<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE OF CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT........................................................................................................3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION.................................................................................................4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HISTORIOGRAPHY............................................................................................5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHODOLOGY.................................................................................................7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENSE TRANSFORMATIONS................................................................................8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENCE, RESEARCH, AND REFORM................................................................10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A IS FOR “AMERICANIZATION,” B IS FOR “BAD”...............................................14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A REFORMER’S ROOTS.....................................................................................22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE HOUSE THAT LIZZIE BUILT.........................................................................24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPLEX CONVICTIONS....................................................................................27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION.................................................................................................37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX......................................................................................................39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIMELINE......................................................................................................39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECTED EXCERPTS FROM THE SETTLEMENT COOKBOOK..................................41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY...............................................................................................42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

The Progressive Era, roughly the time period between 1890 and 1914, was a time of transformations, challenges, and uncertainty. In response to immigration, industrialization and urbanization, and an unsatisfied working class, settlement houses developed to address the issues of the time. One settlement house founder, who has been largely overlooked by the history books, devised a unique method to reach the Russian-Jewish population of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Lizzie Black Kander attempted to change the lives of immigrants, for better or worse, via assimilation through cultural eating habits. She created a settlement house in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, called “The Settlement,” and taught young girls how to keep house and prepare a proper meal. Using the lessons from her cooking classes at The Settlement, Kander also produced a cookbook, which is still reproduced and sold today. Kander’s methods and motivations for settlement house work are complex and help to explore the broader American settlement house movement. While Kander is typical of many settlement house workers who believed in assimilating immigrants, she also represents a thrust of the settlement house movement that allowed some choice over cultural identity and granted immigrants the right to assimilate on their own terms.
INTRODUCTION

In 1878, at the commencement ceremony for the Milwaukee East Side High School, the class valedictorian gave a speech entitled “When I Become President.”¹ In the speech, the student offered satirical commentary on the United States political climate, and discussed what he or she would do as president. If this valedictorian was a young man, this speech would not have been shocking in the least. However, the class valedictorian in 1878 was a young woman with grace, tenacity, and unwavering confidence. Later in life, she was once referred to as “the Jane Addams of Milwaukee.” After her death on July 24, 1940, the company she created offered these words about her life: “Following her example and precept we will carry on as conscientiously and unselfishly as she did, so that she will achieve that immortality which she so richly deserves.”²

Lizzie Black Kander devoted her life to a place aptly named The Settlement, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where she spent many hours running meetings, teaching cooking classes, listening, discussing, and learning with patrons, teachers, and benefactors of The Settlement. Kander was once a household name because many knew her for her famous cookbook, The Settlement Cookbook. Kander represented a part of the American settlement house movement—which developed as a reform effort to address the problems caused by industrialization, urbanization, and immigration—that has been thus far overlooked. Kander worked with Russian-Jewish immigrants in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and sought to provide them with a better chance to succeed in America. Lizzie Black Kander led a life of paradoxes, both in terms of her


² Bob Kann, A Recipe for Success: Lizzie Kander and her Cookbook (Madison, WI: The Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2007), quotation: 42, 105; The Settlement Cookbook Company, Resolutions for Our Dear Leader, August 12, 1940, Lizzie Black Kander Papers, Milwaukee Area Research Center, Milwaukee, WI.
own identity as well as within the narratives that constitute current knowledge of the American settlement house movement. Specifically, Kander embodied a unique and balanced position from which to approach settlement work and differed from her settlement house counterparts in ways that were uncommon for women of the time. Although Kander rarely discussed women’s duties or issues in her own writings, her efforts in paving the way for the acceptance of women’s entrance into professionalized fields of work should be acknowledged. Because of her resilient attempts to better the plight of Russian-Jewish immigrants in a movement largely dominated by young, unmarried women, Kander demonstrated a distinct feminist vision. Moreover, she represented a cross between cultural pluralism and Americanization, showing that a middle-ground between cultural autonomy and cultural assimilation was absolutely possible.3

HISTORIOGRAPHY

This paper draws on literature from multiple different fields, including literature on the Progressive Era, the settlement house movement, Americanization, immigration, and Progressive Era feminism. The existing body of literature about Lizzie Black Kander and The Settlement fails to dig deep into Kander’s true work and her motivations for performing that work. Much of the literature mentions Kander and her settlement house in passing; multiple histories of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, include a brief excerpt about The Settlement, Kander’s cooking lessons, and her cookbook. Additionally, so much of the literature regarding the American settlement

---

3 “Cultural pluralism” refers to a situation where distinct cultural groups are able to exist peacefully in one society, while maintaining their cultural differences. For more information, see the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Stanford: Stanford University, 2011), s.v. “Berlin, Isaiah.” “Americanization” is defined as any conscious effort to accelerate the process of immigrants adopting American cultural elements, such as beliefs, values, and attitudes. For further explanation, see James R. Barrett, “Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930,” The Journal of American History 79, no. 3 (December 1992): 996-1020. “Cultural autonomy” is defined as the right to practice one’s own cultural beliefs and behaviors without the influence of external forces. For more information, see the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Stanford: Stanford University, 2011), s.v. “Autonomy in Moral and Political Philosophy.” “Assimilation” is the process by which boundaries between two different cultural groups disappear. Assimilation implies that the minority group has not retained its cultural differences. For further explanation, see the Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences (Alberta, Canada: Athabasca University), s.v. “assimilation.”
house movement focuses on the big names such as Jane Addams, Robert Woods, and Lillian Wald, and tends to gloss over less well-known, but equally important individuals like Kander. Moreover, the literature regarding the settlement house movement varies widely and scholars vehemently disagree with each other over the extent to which settlement houses engaged in social control by attempting to assimilate immigrants into American culture. In addition, the literature about the settlement house movement includes very little on assimilation via foodways, or cultural eating habits. Finally, the literature regarding gender roles during the Progressive Era, or the time period between roughly 1890 and 1914, is very polarized. There is disagreement among scholars regarding the effectiveness of the separate spheres ideology, or the idea that men belonged in the public sphere, performing political duties and working outside the home, while women belonged in the private sphere, doing household work and raising children. On the one hand, scholars argue that the promotion of separate spheres actually hurt women because it reinforced their dependency. On the other hand, some scholars argue that the establishment of separate spheres actually gave women more power because it gave them control over the domestic domain. The literature about changes in gender ideals tends to ignore the women who stayed in the home and still found ways to empower themselves.4

In attempt to reconcile the disagreements and bring together this large body of literature, two specific works serve as models. Karen J. Blair’s The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914, highlights that many women protested the notion of the “ideal woman”—or the belief that women were naturally moral and domestic—while

---

simultaneously remaining in the domestic sphere. This argument perfectly describes the work and life of Lizzie Kander. In addition, Stephanie J. Jass’ dissertation entitled “Recipes for Reform: Americanization and Foodways in Chicago Settlement Houses, 1890-1920,” attempts to bring together the American settlement house movement and Americanization via foodways, or attempting to make immigrants’ eating habits more American. While Jass does provide a brief discussion of Kander’s work, she does not include Kander’s distinct feminist attitude and vision. Therefore, Jass’ work serves as a model for bridging the gap between the literature on the American settlement house movement and Americanization through foodways.5

METHODODOLOGY

The literature on Progressive Era feminism, immigration, and the American settlement house movement is vast. To explore how Lizzie Kander’s life and work either reinforced or complicated the standard narrative on Progressive Era feminism and the American settlement house movement, this paper examines the settlement house movement, Americanization, and the feminist movement between 1894 and 1922. Using primary and secondary sources from settlement house workers as well as scholars in multiple fields, it also explores the social climate and social thought of the time period. In addition, this paper gives the immigrant population a voice by examining immigration in Milwaukee. Then, this paper places Kander’s life and work into those different contexts, using her manuscript collection, along with newspapers and other primary documents that provide a glimpse of her life, thoughts, and feelings.

TENSE TRANSFORMATIONS

At the center of their discontent lay a fairly simple condition. A patchwork government could no longer manage the range of urban problems with expertise and economy that articulate citizens now believed they must have.

—Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order

In order to fully appreciate Lizzie Kander’s experiences and contributions to the settlement house movement, it is first necessary to situate her life in the context of the Progressive Era, or the time period between roughly 1890 and 1914. The changes and challenges of the time period shaped Kander’s outlook, beliefs, and values, and her work cannot be understood without knowledge of the time she performed it in. Around the turn of the twentieth century, immigrants mainly from Northern and Western Europe poured into the United States, settling in larger cities to find steady work and a promising future. Immigrants initially came to the United States from all over Europe, but by 1907, eighty-one percent of immigrants came from countries in Southern or Eastern Europe. Most chose to come to the United States to enhance their economic and social status, and while these immigrants were not the “poorest of the poor,” they certainly needed assistance to find jobs and understand the new and unfamiliar atmosphere. At the same time, the United States transitioned from a fledging nation into a major economic power. While hope and change characterized the Progressive Era, many Americans also felt uncertain about the future and were dissatisfied with their government. Ideas about the dangers of big business began to circulate, and many individuals felt that power had become too concentrated in the hands of corporations. Moreover, the expansion of cities, caused by the flood
of immigrants and the growth of industry, created public health issues, growing slums, and an unsatisfied working class.  

To address the challenges America faced during the Progressive Era, individuals from across the nation joined together to form a new political agenda and political party. Deemed “progressives,” the individuals who attempted to deal with the national problems of labor reformation, immigration, and political corruption, stood for a wide variety of issues. They sought to change the election process to include the American public more directly. Progressives also carried a deep suspicion of the political party and wanted to eliminate partisanship. Progressives asserted that a muddled government did not have the means or efficiency required to solve the gamut of urban problems which the nation faced. They identified their enemy as a corrupt relationship between government and big business. Therefore, progressives wanted to destroy that system and broaden the scope of democracy. Ironically, however, they believed severing the ties between government and big business required closer control and increased administration, creating an inherent tension between emphasis on democratization and faith in bureaucratization.

In the State of Wisconsin, Governor Robert “Fighting Bob” La Follette led the way in progressive reform. La Follette changed the state tax law, established party primaries, and persuaded the Railroad Commission Authority to overturn rates and conduct investigations. By the time La Follette served as Governor, Lizzie Kander had already established her settlement house. While the progressive agenda made great strides in reform efforts in a multitude of areas,

---


many cities around the country still faced the same problems: immigration on a large scale, growing slums, and a disgruntled working class.  

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, knew these issues well. Like the rest of the nation, Milwaukee experienced massive waves of immigrants long before the Progressive Era. In fact, between 1848 and 1850, the immigrant population grew at a faster rate than the total population. By 1900, immigrants from Germany, Poland, Scotland, Ireland, Russia, Greece, and Italy called Milwaukee their home. In 1900, thirty-one percent of Milwaukee County residents were foreign-born. Ten years later, foreign-born persons made up thirty percent of the Milwaukee County population. However, the number of Russian immigrants jumped from just 1,175 individuals (one percent of the immigrant population) in 1900 to just over twelve thousand individuals (nine percent of the immigrant population) in 1910. Most immigrants decided to make Milwaukee their new home because of its exceptional local leadership and the availability of jobs. Because of this large influx of individuals in the city, Milwaukee faced a housing crisis, and the Children’s Betterment League investigated the issue. Problems like Milwaukee’s housing crisis persisted throughout the Progressive Era, and it became clear to many individuals that these issues required action.  

RESIDENCE, RESEARCH, AND REFORM

Opportunity is what the settlements tried to provide – economic, educational, political, as well as social opportunity.
—Louisa C. Wade, “The Heritage from Chicago’s Early Settlement Houses”

8 Diner, A Very Different Age, 39-41, 211.

In this context of massive immigration, uncertainty, and political corruption, the settlement house movement developed to reform American life on multiple levels. To fully understand this movement and how the work of Lizzie Kander both typified and diverged from other settlement house workers, an explanation of its philosophies and how those ideologies produced practical change is warranted. The diversity of personalities, locations, and ideas created a varied, and sometimes divided, settlement house movement. Interestingly, independent settlements emerged in multiple cities across the United States simultaneously because the same social conditions experienced by many cities provided the impetus for reform. The American settlement house movement received many of its philosophies from its British counterpart, social Christianity, and romanticism. Two general ideas served as the foundation of the American movement: reciprocity and reformation of the system. Initially, many settlement workers, most notably Jane Addams, one of the founders of Hull House in Chicago, believed in reciprocity, or the idea that individuals had a responsibility to one another, and that one social or economic class could not function properly without the others. Indeed, according to Addams, “Hull-House was soberly opened on the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal.” Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement in New York’s lower east side also maintained this philosophy of reciprocity, but she called it “mutuality.” This deeply embedded philosophy of connection between all classes stemmed from the influence of social Christianity. The clergy

argued that all individuals should be involved in urban social issues because the Christian concept of universal human brotherhood naturally implied a need for individuals to participate in social service.\footnote{Jane Addams, \textit{Twenty Years at Hull-House} (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), quotation: 55; Marjorie N. Feld, “‘An Actual Working out of Internationalism’: Russian Politics, Zionism, and Lillian Wald’s Ethnic Progressivism,” \textit{The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era} 2, no. 2 (April 2003): 119, 126; Mina Carson, \textit{Settlement Folk} (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 10.}

Linked to the philosophy of reciprocity, settlement workers also believed in broadening the scope of democracy. In particular, Jane Addams observed that class divisions, the suffering of the working class, and disorganization in big city slums caused a whole slew of other issues, including class conflict and social antagonism. She claimed that these issues could be solved by including more individuals in America’s democracy, thereby increasing social equality. In connection to fostering increased social equality, the settlement house movement sought to reconcile the dialectics of rich and poor.\footnote{Louisa C. Wade, “The Heritage from Chicago’s Early Settlement Houses,” \textit{Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society} 60, no. 4 (Winter 1967): 413; Rivka Shpka Lissak, \textit{Pluralism and Progressives} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 15; Carson, \textit{Settlement Folk}, 53.}

In addition to the philosophies of reciprocity and social equality, settlement house workers sought to reform the system that caused the societal ills of the Progressive Era. They realized that they had to eliminate the roots of class divisions and inequality. They maintained that the unrestrained activities of industrial capitalism caused these issues and that therefore more control of capitalism would produce improved neighborhoods and eliminate poverty, class divisions, and other problems. Addams indentified the crisis in American society as its failure to adapt its institutions to the economic and social changes created by urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. Addams and her colleagues believed that class divisions
caused “poverty of opportunity,” meaning that some individuals had an abundance of social and educational opportunities, while others lacked access to similar opportunities.\textsuperscript{13}

These philosophies manifested themselves in the form of a practical process that nearly all settlement houses adopted. The three R’s, or residence, research, and reform, characterized the settlement house movement and helped individual houses create programs specifically for their particular neighborhoods. Many times, settlement workers, who were mainly middle-class, American women, took up residence in the houses and lived among the people they were trying to assist. By living in the slums, settlement workers attempted to minimize the differences between themselves and the immigrants they meant to help. However, residents and their neighbors, who were mostly immigrants, were not economically equal.\textsuperscript{14} Moreover, only a handful of settlement workers spoke another language besides English. As a result, according to American historian Judith Ann Trolander, individuals criticized settlement workers for being “for, not of,” the neighborhood.\textsuperscript{15}

Regardless of such criticism, settlement workers sought to meet the needs of the low-income neighborhoods in which they were located. To accomplish this goal, settlement workers frequently conducted research on the neighborhood to decipher its worst and most prevalent problems. As a result, the needs of the neighborhood tended to dictate the kinds of programs offered by particular settlement houses.\textsuperscript{16} Programs and services in individual neighborhoods

\textsuperscript{13} Davis, \textit{Spearheads for Reform}, 19, viii, quotation: 18; Lissak, \textit{Pluralism and Progressives}, 15; Addams, \textit{Twenty Years at Hull-House}, 75.


varied; however, most settlement houses offered domestic science classes, ethnic and cultural clubs, day cares and kindergartens, courses in a variety of different subjects, including English and citizenship, ethnic celebrations, and playgrounds. Additionally, settlements also usually worked to improve sanitation and housing conditions in their neighborhoods.17

Finally, settlement houses focused heavily on reform efforts to improve the lives of those in their neighborhoods. While reform efforts consisted of programs and services, settlement houses also worked on a larger scale to bring permanent change to their neighborhoods. Settlement workers prioritized child labor reform, the establishment of juvenile courts and psychiatric clinics for children, and increased wages for workers.18

A IS FOR “AMERICANIZATION,” B IS FOR “BAD”

The major legacy of the [Americanization] movement was to make Americanization a bad word, even in its generic sense of assimilation.

—Philip Gleason, “American Identity and Americanization”

To fully understand Lizzie Kander’s work with Russian-Jewish immigrants, one must be familiar with the Americanization movement and the relationship between immigrants and the settlement house movement more broadly. The larger movement of Americanization, which spanned the period from the 1890s to the 1920s, included the settlement houses’ involvement in immigrant assimilation. Americans’ fear of immigrants’ divided loyalties prompted the drive for Americanization. Americans saw the un-Americanized immigrant as “dangerous;” from the perspective of the Americanizers, numerous problems, including delinquency, high infant mortality rates, disease, and improper care of children, plagued the immigrants who had not

16 Trolander, Professionalism and Social Change, 1; Wade, “The Heritage from Chicago’s Early Settlement Houses,” 417; Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 46.


assimilated into American culture. Interestingly, all Americanizers did not necessarily want immigrants to become “American;” instead, they merely wanted immigrants to demonstrate the “correct” behavior. In addition, settlement house workers and Americanizers were unsure of what being “American” actually meant. They needed to formulate views on American culture and decide how immigrants should fit into American society.¹⁹

The more liberal Americanizers, such as Jane Addams, desired immigrants to be literate in English, punctual, and hygienic; to know and abide by a healthy diet and daily regimen; and to be committed to America’s democratic values and the rule of law. Those who sought to Americanize immigrants fully—called “one hundred percenters”—added a few more traits to the list. They wanted immigrants to be sober, thrifty, Christians who respected the capitalist system and rejected radical political doctrines.²⁰ The federal government also advocated the “one hundred percent” Americanization mentality. In 1915, in a speech to the Knights of Columbus in celebration of Columbus Day, former President Theodore Roosevelt stated, “There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americans…a hyphenated American is not an American at all.” The government did not allow immigrants to incorporate two cultural identities. Government officials sought to eliminate any sign of immigrants’ previous identities and cultural heritage.²¹

In the process of establishing an “American” identity and finding a place for immigrants within American society, Americans managed to find a new role for Indians. American historian Alan Trachtenberg argued that Americans reacted to immigration, industrialization, and

---


modernity in general by reframing the Indian as the first American. In doing so, they created a
mediating identity between immigrants and Americans. The reframing of Indian became a
pedagogical tool. As Trachtenberg stated, it demonstrated the Indian’s loyalty “to flag and to
feathers, to the United States, and to the imagined freedom of life in the woods.” In other words,
the image of Indian as the first American taught immigrants how to become “American.”22 The
Americanization movement as a whole encompassed teachers, settlement house workers, and
professional patriots, all of whom, regardless of the degree to which they desired immigrant
enculturation or assimilation, sought to direct the process of assimilation.23 To assimilate
immigrants, Americanizers employed a variety of different methods, including English and
citizenship classes, courses in public schools, and domestic science classes.24

Settlement house workers, particularly the females, focused heavily on assimilation via
foodways, or cultural eating habits. According to folklorists Gwenda Beed Davey and Graham
Seal, foodways included “the customs, beliefs, and practices surrounding the production,
presentation, and consumption of food.” What, how, and when people eat was—and still is—
heavily tied to culture, and settlement house workers believed that immigrants’ eating habits
demonstrated clear markers of cultural identity that had to be replaced for assimilation to occur.
Like language, cooking was and still is a universal human activity, so the kitchen provided a
context for immigrants and settlement workers to communicate and perhaps even understand one
another. Settlement house workers also found more practical reasons for trying to assimilate


23 “Enculturation” is the process by which individuals come to adopt cultural elements, such as beliefs,
values, and attitudes, of another cultural group. Enculturation can occur consciously or subconsciously, and it is not
specific to any particular culture. For further explanation, see the *Online Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (Alberta,
Canada: Athabasca University), s.v. “enculturation.”

24 Barrett, “Americanization from the Bottom Up,” 997; Olneck, “Americanization and the Education of
immigrants into mainstream American eating culture. The presence of the immigrant woman and her children in America indicated that the family was likely to settle in America permanently. Therefore, settlement workers focused heavily on cultural eating habits because modification of how the woman ran the household would ensure lasting social change. As the woman raised her children in a more Americanized household, they would grow up to be American.\(^{25}\)

But beyond including immigrant women in the process of assimilation, the focus on the home as a vehicle of cultural change also established a space for the efforts of female reformers. Because social feminism only allowed women to participate in public life via accepted activities, such as home economics, women reformers needed to find a way to place their reform efforts within that context. Therefore, the Americanization movement took a heavily gendered approach to assimilation, not only in regard to those who taught lessons on Americanization, but also in terms of who received those lessons. As a result of this gendered approach, Americanizers focused solely on women as mothers. Americanizers eliminated lessons on the duties of being an active citizen from efforts to assimilate immigrant women. This gendered assimilation was effective, at least on the grounds that settlement programs for women and girls were generally larger and better funded than were programs for men.\(^{26}\)

Settlement houses spearheaded the Americanization movement because they had the power to bridge the gap between the immigrant and the American way of life. Settlement house workers most frequently assisted new immigrants living in the neighborhood, primarily because


the development of the settlement house movement and massive waves of immigration occurred simultaneously. The immigration situation quickly became a divisive issue among settlement house workers; two camps regarding immigrant enculturation and assimilation emerged. On the one hand, Robert Woods, founder of the South End House, a settlement house in Boston, Massachusetts, believed that immigrants should be stripped of their cultural heritage and fully incorporated into American society. Woods argued that Americans should direct resources toward dissolving ethnic communities through broad geographical distribution and assimilation of immigrants, and he encouraged immigration restriction. On the other hand, another camp of individuals approached their work with immigrants with more appreciation for immigrants’ distinct culture. Jane Addams was the spokesperson for this group, and although historians disagree about whether Addams believed in cultural pluralism or cosmopolitanism, it is clear that in some ways she practiced a higher degree of tolerance toward immigrants than many of her counterparts in the settlement house movement.27

Regardless of settlement workers’ opinions about immigrant enculturation and assimilation, it is clear that nearly all of them possessed a sense of paternalism toward immigrants. Moreover, many historians charged the settlement house movement with practicing social control. The evidence indicates that settlement workers did engage in some form of social control. On the whole, white, middle-class, educated, Christian individuals ran the settlement houses and created the programs they offered. Additionally, efforts to Americanize immigrants

---

27Cultural pluralism developed as a concept in the 1920s; therefore, while Addams may have advocated it, she was not using the terminology for it in the early years of her time at Hull House. “Cosmopolitanism” refers to the ideology that all humans belong to one community. Different versions of cosmopolitanism define this community in a variety of ways; some focus on shared economic markets or aspects of culture, while others look at political institutions. For the purposes of this paper, cosmopolitanism refers to one community based on a shared morality among all humans. For more information, see the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, (Stanford: Stanford University, 2011), s.v. “Cosmopolitanism.” Karger, The Sentinels of Order, 48; Lissak, Pluralism and Progressives, 4, 5, 22.
are traditionally interpreted by today’s historians as elites forcing white, American, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant values on immigrants and their families.\textsuperscript{28} This interpretation, however, is fairly consistent with how Americanization efforts actually happened. While the agency of immigrants cannot be ignored because many actually wanted to assimilate, immigrants often became more of a passive audience than active participants in settlement house programs. Additionally, from a theoretical standpoint, because Jane Addams advocated for broadening the scope of democracy, assimilation naturally followed. Inclusion of immigrants was necessary to produce the democracy Addams desired, which meant equal participation in politics, as well as assimilation in social contexts. Certainly, altruism, sacrifice, charity, benevolence, and love, motivated settlement house workers to help immigrants, but the evidence of social control cannot be ignored.\textsuperscript{29}

The settlement house movement, however, emerged as only one response to the flood immigrants that arrived in the United States during the Progressive Era. Other, more sinister responses came in the form of immigration restriction, general discrimination and violence, and the re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan. As mentioned previously, Robert Woods advocated for immigration restriction, but he was not alone in his desire to cap the number and type of immigrants who entered the United States. Beginning in the 1890s, labor leaders, such as Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, advocated for immigration restriction

\textsuperscript{28} Trolander, \textit{Professionalism and Social Change}, 1-2; Karger, \textit{The Sentinels of Order}, xii; Barrett, “Americanization from the Bottom Up,” 997.

because workers feared and resented waves of new immigrants. In addition, workers felt that immigrants were taking American jobs that rightfully belonged to American workers.30

While Americans embraced nativism in the 1880s, the increase in immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe in the mid-1890s intensified Americans’ anxieties and fears regarding immigration.31 This intensification of nativism resulted in more generalized discrimination and violence, especially on the basis of religion. Following the turn of the twentieth century, Americans primarily resented Italians and Jews. Americans saw Jewish immigrants as greedy, vulgar, immoral, and unmannerly. Around 1910, as progressivism began to lose momentum because its supporters sought new and grander reforms that never came to fruition, nativism gained ground. By 1914, nativism reached a level of hysteria and violence that had been rare since the 1890s.32

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 intensified the general discrimination against German immigrants. Just one year later, in the autumn of 1915, William Joseph Simmons, a former farmer, lecturer, and preacher revived the Ku Klux Klan. Simmons gathered a small group together, including two members of the original Klan, and the speaker of the Georgia legislature as the basis for the Klan’s revival. Initially, Simmons meant to reorganize the KKK as a fraternal organization, which emphasized one-hundred percent Americanism and the dominance of the Caucasian race. However, the United States’ involvement in World War I gave the Klan a guided purpose. According to historian David Chalmers, “the nation had to be defended against alien enemies, slackers, idlers, strike leaders, and immoral women, lest victory

be endangered.” By 1919, membership in the Klan had reached several thousand, and in the 1920s, the organization focused even more on one-hundred percent Americanism. Klan members targeted Jews, Catholics, immigrants, Asians, and African-Americans. Responses to the waves of immigrants who entered the United States during the Progressive Era all contained some degree of pressure to assimilate; however, organizations such as the KKK were decidedly worse than even the social control practiced by many members of the settlement house movement.33

Immigrants responded in a variety of ways to the presence of settlement houses and their Americanization efforts. Again, because many immigrants actually wanted to assimilate, they actively participated in programs and clubs sponsored by settlement houses. However, immigrants often found the settlements’ efforts annoying or meaningless. The extent and frequency of immigrant participation in settlement programs also varied based on age, occupation, and nationality. For example, Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who settled in Chicago did not usually visit Hull House. Moreover, many young Russian Jews decided to establish independent social and political clubs in Chicago. Italian immigrants also rarely interacted with Hull House and its workers. While some more well-to-do Italians did attend programs and events at Hull House, Social-economic and immigration historian Rivka Shpka Lissak stated that “the rank and file of Italian youth…visited Hull House only occasionally.” However, some immigrant groups did take part in and enjoyed the programs at Hull House. Many Greek immigrants, for example, had a close relationship with Jane Addams. Lissak argued that Addams’ established her relationship with Greek immigrants “by her giving up any

effort to interfere in, or influence Greek activities at Hull House.”34 On the whole, immigrants largely ignored programs and clubs sponsored by settlement houses. Moreover, in terms of eating habits, immigrants accepted American ways of cooking and eating because of convenience, not because they necessarily wanted to become American. Many immigrants also criticized the Americanization movement as a whole because they wanted invited, rather than coerced, assimilation. Despite settlement houses’ efforts to Americanize immigrants, most immigrants remained in the immigrant sub-community and thus became cultural brokers who acted as bridges or links between groups or people of different cultural backgrounds.35

A REFORMER’S ROOTS

Somehow I never feel as if good things belonged to me, until I’ve passed them on to someone else.

—Lizzie Black Kander, Tributes to Mrs. Kander

On May 28, 1858, John and Mary (Perles) Black welcomed the birth of their new baby girl: Elizabeth “Lizzie” Black. The Blacks were of English and Bavarian descent and lived on the south side of Milwaukee. Mr. Black owned a dry goods store, and the family, like many other German-Jewish immigrants in Milwaukee, lived quite comfortably. The Blacks were founding members of the Jewish Reform Temple Emanu-El and strongly believed in the Temple’s Mission of reconciling religion with contemporary progressive ideas. Mrs. Black instilled in her children the notion that a woman’s responsibility was to provide moral guidance


and proper upbringing for her family. According to Mrs. Black, this obligation should be met by being well-versed in the domestic arts. This combination of religion and domesticity manifested itself most readily in the Black’s kitchen. The family was accustomed to rich German foods, such as kuchen, a German pastry. Lizzie’s mother used her culinary expertise to express her domesticity and Jewish identity. Mrs. Black also strongly valued education for all her children. Lizzie was valedictorian of her class, and although Lizzie’s mother raised her to be a good housewife and mother herself some day, Lizzie’s valedictory speech demonstrated her unique feminist ideas.

Equipped with a high school diploma and a distinct feminist vision, Kander joined the Ladies Relief Sewing Society shortly after graduation. Kander believed that while a woman was meant to abide by her traditional duties, she could perform those obligations outside of the home as well. The ladies of the Relief Sewing Society did more than just sit around and sew; they offered assistance to immigrants in Milwaukee in various forms. Early in her involvement with the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, Lizzie also met her husband, Simon Kander. He had moved to Milwaukee from Baltimore in 1868, and the couple met through their shared interest in public school reform. They married on May 17, 1881. In 1895, the Society, lead by President Lizzie Kander, developed the Keep Clean Mission to encourage proper hygiene among Russian-Jewish immigrants. The following year, Kander resigned as president of the Society. At this point, thoughts of establishing a settlement house were churning in her mind because during that same year, the Keep Clean Mission became the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, which held classes at Temple Emanu-El on Tenth and Cedar Streets in Milwaukee.36

THE HOUSE THAT LIZZIE BUILT

Its objective shall be to provide gratuitous instruction in industrial pursuits & to employ other educational methods as shall conduce to the welfare and happiness of its fellow beings.

—Constitution and By-laws of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission

The Milwaukee Jewish Mission offered many of the programs and services that other settlement houses provided, such as a cooking school, a circulating library, public baths, recreational activities, and cultural clubs. The cooking school was the most distinct aspect of the mission. In 1898, a newspaper article heralded the cooking class as “the only ‘kosher’ cooking school this side of New York.” That same year, Miss Alida Pattee from the Boston Normal School of the Household Arts began teaching the cooking lessons. During that year, she taught twenty lessons to a class of eighteen students. According to Lizzie Kander in the 1899 Annual Report of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, Miss Pattee taught the girls, all of whom were at least
seven years old, “practical lessons in housekeeping such as scrubbing and dishwashing; the preparation and the actual cooking of food; setting the table and serving the meals properly…”

Although the record regarding her departure is hazy, it is clear that Miss Pattee left The Settlement and other teachers took over the cooking classes. The Milwaukee Jewish Mission utilized the “individual cooking method,” which meant that each pupil had her own station at which to cook or bake the recipe of the lesson. Additionally, Kander stated in her annual president’s address that she “planned to have review lessons at the homes of the pupils” during vacation because mothers of the students in the cooking classes wanted to see how Kander and the teachers cooked. Obviously, immigrant women had some responsibility for Americanization. In this case, they expressed a desire to Kander to learn about American cooking. On March 27, 1900, the Milwaukee Jewish Mission and the Sisterhood of Personal Service joined forces to officially become The Settlement at 507 Fifth Street. That year, the cooking class accommodated twelve students, and the classroom served as a model kitchen. Each year, the cooking classes changed slightly; thus, it is clear that Kander and the Cooking Committee continually attempted to make the classes better and more beneficial to the students.

The Settlement did more than simply teach young women how to cook and keep house. By 1900, it also provided public baths and a circulating library. In 1903, The Settlement moved to a larger and newly remodeled location. At its peak, at least one thousand people visited the house each week. The following year, The Settlement added the resident feature, which meant

37 Announcement of Classes, Clubs, Entertainments and other activities held at the Settlement House, January 1, 1905, LBK papers; Unnamed newspaper, January 5, 1898, LBK papers; Annual Reports of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, June 6, 1899, LBK papers; Constitution and By-Laws of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, undated, LBK papers.

38 Annual Reports of the Milwaukee Jewish Mission, June 6, 1899, LBK papers; Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Presidential Address, March 27, 1901, LBK papers; Fritz, “Lizzie Black Kander,” 43.
that someone lived at the house full-time, and made more adjustments to the cooking curriculum. Kander and her crew also desired to create a reading room.\textsuperscript{39}

The year 1910 marked the tenth anniversary of The Settlement. During that year The Settlement worked to ease the housing crisis of Milwaukee, while facing a housing problem of its own.\textsuperscript{40} In September of 1910, the landlord instructed The Settlement to move for unknown reasons; in addition, the growth of clubs and classes indicated that Kander’s house needed larger facilities. Kander hosted a dinner for The Settlement’s best contributors and received ample funding for the new house, as well as gas ranges and cooking utensils for the cooking school. With funds and resources secured, The Settlement moved to the Abraham Lincoln House on Ninth and Vine Streets and was renamed “The Abraham Lincoln Settlement House.” All the while, the proceeds from Kander’s cookbook, first published in 1901, which Kander compiled from the recipes used in the cooking classes at The Settlement, had funded the operations and upkeep of her house. Kander’s tenure as president of The Settlement ended in 1916. However, she continued to work in various other social reform efforts, including her position on the Milwaukee School Board.\textsuperscript{41}

Figure 2. The Abraham Lincoln Settlement House, circa 1911. Reproduced with permission of the Jewish Museum Milwaukee.

\textsuperscript{39} Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Presidential Address, March 27, 1904, LBK papers.

\textsuperscript{40} Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Presidential Address, March 12, 1910, LBK papers.

\textsuperscript{41} Fritz, “Lizzie Black Kander,” 44.
COMPLEX CONVICTIONS

To encourage this spirit, to bring people in different walks of life together, in a friendly way, either through work or through play, that they may appreciate, sympathize, help and know one another better, this is the keynote, the foundation on which settlement work is built.

—Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Presidential Address

Figure 3. Studio Portrait of Lizzie Black Kander, date unknown, Wisconsin Historical Society Image ID# 38113. Reproduced with permission of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Kander’s motivations for becoming involved in settlement work were complex, and although many of them were similar to her settlement house counterparts, she also differed from them in distinct ways. The belief in Americanization, her connection to the Russian-Jewish population, and ideas about women’s societal roles propelled Kander into settlement work. Initially, like many other settlement house workers, Kander subscribed to a traditional view of Americanization. Kander firmly believed in helping immigrants; indeed, she remarked to Ladies Relief Sewing Society, “While there are some of our poor, who are so disheartened and discouraged,…driven from their homes and forced…to start life anew in a strange land…we can give them a kind word, a helping hand…”42 Although Kander possessed a genuine desire to help immigrants adjust to life in a new country, she believed that becoming more American was a part

42 Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Speech to the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, January 2, 1896, LBK papers.
of that adjustment. Like other settlement house workers, Kander emphasized the importance of
teaching immigrant children the “correct,” more American ways of behaving and living.43

*The Settlement Cookbook* best expressed Kander’s belief in Americanization. Like many
of her settlement house counterparts, Kander believed that changing cultural eating habits was
essential to encourage total immigrant assimilation. The cookbook laid out the process and rules
of setting the table, waiting on the table, and washing the dishes. Kander created these rules
from the perspective that immigrant women knew very little about the proper way to keep house
and serve meals. For example, the instructions from the cookbook on how to build a fire state
that one needs fuel, or “something to burn,” heat “to make fuel hot enough to burn,” and air “to
keep the fire burning.” These directions indicate that Kander possessed little faith in the ability
of immigrants to perform a task as simple as starting a fire, let alone to cook and clean in the
correct manner.44

Kander also included American foods in the cookbook. Foods such as baking powder
biscuits, apple pie, and pot roast were distinctly American cuisine. Additionally, the cookbook
encouraged Jewish immigrants to shy away from kosher cooking. Kander argued that the Jewish
practice of soaking meat to make it kosher eliminated the nutritional value of the meat. While
kosher meat could be purchased or created, the emphasis on red meat in the cookbook signified
an attempt to encourage Jewish immigrants to assimilate into mainstream American eating
culture. Moreover, the cookbook included recipes that totally disregarded rules of kosher
cooking. It included recipes that required shellfish and non-kosher meat, which Jewish law did

43 Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Presidential Address, March 27, 1900, LBK papers.

44 Jass, “Recipes for Reform,” 103; Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Speech to the Ladies Relief Sewing
Society, January 2, 1896, LBK papers; Mrs. Simon Kander and Mrs. Henry Schoenfeld, *The Settlement Cookbook*
not allow. Recipes for crabfish cream soup and scalloped oysters disobeyed the rules of kosher cooking. Kander clearly believed in Americanization; however, she practiced a faith that allowed her to bridge the gap between assimilation and cultural autonomy. Kander was a Reform Jew herself, which suggested a balance between living by old world ways and adapting to new progressive ideas. As American historian Alan Trachtenberg stated, “In the United States there evolved a distinctly Jewish way (or ways) of being American…” Jewish-Americans, like Kander, had found ways to incorporate both their Jewish and American identities in a manner that Jews and Americans could accept. In addition, because the Jewish faith focused so heavily on eating habits, Kander used religion to establish a connection with the Russian-Jews she worked with.45

Additionally, ideas about home economics also influenced Kander’s decision to use foodways as a tool for assimilation. In the 1830s and 1840s, education reformer Catharine Beecher started the home economics discipline when she began promoting the idea that women needed to be formally trained in housework. According to her biographer, Beecher realized that women in the nineteenth century had struck a bargain: if women gave up influence in public society, then they would gain total control over the domestic sphere. Women’s total control over the home necessitated their proficiency and training in housework. Therefore, according to Beecher, American society needed to prioritize the education and training of women for housework as much as it emphasized education for men. During the 1870s, women’s groups, such as the Women’s Education and Industrial Union, and other organizations in many northeastern cities in the United States offered cooking and housekeeping classes. Then, in

1893, home economics became an official academic discipline when the Columbian Exposition in Chicago included several household demonstrations.46

A few years later, Lizzie Kander extended Beecher’s idea to formally train women in housekeeping to include immigrant women. While she never specifically discussed Beecher in her writings, Kander believed that immigrant women needed training in home economics to improve their home life and to Americanize them. To accomplish these goals, Kander included simple lists regarding how to perform household duties in her cookbook. For example, according to The Settlement Cookbook, one must “Brush the crumbs from the floor. Arrange the chairs in their places. Collective and remove the knives, forks and spoons” in order to clear the table after a meal. This simple, yet detailed list provided evidence that Kander believed in the value of training in home economics for immigrant women.47

Moreover, The Settlement Cookbook demonstrated that emerging ideas about scientific management also influenced Kander’s thinking. In 1911, Frederick Winslow Taylor published a book, The Principles of Scientific Management, in which he attempted to standardize industrial manufacturing. His principles focused on developing strong relationships between employees and supervisors, scientifically selecting employees, and educating and developing employees in a scientific manner. In addition, Taylor discouraged the use of rule-of-thumb methods because they were not accurate and decreased efficiency. Interestingly, Kander first published The Settlement Cookbook in 1901, while Frederick Winslow Taylor did not publish his work on scientific management until 1911. While Kander did not specifically mention scientific management or Frederick Winslow Taylor in her writings, her cookbook provided evidence that


47 Kander and Schoenfeld, The Settlement Cookbook, 4.
Taylor’s thinking influenced her. In the cookbook, Kander provided a breakdown of an adult’s dietary needs and standardized units of measurement. According to *The Settlement Cookbook*, an “average adult requires daily: 3 ½ oz. proteid, 10 oz. starch, 3 oz. fat, 1 oz. salt, 5 pints water.” While perhaps not the most scientifically accurate, this specific list of dietary needs demonstrated Kander’s belief in the principles of scientific management. The best example of Kander’s standardization of measurement is her definition of a speck as found in her cookbook: “A speck of anything is what will lie within a space ¼ inch square.” In standardizing immigrant cooking, Kander was not necessarily trying to make it more efficient; rather, she attempted to make it more Americanized. However, her motivations for her efforts in *The Settlement* expanded beyond the desire to assimilate immigrants.48

In addition to Americanization, Kander’s connection to the Russian-Jewish population motivated her to become involved in settlement work. Lizzie Kander felt a strong connection to the Jewish population in Milwaukee; she took on the responsibility of assisting the Russian-Jewish population in making the transition into American life. According to a newspaper article from *The Evening Wisconsin*, written to celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of *The Settlement*, Kander’s work “grew out of a realization of the need for greater personal service toward the Jewish immigrants who were fleeing here from the persecutions of Russia.” The anti-Semitism and violence against Jews during the Progressive Era deeply troubled Kander.49 Kander believed that people were “trying to engender prejudice against the whole Hebrew race,” and referred to


49 “Needs Create Organization of The Settlement,” *The Evening Wisconsin*, February 15, 1915. Between 1903 and 1906, Russians inflicted multiple waves of violence upon the Jews of their country. This series of pogroms echoed the violence that had occurred between the years of 1881 and 1884. Strong anti-Semitic feelings, social and political unrest, and limited government intervention fueled the violence against Russian-Jews. For further reading, see John D. Klier and Shlomo Lambroza, eds., *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish violence in Modern Russian History* (Cambridge, UK: The Cambridge University Press, 1992).
the anti-Semites of the time as “narrow-minded and bigoted relics of the middle ages.” She was especially concerned with the living conditions of Russian-Jewish immigrants who, in Kander’s words, “huddled themselves together in the larger cities, to the great detriment of their moral and physical welfare” and struggled “against poverty and prejudice, against ignorance and vice.” Calling them “heroes and heroines,” Kander romanticized these immigrants and stated that their struggles were “far more interesting than any printed book or thrilling than any comedy or tragedy that ever placed upon the stage.”50

Like many Jewish-American writers and lecturers of the time, Kander supported Zionism, or the idea that Jewish national identity necessitated territorial ownership, and that Palestine was the only proper homeland for the Jewish population. Moreover, Zionists argued that Hebrew, as opposed to Yiddish, was the Jewish national language. Zionism had emerged as a response to Yiddishism, a nationalist movement that came about around the close of the nineteenth century. Promoters of Yiddishism claimed that the Jewish population represented its own nationality, which required minority recognition and protection from modern states. Not surprisingly, supporters of Yiddishism argued that Yiddish was the Jewish national language. In 1910, Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky, a Russian-born lecturer and essayist, undermined the Zionist movement when he claimed that the Jewish population did not need territory to create a nation; they simply needed to use the Yiddish language to produce a national culture. Despite Dr. Zhitlovsky’s position, Kander wrote in 1919 that Zionism had managed to unite most elements

50 Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Presidential Address, March 27, 1905, LBK papers; Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Speech to the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, January 2, 1896, LBK papers; Early Draft of Speech to the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, January 2, 1896, LBK papers.
of the Jewish Diaspora. Kander’s belief in Zionism demonstrated her connection to her heritage and the Jewish population throughout the world.\textsuperscript{51}

However, this connection to Russian-Jewish immigrants also came with a selfish motive. The first wave of Jewish immigrants that came to the United States from about 1820 through 1880 established Reform Judaism as a way to practice Judaism in the American context. Many from this generation of Jews became assimilated into American culture, and viewed more Orthodox Jewish immigrants as a threat to their success. Kander saw the stereotypes and reputations that Americans placed upon the Jews, and by teaching them proper American ways, Kander felt that the reputation of the Jewish community would improve. Indeed, Kander said in her annual report in 1900: “\textbf{It is a selfish motive that spurs us on; it is to protect ourselves, our own reputation in the community…}” Unlike many of her settlement house counterparts, who seemed to lack a connection to their own heritage, Kander’s deep ethnic connections pushed her into settlement work.\textsuperscript{52}

Finally, Kander embodied a distinct feminist vision, which caused her to join the ranks of settlement house workers across the nation. However, Kander herself rarely discussed women’s roles or duties in her writings. In fact, she actually wrote that women should remain “\textit{devoted wives & helpmates…and not abuse the liberty & power}” that women from earlier generations had earned. Even so, Kander used her position as founder and president of The Settlement to advance the roles of women within the confines of an already well-established system of gender roles and ideals. Although she may not have realized it at the time, Kander represented a middle

\textsuperscript{51} Trachtenberg, \textit{Shades of Hiawatha}, 143-144, 149-150; Lizzie Black Kander, Zionism and the Restoration of Palestine, December 15, 1919, LBK papers.

\textsuperscript{52} Jass, “Recipes for Reform,” 105; Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Speech to the Ladies Relief Sewing Society, January 2, 1896, LBK papers; Lizzie Black Kander, Annual Presidential Address, March 27, 1900, LBK papers.
ground between traditional women’s work and women’s desires to work professionally outside the home. Unlike individuals such as Jane Addams and Alice Paul, Kander certainly was not a revolutionary. She did not believe women should have the vote. Her beliefs in this regard were largely influenced by her mother, who taught her children the notion that a woman should be skilled in the domestic arts and take care of her family. While the separate spheres ideology was heavily challenged during the progressive era, most women still remained in the home doing their traditional duties.53

Although the American settlement house movement was largely dominated by women, Lizzie Kander differed greatly from many of the other women involved in the movement. In order to appreciate and understand those differences, it is necessary to explore why women became the heart of the settlement house movement. Although not all women involved in settlement work were college-educated, many were recent college graduates, and as products of the philosophy of liberal education, many young women were unsure of what that education actually trained them for. Religious faith also strongly influenced many settlement house workers; the foundation of the settlement house movement relied heavily on the idea that as members of a universal human brotherhood, individuals must participate in social work. Furthermore, the idea of living in the slums, where most settlement houses were located, intrigued many college women. Aside from religious doctrine and uncertainty about the practical value of a liberal arts education, settlement work seemed like a natural extension of women’s traditional duties because it capitalized on their roles as teachers and mothers.54 In an


54 Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 11; Carson, Settlement Folk, 11, 57; Christine Bolt, The Women's Movements: In the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 228.
era when women were often criticized for leaving the home and taking on a “public persona,” settlement work functioned as a way to avoid that criticism while still doing something worthwhile and productive. Indeed, professions such as social work, nursing, and home economics fostered reconciliation between professional pursuits, which were usually just for men, and values from the traditional female sphere. Many women assumed professionalization to be a step in the wrong direction because women were still supposed to desire to do traditional women’s duties. However, according to American historian Robyn Muncy, professionalization of women’s traditional duties provided “uniquely female ways of being professional” that men simply could not engage in. Considering the national concerns of the progressive era (the development of big-city slums and immigration), this professionalization of women’s work offered them more power because it placed them in a position to deal with those concerns directly.55

A combination of practical concerns, religious motivations, and the need to create a place for females within public society resulted in female dominance of the settlement house movement. Therefore, the average settlement house worker was young, female, college-educated, and from a well-to-do family. She also was unmarried, grew up in the city, and only remained in settlement work for a few years. Of course, this picture does not include all settlement house workers, but most of them fit this description at least in part.56 Kander differed from the average woman of the Progressive Era, most obviously because she worked outside the home for most of her life. Interestingly though, she engaged in work that was traditional for women: cooking, teaching, and participating in other types of social advocacy. While that work


56 Davis, Spearheads for Reform, 33-35, 11.
aligned with women in the settlement house movement, Kander was much older than most women were when they entered their stint of settlement house work. When the Milwaukee Jewish Mission opened, Kander was thirty-four years old. In addition, Kander married shortly after her graduation from high school in 1878. Clearly, her husband, Simon, accepted her work and her need to do something besides keep house. It should also be noted that Kander and her husband Simon, never had children. Whether that was due to choice or biology is unknown, but in a time when most women were mothers, Kander’s situation is especially remarkable.57

Moreover, unlike most women involved in the settlement house movement, Kander remained involved in social advocacy for most of her adult life. While she resigned as president from the Abraham Lincoln Settlement House in 1916 after twenty years of uninterrupted service, she continued to serve on the Milwaukee School Board. Given Kander’s work outside the home and the absence of children in her home, it is clear that Kander embodied a distinct feminist vision, whether she realized it or not. While on the outside Kander stated that women should remain “womanly women,” her undying perseverance in bettering the situation for Russian-Jewish immigrants and her constant involvement in multiple forms of social advocacy were a testament to her belief that women’s activities should extend well beyond the walls of her home.58

Because secondary literature on The Settlement is limited, criticism of Kander’s work with Russian-Jewish immigrants is also limited. However, evidence suggests that Kander did engage in social control. Like many of her counterparts, Kander was a white, middle to upper class, American women who attempted to Americanize immigrants. Although her connection to


her Jewish heritage and true desire to help immigrants lead her to settlement work, Kander’s basic characteristics, such as gender and race, typified those of other settlement house workers.\textsuperscript{59}

In 1922, six years after Kander left The Settlement, unidentified individuals in Milwaukee questioned whether or not the citizens of Milwaukee needed the programs and services offered by The Settlement. In a letter written to the president of The Settlement, Mildred E. McKay, whose occupation and connection to The Settlement is unknown, justified the need for The Settlement when she stated, “In the midst of 3000 Jewish families, all presenting problems of Americanization, health, relief, delinquency, education, and recreation, there is no doubt that there is much to be accomplished.” McKay continued the letter by offering suggestions for improvement to the classes and programs offered by The Settlement. McKay suggested that The Settlement improve upon its grammar school and incorporate hygiene education into its nutrition classes. While this letter does not directly criticize Kander, she started many of the programs that existed at the time McKay wrote her letter. This letter also represented the need for evaluation of programs and services offered by the house, which most settlement house workers prioritized.\textsuperscript{60}

CONCLUSION

Lizzie Black Kander is significant to the history of settlement houses, Americanization, and feminism because she contributed a little-known and sometimes overlooked perspective to each area. While Kander’s motivations for creating her settlement house were similar to other settlement house founders, she also diverged from them in some ways. Kander felt a deep connection to the Russian-Jewish population, and found an effective way to connect to them


\textsuperscript{60} Mildred E. McKay to Madame President and Members of the Board of the Abraham Lincoln House, January 14, 1922, LBK papers; Wade, “The Heritage from Chicago’s Early Settlement Houses,” 417.
through cultural eating habits. Assimilation through eating habits, while not always successful, provided a context for settlement workers and immigrants to come together and perhaps even understand one another. In addition, while Kander strongly believed in Americanization, she sought to create an environment where cultural autonomy and cultural assimilation were both possible. Indeed, Kander advocated and participated in efforts to assimilate immigrants, but she also allowed immigrants to assimilate on their own terms.

Finally, applying a feminist lens to Kander’s life and work shows the complexities and idiosyncrasies of her life and the time period in which she lived. Kander performed traditional women’s work; however, she did so outside the home for most of her adult life. Moreover, *The Settlement Cookbook* became a widely successful entrepreneurial endeavor. While Kander believed that women complained too much about the injustices they faced, she certainly stepped out of the traditional realm of womanhood with ease and success. As such, although Kander probably never meant to assist the feminist movement in its fight to make it acceptable for women to work outside the home, she absolutely contributed to the professionalization of traditional women’s work. Lizzie Kander’s motivations for participating in settlement work were complicated, and while she had some selfish motivations, she genuinely believed in her cause to help Russian-Jewish immigrants survive and succeed in America.
APPENDIX

TIMELINE

NOTABLE DATES IN THE HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT

1878: Ladies Relief Sewing Society founded.

January 2, 1896: Kander announced resignation as president of the Ladies Relief Sewing Society.

1896: The Keep Clean Mission became the Milwaukee Jewish Mission; held at Temple Emanu-El at Tenth and Cedar Streets.

1898: Kitchen for cooking lessons finished; Miss Alida Pattee of the Boston Normal School of Household Arts hired to teach the cooking lessons.

1900: The Milwaukee Jewish Mission and The Sisterhood of Personal Service joined together to form The Settlement; added baths and a circulating library.

1901: First publication of The Settlement Cookbook.

March 23, 1901: Official incorporation of The Settlement.

1903: The Settlement moved to a new and recently remodeled building; hit one thousand visitors weekly; Kander re-elected as Settlement president.

1904: The Settlement added the resident feature.

1906: Kander re-elected as Settlement president.

1910: The Settlement celebrated its tenth anniversary of service to the Jewish community of Milwaukee.

1911: The Settlement moved to the Abraham Lincoln House on Ninth and Vine Streets; renamed “The Abraham Lincoln Settlement House.”

1915: “The Abraham Lincoln Settlement House” celebrated its fifteen year anniversary; Kander
announced her resignation as president for the following year.

1931: Proceeds from *The Settlement Cookbook* and the Abraham Lincoln House were used to buy University High School at 1025 N. Milwaukee Street and form the Jewish Center. Mrs. Minette F. Daneman served as President. Lizzie Kander served as Vice President.

1940: Lizzie Kander passed away on July 24, 1940. She served as Vice President of the Jewish Center until her death.

1941: The Jewish Center celebrated ten years at its new location and with its new name.

1946: The Jewish Center officially changed its name to the Jewish Community Center.

1955: The Jewish Community Center moved to a new home on the lake at 1400 North Prospect Avenue.

1966: The Jewish Community Center acquired property in Eagle River, Wisconsin, and began Camp Interlaken – the summer resident camp.

1968: The Center acquired property in Fredonia, Wisconsin, and created Camp JCC – the day camp.

1987: The Center moved to another new home – Karl Campus – in Whitefish Bay. This move reflected the Jewish community’s shift to the suburbs.

2007: The Center re-opened the Hy and Richard Smith JCC Family Park in Mequon, Wisconsin.
SETTING THE TABLE.

If possible, have a table with square ends. Use clean linen, no matter how coarse and cheap. Have the cloth long and wide enough to hang well around the table. Under the linen cloth have another cloth of some other soft and heavy and material. Place the center of the table-cloth in the center of the table, smooth it into place, and have the folds straight with the edge of the table.

CHAPTER II: BEVERAGES

GENERAL RULES

A beverage is any drink. Water is a beverage, and is an essential to life. All beverages contain a large percentage of water, and aid to quench thirst, to introduce water into the system and regulate the temperature; to assist in carrying off waste; to nourish, to stimulate the nervous system and various organs. Freshly boiled water should be used for making hot beverages; freshly drawn water for making cold beverages.

HASEN PFEFFER

Lay the rabbit meat in a jar and cover with vinegar and water, equal parts; one sliced onion, salt, pepper, cloves and bay leaves. Allow this to soak two days. Remove the meat and brown it thoroughly in hot butter, turning it often, and gradually add the sauce in which it was pickled, as much as is required. Before serving, stir one cupful thick sour cream into the sauce. Beef may be prepared the same way.

LOBSTER A LA NEWBURG

The meat of two lobsters cut into one-inch pieces, placed into sauce pan with one ounce fresh butter, salt, cayenne pepper (two truffles cut into dice are a great improvement). Cook five minutes, add one wineglass Madeira, reduce to half by boiling three minutes. Beat three yolks with one-half pint cream, and stir into the above mixture. Shuffle lightly two minutes until all is blended, and serve on toast.

APPLE PIE

4 apples, medium size, ½ cup sugar,
Flavor with cinnamon, 1 or 2 tablespoons water,
nutmeg or lemon juice. if apples are not juicy.

Pare, core and slice the apples. Line a pie plate with plain pie crust. Law in the apples, sprinkle with sugar and spices if wanted. Cover with upper crust and bake until the crust is brown and the fruit is soft.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscript Collections

Alex and Irma Greenthal Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.

Kander, Simon Mrs. (Lizzie Black Kander) Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.

Books


Websites


SECONDARY SOURCES

Books


Bolt, Christine. The Women's Movements: In the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.


**Journal Articles**


Dissertations and Theses


Reference Works
