease from a husband, contaminated objects, or at the time of birth.


26. Cameron, review of Hygiene and Morality, 999; [Sophia Palmer], "Miss Dock's Hygiene and Morality," American Journal of Nursing 10 (September 1910): 927; Book Review Digest (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1910), 107; the book was reviewed in seven professional journals, magazines, and newspapers; see individual reviews. M. J. to the Editor, "Appreciation of 'Hygiene and Morality,'" American Journal of Nursing 11 (January 1911): 302; F. H. to the Editor, "Literature on Sex Hygiene," American Journal of Nursing 11 (September, 1911): 1057; Adelaide Nutting to Miss Dixon, "Our Honorary Member- Lavinia L. Dock," October 14, 1915, HN, microfiche 2000; Gardner, "Microbes and Morality," 216 n. 77; LLD to Dear Isabel (Stewart), April 7, HN, microfiche 2633.

27. [Sophia Palmer], "Effects of the Enforcement of the 'Page Bill' in New York," American Journal of Nursing 11 (December 1910): 158-159; Gardner, "Microbes and Morality," 193, 198, 258; indicates Lavinia belonged to Morrow's society and was a leader of the opposition, but gives no primary source; [Sophia Palmer], "The Page Bill," American Journal of Nursing 11 (September 1911): 1002-1003; see Gardner, 257; the Henry Street Settlement nurses did not treat patients with venereal disease, but they conducted an "educational campaign."
28. LLD to Dear M. A. (M. Adelaide), n.d., HN, microfiche 2005-2006; probably 1910 based on the next citation in the American Journal of Nursing, and it is on ICN stationary with Sister Agnes Karl listed as president (term 1909-1912).


40. "Here's Gen. Jones's General Order No. 1," NY Times, January 21, 1913; The picture of Lavinia Dock and three other hooded women was on the cover of Nursing and Health Care 14 (January 1993) and in books without complete information. The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division identified the picture as taken on February 6, 1913, by Bain News Service. It is the only picture of the Washington hike from that service that is dated or the persons identified. The other three women are Mrs. John Boldt, Mrs. May Morgan, and Miss Craft. Sidney Bland, "Techniques of Persuasion: The National Woman's Party and Woman Suffrage, 1913-1919" (Ph. D. diss., George Washington University, 1972), 51-52; gives Lavinia Dock as being in the hike to Washington without a reference and gives a picture of a group of about fifteen persons as evidence that they went on the hike. The Library of Congress has no identification for these persons or the location of the picture taken by the Bain News Service. Bland is incorrect about Lavinia. "Suffragists Spread Oratory and Tracts," NY Times, February 11, 1913; "Undaunted by Cold," NY Times, February 13, 1913; "Army Ends Its Hike; Gen. Jones Scores," NY Times, March 1, 1913; "Suffrage Invasion Is on in Earnest," NY Times, March 2, 1913.


42. Lavinia L. Dock to President Wilson, March 21, 1913, WWPLC; Bland, "Techniques of Persuasion," 120-121, 142 n. 23.

43. Lillian D. Wald, The House on Henry Street (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1915), 266-268; "Roosevelt Prelude to Suffrage Parade," NY Times, May 2, 1913; other languages represented on the banners were Turkish, Slavic, and Chinese.


47. Lavinia L. Dock, "News from the American Nursing World," *British Journal of Nursing*, (July 19, 1913), AJNHC.

48. Lavinia L Dock, R. N. to Honorable President (Wilson), August 21, 1913, WWPLC.

49. LLD to Dear M. (M. Adelaide), [Nov. 1913], HN, microfiche 2000; LLD to Dear Adelaide, Nov. 5, [1913 not 1914 on letter that was added later], HN, microfiche 2000; "Learning How to be a Successful Suffragist," *The Suffragist* 1 (December 20, 1913): 46, NWPLC.


November 6, 1915. "Heckling" was the term used by others for the CU practice of sending groups of women to see the President about suffrage.


57. LLD to Dear M. A., December 8, [1915 not 1916 added later], HN, 2000; LLD to Dear M. A., January 2, 1916, HN, 2000; [Adelaide Nutting], to Dear L. L. D., January 5, 1916, HN, 2000; LLD to Dearest Lady, January 16, 1916, LWPNYPL; see chapter 4 and n. 19 about Lavinia leaving Henry Street; L L Dock to Dear Miss Wald, March 10, 1916, LWPCU; LLD to IMS (L. L. Dock to Isabel Maitland Stewart), "Biographical Reflections on Education," June, 1947, HN, microfiche 2637; Lavinia Dock, R. N. to the President, December 3, 1915, WWPLC; she was requesting the President to support enfranchisement. This action would support CU tactics. Lavinia did copyright another edition of her Text-Book of Materia Medica for Nurses in 1916.


University Press of America, 1991), 178-180, 192 n. 29; gives Lavinia serving time in jail and hurting her leg. The original source in the note does not mention Dock.


63. LL Dock to Dear Girls, February 11, 1919, NWPLC; Dora Lewis to Miss Dock, March 26, 1919, NWPLC; National Chairman (Alice Paul) to Miss Dock, March 31, 1919, NWPLC.


67. "Lavinia L. Dock, Pioneer Nurse, Author Passes," Public Opinion, Chambersburg, PA., April 18, 1956, Dock Papers; "Lavinia L. Dock, Nursing Leader," NY Times, April 18, 1956; the reference to Dock voting is probably inaccurate as given;
see Lillian Wald, *Windows on Henry Street*, 47; Wald's version is more likely accurate. The tactics of the militant suffragettes did not exist at the time Theodore Roosevelt was police commissioner making the *NY Times* account suspect. [Kathame Amberson?] to Miss Stewart, April 18, 1956, HN, microfiche 2012.
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