To my Heroine
my Mother,
Ferhan Tokay

THE OTHER ROOSEVELT PRINCESS: ETHEL ROOSEVELT AND THE IMPERATIVE OF PHILANTHROPY, HUMANITARIANISM AND PUBLIC SERVICE

Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
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September 2016

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ABSTRACT

THE OTHER ROOSEVELT PRINCESS: ETHEL ROOSEVELT AND THE IMPERATIVE OF PHILANTHROPY, HUMANITARIANISM AND PUBLIC SERVICE

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This dissertation examines Theodore Roosevelt's second daughter Ethel Roosevelt Derby. One of the main aims of this dissertation is to contribute to the field by constituting a case study of Ethel Roosevelt Derby, relying on a vast corpus of primary and secondary sources. While doing this, the dissertation concentrates on some prominent aspects of Ethel Roosevelt Derby's biographical sketches in order to scrutinize how Theodore Roosevelt's daughter becomes "the Roosevelt child," who espouses the legacy of her father. In this regard, how her father Theodore Roosevelt and his ideals regarding the strenuous life, conservationism, progressive vision of the government and the nation, and social-community service for the good of society, shaped Ethel Roosevelt Derby's life is the central point of this dissertation. The most noteworthy characteristic Ethel Roosevelt Derby shared with her father is her fervent

commitment to caring for others and serving the community. As a Roosevelt, Ethel preserved the virtue of participating at any kind of benevolence for the good of the public, of the country, and, without doubt, of humanity in general. In that vein, through Theodore Roosevelt's daughter's life, this dissertation will shed light on the concepts of noblesse oblige, philanthropy, humanitarianism, and voluntary action for the public good in the twentieth century American history, and the role of the philanthropic voluntary associations on the lives of the Roosevelts, focusing mainly Theodore Roosevelt's father Theodore Roosevelt Sr., Theodore Roosevelt himself, and his daughter Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

Keywords: Ethel Roosevelt Derby, Humanitarianism, Philanthropy, Public Service, Roosevelt Dynasty.

ÖZET

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'İN DİĞER PRENSESİ ETHEL ROOSEVELT VE HAYIRSEVERLİK VE KAMU HIZMETİNİN HAYATINDAKİ ÖNEMİ

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Eylül 2016

Bu tez, Theodore Roosevelt'in ikinci kızı Ethel Roosevelt Derby'yi incelemektedir. Bu tezin başlıca amaçlarından biri literatüre Ethel Roosevelt Derby'nin birincil ve ikincil kaynaklardan oluşan geniş bir arşiv çalışmasına dayanarak yazılmış 1920lere kadar olan biyografisini kazandırmaktır. Bunu yaparken Ethel Roosevelt Derby'nin hayatında öne çıkan bazı kesitlerin üzerinde daha çok durulmaktadır, ki böylece Theodore Roosevelt'in manevi mirasını gerçekten benimseyen çocuğunun Ethel Roosevelt Derby olduğu savunulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Theodore Roosevelt'in doğal kaynakların korunmasına, ilerici bir devlet ve millet anlayışının varlığına ve kamu yararına yapılan hizmete verdiği önemin Ethel Roosevelt Derby'nin hayatını nasıl şekillendirdiği bu tezin ana noktası olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu çalışmanın asıl dayanak noktasını oluşturan, Ethel Roosevelt Derbynin babasından miras kalan en önemli vasfı, muhtaçlara ve genel olarak içinde yaşadığı topluma yardım etmeyi

kendisine vazife bilmesidir. Bir Roosevelt olarak, Ethel içinde yaşadığı toplumun, ülkenin, ve hiç şüphesiz tüm insanlığın yararını amaçlayan proje ya da kurumlarda yer almanın üstün bir meziyet olduğunu benimsemiştir. Bu bağlamda bu tez, Theodore Roosevelt'in kızının hayatı üzerinden hem 20. Yüzyıl Amerikasında hayırseverlik anlayışına ve gönüllülük esasına bağlı kurulan yardım kurumlarına, hem de bu yardım kurumlarında gönüllü olarak çalışmanın Roosevelt ailesinde nasıl algılandığına ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ethel Roosevelt Derby, Hayırseverlik, Kamu Hizmeti, Roosevelt Hanedanlığı.

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Conducting the research and writing the dissertation has taken various painful phases, so without their support I would have not been able to succeed. They are my friends, who share the same fate of being a miserable Ph.D. student: Ayşegül Avcı, Doğuş Özdemir, Sena Hatip Dinçyürek, Elvin Otman, Aslı Yiğit, Burcu Feyzullahoğlu, Merve Biçer, Tarık Tansu Yiğit, Can Eyüp Çekiç, Abdürrahim Özer, Mert Öztürk, and the Sheridans: Aslıhan Aksoy Sheridan and Michael Sheridan.

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I would like to acknowledge my family: my mother Ferhan Tokay, my brother Adil Tokay and my sister-in-law Alev Akin Tokay for supporting me during this long chapter of my life. I would like to recall my beloved father, Şerafettin Zeki Tokay, and to mention the happines I felt when he told me he would not force me to continue my education after high-school. I was six then, and was quite smart. Dear father, that smartness was passing, I unfortunately continued “education” fifteen years more after high-school.

Lastly, I thank my family: my husband Mehmet Selim Ünal, and my three-year-old son Halil Ünal. Yes, it is true that I could have written this dissertation much earlier if there were not sleepless nights and workless days full of games and entertainment with my little monster Halil. But, definitely, without him in my life, I would not have felt the same when I completed this research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ..... **II**

ÖZET ..... **IV**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ..... **VI**

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS ..... **X**

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION **1**

1.1 THE ARGUMENT 3

1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW 7

1.2.1. "Ethel Roosevelt Derby" in Secondary Literature 7

1.2.2. "Noblesse Oblige" and "Philanthropy" in Secondary Literature 14

1.2.3. "American Ambulance in Neuilly, American Humanitarianism and American Neutrality during the First World War" in Secondary Literature 26

1.2.4. "Grand Tour, Transatlantic Travel and the Image of Europe" in Secondary Literature 44

1.3 A NOTE ON THE SOURCES 52

CHAPTER II: ETHEL ROOSEVELT:THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S HALF-KNICKERBOCKER HALF-HUGUENOT DAUGHTER **59**

2.1. INTRODUCTION 59

2.2. THE CAROWS AND THE ROOSEVELTS 60

2.2.1. Carow Family 60

2.2.2. Roosevelt Family 64

2.4. ETHEL ROOSEVELT: CHILDHOOD, 1891-1901 88

CHAPTER III: THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER **117**

3.1. INTRODUCTION 117

3.2. AN AMERICAN PRINCESS IN THE WHITE HOUSE, 1901-1909 117

3.3.1. Ethel's Grand Tour of Europe in 1909 and 1910 142

3.4. ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY: BECOMING A FAMILY, 1913-1914 159

3.4.1. Ethel and Dick's Honeymoon: Another Grand Tour of Europe, 1913 .. 164

CHAPTER IV: AN AMERICAN PRINCESS IN PARIS DURING THE GREAT WAR: ETHEL ROOSEVELT IN L'AMBULANCE AMERICAINE DE NEUILLY **175**

4.1. INTRODUCTION 175

4.2. American Expatriate Community and the Formation of American Ambulance in Neuilly-Sur-Seine, Paris, France 176
4.3. "Derbys Off For Warzone": Ethel Roosevelt and Dr. Richard Derby Sailed for France 189
4.4. Ethel Roosevelt Derby Became A Nurse at the American Ambulance 207
4.5. Ethel, the Humanitarian Daughter of TR and the Belgian Refugees in Paris 216
4.6. November 1914: The Hectic Month at the American Ambulance ... 222
4.7. Christmas in New York 233

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION: THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S LEGACY AT ETHEL ROOSEVELT'S HANDS 240
5.1. Introduction 240
5.2. The War and the Armistice Years: The Rough Times of Both the Roosevelts and the Derbys 241
5.3. The Derbys' Transatlantic Travels 244
5.4. The Derby Daughters 245
5.5. Conclusion 246

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY 255
Primary Sources 255
Secondary Sources 257

APPENDIX A: THE PHOTOGRAPS OF ETHEL ROOSEVELT 1891-1913 265

APPENDIX B: THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY 1914-1977 280

LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

TR	Theodore Roosevelt
EKR	Edith Kermit Roosevelt
ERD	Ethel Roosevelt Derby
TRC	Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University
ERDP	Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Ethel Roosevelt Derby Papers 1871-1977

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On Friday, April 4, at twelve o'clock, at Christ Church, Oyster Bay, Theodore Roosevelt escorted his daughter Ethel, "the dearest girl I know,"[1] to the altar. "Strong, straight, clean and gentle," groom "with a very tender and sympathetic heart,"[2] Doctor Richard Derby, as he appeared on the wedding invitation, was waiting impatiently as the father and the daughter moved slowly, smiling at the overcrowded seats at both sides of the aisle.

With 500 invited guests inside the church, and nearly that many uninvited outside, Ethel Roosevelt's "apple blossom wedding"[3] was the most favored social gathering in the spring of 1913. Oyster Bay's cornet band, in blue and white uniforms, was playing "My Sweetheart"[4] outside the church, where "all the children, hundreds of

[1] Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letters of Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, February 14, 1913.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Ethel Roosevelt: Wife of Doctor Richard Derby," *The San Francisco Call* April 5, 1913, 2.

[4] Ibid.

them,"[5] and the neighbors were gathering to see the bride in her "ivory white satin gown with a bodice draped with Venetian lace in a surplice effect."[6] Ethel, under the "long white tulle veil fastened with orange blossoms," with "a shower bouquet of apple blossoms and gardenias,"[7] on her hands, seemed as happy and sweet as possible. According to TR, his "Ethely bye kins" never looked prettier. "Dick has a treasure," wrote TR to Kermit when Ethel and Richard got engaged in February 1913. As TR added, "he knows it too, he is in the seventh heaven of delight."[8]

The "pink and white" wedding continued with a big reception at Sagamore Hill, as the bride put it, the "place we loved so dearly."[9] After the reception was over, the young couple left for a three-month European honeymoon. TR, very proud of both the bride and the groom, wrote Richard, he and Edith thought "it about the nicest and most satisfactory marriage of which we ever heard."[10] And, he, wholeheartedly, wished for the lovely young couple's happiness; such a happiness himself and Edith had been sharing since they married.

On Friday, April 4, at twelve o'clock, at Christ Church, Oyster Bay, Theodore Roosevelt's "Ethely bye kins," became Doctor Richard Derby's "little black cat."

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[5] TRC, Letters of Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, February 14, 1913.

[6] "Ethel Roosevelt: Wife of Doctor Richard Derby," *The San Francisco Call* April 5, 1913, 2.

[7] Ibid.

[8] TRC, Letters of Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, February 14, 1913.

[9] Harriet K. Shapiro Interview Raw Notes, 1. The excerpt is originally from the transcription of Harriet Shapiro's interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby in 1976. Shapiro's interview was published in Ms. Magazine in August 1976. The transcription of this interview, which is preserved in Houghton Library, Theodore Roosevelt Collection, under the name of TRC Subject Files, and under the code of Roosevelt R 200 R 67 e 31, is being used here. The transcription of the interview is typed and 28 pages in total. For the published article, see: Harriet Shapiro. "Ethel Roosevelt Derby: TR's Other Daughter." *Ms.* August 1976, 14-17.

[10] TRC, Letters of Theodore Roosevelt to Richard Derby, April 7, 1913.

She was her father's vigorous and strong "Elephant Johnny," and her husband's chaste and demure wife. To the United States at the start of the twentieth century, as the younger daughter of the President, she was the staid Cathedral School girl. To the Oyster Bay locals at the middle of the twentieth century, she was "the Queen of Oyster Bay." She was a caring sister to her brothers, and a caring mother to her children, and a caring daughter to her lonely mother. She was mature and strong in dealing with the death of her dears, and sensitive and responsible to preserve the history they left behind. She was a Roosevelt, the daughter of Theodore Roosevelt. And, this is the history of a Roosevelt.

1.1 The Argument

This dissertation examines Theodore Roosevelt's second daughter Ethel Roosevelt Derby. It is interesting to see that Theodore Roosevelt's daughter has received little attention from the historians working on Theodore Roosevelt or on the Roosevelt family in general. In his biographical book focusing on the White House years of Edith Kermit Roosevelt, which was published in June 2013, historian Lewis L. Gould points out that "a biography of Ethel would be a significant contribution to the literature on the Roosevelt family."[11] Taking this into consideration, this dissertation tries to contribute to the field by constituting a case study of Ethel Roosevelt Derby until the 1920s, relying on a vast corpus of primary and secondary sources.

Secondly, this dissertation concentrates on some prominent aspects of Ethel Roosevelt Derby's biographical sketches in order to scrutinize how Theodore Roosevelt's daughter became "the Roosevelt child," who espoused the legacy of her

[11] Lewis L. Gould, *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Creating the Modern First Lady* (Lawrence, 2013), p.131.

father. Ethel Roosevelt Derby was born on August 13, 1891, in Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, N.Y., and died on December 10, 1977, in her house in Oyster Bay, N.Y. In his book, *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill*, Roosevelts' family friend Herman Hagedorn described Ethel as "a character from the beginning, with a will of her own and a sharp sense of what was right and what wasn't…"[12]. She embraced that character until she died at the age of eighty-six. In this vein, this dissertation focuses on how her father Theodore Roosevelt and his ideals regarding the strenuous life, conservationism, progressive vision of the government and the nation, and social-community service for the good of the society, shaped Ethel Roosevelt Derby's life.

Thirdly, through Theodore Roosevelt's daughter's life, this dissertation will shed light on the concepts of noblesse oblige, philanthropy, humanitarianism, and voluntary action for the public good in the twentieth century American history, and the role of the philanthropic voluntary associations on the lives of the Roosevelts, focusing mainly Theodore Roosevelt's father Theodore Roosevelt Sr., Theodore Roosevelt himself, and his daughter Ethel Roosevelt Derby. This analysis will be portrayed within the margins of a culture the Roosevelt family both embraced and rejected whole-heartedly: the culture of Patricians (Knickerbocker elite families of New York) of the nineteenth century. As a member of a Patrician society in New York, Theodore Roosevelt Sr. was not a man of public service. However -though this Patrician culture isolates its members from the lower classes, the immigrants, and the poor living in the slums of New York, and it generally does not encourage its members to be active in philanthropy, Theodore Roosevelt Sr. was a great philanthropist of his time. Theodore Roosevelt grew up witnessing the philanthropic

[12] Hermann Hagedorn, *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill* (New York, 1954), p.24.

activities of his father, and learned, by heart, the virtue of giving. His understanding of helping the needy, though, changed in time. By revolting against his Patrician (Knickerbocker) identity, Theodore Roosevelt, at first followed his father's example by involving in many philanthropist actions, and later, taking another step ahead, he decided to dirty his hands by entering a totally new arena for his class: politics, in order to make a progressive change for the good of the public. And, Ethel Roosevelt grew up witnessing her father's endless projects designed for the good of the community and the nation. In this vein, this dissertation underlines the Roosevelts' family tradition of philanthropy, and focuses on how this concept of philanthropy and voluntary action for the good of the society transformed in time for three consecutive generations.

Ethel Roosevelt Derby was the only daughter born to Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt. She grew up with four brothers, whom she sometimes played "hair-raising games" in the "old barn"[13] of Sagamore Hill with, and in other times pretended to be their mother by sending them snacks to share while they were studying at Groton. According to the American public, she was the President's unpopular daughter when compared to her half-sister "Princess Alice." She was very much like her mother Edith, in protecting her privacy against any exploitation of the American press. And, actually, she did not have the desire to be notorious; so for the American press there was "little newsworthy in the staid Cathedral School girl."[14] Though she was seven years younger than Alice, she was a more mature and a responsible daughter in the eyes of her parents. In TR's words; she "was the asset

[13] TRC, Subject Files, Harriet Shapiro Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[14] Stacy A. Cordery, *Alice: Alice Roosevelt Longworth, from White House Princess to Washington Power Broker* (New York, 2007), p.162.

child, just as Alice was a liability…" Theodore Roosevelt had a quite different relationship with Ethel than with his other children. He knew very well that Ethel adored him so much, and that he constituted the role-model man in her mind. She was that little girl, sitting at the stairs of Sagamore Hill, pretended to knit handkerchiefs for her father and for his Rough Rider friends, who were fighting in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. During their European vacation after Theodore Roosevelt left U.S. Presidency to William Howard Taft, Ethel enjoyed the company of her father so much that she prayed that he would not run for Presidency again, but stayed right beside her in Sagamore Hill. In 1912, when he decided to form the Bull Moose Party and run for Presidency, she, in order to be close to him and to his cause, became his closest assistant in the preparation of his campaign. In Kathleen Dalton's words, Ethel was Theodore Roosevelt's "the most Bull Moose" child."[15] In 1913, while he was escorting her to the altar, "he seemed near to tears, in contrast to his unsmiling demeanor at Alice's wedding in the White House."[16] Later, Ethel became a loving wife and a caring mother to her four children. Following the examples of her grandfather Theodore Roosevelt Sr., and her father Theodore Roosevelt, she adopted a life constructed on various philanthropic works and voluntary activities for the good of the society. She was a nurse at the American Ambulance in Neuilly, France, and a voluntary worker and a member at American Red Cross for nearly sixty years. The most noteworthy characteristic Ethel Roosevelt Derby shared with her father, which this dissertation is constituted on, is her fervent commitment to caring others and serving the community. Inherited from her father, Ethel preserved the virtue of participating at any kind of benevolence for

[15] Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York, 2002), p.518.

[16] Edmund Morris, *Colonel Roosevelt* (New York, 2010), p.274.

the good of the public, of the country, and, without doubt, of the humanity in general. This dissertation aims to examine Ethel Roosevelt Derby with all these different roles she embraced, with an emphasis on how her father Theodore Roosevelt and his ideals shaped these roles.

1.2. Literature Review

1.2.1. "Ethel Roosevelt Derby" in Secondary Literature

No written biography of Ethel Roosevelt Derby exists with the exception of the chapter on "Ethel Carow Roosevelt Derby (1891-1977)" in Betty Boyd Caroli's *The Roosevelt Women*, which is clearly not an all-encompassing biography. Thus, in this dissertation, Ethel, at first is examined through the gaze of the historians writing on Theodore Roosevelt. This immense secondary literature[17] on TR is foremostly consulted at the elaboration of this dissertation. Most of this literature, though, does not touch much on her daughter Ethel. They mostly analyze the members of TR's family cursorily. On this ground, not every book written on TR is cited in this dissertation. The ones, which help developing first TR's family history, then Ethel's

[17] Francis A. Adams, *Roosevelt: His Policies, His Enemies, His Friends* (New York, 1909); Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time Vol. I and Vol. II* (New York, 1920); John Morton Blum, *The Republican Roosevelt* (Cambridge, 1954); James MacGregor Burns and Susan Dunn, *The Three Roosevelts: Patrician Leaders who Transformed America* (New York, 2001); Hermann Hagedorn, *The Boys' Life of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1918); William Henry Harbaugh, *Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (Newtown, 2002); Max Kullnick, *From Rough Rider to President* (Chicago, 1911); Stefan Lorant, *The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1959); David McCollough, *Mornings on Horseback: The Story of an Extraordinary Family* (New York, 1982); Nathan Miller, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Life* (New York, 1992); Edmund Morris, *Theodore Rex* (New York, 2002); Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 2001); Edmund Lester Pearson, *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1920); Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography* (New York, 1956); Julian Street, *The Most Interesting American* (New York, 1915); William Roscoe Thayer, *Theodore Roosevelt: An Intimate Biography* (Boston, 1919); Edward Wagenknecht, *The Seven Worlds of Theodore Roosevelt* (Guilford, 2009).

family history, and TR's role as a father to Roosevelt children, are made use. Besides, the secondary literature on TR's wife Edith Kermit Roosevelt is invaluable too. Although the secondary literature on Edith is quite limited when compared to the one on TR, it, at some points of the dissertation, becomes more consequential.

Sylvia Jukes Morris's biography of Edith, *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady*, and Kathleen Dalton's biography of TR, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* were the leading secondary literature this dissertation refers to. Sylvia Jukes Morris's work, which was published in 1980, is the first and only biography of Edith Kermit Roosevelt. Though, in 2001 Tom Lansford published a short book, *A Bully First Lady: Edith Kermit Roosevelt*, and very recently in 2013 Lewis L. Gould's work, *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Creating the Modern First Lady* arrived at the library shelves, Morris's biography of Edith is still considered the most elaborate one, which covers Edith's lifetime from her birth to her death. This is the very reason this dissertation relies on Morris's work as an essential secondary source. While focusing on every detail in Edith's life, the book gives a very comprehensive picture of every member of the Roosevelt family, including Ethel. According to Morris, Ethel,

> "was at fourteen a conscientious student, a fine horsewoman, and an efficient child-minder who helped her younger brothers with arithmetic and Latin. She could be relied on to manage the house and the servants; was also public-spirited…"[18] at sixteen "was always going away to parties in town, riding on country estates at weekends, and inviting her special friends home,"[19] at seventeen, at the time of her debut at the White House, "was quite and retiring in contrast to the flamboyant Princess of 1902,"[20] and at twenty-one "intended

[18] Sylvia Jukes Morris, *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady* (New York, 1980), p.298.

[19] Ibid., 321.

[20] Ibid., 336.

> to make a trip to Brazil,"[21] and at mid-thirties "had a profound sense of family history."[22]

Morris's work, while introducing quite, responsible, mature, and the more grounded Roosevelt child, Ethel, also indicates some major points in Ethel's lifetime. Gathering these indications, this dissertation could classify the events chronologically, and shape her life story skillfully. Besides, Morris had done a very extensive research on Roosevelt family archives; in this respect, her book becomes a leading source of the research this dissertation grounds on.

Kathleen Dalton's *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life*, which was published in 2002, is a widely researched, and elaborately written biography of Theodore Roosevelt. There are numerous, quite popular, and successful biographies of Theodore Roosevelt by notable historians. The reason this dissertation is making references to Dalton's work more than the other TR biographies is that Dalton's book scrutinizes TR's life more in parallel with his inner circle of family members. It includes numerous episodes of Ethel's life while focusing on an incident in TR's. Especially Ethel's experience of social work, of the political life, and of TR's progressive ideas between 1911 and 1914 are discussed extensively in Dalton's book when compared to other TR biographies. According to Dalton, Ethel,

> was the family stalwart… remained a liberal Republican who delighted in hearing her cousin Eleanor denounce the pending antiunion right to work legislation as reactionary… was filled with pride when she went to see Eleanor chairing the United Nations Human Rights Commission… turned out to be TR's most Bull Moose child… supported the internationalist Cord Meyer in the United World Federalists as a successor to TR's internationalism and his league ideas… did make her Jane Addams mark on the world by starting social work services at St. Luke's Hospital…[23]

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[21] Ibid., 394.

[22] Ibid., 469.

[23] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life, p.518.

As a matter of fact, Dalton's approach to Ethel as the "most Bull Moose child" of Theodore Roosevelt, and his most dedicated follower by pointing out her work with Herman Hagedorn, with Harvard College, and with Theodore Roosevelt Association in preservation of Theodore Roosevelt and his family history, has led this dissertation adopt these characteristics of Ethel as the dissertation's core points.

Another book this dissertation makes mention of is Betty Boyd Caroli's *The Roosevelt Women*. As Caroli points out in the Preface of the book, after three years of letter and diary reading, and putting nine Roosevelt women's stories together, the book was published in 1998. It is a collection of nine Roosevelt women's approximately forty paged biographies. One of these women is Ethel; in Caroli's words, the most difficult one "to pin down, of all the Roosevelt women considered here."[24] In the Introduction of her book, Caroli describes Ethel as,

> of the four female cousins, Ethel remained the most private, her life defined by her husband, children, and the community in which she lived… while her sister, Alice, was making headlines in Washington D.C., she wanted none of the limelight for herself… and she could easily serve as model number one in any manual on how to negotiate the labyrinth of problems suffered by the offspring of famous parents.[25]

This portraiture of Ethel at the very beginning of the book becomes the prevailing picture in Ethel's short biography Caroli composes later in her book. Ethel's devotion first to her family, then to her community, and her experiencing this devotion not in the public eye but in privacy is the preeminent theme in Caroli's

[24] Betty Boyd Caroli. *The Roosevelt Women* (New York, 1998), p.14.

[25] Ibid., 14.

book. In this aspect, Caroli's book angles some dominant characteristics of Ethel this dissertation scrutinizes. Besides, this short biography of Ethel in *The Roosevelt Women* is the only biography of her, written by a historian.

Betty Boyd Caroli uses primary documents she gathered from Harvard College - Theodore Roosevelt Collection, from Library of Congress – Kermit and Belle Roosevelt Papers and Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. Papers, and from Arizona Historical Society – Ferguson Papers, and she interviewed with many members of Roosevelt family, including two of Ethel's daughters, Edith Williams and Sarah Alden Gannett to compose this biography. In this respect, *The Roosevelt Women*'s chapter on Ethel is an invaluable source to this dissertation. However, since it is just a chapter of forty pages, it cannot fulfill to cover every single episode in Ethel's life meticulously. It does leave out some significant information, which composes this dissertation. In addition to that, as Caroli also states in the Preface of her book, different historians may have totally different apprehensions when they read the same letter of a historical figure. This estimation proves to be thoroughly right in the case of Caroli's chapter on Ethel in *The Roosevelt Women* and of this dissertation.

Another invaluable secondary source is Peter Collier's account of the Oyster Bay Roosevelts and Hyde Park Roosevelts together, *The Roosevelts: An American Saga*, which was published in 1995. Collier introduces Ethel to his readers as a "sturdy and good natured child,"[26] "Dutch looking teenager… the dependable family loyalist."[27] As did Theodore Roosevelt, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, and many of their biographers, Collier also begins describing Ethel by comparing her to her only sister,

[26] Peter Collier, *The Roosevelts: An American Saga* (New York, 1994), p.76.

[27] Ibid.,123.

Alice. This comparison is best portrayed in Collier's book with Collier's referring to the phrase Theodore Roosevelt was using: "Ethel was the asset child, just as Alice was a liability…"[28] Different than the other historians working on Roosevelts though, Collier adopts a more definite view on this comparison:

> Ethel was the exact opposite of her sister – emotionally steady and reliable, the one child whose unconditional love TR could always rely on. A young woman who had unfortunately inherited TR's stocky build but had a pleasant face and was admired by everyone for the sweetness of her temperament…[29]

Like in all other books on Theodore Roosevelt or on Roosevelts in general, in Collier's book too, the reference to Ethel Roosevelt's life is quite limited to few significant occasions in a few pages. In this respect, there is no uncovered and new information on Ethel Roosevelt Collier's book is bringing in to the literature. However, Collier's approach of weaving some episodes of Ethel's life in the context of Roosevelts' family history is invaluable for the central contention this dissertation is supporting. In *The Roosevelts: An American Saga*, Ethel stands out with her commitment to the virtues of her father and to the preservation of his family history, as does in the other books mentioned above.

Edward J. Renehan Jr., in his book, *The Lion's Pride: Theodore Roosevelt and His Family in Peace and War*, published in 1998, decides to present Ethel to his readers in a quite common style; by describing her through her sister Alice.

> Ethel had none of Sister's annoying peculiarities. While Sister was sharp-tongued, irreverent, and would go to her grave an avowed atheist, Ethel was from the start a model of Christian virtue, piety, and good works. Sister was

[28] Ibid., 123.

[29] Ibid., 160.

> flamboyant, impulsive, and provocative; Ethel was chaste, reserved, and conservative. Sister courted the superrich and endeavored to socialize with the poshest society of New York and Newport; Ethel contemplated volunteering at Jane Addams's Hull House.[30]

Besides this comparative description, "chaste, reserved, and conservative" Ethel appeared to be a war heroine in Renehan Jr.'s book. More than other episodes in her life, Ethel's experience of the Great War in an American expatriate hospital in Paris is what Renehan Jr. discusses the most while referring to Ethel's life. *The Lion's Pride*'s benefit as a secondary source to this dissertation lies in its focus on Ethel's wartime job. The book analyzes Ethel's husband Dick Derby's duty at the American Ambulance Hospital in Neuilly-sur-Seine, the wartime conditions of this hospital, Ethel and Dick's Parisian entourage, and what Ethel wrote her father about the German atrocities she experienced in Paris, more profoundly than any other book written on Roosevelts.

Lastly, Roosevelts' family friend Herman Hagedorn's book *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill*, published in 1954, can be considered an important secondary source to elaborate upon the personality of Ethel. As Houghton Library manuscripts also points out, Hagedorn discussed the details of this book with Ethel, who supplied him with many personal papers of TR and the Roosevelt family while he was researching for this book. Relying on a corpus of primary and secondary documents, Hagedorn's book displays Theodore Roosevelt's family life at Sagamore Hill quite elaborately. Although he does not mention Ethel as much as her brothers, his description of Ethel is still considered worthwhile for this dissertation:

[30] Edward J. Renehan Jr., *The Lion's Pride: Theodore Roosevelt and His Family in Peace and War* (Oxford, 1998), p.86.

> With all her gaiety, her love of fun, Ethel, even at sixteen, had exceptional depth of feeling, sensitivity, and capacity for suffering, but, with it, an inner citadel of faith, which gave her security. She was not beautiful, except for her eyes, which were deep and blue and alert, and were clouded when her emotions were momentarily stirred. Her figure was straight but not impressive; yet she made the sensitive observer, now and again, think of a caryatid.[31]

1.2.2. "Noblesse Oblige" and "Philanthropy" in Secondary Literature

Besides the books written on Theodore Roosevelt and on the other members of the Roosevelt family, the secondary literature on the history of philanthropy (including noblesse oblige) in the United States, and of the philanthropic and voluntary organizations Roosevelts belonged to will benefit the main theme of this dissertation. Since Ethel Roosevelt Derby's life is analyzed in the margins of the community works and of her understanding and experiencing of philanthropy, a supplementary research on the secondary literature on these topics is compulsory. Only then can a truly comprehensive biography of Ethel Roosevelt Derby be written. And, to focus on the Roosevelts' interest in the philanthropic works, a brief introduction to the history of the wealth the Roosevelts built, and of the charity organizations they transferred a good portion of this wealth is essential here at this section of the dissertation.

During Peter Stuyvesant's reign[32], in about 1644[33], Claes Martenszoon van Rosenvelt, "the forefather of a long line of merchants" arrived and settled in New

[31] Hermann Hagedorn, *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill* (New York, 1954), p.260.

[32] Peter Stuyvesant was the last Dutch West India Company appointee as the general director of the colony, New Netherlands, between 1647 and the English secession in 1664.

[33] Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York, 1913).

Amsterdam.[34] Around 1652, he bought "a 48 acre farm, in present day midtown Manhattan."[35] The Roosevelt family members soon became regarded the prominent class of New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York after Duke of York in 1664. Most became "council and senate members, presidents of Bank of New York, engineers, lawyers, and judges…"[36] Among them; Claes's grandson Johannes Roosevelt was believed to establish the basis of Roosevelt wealth in the eighteenth century.

The family tradition of doing business and using the money to invest in real estate continued in the latter Roosevelt generations. Cornelius Van Schaack Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt's grandfather, "invested in Manhattan real estate," and became "one of the ten largest property holders in the city and one of the wealthiest men in New York."[37] C.V.S. Roosevelt and his five sons managed plate-glass importing firm, Roosevelt and Son, and in the meantime continued in investing in real estate, banking and mining. The immense wealth C.V.S. Roosevelt and his sons had during Theodore Roosevelt's boyhood could be signified with the property they owned: "Manhattan's Piers Nine and Ten, a farm on Staten Island, land in upstate New York, stock in the New York Central Railroad, and property all over lower Manhattan."[38] And, in 1878, when Theodore Roosevelt's father Theodore Roosevelt Sr. died, TR and his two sisters Anna and Corinne and his brother Elliot inherited a substantial

[34] Max Kullnick, *From Rough Rider to President* (Chicago, 1911), p.13.

[35] http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/trfamily.html

[36] Kullnick, From Rough Rider to President, p.14.

[37] Kathleen Dalton. "Theodore Roosevelt, Knickerbocker Aristocrat", *New York History*, 67:1, 1986 January, p.40.

[38] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life, p.17.

fortune. Coming from the "Dutch blood"[39] TR pointed out in the first sentence of his autobiography, and inheriting the "genuine aristocracy"[40] and wealth, the Roosevelts belonged to the Dutch Knickerbocker elite society.

With this old Knickerbocker elite name and the wealth they owned, the Roosevelts brought the idea of noblesse oblige[41] with them from generation to generation. Not unexpectedly, noblesse oblige was a common ideal shared by most New York's Knickerbocker elite families, as well as by Boston Brahmins and Philadelphia Gentlemen. According to Kathleen D. McCarthy, noblesse oblige "can take many forms."[42] It was inherited from the Old World, and brought to the New World by the early settlers, who changed its meaning from "the duties attendant upon noble birth" to "the duties of the rich to the society which has enriched them."[43] In addition, McCarthy asserts that noblesse oblige in the American historical context signifies another, a rather overlooked, interpretation: "civic stewardship."[44] Enriching the meaning of noblesse oblige, this interpretation mainly indicates that the successful and wealthy citizens share a feeling of responsibility towards their communities, in which they and their families made progress. Accordingly, the "civic stewardship,"

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[39] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.3.

[40] Dalton, "Theodore Roosevelt, Knickerbocker Aristocrat", p.40.

[41] It is a French phrase. It literally means, "nobility obliges-obligates."

The Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française: Whoever claims to be noble must conduct himself nobly. - One must act in a fashion that conforms to one's position, and with the reputation that one has earned. (Figuratively)

Oxford English Dictionary: Noble ancestry constrains one (to honourable behaviour) - privilege entails responsibility. - Obligation as a function of (high) social standing.

[42] Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity & Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929* (Chicago, 1982), p.ix.

[43] Ibid., p.ix.

[44] Ibid., p.ix.

the noblesse oblige required, motivated the elite-wealthy class Americans to "assume responsibility for the provision of essential social and cultural institutions."[45] The Roosevelt family was among these New York's old Knickerbocker elite families, who became more loyal and dutiful to their city as they prospered.

According to Kathleen Dalton, TR's father Theodore Roosevelt Sr. "served as an attractive model of noblesse oblige in action."[46] TR Sr.'s daughter Corinne Roosevelt Robinson talked about her father's interest in the philanthropic works as this:

> My father, in his brief life of forty-six years, achieved almost everything he undertook, and he undertook many things, but although able to give the concentration which is necessary to achievement, he had the power of interesting himself in many things outside of his own special interests, and by the most delicate and comprehending sympathy made himself a factor in the lives of any number of other human beings.[47]

He was among the founders of various medical and cultural institutions: New York Orthopedic Hospital – New York Orthopedic Dispensary and Orthopedic Department of Columbia, Presbyterian Medical Center, the American Museum of Natural History (1869) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1870.) He sponsored "two of the city's premier charities,"[48] the Children's Aid Society and the Newsboys' Lodging House. He was a member of the Young Men's Christian Association, and he acted as the New York City commissioner at the State Charities Aid Association.

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[45] Ibid., p.ix.

[46] Kathleen Dalton, "Theodore Roosevelt, Knickerbocker Aristocrat", p.41.

[47] Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 1921), p.3.

[48] Joan Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Cambridge, 1997), p.129.

The First Annual Report of the State Charities Aid Association of March 1873 pointed out the objects of this association as this:

> 1.To promote an active public interest in the New York State Institutions of Public Charities, with a view to the physical, mental and moral improvement of their pauper inmates. 2.To make the present pauper system more efficient, and to bring about such reforms in it as may be in accordance with the most enlightened views of Christianity, Science and Philanthropy.[49]

Like Boston Brahmins, New York Knickerbockers believed in promoting community service as an essential characteristic of their elite standing in society. And, Theodore Roosevelt Sr., according to the biographer of a distinguished philanthropist of her time, Josephine Shaw Lowell, "was deeply committed to living up to the ideals of the Knickerbocker elite."[50] Great great-grandson of TR Sr., Theodore Roosevelt IV, told the story of TR Sr.'s commitment to the welfare of the crippled children, and to the responsibility toward his community as a corollary to his Knickerbocker name as this:

> One time when Theodore Roosevelt Sr. was trying to raise money, he brought some of his wealthiest friends in to have dinner. And he opens up the doors to the dining room and around this splendid rosewood table were a whole number of children who were crippled from diseases or unfortunate accidents. And people took a collective gasp of horror, and then he said, "I now want money from you so that these children can benefit from the money you have," and out of that began some of his philanthropic work.[51]

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[49] First Annual Report of The State Charities Aid Association To The State Commissioners Of Public Charities Of The State Of New York, March 1, 1873, New York: Cushing, Bardua & Co., Steam Book and Job Printers, 6.

[50] Waugh, Unsentimental Reformer, p.129.

[51] Theodore Roosevelt IV, great-grandson of TR told in the movie *American Experience: TR, The Story of Theodore Roosevelt* by PBS, 1996.

TR Sr.'s philanthropic activities – his support of various charity organizations had its origins in the noblesse oblige ideal. As Kathleen Dalton asserts, in the nineteenth century, New York Knickerbockers endeavored to help the less fortunate, and to act as the social and cultural agents of the government when the government supplies were not sufficient to remove the poverty and the corruption. And, Dalton calls these actions of TR Sr., the "knickerbocker philanthropy," which influenced his son Theodore Roosevelt greatly.[52] In her sister Corinne's words, TR's "great love for his humankind was a direct inheritance from the man who was one of the founders in his city of nearly every patriotic, humanitarian, and educational endeavor,"[53] his father Theodore Roosevelt Sr..

One of the early works written on the American philanthropic tradition is Robert H. Bremner's *American Philanthropy*, published first in 1960 and then in 1988. According to Bremner, the aim of philanthropy "in its broadest sense is improvement in the quality of human life," in other words "to promote the welfare, happiness, and culture of mankind."[54] In the frame of this definition Bremner's work focuses on the American public's "voluntary activity in the fields of charity, education, humanitarian reform, social service, war relief, and foreign aid."[55] Although Lawrence J. Friedman, the editor of a much contemporary work on American philanthropy, *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, considered the focus of Bremner's work shallow because of its lacking "the distinction that we make between individual charitable acts and more organized philanthropic

[52] Dalton, "Theodore Roosevelt, Knickerbocker Aristocrat," p. 60.

[53] Robinson, My Brother Theodore Roosevelt, p.4.

[54] Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago, 1988), p.3.

[55] Ibid., p.4.

venture,"[56] Bremner's book is a good start to comprehend the tradition of giving for the goof of the society in American history.

What Bremner calls "scientific philanthropy" is the kind of charity Theodore Roosevelt Sr. devoted his time and money in the post Civil War period, which was considered "an era of stunning achievement in all fields of philanthropy."[57] During this period philanthropists aimed to bring a more scientific understanding and a more systematic method to their charity organizations. For this generation of the philanthropists and the civic leaders, the reason lying behind the undesirable and frightful elements of the American society, such as, "disease, pauperism, ignorance, and crime"[58] was to be treated as more significant than the immediate solutions, which however were not separated from the whole system of benevolence.

It wouldn't be wrong to claim that Theodore Roosevelt Sr.'s interest in philanthropy was kindled by the scientific approach American philanthropy adopted. Science and scientific approach in the benevolent works actually gained importance during the Civil War period. In addition, this new approach brought a more practical system in the process of giving: more organized institutions were founded. In the time of the Civil War, TR Sr. was "one of the founders of the Sanitary Commission,"[59] which *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, published in 2002, considered "the largest philanthropic organization in national history up to that

[56] Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie, ed., *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* (Cambridge, 2002), p.4.

[57] Bremner, American Philanthropy, p.85.

[58] Ibid., p.86.

[59] Robinson, My Brother Theodore Roosevelt, p.4.

time."[60] Lawrence J. Friedman asserts that by the mid nineteenth century, "the transition from individual charity to organized philanthropy to enhance civility" was finalized, and -though charity was still embraced by many upper class Americans- benevolence became acquainted more with "the actions of voluntary societies" than "charitable acts of individuals."[61] Since individual charities could not solve deeper social problems of the mid 1800s, philanthropic societies and institutions emerged to handle them. As Friedman also states, this transformation did not indicate that the individual charity was replaced with the philanthropy; an American individual yearning to help his less fortunate civilians directed their benevolent intentions to the philanthropic institutions. In addition to that, Friedman asserts that Mrs. Olivia Sage constituted an example to some American elite class members, such as the Roosevelt family, in "being both charitable and increasingly involved in philanthropic institutional process."[62]

"The nation's first full-time Professor of Philanthropic Studies and one of the founders of the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University,"[63] Robert L. Payton, in Friedman's words "philanthropic-studies guru,"[64] describes philanthropy as the "voluntary action for the public good"[65] in *Philanthropy: Voluntary Action for the Public Good* (1988.) Claiming that this definition is a broad one, Payton analyzes

[60] Friedman and McGarvie, ed., Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History, p.156.

[61] Ibid., p.8.

[62] Ibid., p.8.

[63] Paul Clolery, "Robert L. Payton Dies: First Head of Center on Philanthropy," *The Non-Profit Times*, May 23, 2011. http://www.thenonprofittimes.com/news-articles/robert-l-payton-dies-first-head-of-center-on-philanthropy/

[64] Friedman and McGarvie, ed., Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History, p.9.

[65] Robert L. Payton, *Philanthropy: Voluntary Action for the Public Good* (New York, 1988).

the concept more thoroughly in his more contemporary work, *Understanding Philanthropy: Its Meaning and Mission*, published in 2008. According to Payton, "the concept of philanthropy is a multiplicity,"[66] which embraces a wide range of voluntary actions. There are mainly three forms of voluntary action, again from a relatively broad vantage point: voluntary giving, voluntary service and voluntary association.[67] In the frames Payton and Moody draws while describing voluntary action, voluntary giving is giving money, voluntary service is giving time and talent, and voluntary association is the "organized activity without which most voluntary giving and service would be ineffective or even impossible."[68]

The objectives of the "voluntary action for the public good," according to Payton and Moody, can be classified in two general assumptions: One is to mitigate the sufferings of the people, who are in need of food, shelter, clothing, or medical supplies, and two is to improve the quality of life, which refers to the cultural, educational or recreational betterment.[69] The significant point in the objectives of the voluntary action Payton and Moody describe, is the fact that the evolution of philanthropy "records a moral quest that has shaped the moral agenda of that culture across the generations."[70] People in the same community could have different visions about what is good, what is moral, and what is beneficent for the majority, and they interchange their own visions of morality through philanthropy.

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[66] Robert L. Payton and Michael P. Moody, *Understanding Philanthropy: Its Meaning and Mission* (Bloomington, 2008), p.6.

[67] Ibid., p.6.

[68] Ibid., p.6.

[69] Ibid., p.28.

[70] Ibid., p.36.

In *Understanding Philanthropy: Its Meaning and Mission* (2008), another concept considered significant for this dissertation is the terminology of the philanthropy. There are many other words used instead of philanthropy, such as "charity, benevolence, beneficence, altruism, humanitarianism, civil society, eleemosynary, voluntary action, good works…"[71] Payton and Moody asserts that since philanthropy is a broad and inherently complex concept, people try to use different words in defining their voluntary action or the voluntary action they observe in their community to "capture or simplify"[72] the concept itself. Overall, Payton and Moody use philanthropy "as an umbrella term for the entire spectrum of voluntary actions for the public good,"[73] as does this dissertation.

However, the terminological debate regarding the relationship between "philanthropy" and "charity," which is the most common word used instead of "philanthropy" is worth analyzing. The term philanthropy comes from Greek, and means, "love of mankind" while the term "charity" of Latin origins, means "love of others in a way that was distinct from other forms of love."[74] Payton and Moody assert that in their book, in defining the voluntary actions for the public good, the term charity signifies a narrower field compared to "philanthropy." However, in popular usage, Payton and Moody claim, the terms charity and philanthropy, both broad in covering the voluntary actions, are two separate concepts relying on the two objectives of the voluntary action: "philanthropy for acts to improve the quality of

[71] Payton and Moody, Understanding Philanthropy, p.29.

[72] Ibid., p.32.

[73] Ibid., p.38.

[74] Ibid., p.38.

life versus charity for acts to relieve suffering."[75] This dissertation adopts this usage while referring to the voluntary actions of the Roosevelt family.

Peter Frumkin, in his book *Strategic Giving: The Art and Science of Philanthropy* (2006), also points out the usage of charity and philanthropy interchangeably, and states that some historians, in order to make a clear distinction between the two concepts, "simplify the connection between these two words"[76] by labeling them incompatible or by situating them in a historical order. Frumkin believes that both of these concepts function together, since they hold actually different meanings, however complementing intentions. The scientific approach, most philanthropy historians agree on, and ultimately philanthropy's extended mission regarding the lasting solutions philanthropy brings compared to the temporary ones charity could afford is the main difference between charity and philanthropy Frumkin signifies.

The other significant terms, need to be analyzed in terms of their relations with philanthropy are voluntary service and humanitarianism. Mike W. Martin, in *Virtuous Giving: Philanthropy, Voluntary Service and Caring* (1994), uses philanthropy and voluntary service interchangeably, because he asserts that philanthropy consists of two actions, volunteering and monetary giving, which together constitute the basis of voluntary service. Martin describes philanthropy as "voluntary private giving for public purposes, whether gifts are large or small, money or time, local or international in scope, for purposes which are humanitarian, cultural, religious, civic, environmental, or of mutual aid."[77] The definition of

[75] Payton and Moody, Understanding Philanthropy, p.38.

[76] Peter Frumkin, *Strategic Giving: The Art and Science of Philanthropy* (Chicago, 2006), p.4.

[77] Mike W. Martin, *Virtuous Giving: Philanthropy, Voluntary Service and Caring* (Bloomington, 1994), p.1.

philanthropy, he conveys, is vague. In order to understand the definition of philanthropy, the main four elements of philanthropy, "voluntary, private, giving, and for public purposes" should be analyzed in depth; which is not the topic of this dissertation. However, in order to make the connection between philanthropy, humanitarianism, and voluntary service, Martin's conceptualizing the common grounds of these terms is valuable. Giving money, or time, or profession is the main common ground. In particular, in the case of voluntary service and philanthropy, one should refer to the first element of philanthropy: voluntary. Philanthropy is "voluntary in the sense of being intended and uncoerced."[78] Depending on this very definition of Martin, this dissertation makes use of the word "voluntary service" to stress Ethel Roosevelt's philanthropic activities during the Great War in France. In order to comprehend the connection between philanthropy and humanitarianism, the same route could be followed. The fourth element of philanthropy Martin focuses on, "public purposes" is the key to this connection. Public purposes "comprise virtually all social aims beyond helping one's family and friends."[79] These aims may differ; could be civic, religious, environmental, or humanitarian; the last is essential in classifying some philanthropic actions of Ethel Roosevelt inside the borders of philanthropy's broad coverage. On the whole, this dissertation describes Ethel Roosevelt's voluntary service in the intention of serving for the humanitarian purposes during the Great War, as the acts of philanthropy.

All recent works of philanthropy, including Olivier Zunz's *Philanthropy in America: A History* (2012) and Zoltan J. Acs's *Why Philanthropy Matters: How the Wealthy Give, and What It Means for Our Economic Well-being* (2013), focus on a common

[78] Martin, Virtuous Giving, p.8.

[79] Ibid., p.11.

thesis, that; from the very beginning, which was according to Zunz, Andrew Carnegie's philanthropic investments; however according to Acs a much earlier example: John Winthrop's sermon "A Model of Christian Charity,"[80] "the nation has come to view philanthropy as a quintessential part of being American."[81] This dissertation treats philanthropy in the margins of this characterization; moreover, this crucial element of being an American is exemplified with the Knickerbocker Roosevelt family, who were arduous supporters of Noblesse Oblige.

1.2.3. "American Ambulance in Neuilly, American Humanitarianism and American Neutrality during the First World War" in Secondary Literature

Besides philanthropy, noblesse oblige and charity, another significant theme to be analyzed in a historiographical context is humanitarianism; more explicitly, American humanitarianism during the First World War. The American Ambulance[82] was founded, directed, and financed both by the American expatriate community in Paris and by the American citizens in the United States willing to conduct humanitarian service with this hospital. This very definition of the American Ambulance covers a number of concepts that, together, indicate the main themes of Chapter 4 in this dissertation. These concepts can be listed as follows: American citizens' (whether expatriate or not) humanitarian activities in Paris at the very

[80] Zoltan J. Acs, *Why Philanthropy Matters: How the Wealthy Give, and What It Means for Our Economic Well-being* (Princeton, 2013), p.5.

[81] Olivier Zunz, *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton, 2012), p.3.

[82] In French, the word *ambulance* is used to mean both "a motor vehicle" and "a military hospital." Here, in the name "American Ambulance," the word "ambulance" is used to denote a military hospital.

beginning of the war; the neutrality of the American government under which these humanitarian activities took place; and the partisan spirit of the American relief workers whose humanitarian activities were pro-Allies.

In Chapter 4, all of these concepts are examined through the wartime experience of Ethel, as well as of certain other upper class Americans in Paris. Here, at the introductory chapter, it would be appropriate and necessary to convey the main lines of the historiographical inquiry regarding the connections between American neutrality and American relief efforts in Europe, between the home front and the battlefront, and consequently between the civilians and the soldiers. The basis of the argument in this historiographical inquiry considers the "elite" American relief workers at the American Ambulance as the "civilians" on the home front, helping the war effort by treating French soldiers with a zeal for the Allied cause before sending them back to the battlefront.

American Ambulance, though overlooked by most First World War historians, was a representative of the American relief efforts that began to flourish immediately after the start of the war in both Europe and the United States.[83] Founded in August 1914, the Ambulance started receiving wounded in September 1914 and remained in operation throughout the period of American neutrality. This period lasted until April

[83] American Red Cross sent a team of nurses and surgeons, consisting of 138 trained nurses and 33 surgeons, to Europe on September 12, 1914. The team was divided into six different locations to establish and maintain American Red Cross hospitals in England, France, Russia, Germany, Hungary, and Austria, and was publicly known as the "Mercy Mission." The appointed groups generally stayed in duty for six months when another group was assigned to the work. Within this system, 255 nurses and 75 surgeons in total served in Europe between September 1914 and October 1915, when American Red Cross announced that it would call of its units in Europe due to lack of sufficient funding. Besides American Red Cross's "Mercy Mission," there were numerous relief programs and hospitals organized and financed by wealthy Americans in the United States and in different parts of Europe. Different than the American Red Cross's "Mercy Mission" though, neutrality was not an essential element in their existence. See: Clara D. Noyes (eds.), *The History of American Red Cross Nursing* (New York, 1922); Marian Moser Jones, *The American Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal* (Baltimore, 2013).

6, 1917, with the United States remaining officially neutral while nevertheless conducting commercial, diplomatic, and humanitarian relations with the belligerent nations. The Ambulance was founded and operated at full capacity during these years of American neutrality, with no interference from the American government, which insisted on strict neutrality "in fact, as well as in name."[84] In this regard, the humanitarian effort of American citizens and of "naturalized citizens of long standing residency"[85] in France in establishing a hospital for the treatment of the wounded combatants was considered reconcilable with U.S. neutrality. However, as became evident through the example of the American Ambulance, the political neutrality did not always mean an absolute denial of U.S. involvement in the war.[86]

As Julia F. Irwin states, it was the fact that "the U.S. aid effort was organized and funded by private citizens and relief organizations, not by the state,"[87] that made possible the reconciliation between citizens' humanitarian service and the state's neutrality. However, Irwin argues, the U.S. government encouraged American citizens' humanitarian efforts, predominantly through "U.S. ambassadors and consuls work[ing] closely with humanitarian agencies to distribute relief supplies."[88] Thus, through its ambassadors and consuls, the American government actually came to be included in the humanitarian service despite holding a politically neutral stance.

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[84] Woodrow Wilson, *Message to Congress,* 63rd Cong., 2d Sess., Senate Doc. No. 566 (Washington, 1914), pp.3-4.

[85] John Branden Little. *Band of Crusaders: American Humanitarians, the Great War, and the Remaking of the World, Ph.D. Dissertation* (University of California, Berkeley, Department of History, 2009), p.69.

[86] Julia F. Irwin, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and A Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (Oxford, 2013), p.56.

[87] Julia F. Irwin, "Taming Total War: Great War-Era American Humanitarianism and its Legacies", *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (2014,) pp. 763-775, p.767.

[88] Irwin, "Taming Total War", p.767.

In other words, the American government was engaging in a clear act of intervention, unless American intervention in the First World War was redefined.

Irwin suggests that First World War historians should "broaden the definition of intervention beyond the traditional spheres of militarism and diplomacy,"[89] and should organize "a re-periodization of U.S. involvement in the war"[90] so as to include American humanitarian agencies, since the humanitarian aid that American volunteers provided during the period of American neutrality was a clear act of intervention. With the way it was founded and organized, as well as with its supporters and personnel—one of who was Ethel—the American Ambulance in Neuilly exemplified this sort of intervention quite well.

In October 2014, in order to commemorate the First World War's centennial, nine historians discussed "the American wartime experience and its legacies down to the present day,"[91] a discussion published in The Journal of American History in September 2015. In the discussion the very first question the participants answered is "Why is it important for Americanists to start paying attention to World War I now, rather than in 2017?"[92] The answer is simple: Americans were already "deeply involved in the war, even if America was not"[93] so claims Christopher Capozzola. While Stephen R. Ortiz calls the "old narratives of American isolationism"[94] incorrect, Michael Neiberg focuses on the "vast majority of Americans want[ing] to

[89] Irwin, "Taming Total War", p.765.

[90] Ibid., p.765.

[91] "Interchange: World War I", *The Journal of American History*, September 2015, pp.463-499, p.463.

[92] Ibid., p.464.

[93] Ibid., p.467.

[94] Ibid., p.465.

remain neutral" but they were not on the same page about the "exact contours of that neutrality."[95] In addition, Neiberg asserts that Americans clearly sympathized with the Allies, and thousands of them "registered to fight in Canada, served in the French Foreign Legion or the French Army, [or] volunteered as nurses or doctors"[96] before 1917. At this very point Julia Irwin, who is one of these nine historians answering this question, claims that humanitarian workers -doctor, nurses, relief workers, fund-raisers for charitable societies in Europe- were involved in the war from the beginning. Humanitarianism, Irwin says, "was never neutral."[97] Americans inclined to support the Allied cause more, and the American support of the Central Powers most of the time did not reach their targets due to the effective Allied blockade of Europe. Irwin calls this "asymmetrical delivery of relief," which, in Irwin's words, "represented one way that the U.S. was drawn into the conflict on the side of the Allies before ever declaring war."[98]

Jennifer D. Keene claims that "the recent historiographical trend"[99] highlights the global dimensions of the war. When the First World War, in Keene's interpretation, is studied as a global war, the United States' actions as analyzed from this vantage point signify certain neglected activities undertaken by American communities involved in the war on different fronts during the "neutrality" years: "smaller, diverse, often locally-based experiences of American communities."[100] Similar to

[95] "Interchange: World War I", p.465.

[96] Ibid., p.465.

[97] Ibid., p.470.

[98] Ibid., p.470.

[99] Jennifer Keene, "Americans Respond: Perspectives on the Global War, 1914–1917", *Geschicte und Gesellschaft*, 40 (2014), pp.266–286, p.266.

[100] Keene, "Americans Respond", p.266.

Irwin, Keene also draws attention to the notion that neutrality and non-involvement are two different concepts, and the U.S., despite declaring neutrality in August 1914, was in fact active on both fronts, with American citizens volunteering to either fight for the belligerent forces or aid civilians and combatants.

Humanitarianism, the concept used in this dissertation, and in mainly Chapter 4 to analyze the American relief work in the American Ambulance and other relief agencies in Paris, is defined by Marian Moser Jones, in her book *The American Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal*, as "a commonly understood duty to relieve suffering of *all* human beings—a duty that transcends national borders and partisan allegiances… [H]umanitarianism means acting as a neutral party to alleviate suffering throughout the world."[101] Certain characteristics of the concept of humanitarianism as defined by Jones imply a disparity with the context of the main topic of this dissertation. As mentioned above, the American government's declaration of neutrality when the fighting in Europe erupted, and the concurrent establishment of the American Ambulance for the relief of combatants of the belligerents, did emphasize that American citizens living in the belligerent countries should act in accordance with the political neutrality of the United States. According to Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, as long as American humanitarian agents did not distinguish between the Central Powers and the Triple Entente, their efforts were assumed to be in harmony with the neutrality of the state, and would be appreciated as such by the U.S. government. In the case of the American Ambulance,

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[101] Marian Moser Jones, *The American Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal* (Baltimore, 2013), p.11.

however, it was evident from the very beginning of its formation that the Americans' sympathies laid with the Allies, while also embracing an ardent loyalty to humanitarianism. The main mission of the Ambulance was to provide humanitarian aid to the combatants of all the belligerent powers so as to mitigate their suffering, but considering that the Ambulance was founded by Francophile Americans who felt more loyal to France than to their mother country, it would not be inappropriate to claim that French soldiers were the main focus of their relief efforts. In addition, these Francophile Americans greeted Woodrow Wilson's policy of neutrality with resentment. As such, it must be asserted that the American Ambulance in Neuilly was founded in order to offer American relief to France and aimed to provide medical assistance primarily to French soldiers, although, in the name of humanitarianism, it did not refuse medical assistance to combatants of the Central Powers. Owing to this, in this dissertation the acts of the American Ambulance workforce are analyzed within the framework of the humanitarianism Jones describes, but with the framework being slightly different in terms of humanitarianism. The American Ambulance, in this sense, is to be deemed both preferential—i.e., a clear supporter of the Allies—and humanitarian at the same time. The Ambulance staff consisted of Francophiles, including its committee members, who aimed specifically to relieve convalescing French soldiers.

Why were these elite Americans sympathetic to the French or Allied cause? The answer to this question is simple: because they were committed Francophiles. Although it is not this dissertation's primary aim to analyze the history of Franco-American relations, it is essential to do so here at the beginning, at least briefly, in order to signify the historical roots of elite—i.e., wealthy and educated—Americans' sympathy to France and its people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. Nearly all the actors who established the American Ambulance as well as the other relief agencies meant to help French and Belgian civilians belonged to this elite class. Robert J. Young, in *Marketing Marianne: French Propaganda in America 1900–1940*, states that "the highest members of the successive administrations"[102] between 1900 and 1932 in the United States were members of an American community that had grown up with French culture and the French language. Young asserts that wealthy American families in the New England area sent their children to private schools, where they could study French and French culture. As he admits, not all the graduates of these private schools became admirers of French culture, but most did, because they were already acquainted with a French-speaking community in New England. The elite Americans whom this dissertation focuses on were exemplars of this class. Both the fundraisers in the U.S. and the expatriates in Paris who helped to establish the American Ambulance in 1914 partook of this "Francophilia."[103]

While emphasizing the first groups of volunteers to go to Europe to bring humanitarian assistance in the summer of 1914 John Branden Little also focuses on the issue that "pro-Allied and especially Francophile sympathies tended to guide" these volunteers' choices.[104] This first group of volunteers mainly consisted of some American "men yearning for martial adventure" as ambulance drivers or of some "eager volunteers for nursing assignments in rear-area hospitals [and] in aid stations along the front lines."[105] American novelists Ernest Hemingway and John Dos

[102] Robert J. Young, *Marketing Marianne: French Propaganda in America 1900–1940* (New Brunswick, 2004), p.34.

[103] Ibid., p.34.

[104] Little, Band of Crusaders, p.120.

[105] Little, Band of Crusaders, p.120.

Passos, and American poets Archibald MacLeish and E. E. Cummings were among the first volunteers in French and American ambulance units being established at about the end of the 1914.

There was another group of Americans whom Jane Potter calls the "war tourists."[106] They were the female novelists, who were to be in Europe when the war erupted or left the United States as soon as possible when they heard about the war. They wished to offer their humanitarian contributions in two connected but different ways: by volunteering in the Allied hospitals as nurses or orderlies, and by writing "the romance of war:" their experiences as nurses, and the conditions of the soldiers and civilians during the war, though they could sometimes include "distressing details."[107] Potter claims that these "lady novelists'" aim in writing captivating first-hand war stories for mainly the American public to read was "to muster US financial support for the Allied war effort."[108] Among them were Mary Roberts Rinehart (*Kings, Queens, Pawns*,) Edith Wharton (*Fighting France*,) Mildred Aldrich (*A Hilltop on the Marne*,) Gertrude Atherton (*Life in the War Zone*,) and Marie Van Vorst *(War Letters of an American Woman*.) Their writings, Potter claims, were quite influential and did "form part of the unofficial means by which the country became convinced of the need for its involvement in this European conflict."[109] Margaret R. Higonnet argues that the fact that the United States' being both physically and psychologically remote from the war did not prevent some American

[106] Jane Potter, "I Begin to Feel as a Normal Being should in spite of the Blood and Anguish in which I Move: American Women's First World War Nursing Memoirs", in Alison S. Fell and Christine E. Hallett eds., *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* (New York: 2013), p.53.

[107] Ibid., p.53.

[108] Ibid., p.53.

[109] Ibid., p.52.

women from arousing interest in the war in Europe. Higonnet gives an approximate number of "25,000" American women, who "volunteered to help the war effort in Europe."[110] She describes these volunteers as "educated, middle class, and highly motivated."[111] Ellen N. La Motte (*The Backwash of War: The Human Wreckage of the Battlefield as Witnessed by an American Hospital Nurse*) and Mary Borden (The Forbidden Zone) were among these educated American women offering their humanitarian service to French. Ellen N. La Motte was a trained nurse, a 1902 graduate of the Johns Hopkins Training School.[112] After volunteering at the American Ambulance in the early months of the war, La Motte joined the medical crew of a mobile hospital unit Chicago millionaire and Vassar graduate Mary Borden was funding and administering under the French military command, "l'Hôpital Chirurgical Mobile No 1."[113] All these volunteers' experiences depict that American Ambulance in Neuilly was not the only example but just an overlooked one to a growing movement at the eve of the war: the humanitarian relief movement nurtured with the Pro-Allied and Francophile sympathies among some aristocratic and educated groups of Americans. Nancy L. Green describes this movement as an "explosion of aid-in-kind, from the college men who volunteered for that war's ambulance corps to the fearless women who joined the armed services or the Red Cross to the myriad organizations set up during and after the war for relief and

[110] Margaret R. Higonnet ed., *Nurses at the Front: Writing the Wounds of the Great War* (Boston, 2001), p.viii.

[111] Ibid., p.viii.

[112] Ibid., p.xi.

[113] Hazel Hutchison, "The Theater of Pain: Observing Mary Borden in the Forbidden Zone" in Alison S. Fell and Christine E. Hallett eds., *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* (New York: 2013), p.141.

reconstruction."[114] While Edith Wharton constitutes Green's main protagonist in this movement, Green also focuses on Anne Morgan, Anne Murray Dike, and John D. Rockefeller. Anne Morgan and Anne Murray Dike "ran Comite Américain pour les Régions Dévastées, a civilian relief organization,"[115] financed and organized by wealthy Americans. Rockefeller Foundation established "tuberculosis dispensaries in France," and John D. Rockefeller, Green asserts, "was a major donor to the Committee of Fatherless Children of France."[116]

Relief programs for Belgian victims of the war were quite popular in the United States. In the early days of the tension, expanding through the European nations, Belgium declared neutrality by relying on the Treaty of London of 1839. According to the treaty, all European powers had accepted the independence of Belgium, and its neutrality in a state of warfare. While declaring her neutrality in August 1914, Belgium considered that Germany, as the inheritor of Prussia, the actual nation who signed the Treaty of London in 1839, would respect Prussia's all diplomatic commitments, including the neutrality of Belgium. However, Germany had no other option but to disregard The Treaty of London, to capture a chance to reach eastern France, which would ease the invasion of France. By calling the Treaty of London "a scrap of paper," Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, explicitly declared the German stance against Belgium neutrality, and German troops entered the country on August 4, 1914, and most major cities were attacked and their

[114] Nancy L. Green, *The Other Americans in Paris: Businessmen, Countesses, Wayward Youth 1880-1941* (Chicago, 2014), p.209.

[115] Ibid., p.210.

[116] Ibid., p.210.

people were either killed or forced to migrate, by the end of August 1914.[117] Germany, precisely, "followed the Schlieffen Plan, a grand offensive in the west, through Belgium,"[118] so to trap the French army, and to move easily towards northwest of Paris.

Although Americans knew little about Belgium at the outbreak of the war, Branden Little asserts, they quickly acquired knowledge of the country and its people, and became involved in Belgian relief committees, which prospered in the United States, as well as in Paris and London.[119] The tales of atrocities told by the Belgian refugees themselves were penned down in letters to families and friends back in the United States by the expatriate Americans who witnessed these first-hand accounts of Belgians. And, these letters did have an influential effect on Americans to take humanitarian action. While some Americans believed in German atrocities wholeheartedly without disputing their accuracy – due to their detestation of Germans – and involved in the Belgian relief committees, as for some other Americans the motivating source to mitigate the sufferings of Belgians was the neutral stance of Belgium which Germans violated. As the citizens of a neutral country in this war, this group of Americans wanted to aid another neutral nation, and actually they thought that it was their responsibility to do that. Julia Irwin points out the significance of the fund-raising posters, which portrayed Belgian "starving

[117] For German invasion of Belgium, and the Western front of the Great War, see: Barbara Wertheim Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York, 1962); William Jannen, *The Lions of July: Prelude to War, 1914* (Novato, 1996); John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven, 2001); Larry Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I* (New York, 2004); Jeff Lipkes, *Rehearsals: The German Army in Belgium, August 1914* (Leuven, 2007); Frank C. Zagare, *The Games of July: Explaining the Great War* (Ann Arbor, 2011); Ian Sr., *Home Before the Leaves Fall: A New History of the German Invasion of 1914* (Oxford, 2012).

[118] Norman Stone, *World War One: A Short History* (London, 2007), p.32.

[119] Little, Band of Crusaders, p.122.

children, struggling widows and ravaged women" and mass circulating magazines publishing "accounts of civilian suffering and the atrocities committed against civilians" in the development of the idea that "United States' entry into the war was vital to save the innocents,"[120] for sure, on the side of the Allied powers.

In late October – early November 1914, Branden Little states, "a small cadre of American businessman and students studying at Oxford University"[121] organized the most influential and active commission for the relief of the Belgians in the First World War, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, under the leadership of an American businessman and mining engineer Herbert Hoover. The main aim of the commission was to "import food and ensure its distribution within German occupied Belgium."[122] The importance of the delivery of food to Belgium was depicted in the newspapers, posters and pamphlets in the United States, and the American relief was proclaimed to save Belgium, "the helpless woman in need of saving."[123] CRB formed offices in New York, London, Rotterdam and Brussels, created a "network of approximately 2,000 committees" and "tens of thousands of volunteers,"[124] and was in operation between November 1914 and August 1919. Similar to Julia F. Irwin's perspective, Little claims that American people's humanitarian mobilization under CRB "eroded American neutrality and shaped the contours of the nation's

[120] "Interchange: World War I", p.472.

[121] Branden Little, "Evacuating Wartime Europe: U.S. Policy, Strategy, and Relief Operations for Overseas American Travelers, 1914-15," *The Journal of Military History* 79, (October 2015): 929-958, p.951.

[122] Branden Little, "The Humanitarian Mobilization of American Cities for Belgian Relief, 1914-1918," *Les Cahiers Bruxellois* 46 (August 2014): 121-138, p.125.

[123] Tammy M. Proctor, "An American Enterprise? British Participation in US Food Relief Programmes (1914-1923), *First World War Studies* Vol. 5, No. 1, 29-42, p.32.

[124] Branden Little, The Humanitarian Mobilization of American Cities, p.125.

belligerency."[125] In addition, this humanitarian aid operation kindled American public's enthusiasm towards Belgians and the Allied powers in general.

As Roger Chickering states, historians writing on the First World War have been shifting their point of view regarding the central themes on which they focus in their analyses. First World War historians' interest in the military, diplomatic, and political dimensions of the war was initially succeeded by interest in the social history of the war, and later by interest in the "cultural dimensions of life in war, be they sexuality, confession, school, or voluntary associations and sociability."[126] This contemporary turn to the cultural history of the First World War accords special importance to the actors and the environment of the home front, elements which were scarcely visible in the analysis of earlier historians. Moreover, considering the First World War a total war that "left nothing, absolutely nothing untouched"[127] only emphasizes the necessity of taking cultural history, including voluntary participation in relief initiatives, into consideration. In *A Companion to World War I*, John Horne claims that this shift started in the 1960s, when "social groups, collective movements, strikers, food protestors, and women" became "the new protagonists."[128] This shift, Horne asserts, accelerated in the 1990s, and, as Chickering also mentions, centralized around the cultural history of the war, leading to studies of soldiers,

[125] Branden Little, The Humanitarian Mobilization of American Cities, p.138.

[126] Roger Chickering, "Why Are We Still Interested in This Old War?", in Jennifer D. Keene and Michael S. Neiberg eds., *Finding Common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies* (Boston, 2011), p.8.

[127] Roger Chickering, "Why Are We Still Interested in This Old War?", p.12.

[128] John Horne ed., *A Companion to World War I* (Oxford, 2010), p.xxiv.

prisoners, women, civilians, refugees, and children in various contexts. Horne even goes so far as to state that "by and large, this was a home-front war."[129]

To this end, it is considered that quite general and vast subject of the cultural history of the First World War—i.e., "the home front"—to be an appropriate frame through which to discuss the history of the American Ambulance in Neuilly. The home front is defined as the "civilian life and population of a country which is engaged in military conflict elsewhere, regarded as another front in a consolidated war effort."[130] As the Oxford English Dictionary and Susan R. Grayzel assert, the home front indicates the significance of two themes: the home front is indispensable to the war effort, which means that the home front, with all its elements, has a determining role in the course of the war; and the home front is the domesticated sphere separated from the "dangers, privations and sufferings produced by more authentic battles."[131] However, the extensive historiography of the First World War shows that the second of these themes lacks a sound basis in fact, since the home fronts in both Allied countries and the Central powers in the First World War were subject to air raids, blockades, privations and rationing, and occupation by military forces. Thus, in general, the home front in the First World War was constituted by various industrial and medical establishments—with civilians working in them—that helped the war effort, and precisely by being so vital to the war effort, the home front became susceptible to damaging attacks by the enemy. As argued in Heather Jones, Jennifer O'Brien, and Christoph Schmidt-Supprian's introduction to *Untold War: New*

[129] Horne ed., A Companion to World War I, p.xxiv.

[130] Oxford English Dictionary

[131] Susan R. Grayzel, "Men and Women at Home," in Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of The First World War, Volume III, Civil Society* (Cambridge), p.97.

Perspectives in First World War Studies, the recent historiography of the war has proven that "the belief in a rigid separation between the world of the front line and the home front"[132] is an ill-considered belief. In fact, the cultural approach First World War historians have recently adopted has helped to expose the fact that there was a stronger reciprocal influence between these two spheres than previously thought. Jones, O'Brien, and Schmidt-Supprian also state that historians' recent "turn towards a cultural investigation"[133] furnishes us with a cultural history of the war, and that, among the relevant actors, the home front has been the most analyzed.

In this sense, the American Ambulance in Neuilly represents a thus far neglected element of this new cultural analysis, and this is the vantage point from which chapter 4 of this dissertation treats the subject. This chapter thus considers an essential element of the home front by observing the early history of the American Ambulance in Neuilly, emphasizing how upper-class Americans—both those resident in the United States and those living as expatriates in Paris—became humanitarian workers who constructed "tangible connections with millions of European soldiers and civilians."[134] It is argued that these Americans became humanitarian workers by associating with actors on both the home front and the battlefront, whom they were trying to help; and by establishing a more intimate relationship between Americans and the Allied powers while "mitigating the war's human effects."[135]

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[132] Heather Jones, Jennifer O'Brien, and Christoph Schmidt-Supprian, *Untold War: New Perspectives in First World War Studies* (Leiden, 2008), p.1.

[133] Jones, O'Brien, and Schmidt-Supprian, Untold War, p.2.

[134] Irwin, "Taming Total War", p.765.

[135] Irwin, "Taming Total War", p.774.

Margaret R. Higonnet[136] points out a very significant characteristic of the First World War: the day-to-day geographical repositioning of the battleground, and consequently the home front's inevitable integration into the battlefront. The ill-considered and old-fashioned distinction between the battlefront and the home front is the central topic in Tammy Proctor's extensive work on civilians in the First World War, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914–1918*. Similar to the works mentioned above, Proctor points out that the home front with its civilians—women, children, elderly or crippled males, relief workers, foreigners from neutral states—and with all its institutions, "mediated the war, experiencing fear, violence, and patriotism along with the soldiers."[137] American Ambulance and the civilians working for it were the actors in the home front in Paris, experiencing the devastating effects of the war that Proctor and Higonnet describe in their works. As Ethel pointed out in her letters to her mother, Paris was under attack by German *Taube* aircraft, attacks that occurred every other day, killing and injuring civilians. Moreover, civilians in the American Ambulance were in constant contact with soldiers coming in from the battlefront. Besides medical assistance, the Ambulance staff also provided psychological relief to the soldiers by reading them the newspapers and letters they received from their families. The bonds the civilians and the soldiers forged in the Ambulance presents clear evidence as to how indistinguishable the fronts became in Paris. It was not only afflictions that civilians shared with the soldiers in the Ambulance, but also the patriotic sentiments, nationalism, and an ever-growing sympathy towards the Allied forces, despite the fact that they were not French but Americans, who were required to be neutral.

[136] Margaret R. Higonnet, "At the Front", in Jay Winter ed., *The Cambridge History of The First World War, Volume III, Civil Society* (Cambridge), p.121.

[137] Tammy M. Proctor, *Civilians in a World at War, 1914-1918* (New York, 2010), p.110.

Concerning this, Proctor points out that, although working in hospitals and caring for the wounded "demanded a certain neutrality of perspective," some of the historical examples proved the opposite: hospital staff could not "separate themselves from their national loyalties, and even neutrals sometimes got caught up in the nationalist fervor of those with whom they associated."[138]

Ethel was one of the American humanitarian agents who experienced the war at first hand, acting as "unofficial Ambassador of the United States,"[139] as most Americans in Europe did, and showing her support for the Allies quite openly while performing humanitarian services with the American Ambulance in Neuilly. By emphasizing Ethel's voluntary involvement in Americans' humanitarian efforts in Paris, it could be argued that, through their relief activities in the early months of the war, American aristocrats served diplomatic, humanitarian, and philanthropic agendas, not on the battle front, but rather on the home front of Paris. Through the writings of Ethel and some other Americans—all of whom witnessed the beginning of the war during their service at the American Ambulance—chapter 4 of this dissertation investigates the role that prominent and affluent members of the American upper class played in initiating an extensive program of humanitarian relief during the years of diplomatic neutrality on the part of the U.S.

Ethel's humanitarian work at the American Ambulance does deserve a special historical inquiry since she as the daughter of an ex-President and a member of the prominent Roosevelt family represents the protagonists of the humanitarian relief in

[138] Proctor, Civilians in a World at War, p.155.

[139] Thomas D. Westerman, "Touring Occupied Belgium: American Humanitarians at Work and Leisure", *First World War Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2014), pp.43–53, p.44.

Paris: American aristocrats serving the Allied cause, very efficiently. In addition, Theodore Roosevelt was America's foremost advocate for preparedness and for protection of Belgium's impartiality against Germany's violations during the First World War. He even became a crusader for outright intervention on behalf of the Allied powers. He started writing articles and giving speeches regarding his concerns immediately as the fighting started in Europe. In this context it is essential to scrutinize or at least not to overlook Theodore Roosevelt's daughter's service to France in the war he had been warning Americans to be prepared for. Before his four sons, "ironically enough" as J. Lee Thompson put it, Ethel "the demure daughter" of Theodore Roosevelt was "the first of the warlike Roosevelt clan" to involve in the war in Europe.[140] Lastly, Ethel's nearly sixty years of voluntary work at different Red Cross offices had its origins in her service in American Ambulance.

1.2.4. "Grand Tour, Transatlantic Travel and the Image of Europe" in Secondary Literature

Grand Tour and transatlantic travel are the two significant sub-themes this dissertation focuses on. The Roosevelt family adopted Grand Tour, as all other upper class American families did, in each generation. Though the description of the Grand Tour changed over the generations, the intriguing factor and the meaning of the tour was the same. In order to clarify how this dissertation interprets the transatlantic travels of the Roosevelts in general, Ethel's in particular, a brief introduction to Grand Tour and transatlantic travel in American history is crucial.

[140] J. Lee Thompson, *Never Call Retreat: Theodore Roosevelt and the Great War* (New York, 2013).

Europe indicated various meanings for the American transatlantic travelers. Primarily, for the majority of the Americans, it was the home "to which they were bound by invisible ties, a world familiar through personal associations."[141] Secondly, for the Americans, who had not been to any part of the Old World, it "had the fascination of the unknown, a strange and almost mysterious continent."[142] While these two meanings associated with Europe remained central and unaltered, various other connotations became the triggering motives in Americans' increasing interest in the transatlantic travel. For the artists and musicians, Europe was literally the heaven. It hosted the most suitable environment for the development of the artist's mind, talent and intellectuality. For the young gentlemen and ladies of the upper class American society, Europe, with its universities and academic institutions, was the capitol of learning and schooling. Besides, the Grand Tour of Europe following the training at a European university was necessary to enrich the knowledge received at the university with Europe's historically and culturally fertile environments.

In time, this Grand Tour targeted a bigger group of Americans; wealthy upper class families left for the Old World for at least four to six months; visited various European cities, blended with these cities' aristocratic and artistic classes, and caught the chance of examining both the historical and the contemporary artistic and literary developments. For these Americans, Europe represented the stage for the self-improvement, intellectuality, and sophistication. In the meantime, travel to Europe could provide Americans the opportunity to move to a superior social class. For the

[141] Foster Rhea Dulles, *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel* (Ann Arbor, 1964), p.2.

[142] Ibid., p.2.

Americans wishing to upgrade their social status, Europe represented the stepping-stone.

Self-definition, in other words the quest for the national identity, was another intriguing motive in Americans' longing for the European travel. Europe attracted Americans with its rich architecture, art, history, and culture. With all its past, it provided Americans with a reference point in searching for the national identity, which was furnished with many elements of European culture. While associating Europe with their national identity, Americans were cautious about the evils this Old World was hosting. With its feudal and aristocratic past, the long history of revolutions and battles, and the never-ending political contestations, Europe represented maturity and in consequence the corruption. Americans, while adopting the healthy and rich elements of Europe, should be careful not to lose their morality and innocence the New World had presented them.

It was an indisputable fact that Europe was the home for the majority of Americans. Since 1607, the establishment of the first British colony in America, Europeans had left the Old World for the new one. Although this one colony soon became thirteen of them and rebelled against the undemocratic and unjust Old World to establish the United States of America, Americans' bond to Europe had remained strong. This very fact alone was a valid stimulus for Americans to explore Europe. This emotional attachment to the Old World played the central role on Americans' transatlantic travel history during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. Americans, first as a colonized nation, later as an independent but inexperienced one, considered traveling to the Old World a significant turning point in preventing the nation from totally alienating themselves from the home continent. The ones who had migrated to the new world missed Europe and wanted to spend a season or two

in there. On the other hand, the ones who were born in the new world grew up by listening to the European life their parents or grandparents had had, and they gradually became curious about anything about the Old World. Each group traveled to Europe during this period with the impulse of this emotional attachment.

Besides this effective emotional drive, there were external ones that triggered the popularity of the travel to the Old World among the American public. One of them was the fact that Europe, the home continent, was the roofless institution of high arts, music, culture, and education. Going across the ocean by itself was considered an intellectual evolution. The annual number of American travelers was not very high in the late 1700s, but they were the ones who had popularized both the schooling in Britain or in Europe, and the idea of self-improvement attained through traveling to European museums, galleries, art studios and historic churches.

In this context, transcontinental tour spread among the wealthy class of American colonists in the form of Grand Tour. Grand Tour was originally a British custom, which became popular during the Elizabethan age among the noble and wealthy families.[143] The young, single, and male members of these families went for a Continental travel for at least six months with the intention of advancing their world knowledge. This way, the young male member of the noble family could complete his classical education, study traditional, classical and local art and music, and experience the exchange of British and European cultures. Besides completing this formative education, he gained a chance to collect various cultural and artistic souvenirs, which in Britain would provide him the noble class's appreciation and

[143] Ishbel Ross, *The Expatriates: Americans of All Eras Who Have Lived or Worked Abroad* (New York, 1970), p.96.

praise. In time, this custom could not be confined in British noble class alone, but spread among the wealthy families of the northern European nations.

It was in the second half of the eighteenth century when the Grand Tour was embraced by the upper class Americans. While adopting it, American wealthy colonists did not change much of the frames of this British custom. Originally British gentleman's son's study at the private schools was followed by the education at a notable university in Britain and the Grand Tour was "de rigueur"[144] in the training of the English gentry. American wealthy colonists appreciated this method and sent their sons to Cambridge or Oxford first and complemented this study with a tour of Europe in guidance of a tutor. Definitely it was the wealthy class of Americans, who could afford this original plan. For the not so wealthy American families, who could not afford the study at a foreign university, the Grand Tour alone could stand for the immense knowledge of the world and the young gentleman's entrance to the American high-class society.

The Grand Tour in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century American culture, though was limited to a very small community, was as popular as it was in Britain and in other north European countries. Travel was by itself considered a highly efficient method in disseminating knowledge. Change of environment and analysis of arts and sciences in foreign environments was considered essential in the development of the mind. For Americans, Britain was the first and the most remarkable point in the commencement of the mind development. After spending sufficient time in Britain, the young American sailed to the main continent. The itinerary did not cover every country in Europe though. France and Italy were

[144] Julie Flavell, *When London was Capital of America* (New Haven, 2010), p.67.

considered essential in the name of arts, architecture, and music. The young American was supposed to live in Rome, Florence, and Venice[145] and to make visits to the art studios and museums for at least a few months to appreciate them and to pass on his knowledge of them to the American public when he returned. Actually most Italian cities were on the itineraries of the traveling young Americans in the early nineteenth century.

Along with the boys, Americans started sending their daughters to a Grand Tour as early as 1760s. American upper class families' intentions in encouraging their daughters' transcontinental experience remained the same; meeting with new forms of culture, arts, music, and literature. However these upper class American ladies were not always given the privilege to study at a European institution as the young gentlemen were. Generally, the families preferred their daughters to stay in London "for a season or two to mix with fashionable society,"[146] and to complete their European experience with a quick tour of some French cities in the main continent. Besides sophistication and education, fashion was also an intriguing reason for the young ladies' enthusiasm of a transcontinental travel. London and Paris were the cities where fashion was born, and they would serve to be the "shopping capitals" for "fashion-conscious" Americans until the United States began to manufacture for themselves after the War of 1812.[147]

At real, with all its features, the Grand Tour appealed to all the members of the upper class society in the United States. Starting in the late eighteenth century wealthy

[145] Ross, The Expatriates, p.97.

[146] Flavell, When London was Capital of America, p.69.

[147] Ibid., p.246.

American families arranged transcontinental tours, which lasted four to six months. They traveled to Europe as a family, with all their children, who were believed to experience the mind development as they witnessed different cultures and traditions. Self-improvement and sophistication were significant elements in identifying American upper class society. European cities with their Opera Houses, museums, concert halls, and any kind of art galleries satisfied Americans' hunger for art and music. The American expatriate artists' studios frequented by American tourists, who were introduced to their entourage of artists. As Mary Suzanne Schriber states, Americans associated their European travel with "self-improvement."[148] They believed to return to the homeland with a higher appreciation of culture, art, and literature.

Including in this belief was also the search for the social class. Considering intellectuality was a typical feature of an upper social class, Americans, through improving their intellectuality in European soil, "could simultaneously claim membership in this superior social class."[149] Wealth was not appreciated unless was nurtured with a wide knowledge of art, literature, and music among the members of the upper class.

With the Grand Tour, Americans embraced one more significant motive for the transcontinental travel; it was the health. Doctors in the United States prescribed transatlantic voyage for a rapid and stable rehabilitation phase. It was strongly believed that "the long, leisurely sea-voyage, the change of climate, and the waters at

[148] Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home:American Women Abroad, 1830-1920* (Charlottesville, 1997), p.20.

[149] William W. Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth Century American Culture* (Princeton, 1994), p.5.

the continental spas"[150] would cure any kind of illness, though mostly psychological ones, much faster than any environment in the United States. South of France and Switzerland were the attractive points American doctors advised their patients. Americans, yearning for an escape from the undesired thoughts and for a change of an environment "sailed up the Rhine, and toned up their bodies at the spas."[151]

As discussed extensively in Hans Krabbendam and John Thompson's edition of *America's Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the "Discovery" of Europe*[152], Theodore Roosevelt from early his childhood until his death, constructed strong bonds with European states, and their culture. And, he did not neglect to introduce all his children, including Ethel Roosevelt, to these bonds. Ethel espoused the legacy of her father by adopting his appreciation for Europe, and by never turning her back on the transatlantic relationship in each and every different phase of her life. Additional to that, and distinguishable from her father's case, Ethel ascribed a broader meaning, a "healing" approach, to the transatlantic relationship she constituted. Every phase of Ethel Roosevelt's life consists of a transatlantic travel. While analyzing these travels of Ethel, this dissertation focuses on the idea that Ethel Roosevelt's transatlantic travels in every different phase of her life represents the Roosevelts' preservation of the Grand Tour in the twentieth century, with nearly every element of it.

[150] Dulles, Americans Abroad, p.3.

[151] Ross, The Expatriates, p.98.

[152] Hans Krabbendam and John M. Thompson, ed., *America's Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the "Discovery" of Europe* (New York, 2012).

1.3 A Note on the Sources

The leading primary sources, this dissertation is grounded on, are the products of a research conducted at the Theodore Roosevelt Collection – Houghton Library, Harvard University. The main part of the collection, this research focuses on, is Ethel Roosevelt Derby Papers.

There are mainly four very significant parts of the collection to the completion of this dissertation. They are Ethel's correspondences with her mother Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt, with her husband Richard Derby, and with her eldest daughter Edith Derby Williams, and lastly Ethel's diaries. Ethel's correspondence with her mother consists of 518 letters of Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt written between 1897 and 1948,[153] and 286 letters of Ethel written between 1900 and 1935.[154] This extensive correspondence, firstly, reveals the strong relationship Ethel and her mother Edith had built. Secondly, they are useful in displaying the different phases each woman was going through when they encountered births, deaths, sicknesses, or wars. Lastly, since each woman wrote each other about every single detail of their lives, their writings furnish this study with intimate knowledge of both the Roosevelts and the Derbys.

Another significant part of the collection is Ethel's correspondence with her husband Dr. Richard Derby. In this part, there are 139 letters of Ethel to Richard,[155] which

[153] Ethel Roosevelt Derby Papers, 1871-1977 (87M-100) Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University – Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt Letters to Ethel Roosevelt Derby – Box # 4-5.

[154] Ibid., Box # 1.

[155] Ibid., Box # 12.

cover the years 1913 and 1935. The half of the correspondence is from the World War I years, when Ethel and Richard were separated for the longest time in their marriage. In this regard, this part of the collection is useful in comprehending Ethel's attitude about the war, and about the U.S. government's policy of neutrality. Their correspondence includes 274 letters of Richard to Ethel[156] in the years between 1912 and 1951. These letters make up 33 folders, out of which 31 folders consist of the letters written either from the military training camp or from the front during the World War I. Through this mutual correspondence, the years between 1914 and 1919 are studied scrupulously in this study.

As former curator of Theodore Roosevelt Collection at Houghton Library, Wallace Dailey mentioned during our conversations, and Betty Boyd Caroli pointed out in her book *The Roosevelt Women*, Ethel and her daughter Edith Derby Williams wrote each other every week for more than four decades. Between 1930 and 1977, Edith received Ethel's Sunday morning letters on Wednesdays, and wrote back immediately so that her mother could receive it on Saturday and had enough time to write and deliver another one on Sunday. After Ethel's death, Edith Derby Williams donated her mother's every single letter she wrote her to Harvard College. Today, at Houghton Library, these letters of Ethel are being stored in 366 folders, in 7 boxes.[157] Since Ethel did not keep long diaries –her diaries are "a line a day" kind-, her letters to Edith Derby Williams are particularly worthwhile to acquire the details of her life between 1930 and 1977.

[156] Ibid., Box # 10.

[157] Ibid., Box # 13-14-15-16-17-18-19.

Ethel Roosevelt Derby Papers consist of Ethel's 13 "a line a day" diary books, and 4 very detailed travel diaries.[158] The diary books, which Ethel kept between 1911 and 1975, furnish the dissertation with Ethel's daily activities. The day-to-day events Ethel wrote, all in all, do not give detailed information, however they are considered crucial in clarifying the important periods in Ethel's lifetime. The travel diaries, on the other hand, are quite elaborate. The diaries are dated 1909, 1913-1914, 1934, and 1938. Respectively, they included the Roosevelt family's transatlantic travel after Theodore Roosevelt's leaving the Presidency to William Howard Taft, Ethel Roosevelt Derby and Richard Derby's three month long honeymoon in Europe, the Derby family's travel to Italy, and lastly again Derby family's journey to France and Italy.

The rest of the collection includes Ethel Roosevelt Derby's letters[159] received and sent. Her letters sent to her brothers are archived in different locations depending on the archives her brothers' papers are being stored. A small part of their correspondence is stored at Houghton Library. Most of their correspondence is either from their childhood years or from the 1940s. Still, they are constructive in revealing Ethel's relationship with her brothers.

Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt's 22 diaries,[160] the letters she sent and received,[161] and her photograph albums[162] are the supplementary primary sources in the

[158] Ibid., Box # 20.

[159] Ibid., Box # 7-8 and 11.

[160] Ibid., Box # 6.

[161] Ibid., Box # 2-3.

[162] Ibid., Box # 7.

completion of the dissertation. This part of the collection is useful in comprehending Ethel's family relations and her life before she married to Richard Derby.

Besides this extensive archival collection at Houghton Library, this dissertation consults other primary sources; such as, *Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress*, *Presidential Addresses and State Papers of Theodore Roosevelt*, *Progressive Party Papers*, 24 Volumes of *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Edition*, 8 Volumes of *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* edited by Elting E. Morison, 2 Volumes of *Selections from The Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge 1884-1918*, *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children*, and *Letters From Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles*, stored both at Bilkent University Library, Ankara-Turkey, and at JFK Institute Freie Universitat, Berlin-Germany. The historical newspapers published in the United States are of great help to display how Roosevelt family and Theodore Roosevelt's second daughter Ethel Roosevelt Derby is presented to the American public. French newspapers, especially *Le Figaro*, are also consulted to throw light on French perspective regarding the American Ambulance in Neuilly Ethel worked for during the Great War.

1.4 Dissertation Blueprint

The dissertation is divided into chronological chapters. Each chapter covers a different period of time of Ethel Roosevelt Derby's life with an emphasis on a common theme; her considerable interest in caring about the public good, and volunteering for charity. The analysis of this theme differs in the context of each

chapter. The sub-themes, which enrich the quality, and strengthen the cogency of the main theme, can be listed as:

- Ethel's interconnectedness with philanthropy, humanitarianism, public service, and volunteering;
- Ethel's espousing Theodore Roosevelt's progressive ideas and sharing them with her husband Dr. Richard Derby;
- Ethel's preserving Theodore Roosevelt's legacy by keeping Sagamore Hill as itself, and turning it into a national historic site, and by participating at many conservationist and philanthropic associations, which Theodore Roosevelt was also a member of.

Chapter 2 commences with the historical and ancestral information on Ethel Roosevelt's both maternal and paternal sides; the Carow and the Roosevelt families. Then, starting with Ethel's birth, this chapter covers predominantly the childhood. In this context her relationship with her four brothers and her sister Alice, the education she received, the family ties she developed and her fondness for her father constitute the chapter. This chapter composes the story of Ethel's parents Edith and Theodore Roosevelt, more than her own.

Chapter 3 forms Ethel's White House years, adolescence and the early years of marriage. Ethel's being the First daughter of the United States, her acquaintance with her father's Progressive ideas while working for his Presidential Campaign in 1912, her marriage to a Progressive like her father, Dr. Richard Derby, and their European honeymoon are the main segments, which constitute the chapter. On the whole, this chapter aims to scrutinize the association between being a Roosevelt and

being involved in a lifetime of community service; and how Ethel forms this connection in her early life.

Chapter 4 covers the most significant phase in Ethel's lifetime in the frame of this dissertation: the eruption of the Great War in July 1914, and her involvement in a wartime relief project in France. This chapter analyzes Ethel Roosevelt Derby's wartime humanitarian work at the American Ambulance in Neuilly-sur-Seine, Paris, France with her husband. Under the subtitle of "American Expatriate Community and the Formation of the American Ambulance in Paris" the commencement of this chapter focuses on the American expatriate community in Paris, and this community's strenuous efforts in building an American hospital first during the siege of Paris in 1870, then in the time of the Great War. Following an introduction on the historical background of this ambulance hospital, this chapter discusses how Ethel and her husband were associated with the American Ambulance, and what kind of a change this experience did in Ethel's life. In this dissertation, Ethel's working as a nurse at this ambulance hospital, and her forming a strong relationship with the expatriates in Paris, who were members of some major relief societies, is considered a turning point in her philanthropic service career. She started working voluntarily for the Red Cross, and continued working for St. Luke's Hospital in New York after this three-month old nursing experience in the warzone.

Chapter 5 constitutes the conclusion of this dissertation. Ethel, "the great and good lady, wise in counsel, generous of her time and energy, noble in spirit"[163] died on December 10, 1977. This concluding chapter discusses the characteristics Ethel inherited from her father Theodore Roosevelt. It analyzes how Ethel, in time,

[163] John A. Gable, *Theodore Roosevelt Association Executive Committee Meeting Resolution* December 17, 1977.

became the "1977 winner of the Theodore Roosevelt medal for distinguished public service by a private citizen."[164] As P. James Roosevelt announced this award at the 58th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, he praised Ethel for her "vitality on behalf of church, charity, community, and country," which "add up to a truly prodigious record."[165] According to Roosevelt, Ethel's modest life full with public service was actually a very appropriate example to a "strenuous life," as her father Theodore Roosevelt would also call it. In this context, this chapter examines how Ethel preserved Theodore Roosevelt's legacy. The main topics include her support of Theodore Roosevelt Association, her interest in conservation and ultimately her service at the Board of the American Museum of Natural History, her efforts in preserving Sagamore Hill and converting it into a national historic site, and her service in various civic and non-governmental organizations in Oyster Bay, New York.

[164] P. James Roosevelt, *Ethel Roosevelt Derby, 58th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association* (The Text for the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal Ceremony), (October 28, 1977), p.1.

[165] Ibid., p.2.

CHAPTER II

ETHEL ROOSEVELT:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S

HALF-KNICKERBOCKER HALF-HUGUENOT DAUGHTER

2.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 commences with the historical and ancestral information on Ethel Roosevelt's both maternal and paternal sides; the Carow and the Roosevelt families. Then, starting with Ethel's birth, this chapter covers predominantly the childhood years of Ethel. In this context her relationship with her four brothers and her half-sister Alice, the education she received, the family ties she developed and her fondness for her father will constitute the chapter. On the whole, this chapter aims to scrutinize the association between being a Roosevelt and being involved in a lifetime of community service; and how Ethel forms this connection in her early life.

2.2. The Carows and The Roosevelts

2.2.1. Carow Family

Ethel's mother Edith Kermit Carow was born in 1861in Norwich, Connecticut, daughter of Charles Carow, who was a notable man in shipping business, and Gertrude Elizabeth Tyler. The Carow (Quereau in French) family was among the French Huguenots, who belonged to the Protestant Reform Church of France. After the invalidation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which had granted the Huguenots some rights in Catholic France in 1598, French Huguenots immigrated to different parts of Europe, Africa and America to escape the persecution of the Catholic Church. The Carow family was among the ones who fled to America in the 1680s [166] and contributed substantially to the economy of the British colonies as merchants and artisans immediately upon their arrival. In order to strengthen their name among the elitist New Yorkers, the Carow family, without a delay, became Episcopalians and joined the English Church, Trinity, where most of the Carow family members were "christened, married, and buried."[167] Edith's father, Charles Carow was the seventh child of Isaac Quentin Carow and Eliza Mowatt.[168] Isaac Quentin Carow, after returning to New York from West Indies around late 1790s, – his father Isaac Carow, the son of the second generation Carow family, had settled in the Island of Santa Cruz in West Indies, married to an English girl Ann Cooper and died at a very early age –[169] established a shipping business with Captain Robert Kermit. Kermit &

[166] Betty Boyd Caroli, *The Roosevelt Women* (New York, 1998), p.187.

[167] Edith Roosevelt and Kermit Roosevelt, *American Backlogs: The Story of Gertrude Tyler and Her Family 1660-1860* (New York, 1928), p.199.

[168] Sylvia Jukes Morris *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady* (New York: Coward, 1980), p.10.

[169] Roosevelt, American Backlogs, p.199.

Carow Company was transporting a wide range of goods to and from England and West Indies. In a short period of time the company became very successful and popular among the prosperous shipping businesses of New York. Hereafter Carow family moved to St. Mark's Place, which was considered a fashionable neighborhood of Knickerbockers in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Charles Carow grew up watching the prosperity of the "Saint Line"[170] his father had built and at an early age got acquainted with the "foreign coins" the passengers from the Old World paid in return for their passage of the Atlantic. Although books fascinated him more than business in those years, he had already involved in the attractiveness of the huge vessels his father owned. Secretly in heart he knew that one-day he would take over the Kermit & Carow Company as he was watching the cargo ships with amazement.

When Isaac Quentin Carow died, Charles Carow was twenty-five and was still too young and too inexperienced to take over the control of the shipping business. However he accomplished conducting the business, maintained his father's wealth, and soon became a respected businessman among the low ratio number of single and wealthy Knickerbockers. In 1857, Charles, at the age of thirty- two, still single; met Gertrude Tyler, who was twenty-three at the moment.

Gertrude Tyler from Norwich, Connecticut was such an appropriate bride to the Carow family. She was the child of Daniel Tyler IV and Emily Lee. Job Tyler, the colonial ancestor of Tyler family immigrated to America earlier than Carows, in 1638 from England. In the course of time Tyler family members became among the

[170] The shipping line Kermit & Carow operated between New York and Liverpool was called the Saint Line, because each ship was given a name of a Saint. Roosevelt, American Backlogs, p.200.

notable members of New England society as "architects, gentleman farmers, and Harvard graduates."[171] Besides to their own success, they were also proud of their forefathers, among who were the "great Protestant divine Jonathan Edwards"[172] and eighteenth century Britain's two well-known politicians, a father and a son, the William Pitts.

Daniel Tyler IV, the father of the bride, was a West Point graduate. He had traveled to Europe, especially to France, several times in his life. It was in 1828 when Daniel Tyler IV stepped into the Old World for the first time "to study the French system of artillery training."[173] He was admitted to the School of Practice at Metz and stayed there for a year. After numerous France travels with the ultimate intention of collecting military knowledge and at the end being retired from the American Army, he traveled to London. The intentions lying behind the travel was the same with the French ones; however this time he was not interested in military knowledge but in a business one. In England he studied "the application of blast furnaces in smelting iron ore"[174] and eventually started the iron industry in the United States. Besides France and England, he spent almost a year "traveling through Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy."[175]

His admiration of the French education system brought forth his decision to send his daughter Gertrude to Paris to complete her education. At the age of eighteen Getrude, the daughter of a wealthy and intellectual father started her first letter to her

[171] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.13.

[172] Ibid., p.13.

[173] Roosevelt, American Backlogs, p.31.

[174] Ibid., p.32.

[175] Ibid., p.35.

family from overseas with these sentences: “In sight of Havre. Here I am, dear Mother, in sight of Havre.”[176] She spent two years in Paris, where Louvre charmed her and its paintings made her “eyes ache for two days after,”[177] and, where she described Tuileries and Champs Elysees as the “Fairy Land.”[178] At the very beginning of her stay in Paris she wrote to her mother that she “shall return quite satisfied with my own country though I enjoy myself here very much.”[179] After two years, when she passed the Atlantic to return home, she was for sure satisfied with America, but in the meantime already started missing the freedom the Old World had offered her.

In 1857 Charles Carow met this Parisian girl in New York, where she was staying at New York Hotel; “a favorite stopping place for genteel New Englanders.”[180] They wrote each other frequently after Gertrude was back to Norwich and soon after their separation Charles sent a letter to Gertrude’s father and asked for his approval of their possible marriage. On June 8, 1859 Charles Carow and Gertrude Tyler got married in the Christ Episcopal Church, in Norwich, Connecticut. After the wedding reception at the mansion of the bride’s family, the newly wed couple left for New York.

After the loss of their first child, who was a boy and was born on February 26, 1860, Gertrude gave birth to her second child. On August 6, 1861, when the Civil War was ravaging the country, Edith Kermit Carow was born. The war years witnessed the

[176] Ibid., p.88.

[177] Ibid., p.96.

[178] Ibid., p.155.

[179] Ibid., p.98.

[180] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.10.

fall of the Tyler family mansion at Norwich, Connecticut. Daniel Tyler joined the Volunteering Army Forces of Mississippi. Within two years following Daniel Tyler's enrollment, Emily Lee Tyler died. By that time Gertrude was expecting her second baby, Emily Carow who would be born on April 18, 1865, just 10 days after of the closing of the war.

The lovely house on Livingston Place, East 14th Street, and the two healthy daughters seemed not to bring any blessing to Charles Carow's business. Kermit & Carow shipping business went into a declining phase right after the Civil War ended. Charles Carow could not accomplish to prevent his business from going bankruptcy in the following fifteen years. It was also the same period that he found the escape from his financial problems in alcohol and started the habit of heavy drinking. Carow family's economic situation reached such a point that they had to vacate their house on Livingston Place and had to move to Robert Kermit's widow Aunt Ann Eliza's house located next to Cornelius Van Schaack Roosevelt's mansion at the Union Square.

2.2.2. Roosevelt Family

The Roosevelt family was "of Holland stock."[181] During Peter Stuyvesant's reign, (Peter Stuyvesant was the last Dutch West India Company appointee as the general director of the colony, New Netherlands, between 1647 and the English secession in 1664[182]), Claes Martenszoon van Rosenvelt, "the forefather of a long line of

[181] Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York, 1913), p.3.

[182] Max Kullnick, *From Rough Rider to President* (Chicago, 1911), p.13.

merchants" arrived and settled in New Amsterdam in about 1644[183]. Around 1652, he bought "a 48 acre farm, in present day midtown Manhattan."[184] The Roosevelt family members soon became regarded the prominent class of New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York after Duke of York in 1664. Most became "council and senate members, presidents of Bank of New York, engineers, lawyers, and judges…"[185] Among them; Claes's grandson Johannes Roosevelt was believed to establish the basis of Roosevelt wealth in the eighteenth century.

The family tradition of doing business and using the money to invest in real estate continued in the latter Roosevelt generations. Cornelius Van Schaack Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt Sr.'s father, "invested in Manhattan real estate," and became "one of the ten largest property holders in the city and one of the wealthiest men in New York."[186] C.V.S. Roosevelt and his five sons managed plate-glass importing firm, *Roosevelt and Son*, and in the meantime continued in investing in real estate, banking and mining. The immense wealth C.V.S. Roosevelt and his sons had during Theodore Roosevelt's boyhood could be signified with the property they owned: "Manhattan's Piers Nine and Ten, a farm on Staten Island, land in upstate New York, stock in the New York Central Railroad, and property all over lower Manhattan."[187] And, in 1878, when Theodore Roosevelt's father Theodore Roosevelt Sr. died, TR and his two sisters Anna and Corinne and his brother Elliot inherited a substantial

[183] Roosevelt, Autobiography.

[184] http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/trfamily.html

[185] Kullnick, From Rough Rider to President, p.14.

[186] Kathleen Dalton, "Theodore Roosevelt, Knickerbocker Aristocrat," *New York History*, 67:1, 1986 January, p.40.

[187] Kathleen Dalton, *Theodore Roosevelt: A Strenuous Life* (New York, 2002), p.17.

fortune. Coming from the "Dutch blood"[188] TR pointed out in the first sentence of his autobiography, and inheriting the "genuine aristocracy"[189] and wealth, the Roosevelts belonged to the Dutch Knickerbocker elite society.

Cornelius Van Schaack, in his granddaughter Corinne Roosevelt Robinson's words, was a "typical merchant of his day, fine and true, and loyal."[190] Conceiving of the opportunities in the trade, C.V.S. Roosevelt changed the Roosevelts' hardware business to "a plate-importing firm."[191] Engaging in the business of trade was more like a heritage for the Roosevelts. Quite characteristically, Dutch colonists came to the New World in the middle of the 17th century as merchants. Two of Claes's grandsons, Johannes and Jacobus, "born in 1689 and 1692,"[192] were the pioneers in earning a wealth from trade. These two brothers' families and heirs would later constitute the two distinct lines of the Roosevelt family: Oyster Bay Roosevelts (Theodore Roosevelt) and Hyde Park Roosevelts (Franklin Delano Roosevelt.)

Johannes Roosevelt constructed a monopoly of linseed oil, which made him earn a considerable amount of wealth to be respected as an authority in the municipal committees of Manhattan. Besides conducting some of the construction projects, which "began to define Manhattan" on the eve of the eighteenth century, Johannes merchandised Dutch paintings and furniture.[193] The succeeding generations after Johannes all were born in and grew up in Manhattan in "brownstone-fronted,

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[188] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.3.

[189] Kathleen Dalton, "Theodore Roosevelt, Knickerbocker Aristocrat", p.40.

[190] Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore R ooseCCC velt* (New York, 1921), p.2.

[191] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.16.

[192] Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *The Roosevelts: An American Saga* (New York, 1994), p.17.

[193] Ibid., p.17.

gilded"[194] houses, and established country residences in Long Island. Johannes's great-grandson C.V.S. Roosevelt, for instance, invested in real estate in all over Manhattan during the financial crisis of 1837. Besides, C.V.S. was one of the founders of the Chemical Bank, "the only bank in New York that had never failed to meet its obligations in gold."[195] So, Johannes's heirs doubled his wealth through banking, real estate, and imported plate-glass. This line of the Roosevelts produced Theodore Roosevelt.

C.V.S. Roosevelt and "English-Irish-Quaker"[196]Margaret Barnhill of Philadelphia, who was the first non-Dutch bride in the Roosevelt line, had five boys, and Theodore Roosevelt Sr. was the youngest. With the exception of the eldest boy Weir Roosevelt, who attended Columbia College, C.V.S.'s sons did have a limited formal education, and received no college education since C.V.S. thought, "it would ruin" his boys.[197] However, Theodore Sr. was the luckiest among the other Roosevelt boys; he was sent off on a Grand Tour of Europe in 1851 as a part of his formal education, in his brother Robert's words, "to enlarge your mind by conversing with and seeing the bent of the minds of other people."[198]

Upon the completion of the Grand Tour, Theodore Sr. started working in the family business *Roosevelt and Son*. As the last Roosevelt boy joined the family firm, C.V.S. decided to retire and leave the control of the business to his five sons.

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[194] Edward P. Kohn, *Heir to the Empire City: New York and the Making of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 2014), p.12.

[195] David McCullough, *Mornings on Horseback: The Story of an Extraordinary Family, a Vanished Way of Life, and the Unique Child Who Became Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 2001), p.29.

[196] Ibid., p.26.

[197] Ibid., p.26.

[198] Ibid., p.27.

Luckily, one of the boys had a great talent in business; James Alfred Roosevelt "was made Sr. partner"[199] in *Roosevelt and Son*, and started running the business wisely. Following the footsteps of his father C.V.S., James Alfred became the director of the Chemical Bank, which "was of great importance to the Roosevelts and their standing in the financial community."[200] James Alfred's business talent in managing *Roosevelt and Son* was of great luck to Theodore Sr., who was not much enthusiastic about trade in general and plate-glass importing in particular. While James Alfred was running the business, Theodore Sr. was free "to go off to Europe, or to the country, or to his eager philanthropy,"[201] and he did quite frequently.

Theodore Sr. married "a sweet, gracious, beautiful Southern"[202] girl, Martha "Mittie" Bulloch from Roswell, Georgia in December 1853. In order to keep the family together C.V.S. had bought houses for all his sons close to each other, and close to the "massive, four-story"[203] family mansion on Union Square. Theodore Sr.'s house, where he took his bride Mittie to, and where Mittie gave birth to their four children at, was on twentieth Street, No. 28, next to Theodore Sr.'s brother Robert's house.

For a true Southern belle, like Mittie, living in Manhattan, New York, with its more rigid and inhospitable social norms compared to the Southern ones was strange, and she soon became homesick "for her own people, and for southern ways, and for country living."[204] Homesickness for her Southern life and for her family doubled

[199] Ibid., p.29.

[200] Ibid., p.29.

[201] Ibid., p.30.

[202] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.10.

[203] Kohn, Heir to the Empire City, p.12.

[204] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.22.

when Mittie gave birth to a physically deformed baby girl, Anna (Bamie) Roosevelt, on January 18, 1855. Bamie's problem was "Pott's disease, the form of tuberculosis which softens and destroys the bones, and which, when localized in the spine, causes hunchback."[205] The disease, in Bamie's case, caused spinal curvature, and consequently acute pains. When Mittie, who was very concerned about the delicate health of Bamie, learned about the expected day of their second child's birth, called on her mother Martha Stewart Elliot Bulloch and her sister Annie Bulloch to come to New York to help her. On October 27, 1858, Theodore (Teddie) Roosevelt was born, and Mittie did not let her mother and her sister leave her with a newborn baby and a three-years old physically impaired child. Earning the constant care of her mother and her sister, who moved in with the Roosevelts, Mittie gave birth to two more babies; Elliott (Ellie) Roosevelt on February 28, 1860, and Corinne (Conie) Roosevelt on September 27, 1861.

When the Civil War erupted, "Grandmother Bulloch" and "Aunt Annie" were with the Roosevelts, in New York, on the wrong side of the divided nation. Presuming the possible conflict at home between his Southern wife who was an ardent supporter of the Confederate Army, and whose brothers were actually fighting for the Confederacy, and himself, Theodore Sr. "petitioned Congress against the war at its onset."[206] And, later, he hired a substitute soldier, so that he would not have to enlist and kill some Confederate soldiers, who Mittie's brothers may be among, although for TR Sr., giving money to a stranger to fight for him in the war was totally a wrong and dishonorable attitude. However, TR Sr.'s these attempts could not prevent the division at home from occurring. Mittie, already feeling detached, began keeping

[205] McCullough, Mornings on Horseback, p.35.

[206] Collier and Horowitz, The Roosevelts, p.33.

herself closed to the outer world. And, in the rest of her life, she remained, in her daughter Corinne's words, a woman with "delicate health;"[207] a mother who needed affection from her husband and children; the "entirely unreconstructed"[208] mother who the Roosevelt children referred to in their letters as " Darling little mother," or "Motherkins."[209] However, she did manage to entertain her four children by telling them her Southern life, the life at the plantation, and every Southern character in Roswell, Georgia.

Though he did not enlist in the Union Army, TR Sr. was an active character in the Civil War, as a philanthropist. TR Sr.'s interest in the philanthropic endeavor had taken root much earlier than the Civil War, during his childhood. Some historians asserts that his concern for the less fortunate ones around him was a notion inherited from his mother Margaret Barnhill of "English-Irish-Quaker"[210] descent. David McCullough even claims that she was "the first Roosevelt to espouse the spirit of noblesse oblige,"[211] and she succeeded in passing this notion to her youngest son Theodore Sr.. During the Civil war, he was "one of the founders of the Sanitary Commission,"[212] which was considered "the largest philanthropic organization in national history up to that time."[213] He was among the founders of various medical and cultural institutions: New York Orthopedic Hospital – New York Orthopedic

[207] Robinson, My Brother Theodore Roosevelt, p.9.

[208] Roosevelt, Autobiograph, p.10.

[209] Collier and Horowitz, The Roosevelts, p.34.

[210] McCullough, Mornings on Horseback, p.26.

[211] Ibid.

[212] Robinson, My Brother Theodore Roosevelt, p.4.

[213] Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie, ed., *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* (Cambridge, 2002), p.156.

Dispensary and Orthopedic Department of Columbia, Presbyterian Medical Center, the American Museum of Natural History (1869) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1870.) He sponsored "two of the city's premier charities,"[214] the Children's Aid Society and the Newsboys' Lodging House. In Theodore Sr.'s case, sponsoring did not include only donation or fundraising, but actively and religiously visiting the boys at the Lodging House every Sunday evening. He was a member of the Young Men's Christian Association, and he acted as the New York City commissioner at the State Charities Aid Association. All these philanthropic associations he dedicated his life to were significant examples to the place of noblesse oblige among New York Knickerbockers in the nineteenth century.

Noblesse Oblige was a notion inherited from the Old World, and brought to the New World by the early settlers, who changed its meaning from "the duties attendant upon noble birth" to "the duties of the rich to the society which has enriched them."[215] Mainly, noblesse oblige indicated that the successful and wealthy citizens shared a feeling of responsibility towards their communities, in which they and their families made progress. And this responsibility consisted of providing food, clothing, shelter to the less fortunate ones, meanwhile providing some essential social and cultural institutions to all the residents of the city. His daughter Corrine told the story of Theodore Sr.'s fundraising for the establishment of the New York Orthopedic Hospital in her book *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt*. According to the story, when TR Sr. had difficulty finding funds for the hospital, he and Mittie gave a social reception at their house, where beside the elite members of the New York society,

[214] Joan Waugh, *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Cambridge, 1997), p.129.

[215] Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity & Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849-1929* (Chicago, 1982), p.ix.

the crippled children with their steel appliances TR Sr. interested in were present. He wanted to show how essential and helping these appliances were to these children. The establishment of the hospital was assured at that reception at the Roosevelts' second home, West 57th Street, No. 6. The first fundraiser, Corinne remembered, was Mrs. John Jacob Astor, who "leaned over one fragile-looking child, turning to my father, said, 'Theodore, you are right; these children must be restored and made into active citizens again, and I for one will help you in your work.'"[216]

Bamie, Teddie, Ellie and Conie grew up in a home, where social receptions turned into fundraising events, where they listened to the stories of the life at the plantations of Georgia "-of hunting fox, deer, wildcat; of the long-tailed driving horses; of the riding horses; of the queer goings-on in the negro quarters-,"[217] as well as the stories of the miserable orphans at the Lodging House or the crippled children at the New York Orthopedic Hospital. They were schooled at home, by their own aunt, Mittie's sister Annie, who was "devoted" to them, and who "we were equally devoted to in return."[218] Since they did not attend school, they did not have many playmates, but their cousins and some "approved offspring of a few old family friends of comparable station and antecedents"[219] were among their entourage; one member of this group was Edith Kermit Carow.

[216] Robinson, My Brother Theodore Roosevelt, p.5.

[217] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.11.

[218] Ibid., p.11.

[219] McCullough, Mornings on Horseback, p.39.

2.3. Edith Kermit Carow and Theodore Roosevelt

Edith's biographer Sylvia Jukes Morris asserts that Edith Carow and TR's sister Corinne (Conie) Roosevelt, of the same age, had been "inseparable since infancy."[220] During their childhood Conie, generally alone, visited Edith at her home, Livingston Place. One day during the 1865 summer, Conie had a company when she was heading to Aunt Ann Eliza's house, next to C.V.S.'s mansion on Union Square to see Edith: Teddie and Ellie. So, when Edith and TR met for the first time, Edith was four and TR was seven, and Edith liked him that very minute that she let him play "house" with her.[221]

The friendship between Edith and the Roosevelt children strengthened as Edith started participating at Aunt Annie Bulloch's schooling at Theodore Sr.'s mansion. While Aunt Annie, (who would become Aunt Gracie, after her marriage to James K. Gracie in 1866,) taught them *The Readers Series*, TR's mother Mittie read them for hours, and told them interesting hunting stories in which the context was always the Old South. As well as the Roosevelt children, Edith was interested in these stories. By spending time at the Roosevelt mansion with Mittie and the children, and by reading, Edith could isolate herself from the financial problems the Carows were struggling with. Reading was the ground, which gathered TR and Edith closer to each other. Soon, TR and Edith shared a common taste for William Holmes McGuffey's *The Readers*, from which Edith read to TR "on the steps of the brownstone."[222]

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[220] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.16.

[221] Ibid., p.16.

[222] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.19.

By 1869, Edith had become an inseparable friend of the Roosevelt children; "the friend," TR wrote on May 12, "very hard parting from"[223] when Theodore Sr. were taking his family to a Grand Tour of Europe for a year in order to broaden his children's view of the world with the change of an environment and an analysis of arts, sciences, and culture in the foreign lands. Besides headaches and asthma, there was the homesickness that stroke TR much during their European vacation. "I cordially hated it," TR wrote years later in his autobiography, and added "our one desire was to get back to America."[224]

One of the first letters TR wrote his "dear Eidieth"[225] dated May 29, 1869. He wrote it from Liverpool, their first stop on the Grand Tour. Their correspondence continued during this yearlong separation. They generally wrote about their daily activities, which in TR's letters were Teddie, Ellie and Conie's "exploring any ruins or mountains, and playing in different hotels."[226] One November night in 1869, while the Roosevelts were in Paris, Mittie showed Edith's picture to TR – the reason might be to relieve TR who was again struggling with an asthma attack – who wrote "her face stired up in me homesickness and longings for the past which will come again never, alack never,"[227] on his diary. The Roosevelts' Grand Tour ended by the spring of 1870, and Teddie, Ellie and Conie started attending Mr. Dodsworth's school for dancing, at which Edith had been a student.

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[223] Theodore Roosevelt, *Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth* (New York, 1928), p.13.

[224] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.12.

[225] TRC, Theodore Roosevelt Additional Childhood Correspondence 1869-1902, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Edith Carow, May 29, 1869.

[226] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.12.

[227] Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt's Diaries of Boyhood and Youth, p.103.

In the fall of 1872, the Roosevelts took their second Grand Tour of Europe, which included the Roosevelt children's a few months of stay with a German family in Dresden, and "this trip" commented TR in his memoirs, "formed a really useful part of my education."[228] They visited Egypt, Syria, Ottoman Empire, Greece, and Austria-Hungary, where Theodore Sr. acted as the replacement commissioner for the 1873 Vienna Exposition,[229] and by the June of 1873 Teddie, Ellie and Conie traveled to Dresden to spend the summer with the Minckwitz family. TR described "the manifestations of German character and of German family life" as this;

> The affection, the Gemütlichkeit (a quality which cannot be exactly expressed by any single English word,) the capacity for hard work, the sense of duty, the delight in studying literature and science, the pride in the new Germany, the more than kind and friendly interest in three strange children[230],

and stated that these made a lifelong positive impression upon his character. In the meantime, while TR was enriching both his collection of the species of bugs and birds with the Egyptian and the Syrian ones, and his understanding of hard work, responsibility, and cordiality with the German experience, Edith started formal education at Miss Louise Comstock's school.

Upon the Roosevelts' return from the Grand Tour, TR started studying for Harvard. However, he continued spending time, especially summers, with Edith, who frequently visited the Roosevelts at their seaside place at Oyster Bay, *Tranquillity*, "the two storied white clapboard building, with four classical columns fronting on a

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[228] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.15.

[229] Hans Krabbendam and John M. Thompson, ed., *America's Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the "Discovery" of Europe* (New York, 2012).

[230] Roosevelt, Autobipgraphy, p.17.

wide verandah overlooking the bay."[231] In Edith's September 27, 1876 visit to *Tranquillity*, the Roosevelts celebrated Conie's fifteenth birthday, and sent TR off to Cambridge, Massachusetts. And, until Christmas, when TR brought some of his Cambridge classmates, who belonged to Boston Brahmin families, to New York, Edith and TR could not see much of each other.

In May 1877, "pretty Edith" with Theodore Sr., Bamie, Conie, Ellie, and Cousin Maud visited TR at Harvard for three days, which "have been great fun."[232] Edith, when she returned to New York, wrote TR "to thank you for the pleasant time I had in Boston, for indeed I enjoyed to the utmost every minute of my stay," and added "So with a clear recollection of what were to me at least, three perfectly happy days, Believe me, Most sincerely yours."[233] In his letter to Corinne, dated June 3, TR wrote "I don't think I ever saw Edith looking prettier; everyone and especially Harry Chapin and Minot Weld admired her little Ladyship intensely, and she behaved as sweetly as she looked."[234] With this visit, Edith and TR's relationship became more of a romance than of a friendship.

On February 9, 1878, Theodore Sr. at the age of forty-six died of bowel cancer. He was, wrote TR on his diary after the burial of his father, "the most wise and loving father that ever lived…so unselfish, and was so continually making others happy…as wise and good in public as in private life…a great personal worker among the

[231] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.47.

[232] Edward P. Kohn, *A Most Glorious Ride: The Diaries of Theodore Roosevelt, 1877-1886* (Albany, 2015), p.6.

[233] TRC, ERD Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Edith Kermit Carow to Theodore Roosevelt, May 29, 1877.

[234] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, June 3, 1877.

poor."[235] During the spring and summer of 1878, TR grieved over his father, and dedicated his time at Oyster Bay to a strenuous life consisting of riding, swimming and rowing. On August 16, Edith arrived at Oyster Bay, to spend two weeks with the Roosevelts.[236] After a few days of sailing, rowing, and driving to Coldspring to pick waterlilies, TR took Edith to the summerhouse on August 22.[237] This was the turning point in their un-titled relationship. They had a big quarrel in the summerhouse, afterwards which made TR rode "so long and hard that I am afraid it may have injured my horse."[238] As Edward P. Kohn also points out, some historians speculate that TR proposed Edith at the summerhouse, and in response Edith rejected, and they had a big quarrel, which separated them. Neither Edith nor TR commented on their quarrel at the end of 1878 summer, but both knew that their relationship would not be the same after that day.

As they had predicted, Edith and TR led separate lives in the following six years. At the autumn of 1878, TR returned to Harvard, and started socializing more with his Boston friends and their Boston Brahmin families. One of these families was the Lees, from Chestnut Hill, Brookline. Seventeen-year-old Miss Alice Hathaway Lee, "a very sweet pretty girl" of the Lees was TR's friend Dick Saltonshall's cousin and neighbor. When Dick took TR to his family mansion at Chestnut Hill on October 18 to spend the weekend, TR met Alice, whose name would become frequented in TR's diary in the rest of 1878 and in 1879 too, until actually Alice accepted TR's marriage proposal on January 25, 1880. In the year 1879, TR spent most of his weekends at

[235] Kohn, A Most Glorious Ride, p.20.

[236] Ibid., p.46.

[237] Ibid., p.46.

[238] Ibid., p.47.

Chestnut Hill, with the Saltonshalls and the Lees. On June 24, before he left for New York, he recorded the happiness he felt being with these two Boston families as this:

> Mr. and Mrs. Saltonshall are just too sweet for anything. They have added so much to my happiness this year that I scarcely know how to thank them. So have the Lees. I shall be even more sorry to leave Chestnut Hill than to leave Harvard.[239]

In the summer of 1879, TR proposed Alice, whose answer was a secret, but not "yes" at the moment, for sure. After the summer, when he returned to Harvard, TR continued visiting Chestnut Hill, where he felt as if "I had come home."[240] "Pretty Edith" in the writings of TR, had become "the most cultivated, best read girl I know,"[241] and Alice deserved being entitled "one of the sweetest most ladylike girls I have ever met."[242] When Alice, TR's "sweet queen" accepted to marry him in January 1880, TR pledged that the aim of his whole life would be "to make her happy, and to shield her and guard her from every trial."[243] Marriage was a big decision; however there were bigger decisions TR had that year, in 1880. It was his last year at Harvard and TR decided to study law in the following year, "abandoning his youthful dream of being a natural scientist."[244] Edward P. Kohn interprets TR's this decision as an effect of the two most significant figures on his life at the moment; his New York Knickerbocker father TR Sr. and his Boston Brahmin wife Alice. His father's short life full with numerous examples of social work might urge

[239] Ibid., p.92.

[240] Ibid., p.106.

[241] Ibid., p.112.

[242] Ibid., p.61.

[243] Ibid., p.127.

[244] Ibid., p.121.

TR "to lead a life more engaged with social and political problems, rather than the solitary life of an observer of wildlife." And, considering that he was a wealthy Boston banker, Alice's father George Lee would not agree on his daughter's marrying a naturalist scientist "with meager means of support."[245]

On October 27, 1880, at 12 o'clock, on TR's 22nd birthday, at the Unitarian Church in Brookline, "Alice and I were married; she made an ideally beautiful bride; and it was a lovely wedding; our intense happiness is too sacred to be written about."[246] Edith, having given a dinner party for TR two weeks prior to the wedding, was one of the first people outside the family, who learned about the engagement of TR and Alice Lee, and of their plans of an October wedding. Edith met all these life-changing incidents quite calmly; or perhaps, very typical of Edith, she on the surface seemed serene and happy, but underneath she was devastated by TR's decision to marry Alice Lee; as a Victorian lady she did not let any of her feelings probably recorded in a diary or a letter survive after her death.

As of Spring 1881, TR had taken big responsibilities; "he was married, studying law, attending political meetings," – he became a member of the Republican Club – "escorting Alice to the opera, balls, and dinner parties, acting as trustee for the Orthopedic Dispensary and the New York Infant Asylum," – in the footsteps of his father, Theodore Sr. – "and working on his naval history,"[247] *The Naval War of 1812*. 1881 was a busy, but a happy year in TR's life. After a European honeymoon, focusing on the most popular itinerary among the nineteenth century Americans'

[245] Ibid., p.121.

[246] Ibid., p.162.

[247] Ibid., p.178.

Grand Tour, London, Paris, Venice, Milan, and a few spots in Switzerland, TR and Alice Lee settled with TR's mother Mittie at the Roosevelts' 57th Street Manhattan mansion. While attending Columbia Law School, he started visiting the Newsboys' Lodging House.

The Knickerbockers' social life TR and Alice Lee were driven to as a consequence of their New York life, was too tiring, and was, according to TR, exploiting the precious time he wanted to spend writing his naval history. Feeling distressed by the dinner parties and the balls, and by his "baby wife," who "made marks on the paper to draw his attention away from his battle diagrams,"[248] and longing for a real commitment besides the law classes, TR became a member of the Republican Club. He was already acquainted with Whitelaw Reid and William Waldorf Astor, "New York state senator,"[249] from the Knickerbocker social gatherings and parties. And, in October 1881, he was nominated Republican candidate for the New York State Assembly, in the Twenty-first District, and on November 8, he was elected by "a healthy majority of over 1500 votes."[250] The first issue TR started researching instantly after his election was an aqueduct bill to convey clean water for New York, which was, according to Edward P. Kohn, "a good start for the man who would one day become the leading figure of the Progressive Era."[251] In order to celebrate TR's election, Edith gave a party at East Thirty-sixth Street, no. 114, which was "an imposing town house"[252] the Carows moved to in 1879.

[248] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.79.

[249] Kohn. A Most Glorious Ride, p.123.

[250] Ibid., p.179.

[251] Ibid., 179.

[252] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.60.

By January 1882, as TR's duties began in the Cities Committee – the committee responsible for new legislations concerning New York State's largest cities – the Roosevelts moved to Albany. Although quite busy with the writing of two new pieces of legislations, TR and Alice Lee visited New York frequently; the only times TR and Edith encountered and conversed. One of these social gatherings was Corinne Roosevelt's wedding to Douglas Robinson on April 29, 1882.

At the end of 1882, TR when re-elected to the Assembly, and witnessed how bored Alice was in Albany, bought a Manhattan brownstone at West Forty-fifth Street, No. 55. During 1882 and 1883, Alice Lee lived in Forty-fifth Street and TR came down from Albany as frequent as possible. The year of 1883 was an eventful one for both TR and Edith. In March, Edith's father Charles Carow died. Though TR could not come from Albany, Alice Lee and Mittie attended the funeral, representing him. In April, while Edith was in deep mourning, Corinne gave birth to her first child, TR Douglas. In May, Alice Lee became pregnant, and in June, Elliot was engaged to Anna Rebecca Hall. By the autumn, TR bought more land on Cove Neck, at Oyster Bay, where he planned to build a residence for Alice, a mansion called *Leeholm*.

After a hunting trip in Dakota in the autumn of 1883, TR returned to Albany to his duties, while Alice Lee was waiting for the delivery with her mother-in-law Mittie and sister-in-law Bamie. For TR, 1884 January and early February passed with travels between Albany and New York, and the last weekend TR spent with Alice Lee in New York was actually the last weekend before the birth of their daughter, Alice. It was on Tuesday February 12 when Alice Lee sent TR a note, informing him about the high fever Mittie was having. Then, on the same day TR received another note from New York, delivering the news of his daughter's birth. And, after the third and the forth telegrams from New York, which informed him that both his

mother's and wife's health conditions were critic, TR left Albany for New York on February 13. At three in the morning on February 14, almost three hours after TR reached the Roosevelts' Fifty-seventh Street mansion, Mittie died of typhoid fever. And, at two in the afternoon of the same day, Alice Lee died of Bright's disease. February 14, 1884 was the day when "the light has gone out of my [TR's] life."[253] After the burial of both Mittie and Alice Lee on February 16, and the baptism of Baby Alice Lee on February 17, TR, in deepest mourning, wrote on his diary: "for joy or for sorrow my life has now been lived out."[254]

For the next few months after the double funerals, until his term in the state legislature ended, TR continued working in Albany. He left Baby Lee to the responsibility of Bamie, who evacuated the Roosevelts' Fifty-seventh Street mansion, and moved to 689 Madison Avenue, which for the following three years would be the home to "spinster-sister and widower-brother," and Baby Lee. Besides the responsibility of Baby Lee, TR transferred the control of the construction of the *Leeholm*, in Oyster Bay, and the sale of TR's Manhattan house on West Forty-fifth Street to Bamie. By early June 1884, TR needed to be as far as possible from the memory of his deceased mother and wife, and from all the responsibilities of Baby Lee and *Leeholm*, both reminding him of Alice Lee, left for the West, for a long hunting trip, during which he invested in the cattle industry by purchasing four hundred head of cattle, with the intention of building the rest of his life on ranch business.[255] However, he could not be totally sure of this future, in the West, far from the politics he had recently involved in. Not fully determined on leaving the

[253] Kohn, A Most Glorious Ride, p.228.

[254] Kohn, A Most Glorious Ride, p.229.

[255] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.77.

politics and the Republican Party, TR visited New York to attend the Republican campaigns. During these visits he stayed at Bamie's house at Madison Avenue, where he could also spend time with his daughter Baby Lee.

In one of these New York visits, TR encountered Edith, whom he had been avoiding for a long time. In mid-September 1885, TR returned to New York to "campaign on behalf of the New York State Republican gubernatorial candidate."[256] Though Edith and Bamie saw each other frequently, and Edith visited Bamie at her house couple of times in a week, during the days she knew TR was in town Edith stopped her visits to Bamie or kept them as short as she could. However, one autumn afternoon of 1885, Edith encountered TR as she was leaving Bamie's house. This unexpected meeting conduced to the revival of their romance, and on November 17, 1885, twenty-one months later of his first wife's death, TR proposed to Edith, who, *this time*, said "yes" without any hesitation. More than twenty years of friendship was shifting to an intimate phase, and both TR and Edith were very happy with this decision. However, considering the significance of people's judgments about TR's getting re-married before two years period of his ex-wife's death was completed, TR and Edith decided to keep their decision in secret. And their entourage kept uninformed about their decision of matrimony included TR's sisters Bamie and Corinne too.

In early 1885, long before TR proposed to Edith, the Carow women, Gertrude, Edith, and Emily, had decided to move to Europe since their declining rate of money could not let them continue living an upscale life in New York City anymore. They chose

[256] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.79.

Italy, the "cheap yet fashionable country."[257] Their plan was to have a vacation in England in the summer of 1886, and then to go to Italy to start their new upscale life.

The Carows' decision gave both TR and Edith some extra time to get prepared for the wedding. TR knew that Edith, who was brought up as an aristocratic Easterner, would not be willing to live with him in the Bad Lands. He needed some time to think about what he wanted to do with the ranch on which he invested so much money, and to consider if he wanted to be a politician or a writer in case he settled in New York City after the wedding. In the meantime, Edith needed to be with her mother Gertrude and her sister Emily to help them building a new life in Italy. So their last separation before their wedding, occurred on March 15, 1886, TR left for the Dakotas to manage the ranch, and to finish his biography of Thomas Hart Benton. Seven weeks later, on April 24, 1886, the Carows sailed for England. Although both Edith and TR were cautious about being seen together at social gatherings in New York, and although they were apart during the summer and autumn of 1886, New York society had the rumors about their engagement.

> On returning from the mountains I was savagely irritated by seeing in the papers the statement that I was engaged to Edith Carow; from what source it could have originated I cannot possibly conceive.
>
> I utterly disbelieve in and disapprove of second marriages; I have always considered that they argued weakness in a man's character. You could not reproach me one half as bitterly for my inconstancy and unfaithfulness, as I reproach myself. Were I sure there were a heaven my one prayer would be I might never go there, lest I should meet those I loved on earth who are dead. No matter what your judgment about myself I shall most assuredly enter no plea against it….
>
> I will write to Elliot and Anna, Corinne and Douglass, and Aunt Annie and Uncle Jimmie. No other person is to be told a word about it.[258]

[257] Ibid., p.79.

This letter was dated September 20, 1886. After TR sent it, he "shut up the Elkhorn Ranch, consolidated his herbs under Merrifield and Ferris, and headed east."[259]

Since the Carows were in London, Edith and TR decided to get married there. Five days before TR and Bamie left the Unites States for England, TR sent a letter to his darling friend Henry Cabot Lodge. The letter read TR's longing for understanding of his keeping this marriage as a secret.

> I have written Nannie telling her that on Saturday next I sail for England to marry Edith Carow. The chief reason I was so especially disappointed at not seeing you both this fall was because I wished to tell you in person. You know, old fellow, you and Nannie are more to me than anyone else but my own immediate family. The engagement is not to be announced, nor a soul told, until the 8th.[260]

On November 6th TR and Bamie sailed for London, and as TR told Lodge, the official announcement of the engagement was released on November 8th. It was on November 13th when TR and Bamie reached London and TR had not told anyone in London about his visit; not even the American Ambassador in London.[261] Until Cecil Spring-Rice contacted TR, which meant for a couple of days, TR and Edith enjoyed the company of each other at TR's suit at Brown's Hotel on Dover Street.[262] The British diplomat Spring-Rice soon dragged TR to the hearth of the social and

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[258] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore to Bamie, September 20, 1886.

[259] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.92.

[260] Letter from Theodore to Henry Cabot Lodge, November 1, 1886 in Henry Cabot Lodge ed., *Selections from The Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge 1884-1918* (New York, 1925)

[261] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.99.

[262] Ibid., p.98.

political life of London. The last two weeks of TR's single life passed with the company of Londoners. His letter to Lodge, dated November 22, read about this haste and also about the date of their wedding.

> I have had very good fun here. I brought no letters and wrote no one I was coming, holding myself stiffly aloof; and, perhaps in consequence, I have been treated like a prince. I have been put down at the Athenaeum and the other swell clubs, have been dined and lunched every day, and have had countless invitations to go down into the country and hunt or shoot.
>
> I am to be married on December 2nd.[263]

On the morning of December 2nd, Bamie went to Buckland's Hotel on Brook Street to help Edith to get prepared for the ceremony and Cecil Spring-Rice went to Brown's Hotel on Dover Street to take TR to St. George's Church on Hanover Square. Charles E. Camidge, who was the Canon of York, married TR and Edith and Cecil Spring-Rice and Emily Carow signed the marriage register as witnesses. Years later, in 1908, when TR and Edith were the hosts of the White House, their marriage certificate was published in a newspaper with the headline of "Theodore Roosevelt, Londoner."

> The official entry of the wedding of Mr. Roosevelt and Miss Edith Kermit Carow at St. George's Hanover Square shows that for a brief time the President and his wife were residents of London.[264]

The marriage certificate indicated that TR described himself as widower ranchman, and Edith as spinster, whose fathers' occupations were filled out as "gentleman."

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[263] Theodore to Henry Cabot Lodge, November 22, 1886 in in Henry Cabot Lodge ed., *Selections from The Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge 1884-1918* (New York, 1925), p.116.

[264] *Boston Daily Globe*, March 22, 1908, p.38.

A European honeymoon followed the London wedding. They first went to Paris and then further south to Lyons and Marseilles. Traveling along the southern coasts of France, they reached Hyères, which was located at the southeastern France. Leaving Hyeres, they traveled through the Italian Riviera and spent a few weeks at Spezia, a bay between Genoa and Pisa, in the northern part of Italy. In order to spend the New Years Eve with Gertrude and Emily Carow, they traveled to Florence at the end of December. With the Carows, on January 16, they traveled first to Pompeii then to Sorrento, from where TR and Edith flew to Capri.

At the beginning of February, departed from the Carows, Edith and TR left for Venice. On their way back to London, they stopped at Paris one last time to see Augustus Jay, who was the Second Secretary at the American Embassy. London days were busy with lunches and dinners with the London political society. On March 27, 1887, TR and Edith were back to New York.

The romantic European honeymoon, which was crowned with a meeting with both TR and Edith's favorite poet Robert Browning in London, would always be quite special and unforgettable for Edith. Back in New York, another special event in Edith's life was her meeting with Alice, the Baby Lee, who had been living with TR's sister Bamie since Alice's mother died soon after confinement. Admitting they became a real family now with baby Lee, Edith made some few changes in *Sagamore Hill* (previously *Leeholm*) and the newly wed couple with their three-year-old daughter started living in Oyster Bay.

Both for the Roosevelt clan in general, and for the Roosevelts of Sagamore Hill, the birth of Theodore Junior in September 13, 1887 and Kermit in October 10, 1889 was cheerful news, as there were not much "Dutch boys" joining the family in the recent

years. One other cheerful news for TR was his appointment to the post of Civil Service Commissioner in early 1889. He was tired of being merely a writer, writing the first volume of *The Winning of the West* in Sagamore Hill, and was actually looking forward to leaving New York for an "official position of responsibility" in Washington.[265] During the six years of service in the civil services, the Roosevelts traveled between New York and Washington frequently; two more Roosevelt children were born to the family, Ethel in August 13, 1891 and Archibald in April 10, 1894, and TR kept making friends and alliances in Washington, who would take him to his following "official position of responsibility [ies]."

2.4. Ethel Roosevelt: Childhood, 1891-1901

Ethel Roosevelt was the only daughter of Edith Kermit Carow and TR Roosevelt. She was born on August 13, 1891 as a strong baby-girl, who "reminded Theodore Roosevelt so much of his stocky Dutch ancestors."[266] According to TR this powerful Dutch looking baby deserved the name "Elephant Johhny,"[267] which appeared in many of his letters to his friends written in 1891. In Edith's words, she became "just a handful"[268] as she grew older.

The Carows and the Roosevelts welcomed Elephant Johhny together at Sagamore Hill. Edith's mother Getrude and sister Emily Carow arrived three months prior to the delivery and stayed until Ethel was two months old and Edith gained her strength

[265] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.117.

[266] Ibid., p.136.

[267] Collier, The Roosevelts, p.76.

[268] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.233.

back. Besides the family members, Cecil Spring Rice and Bob Ferguson were also present at the birth of Ethel; so that the latter became her godfather.[269]

Ethel's early childhood passed with moving back and forth between Sagamore Hill and Jefferson Place in Washington, since TR was serving as the United States Civil Service Commissioner between 1889 and 1895. With two elder brothers, a big sister, and two younger brothers accompanying her, and several "guinea pigs"[270] to play with, Ethel had a happy childhood. Years later, in an interview with Harriet Shapiro, Ethel would claim,

> …You see we were in Washington; I have only the dimmest memories of that when my father was Civil Service Commissioner. Then there was the war with Spain… And so then we were at Sagamore, and then he was governor, and also all the summers we were at Sagamore… Sagamore was always the key point in our lives… We were a very happy group.[271]

When Ethel was fourteen months old, TR described her to his mother-in-law as a "jolly, naughty, whacky baby, too attractive for anything, and thoroughly able to hold her own in the world."[272] TR continued commenting on the activities of his little daughter, whom Gertrude and Emily Carow saw few months ago: "She worships her mother, tolerates me when there is nobody, and loves Ted – calling Ted-dee very loud."[273] Powerful Dutch-looking Ethel "liked to play with people

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[269] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.135.

[270] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, April 21, 1894.

[271] TRC, ERD Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Subject Files, Harriet Shapiro Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[272] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Gertrude Tyler, October 03, 1892.

[273] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Gertrude Tyler, October 03, 1892.

rather than toys."[274] Her favorite playmate was Edith, whom she made her lie on the floor, and played with her hair. Three years old Kermit, who had been the youngest child until Ethel was born, and who "preferred his mother's company to anyone else's"[275] was a little jealous of "Bebe Ethel." Edith wrote TR, while he was away on the ranch, and was visiting some Indian reservations in September 1892, about the "babyish" behaviors of Kermit:

> Poor little sick Kermit sat on my knee in the nursery yesterday and Ethel insisted on coming too. At once she made a dive for his yellow head. He gave a wail of anguish: 'Oh Mother, Bebe Ethel has pulled out my hair. I must get some new hair.' So I took some from Ethel's head, put it on his. He was perfectly satisfied. He is really more babyish than she is.[276]

Among the four children, Alice 9, TR Jr. 6, Kermit 4, two years old Ethel "is a most determined small body;" TR wrote to his mother-in-law, and told her when he was studying in his study room at Sagamore Hill "she comes into my room with the other children and demands that I sit on the floor and sing her."[277] She kept pointing at the two elk heads hanging on the wall of TR's study room and called them "mooly cows," and the bear skins on the floor "pussy cats."[278]

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[274] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.138.

[275] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.137.

[276] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, September 9, 1892.

[277] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Gertrude Tyler, August 01, 1893.

[278] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Gertrude Tyler, August 01, 1893.

In April 1894, when Ethel was two and a half years old, and was doing everything "with a jump, like a very robust,"[279] Archibald was born. Now, Ethel was no longer the youngest child of the Roosevelt house. But she was still too little to understand Alice and Theoodre Jr.'s rush for their mother's room at 1:30 in the morning, on April 9. Archibald created tremendous excitement for Alice and Theodore Jr., an excitement which TR thought "Kermit and Ethel somewhat shared"[280] too. Without hesitation, Ethel named him "that Archibald baby," whom she loved holding on her lap.[281]

In May 1895 Roosevelt family closed their Washington home, and moved back to New York, since TR started his job as New York City Police Commissioner "with his whole heart."[282] In actuality, TR's leaving his Civil Service Commissioner position, and throwing himself to this new reformative duty "with his whole heart" did not happen instantaneously. In the autumn of 1894, TR, with the encouragement he received from "The Good Government Clubs of New York and the Committee of Seventy,"[283] and with the conviction that New York City needed an ardent reformist, decided to run for mayor of New York City. However, Edith was not that sympathetic about his leaving his government office for a future not precise. Listening to Edith, and to some extend understanding her concern, TR cancelled his plans regarding mayorship.

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[279] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, April 13, 1894.

[280] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Gertrude Tyler, April 9, 1894.

[281] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, April 15, 1894.

[282] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.149.

[283] Ibid., p.147.

As he always did in the times he was feeling heavy-hearted, he left for a hunting trip in October, after he cancelled his candidateship for mayoralty race. Immediately he started regretting his decision of withdrawing his name, and deep inside he was blaming his "Edie." Knowing TR since her early childhood, Edith, without question, felt TR's resentment when he came back from his trip. In November 1894, William L. Strong, who was considered a "reform candidate," became mayor of New York City, and immediately offered TR "the street cleaning commissioner's job so that he could improve the system of sanitation in New York."[284] TR declined this offer, and listened to his friend Henry Cabot Lodge's advice to wait for a better opportunity. That opportunity came up in early 1895. Mayor Strong, this time, offered TR "a position on the city's Police Commission."[285] TR, feeling discouraged, did not respond to Strong's offer straightaway, but waited. Neither TR nor Edith was willing to discuss this new position with each other. Reluctant to advise TR this time, Edith found the best solution in getting the help of Lodge. Consequently, TR's new career at the police headquarters at "300 Mulberry Street" started with the encouragement of Lodge on the surface and Edith in undercover position, on May 1895.[286] At first, TR thought it was not an office with power, however Lodge convinced him that it would be a step forward. Years later, on his autobiography, TR would explain his appointment to Police Commissioner as to "administer the Police Department with entire disregard of partisan politics, and only from the standpoint of a good citizen interested in promoting the welfare of all good citizens."[287]

[284] Ibid., p.148.

[285] Ibid., p.149.

[286] Ibid., p.149.

[287] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.100.

In the middle of May, Roosevelt family was "comfortably settled at 689 Madison Avenue in New York City."[288] 689 Madison Avenue was actually TR's sister Bamie's house. Bamie purchased the house in 1886[289], and from that time on TR and Edith stayed in 689 whenever they needed an arranged home in New York City. For Ethel, who was almost four in 1895, leaving Washington for New York City did not seem a vital change, but a fine one. Living in New York City meant spending the summers at Sagamore Hill, where "we always loved. It was our favorite place."[290] Roosevelts spent 1895 summer at Sagamore, from where TR was taking a train to New York very early in the mornings.

In April 27, Edith's mother Gertrude Tyler Carow died in her house in Italy; so Edith's sister Emily, in order to be away from that house for a while, and to spend the mourning period not alone but with her sister, arrived at Sagamore Hill at the beginning of June to stay for six months. So Edith, while TR was totally dedicated to his new job in the city, was not all by herself with five children, Alice, Theodore Jr., Kermit, Ethel, and Archie in the summer of 1895. But, still, for Edith, it was not an easy task to keep an eye on the children, to read to them, to play with them, and in the mean time to manage the big Sagamore Hill, while mourning for her mother. It was during that busy summer, when Ethel, accidentally, "drank most of a bottle of nitre and ate a toadstool."[291] TR considered her "pretty healthy" even after this

[288] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.156.

[289] Christopher Gray, "Streetscapes/Readers' Questions: A Teddy Roosevelt House, a Calvert Vaux Design", *New York Times* March 1, 1998.

[290] TRC, ERD Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Subject Files, Harriet Shapiro Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[291] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, July 7, 1895.

accident, and wrote his sister Bye that Ethel became big enough to clamor "to be allowed to go down to pinch the strawberries from the cherry trees."[292]

After a long summer and an autumn of mourning for her mother, and of parenting five kids, Edith closed Sagamore Hill in January 1896 to join her husband in their New York City home at 689 Madison Avenue. The kind hostess of 689 Madison Avenue, Bamie, married Lieutenant William Sheffield Cowles in November 25, 1895, and Will's duty, as naval attaché at United States Embassy in London required the newly wed couple to stay in London for at least one and a half years.[293] Consequently, Bamie decided to rent the house. However, Edith did not want to lose their New York City home, so agreed to pay $450 per month to Bamie, and kept the house. Not precisely for Ethel, who was almost five at the moment, but for Edith and for the elder kids, moving back to the city, and keeping the 689 Madison Avenue was a favorable decision. Edith quickly returned to her high-culture environment she thought existed only in Washington. She attended, and from time to time organized, dinners with the popular artists and writers of the time, and tried not to miss any famous theatrical performance at Metropolitan Opera House or any worthy exhibition at the art galleries.

For the kids, New York City offered "the best tutors and the best doctors."[294] Alice and Ted took their first dancing classes that year, in 1896 in New York City. In her autobiography, Alice talked about her father's being the President of the Police Commission as it was "a grand feeling that the police force somehow belonged to

[292] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, July 7, 1895.

[293] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.161.

[294] Ibid., p.162.

us"[295] for eleven years old Alice and eight years old Ted. Both children took music lessons in Brooklyn, to where a police officer took them. From time to time, Alice and Ted visited the Police Headquarters at Mulberry Street, and from those times Alice remembered "the Rogues' Gallery with its collection of photographs in profile and full face of unsavory looking individuals."[296]

TR's two-year career as New York City Police Commissioner required hard work and a lot of sacrifice, which TR tried to accomplish. During this period, he was most of the time away from his family. He started spending more time with photojournalist Jacob Riis, who was the writer of *How the Other Half Lives*, and the police reporter for the Evening Sun. According to TR, his job had dual roles, which intermingled, and most of the time stimulated each other; "… the actual handling of the Police Department, and using my position to help in making the city a better place in which to live and work for those to whom the conditions of life and labor were the hardest."[297] For this second side of his job, Riis was TR's closest associate. Riis introduced TR to the tenement lives, the gangs controlling New York City's streets at nights, and "the mischievous part big men of great wealth played in our industrial and social life."[298] Together with Riis, TR took night watches, walked along the dark streets of the city, and monitored the work of policemen. Though children were not informed much about these "nocturnal expeditions with Jacob

[295] Alice Roosevelt Longworth, *Crowded Hours: Reminiscences of Alice Roosevelt Longworth* (New York, 1933), p.14.

[296] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.14.

[297] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.102.

[298] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.101.

Riis,"[299] Alice reminisced about how she got excited when she saw her father in the middle of the night in his day clothes instead of a dinner dress. She knew that he was "about to start out on one of these trips."[300]

Between 1895 and 1897, TR, as New York City Police Commissioner, fought with any mischievous activity, to "make life more livable for the average person."[301] As he dove into the city's problems, he realized,

> there was a strong sentiment in favor of honesty in politics; there was also a strong sentiment in favor of opening the saloons on Sundays, and finally there was a strong sentiment in favor of keeping the saloons closed on Sunday… the saloon was the chief source of mischief.[302]

At first, without delay, he decided to enforce the state law requiring closure of the Saloons on Sundays. Secondly, he made enquiries in all the saloons, and discovered that some policemen collected bribes from the saloonkeepers, and fired these policemen. Although his assertion of Sunday closing of saloons aroused hostility among both the immigrant population of New York City since "saloons were the workingmen's clubs"[303], and some prominent members of Republican Party, who considered this act of TR would estrange the working class voters from Republican Party, he was regarded as the "new crusading force in New York politics."[304] Contrary to Republican Party's concern, TR was actually building strong relations between the local government agents and the immigrant - ethnic community of New

[299] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.15.

[300] Ibid., p.15.

[301] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.159.

[302] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.104.

[303] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.153.

[304] Ibid., p.152.

York City. He tried not to alienate and look down on immigrants while embracing the Protestant moral reformers.

In 1896, Republican Party nominated William McKinley for the Presidency. In the summer of 1896, disappointed with Republican Party's little support of his reformist stance, TR concluded that his career as a police commissioner was reaching a finale. Considering McKinley "the Republican Party's new and promising candidate"[305] TR thought about a future career in a government position. Before being absorbed in the exhausting work of McKinley's presidential campaign, he decided to spend most of that summer of 1896 taking a break from New York City's problems, and rowing with Edie and swimming with the children at Oyster Bay. Sagamore Hill was the place, where TR found peace, and the children found excitement and adventure. The summer of 1896 was one of the summers Ethel would remember as perfect, spent with games, sports, and lots of entertainment in the presence of her daddy. TR was a tenderhearted and concerned father to his children. According to Ethel, "my father – I think he loved children and had great sympathy with them, and he was very active himself."[306] He originated outdoor games, in Ethel's words "hair-raising games," for the children, and watched them play. One of these games TR thought up was the one Ethel associated with the old barn in Sagamore Hill.

> So we had wonderful games in a thing we called the old barn, which was indeed an old barn…We used to go outside the barn and then we would have obstacle races. And we'd go down a narrow little thing in the hay under the beam so wouldn't be squashed by the hay and then we would have to find our way out. We would have to do that and go all around the barn and come back – one who did it in the less time. He was always thinking up games like that for

[305] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.162.

[306] TRC, ERD Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Subject Files, Harriet Shapiro Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

> us. And taking great interest in looking at how much time we took as we came in and all that.[307]

Five-year-old Ethel became a chubby little girl, saving apples on her bloomers while riding her pony, Diamond.[308] She and Kermit became "inseparable" in the summer of 1896. Archibald was still too small to join them, and Alice and Ted, who were hanging around together, were too grown up for the "kinds of wickedness and mischief we were always up to."[309] In the summer of 1896, TR, besides spending more time with Edie and the children, "finished volume 4 of the Winning of the West, edited three books with George Bird Grinnell on North American big game, and went to Medora to hunt."[310] On August 30, from Medora, North Dakota, during a hunting trip, TR wrote Ethel a short letter:

> Darling Ethel, At a ranch out here there are a little boy and girl just the age of Kermit and yourself; and they have two ponies, and in the morning they ride out all alone to the pasture and drive in the horses. Your Father, who loves you very much.[311]

Starting immediately as he returned from his hunting trip in September 10[312], TR, with Henry Cabot Lodge, worked day and night for Republican nominee William McKinley in the 1896 Presidential campaign. Besides New York, TR gave speeches

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[307] Ibid.

[308] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.163.

[309] TRC, ERD Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Subject Files, Harriet Shapiro Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[310] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.160.

[311] TRC, ERD Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, August 30, 1896.

[312] Edward P. Kohn, *Hot Time In The Old Town: The Great Heat Wave Of 1896 And The Making Of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York, 2010), p.246.

in Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota; the states which Marcus Alonzo Hanna, "Ohio millionaire, working for the past two years to secure McKinley's nomination for the presidency,"[313] chose on purpose to divert Westerners' votes from Democrat William Jennings Bryan. TR, satisfied with the attention he received at this western campaign trip, was hoping that McKinley, after taking the office of Presidency, would nominate him the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He had already informed the political entourage of McKinley about his prospects, and was somehow optimistic about them. On October 11, exactly after a month of arduous campaigning, TR was strong-minded about giving a break to his New York political career. He wrote his sister Bamie;

> Last week I was but one night at Oyster Bay; for not only in my police work heaviest at this time but I am also absorbed in the campaign. I have had a good many funny experiences with all kinds of people… There are three weeks more of this work, and the until New Year my labor will be very light; and I shall have little worry this winter for now I am utterly indifferent as to whether they legislate me out or not.[314]

In November, the rush of the presidential campaign ended with the election of William McKinley the President of the United States. Though the tiring campaign work ended with a favorable result, and Ethel's Godfather Bob Ferguson; TR's Rough Rider friend, arrived at Sagamore to spend Thanksgiving and the Christmas with the Roosevelts, TR felt still heavy-hearted. And he would not be relieved for five more months, until he would be informed about his nomination as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in early April 1897.[315]

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[313] Ibid., p.26.

[314] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, October 11, 1896.

[315] Kohn, Hot Time in the Old Town, p.250.

TR moved to Washington alone in April 1897 to start his new and exciting duty since Edith was almost two months pregnant, and closing Sagamore Hill and moving to an unarranged house in Washington with the responsibility of five kids was problematic for her. For a while, Henry Cabot Lodge and his dear wife Nannie hosted TR. Then, in August, six months pregnant Edith found strength to "organize the furnishings of their newly rented house at 1810 N Street, opposite the British Embassy."[316] In October, before the youngest member of the Roosevelts arrived in November, whole family moved to their new Washington home. For Edith there was one more month to enjoy the Washington style of life she longed for, with the company of her dear Teddy. And, for the kids, everywhere could be adventurous, though not as much as Sagamore Hill was, thanks to TR's innovative style of playing with them, such as climbing the oak tree "that stood near the path to the orchard at Sagamore"[317], and hauling the kids one by one with a rope. Enjoying the adventure the kids experienced, they tried climbing alone later. In one of her earliest-not dated letters to her father, Ethel mentioned about Kermit's falling from that oak tree, and hurting his head.[318] According to Alice, "father was always thinking up strenuous diversions,"[319] which she was actually referring to their traditional Sunday afternoon "scrambly walks," which they continued having in Washington:

> Such walks they were. In the park near the Zoo, there was a sheer face of rock, that has since been quarried away, a diagonal crack running from top to

[316] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.167.

[317] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.17.

[318] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Ethel Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, September, 1897 (?)

[319] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.16.

> bottom, just wide enough for us to inch our way up… After we had once started we had to continue to the top.[320]

In November nineteenth, at 7:30 in the morning, sixth little Roosevelt, Quentin, was born, "very unexpectedly."[321] TR wrote Bamie that thanks to his bicycle, he could get the doctor and the nurse on time. Though TR told Bamie Edith was doing well, she was actually not. An abdominal infection caused of an abscess would keep Edith weak and in pain for almost four months. In December Edith's pain was so severe that the Roosevelts sent Kermit, Ethel and Archie to family friends, and Alice to Bamie, who had returned from London to her 689 Madison Avenue home in the summer of 1897. Ted, who had been suffering "from headaches, melancholy, and a tendency to become self-conscious,"[322] was too sick to leave the house so he accompanied his sick mother.

February 1898 was a nervous month for TR. He was worried about the conditions of both Ted and Edith, and was afraid that Edith had to wean baby Quentin.[323] Meanwhile, he was closely watching Spain and not approving her "murderous oppression"[324] of revolting Cuba at all. According to him, Spain was trying to govern her colonies in a very old-fashioned way. The explosion of the U.S. battleship Maine in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, occurred on February 15, and it lit the fuse, according to TR. 264 American sailors were killed in the incident, and

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[320] Ibid., p.16.

[321] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, November 19, 1897.

[322] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.169.

[323] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, January 25, 1898.

[324] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.119.

TR's first and immediate reaction to the calamity was, "War became inevitable."[325] On February 23, TR wrote Bamie, "Edith's recovery is very slow, I am still extremely anxious about her. Ted shows a marked improvement. We are all on edge waiting to hear definitely about the Maine."[326]

Two days after he wrote this letter, on February 25, TR wrote Commodore George Dewey, who was in Hong Kong, responsible from Asiatic Squadron. TR told Dewey

> to order the squadron to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and then offensive operations in Philippine Islands. Keep Olympia until further orders.[327]

In the meantime, he wrote Bamie, "I have not felt the loss of the Maine nearly as much as I would if I had not so much to worry over in my own home."[328] Edith's fever kept increasing and she felt very weak that TR had to "get Dr. Osler, the great Baltimore expert, in for a consultation."[329] Dr. Osler's proposition was taking Edith to surgery immediately. TR, acting impetuously in the war preparations, did not want to rush things at home, and wanted to consider Edith's surgery for a while.

As a matter of fact, neither the war with Spain, nor Edith's surgery was avoidable. Edith's fever became uncontrollable in March. Eventually, in March 6 she was taken to surgery. "It was large abscess, in the psoas muscle, reaching down to the pelvis,"

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[325] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.120.

[326] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, February 23, 1898.

[327] Roosevelt, Autobiography, p.122.

[328] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, February 25, 1898.

[329] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, February 25, 1898.

wrote TR to Bamie.[330] Though Edith "behaved heroically, quiet and even laughing,"[331] the operation was a serious one, and her recovery would take a couple of months. "It has been a hard winter,"[332] wrote TR Bamie on March 16. He had questions about the steps the administration would take, and he was afraid that President McKinley was insistent on keeping peace with Spain. He was also not sure if Edith would be better, since her wound was open and her pain was raging everyday.

On March 21, the Naval Board of Inquiry, the McKinley Administration created, reached an agreement on the fact that Maine "was destroyed by an external mine," though the Board could not "obtain evidence fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the Maine upon any person or persons."[333] For TR, as for many Americans demonstrating in the streets, peace with Spain was no longer possible. However, President McKinley did not favor war, and was procrastinating. TR even considered resigning to serve for his country in the war with Spain while Edith was in bed having complications on April 1.[334]

President McKinley's respond to the resolution of the Naval Board of Inquiry came on April 11. "…In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which gives us the right and the duty to speak and to

[330] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, March 7, 1898.

[331] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, March 7, 1898.

[332] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, March 16, 1898.

[333] Louis Fisher, *Destruction of Maine (1898)* (The Law Library of Congress, August 4, 2009), p.1.

[334] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, April 1, 1898.

act, the war in Cuba must stop," said the President. And, he asked the Congress "to authorize and empower the President to take measure to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba."[335] On April 20, Congress responded with a joint resolution, which demanded

> …that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect.[336]

Congress gave McKinley the authority to recruit three volunteer cavalry regiments, one of which was offered to TR to raise and to command. TR, though had been secretly spreading the news of a regiment he wanted to raise in case of a war with Spain, declined the Secretary of War's offer by claiming that Leonard Wood, close friend to TR, the personal doctor of President McKinley, was more experienced than him; consequently should be the Colonel to the cavalry regiment TR would raise and serve as Lieutenant Colonel. The famous First United States Cavalry of the Spanish-American War, in its more traditional name, Rough Riders, was born this way.

On May 5, the day prior to his resignation as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, TR wrote Bamie, in order to keep things moving he would stay at least one more week in Washington before leaving for Cuba, and in the meantime was enlisting men for the First United States Cavalry. So far, he stated, he managed to recruit "forty men, for the most part gentlemen, from Harvard, Yale, the Knickerbocker club." "Good" Bob Ferguson, Roosevelts' family friend and Ethel's godfather, who was "seemingly very happy … with the Harvard contingent," would accompany them to San Antonio,

[335] William McKinley's Message to Congress about Cuban Intervention, April 11, 1898.

[336] Joint Resolution of Congress, April 20, 1898.

where the regiment would have a training for a short period of time.[337] In Alice's words, there was not a "group of men quite like" TR's Rough Riders:

> There were men from the Western plains, cowboys, Texas rangers, Indian fighters, and a number of Indians and men of Indian blood. There were others whom Father had known, or who knew of him, in ranching and big game hunting days; there were Southerners and Northerners… there were several New York ex-policemen… a large number came from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and other colleges… who were known for their records in football, rowing, polo, tennis, and baseball…[338]

It was May 8, and TR was still in Washington, taking care of the Rough Riders' boarding procedure. He was growing impatient, and he was afraid "if the game is over before we get into it."[339] Edith, who almost recovered from the surgery, was worried about TR, but "loyally supported her husband's decision,"[340] since she knew that for TR fighting in this war was a matter of honor.

Finally on May 12, at 10 P.M. TR left Washington for San Antonio, where after the brief training, would take Rough Riders to Tampa, Florida, their last stop before Cuba. Alice remembered his last visit to New York to say goodbye to her and Ted, who had been also staying with Bamie during Edith's convalescence, as a "choky, though tearless business."[341] All Roosevelt children, but precisely the elder ones Alice and Ted, "had always quite simply taken for granted that if there should be a

[337] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, May 5, 1898.

[338] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.23.

[339] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, May 8, 1898.

[340] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.173.

[341] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.21.

war, Father would be in it."[342] On May 15, at 7 in the morning TR arrived at San Antonio train station, where a heart-warming sign welcomed him, reading "This way to Camp of Roosevelt's Rough Riders."[343]

For TR, it was difficult to say goodbye to his children. As he always did whenever he was parted from them, he started writing long letters, decorated with paintings he draw, describing the life he was having away from home. On May 20, from Rough Riders' training camp in San Antonio, TR wrote Ethel, describing the camp in a more interesting style for a seven-year-old girl:

> Here there are lots of funny little lizards, who run about the dusty roads very fast; and then stand still with their heads up. Beautiful red cardinal birds and tanagers flit about in the woods, and the flowers are lovely. But you never saw such dust. Sometimes I lie on the ground outside and sometimes in the tent. I have a mosquito net, because there are so many mosquitos.[344]

Rough Riders' training in San Antonio was complete at the end of May, and they moved to Tampa, from where they would embark for Cuba. TR's Edie, longing to see her husband one more time, got on the train to South on June 1 and arrived at Tampa on June 2; the day TR wrote on his diary "E came down for 4 lovely days."[345] For TR "It has been a real holiday to have darling mother here."[346] He told Bamie how happy he was for having Edith saw the regiment so that she would appreciate

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[342] Ibid., p.21.

[343] Peggy Samuels and Harold Samuels, *Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan: The Making of a President* (Texas, 1997), p.31.

[344] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, May 20, 1898.

[345] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Diary of Theodore Roosevelt, June 2, 1898.

[346] Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to "Blessed Bunnies," June 6, 1898 in Joseph Bucklin Bishop ed., *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children* (New York, 1919).

more what he was doing.[347] Until June 6, as Lieutenant Colonel's lady, Edith stayed at Tampa Bay Hotel, visited the camp of Rough Riders, who were "moving like ants in and out of white tents,"[348] watched "the men drilling, the tents in long company streets, the horses being taken to water," saw "my little horse Texas,"[349] lunched with Colonel Wood, and met lots of press corps associates, and foreign governments' commissioners, including Captain Arthur Lee, who would be a lifetime friend of both TR and Edith.

Edith and TR's second distressing separation scene occurred in Tampa on June 6 when Edith departed for New York, and TR, with Wood and Rough Riders Regiment, boarded the S.S. Yucatan for Cuba. However, due to some mismanagement and disorganization in the naval force, S.S. Yucatan could not leave the Tampa Port for the next eight days. They were the harsh eight days "sweltering on this troop ship under the semi-tropical sun,"[350] with a thousand men, and with the threat of dysentery. On June 10, on board S.S. Yucatan, TR wrote his darling little Ethel about the condition Rough Riders were living under:

> It is very hot here, for we are all crowded on board a big ship, so close together that it is hard to move up and down the decks, while in the hold the bunker stand in three stories with only tiny passages between. This afternoon we let the men swim, and hundreds went in the water, but there are a great many sharks here…[351]

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[347] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, June 7, 1898.

[348] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.177.

[349] Theodore Roosevelt to "Blessed Bunnies," June 6, 1898 in Joseph Bucklin Bishop ed., *Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children* (New York, 1919).

[350] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, June 12, 1898.

[351] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, June 10, 1898.

In TR's last letter from board of S.S. Yucatan to Ethel, he stated that they were near shore, and were getting prepared to disembark. He thought before drawn into fighting it might be his last chance to tell his children "how much father loves you."[352] By June 22, Rough Riders were ashore, setting up their camp near a stream, "which runs through jungle-lined banks," and immediately in the following days involved in "brisk fights" with the Spaniards, who "shot well, but did not stand when we rushed."[353]

The First U.S. Volunteer Cavalry's victories at the late June fighting at La Guasimas, and at the battles of San Juan Heights and Santiago in early July reverberated in the United States. The newspapers talked about Rough Riders', and especially TR Roosevelt's bravery at the battlefields. The stories of heroism and victory were in accordance with the reality, but their hitting the newspapers required a tribute to TR's friend, Richard Harding Davis, who was fighting with him in Cuba, and in the meantime writing about his story.

"Triumph tasted-" read TR's letter to Corinne on July 19. TR's Rough Riders, beside the heavy artillery of the Spanish forces, were under the attack of the mismanagement of transportation and hospital services, and consequently under the threat of malaria and yellow fever. The letter continued as;

> …for that one will readily pay as heavy as we have paid; but it is very bitter to think that the chief part of the price was due to the mismanagement of those over us, at Washington and here… the misery has been fearful. Today out of

[352] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, 1898.

[353] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, June 25 - June 27, 1898.

> 400 men in camp 123 are under the doctor's care; the rest of the 600 with whom I landed are dead or in the near hospitals.[354]

Both from Corinne and Bamie, TR asked for canned meat, rice, oatmeal, clothing, and medical supplies. With his own money, he had to buy "rice, and oatmeal, and condensed milk for my sick men, and beans and cornmeal, and sugar for the worn-out hungry fighters."[355] Corinne and Bamie did a tremendous job by sending clothing and food, by informing the American Red Cross about the situation, and by making them send nurses and doctors to Cuba. TR, though appreciated her sisters' efforts, knew exactly that they were not enough. The food supplies were limited, the infectious diseases were spreading constantly among the men whose immune system collapsed due to lack of food, and the semi-tropical season with heavy rain and hot sun were worsening the situation of the men since there were not enough shelters for every men in the regiment.

At home, Edith with the children was apprehensively reading Rough Riders' heroism embellished with the McKinley administration's mismanagement of the army supplies and transportation. Alice and Ted were singing a song from an opera by modifying it to the war "Father" was fighting: "Unloose the Dogs of War – The Enemy Will Find Us Unrelenting – When Our Cannons Roar – The Little King of Spain Will Be Repenting."[356] Ethel, feeling "sorry Father was away," sat on the back steps of the porch of Sagamore, during the long summer days, "sewed and

[354] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, July 19, 1898.

[355] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt, July 19, 1898.

[356] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.22.

folded bandages for the Rough Riders."[357] Edith wrote TR that his letters and pictures he drew "delighted the children,"[358] who followed the war from the newspapers Edith read every day. Archie, who was four at the time, thought of Father "all the day-time," and played "his favorite play," which is "bringing Father home on his little choochoos."[359] According to Edith, summer days of 1898 spent "in an agony of suppressed apprehension, but I am very proud of you,"[360] who "is all the world to me."[361] Kermit, who considered living in "Sagamore without Father strange" was giving Edith a hard time about Father's fighting by asking if he would "be in danger as you were last winter."[362] From Sagamore, Edith wrote TR,

> The great comfort of my life is of course the children. As I laid on the chaise lounge on the piazza this morning, Kermit cuddled in beside me and Archie sitting on my legs, I thought how lovely it was to be having them climbing over me again… We are all beginning to long for a letter. All the children say at intervals 'oh when shall we hear from father'[363]

Finally on August 8, "The Rough Riders departed Cuba" and "made camp at Montauk Point on Long Island"[364] on August 15. Longing to see TR, Edith left for

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[357] Joan Paterson Kerr, *A Bully Father: Theodore Roosevelt's Letters to His Children* (New York, 1995), p.34.

[358] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, not dated, 1898.

[359] Ibid.

[360] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, July 9, 1898.

[361] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, July 10, 1898.

[362] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, July 11, 1898.

[363] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt to Theodore Roosevelt, July 1, 1898.

[364] Kohn. Heir to the Empire City, p.179.

Montauk instantly as she received a confidential message from TR. She could not see TR much, so for four days, until August 20, Edith worked at the dispensary of the camp, "tended the sick and wounded."[365] Until September 13, TR and Rough Riders stayed in Montauk Point, to where Edith took Alice, Theodore Jr., Kermit and Ethel on a "twenty-four hour visit with their father" before the regiment was mustered out.[366] Ethel, who was seven, did not remember much of this visit, but she did mention it to Harriet Shapiro in 1976 during their conversation at the Sagamore Hill:

> I remember going down to Montauk Point because the regiment all came back there, and they had this most wonderful evening, and they all gathered round a campfire and then they made presentation to him – the regiment… I don't remember him in his Rough Rider clothes, or anything like that.[367]

Another incident Ethel remembered from the days following TR's return from Montauk Point to Sagamore Hill was about TR's becoming a "public figure,"[368] and the Roosevelt children's being acquainted to it. Shapiro asked Ethel "when did you first become aware your father was a public figure?"[369] Ethel's answer was "we were borne to it. I suppose, perhaps, it was after the war really," and she told Shapiro "the lovely story of a little boy – Archie:"[370]

> It was Archie – my younger brother and being asked by somebody who came in, 'I want to speak to Colonel Roosevelt, do you know where he is?' And

[365] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.184.

[366] Ibid., p.185.

[367] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Harriet Shapiro's interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[368] Ibid.

[369] Ibid.

[370] Ibid.

> Archie said, 'I don't know but father's having a bath.' The division [was] there: He was always as far as we knew in the public eye. This was after '98, war with Spain, the Rough Riders.[371]

That "splendid little war"[372] brought Roosevelt family closer to politics. Politics became, in Ethel's words, "the background of our life."[373] She affirmed that particularly after the war, "so many people in politics came out constantly to Sagamore," and the Roosevelt children "were always taken into everything, were it lunch or supper, and we heard a great deal of the talk that went on. We never were excluded that I remember in any way."[374] One of these political groups visiting the Sagamore after the war was the Republican Party committee, who brought the news of TR's nomination for Governor of New York State on October 3. TR accepted it without hesitation, and only two days later, on October 5 he launched the gubernatorial campaign with a speech at Carnegie Hall.[375] And in a month, by November 8, TR was the elect Governor of the New York State.

By the end of December 1898, the Roosevelts settled down the Executive mansion in Albany, the "massive three-story structure, profuse with a forty-year accumulation of architectural gingerbread in the form of turrets, cupolas, balconies and porches."[376] According to Edith, who was a little anxious about moving to Albany as a big family with various pets, "the house was solid and comfortable, with space to spare for all

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[371] Ibid.

[372] U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain (later in August 1898 was appointed U.S. Secretary of State) John Hay described the Spanish-American War as a splendid little war in a letter to his friend Theodore Roosevelt in 1898.

[373] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Harriet Shapiro's interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[374] Ibid.

[375] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.187.

[376] Ibid., p.189.

six bunnies, their pets and any number of overnight guests."[377] Ethel remembered the executive mansion "entirely, beautifully: it was a wonderful hill we used to go down." And, the next thing she remembered was the watchman, who was "a great friend of mine and Kermit's," with whom "we used to play cards-lovely time with him."[378]

"New York State's chief executive-elect's"[379] family life in Albany was well described in TR's own letter dated March 20, 1899, to Edith's sister Emily:

> Ted, though not strong, is better than a year ago. Kermit is just the same as ever; a solemn, cunning mite with queer little friends whom he usually has to protect… Ethel is a small, motherly home-body; Archie a merry pretty mischief; and Quenty-quee grows more cunning every day. This great big house is a paradise for them; much the pleasantest winter home they have ever had. Of course, nothing can even begin to come up to Sagamore Hill in their eyes! Edith is thoroughly enjoying the position of governor's wife; and I that of governor; though there is much work and worry much that is disappointing and painful in the task.[380]

Edith, as the governor's wife, was quite content with all the outcomes of this new office TR was holding since they as a couple started spending more time together. While they attended parties together, they organized entertainments at the executive mansion. The Roosevelt children enjoyed this new position as much as Ethel did. They were mostly allowed to join the entertainments from the top of the stairs, but what they generally preferred was involving themselves in something mischief: snowballing in their pajamas, placing a billiard ball in a bowl of plums on the dining

[377] Ibid., p.189.

[378] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Harriet Shapiro's interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[379] Kohn, Heir to the Empire City, p.188.

[380] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Emily Carow, March 20, 1899.

table for the guests, housing several dozen pet rabbits, hamsters and guinea pigs in the cellar.[381] And, they named the guinea pigs after real people. Ethel explained the reason to it as this: "we did what children do if you love a person." Executive mansion's busy traffic of political meetings and conferences was sometimes interrupted by a life and death development in the lives of the pets. For instance, during a serious conference of TR with "various important people," Ethel told, Kermit "burst into the room and said Bishop Doane (one of the guinea pigs) – the most beloved Episcopal bishop – has just had twins."[382]

During the two years of governorship, TR led a series of progressive reforms, which made him quite satisfied with the power of the office he was holding. He supported the reform of the New York City's tenements to transform them into healthier and safer places; he advocated taxation of the public services; "he improved labor laws;" promoted forest management-planting programs; and he "strengthened laws governing banking and insurance companies."[383] All these reforms, though, were "alarmingly socialistic"[384] for the big bosses of the Republican Party. Senator Thomas Collier Platt, Jr. and businessman Benjamin Barker Odell "agreed that two years of Theodore Roosevelt in the Executive Mansion at Albany was quite enough, and that come what might, he should not have another term,"[385] so they combined their political powers to remove him from the office of Governor. According to his sister Corinne, TR, who was "deeply absorbed in the many reforms which he

[381] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.196.

[382] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Harriet Shapiro's interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[383] Kohn, Heir to the Empire City, p.199.

[384] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.202.

[385] Robinson, My Brother Theodore Roosevelt, p.195.

inaugurated in the Empire State,"[386] was not enthusiastic about holding the inactive and unenergetic office of Vice-Presidency in Washington. However, his name on the presidential ticket with McKinley would be advantageous to the success of the Republican Party. So, by June 1900, at the National Republican Convention, TR was nominated Vice-President. On November 8 TR was elected Vice-President, and on March 4, 1901 all the members of the Roosevelts were all set in Washington for the Inauguration Day. Alice, Ted, Kermit, and even 10 year-old Ethel, whose "clothing was scarcely visible under a profusion of McKinley-Roosevelt campaign buttons, flags, and other assorted emblems" was at the Senate Chamber for the ceremony.

The Roosevelts spent the spring and the summer of 1901 at Sagamore Hill. It was a challenging summer for all the members of the Roosevelt family, except for Ethel. Archie caught chicken pox, Quentin put a mothball into his nose, Edith went through an attack because of poison ivy, Alice lost teeth due to an abscess, and TR underwent bronchitis.[387] After enduring so much while working to bring everyone to a healthy position, Edith decided to take the children to a short vacation to the Adirondack Mountains at the end of August as TR was also leaving on a speaking tour. Edith thought that both for herself and the children, the two weeks vacation at a cottage in the mountains would be relaxing, since they would be "curled up with books in front of the open fire"[388] until their father TR would join them on September 7.

Edith was expecting TR for lunch on September 7; instead, she received a telephone message from him, saying that he would not be able to attend lunch with her at the

[386] Ibid., p.195.

[387] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.210.

[388] Ibid., p.211.

mountains since President McKinley was shot. A man named Leon Czolgosz shot McKinley twice, while he was shaking hands with the crowd outside the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo on September 6. President McKinley's situation was told to be serious, so TR immediately traveled to Buffalo to check on him. The doctors were optimistic though and quite determined that President McKinley's wounds were not incurable. TR was relieved with this news, and decided to join Edith and the children in Adirondack Mountains. However McKinley's health got worsened on September 12, while Vice-President Roosevelt was hiking and camping in the mountains, and got critical next day on the 13th. TR left for Buffalo immediately on the night of September 13th and by the morning of September 14 Edith took the children and returned to Oyster Bay, where she received TR's message regarding President McKinley's passing away at 2:15 in the morning on September 14, 1901. That message was also saying that TR Roosevelt, at the age of forty-two, became the twenty-sixth President of the United States. The Roosevelts became the First Family of the United State

CHAPTER III

THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 forms Ethel's White House years, adolescence and the early years of marriage. Ethel's being the First daughter of the United States, her acquaintance with her father's Progressive ideas while working for his Presidential Campaign in 1912, her marriage to a Progressive like her father, Dr. Richard Derby, and their European honeymoon are the main segments, which constitute the chapter. On the whole, this chapter aims to scrutinize the association between being a Roosevelt and being involved in a lifetime of community service; and how Ethel forms this connection in her early life.

3.2. An American Princess in the White House, 1901-1909

After taking the solemn oath in Buffalo and taking the body of President McKinley to Canton, Ohio, TR returned to Washington and took over the presidential duties at the White House on September 22, at the birthday of the most important man in TR's life, his father Theodore Sr.. Since Edith was in Sagamore Hill with the children,

taking care of the moving of the first family to Washington, TR's sisters Bamie and Corinne and their husbands accompanied TR at his first dinner at the White House. It was a quite special night for TR. At the beginning of the dinner TR turned to his sisters and said:

> Do you realize that this is the birthday of our father? I have realized it as I signed various papers all day long, and I feel that it is a good omen that I begin my duties in this house on this day. I feel as if my father's hand were on my shoulder, and as if there were a special blessing over the life I am to lead here.[389]

As he finished his sentence, coffee was served with a little boutonnière to each gentleman at the table. The flower given to the President was a yellow saffronia rose, which surprised TR so much since "this is the rose we all connect with my father," and added, "I think there is a blessing connected with this."[390] And, according to Corinne there was actually a blessing connected with those years of Theodore Roosevelt in the White House; in Corinne's words: "those merry happy years of family life, those ardent, loving years of public service, those splendid, peaceful years of international amity – a blessing there surely was over that house."[391]

Edith's first rendezvous with the White House was not as optimistic as TR's. Two days after TR's first dinner at the executive mansion with his sisters, Edith with Ethel, Kermit, the Irish cook Annie and the two maids Rose and Mary, the children's nurse Mrs. Ledwith (Nanny,) and William Pinkney, the colored steward the

[389] Robinson, My Brother Theodore Roosevelt, p.207.

[390] Ibid.

[391] Ibid.

Roosevelts had hired for the Executive Mansion in Albany arrived at the White House. Edith was surprised with the gloomy atmosphere of the executive mansion, and while arranging the rooms for the family members and the maids she decided to bring a new touch the house. For the moment, in order to erase that depressing and unwelcoming view she opened the windows to have sunlight, put their favorite books on the bookshelves and ordered fresh flowers from the mansion's greenhouses.[392] "Very wisely"[393] said the social secretary of Edith Isabella Hagner, Edith did not make any vital change in the very first few weeks. She kept her "serene" outlook and assigned the tasks she had to fulfill so well that "she never gave one feeling of hurry and bustle which is so tiring."[394]

Next to bringing a fresh air to the executive mansion, Edith decided to bring a fresh new understanding to the office of "Fist Lady." So, for the first time the First Lady of the United States hired a social secretary, Isabelle Hagner. Edith knew Hagner through Bamie, for whom Hagner worked as social secretary. They met at Bamie's house during the party Bamie was giving to celebrate TR's vice presidency in March 1901, and Edith discussed with her the details of Alice's approaching debutante party. This time however, Edith would ask Hagner to handle a more committed and a more professional mission to handle. Without delay, on September 26 Edith met Hagner at the White House and asked her to be her private social secretary. With Hagner's professional help, Edith could efficiently manage her meetings with the wives of the Cabinet members, could respond to the thousands of requests she was

[392] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.223.

[393] Isabella Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner 1901-1905: Social Secretary to First Lady Edith Carow Roosevelt" *White House History* Number 26, Fall 2009, 53-88.

[394] Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner".

receiving every day, and could plan for the official White House dinners and parties. For Edith, Hagner's most important mission was to transform her from an ordinary manager of a family into a qualified First Lady, skilled in managing the Executive family.

Edith was the new First Lady of the new century; she brought a new sense to the meaning of the First Lady; she was even considered the First Lady who started the institutionalization of the office. Carl Sferrazza Anthony, author to *First Ladies: the Saga of the Presidents' Wives and Their Power*, claims that Edith "helped begin to establish the notion of the First Lady role as a public, semiofficial government entity."[395] Managing the architectural design and the renovation of the White House was among the new tasks of the new First Lady. Benjamin Harrison and William McKinley had proposed some design changes; however the big renovation project was accepted and budgeted by the Congress during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency. As Edith entered the presidential mansion, the old picture of it disappointed her so much. Besides its poor looking shape, Edith was concerned about how small the space assigned to the private life of the presidential family. Most historians and biographers have not neglected to mention her popular comparison of the private section of the White House to "a house in the second floor of a store" in order to depict her inconvenience.

The renovation took six months, and was done by a notable American architect Charles McKim. Edith met McKim several times during this period and she shared her design works for the interior side of the mansion with him. For both TR and Edith, the most crucial point worth attention was the renovations' "consistency with

[395] Carl Sferrazza Anthony, *First Ladies: The Saga of the Presidents' Wives and Their Power 1789-1961* (New York, 1990), p.295.

the original style of the Executive Mansion."[396] Architect McKim took this into account and fulfilled any request of Edith regarding this issue.

Edith's popular comparison of the White House to a "store & house" could be invalidated only by separating the presidential offices totally from the private sections of the mansion, which was the second -more important- stage of the renovation. "West Wing" of the building was established, and all the offices were taken to that separate building so the Roosevelt family would not have to live in front of the public eye all the time. According to Hagner, Edith succeeded in planning an artistic look for the White House. She, Hagner stated, was "a descendant of Jonathan Edwards, and of French extraction; so her New England conscience, joined with her innate good taste in art, music and literature,"[397] created an astonishing fusion.

Besides her strenuous efforts in the renovation of the White House, Edith decided to leave her mark on the presidential china too. She ordered new china, which symbolized the strong nationalist feelings of Edith with its blue, red and white stripes and with the eagle on the right side of its plates. She also "initiated the White House China Collection" and decorated the entrance floor of the White House for the "portrait gallery of the First Ladies."[398] The reason Edith was so committed to the renovation of the White House, the China Collection and the portrait gallery of the First Ladies was her consideration of the Executive Mansion the "museum of U.S. history and the presidency."[399] Historians are not wrong when they claim Edith

[396] Tom Lansford, *A "Bully" First Lady: Edith Kermit Roosevelt: A Volume in the Presidential Wives Series* (New York, 2003), p.71.

[397] Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner".

[398] Lansford, A Bully First Lady, p.71.

[399] Ibid.

Kermit Roosevelt was the first modern First Lady. Many of the "innovations that would come to characterize the office" were brought by Edith.[400]

Edith's secretary Hagner stated in her memoir that she resented some articles talking about the Roosevelt children as an "unruly and boisterous lot," since according to Hagner, they were not; they were "only normal, healthy American children, full of life and fun," who "knew and quickly obeyed the parental Yes and No."[401] "Home" was Sagamore Hill for the Roosevelt children. During their residence at the executive mansion, TR taught the children that, the Roosevelts were "only the custodians of the White House and its belongings,"[402] and TR asked every member of the family to act responsibly. One incident Hagner wrote in her memoir was that TR "delivered a good lecture" to Kermit upon Kermit and Ethel's breaking and destroying some of the plants and pots during one of the early receptions.[403] The upper corridor's being used as the pets' playground was among the popular stories American people read about the Roosevelts. Hagner claimed that it was not true. Only one time, when Archie was ill lying in his bed, the pony Algonquin was taken to his room to cheer him up for few moments. They owned lots of different animals and they pet them in the White House, mostly in the basement, in the gardens, or caged or boxed in their rooms. There was one important rule, Hagner pointed; the children were "to take care of them themselves, except the horses."[404]

[400] Lansford, A Bully First Lady, p.77.

[401] Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner".

[402] Ibid.

[403] Ibid.

[404] Ibid.

The Roosevelts was a happy family in the White House. The longtime staff of the White House claimed, "the Roosevelts were the liveliest family to descend on the poor old White House in its entire history."[405] "The children have really been too cunning;"[406] wrote TR Edith in early 1902. "Kermit [was] as much of a goblin as ever, Ethel very affectionate and also very bossy, Archie and Quentin just soft little scamps."[407] Every member was allowed to invite friends to the house, to play in the gardens, and to entertain as preferred. Hagner in her memoir recalled younger boys' crowd playing in the garden frequently and Archie's football team practicing in the White House. Hagner was one of the playmates of the kids. For Kermit and Ethel especially, Hagner was "a fair mark for any joke." They generally hid under Hagner's desk or chair and tickled her ankles while Hagner was having important conversations. U.S. Secretary of the Interior James Rudolph Garfield's three elder boys, John, James and Newell were the constant visitors of the White House. These three boys gathered with Archie and Quentin and with Ethel when she was not at school, and became the gang of White House. From time to time, TR also accompanied them in their plays, or created new games for them. In one time, after the lunch with the "Garfield boys," TR took all six children, including Ethel, in the surrey and the one horse trap. "We drove to the military road crossing and then tramped in. After an hours walking and climbing we reached the first bridge,"[408] where TR sent the tired two little boys, Quentin and Newell Garfield back to the

[405] Joan Paterson Kerr, *A Bully Father: Theodore Roosecvelt's Letters to His Children* (Random House, 1995), p.53

[406] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt, February 16, 1902.

[407] Ibid.

[408] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt, November 14, 1903.

White House, and went on with the others. "They seemed to have a lovely time,"[409] wrote TR to Edith. In another occasion, TR wrote Kermit, who was at Groton, that he had been too busy with the "Presidential stuff" that he could not spend time with the children, so "by stipulation" he had to have "a full hour's game of hide-and-go-seek and everything else with Ethel, Archie, Quentin, the Garfield children, and one or two other of their friends."[410] The "bear game" was one of the traditional "wild romps"[411] of the Roosevelt children. TR played the "very big bear," and the children were the "little bears or raccoons or badgers."[412] They generally played this game before bed at Sagamore Hill, and they continued playing it at the White House too. Even if TR had a late official meeting or dinner, he tried not to miss the bedtime "bear" game with the children. In a letter to Edith he wrote " I took two hours slippery scramble up Rock Creek with Gifford Pinchot," who would be the first Chief of the United States Forest Service under TR's administration, "and had half an hour much more exhausting bear play and pillow fight with the children."[413] In one of TR's letters to Kermit, he talked about an occasion he found very amusing: "The other day Quentin was with Sheffield [Bamie's son] at supper and Sheffield proposed a game of bear, whereupon Quentin said 'How can we play bear without a father?"[414]

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[409] Ibid.

[410] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, January 30, 1904.

[411] Kerr, A Bully Father, p.25.

[412] Ibid.

[413] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt, February 16, 1902

[414] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, January 30, 1904.

An employee of the White House, Ira R. T. Smith, described how lively the White House during the Roosevelt Administration, and how fully the Roosevelt children were expressing themselves in their games in a humorous language:

> In addition to such official visitors, the White House was a lively place because of the activities of the Roosevelt children and their friends. At home, Mrs. Roosevelt was the dominant member of that family, and she believed that children ought to be allowed to express themselves and develop their personalities. There was so much self-expression and so much personality around the place that at times it seemed likely Congress would be forced to settle the old quarrel over building a new White House because the old one was going to torn apart.[415]

The boys, said Smith, played the "game of cowboy and Indian"[416] in the area including the living quarters, halls, and the offices. In the games of "soldier" they used "the tops of garbage cans for shields and wooden sticks for swords," and their favorite target of strike was the "shins of a busy clerk or stenographer."[417] TR found most of their games and their attitudes towards their elders amusing enough to mention in his letters to Kermit at Groton and to Ted at Harvard. For instance, on April 30, he wrote Kermit:

> Archie is out by the sand box playing with the hose. The playing consists in brandishing it around his head and trying to escape the falling water. He escapes about twice out of three times and must now be a perfect drowned rat…Quentin is the funniest mite you ever saw and certainly a very original little fellow. He left at Mademoiselle's plate yesterday a large bunch of flowers with the inscription that they were from the fairies to her to reward her for taking care of two good, good boys.[418]

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[415] Ira R. T. Smith, *Dear Mr. President: The Story of Fifty Years in the White House Mail Room* Julian (Messner Inc., 1949), p.57.

[416] Smith, Dear Mr. President, p.57.

[417] Smith, Dear Mr. President, p.57.

[418] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, April 30, 1906.

The president and the First Family spent the summers not in the White House but at home, in the Sagamore Hill, in Oyster Bay. As TR claimed, "after all, fond as I am of the White House and much though I have appreciated these years in it, there isn't any place in the world like home – like Sagamore Hill, where things are our own, with our own associations, and where it is real country."[419] Secret service men guarded Sagamore Hill constantly. However, from time to time TR and Edith, who although believed the necessity of the secret men, complained about their constant existence at their front yard, took off "by the barn and through the apple orchard and woods down to their bathing beach on Cold Spring Harbor," or went off "quite alone rowing to some quite spot and spend the day,"[420] "like lovers" said Hagner. "The life at Oyster Bay was such a wholesome, happy life," commented Hagner. While in the mornings TR was playing the President with his secretary and stenographer present, in the afternoons he became the good husband and caring father riding, swimming, playing tennis or rowing in Cold Spring Harbor.

Summer days in Sagamore were busy with TR's guests from the political and social grounds and with the cousins and friends of the Roosevelt children. Alice recalled those days of his father's Presidency. She indicated that they were

> hardy ever alone. Droves of people came down to call, or to lunch, or to spend the night; members of the Cabinet, Senators, and extraneous others. The Mayflower, Dolphin, and Sylph, three government boats, were one or another, as a rule, anchored off Sagamore. The newspapermen were camped in the village.[421]

[419] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, June 11, 1906.

[420] Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner".

[421] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.54.

When any of the government boats was anchored in Oyster Bay, the younger officers of it were "eagerly accepted as playmates, not only by Ted and Ethel but by all the neighborhood."[422] In the summer of 1907, for instance, when the Mayflower was at Oyster Bay, "a dance was given in their honor at the Seawanhaka Yacht Club, to which Ethel and Ted, with Ethel's two houseguests Faith Simpkins and Cecilia May, went after dining with the Landons."[423] They "lunched and dined"[424] at Sagamore Hill and at TR's cousin Emlen Roosevelt's house, and became ardent players at the Roosevelts' tennis matches. Genereally all the guests were asked to stay for lunch or for the night, and TR tried not to neglect anyone, official or not. This letter of him to Edith's sister Emily thoroughly illustrated his potential in dealing with the smaller guests of Sagamore Hill:

> Really the children do have an ideal time out here, and it is an ideal place for them. (Oyster Bay) The three sets of cousins are always together. I am rather disconcerted by the fact that they persist in regarding me as a playmate. This afternoon, for instance, was rainy, and all of them from George, Ted, Loraine and Ethel down to Archibald, Nicholas and Quentin, with the addition of Aleck Russell and Ensign Hamner, came to get me to play with them in the old barn. They plead so hard that I finally gave in but upon my word I hardly knew whether it was quite right for the President to be engaged in such wild romping as the next two hours saw. The barn is filled with hay, and of course meets every requirement for the most active species of hide-and-seek and the like. Quentin enjoyed the game as much as anyone, and would jump down from one hay level to another fifteen feel below with complete abandonment.[425]

[422] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, August 27, 1907.

[423] Ibid.

[424] Ibid.

[425] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Emily T. Carow, August 6, 1903.

For instance, at her twelfth birthday, on August 13, 1903, Ethel asked TR "to take part in and supervise a romp in the old barn, to which all the Roosevelt children, Ensign Hamner of the Sylph, Bob Ferguson and Aleck Russell were to come."[426] TR could neither refuse Ethel's wish nor devitalize the zeal of a group of children encouraged by the stories of the President's being quite successful at "old-barn romps:"

> Of course, I had not the heart to refuse; but really it seems, to put it mildly, rather odd for a stout, elderly President to be bouncing over hayricks in a wild effort to get to goal before an active midget of a competitor, aged nine years. However, it was really great fun… I love all these children and have great fun with them; and I am touched by the way in which they feel that I am their special friend, champion and companion.[427]

And, he was the "vice-mother"[428] when "Mother had gone." Edith was away from the White House for nine days in November 1903, and TR tried to fulfill her duties as mother to especially two little boys of the White House. He spent almost an hour reading them pieces of classical literature, and then continued with the Bible. Both boys were quite interested in the stories TR read from the Bible that he had to "read them more than one chapter"[429] every night. At the end, before TR out them to sleep, he listened to their prayers and the hymns they were learning. Again, at about the end of February 1904, Edith was away, and TR was acting the "vice-mother." At this time, though, Ethel, who was "always as good as gold both to him [Quentin] and to Archie, relieved me [TR] of my duties as vice-mother." But still, TR woke up

[426] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Emily T. Carow, August 16, 1903.

[427] Ibid.

[428] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, November 15, 1903.

[429] Ibid.

early every morning Edith was away to have breakfast with Ethel and Kermit before they left for school, and read every night "a certain amount to Quentin."[430]

Edith and TR owned a timbered shack in Albemarle County, Virginia, which they named Pine Knot and used as a peaceful, private space to be away from the chaos of Washington D.C. The Roosevelts visited the Pine Knot always with no servants accompanying them in order to keep their complete privacy. However, since the cottage was in the middle of the wilderness Edith "arranged for two Secret Service men"[431] to keep guard nearby.

Every winter the First Family gave a series of receptions: The Cabinet Dinner, The New Years Day Reception, Diplomatic Reception, Judicial Reception, Judicial Dinner, Congressional Reception, Army and Navy Reception. In addition to them, Edith gave "several large teas, three or four musicales preceded by dinners, as well as garden parties in the spring."[432] "The dinners given by the Cabinet in honor of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt" were decided to be held on Tuesday evenings, the official receptions and dinners occurred on Thursday evenings, and Edith's favorites: the smaller dinners and musicales took place on Fridays.[433]

The frequent visitors of the White House, as Edith's guests, consisted of some immediate family members and friends of the Roosevelts: TR's sister Bamie; Henry Cabot Lodge's wife Anna Lodge; the "delightful and ever youthful old lady" Elizabeth Hobson, "social welfare worker" and "leader in the founding of the

[430] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, February 27, 1904.

[431] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.294.

[432] Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner".

[433] Ibid.

Bellevue Training School for Nurses,"[434] who, in Hagner's words, "had traveled and enjoyed the most interesting society in many parts of the world; Edith's childhood friends Laura Tuckerman Lowndes and her sister Emily Tuckerman; Republican Party politician Senator John Kean's mother and sisters, and Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' wife Fanny Dixwell Holmes.[435]

On November 8, 1904 "The president was elected by a huge majority."[436] According to Alice "father's nomination in 1904 was a foregone conclusion, and the election was in the bag, but no one in politics ever feels secure until the votes are counted, and I was holding my thumbs all through that summer."[437] For the election night Edith "had asked some intimate friends and some few of the officials and their wives who were in Washington to come to the White House to hear the returns."[438] Later in the evening, after the dinner, champagne and light refreshments were served to the guests spending "a jubilant evening" with the First Family and the President, who enjoyed a "smashing victory, both electoral and popular; the solid South was broken for the first time since the Civil War."[439]

Celebrations and holidays were significant for the Roosevelts in the name of keeping the family ties strong. The Roosevelt children loved preparing surprise parties with presents for their parents, but for their mother, Edith, it always became much more fun getting prepared, since TR was among the party arrangement crew. Edith's

[434] Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary Volume 3, 195.

[435] Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner".

[436] Ibid.

[437] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.64.

[438] Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner".

[439] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.64.

"forty-two" birthday party was one of the special ones requiring an organized team of the Roosevelts. First of all, Ethel "had hemstitched a little handkerchief herself and she had taken her gist and the gifts of all other children"[440] to her room to wrap them and to tie them with ribbons. All the children, on the morning of the birthday, took the neatly dressed and decorated presents to the breakfast table. Later during the day, Ethel and Kermit brought a birthday cake with forty-two candles burning on it. They attached a piece of paper to every single candle, which claimed the name of the "animal or inanimate object from which the candle came."[441] All the dogs and horses, wrote TR to Emily,

> – Renown, Bleistein, Yagenka, Algonquin, Sailor Boy, Brier, Hector, etc., as well as Tom Quartz, the cat, the extraordinarily named hens such as Baron Speckle and Fierce and finally even the boats and that pomegranate which Edith gave Kermit and which has always been known as Santiago, had each his or her or its tag on a special candle.[442]

Keeping the family ties strong did not rely on only birthday celebrations. The Roosevelts were giving importance to the meals they shared together at the same table. It was easier to keep this routine at Sagamore Hill, however, at the White House, when the children were attending school and the parents overburdened themselves with the political life, it became hard to see each other during the weekdays. So, in October 1904, TR and Edith decided to keep their "regular routine," this time at the White House: all breakfasted together downstairs.[443] They

[440] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Emily T. Carow, August 6, 1903.

[441] Ibid.

[442] Ibid.

[443] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, October 23, 1904.

generally spent the weekend all together as a family, riding or roaming around the city, attending operas or theaters… And, in the evenings, during the week or weekend, if the President and the First Lady were expected to attend an organization, they get prepared for the occasion one by one so that each could spend some time with the children. For instance, TR dressed first "while she reads to Archie and Quentin and hears them their Bible lesson, in which they are always intensely interested;" and when TR was ready he "take them off to the library and read them Ivanhoe while mother gets dressed."[444] Edith, generally every night, read to the children. Before the Bible lessons she read various kinds from children literature and one favorite of them was Robin Hood. TR described how Ethel, Archie and Quentin enjoyed Robin Hood as this: "… I wish you could have seen mother reading Robin Hood for I suppose the hundredth time to all three children tonight. Ethel, Archie and Quentin all lay on the sofa with her, round-eyed and absorbed."[445]

Isabella Hagner referred to the Roosevelts' preparations for Christmas and the "happy time of Merrymaking" in her memoir. As she wrote, Edith and Hagner started shopping for the presents for the all the members of the immediate family, friends, ushers and servants, for even the "old friends and ex-servitors" early in the autumn. For the stockings to be given to the children, Edith and Hagner did arrange another occasion, "the stocking shopping," which was according to Hagner "the greatest fun."[446] Besides the immediate family members, the Roosevelts tried not to forget about anyone. For instance, TR delivered turkeys to the employees of the

[444] Ibid.

[445] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, February 5, 1904.

[446] Hagner, "Memoirs of Isabella Hagner".

White House. On the Christmas morning, the Roosevelt children visited Edith and TR's room to open up their stockings and to give their parents the presents they bought. After the stocking opening ceremony in the bedroom, they went downstairs to see the Christmas tree. The Cowleses (Bamie and her family,) the Lodges, and some intimate friends of the Roosevelts and Isabella Hagner called on the White House to see the presents. On the Christmas day the first family attended the lunch at the Cowleses, and invited their intimate family and the Lodges to a Christmas dinner at the White House. According to Hagner, "it was such a happy time of Merrymaking, and such an example to the nation of an unaffected, normal American household, devoted to each other, and all making an effort towards the day's success."[447]

At the 1904 Christmas, all the children of the ages between six and seventeen, of the members of the Supreme Court, the members of Congress, of Assistant-Secretaries, and of Army and Navy members "were asked shortly after Christmas, to an afternoon party at the White House." They were more than five hundred in numbers. After a concert of Roney Boys Band, the crowd went to the dining room for the Christmas banquet with a big colorful electrified Christmas tree at the center. TR was present serving the young and cheerful crowd of White House visitors, and the Roosevelt children "felt their duties as hosts most keenly," especially during the dance in the East Room by "dancing away and providing partners for all the girls, and busily introducing the beaux."[448]

[447] Ibid.

[448] Ibid.

"An ideal Christmas," according to TR, was the sixth Christmas at the White House, Christmas of 1906. He wrote Corinne,

> Alice and Nick joined easily and naturally in every detail of the celebration…According to the immemorial custom, and just as you and I and Elliot and Bammie used to do when we were little, all the children and Edith and I sat o the bed to open the stockings, Nick and the two small dogs, Skip and Manchu, being added to the combination…We all took lunch at Bammie's, and in the afternoon I took a walk with Cabot, and in the evening we had the usual Christmas dinner of all ourselves and all the Lodges and connections…[449]

> And the following year the Roosevelts kept Christmas "in the usual style:"

> At seven o'clock we were awakened by the children hammering on the door and they all, including Alice and Nick, came in and sat on the bed and opened their stockings. After breakfast we went into the library and each child had his table with presents, just as all grownups do when we were small. We then took a three hours ride, rather on the order of Caldicotts Huntbatch family – Ted, Kermit, Ethel and myself with Fitz Lee, Cabot Lodge and Elihu Root. I varied between Lodge and Elihu Root and the quartet of younger people, who kept up a perfectly ceaseless chatter, about everything ranging from horses and the deeds and misdeeds of their intimate friends to poetry of every kind and description, which for the most part they repeated in unison. Fitz Lee is not strong on literature, but the three children showed a perfectly astonishing knowledge of certain poets.[450]

Ethel started National Cathedral School in 1901, when she was 10, immediately after the Roosevelt family moved to White House. National Cathedral School constituted a prominent example to the schools established with generous giving of the philanthropists of the age. When education for girls generally consisted of private tutoring at homes for the wealthy and no tutoring at all for the poor, philanthropist

[449] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, December 26, 1906.

[450] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Anna Roosevelt Cowles, December 25, 1907.

"Phoebe Apperson Hearst, widow of Senator George Hearst of California" donated a huge amount of money "to a fund started by Washington Bishop Henry Yates Satterlee to establish a school for girls on Mount Saint Alban."[451] The school opened on October 1, 1900, "with 32 boarders and 16 day students," and with a "daring and liberal" curriculum, consisting of "modern and classical languages, English, history, math, the latest scientific theories, and a focus on physical education."[452] Ethel was a "weekday boarder"[453] at the school, from where on weekends she rushed to White House to meet her brothers. Besides spending time with her brothers, Ethel, the "good-natured child"[454] of TR, tutored black children at "St. Mary's Chapel for Colored Children"[455] and played football with them after the classes.

At the age of twelve, Ethel had become the little housewife both in the Sagamore Hill and in the White House, and a substitute mother to her younger brothers, Archie "a most warm hearted, loving, cunning little goose," and Quentin "a merry soul, [who] has now become entirely one of the children and joins heartily in all their plays, including the romps in the old barn."[456] TR wrote to Edith his observations of Ethel's becoming a mother to especially Quentin in the absence of Edith:

> Ethel is too good for anything with the little boys; she is a great comfort to them, and they are great comforts to her. She is a little mother to Quentin; she

[451] National Cathedral School, webpage, History.

[452] National Cathedral School, webpage, History.

[453] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.217.

[454] Collier, The Roosevelts, p.76.

[455] Ibid., p.123.

[456] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Emily T. Carow, August 16, 1903.

always calls him sweetheart. I wish you could have seen her taking care of him on the 'scramble' today.[457]

She could take care of the house chores at Sagamore Hill, could "administer necessary discipline to Archie and Quentin"[458] all by herself, could "keep down the expenses and cook bread."[459] She was, in TR's words, "just your own blessed busy cunning self."[460]

At the age of fourteen, Ethel was "a conscientious student, a fine horsewoman and an efficient child-minder who helped her younger brothers with arithmetic and Latin." Both TR and Edith trusted in her ability to manage the house and the servants and the gardening.[461] She helped Archie and Quentin with their school assignments, and particularly Archie studied "his Latin under [Ethel's] guidance."[462] She had become mature enough to know and discuss about the Presidential or political issues with her father. For instance, during the summer of 1905, while TR was dealing with the peace negotiations between Russia and Japan, he wrote Ethel, who was restless to have her father at Oyster Bay, he "have worked pretty hard, and shall be glad to get to Oyster Bay; although these infernal peace negotiations between Russia and Japan

[457] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt, November 14, 1903.

[458] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, June 22, 1904.

[459] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, June 21, 1904.

[460] Ibid.

[461] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.298.

[462] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, October 22, 1905.

seem to hang fire; and I have had a number of things to bother me."[463] TR, as his elder daughter Alice also claimed in her autobiography, seemed to include his children in the political arena he had been fighting in. From his Colorado trip, TR wrote Ethel they were passing through the "bleak and lovely prairie villages with all the people come from miles about to see me. Among them were dozens of young girls, often pretty,"[464] whom TR associated with Ethel. And, he continued with an amusing episode: at one of those prairie villages three young girls came to shook hands with TR, and then they, diffidently, asked TR if they could shake hands with the guard. "The guard proved to be holy," wrote TR to Ethel, he was "very swell in his uniform," and the girls "evidently thought much more attractive than the President, both in age and looks."[465]

Ethel was a successful and dedicated student at school. On February 2, 1906, the letter from Lois A. Bangs, principal at the National Cathedral School made TR proud of his daughter:

> I am sure you will be glad to know directly from us that Ethel's school life with us has been blameless. She has been a most earnest, faithful and ambitious student, a thoroughly obedient and courteous girl, and has won not only our love, but what is better, the through liking and the respect and admiration, which I think elder people are often too slow to acknowledge they feel for younger people. I have occasionally cautioned her against over anxiety about her lessons, over-work, and a desire to substitute intellectual labor for rest and relaxation, but never for any moral fault. As it is her proud prerogative to be your daughter, I am sure you will sympathize with one who loves her as I do,

[463] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, June 18, 1905.

[464] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, April 26, 1905.

[465] Ibid.

> when I say that you are most happy in a daughter of whom you also can be proud.[466]

After she graduated from National Cathedral School for Girls in Mount St. Albany, Washington, D. C. in June 1906, Ethel continued her education at home with a private tutor, Marie Young.[467] In 1907, Ethel became sixteen and as TR wrote to Henry Cabot Lodge, was leading "just about such a life as Edith herself led at her age." She was attending parties, "riding on country estates at weekends, and inviting her special friends home."[468]

During an official lunch at the White House in 1908, Ethel escorted TR as the "mistress of the White House," and according to TR she "did really well, walked with me and was very companionable and a comfort" to him.[469] And in December 1908, in her father's words Ethel was "in the full tide of a debutante's season now, she is really as good as gold."[470] So Edith decided to organize Ethel's debut in the White House, in December 1908, only a few months before the Roosevelts left their first family title; so Ethel Roosevelt was officially introduced to the community with a big appealing party at the White House. 1908 Christmas, the last Christmas of the Roosevelts in the White House, was a big celebration with the company of more than fifty relatives and friends. With a table decorated with ferns and read leaves, Turkey

[466] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Lois A. Bangs to Theodore Roosevelt, February 2, 1906.

[467] Caroli. The Roosevelt Women, p.343.

[468] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.321.

[469] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt, 1908.

[470] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, December 13, 1908.

at the center, plum pudding and miniature ices of Santa Claus at the end of the meal, and with a tree decorated with gifts and presents for the children and with books for the adults, 1908 Christmas was astonishing both for the Roosevelts and for their guests.[471] Only three days later, on Monday, December 28, Edith and TR, as if giving a second Christmas party, this time for the ones they could not have invited to the first one, gave a big reception in the White House to introduce Ethel to the society. At the time, Ethel was still not eighteen, but her parents wished to give her the same privilege with Alice: being introduced to the society as the President's daughter in the White House.

According to Ethel her debut "was lovely and very exciting… the Marine Band and all that…"[472] And according to Alice, "it was one of the prettiest parties I have ever seen at the White House. There were several hundred young girls and young men, hardly any married people. I was a tottering ancient among them."[473] The date of the occasion was announced nearly two months prior by the President. While New York Times was making the news of Ethel's approaching debut on October 18, it was highlighted that the Roosevelts showed great consideration in keeping the parties given for the members of the intimate family as personal as possible. So, New York Times claimed that the guests to the debut would be of the young entourage of Ethel and her brothers. Ethel's cousins Christine Roosevelt and Dorothy Roosevelt, some college mates of Ted from Harvard, and Ethel's school friends were among the expected guests.[474] More than four hundred guests were present at Ethel's debut.

[471] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.335.

[472] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Shapiro Interview with ERD, 1976.

[473] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.161.

[474] "Miss Roosevelt's Debut: Dance at White House on Dec. 28 – 1000 Invitations," *New York Times*, October 18, 1908.

Ethel and Edith welcomed the guests at the Blue Room, which was decorated with the flowers sent for the occasion to Ethel. Ethel wore a white satin dress covered with crystals.[475]

According to New York Times, in the season of 1908-1909, Ethel was "undoubtedly the most interesting figure in the social life of the National capital." This article published in the New York Times on November 15, was actually a pre-debut, an informal inauguration of Ethel to the society. The article asserted that Ethel was not an outsider to the social world of Washington. "For the last two years" it continued, Ethel had been "present at many of the state receptions in the White House, and she was conspicuous as one of the attractive young girls at the wedding of her older half-sister, Mrs. Longworth." And, at this point, the writer needed to underline the contrast between Ethel and Alice, which was "striking, even to the cursory observer." In order to depict this contrast, the writer described Ethel with the adjectives so unsuitable to describe Alice:

> Modest and retiring to the verge of bashfulness, of the simplest tastes, and enjoying keenly the most innocent pastimes – a really 'old-fashioned girl' in the good sense – Miss Roosevelt has as yet developed no real penchant for the white light of social prominence.[476]

Alice and Ethel were poles apart. When the Roosevelts became the First Family of the nation and moved to the White House Alice was close to eighteen, the same age with Ethel when the Roosevelts were vacating the White House. And, at the age of

[475] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.336.

[476] "Miss Ethel Roosevelt's Debut: President's Second Daughter, the Most Interesting Figure in Washington Society This Season," *New York Times*, November 15, 1908.

eighteen Alice and Ethel were quite different from each other. In contrast to the New York Times' description of Ethel, Alice was, in her own words, trying to:

> have a good time, and a good time meant to me consorting with people of my own age, total irresponsibility, and perpetual rushing from place to place, from one amusement to another with the curiosity of a puppy and as little sense of direction. When I hear criticism of the youth of this or any time, a fellow feeling comes over me. They may bore me, as I used to bore myself, and undoubtedly did those around me, but no young could ever be more frivolous and inane, more scattered and self-centered than I was.[477]

And, in personal appearance, the New York Times article described Ethel as:

> attractive because of that winsome, vivacious, spontaneity which is so evidently natural and ever magnetic. Of medium height, with charmingly rounded figure, a beautifully fair complexion and soft pink cheeks, she possesses a wealth of silky blonde hair, and deep blue eyes, whose fascinating brilliancy is made more charming by graceful, long lashes.[478]

According to the article Ethel, like her father, was an "ardent devotee of outdoor sports and exercise," and "an expert horsewoman,"[479] and a devoted sister to her younger brothers and their young friends. She had come to the White House as a young girl and grew to "womanhood in these historic surroundings."[480] During this period, she attended the National Cathedral School for Girls for five years, and continued and completed her education with a private tutor. And, the article claimed, it was official that Ethel developed an artistic sense, "rarely poetic and strongly

[477] Longworth, Crowded Hours, p.47.

[478] "Miss Ethel Roosevelt's Debut: President's Second Daughter, the Most Interesting Figure in Washington Society This Season," *New York Times*, November 15, 1908.

[479] Ibid.

[480] Ibid.

imaginative, she is deeply moved by the beautiful in all arts, of which she is a sincere follower."[481] This comment of the writer would prove itself in the following years, as Ethel would be traveling in the Old World.

3.3. A Young Woman in the Public: From Debutante To Marriage, 1909-1913

3.3.1. Ethel's Grand Tour of Europe in 1909 and 1910

It was on June 27, 1909 when Ethel sailed on S.S. *Cretic* for Europe, with her mother Edith and her two brothers, Archie and Quentin. It was her first trip to Europe, and she was eighteen at the time. As Edith Roosevelt's biographer Sylvia Jukes Morris states, Edith brought along $ 10.000 to finance their five months endless sightseeing tour for the children's education.

Ethel kept one of the dinner menus of the ocean liner S.S. *Cretic* inside her travel diary. S.S. *Cretic* sailed between New York and Mediterranean between 1904-1910. As the names of the meal courses actually show, S.S. *Cretic* voyagers were getting prepared for the Mediterranean with Mediterranean tastes.

On July 12, 1909 the Roosevelts arrived at Genoa to settle in Edith's sister Emily Carow's house Villa Magna Quies (Villa of Great Quite,) which "was set in the Ligurian Hills looking out over olive groves, vineyards and the Mediterranean Sea."[482] Ethel and her two brothers' European experience was quite similar to their

[481] "Miss Ethel Roosevelt's Debut: President's Second Daughter, the Most Interesting Figure in Washington Society This Season," *New York Times*, November 15, 1908.

[482] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

father TR Roosevelt's boyhood contact with Europe in 1870 and 1872. For the first few weeks Ethel and her brothers attended French, Italian, and Latin classes at the Franciscan monastery and rode bicycles around Genoa. At the end of July, Ethel and Archie embarked for a tour of some cities of northern Italy, Geneva of Switzerland, and Chambery and Lyons of France with Italian Ambassador to United States Edmondo Mayor des Planches and his family to taste the culture, art and history. By August 8, Edith and Quentin reunited with Ethel and Archie in Lyons and traveled to Paris to carry out an intensive campaign of museums, palaces and cathedrals for a month. On August 13, on the eighteenth birthday of Ethel, the Roosevelts' family friend Henry Adams gave Ethel a party at the le Petit Palais, built for the 1900 Universal Exhibition. Until mid November Ethel with the company of her mother, visited Switzerland, Milan, Verona, Venice, Padua, Turin, Florence, Siena and Rome. So with this Grand Tour of Europe, Ethel's acquaintance with Europe started. Her 1909 travel diary was more like a history book, detailing the names and the dates she considered significant in the history of the places she visited.

On July 3, the Roosevelts arrived at Ponta Delgada, Sao Miguel, Azores. "The vice-consul, who was ever so nice" took Edith, Ethel, Archie, Quentin to the old Jesuit Church, "which was much carved inside, quite old and not beautiful."[483] However, Ethel was amazed with the view she caught when she and Archie climbed to the bell of the church. She remarked "such a lovely view."[484] Another thing, which astonished her, was one of the gardens they had been to, the one "with the ruins of an

[483] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 3.

[484] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 3.

old house in it."[485] She claimed that she "never have seen anything more beautiful than" this garden.

"I never have had such a thrill," wrote Ethel, when she, aboard, sighted Gibraltar, "the mountains of Spain on one side and Africa on the other," at about half-past five in the morning of July 7.[486] After seeing the "marvelous" fortifications of Gibraltar, the Roosevelts visited "the little Spanish town" Linea. As Ethel noted, they had been to some "funny old shops" and to the "very fascinating fruit market."[487]

Ethel noted that they steamed into the bay in Naples, Italy at about 2:30 on July 10, and checked in Hotel Excelsior, from where, Ethel remarked, they "went around in a machine to the Cathedral."[488] It was the Naples Cathedral, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, and was also known as the Cattedrale di San Gennaro. From her writings, Ethel did not sound astonished by the Cathedral at all. According to her, "some of it [Cathedral] [was] hideous, but the rest [was] fine."[489] The landmarks of Naples the Roosevelts saw on July 10 included the tomb of Robert of Anjou (Robert the Wise) and Giotto's frescos at the Church of Santa Chiara, and Certosa di San Martino (St. Martin's Charterhouse) a museum transformed from a huge monastery complex. Ethel did mention neither positive comment nor negative ones in her diary.

[485] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 3.

[486] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 7.

[487] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 7.

[488] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 10.

[489] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 10.

On July 12, early in the morning Edith and the children arrived at Genoa. At 7 they met with Edith's sister Emily aboard, and "went right ashore"[490] to start the day of excursion to the historical and religious sites of Genoa. Their first stop was the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Genoa Cathedral (Ethel talked about it as San Lorenzo Basilica,) where, according to Ethel, "the stone carvings were wonderful."[491] Next stop was another Roman Catholic Church, San Matteo, "the church of the Doria family, which appealed to me tremendously."[492] Inside the church they walked through a carved passage to visit the tomb of Andrea Doria. Ethel had a great liking for this carved passage and the carvings on the tomb. What influenced her the most was the fact that they weren't "carved for everyone to see but all for them over satisfaction and love of beauty."[493] One last thing related to Andrea Doria, which influenced Ethel was his sword: according to Ethel "it is wonderful to look at his sword and think of his holding it."[494] After San Matteo, in a five-minute walk, they reached the Palazzo Rosso, a palace of late 17th century, in use as a picture gallery, which hosted "wonderful Van Dycks." Besides Van Dycks, Ethel "loved marble stairways most," and "longed to know more about some chemise things" in the Palazzo Rosso.[495]

After seeing the old palaces of Genoa, which "impressed me [Ethel] more than almost anything," the Roosevelts with Emily traveled to Porto Maurizio, "just the

[490] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

[491] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

[492] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

[493] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

[494] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

[495] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

dearest greatest little town imaginable."[496] While she could not tell the exact date when Porto Maurizio's old town was first established, Ethel noted that the new town dated from Napoleon, "which seems awfully old to us." With its "funny little houses grouped together with their pink roofs," the "nice" Cathedral, the convent close to the sea, the "nice old palaces, and "fascinating queer dark stairways" Porto Maurizio reminded Ethel of "old forgotten far off things" – referring to William Wordsworth's poem *The Solitary Reaper*. And, at last she wrote about Aunt Emily's house Villa Magna Quies (Villa of Great Quite.) It was an isolated pink little villa with a "pretty garden." It was surrounded by miles of olive woods, which amazed Ethel so much that she wrote, "I know nothing that give me more joy than just seeing them."[497]

Until the end of July, Ethel, Archie and occasionally Quentin went on to daily excursions to the nearby towns on their bicycles. One of them was Dolcedo, a town seven kilometers far from Porto Maurizio. The trip on July 16 was "fascinating" according to Ethel, who enjoyed "all kinds of quaint little Maxfield Parrish towns"[498] they saw on the road. These Ligurian towns, with their resemblance to Parrish's paintings and with their historical views, astonished Ethel so much that she wrote: "Built with a little stream running through it with attractive bridges where we sat for a long time. It is exactly like a place you've dreamed of seeing & always & always kept it a secret. I felt as if I were living centuries ago."[499] And, she tried to express her feelings with a quotation from Robert Browning's poem *By the Fire-Side*: "And

[496] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

[497] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 12.

[498] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 16.

[499] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 16.

yonder – Is the chapel reached by the one-arched bridge. Where the water is stopped in a stagnant pond. Danced over by the midge."[500]

On July 18, Ethel and Archie bicycled to Linguelietta, about fourteen kilometers far from Porto Maurizio. It was a town with its castle and the old chapel, dated from the 12th century, Ethel noted. And, two days later, on July 21, they bicycled this time to Montegrazie, a town patronized by sailors. They climbed the "quaint little church" of Montegrazie, and watched the beautiful scene of sea on one side and "the olive trees with quaint little towns tucked among them" on the other side.[501]

Another interesting tour Ethel had was with the company of her mother, her brothers, and Aunt Emily, a walking tour of Torrazza, historically a defense town against the Saracen attacks on July 22. A tower welcomed Ethel when they entered Torrazza. According to Ethel the town was very "old", and the tower – Saracen Tower – was "a funny squat tower – also a look out for the Saracens."[502] She with Archie and Quentin climbed up the tower "to the obvious risk of life and limb," and examined that it was a strong one. All day they walked through the "quaint dirty little streets" of the town, and drank wine served by "a picturesque old boy who lead his own vineyard." Ethel sounded sarcastic when she was writing about the "funny lonely little churches" they saw as they wandered. She noted that when they saw the lonely churches in Torrazza, she and her mother Edith looked at each other and thought of

[500] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 16.

[501] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 21.

[502] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 22.

another stanza from Robert Browning's poem *By the Fire-Side*: "Poor little place, where its one priest comes. On a festa-day, if he comes at all…"[503]

Ethel talked about a hill she walked up often, "Monte Calvario" – or Monte Gagliardone – in Porto Maurizio, where from the top she watched the "wonderful view of the monastery and the blue Mediterranean."[504] In her diary, she made a reference to Robert Browning's another poem, *Piano di Sorrento* when she was describing the scene from the top:

> And God's own profound
> Was above me, and round me the mountain
> And under, the sea,
> And within me, my heart to bear witness
> What was and shall be!
> …
> O, those mountains, their infinite movement!
> Thrust into view
> To observe the intruder, - you see it
> If quickly you turn
> And, before they escape you, surprise them[505]

By the end of July, Ethel and Archie joined Italian Ambassador to United States Edmondo Mayor des Planches and his family on a tour of some cities of northern

[503] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 22.

[504] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 22-24.

[505] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 22-24.

Italy, Geneva of Switzerland, and Chambery and Lyon of France.[506] Their first stop was a 13th century town Moncalieri, which was about seven kilometers south of Turin. On the way to Moncalieri "mountains [were] high on [their] left and the Mediterranean [was] blue and smiling for miles and miles."[507] They passed along many "picturesque" and "fascinating" small towns "all clustered together" and "as old as old." Ethel noted that in some of these towns they got a glimpse of "the remains of old forts and chateaux, Roman bridges… little Saracen watch towers, mostly in ruins."[508] There was one picture, she claimed, she could never forget: She saw a boy with black eyes and hair and red cheeks, carrying two buckets of water hanging on a wooden stick on his shoulders; and the background was "a quaint little town and the ever present olive trees."[509] At the night of July 31 they reached Moncalieri, which illustrated "the most beautiful thing" for Ethel: "full moon and a little town with the moonlight making it a fairyland."[510] They stayed at the Ambassador's villa for that night and traveled to Turin the next day in the afternoon.

Ethel was surprised that Turin, which was a city old enough to have been attacked and destroyed by Hannibal Barca in 218, had so few relics. But the city, she noted, was built very regularly, with Piazza Castello as the main square, Palazzo Madama

[506] Sylvia Jukes Morris, in *Edith Kermit Roosevelt: Portrait of a First Lady*, claims that Ethel and Archie went with American Ambassador to Italy Lloyd Griscom and his family on a tour of Provence – the region in the southern France. However, Ethel's travel diary of 1909, which was written quite in depth, did not mention any city or region of Provence included in the itinerary of her journey. In addition, her travel company is also documented wrong by Morris. She and Archie were invited by Italian Ambassador to U.S. Edmondo Mayor des Planches, not by American Ambassador to Italy Lloyd Griscom.

[507] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, July 31.

[508] Ibid.

[509] Ibid.

[510] Ibid.

in the middle. She did not find Palazzo Reale so impressive, but loved Palazzo Carignano with its outer ornaments and lovely courtyard.

On August 2, at about 1 o'clock, they left Turin for Courmayeur, a town in northern Italy, "at the head of the Aosta Valley," and in Ethel's words a town from where "there is a marvelous view of the mountains."[511] Ethel's considerable knowledge of the history of Italy -starting with the Roman provinces and including the early modern period- was substantial in her descriptions of the towns they passed on the road to Courmayeur. For five full pages in her travel diary, she wrote about the history of the "picturesque" ruins of "fascinating" castles built and destroyed in different centuries by different civilizations, the "beautiful" Roman bridges, and of the "quaint" little towns.[512] One of these towns, Saint-Pierre in Aosta Valley with its 14th century church and castle, reminded Ethel "of the pictures in *Otto of the Silver Hand*," one of the first children's novels including Medieval tales, written and pictured by Howard Pyle.[513] She sounded sarcastic when writing about another town, St. Nicholas. The "pretty white church" of St. Nicholas was located "on the top of a very stiff cliff," which made Ethel to remark "I would seldom go to church if I had to climb that mountain to get there."[514]

On August 3, "in a drizzling rain" they motored to Milan.[515] With the rain the mountains and the streams running among the trees seemed more beautiful and calming to Ethel. All through the road she enjoyed quoting poems she thought

[511] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 2.

[512] Ibid.

[513] Ibid.

[514] Ibid.

[515] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 3.

appropriate in representing how "splendid" the view was. One of them was from Robert Browning's *De Gustibus*: "What I love best in all the world / Is a castle, precipice-encurl'ed, / In a gash of the wind-griev'd Apennine." And the other belonged to Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay, the *Horatius at the Bridge*: "Like an eagle's nest hangs on the crest / Of purple Apennine." They arrived at Milan quite late at night, but still, Ethel and Archie had a chance to have a "beautiful" glimpse of the Cathedral – Duomo di Milano.[516]

Next day, before they departed for Palanza – north of Milan, a town at the Lake Maggiore, Ethel and Archie visited a few historic places in the old town of Milan. One of them was the Cathedral, which had a lasting effect on Ethel. She knew quite well that during the reign of Gian GaleazzoVisconti, Duke of Milan in the 14th century, the Cathedral was founded in 1386 – though the completion of its construction lasted for six centuries. Ethel confessed that Visconti was "a splendor loving count," and she "loved him just for thinking of such a wonderful thing."[517] After the Cathedral, they visited the Piazza del Duomo, the main city square of Milan, walked through the Piazza della Scala, appreciated the court of the Palazzo Marino, and enjoyed Bernardino Luini's frescos, and Leonardo's and Raphael's paintings in Brera Art Gallery. Milan, according to Ethel, was "awfully interesting," that she regretted for seeing the city in a few hours. At about 2 in the afternoon they motored towards north, to the lake region in the northern Italy. Ethel loved the

[516] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 3.

[517] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 4.

region, and thought that the scene of mountains, lakes, forests and blue sky was "absolutely different from everything we've seen before."[518]

By August 5, late at night, they passed one more time from Turin, on which Ethel commented negatively again. She loved Palazzo Madama "but somehow Turin hasn't gotten hold of me at all."[519] She rather loved Moncalieri, a close province of Turin, since it was about "800 years old."[520] In the morning of August 6, they left Moncalieri to go to Chambery, a French city in Rhone-Alpes region. In one of the "cunning little towns" they passed on the road, Ethel witnessed an "interesting" scene, and she made a broad statement out of it:

> The peasants are so interesting – generally with handkerchiefs folded over their heads and always knitting. They are specially picturesque when they are surrounded by the cows with their musical bells. Always I am struck with the beauty of the girls. Brown eyed, rosy cheeked, healthy, fresh looking people.[521]

After seeing Chambery a little, they went to Geneva, Switzerland. Ethel was impressed with the beauty of Mont Blank, with "his white peak glistering against the blue blue sky."[522] It was, she thought, "the monarch of mountains." They stayed in Geneva for one night and walked around the city, which did not "strike me [Ethel] as particularly interesting."[523] By August 8 they moved to Lyons, France, which

[518] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 4.

[519] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 5.

[520] Ibid.

[521] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 6.

[522] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 7.

[523] Ibid.

according to Ethel was "a dreadful hole,"[524] because it was very hot, the hotel they were staying was very dirty, and everyone was very tired of the automobile trip. It was the end of Ethel and Archie's trip with Edmondo Mayor des Planches and his family. In Lyons they met Edith and Quentin, who had arrived at the city a few days prior.

By 6 in the afternoon, on August 9, the Roosevelts reached Paris. They settled down in an "dear little apartment,"[525] 42 Avenue Gabriel in Paris to spend almost a month doing sightseeing in and around the city. The very first place in Paris Edith took the Roosevelt children was Notre Dame, on August 10: According to Ethel "it is too marvelous; unfortunately the ground has sunk, so it isn't so imposing from outside, but it is very impressive inside."[526] Ethel felt "a hush, a great reverence" as she entered the medieval Catholic cathedral.[527] On her diary, she wrote that she had been to Notre Dame several more times during their stay in Paris.

The Roosevelts visited Versailles Palace two times, on August 11 with Henry Adams, who "conducted us briskly thorough,"[528] and on August 12 with the "Jusserands"[529] – Jean Jules Jusserand, the French Ambassador to the United States. With the Jusserenads the Roosevelts also visited the Trianon, a small chateaux in the garden of Versailles Palace, which was also used by Marie Antoinette for her more

[524] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 8.

[525] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 9.

[526] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 10.

[527] Ibid.

[528] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 11.

[529] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 12.

intimate social gatherings. At this point in her diary, Ethel talked about Antoinette as "poor little Marie Antoinette with her play toy."[530]

Ethel's eighteenth birthday party took place in Paris, in the city "you love more and more as time goes."[531] On August 13, Henry Adams gave Ethel a party at the le Petit Palais, an art museum built for the 1900 Universal Exhibition of Paris. She thought the party was lovely, and she found the museum's collection quite interesting, especially the jewelry section.

Until September 11, Ethel visited Palais de Justice, Sainte Chapelle "with its marvelous glass," Eiffel Tower, la Madeleine, Musee de Cluny, which had "fascinating old things," Musee Carnavalet, where Ethel loved "the room that they are making for the pathetic little Marie Antoinette and her Dauphine play toys, her prison belongings," the American Church which was the lovely Gothic church, the Louvre, which she "loved so," and Pantheon with its lovely "soft coloring frescos" more than one time. She felt the real "fascinating" life of Paris when she sat in the Luxembourg gardens in one afternoon[532]. And, above all, about Paris, she wrote:

> Paris is a city that you love more and more as time goes on. When you feel you have been there long enough to belong but realize how inexhaustible it is. And find places like the Place des Vosges – very wonderful old houses and old squares… The sunsets from the bridges or the riverboats with the old buildings looking like castles in the red glow and the soft haze… And I love the Place de la Concorde. There is a curious feeling of Washington in the air sometimes. We saw Napoleon's tomb, it is very impressive, but theatrical to a degree. Altogether I love Paris and I feel as if I knew it very little.[533]

[530] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 12.

[531] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 13.

[532] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, August 16-22-23-25-27-29, September 5-10.

[533] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1909, September 10.

This was her last entry on her visit to Paris. Archie and Quentin, with an escort, were sent back to the United States, and the two lady Roosevelts, Edith and Ethel continued their Grand Tour with Switzerland, Milan, Verona, Venice, Padua, Turin, Florence, Siena and Rome. Their last stop was one more time Emily Carow's villa in Porto Maurizio. Finally, on November 12 the mother and the daughter completed their tour and sailed for New York. They needed some time to rest and relax since in a few months they would be sailing to the Old World one more time, to meet TR and Kermit, who had been involved in an expedition since March 23, 1909.

The last stop of TR and Kermit's expedition was Khartoum, Sudan. So the meeting point for the Roosevelts was the capital city of Sudan, lying along the beautiful Nile. And it happened on March 14, 1910, nearly after twelve months, Edith and Ethel were reunited with TR and Kermit. Staying at the British Sirdar Sir Reginald Wingate's "palm-fringed white Khartoum palace,"[534] the Roosevelts made sightseeing tours in Khartoum for three days. Edith was interested in the desert and desert life, so they visited the notorious "battlefield of Omdurman, site of history's last great cavalry charge in 1898," watched native dancers' performance, witnessed the parade of Sudanese troops, and "visited the exclusive Egyptian and Sudanese Officers' Club."[535] Their desert experience was not over yet. On the night of March 17, they traveled to north Sudan on train and were enchanted by the "mirages in the darkening sands moving past their carriage window."[536] Next day, they reached Wadi Halfa, from where they boarded the steamer *Ibis* to sail along the White Nile to Cairo. This trip meant that the Roosevelts were passing through the whole Egypt

[534] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.353.

[535] Ibid.

[536] Ibid.

from its deepest south point to its north. During this ten days trip they "stopped at Abu Simbel to see the temples the temples of Rameses II and at Luxor to see the great Roman ruins of Karnak by moonlight."[537]

On March 30, the Roosevelts departed Cairo for Alexandria, from where they would take the ship *Prinz-Heinrich* for Naples to start their Grand Tour of Europe. Since it was TR's very first trip to Europe after he left the office of Presidency, he and his family would be welcomed at every country they visited as a royal family. So, different from the earlier trip of Ethel with her mother and two brothers, during this Grand Tour of Europe Ethel would be dining and engaging in literary and political conversation with the royalty at the palaces.

Their first stop was Rome, where the Roosevelts had a dinner at the palace, during which they "discussed the early history of the House of Savoy with the King, and the poetry of the Balkan Slavs with his Montenegrin Queen."[538] In a few days, Edith's sister Emily joined them in Rome, and TR and Edith left Kermit and Ethel with Emily to travel to Italian Riviera to retrace their honeymoon trip in four days. During this four days Ethel, Kermit and Emily took a trip to Pisa and Genoa, where all the family members were reunited and moved to Porto Maurizio. On April 10, a special celebration was held in Porto Maurizio: TR Roosevelt was made the citizen of Porto Maurizio and a road there was named after him. During his speech Porto Maurizio's Mayor Carreti addressed TR "the first citizen of the American Republic,

[537] Ibid.

[538] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.355.

but above all a great humanitarian."[539] Emily, Edith and Ethel listened to the address with sheer pride.

On April 13, when TR and Kermit left for Vienna and Budapest, Edith and Ethel traveled to the opposite side, towards Paris, to stay with Robert Bacon, who was "TR's old college friend and last secretary of State."[540] Bacon was the American Ambassador to France during the time, and later during the First World War Ethel would meet him in England when she would be going to France to serve at the American Ambulance in Paris. Later in April the Roosevelts were reunited in Paris and they led a series of cultural and political meetings in Paris. They visited museums and art galleries, met with prominent French sculptor Auguste Rodin at his own house, heard "Manon" and "Samson and Dalila" at the Opéra de Paris, saw "Oedipus Roi" at the Théâtre Français, shopped at the notorious English fashion designer Charles Frederick Worth's place House of Worth, met with Edith's distant cousin American novelist Edith Wharton for tea, and dined at the Elysee Palace with the President Armand Fallieres and many other Frenchmen of the government. After TR's speech "Citizenship in a Republic" in Sorbonne University on April 23, the Roosevelts left Paris for Brussels first, and The Hague next.

In both Brussels and The Hague, they were "treated like royalty by royalty, in Brussels they dined with the King and Queen at Laeken Palace, and next day they had lunch in The Hague with Queen Wilhemina."[541] Then in Amsterdam they

[539] J. Lee Thompson, *Theodore Roosevelt Abroad: Nature, Empire and the Journey of an American President* (New York: 2010), p.120.

[540] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.356.

[541] Ibid.

visited the Ryk's Museum to see "the many Rembrandts."[542] After Holland, first they stopped at Denmark, then at Norway, where they were greeted by King Haakon VII and Queen Maud at their Royal Palace. King Haakon VII and Queen Maud's son Olav with his amusing behavior "recalled TR to early days at the White House romping with his own small children."[543] As he did to his children, TR told frightening stories of lions and elephants to Olav in the evening of May 4, and both Ethel and Kermit "joined the boy in spirited play."[544] Next day, TR gave his Nobel Prize speech at the University of Christiana, focusing on the importance of "arbitration, arms limitation and a league of peace with international police power,"[545] and the Roosevelts departed for Stockholm, where they stayed at the Palace with the Crown Prince Gustavus Adolphus and his wife Margaret, who was the daughter of the Duke of Connaught and the niece of United Kingdom's king Edward VII. Before the last stop of this Grand Tour, which was London, the Roosevelts visited Berlin, had lunch with Kaiser Wilhelm at Sans Souci Palace at Potsdam. In the meantime King Edward VII died and upon U.S. President Taft's request, the Roosevelts went to London so that TR could act as America's special ambassador during his funeral. Their Grand Tour ended with a few more sight trips, political and cultural meetings and dinners, and with lots of royalty by June 10. They boarded the *Kaiserin Auguste Victoria* at Southampton on June 10, and after eight days arrived at New York, where "they were greeted by one of the largest demonstrations in American history, a huge celebration with the harbor filled with destroyers, tugs, yachts, and boats of every size and a crowd of 100,000 waiting for

[542] Thompson, Theodore Roosevelt Abroad, p.130.

[543] Ibid., p.134.

[544] Ibid.

[545] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.360.

TR's triumphal homecoming parade,"[546] which was organized mostly by Cornelius Vanderbilt.

Ethel's 1909 Grand Tour of Europe with her mother and her two brothers was a gratifying experience and a rewarding start. 1910 Grand Tour, on the other hand, provided progression. In this next phase, she traveled with her preceding title the "First daughter" of the United States, and experienced all the cultural and artistic features of Europe, which she had already started adoring during her first tour, in close relation with royalty. She experienced various separate-but-similar European cultures with her father, who in Serge Ricard's words, "was perfectly attuned to his interlocutors, not simply on account of his charm or sociability, but also especially thanks to his phenomenal knowledge of their cultures."[547] According to Ricard, TR was "a rare breed of American, cosmopolitan and erudite, and an omnivorous reader to boot."[548] Not only TR but also Edith was of the same classification, so it was an "unprecedented" experience for Ethel.

3.4. Ethel Roosevelt Derby: Becoming a Family, 1913-1914

When Ethel reached a marriageable age, twenty in 1911, there were "several young men interested in her, including Dick Derby, Clarence Hay, Rough Rider John Greenway, and Fairman Dick."[549] Besides the huge responsibility of helping Edith with supervising the more domestic duties of Sagamore Hill, she was occupied with

[546] Ibid., 363.

[547] Hans Krabbendam and John M. Thompson, ed., *America's Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the Discovery of Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.144.

[548] Ibid., p.144.

[549] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.612.

the "charity work with the Manhattan Junior League," and with fundraising for West Side children.[550] And, a bigger commitment arrived at her world when TR decided to run for Presidency in early 1912. In this context, in spite of Edith's intentions to lead her daughter marry as soon as possible since she was considering that Ethel was being late to become a married woman, Ethel could not take the idea of marrying quite seriously.

During the 1912 Presidential campaign, Ethel worked as a fundraiser with her Roosevelt cousins in "Roosevelt campaign headquarters in Manhattan," and considered that the "campaign is all that means anything to us now."[551] With the leadership of Anne Morgan, "the women's reform network" found a voice in TR's campaign, and they decided to support TR's presidential campaign, which would be a "logical extension of their presence in municipal reform, settlement work, and the labor movement."[552] Woman's Roosevelt Leagues were formed in every state and twenty-one year old Ethel was at the center of all these developments. She, as a young woman, and as TR's daughter, who were actively involved in the campaign work, was supporting whole-heartedly the women's reform network. And, later when TR decided to run with the Progressive Party, a "Women's National Committee" was formed for fundraising, Ethel worked on the finance branch of the committee in New York, "where large donations were collected from Elon Hooker, Frank Munsey, Douglas Robinson, and Emlen Roosevelt."[553] In the meantime, TR's "Female Brain Trust" encouraged Ethel, who was "ardently progressive," to work for

[550] Ibid.

[551] Ibid., p.386.

[552] Ibid., p.382.

[553] Ibid., p.399.

the Progressive Party's National Service Committee, headed by a social reformer Frances Kellor.[554] Apparently in this new world of social reform, there was no place for marriage according to Ethel. However, young surgeon with a social conscience Richard Derby had been showing determination on his marriage proposal for the last two years. Dick was not an outsider to the Roosevelts. Dick and Ethel's first encounter dated back the White House years, when Ethel was a girl, playing hide and seek with her brothers, her pockets full with apples in the front yard of Sagamore Hill. Back then; Dick was a "one of the outstanding college men TR had brought to Sagamore Hill to launch into public service careers."[555] Now he was a moneyed surgeon working both at St. Luke's Hospital and at the Ruptured and Crippled Hospital in New York, and a perfect match for Ethel according to TR and Ethel. As Ethel could not receive permission and encouragement from her parents to build a career in the social services and as she witnessed how resembling Dick and the two leading men in her family her father TR and her brother Kermit, she did not resist Dick's longstanding marriage proposal. It was in February 1913, she agreed to marry Dick. Satisfied with the news, TR wrote Kermit, "after her two years of worry and indecision Ethel is now the most radiantly happy engaged girl you have ever seen, and she and Dick are just the dearest couple imaginable."[556]

By early March their engagement was the story of the week in *Cambridge Sentinel*, under the title of "Saddle Won Fiancé:"

> the romance of Miss Roosevelt and Doctor Derby has been a romance of the saddle. They were very much in each other's society last summer - and autumn

[554] Ibid., p.411.

[555] Ibid.

[556] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, March 9, 1913.

> at open-air horse shows. Together they applauded the polo at the Meadow Brook and Rockaway clubs and at the Piping Rock Country club at Locust Valley. They rode to the Meadowbrook hounds during the past autumn, they laughed together at the gymkhana games at the Rockaway Hunt club on Labor Day and at the Piping Rock Country club in October. And their friends, seeing how intensely interested Miss Roosevelt and Doctor Derby were in each other, made sure to invite them to the same house parties on Long Island.[557]

Edith took care of the wedding preparations and she decided on the date, April 4. On Friday, April 4, at twelve o'clock, at Christ Church, Oyster Bay[558], TR Roosevelt escorted his daughter Ethel, "the dearest girl I know,"[559] to the altar. "Strong, straight, clean and gentle," groom "with a very tender and sympathetic heart,"[560] Doctor Richard Derby, as appeared on the wedding invitation, was waiting impatiently as the father and the daughter moved slowly, smiling at the overcrowded seats at both sides of the aisle.

With 500 invited guests inside the church, and nearly that much uninvited outside, Ethel Roosevelt's "apple blossom wedding"[561] was the most favored social gathering in the spring of 1913. Oyster Bay's cornet band, in blue and white uniforms, was playing "My Sweetheart"[562] outside of the church, where "all the children, hundreds of them,"[563] and the neighbors were gathering to see the bride in her "ivory white

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[557] "Saddle Won Fiance" *Cambridge Sentinel* Volume 10, Number 19, March 8, 1913, p.7.

[558] TRC – ERDP - Ethel Roosevelt Derby's Wedding Invitation.

[559] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, February 14, 1913.

[560] Ibid.

[561] "Ethel Roosevelt: Wife of Doctor Richard Derby," *The San Francisco Call,* April 5, 1913, p.2.

[562] Ibid.

[563] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, April 4, 1913.

satin gown with a bodice draped with Venetian lace in a surplice effect."[564] Ethel, under the "long white tulle veil fastened with orange blossoms," with "a shower bouquet of apple blossoms and gardenia,"[565] on her hands, seemed as happy and sweet as possible. According to TR, his "Ethely bye kins" never looked prettier. And, Dick was "as gallant, tender, and loving a bridegroom as ever stepped."[566] "Dick has a treasure," wrote TR to Kermit when Ethel and Dick got engaged in February. And, TR added, "he knows it too, he is in the seventh heaven of delight."[567]

The "pink and white" wedding continued with a big reception at Sagamore Hill, as the bride put it, the "place we loved so dearly."[568] After the reception was over, the young couple left for a three-month European honeymoon. TR, very proud of both the bride and the groom, wrote Richard, he and Edith thought "it about the nicest and most satisfactory marriage of which we ever heard."[569] And, he, wholeheartedly, wished for the lovely young couple's happiness; such a happiness himself and Edith had been sharing since they married.

TR's first letter to her "Ethely bye kins" was dated three days after the wedding. It says:

> We didn't know whether to laugh of to cry, to be more glad or more sorry, when blessed little Mr. Dick Derby, and dear Dick, closed the chapter in their

[564] "Ethel Roosevelt: Wife of Doctor Richard Derby," *The San Francisco Call,* April 5, 1913, p.2.

[565] Ibid.

[566] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, April 4, 1913.

[567] Theodore Roosevelt Papers Microfilm Collection-Library of Congress, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, February 14, 1913.

[568] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Harriet K. Shapiro Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby, 1976.

[569] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Richard Derby, April 7, 1913.

> and our lives and opened the new one thereby. Well, you were the dearest engaged couple that ever was; and I believe you'll be, with the exception of mother and myself, the happiest married couple… just as mother symbolizes everything to me, so you'll always symbolize everything to Dick. Well it was the very nicest, the best arranged and most attractive and most enjoyable wedding I have ever seen.[570]

3.4.1. Ethel and Dick's Honeymoon: Another Grand Tour of Europe, 1913

As her parents TR and Edith did, Ethel and Dick had an extended honeymoon, traveling in Italy, France, Britain, and Scotland for four months in 1913. On April 6, 1913 they left New York on a transatlantic liner of Hamburg American Line. In the morning, as they were steaming down the harbor, Dick wrote his mother-in-law Edith, that Ethel looked "very dear and so pretty and cunning in her little pink hat."[571]

An old lawyer McCarter and his wife, Mr. Maxwell, the representative of the Ricordo Italian Opera Promoter House in New York, Mrs. Black, the wife of a Hot Springs doctor, Mr. and Mrs. Chisholm, Lancia automobile importer, Mr. Metzger, the German Consul from Cincinnati, who studied Italian with Ethel and Dick were their company on board. They sat around the table after dinner until late in the evenings, and she told her mother she "had a perfectly un-chaperoned feeing with them,"[572] Other times, Ethel and Dick read a good deal and talked a whole lot –

[570] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt Derby, April 7, 1913.

[571] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Richard (Dick) Derby to Edith Kermit Roosevelt, not dated (probably April 6 or 7, 1913.)

[572] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Ethel Roosevelt Derby to Edith Kermit Roosevelt, April 10, 1913.

mostly about their wedding, which both thought as "the nicest wedding that ever was."[573]

In this very first letter to her mother, Ethel mentioned the severe headaches Dick was having from time to time, and how she had been worried about him. She had recognized Dick's headaches while they were engaged, however, as she confessed her mother, she could not talk about them with Dick, who was "so reserved, and hadn't spoken of himself for so long," and "that it was hard to begin."[574] But, their time together on board helped create stronger and more intimate bonds. They sat on the deck and watched the moon "shine on the great waves,"[575] and talked in German, French, and Italian. "It is perfectly splendid now," she wrote, Dick had been "so wonderfully good to the little Black Cat and we have such good times."[576]

Their European honeymoon, as Ethel wrote her mother, included a considerable number of cities in Italy, and some major cities in France and Great Britain: She said,

> …we get to Naples Saturday the nineteenth…preparing to go to Sicily Monday evening…go to Capri, Sorrento & around Naples the Rome – probably not for long…take a motor up to Florence – stopping everywhere we can. Of course I would like to go to Viterbo, Perugia, Urbino, Siena… We want to go to all the places around Florence. Pistoria, Lucca, then Genoa – probably by carriage like father & you. Porto Maurizio & how long depends on how D is. We'll do a great deal of walking and live outdoors. Then Milan & Venice! Stopping on the way if we have time at Mantua, Verona & Padua. We'll then probably take the train to Bellino. Perhaps stay for a while at Cortina – then take train directly for Paris. We haven't an idea when we get there! There isn't any reason we should. After Paris, London, perhaps motor

[573] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, April 10, 1913.

[574] Ibid.

[575] Ibid.

[576] Ibid.

> up to Scotland. We may leave out Ireland; perhaps just go up to Edinburgh, which D loves.[577]

Their first stop was Madeira, an island group in southwest Portugal. Ethel was quite proud of herself that unlike the others on board, she and Dick did not act as tourists in Madeira. They "rambled off through the towns and its slums,"[578] did not encounter any tourists -a fact Ethel drew special attention to- and climbed to a hotel in the mountains to have their lunch, which was "most delicious."[579] As they spent more time together, Ethel started feeling that Dick was very much like Kermit that "sometimes I felt I must be with Kermit… we like all the same things."[580]

"Evidently Dick is even more than all we were sure he was!" wrote TR when he read Ethel's letter. He continued, "I really believe you are going to be just as happy as darling mother and I have been. Well, it's a wonderful thing to be able to have," quoting from Robert Browning's *Home Thoughts from Abroad*, "'first fine careless rapture', and also the companionship of fun and humor, and the liking for the same things."[581]

On April 19, they reached Naples, where they stayed in a "heavenly room over the bay"[582] at the Excelsior Hotel. They arranged a maid, in Ethel's words "a treasure," to unpack their baggage, to do the laundry, and to "take wonderful care of" Ethel, in

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[577] Ibid.

[578] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, April 14, 1913.

[579] Ibid.

[580] Ibid..

[581] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt Derby, May 1, 1913.

[582] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, April 19, 1913.

general, who thought, "it was such a delightful feeling to have her; it just makes all the difference."[583]

After Naples, approximately on April 21 or 22, as she wrote to her mother, Ethel and Dick traveled to the autonomous region of Italy, Sicily. Their first stop was the capital city of Sicily, Palermo, the "delightful city." She expressed admiration for the mosaics of Cappella Palatina (Palatine Chapel,) and for the sunset they watched after climbing the Monte Pellegrino. Ethel loved this Mediterranean city, the home to a wealthy culture, history and architecture so much that she noted that they could move to Agrigento only "after reluctantly detaching ourselves from Palermo."[584] Before driving down the island to Agrigento, they visited an Ancient Greek temple, Doric Temple, in Segesta. According to Ethel, "it was the very most beautiful thing I ever have seen."[585] Ethel used a colorful pictorial language while describing the road they took from Palermo first to Segesta then to Agrigento to her mother:

> High mountains, distant glimpses of Tyrrhenian Sea, valleys with masses of flowers, hillsides of bright pink orchid looking things, masses of yellow and orange daisies, every variety of blue from darker than gentian to a pale pale summer sky blue, a peasant's plink house and a flock of sheep against the sky…[586]

And, referring to Pan, an ancient Greek god of the wild mountains, meadows, forests (nature,) and of the shepherds and hunters, Ethel, in the context of the Greek Temple

[583] Ibid.

[584] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, April 27, 1913.

[585] Ibid.

[586] Ibid.

on one side and Sicilian wild and beautiful nature on the other, felt "any moment you expect to see Pan coming along and you hear the 'mocking laughter.'"[587]

They arrived at Agrigento in the afternoon of April 26 and right away visited the seven ancient Greek temples in the city. Ethel, generally during her European visits, disliked the existence of flocks of tourists surrounding the historical sites in the cities she was visiting. She believed the side of tourists was ruining the historical ambiance. She felt the same in their visit to the Valley of the Temples in Agrigento. The temples did not seem "so impressive at first, because one drives right up to them and there are tourists around."[588] But, she commented, "they are extraordinarily beautiful," and "marvelous."[589] Both Ethel and Dick read the history of Sicily as they visited new historical sites, and Ethel's observation was concise, that Sicily with its architecture and history, was "utterly Grecian,"[590] a fact she had never realized before.

By the evening of April 28, they arrived at Syracuse, and the next morning they moved towards Catania first, Taormina next. In Catania, Ethel commented, they did an Etna Mountain trip and it was very worthwhile. While talking about Catania, she mentioned they read Marion Crawford's *Corleone – A Tale of Sicily*, which was "most picturesque,"[591] and Selma Lagerlöf's *The Miracles of Antichrist*. For

[587] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, April 27, 1913. A Book of Myths, Jean Lang, p. 214, 225.

[588] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, April 27, 1913.

[589] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, May 3, 1913.

[590] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, April 27, 1913.

[591] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, May 3, 1913.

Taormina Ethel wrote "there are no words to tell you what it is."[592] After lining up various detailed and fancy descriptions of historical sites and landscapes of Taormina, Ethel confessed, "everything is hyperbole in this letter but I really cannot help it."[593]

Though it was hard leaving Taormina, Ethel and Dick continued exploring Sicily and Italy, the mainland, and accelerated the number of spots in their honeymoon itinerary. From Taormina they motored to Messina. And, in Messina they got on a boat and sailed to the mainland, Italy, to Naples one more time. While staying in Naples, they visited Capri and Pompeii, which Ethel found lovely, and a close metropolitan city of Naples Sorrento, which she thought was a "terrible place."[594] At Capri, they met American painter Charles Caryl Coleman at his studio to have lunch. From Sorrento, they traveled a bit south and reached first at Amalfi then at Ravello, which according to Ethel was "the most heavenly place I have ever been."[595] They stayed at a small room with a big balcony and an open fire, and enjoyed the dark sky full of stars. While she was writing about the nights they spent at this balcony she referred to Bliss Carman's poem *The Yule Guest*: "…when the lights were out we watched 'the goblin firelight caper upon the wall' and the starts looked straight in on us."[596]

By May 10th they arrived at Rome, "the Eternal city," which Ethel thought "always" gave her "a thrill to come to." They hurried to the window of the car in order to

[592] Ibid.

[593] Ibid.

[594] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, May 6, 1913.

[595] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, May 9, 1913.

[596] Ibid.

catch "the first glimpse of it much as we used to do coming back the hill for the first glimpse of Sagamore."[597] Despite the painful headaches Dick was having constantly, they were having great time. Ethel did have lots of time to think about what she wanted to do as a married woman when she would be back in New York and decided to do some "social work." As Dick told her more about his work, it became "more and more absorbing"[598] to Ethel. She wrote Edith that "there is such a tremendous opportunity to do a great deal and I do feel that having seen and heard so much of the social service work will be a great help."[599] Dick's work was among the very poor, she claimed, and thought to "connect in that way with the Progressive Service Bureau."[600] TR was encouraging her in his letters: "You are quite right in thinking that your touch with social settlement work will be of immense use in enabling you to understand and help with Dick's work."[601]

By the time they traveled to Florence, Dick was feeling better. Ethel was quite happy that,

> Dick was free (absolutely) from pain for the first time in months. It is the first day that he's felt well all day long and I am much encouraged. I want to keep him over here until he is easy to get back to work and feel keen and fit and able to cope with anything.[602]

[597] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, May 11, 1913.

[598] Ibid.

[599] Ibid.

[600] Ibid.

[601] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt Derby, May 22, 1913.

[602] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, Undated (May 16, 17, 18, 19) 1913.

They loved Florence and felt they could stay there a little longer. However, Dick's headaches became severe again that in the letter Ethel wrote on May 26 she told her mother they changed the whole honeymoon plan due to Dick's illness. They went to Aunt Emily's villa in Porto Maurizio to rest for a while. "Dick hasn't been so awfully well" she wrote, "and he has decided that he'll have his nose operated on over here and put off sailing until the end of August."[603] Dick wrote St. Luke's Hospital if they would object their stay in Europe until the end of summer. Ethel mentioned Dick's strong attachment to St. Luke's, so if St. Luke's objected this plan, they would not carry it on and would return home. Ethel observed that Dick was very happy to stay in Europe longer than planned. Dick's being content actually worried Ethel a bit, since she knew that he was such an ardent worker and if "he isn't keen to go work again,"[604] wrote Ethel, he really considered having the operation in Europe was necessary. Ethel asked her mother to come to Italy, visit them at Aunt Emily's villa and company Ethel during Dick's convalescence. After the operation Ethel was planning to take Dick to Venice for a while and to "a tiny mountain place like Varallo"[605] (Varallo Sesia, Province of Vercelli, Italy) until Dick became well again. The rest of the spots in their honeymoon itinerary were now shaped according to Dick's convalescence. Ethel wanted to stay in Paris for sure, so they did not change their Paris plan but extended their stay at Scotland, where they would "settle down at some little place" and Dick could "have all the Golf, tennis and fishing that he wants."[606] And, during their time at Porto Maurizio

[603] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, May 26, 1913.

[604] Ibid.

[605] Ibid.

[606] Ibid.

Ethel insisted on Dick's accompanying her every morning swimming in the Mediterranean and sitting under the olive trees and watching the blue sea, so that his headaches could lessen. She wrote repeatedly "I cannot help out dread having the operation but am sure it is really the wisest thing to be done."[607]

About the end of the first week of June they left Porto Maurizio for Milan, Venice, Cortenia and finally Berne, where Dick would have the nose operation under a recommended doctor, Dr. Linan's performance.[608] None of her letters written after June 2 mentioned if Dick did have a nose operation or not. The next letter dated July 13, and was written from Paris, where they were staying at Hotel de Crillon. She described her "very French" experience to her mother, and she sounded happy:

> We spent yesterday afternoon in the Luxembourg gardens and denied at the Sour d' Cerqeut and had Command presse which is the most filling thing. Walking back we found a ball going on the street – quaint jiggly times with a real French crowd enjoying themselves to the full. Little children whirling around together, potty and spritely mother spinning bewildered and delighted children, young seamstresses dancing together and nice French couples. It really was the most picturesque thing I've ever seen.[609]

Her next letter was from Ireland – Garlant's Hotel at Suffolk Street, and titled in bold letters "Private," telling: "Little Black Cat isn't very well but she doesn't mind at all and you mustn't either for it means a great deal of happiness for herself and Dick."[610] She learned that she was pregnant and told her mother this news was "so very sacred to Dick and me and so very new that we don't feel we want anyone

[607] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, May 31, 1913.

[608] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, June 2, 1913.

[609] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, July 13, 1913.

[610] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, July 17, 1913.

except you to know."[611] They stayed two weeks in Scotland, during which both rested "in the open air all the time."[612]

The "social services" job Ethel wished to get involved in occurred in spite of many difficulties. She was pregnant; Dick was working hard and in the meantime still from time to time having severe headaches; and she was experiencing some discomfort during her pregnancy, which occasionally caused her to stay in bed whole day. In some weeks she had to live "an invalid's life and only going out in the afternoon with Dick."[613] She wrote;

> The only reason that I do resent being ill for so long is that it prevents me doing so many many things. I really don't mind about feeling ill but it is so very hard not to be able to go up to the hospital with Dick and see some of the children – things that I can so easily help with ordinarily and where I'd really be useful"[614]

However, she was determined to start at some point. She wrote Edith the details of the "social service" she and Dick was considering to launch in St. Luke's, the hospital Dick was working as a surgeon:

> I am very much interested in the Social Service work of hospitals. Dick and I have great fun trying to find out about it. I mentioned it to Dr. Lambert and he was just the person as he is on both boards at St. Luke's and Bellevue and Mrs. Lambert works there. So as soon as I can I am going down there with her. It is a wonderful thing and we'd rather put our money directly into that for it is not charity, it is helping the efficient and disabled man while he is disabled and looking after the children of the mother who is in the hospital and whose anxiety over them is retarding her recovery. The Social Service worker follows up all dispensary cases and as Dick is chief of clinic that's what we have keen to start first. Apparently there is not such a need at St. Luke's and

[611] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, July 17, 1913.

[612] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Dick to EKR, July 17, 1913.

[613] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, October 13, 1913.

[614] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, November 17, 1913.

> they haven't gone into that side at all. So I am going to Bellevue where it runs wonderfully and learn all I can and perhaps gradually we can work it in at St. Luke's.[615]

She started attending hospital board meetings with Dick at St. Luke's, and worked as an ardent fundraiser for the "S.S. nurses,"[616] as she called them. She wrote Edith "we've decided to get a social service nurse for St. Luke's and I am trying to get $900 for her salary."[617] This was the starting point of her "social service" mission in her life. At the time, she did not know that in less than a year she would be running in the wards of a hospital on the other side of the Atlantic, and would run a career in Red Cross for the last sixty years of her life.

[615] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, October 16, 1913.

[616] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, November 10, 1913.

[617] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from ERD to EKR, November 5, 1913.

CHAPTER IV

AN AMERICAN PRINCESS IN PARIS DURING THE GREAT WAR: ETHEL ROOSEVELT IN L'AMBULANCE AMERICAINE DE NEUILLY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines Ethel's experience of the First World War by focusing on her association with the American Ambulance in Neuilly, which was founded and directed by the American expatriate community in Paris. Ethel's wartime journal and letters illuminate the daily life of a member of the American upper class, one who joined her French counterparts in supporting the voluntary organizations in Europe in 1914. By emphasizing her voluntary involvement in the humanitarian efforts in Paris, this chapter argues that, through their relief activities, American aristocrats served both diplomatic and philanthropic agendas. In this regard, this chapter claims that by establishing an American hospital for the relief primarily of French combatants, American aristocrats demonstrated the already existent American sympathy towards the Allied powers long before the United States officially entered

the war on their side. And, Ethel's becoming a part of this movement constituted a climatic point in her lifetime.

"I think all the great things that happen to you do change your life, but changed me is what you mean? That's what it did."[618] So said Ethel to Harriet Shapiro during an interview in 1976. She was referring to her experience during the First World War, volunteering as a relief worker in American Ambulance in Neuilly-sur-Seine, France, *L'ambulance Américaine de Neuilly*, between September 1914 and December 1914. In her cousin P. James Roosevelt's words, Ethel's service in American Ambulance was "the genesis of 57 consecutive years of Red Cross titles and offices."[619]

4.2. American Expatriate Community and the Formation of American Ambulance in Neuilly-Sur-Seine, Paris, France

In late August 1914, a New Yorker, war correspondent Edward Alexander Powell volunteered to go first to Belgium and then to other sides of Europe to cover the Great War. Powell witnessed the fall of Antwerp, a Belgian city, to Germans on October 10, and wrote down his first account of the Great War, *Fighting in Flanders*. After German army's taking control of neutral Belgium, he decided to continue covering the ongoing war in different fronts. His next destination was France, where he observed the war conditions in detail. In his book *Vive La France!*, aside from the battle scenes and the brave soldiers living in the trenches, he devoted a chapter to the

[618] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Harriet Shapiro's interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby in 1976.

[619] P. James Roosevelt, *Ethel Roosevelt Derby, 58th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association* (The Text for the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal Ceremony), (October 28, 1977), p.3.

long "course of a wounded man from the spot where he fell to the final hospital."[620] One of these "final hospitals" he was informed of during his observation was a benevolent one, the one ex-U.S. President TR Roosevelt's daughter Ethel was heading to on September 26, 1914: the American Ambulance in Neuilly. He decried the news of this American directed hospital at the center of the war to all over the world with these words in his book *Vive La France!*:

> No account of the work of caring for the wounded would be complete without at least passing mention of the American Ambulance, which, founded by Americans, with an American staff and an American equipment, and maintained by American generosity, has come to be recognized as the highest type of military hospital in existence.[621]

The foundation of the American Ambulance Powell praised in his book was predicated on another American humanitarian act of much earlier than the Great War, of the siege of Paris between 1870 and 1871. Until the validation of the propositions Geneva Convention of 1864 offered, the wounded soldiers in any battle fought in Europe could not be easily treated; and the idea of a voluntary society acting impartially to help the needy and the wounded was not considered workable. A Genevan philanthropist Gustave Moynier; the President of the Geneva Society for Public Utility, with other "high minded Genevan pietists, men of affairs who sought to improve both the moral and the material lives of the common people,"[622] effectuated the idea of voluntary relief societies in 1863. On February 17, 1863 Moynier and his friends founded the International Committee for the Assistance to

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[620] Alexander Powell. *Vive La France* (London, 1916), p.223.

[621] Ibid., p.231.

[622] John F. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross* (Boulder, 1996), p.21.

Sick and Wounded Soldiers, and intended to be considered an example to other European states.[623] In order to propagate their idea, the committee invited European states to a conference held in Geneva, in October 26, 1863. The committee's proposition mainly stated that each state should form or encourage her people to form relief societies, which could help the needy and the wounded people in the time of the war and be considered neutral while doing this. The conference ended with a resolution of ten articles, which on the whole espoused the establishment of national relief committees, whose members were protected by the neutralization principles while taking care of the wounded; and the adoption of a common "distinctive uniform or badge" worn by the members of these committees in order that their neutrality be assured.[624]

Immediately after the October 1863 meeting of the International Committee for the Assistance to Sick and Wounded Soldiers, national relief committees started forming in all over Europe. However, the validity of the articles debated and agreed upon during the 1863 meeting still needed verification. In this regard, Swiss Federal Council decided to gather European states, and the United States, Mexico and Brazil in a diplomatic congress held in Town Hall, Geneva, in August 1864. The Swiss Federal Council organized this diplomatic conference on the grounds to establish integrity on the conditions of the wounded soldiers in the field. On August 22, after two weeks of debates on relief committees and their conditions and rights during the times of war, the conference was closed with a negotiation on a convention for the relief of the wounded and the protection of the medical facilities established during

[623] Ibid., p.23.

[624] Ibid., p.31.

the state of warfare. Neutrality of the medical personnel and the medical institutions was the foremost founding article of the convention.

When Prussian forces besieged Paris on September 19, 1870, neither the French Army medical corps (the Service de Sante) nor the French Society (Societe de Secours aux Blesses des Armees de Terre et de Mer) were organized enough to treat the wounded. It was in this context that the American expatriate community of Paris decided to found the American Ambulance, and work for the relief of the wounded. Promptly after France declared war on Prussia, the American International Sanitary Committee of Paris was established through the efforts of Dr. Thomas Witberger Evans and twenty-five other expatriate Americans living in Paris. Dr. Evans was a prominent American dentist living in Paris. He believed that the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 "offered the first great occasion for the exercise of international sympathy and assistance."[625]

The main goal of the committee was to be the "direct agent of American charity in behalf of the victims of the war." On the third day of the declaration of the war, on July 18, 1870, the American International Sanitary Committee of Paris held their first meeting with the intention of establishing an American Ambulance[626], which would provide, in Evans' words,

> the improved methods of treating the wounded, whose results, as illustrated by the experience of the "United States Sanitary Commission" and the American

[625] Thomas W. Evans, *Sanitary Associations During the Franco-German War of 1870-1871 Vol 1 – History of the American Ambulance: Established in Paris During the Siege of 1870-71, Together with the Details of Work Its Methods and Its Work* (London, 1873), Preface.

[626] In French, the word "ambulance" is used to mean both a motor vehicle and a military hospital. Dr. Evans used the word "ambulance" in the meaning to connote a military hospital.

> Government, I had been endeavoring for many years to bring to the knowledge of the friends of sanitary reform throughout the world.[627]

The committee members, who were all American expatriates, decided to keep the American Ambulance independent of either the French government or the French army. On September 17, 1870, the American-run ambulance, which was prepared with the funds the members collected from the expatriate Americans in Europe, opened its doors to the wounded soldiers. The hospital received patients during the siege of Paris, until early 1870[628] with full capacity. In contrast to other hospitals treating the wounded soldiers in Paris, "observers applauded the American ambulance's tents and wagons, organization, clean environment, and medical success."[629] While writing the history of the American Ambulance in 1873, Dr. Evans pointed out the celebrity of the American ambulance as this;

> Few organizations for the relief of the wounded during the late war, acquired a more noble celebrity than the American ambulance. As an expression of international goodwill, it at the time secured for itself the gratitude of the French people. As an expression of earnest personal effort, of the courage and generous devotion of compatriots, it cannot soon be forgotten by Americans. As an expression of modern sanitary science, however, it has been chiefly valued, and probably will be longest remembered, by all.[630]

In the time, they were unaware that forty-four years later their brave attempts of building an American military hospital in a foreign land, and maintaining it during

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[627] Evans, History of the American Ambulance, p.1.

[628] Gregory Seltzer, *Organized Efficiency in a Disordered Medical Setting: The American Ambulance in Besieged Paris, 1870-71* (M.A. Thesis, University of North Carolina Wilmington, Department of History, 2009), p.76.

[629] Ibid., p.93.

[630] Evans, History of the American Ambulance.

the war time, would encourage another group of American expatriate colony to establish one of the most prominent benevolent military hospitals in Europe.

In his autobiography, Myron Timothy Herrick, the American Ambassador to France between 1912 and 1914, described the 1914 formation of the American Ambulance in these words: "In government affairs a precedent is always useful as a provision against the chance of criticism, and we had one in what concerned our Ambulance."[631] In 1914, inspired by the successful philanthropic and humanitarian act of a few American men and women during the siege of Paris nearly half a century before, the American expatriate community in Paris decided to establish a military hospital for the wounded soldiers, whose number was increasing every day. War correspondent Edward Alexander Powell mentioned the humanitarian intentions of the American colony of Paris as follows:

> Americans in Paris, inspired by the record of the American Ambulance in 1870, and foreseeing the needs of the enormous number of wounded which would soon come pouring in, conceived the idea of establishing a military hospital for the treatment of the wounded, irrespective of nationality.[632]

There was one American hospital already extant in Paris in 1914 when the American community decided to establish a relief society and consequently a military hospital. This was the American Hospital of Paris, founded in 1910 with a vote by the U.S. Congress and the approval of President William Howard Taft, and which was incorporated with the United States Federal Charter in 1913.[633] This federally

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[631] Bentley Mott, *Myron T. Herrick: Friend of France – An Autobiographical Biography* (New York, 1929), p.135.

[632] Powell, Vive La France, p.232.

[633] The American Hospital of Paris, Annual Report 1925 in Dorothee Legard, *American Hospital of Paris, 1906-2006: L'aventure d'un siècle = A Century of Adventure* (Paris, 2006), p.5.

authorized hospital became the American community's initial institution, and without delay the idea of a military hospital met with a positive response among the doctors and the board of the American Hospital of Paris, who decided to organize the American Ambulance under the provisions of their four-year-old charter.

Charles Inman Barnard, who was working as the Paris correspondent of the *New-York Tribune* when the First World War broke out, wrote down his views of the "new Paris" "with the idea of recording, day by day, the aspect, temper, mood, and humor of Paris," and published them immediately in 1914.[634] His observations—which covered the time period between August 1 and September 16 of that year—included the formation of the Ambulance. As Barnard wrote, Herrick, the American ambassador to France, was acting as the chief coordinator and fund-raiser of the ambulance to be organized. As in 1870, the news of the formation of an American military hospital spread quickly among the expatriate Americans in Paris, who constituted the main branch of fund-raising. According to historian Merle Curti, Herrick "was instrumental" in gathering "well-to-do Americans in Paris to shoulder responsibility for contributing or for obtaining from friends in the States" the necessary amount of money to found the American Ambulance.[635] Herrick's foremost success was to direct the already existing flow of charity derived from Americans who wished to be involved in private giving for public purposes, and to then channel it into the foundation of the Ambulance. In Herrick's presence, the Board of Governors and the doctors of the American Hospital of Paris met on August 3 and 4 to discuss the needs of a military hospital.

[634] Charles Inman Barnard, *Paris War Days: Diary of an American* (Boston, 1914), p.vii.

[635] Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History* (New Brunswick, 1963), p.229.

The news of the organization of the American Ambulance in Paris spread very quickly. Only two days after the August 4 meeting, "twelve physicians and surgeons and twice that number of nurses"[636] volunteered to collaborate with the medical board of the American Hospital of Paris in their humanitarian mission of mitigating the sufferings of the wounded combatants. From among the medical personnel of the American Hospital of Paris, Dr.s Edmund Gros, A.J. Magnin, and Robert H. Turner comprised the first group to volunteer to work at the Ambulance. Dr. Charles Winchester Dubouchet, the chief surgeon at the American Hospital of Paris, became the Chair of the Medical Board of the Ambulance.[637] One last name among the first group of the Medical Board of the Ambulance—according to what Barnard penned in his diary—was "Doctor Joseph Blake, of New York,"[638] who was the reason behind Ethel and Dick's sailing to Europe.

Besides the financial aid and medical assistance from American expatriates, one other recognized and essential donation to the Ambulance came this time from the War Ministry of France.[639] At a meeting held in the American embassy on August 12, the ministry, appreciating the American concern for French wounded combatants, donated the unfinished building of a school, the Lycée Pasteur, to the Board of Governors of the American Hospital of Paris. American Ambassador Herrick was certainly the leading actor behind French Government's donation of the school building. As Ethel would write down her war diary, "Mr. Herrick, whom the

[636] Barnard, Paris War Days, p.48.

[637] Charles Glass, *American Hospital of Paris: Brave Volunteers and Heroes of the Resistance* (2014), p.7.

[638] Barnard, Paris War Days, p.48.

[639] Legard, American Hospital of Paris, p.25.

French will give anything, has been such a master spirit."[640] Apart from the unfinished and empty Lycée Pasteur building, everything needed for the formation of the ambulance and for the necessary professional assistance was supplied by Americans themselves. The French army chaplain Félix Klein, who was "a man of generous culture, and an author of note,"[641] stated the following in his memoir:

> [T]he whole thing is kept up by the charity of Americans; it was the Administrative Council of their hospital in Paris that from the beginning of the War took the initiative in the work. The Colony living in France itself gave almost the whole of the half-million francs subscribed during the first month. New York and the cities of the United States came in later … [642]

Every member of the American community in Paris "worked, subscribed, and got others to give to the hospital."[643] Ambassador Herrick emphasized the American colony's dedication to the ambulance with a comparison: "They [i.e., Americans] must enlist in the service of this hospital just as soldiers enlist to go to the front, and not leave Paris in case of a siege but remain at their posts."[644] By August 1914, as described by Jeannette Watson—the wife of Dr. Samuel Newell Watson, who was the dean of the American Church of the Holy Trinity in Paris and the chairman of the

[640] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914, November 21, 1914.

[641] Samuel N. Watson. *Those Paris Years: With the World at Cross-Roads* (New York, 1936). http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/Watson/ParisTC.html#TC

[642] Abbe Felix Klein, *La Guerre vu d'une Ambulance*, M. Harriet M. Capes (trans.) (Paris, 1915), p.76.

[643] Curti, American Philanthropy Abroad, p.229.

[644] Mott, Myron T. Herrick, p.134.

American Ambulance Committee[645]—the school building was literally not finished, and certainly not ready to be used as a hospital:

> There were no doors and no windows in the unfinished building. Heaps of plaster lay everywhere and it all looked very forlorn. Mr. Charles Carroll joined us and he and my husband decided on the location of the offices—and so the great work was begun.[646]

Another member of the American community in Paris during the First World War was Arthur Gleason, a journalist and social reformer, who witnessed the transformation of the Lycée Pasteur school building into a military hospital. According to Gleason, the work done for this transformation was handled in a method very "American in its executive efficiency."[647] "In eighteen days … when workmen had been called to the colors, when money was unobtainable, transportation tied up, and Germany pounding down on Paris,"[648] the building was completed enough to be able to receive patients, with a capacity of 3 wards and 175 beds. The French army chaplain Félix Klein alluded in his memoir to the preparations made for the wounded in the Lycée Pasteur building:

> Operation and radiography wards, pathological laboratory, room for dentistry, sweating-rooms, isolation rooms, kitchen, linen-room – everything is brought to the highest point of perfection. Big motor-cars, furnished with stretchers and mattresses, are only waiting for a signal to go to fetch the wounded. We have already two hundred and fifty beds; the number increases every day and may come to five or six hundred.[649]

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[645] Alan Allbright, "American Volunteerism in France: The Development of Relief Work, In and Out of War", in *Exhibition Catalog of 1853–1947 The Americans of the Legion of Honor* (Musee National de la Cooperation Franco-Americaine, 23 June–18 October 1993).

[646] Jeannette Grace Watson, *Our Sentry Go* (Chicago, 1924), p.39.

[647] Arthur Gleason, *Our Part in the Great War* (New York, 1917), p.17.

[648] Ibid.

[649] Klein, La Guerre vu d'une Ambulance, p.76.

American Chamber of Commerce in Paris, an important sign of the transatlantic camaraderie, set up in 1894 with a purpose to facilitate the business operations between American and French interests[650], was one of the initial institutions in Paris helping the Ambulance committee's fundraising efforts. On August 18, the Chamber sent an appeal to the mayors of Galveston, Texas; San Francisco, California; and Dayton, Ohio – the three cities "that Americans in Paris had supported with generous donations"[651] after the natural disasters they had gone through in the previous years, asking for "five hundred thousand dollars, needed by the American Ambulance Hospital organized under American Hospital of Paris and independent of Red Cross."[652] The response was quite positive so the chamber sent the appeal to other metropolitan mayors too.

On August 29, 1914, "the first General Order for the Ambulance was issued," and it was "signed by Samuel N. Watson as Chairman of the Executive Board of the Ambulance Committee."[653] On September 1 the Sanitary Authorities of the French Army inspected the Ambulance and formally agreed to authorize the Ambulance to receive the wounded.[654] In the first week of September, "when the Germans were at Compiegne, barely 50 miles away, and the French government moved to

[650] Arthur Higbee, "The History of the Paris American Chamber of Commerce," in Hubert Bonin and Ferry de Goey (eds.). *American Firms in Europe 1880-1980: Strategy, Identity, Perception, and Performance* (Geneve, 2009).

[651] Charles Glass, American Hospital of Paris, p.8.

[652] Ibid., p.9.

[653] Watson, Our Sentry Go, p.42.

[654] Annual Report, 1915 for American Ambulance Committee, http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/AmHosp15/ahp1915.html

Bordeaux,"[655] the American Ambulance opened its doors to the first wounded soldier. On September 7 "the Board of Governors of the American Hospital of Paris"[656] transferred all the responsibility of the military hospital to the American Ambulance Committee, and on September 14, "the first report was sent out"[657] by this committee. This report was an informative one, declaring that the American Ambulance in Neuilly, as of September 14, 1914, had received 90 patients. These patients included 25 British, 42 French, and 2 German soldiers, with the remaining 21 being a group of Algerian, Tunisian, and Moroccan soldiers.[658]

This informative report distressed the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Ambulance Committee, Samuel N. Watson, when he saw it. Since the American Ambulance was an auxiliary hospital, not a military one, the Ambulance Committee should not have been accepting any wounded soldier of the Central Powers, instead, according to orders from the headquarters of the Service de Santé, sending them to the Val-de-Grâce hospital. Nevertheless, the report served as official evidence that the American Ambulance, by treating two German soldiers, was not obeying the orders of the French government. Furthermore, Watson learned from the head officials at the hospital that these German soldiers had been brought by "Mr. Robert Bacon, former Ambassador to France, who was one of the most devoted workers in and for the Hospital"; and "that the Military Attaché of the Embassy came with him; and that the men were brought in the Ambassador's car."[659] Every single character in

[655] James R. Judd, *With the American Ambulance in France* (Honolulu, 1919), p.10.

[656] Barnard, Paris War Days, p.183.

[657] Watson, Our Sentry Go, p.42.

[658] Ibid., p.49.

[659] Samuel Newell Watson, *Those Paris Years: With the World at the Cross-Roads* (New York, 1936). http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/Watson/ParisTC.html#TC

the development of this incident made the incident itself more mysterious and intriguing, according to Watson.

Years later, in 1919, Herrick enlightened Samuel N. Watson about why two German soldiers had been accepted at the hospital. According to Herrick, United States Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan was worried about the prevailing state of the American Ambulance in respect to American neutrality, insofar as the U.S. government had adopted a policy of strict neutrality. Upon learning about Allied soldiers being taken to the hospital to be treated, Bryan told Herrick that this was a clear sign of American interference in the war, and that he was not happy with such a situation, which conflicted with the American policy of neutrality. Bryan reminded Herrick that the U.S. Congress had granted the American Hospital of Paris federal status in 1913, and that consequently any charter of the American Hospital of Paris—which was now the American Ambulance—was also under the authority of Congress. Supporting a military hospital that treated Allied soldiers only was a "non-neutral act,"[660] Bryan told Herrick, and could not be tolerated. Bryan even intimidated Herrick by stating that the U.S. Congress would have to "revoke the Charter of the American Hospital"[661] in order to preserve American neutrality. Having read Bryan's cable, Ambassador Herrick states as follows:

> I made up my mind to take no chances on what the demonstrations of an ultra-neutral Administration might result in, so I said to my Military Attaché, "I

[660] Watson, Those Paris Years.

http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/Watson/ParisTC.html#TC

[661] Watson, Those Paris Years.

http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/Watson/ParisTC.html#TC

would like to have a couple of wounded German soldiers in our Ambulance at Neuilly; can it be managed?"[662]

When Herrick subsequently received the first report of the American Ambulance, including the number of wounded German soldiers being treated there, he cabled Bryan: "Hospital neutral; have German wounded."[663] Preserving the political neutrality or non-belligerent status of the nation was an obligation for Herrick as the U.S. ambassador to France. However, the ability to help the war effort in Paris by gathering sufficient money, personnel, and most importantly the ambition and determination needed for such a humanitarian mission was not a part of Herrick's interpretation of neutrality. An ardent Allied supporter, Herrick could not risk a Francophile-American establishment—which would be great relief for French combatants—by refusing to take German wounded, and so he did so peacefully.

4.3. "Derbys Off For Warzone"[664]: Ethel Roosevelt and Dr. Richard Derby Sailed for France

At about 10 o'clock, on September 26, 1914 while Ted and James Lloyd Derby were waiting at the dock of New York harbor, R.M.S. *Olympic* started its engines. Since the Great War began in Europe at the end of July 1914, Olympic had been carrying many Americans from Europe back to the United States. And, it never returned to

[662] Watson, Those Paris Years.

http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/Watson/ParisTC.html#TC

[663] Watson, Those Paris Years.

http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/Watson/ParisTC.html#TC

[664] *New York Times*, September 27, 1914.

England without any passengers since American citizens who wanted to be involved in the war as voluntary workers were crowding every ship sailing to the Old World.

This was one of the last commercial voyages of Olympic during the war years since German submarine attacks would be a serious trouble to be considered soon, consequently about mid-October 1914 the White Star Line would stop all the commercial voyages of its ships. At this voyage, besides the French delegation, a group of English men and women, and the reservists, the passengers of the R.M.S. Olympic included two of the Roosevelt children: Ethel Roosevelt Derby with her husband Dr. Richard Derby, and Kermit Roosevelt with his wife Belle Willard Roosevelt were traveling on the notoriously massive Olympic.[665]

Kermit and Belle, who had been married for only three months, were sailing first to England then to their final destination, to South America to build their new life. They were traveling with "John H. Allen and his staff, who are going to Buenos Aires from Liverpool by the Royal Mail steamship Amazon to open branches of the National City Bank in Argentina and Chile."[666] Kermit was going to be the Assistant manager of the National City Bank's Buenos Aires branch.

Ethel and Dick embraced a totally different mission in sailing to Liverpool on the same voyage with Kermit and Belle. Approximately sixty years later of this voyage, Ethel would simply tell writer Harriet Shapiro that: "Dr. Blake cabled my husband and said could you possibly come. So we went and it was wonderful."[667] Actually

[665] Harlan & Wolff Heavy Industries had built three ocean liners for the British shipping company, White Star Line in the early twentieth century. They were Olympic, Titanic, and Britannic. Olympic was the oldest of these three sister liners of White Star Line.

[666] "Derbys Off For War Zone", *New York Times*, September 27, 1914.

[667] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Shapiro - Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby, 27.

this very short explanation was the core truth. Dr. Joseph Augustus Blake, who was a surgeon from New York, was the actual reason to Ethel and Dick's travelling to the Old World at the very beginning of the war. Dr. Blake was administering the American Ambulance in Neuilly, France in August 1914. When the hospital started receiving wounded, about the first week of September 1914, the crew of the hospital included "fifteen American surgeons living in Paris and twenty more as a relay."[668] Instantly after the German attacks became fierce around Paris, and the number of the wounded accelerated day by day, Dr. Blake "appealed for six American surgeons to aid in caring for the wounded,"[669] and Richard Derby was one of the first in responding his call. For a young and ambitious surgeon like Dick, who was working at both St. Luke's Hospital and at the Ruptured and Crippled Hospital in New York, the voluntary job at a military hospital in France was an opportunity not to be missed. He was quite sure that he would gain professionally from this experience. Dick knew Dr. Blake from St. Luke's Hospital, and from Roosevelt and Presbyterian Hospitals, where Dr. Blake was a "full attending surgeon at."[670] After their work together at the ambulance, for Dick, "gifted and resourceful surgeon"[671] Dr. Blake became "the one American surgeon whose work stands out above that of any other,"[672] and Dick would be quite content to have worked with him and learned from him during their time at the Ambulance.

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[668] *The Washington Herald*, October 18, 1914, p. 10.

[669] *The Day Book*, September 25, 1914, p. 11.

[670] *Annals of Surgery: A Monthly Review of Surgical Science Since 1885*, 1938 October, 108(4): 791-797, 792.

[671] *Annals of Surgery: A Monthly Review of Surgical Science Since 1885*, 1938 October, 108(4): 791-797, 792.

[672] Richard Derby, *Wade in Sanitary: The Story of a Division Surgeon in France* (New York, 1919), p.28.

The following day of their voyage, on September 27, New York Times announced that "formerly Miss Ethel Roosevelt", with her surgeon husband, sailed to Europe, under the title of "Derbys Off For War Zone:"

> Dr. Richard Derby of St. Luke's Hospital, one of the seven surgeons who left for Europe yesterday on the Olympic to join Dr. Joseph A. Blake in the American Hospital service in Paris, was accompanied by his wife, who was Miss Ethel Roosevelt… The other physicians were Drs. Dugdale, Rogers, Corry, Blanchard, Jablons, and J. P. Hoguet.[673]

And, on September 28, French newspaper *Le Figaro* publicized Ethel's embarkation for France, to offer her service to American Ambulance in Paris.[674]

As Ethel recalled, accompanying the singing of the R.M.S. *Olympic*'s last siren, the stewardesses on the deck were murmuring two songs; the British song *It's a Long Way to Tripperary*, which would be considered one of the popular songs of the war among the soldiers in the post war period, and *God Save the Queen*, the British national anthem. Holding the telegraph Quentin Roosevelt sent from Groton, Massachusetts, saying "Best of good luck to you and Dick. Be sure and come back safe and sound by Christmas,"[675] Ethel thought that everything was quite different from the previous year, when Ethel and Dick were sailing to Europe for their

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[673] "Derbys Off For War Zone", *New York Times*, September 27, 1914.

[674] *"La seconde fille du président Roosevelt, Mme Derby; c'est embarquée hier à New York pour offrir ses services au corps d'ambulance américaine de Paris."* "Le Monde & La Ville," *Le Figaro*, September 28, 1914, p. 4.

[675] TRC, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Letter from Quentin Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt Derby, September 25, 1914.

honeymoon. In her journal she penned that, "already there is an atmosphere of war in the air – a certain tenseness, which is impossible to describe."[676]

Beside the atmosphere, White Star Line's ship itself was also quite different from Hamburg American Line's transatlantic liner, which had taken Ethel to her dreamy honeymoon in 1913. The war conditions were highly adapted by the White Star Line Company. Starting promptly with the declaration of war, German U-boats attacked numerous British cruisers. The shipping companies making commercial trips crossing the Atlantic were cautious about these German submarine attacks. And, R.M.S. *Olympic*, as Ethel described in her journal, was ready to confront the enemy. All its deck windows were painted black, there was a thick canvas over the portholes, and very few lights were turned on during the night. Another passenger of R.M.S. *Olympic*, a Harvard law student, Clarence V. Mitchell, also wrote a very similar description of the ship in his letter to his father on September 26, 1914: "we are running with all deck lights out, ---windows, portholes and doors painted black and canvas over the ship's lights, etc. No side lights are on and only one head light."[677]

Apart from Dick, there were five more surgeons and a pathologist registered to work in the American Ambulance Hospital in Neuilly, and traveling together with the Derbys in R.M.S. *Olympic*. They were Drs. Rogers, Blanchard, Corry, Dugdale, Hoguet, and Goblin, the last whom Ethel described as "a clever looking little Jew, who is not long back from the Balkan War."[678] Among them, Dr. Hoguet and his

[676] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - September 25, 1914.

[677] Clarence V. Mitchell, *With a Military Ambulance in France 1914-1915* (Privately Printed, 1915). http://www.ourstory.info/library/2ww1/Mitchell/cvmTC.html#TC

[678] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - September 25, 1914.

wife were the ones the Derbys spent most of their time with during the voyage. Both in her journal and in the letters sent to her mother, Ethel mentioned about the couple Hoguets as "nice people,"[679] with whom they talked in French to practice their French before they reached Paris. Dr. Hoguet and Dick actually knew each other long before this benevolent mission they were up to. Dr. J. P. Hoguet graduated from Harvard Medical School, one year later than Richard Derby, in 1904. They both earned their profession from Columbia University, College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1907, and were members of the Omega Club of the College of Physicians and Surgeons.[680] Dr. Hoguet was working at St. Luke's Hospital with Dick when he decided to accept Dr. Blake's offer of this voluntary work.

Both the Derbys and the Hoguets had heard about the newly founded American Ambulance from Dr. Blake, and they had both read about the condition of Paris under the threat of a possible German occupation. Sufficient information about the work of the hospital, the seriousness of the German threat, and the living conditions in wartime Paris, besides this most superficial news they received from Dr. Blake, was still though resting in darkness. For Dr. Hoguet and Dick, this lacking information was not a big trouble; they would eventually perform their profession as well as they could at the hospital. Having no clue about the kinds of help needed at the hospital or in Paris in general kept Ethel and Mrs. Hoguet anxious though. On September 29, on the deck, Ethel wrote her first letter to her mother. Drawn with ambiguity due to the serious decision of leaving her six-month-old baby to her

[679] TRC - ERDP - Letters from Ethel Roosevelt Derby to EKR, September 29, 1914.

[680] *Catalogue of Members of the Omega Club of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York* (March 1914), p.41.

parents, and of involving in a war, which she had very little knowledge about, Ethel wrote,

> I cannot help worrying about the work that is ahead of Dick, but I will be firm with him if it is too much… If anything happened to both of us, will you look after our little beloved one? … Don't worry; we'll come flying home soon. We'll be very careful, I hope I shall be able to help too.[681]

"Being able to help too" was Ethel's chief concern. However, she was doubtful about how she would be of service to the humanitarian organization of the American expatriate community in Paris. All she could do during the voyage was practicing her French with Mr. and Mrs. Hoguet. From what she wrote on her journal on the second day of the voyage, it was quite clear that far before reaching any close to the real war and its atrocity, Ethel was very much aware of what she would witness. She wrote:

> We talk of what we shall do in Paris & really know so little. I feel strongly that we must do something that really helps – something like looking after the convalescents for example. Imagine the desolation that must exist among them. Their families may be scattered. How are they to find them? How will they support themselves?[682]

At the night of October 1, on board, Ethel and Dick with Kermit and Belle attended a concert, which was organized in the memory of the widows and orphans of the war. For Ethel, who had left her six-month-old baby to her parents, the concert signified homesickness, a longing for her baby, and a symphony of "words, which bring a child to the heart of every wife and mother."[683] Affected by the emotional appeal of

[681]TRC - ERDP - Letters from Ethel Roosevelt Derby to EKR, September 29, 1914.

[682] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - September 27, 1914.

[683] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 2, 1914.

the concert's theme, she observed the "good boyish faces of"[684] the reservists present at the concert hall. She could not help but wonder "where they would be called to go and what seemed to face."[685] While Ethel was lost in these thoughts, the song, in Ethel's words, the one "we had all been waiting for" started playing, *La Marseillaise*; the national anthem of France. A French officer performed it, and

> the way he sang made one realize that here was the spirit of France – that France which willingly gave of its all to Napoleon… When he came to *Aux armes, citoyens*[686] he sprang forward and then everyone came in with the chorus.[687]

The enthusiasm *La Marseilles* evoked among the passengers of the R.M.S. *Olympic* immediately erased the depressive atmosphere in the concert hall.

For the Derbys, seven days long voyage on board passed with French practicing with the Hoguets, and reading the recently published books, *The Secrets of the German War Office*, by Armgaard Karl Graves, and *Problems of Power: A Study of International Politics from Sadowa to Kirk-Kilisse*, by WM. Morton Fullerton. Full time preparation for the war and its probable conditions was enriched with the bulletins Ethel and Richard received. Through these bulletins, sent to the captain of the R.M.S. *Olympic*, they could learn about German zeppelins' dropping bombs on Paris, and killing more civilian everyday.

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[684] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 2, 1914.

[685] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 2, 1914.

[686] In English, it means; "to arms, citizens."

[687] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 2, 1914.

On October 2, around 5:30 in the morning, R.M.S. *Olympic* landed at Gourock Bay, the closest bay to Glasgow. As Clarence V. Mitchell, another American passenger on the R.M.S. *Olympic*, also wrote in his letter to his father, they were "opposite Queenstown"[688] now. Immediately upon arrival, Ethel and Dick visited the American Consulate of Glasgow. American Consul, John Nives McCunn, whom "father had promoted to Glasgow from Dunfermline and who consequently was eager to do all that he could" informed them on the evolution of the war, and on the wounded group of the English soldiers at Glasgow Hospital. In her journal, Ethel had mentioned about an unknown "Mr." who left a portable organ to the R.M.S. *Olympic* for Ethel, whom "he hoped, would take it to the hospital and there play it to the wounded."[689] After seeing the soldiers at Glasgow Hospital, Ethel decided to leave "the organ" to these wounded soldiers, who, she thought, "will appreciate it"[690] so much. Then, with Kermit and Belle they took a car to London.

On the way to London, Ethel wrote on her diary, "all we saw soldiers, but not other signs of war."[691] London welcomed them with a dull but memorable atmosphere of the war. In Clarence V. Mitchell's words, London was,

> …quite the deadliest place I have ever been in on a Sunday. The only signs of life were the speakers in the Park. There is a recruiting tent there…All the shops have war pictures pasted in the windows, and some of them have fragments of German shells exposed, with sarcastic and patriotic comments thereon. I saw a lot of soldiers marching through the city and uniformed volunteers swinging along and singing "Your King and Your Country Want You,"---which is the great tune here…. Searchlights are mounted on the top of

[688] Mitchell, With a Military Ambulance in France http://www.ourstory.info/library/2ww1/Mitchell/cvmTC.html#TC

[689] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - September 27, 1914.

[690] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 3, 1914.

[691] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 3, 1914.

Hyde Park gates, and a couple of light guns.[692]

There was actually one very clear and important sign of war Ethel and Dick encountered, which attracted their attention more than anything Mitchell recorded in London: the traffic across the Channel was stopped for the moment, and according to the information they received they would not be able cross the Channel in the following two days. Upon this information, they decided to visit Kermit's mother-in-law, Mrs. Willard at Hotel Ritz, and saw Kermit and Belle one more time before they left for the main continent. At Hotel Ritz, in Ethel's own words, Ethel and Dick "brought our father's party here," and encountered Mr. Robert Bacon, who was the Secretary of State at the last days of Theodore Roosevelt administration, and the American Ambassador to France between 1910 and 1912, and left Paris not long ago to raise financial aid to the American Ambulance Hospital.

As the dispute started in Europe, Robert Bacon, who "was restless at home," left the United States on August 26, 1914[693] to witness the events in Europe and "to help where he could."[694] When he reached London, he immediately crossed the Channel for Paris, and he stayed with his friend, the American Ambassador Myron T. Herrick, who "needs all the moral support and as many aides as possible for he is not only the one ambassador remaining in Paris but is acting also for Germany, Austria,

[692] Mitchell, With a Military Ambulance in France
http://www.ourstory.info/library/2ww1/Mitchell/cvmTC.html#TC

[693] "*M. Robert Bacon, ancien ambassadeur des Etats-Unis en France, qui avait quitte New York en aout dernier pour se rendre a Paris, et de la a Londres, est de retour de puis avant-hier aux Etats-Unis*." "Le Monde & La Ville: Dans Le Ambassades," *Le Figaro*, November 4, 1914, pg. 3.

[694] James Brown Scott, *Robert Bacon: Life and Letters* (New York, 1923), p.203.

and partially for the British Embassy."[695] Bacon encountered an abandoned Paris in early September when he arrived at the city. Upon recommendations of the French Army Commander-in-Chief Joseph Joffre, French Government had left the capital and moved to Bordeaux on September 3. However, American Embassy was still stationed in Paris. With Ambassador Herrick, Bacon decided to work at the Embassy while he was observing the German military offensive, and was feeling that "Paris is in danger, and I cannot leave Herrick until such danger is honestly believed to be passed."[696] Herrick's decisive standing in Paris, representing the goodwill of the American public, encouraged Bacon to serve his assistance both to his fellow people striving to help, and to the people of Paris. When he would be leaving Paris on November 4 for the United States, he would express admiration of Herrick's endeavoring to stay in Paris being under the threat of a stiff resistance, and of course, of American Ambulance's reputable success among the soldiers of Allied powers.[697]

Bacon had already become a fierce supporter of the American Ambulance promptly as he learned about their honorable mission when he was still at the United States. When the Board of Governors of the American Ambulance received the use and the control of Lycee Pasteur building from the French Government, they promptly engaged in fundraising. One of the first people they contacted in the United States was Robert Bacon, and they asked him "to undertake the work of raising sufficient

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[695] Letter from Robert Bacon to Mrs. Robert Bacon, September 6, 1914, see: James Brown Scott, *Robert Bacon: Life and Letters* (New York, 1923), p.206.

[696] Ibid, p.208.

[697] *"Il a rendu le plus vif hommage a son successeur actuel en France, M. Myron Herrick, ajoutant qu'il était impossible de louer suffisamment le travail et l'effort de l'éminent ambassadeur, dans les circonstances les plus ardues. Il a fait également l'éloge de la très belle organisation de l'ambulance américaine a Paris, organisée avec une compétence éclairée et justifiant amplement le beau renom qu'elle s'est fait."* "Le Monde & La Ville: Dans Le Ambassades," *Le Figaro*, November 4, 1914, pg. 3.

funds to carry out the project and to interest American physicians and surgeons."[698] Bacon with his wife committed himself to this cause before he had moved to Paris. And, upon his arrival at Paris, Bacon acted as a conduit for financial donations from both the American colonies in Europe and the American citizens in the homeland. The first group of doctors, the Harvard University Unit, to serve at the American Ambulance Hospital was "recruited upon the initiative"[699] of Bacon.

Aside from his being a fund-raiser for the American Ambulance, Robert Bacon himself was one of the most prominent donators. He "got a number of automobiles to take the wounded from the field." Quite similar to other American volunteers and donators of the hospital, he did not leave the main stage and watch the battle as a spectator. He drove one of these automobiles[700], went to the battlefield, got the wounded French soldiers, sometimes supplied them with tobacco and cognac, and carried the wounded to the American Ambulance, especially during the Battle of Marne. That was the man, who knew the real conditions out there in the trenches; the man, who told Ethel and Dick about this reality during their short meeting at Hotel Ritz in London in October 3, 1914. Ethel recounted what she learned from Mr. Bacon, and this recount of the concrete picture of the war prepared Ethel for the world she would be living in for the next three months.

> Mr. Bacon looks as if he had been living through the inferno – he told us almost unbelievable things. The armies are locked in a death grip – lined up in long trenches, cold, wet, starved – with the Germans opposite. We believe in much the same condition…. The British Army… were it not for there the Germans would practically possess France. A proclamation to the German troops from the Kaiser found on the field - … our imperial command to our

[698] Scott, Robert Bacon, p.212.

[699] Ibid.

[700] Ibid., p.210.

> army to first destroy the contemptible little British army. Between the Germans and English there is an unbelievable black hatred – they detest each other. The Germans say scornfully that the English fight like gentlemen… One of the great difficulties of dealing with the wounded comes from the fact that the Germans deliberately fire on Red-Cross ambulances and men… The wounded can only be picked up at night & it is always difficult, often impossible to find them…[701]

Besides the German army's barbarism in the battlefront, and the hatred between England and Germany, which was constantly fueling this barbarism, Bacon informed Ethel and Dick about the American Ambulance. He commented on the fact that both the French and the British governments praised the hospital, which had a 400-bed capacity at the moment, and that the hospital needed more financial aid to increase this capacity. And, to fulfill this aim, Bacon sent his wife, who was the chairman of the American Committee of the American Ambulance, a cable informing her about the situation, which Ethel thought Edith and TR would hear soon.

On October 5 at last, the Derbys crossed the channel from Newhaven to Dieppe, where a group of men commissioned by Ambassador Herrick to take the American surgeons and their families heading to the American Ambulance, welcomed them to France. Reaching at Paris, Ethel was surprised with the darkness of the city, which was the city of lights as she remembered from her extended honeymoon travel. As the car passed through the dark and silent streets of Paris, Ethel could not help recalling the night she and Dick spent last summer. In Paris, in mid July 1913, after a very traditional French dinner, which was "canard a la presse" (pressed duck,) near Luxembourg Gardens, Ethel and Dick took an evening walk back to Hôtel de Crillon at Place de la Concorde. They ran into,

[701] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 3, 1914.

> a ball going on the street, jiggly tunes with a real French crowd enjoying themselves to the full, little children whirling around together, mothers spinning bewildered, delighted children, young seamstresses dancing together and nice French couples…[702]

On July 13, 1913 Ethel wrote her mother that this scene was "the most picturesque thing I've ever seen."[703] While remembering that scene, dark Paris became quite disturbing for Ethel. As she wrote on her journal, it was not her alone, but everyone in their group that "could hardly believe we were reaching Paris, it was so dark, hardly a light to be seen – only the great swap of the search lights – hunting for aero planes," which Ethel found not beneficial at all. Clarence V. Mitchell, who arrived at Paris only four days later than Ethel and Dick, and was appointed ambulance driver at the American Ambulance made a note of "war-like" Paris by comparing it to London:

> ---hardly any lights at all and you see only three or four people to the block after eight o'clock. In the Place Vendôme only three stores are open, and only one out of ten or twelve on the Rue de la Paix. Rumplemayers, Paquin, Cartiers, are all closed and in nearly every case you see signs up reading "Le Patron est sous-officier avec le régiment de ligne."[704] Maxim's, Voisin's and a few hotels still run half-heartedly, but nearly all of them are shut down on account of the staff having gone to the war.[705]

[702] TRC - ERDP - Letters from Ethel Roosevelt Derby to EKR, July 13, 1913.

[703] TRC - ERDP - Letters from Ethel Roosevelt Derby to EKR, July 13, 1913.

[704] "Le Patron est sous-officier avec le régiment de ligne" is translated in English as "The Boss is NCO – non-commissioned officer – with the regiment of the line"

[705] Mitchell, With a Military Ambulance in France. http://www.ourstory.info/library/2ww1/Mitchell/cvmTC.html#TC

And, in Hôtel de Crillon at Place de la Concorde, in which Ethel and Dick had stayed during their honeymoon, Mitchell wrote her father that, "there is a long tablet on the wall surmounted by a German helmet and two broken German rifles, and on which written "Rôle d'Honneur." Beneath are the names of the hotel employees who have gone to war."[706]

Without losing any time, immediately next day, on October 6, Ambassador Herrick's wife Mrs. Herrick took Ethel and Mrs. Hoguet to the Ambulance. Ethel was amazed with the effort the American colony had put in transforming the school building into a hospital, and also with the volunteers' pride and contentment on their faces while telling about it. She summarized the transformation as this:

> The government turned over the Lycee Pasteur to the Board of Managers of the American Hospital – They got beds, all the thousand necessary things - cleaned out the rooms, plastered, painted, got Dr. Blake and Dr. Boucher and then they got the wounded. It is running splendidly now.[707]

Instantly after she witnessed "the shortage of nurses"[708] in the hospital, and with a little encouragement from Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, Anne Harriman Vanderbilt[709], the second wife of William Kissam Vanderbilt, who "has been doing

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[706] Mitchell, With a Military Ambulance in France. http://www.ourstory.info/library/2ww1/Mitchell/cvmTC.html#TC

[707] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 7, 1914.

[708] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 8, 1914.

[709] Anne Harriman Vanderbilt was not the only Vanderbilt devoted to various humanitarian missions and to the financial assistance to the Allied powers. Her husband William Kissam Vanderbilt contributed financially the Lafayette Escadrille (established in April 1916, and disestablished in February 1918,) an authorized United States squadron with American volunteer pilots. One of the founders of the Lafayette Escadrille was Dr. Edmund Louis Gros, an influential member of the American colony in Paris and a prominent surgeon of the American Ambulance. William K. Vanderbilt's daughter, Consuelo Vanderbilt, who was by marriage the Duchess of Marlborough, "founded a 300 bed hospital for British wounded." She donated her home to the War Office to be run

extraordinary work, practically running the hospital,"[710] Ethel decided to be involved in this humanitarian act as a nurse[711] at the dispensary of the hospital with Mrs.

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as a military hospital. Consuelo's cousin Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt financed generously the British Prince of Wales Fund, which aimed to help the families of the British soldiers both in the United States and in Britain. Another member of the Vanderbilt family who was engaged in the humanitarian assistance in Europe was Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, wife of the prominent American businessman Harry Payne Whitney. Getrude offered to finance a hospital under the direction of the Ambulance Committee in November 1914. The hospital was organized in Juilly, a nearer point to the military operations, and it started receiving wounded in February 1915 under the supervision of American Ambulance Committee. As asserted in 1915 Annual Report of the American Ambulance, Juilly Hospital was "in the same class as the American Ambulance in equipment and general facilities for the care and comfort of the wounded." See: John Branden Little. *Band of Crusaders: American Humanitarians, the Great War, and the Remaking of the World, Ph.D. Dissertation* (University of California, Berkeley, Department of History, 2009), "American Fliers Shine at Verdun," *New York Times*, August 24, 1917, Annual Report, 1915 for American Ambulance Committee, http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/AmHosp15/ahp1915.html

[710] TRC - ERDP - Letter from ERD to EKR, October 8, 1914.

[711] By the 1890s nursing became professionalized in the United States, and the profession of "trained nursing" attracted American women to the hospital training schools for formal training. In 1860, Florence Nightingale established the training school for nurses at St. Thomas's Hospital in London, and it took thirteen years for the Americans to follow Nightingale's example. In 1873, "the first three American Nightingale schools for nurses opened in connection with the hospitals in New York, Boston and New Haven," which offered 2 years training. Although these schools were pioneers in elevating American nursing from a vocation to a profession, the systematic professionalization of American nursing occurred in 1890s. The creation of Johns Hopkins Hospital Training School for Nurses in 1889 with Isabel Hampton as its superintendent did start this process by "relating the patient care to medical teaching and research," and by involving the nurses in "a community of science" with the medical doctors. By 1890, there were "35 training schools" in connection with hospitals in the United States, and their number increased to "432" in ten years, and by 1909 there were "1096" of them. See: "Nursing History: Looking Backward and Seeing Forward," Joan E. Lynaugh, 10-24, and "Isabel Hampton and the Professionalization of Nursing in 1890s," Janet Wilson James, 42-84 in Ellen Davidson Baer, ed., *Enduring Issues in American Nursing* (New York, 2002).

Neither Mrs. Vanderbilt nor Ethel was doing trained nursing in the American Ambulance. Because there was a shortage of professionally trained nursing staff, volunteer nurses with and without formal training were welcomed in both British and American Red Cross. In the British Red Cross hospitals though, the volunteer nurses were organized under the group of Voluntary Aid Detachments, who had to receive Red Cross lectures and had to pass Red Cross examinations before assigned to a hospital as volunteer nurses. As was the case in both British and American Red Cross hospitals-dispensaries during the war, trained nurses, who were licensed professionals, carried out the technical duties, while untrained or partially trained volunteer nurses helped them with less technical medical tasks in the American Ambulance. In the 1915 Annual Report of the American Ambulance, the women with no or partial nursing training, rendering their assistance to the Ambulance, were called "auxiliary helpers," "assigned as assistants to the trained nurses in the wards." Marie Van Vorst, a popular American author, volunteered as a nurse at the American Ambulance during the same period with Ethel. At first, Vorst started preparing bandages in the bandage room at the Ambulance with other fifty women, and went to the wards when help needed. Later on, Vanderbilt assigned her to the infected wards under the supervision of a "head nurse," a matron who was a licensed professional. Because Vorst had taken Red Cross lectures and examinations, which partially trained Voluntary Aid Detachments – volunteer nurses in London, Vanderbilt thought that she was qualified enough to nurse the most infectious patients under supervision. Ethel had never received such training, and eventually she did not work in the infected wards. Ethel was assigned to work in some of her husband's wards and she wrote about the infectious cases they had been receiving, but in general the patients she was dealing with at the wards were not infectious cases. There were cases similar to Ethel's and Vanderbilt's not in Great

Vanderbilt. Seeing the "friend of France," the "social leader," the "founder of Neuilly Ambulance," Mrs. Vanderbilt, in her white nurse uniform organizing all other nurses in the wards amazed Ethel.[712]The New York Tribune's Paris correspondent Charles Inman Barnard had described Mrs. Vanderbilt as the "good angel" of the hospital after his visit on September 15:

> Mrs. Vanderbilt wore the white Red Cross uniform. Half concealed about her neck was a double string of pearls. Rose-colored silk stockings were tipped with neat but serviceable white shoes, and in its attire she seemed to impersonate the presiding 'good angel' of the hospital.[713]

It was in one of those early October days that President of France, Raymond Poincare visited the American Ambulance. *Le Figaro* publicized this event under the title *L'après-midi du Président*.[714] American Ambassador Myron T. Herrick with all the doctors and nurses of American Ambulance welcomed Poincare.[715] Ethel's desire to help the hospital visited by Poincaré encouraged her to accept Mrs. Vanderbilt's invitation immediately. In the letter she penned at the evening of that

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Britain but in Russia, Belgium and Romania during the First World War (Grand Duchesses Olga and Tatiana of Russia, Queen Elisabeth of the Belgians, and Queen Marie of Romania.) Some noble ladies, queens or princesses donned nurses' veils and worked in the war hospitals. For Mary Van Vorst's experience of the First World War see: Marie Van Vorst, *War Letters of an American Woman* (New York, 1916). For Allied and American nursing during the First World War see: Christine E. Hallett, *Veiled Warriors: Allied Nurses of the First World War* (Oxford, 2014), Alison S. Fell and Christine E. Hallett, (eds.), *First World War Nursing: New Perspectives* (New York, 2013), Clara Noyes et al., *The History of American Red Cross Nursing*, (New York, 1922), Jennifer Casavant Telford, "The American Nursing Shortage during the World War I: The Debate over the Use of Nurses' Aids" *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, Volume 27:1, 2010, Nursing During the First World War: redcross.org.uk/WW1, American Committee, *The American Ambulance Hospital in Paris, Annual Report 1915*, (New York, 1916).

[712] "Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt Dies; Social Leader, Friend of France," *New York Herald Tribune*, April 22, 1940.

[713] Barnard, Paris War Days, p.221.

[714] "L'après-midi du Président," *Le Figaro*, October 8, 1914, p. 1.

[715] *"Il s'est rendu ensuite a l'ambulance organisée dans le locaux du lycee Pasteur, par la colonie américaine. Il a été reçu par M. Herrick, ambassadeur des Etats-Unis, et par les médecins attachés à l'établissement."* "L'après-midi du Président," *Le Figaro*, October 8, 1914, p. 1.

day, she told her mother "we need money so badly – for we have all the wounded we can care for and many more we can not take… Everyone in France and England thinks it is an extraordinary and splendid thing and it had given the Americans a standing which nothing else could have."[716] In *Our Part in the Great War*, Arthur Gleason quite effectively explicated this "standing" as follows:

> This work of the hospital, the train, the motor ambulance, is doing away with the shock and hurt of our aloofness. These young Americans, stretcher-bearers and orderlies, surgeons and nurses, drivers and doctors, are unconscious statesmen. They are building for us a better foreign policy. It is a long distance for friendly voices of America to carry across the Atlantic. But these helpers are on the spot, moving among the common people and creating an international relationship, which not even the severe strain of a dreary aloofness can undo. Our true foreign policy is being worked out at Neuilly and through the war-cursed villages … [717]

Arthur Gleason's interpretation demonstrates that humanitarianism constituted a type of foreign policy during the First World War, and that the humanitarian activities of the American Ambulance amounted to an alternative -in Gleason's words: "better"- foreign policy favoring the Allies during the period of official neutrality. American expatriates in Paris denounced Woodrow Wilson's support of neutrality from the very beginning. According to them, the United States should fight along with the Allied powers, for the Allied cause. This expatriate community and the elite Americans supporting the Ambulance and other humanitarian programs aiming at civilian relief were ardent Francophiles ashamed of being Americans owing to Wilson's policy of impartiality. The state representative and American Ambassador Herrick, was the primary figure involved in centralizing the idea of American relief as a substitute for American military power. Robert B. Bruce, in his book *A*

[716] TRC-ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, October 6, 1914.

[717] Gleason, Our Part in the Great War, p.33.

Fraternity of Arms, claimed Herrick was an "avid Francophile"[718] and "personally longed for America to enter the war at France's side."[719] An anecdote from his ambassadorship period in France portrays this very well. A group of young American expatriates visited Herrick during the first months of the war and asked if they had a right to enlist in the French army. Herrick recalled that moment as "one of the most trying in my whole official experience,"[720] and continued, "I wanted to take those boys to my heart and cry, 'God bless you! Go!' But I was held back from doing so by the fact that I was an ambassador."[721] He read them the duties of neutrals, but he saw in their eyes that they did not come to his office to hear about these duties. He "brought [his] fist down on the table saying, 'That is the law, boys; but if I was young and stood in your shoes, by God I know mighty well what I would do.'"[722] He was a statesman, and so obliged to follow Wilson's impartiality. To Herrick, however, American relief seemed quite reconcilable with the state's neutrality, and, in addition, the American Ambulance could serve as an agent of the French war effort through the successful treatment of French soldiers, who would then return to the battlefront.

4.4. Ethel Roosevelt Derby Became A Nurse at the American Ambulance

> *We saw the long ambulance trains, those "rivers of pain," running back from the lines; we saw strong men sobbing like children with pain; we saw them crippled, dying; we saw their women struggling alone against poverty and anxiety, pale women with that tragic look in their eyes that comes with sleepless nights, and unshed tears; we have seen the little children crying for that fathers' love that they will never know again. All these things are the necessary routine of*

[718] Robert B. Bruce, *A Fraternity of Arms: America and France in the Great War* (Lawrence, 2003), p.3.

[719] Ibid., p.4.

[720] Mott, Myron T. Herrick, p.144.

[721] Ibid.

[722] Ibid.

war. We have seen, and we can never forget.[723] *– K. K. and M. E. H. (Nurses at American Ambulance, 1914)*

On October 8, Ethel went to the hospital with Dick, and "after various wondering"[724] Mrs. Vanderbilt led her to a needy soldier and she helped her "to dress the ambulatory cases."[725] At the night of her first hospital day, she wrote on her journal "I didn't stay nearer than necessary – got the men ready and finished them off afterword. It was a work I can legitimately do. I have a real little white uniform and a bonnet."[726] Now, she had become an American nurse, in her white uniform and a bonnet on her head, helping the wounded soldiers, and repeating to herself that "you mustn't lose a minute, there are so much to be done."[727]

The hospital board had given a division to Dick's responsibility, and Ethel was nursing the wounded soldiers in the dispensary and in some of the wards of Dick's division. Ethel was proud of the efficiency of the Ambulance and started feeling more and more attached as she and Dick started working there as a couple. Wanting her New York entourage to hear about the voluntary work American expatriates were doing, she sent her mother an article on the American Ambulance published in the September 21, 1914 issue of *Le Figaro*. The article, called "*Pour Les Blessés: Une Oeuvre Américaine*" [For the Wounded: An American Achievement][728] and written

[723] K.K. and M.E.H., "Experiences in the American Ambulance Hospital, Neuilly, France," *The American Journal of Nursing* Vol. 15, No. 7: 549-554, p.554.

[724] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 8, 1914.

[725] Ibid.

[726] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 2, 1914.

[727] TRC - ERDP - Letter from ERD to EKR, October 8, 1914.

[728] "Pour Les Blesses: Une Oeuvre Américaine," *Le Figaro*, September 21, 1914, p. 2. For the English translation of the article, see: http://www.ourstory.info/2/a/AA2b.html

by Emile Berr, the editor of *Le Figaro*, illuminated the story of the American Ambulance. Berr's account of the hospital's success, and his respect for both the American colony in Paris and American citizens donating from overseas, rather astonished Ethel. Sending the article, she told her mother to show it to the other family members, who could help the hospital financially, and focused on how seriously the hospital needed financial support with these words: "it seems terrible to have money stand between you and saving life."[729] Ethel was quite conscious of the "strict censorship our papers [French papers]"[730] had been subject to since the beginning of the war, and she often noted down that they saw "no unfavorable news"[731] in the papers. Emile Berr's article praising on the Americans for their efforts to help the French was an example to French papers' pro-Allied propaganda, and Ethel was quite acquainted with this pro-Allied message this article was giving when sending it to the United States. Ethel's sending Emile Berr's article to her mother to distribute among the aristocratic and wealthy class of Americans was actually very similar to American pro-Allied writers' (for instance Henry James and Edith Wharton) writing and publishing books on wartime conditions in France and Belgium. Both appealed for support for the Allied-cause in general and a charitable cause in particular.[732]

[729] TRC-ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, October 6, 1914.

[730] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914, October 17, 1914.

[731] Ibid.

[732] Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver, 1987), p.59.

The article starts, "It is really more than an achievement; it is, in a sense, a masterpiece that we are about to contemplate."[733] By focusing on the American community's assuming full responsibility for the rearrangements made in the Lycée Pasteur building, on the efforts of the American colony and their families and friends in the United States to collect financial aid, and on the medical personnel of the hospital, Berr's article presented a fine summary of American voluntary aid to France. Throughout the article, Berr highlights one particular point that he witnessed in the hospital with a good deal of wonder: the fact that those who mobilized and engaged in the volunteer action for the treatment of wounded soldiers in Paris "are indeed of the élite, an incomparable group, at the head of which figure sixteen physicians and surgeons, some of whom are of great renown."[734] Sensitivity to the old tradition of charity led the American colony to make "the appeal to their compatriots in Paris and in the United States," and in five weeks this appeal, as Berr indicated, "produced six hundred thousand francs. They say: 'we want three millions, and they will surely get them."[735]

Berr states that under the direction of the sixteen physicians was a group of eighty nurses, more than thirty of whom "hold diplomas; these are professionals of recognized capacity, and nearly all come from excellent American families."[736] "The others" Berr continues,

> are volunteers, ladies and young women of the American colony in Paris whose generosity, elegance and cordiality…Without the slightest trace of

[733] The English translation of the *Le Figaro* article, "Pour Les Blesses: Une Oeuvre Américaine" http://www.ourstory.info/2/a/AA2b.html

[734] Ibid.

[735] Ibid.

[736] Ibid.

> coquetry, with smiling faces, but with the utmost attention to their tasks, they move from place to place ministering to the needs of the helpless victims of this atrocious war, attending scrupulously to the most humble duties, which fall to them. Some, unknown to me, were pointed out, but others I recognized, and among them were some of the queens of American society in Paris.[737]

This was much like Ethel: an American citizen but not an ordinary one, she was the daughter of a former president and a "princess" in the Roosevelt dynasty, whose members had played prominent roles in trade and the real estate business in New York for more than two centuries, ever since the first Roosevelt, Klaes Martensen van Roosevelt, "the forefather of a long line of merchants," arrived at New Amsterdam in 1644.[738] Berr states that some members of this group of voluntary workers with non-professional responsibilities, such as distributing food to the wards, making beds, or giving baths to the soldiers, the last of which was the first thing to be done as soon as a soldier was accepted to the hospital for treatment, belonged to wealthy prominent families and worked as orderlies at the Ambulance. For instance, in her war journal, Ethel talked about a noble man, "Count Orloff, our millionaire orderly" working with devotion and "always with a kind word for everyone" at the Ambulance.[739] In the report of the operations of the Ambulance too, it was stated that the Ambulance maintained regularly an important staff of orderlies, who "carried out much heavy work which could not be reasonably demanded from the nurses."[740] They were, as presented in the report, "in ordinary life occupying important positions in the artistic, professional and commercial world,

[737] Ibid.

[738] Roosevelt, The Autobiography, p.1.

[739] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914, October 17, 1914.

[740] http://www.ourstory.info/library/2-ww1/AHPrecords.html Transcribed from Samuel N. Watson Collection - Hoover Institute of Stanford University - Letter to John J. Hoff, February 22, 1915.

but willing all to do what lies in their power to assuage the sufferings of those who have done their part in the war."[741] Observing that the members of the same "elite" undertook these ordinary tasks—which generally required no skill but were considered essential for the health of the hospital—Berr was struck:

> One of the surgeons said to me: "What does it matter what one does? Every task may become a noble one; you know the proverb, *the man glorifies the work.*" And indeed this truth found ample demonstration, for I had just a little while before seen a well known lawyer of the colony, a most agreeable personality, in hospital costume, sleeves rolled up, engaged in making the bed of one of the wounded soldiers.[742]

Berr wanted to end his article with the names of "these men of heart and generosity, inspired by the noble purpose to be in 1914, as they have expressed it, worthy of the Americans in 1870;" however, they did not "desire that their names be mentioned."[743] Therefore, he concluded his article by referring to Ambassador Herrick and the French people's gratefulness for this humanitarian organization:

> They will, at least, permit me to name here their chief, His Excellency Myron T. Herrick, the American Ambassador, who has been the guiding spirit of this magnificent enterprise. We ought never to forget it; it will always be for us an added joy to evoke it in our recollections; for, toward certain men, gratitude is the most agreeable of all duties.[744]

American Ambulance and its community bound by the "noblesse oblige" became a bridge to other benevolent activities of the American colony of Paris for Ethel. The

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[741] Ibid.

[742] The English translation of the *Le Figaro* article, "Pour Les Blesses: Une Oeuvre Américaine" http://www.ourstory.info/2/a/AA2b.html

[743] Ibid.

[744] Ibid.

Ambulance was not the only place Ethel witnessed any kind of help was needed. In one of her early Paris days, Ethel visited a small workshop at one of the halls of the Parish House of the American Church of the Holy Trinity in Paris. When war started Dr. Samuel Newell Watson, who was the dean of the American Church of the Holy Trinity in Paris, and the chairman at the American Ambulance Committee, had established a sewing room for the French women, who had lost their jobs as the dress making shops closed one by one because of the war. His wife Jeannette Grace Watson with an English lady, Miss Winifred Rees, was supervising this "Ouvroir de L'église Américaine,"[745] which soon became popular as "*le couvent de Madame Watson*."[746] On the day Ethel visited the workshops, Mrs. Watson guided her, and told her the story of the French girls losing their jobs to the war. Introducing these girls to Ethel, Mrs. Watson asked her "if she would speak to the girls." Though she paused for a moment, Ethel, looking sympathetic in her "grey suit and a violet felt hat"[747] gave a short speech to these young hearts, without emphasizing her "Roosevelt" surname. Watson summarized Ethel's influence on the girls in her journal with these two sentences:

> When I told the girls whose daughter she was, they rose to their feet and stood while she talked and she did give them new heart and courage. More than a year after one of the girls asked when she would come back.[748]

[745] Jeannette Grace Watson, 67.

[746] Samuel Newell Watson. *Those Paris Years: With the World at the Cross-Roads*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1936, 322.

[747] Watson, Our Sentry Go, p.78.

[748] Ibid.

In early October of 1914, when Ethel arrived at the city, Paris had recently circumvented a serious German offensive. Since the early days of the eruption of the Great War, taking over the control of France, and sieging Paris, and consequently eliminating France from the fighting had been one of the main missions of the German Army. In the first week of September, Germany was very close to the accomplishment of this mission while her armies were approaching Paris from Compiegne and Meaux. British and French forces together repelled the German Army after a five-day of aggressive and absorbing fighting around the River Marne. Allied forces' victory of this Battle of Marne did prevent Paris from falling to the German Army. However, holding the advantage of having the absolute control of Belgium; German Army proceeded to be the constant threat to Paris. Besides, she continued attacking Paris from the air, with her Taube.

Ethel's chronicle of the post Battle of Marne period in Paris provides information about how French government and French army managed this critical period. Undoubtedly, the recounts of her day-to-day experiences did not rely on the official documents; but they did shed a light on the limitations of France. Ethel recorded the Taube bombings of Paris on Sunday October 11 as this:

> Today there have been 8 bombs dropped by Taube five killed & eight injured. One went on Notre Dame's roof & caught fire but fortunately put out. The check of these German aviators is extraordinary. I cannot see why they (German aero planes) are not stopped. It has been a cloudless day – they must have been visible for miles. The outpost forts could have telephoned in warnings. Paris is most calm over them. The people stand in crowds gazing up at them. I feel like flying into the nearest doorway.[749]

[749] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 11, 1914.

Four days after these bombings, which were quite frightening for Ethel, she wrote a letter to her mother. As she started her every letter to her mother, first she asked about her baby; his weight, his coming teeth or if he eat properly. Then she shifted this topic of a longing mother to the brutality of the reality: the German Army keeping her guard at the gate of Paris. The American Ambulance was one of the main meeting points of the American colony still staying in Paris, including Ambassador Herrick. Considering these men and women of the American colony of being recognized among the French government and the other international delegation circles, it was apparent that they were acquainted with the latest news coming from the fronts. Some information Ethel told her mother was the outcome of these gatherings. The information she wrote on the letter dated October 15 sounded unambiguous:

> Everyone feels that these next two weeks will decide big questions. The reports are cheerful but when you do it out on the map they seem very near by Compiegne. There is a very nervous apprehensive undercurrent running all through Paris. Though they greet our daily Taube's with perfect calm. Yesterday we only had one & that did no damage but Sunday was appalling. It seems so foolish that these French aeroplanes let them as all this. The Germans seem to be absolutely self-confident. [750]

While writing her mother, she felt uninhibited about commenting on the French Army's ineffective precautions of the Taube, and on the French people's insouciance in saving themselves from the German bombs. Her letter continued with more of her comments on the transformation of the war. Relying on her a week-old nursing experience at the hospital, and on the news she heard from the army officials and journalists, who had been to the battlefronts, she claimed that:

[750] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, October 15, 1914.

> Apparently both sides in the trenches are worn out. If the Germans bring down the men that were relieved from Antwerp we have no new forces to hinder them – why they'll do a good deal of harm. Many people think the Germans are going to push across from Compiegne to Dieppe.[751]

4.5. Ethel, the Humanitarian Daughter of TR and the Belgian Refugees in Paris

> *My daughter has told me much about the harrowing tragedies of the poor souls, who were driven from their country and on the verge of starvation, without food and shelter, without hope, and with the members of the family all separated from one another, none knowing where the others were to be found, and who had drifted into Paris and into other parts of France and across the Channel to England as a result of Belgium being trampled into bloody mire.*[752] *– Theodore Roosevelt, 1916.*

As most of the other upper class Americans, involved in a benevolent activity in Europe during the Great War, did, Ethel was sending her mother some long letters regarding the conditions in Europe. Either at the beginning or in the end of each letter she wrote, she insisted on the idea that "there is so much to be done."[753] Though she had helped her father in the organization of his presidential campaign in 1912, Ethel was not a politically conscious Roosevelt. And, until she wrote this very letter, dated October 8, she had not talked about her opinions regarding the neutrality the United States was supporting at the moment, in either her letters or her war journal. What she had heard about the brutalities of German troops for the last ten days, and what she had experienced on her first day at the American Ambulance Hospital, affected her so much that she believed in heart that if the afflictions the

[751] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, October 15.

[752] Edith Wharton, *The Book of the Homeless – Le Livre de Sans – Foyer* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), p.ix. Theodore Roosevelt wrote the Introduction to *The Book of the Homeless*, which was edited by Edith Wharton, and was being sold "for the benefit of The American Hostels for Refugees and for the benefit of The Children of Flanders Relief Committee, founded in Paris by Mrs. Wharton in November 1914, and enlarged by her in April 1915, and chiefly maintained hitherto by American subscriptions."

[753] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, October 8, 1914.

people of the Allied countries had been living in were known in the United States, "our country would not be able to be neutral – which seems impossible."[754] The facts she was pointing out in the letter were considering mostly the Belgian people, being ripped out of their homes, and forced to migrate to France:

> For days Belgian women and children have been arriving, children alone – not reaching even their homes, put on the trains by the mayors of the towns just to get them out of the way & after all had been ruined, some of them wounded, very few boys & many of the boys with their right hands cut off. At Rheine Mr. Herrick found 16 old men with their hands tied, lying shot – no one knows why & there are tales of hideous assault.[755]

"The tension is lessening as far as we see and feel… little by little the Germans are falling back,"[756] wrote Ethel on her journal on October 17. Antwerp, the Belgian city, had fallen to German control on October 10, and German forces seemed to continue pressing towards Ghent and Ostend. Belgian Government, which had moved to Ostend from Antwerp on October 7, was transferred this time to Havre, a northwestern French city at the Channel on October 13. Though Ethel wrote that the tension was lessening, Paris was under the constant bombings of German Taube, which dropped 8 bombs on October 11, killed five people, injured eight, caused fire on the roof of Notre Dame.

On October 17, Ethel recorded on her war journal a detailed description of the conditions the Belgian refugees were having. The first fact she complaint about was the "strictly censored" newspapers, which did not include any "unfavorable news."[757]

[754] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, October 8, 1914.

[755] Ibid.

[756] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 17, 1914.

[757] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 17, 1914.

Although French and English papers were talking about the falling back of the German troops in Belgium, the number of the Belgian refugees in Paris was increasing everyday, as Ethel and others had been witnessing. As she pointed out, Ostend, which was a Belgian city at the Belgian coast, had been evacuated, and its people had been escaping to Holland, France, and England, "arriving in the most pitiable plight."[758] She visited some poor refugee families in the afternoon of October 17, and wrote down "their misery and want is heartbreaking."[759]

Ethel's summarizing the German invasion of Belgium and the installation of the Belgium government at Havre was followed with an exclamation of desperation:

> Poor Belgium. There is little left for her… What a heritage they have given their children. "Of all the Gaul's the bravest are the Belgians" said Caesar. We wish that something would happen – if we could only get the Germans back to their own frontier. The war can only end by the allies victory – but it is impossible to help wondering when that will be. Realizing that the German army is such a marvelous machine that nothing seems able to stand against it.[760]

She was quite sure that the Allied forces would end this war with their victory. Until that day, in the meantime, she and others like her should do something for the Belgians most effected by the German atrocities. As she mentioned it to her mother on her October nineteenth letter she went to the Bon Marche to get some clothes for the children, "it is a great help to realize that you are being able to do something for these poor people – there is such dreadful misery.[761]

[758] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 17, 1914.

[759] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 17, 1914.

[760] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 17, 1914.

[761] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, October 19.

Ethel and Dick's Parisian entourage was not limited to the personnel of the American Ambulance. Ethel was acquainted with most of the diplomatic mission people of Paris through her father. Therefore, Ethel and Dick could easily hear about any organization or meeting held by either French or American people of Paris for the benefit of Belgian refugees. On the night of October 24, Ethel and Dick attended the "refugee reception organization," which was held at the Gare du Nord. The supervisor of the organization was a French sculptor, Paul Graf, who, in Ethel's words,

> came to the gare one day, discovered that nothing is being done for these unhappy people, got permission from the authorities, came with a friend the next day to establish a kind of a receiving camp.[762]

On the other side of the Atlantic, on October 26, Ethel's visit was decried at *Evening Ledger*, under the title of *Roosevelt's Daughter Cheers War Victims - Mrs. Richard Derby Aids Stricken Women in Paris*. The news continued as:

> Dr. Richard Derby, of New York, and Mrs. Derby, formerly Ethel Roosevelt, visited the refugee reception organization at the Gare du Nord on Saturday. They were received by Paul Graf, the sculptor, who is the director of the organization. Dr. Derby walked among the refugees and furnished the men with cigars and cigarettes. Mrs. Derby comforted those who had been driven from their homes and assured them of the sympathy of Americans. Mrs. Derby also slipped money into the hands of the women.[763]

Ethel never took a note of her giving money to the refugees, or of Dick's distributing cigars and cigarettes in her journal. Even if it was not true, Ethel was not concerned about this kind of an insignificant content of the story. She was thrilled with the fact

[762] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 2, 1914.

[763] *Evening Ledger – Philadelphia, Monday*, October 26, 1914, p.11.

that this honorable endeavor of Paul Graf in helping the Belgian refugees was announced in the United States, where more money could be donated for the food and the sheltering. It was on the same day, on October 26, *Le Figaro* published the Derbys' visit of the refugees at Paul Graf's organization.[764]

Paul Graf was not the only resident of Paris concerned about the homeless refugees flocking in from all quarters of the battlefront. Ethel's mother Edith's cousin Edith Wharton, a prominent American novelist, who had set to work as a fundraiser for the displaced immediately after the start of mobilization in France, "joined in creating the Foyer Franco-Belge, a clearinghouse for refugees run by Charles du Bos and writer Andre Gide"[765] in September 1914. Under the formation of this French committee, to mobilize the American community in Paris, and also to benefit from their prosperous entourage willing to help the miserable refugees of the war, Wharton established the "American Hostels for Refugees."[766] The intriguing drive in Wharton's dedication of her energy, time, and money to providing food, shelter and work to the refugees from Belgium and northern France stemmed from her experience with the refugees sleeping in the train stations and looking for food, a very similar one to Ethel's. The next of her visit to the refugee reception at Gare du Nord, Ethel recorded the scene she had witnessed as this:

> I could picture only too vividly what these poor women faced – sometimes entirely alone – their husbands at the front… Mr. Graf has done a great deal – with insufficient funds. Often thinking that this night would be the last they

[764] *"Mme Richard Derby, fille cadette de M. Theodore Roosevelt, ancien président de la République des Etats-Unis, a visite hier, en compagnie de son mari, l'Ouvre des refugies, installée a la gare du Nord. Elle a été reçue par M. Paul Graf, sculpteur, directeur de l'Ouvre, et son collaborateur M. Gaillet, secrétaire général de l'Assistance publique, et diverses personnalités."* "Le Monde & La Ville," *Le Figaro*, October 26, 1914, p. 3.

[765] Shari Benstock, *No Gifts from Chance: A Biography of Edith Wharton* (New York, 1994), p.306.

[766] Ibid.

> could stay & then a little money would come or they would go. And the people… they arrived starved, half-frozen, utterly dazed. Without their wives, families, without food and clothing, utterly without money… They have been at Lille & are told fly immediately, the Germans are coming & they fled as they were. After looking back, see the land in flames… From Lille the women shivering in cotton dresses – all pitifully brave. They had evidently been well off. They were eager for cheering words as we did our best to comfort & help.[767]

About one year later of Ethel's recount of the refugees, Edith Wharton gave an interview to New York Times: *My Work Among the Women Workers of Paris*, in which she talked about the conditions the refugees were living in as appalling. She told the reporter "they slept on the benches in the streets, on straw in the railway stations. By day they wandered helplessly about, trying to find food and shelter."[768]

In mid November 1914, The Battle of Ypres[769] caused more refugees to arrive at Paris. "Three donated houses and $250 cash"[770] was far from enough for the care of this battle's victims, who numbered more than "ten thousand."[771] Wharton decided to enkindle a philanthropic campaign in the United States by sending American newspapers' editors a short writing, which started with "May we have the privilege of appealing through your columns on behalf of the American Hostels for

[767] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 - October 25, 1914.

[768] "My Work Among the Women Workers of Paris", *New York Times*, November 28, 1915.

[769] Battle of Ypres was fought between October 8 and November 20, 1914. Ypres was a Belgian city, located at northwestern Belgium. It was approximately 40 kilometers down from the North Sea coast. Its location was important for Germany, who wanted to reach Boulogne-sur-Mer, the French city at the coast of North Sea, through Ypres. For the Allied forces, the loss of Ypres to Germans would cause a German threat to the British army supply lines at the English Channel ports. So, both sides fought fiercely for the control of the city.

[770] Benstock, No Gifts from Chance, p.306.

[771] Ibid., p.307.

Refugees?"[772] And, Ethel, later when she would be back to the United States, would continue take over what Wharton had started.

4.6. November 1914: The Hectic Month at the American Ambulance

Besides helping the refugee relief organizations, Ethel continued working as a nurse at the American Ambulance, which she believed "shall worthily represent America."[773] November 1914, with the stress of the Battle of Ypres intensifying each and every day, was a busy month in the hospital. "We have been getting a great many wounded… such appalling cases… spine cases, which Dick is tremendously interested in"[774] was Ethel's introductory sentences in her war journal on the day November 1. As she recorded, she was busy at the clinic in the mornings, taking care of 26 men – "most of them appalling arm cases."[775] The first week of November was a "very very busy week,"[776] the hospital received hundreds of wounded soldiers. With the flow of wounded soldiers to the hospital Ethel advanced in nursing. She told her mother she was "a little braver, and I am getting quite good at bandaging and dressing."[777]

[772] "American Hostels for Refugees", *New York Times*, March 1, 1915.

[773] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 1, 1914.

[774] Ibid.

[775] Ibid.

[776] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, November 8, 1914.

[777] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, November 11, 1914

The November 6 issue of *Le Figaro* included another article by Emile Berr: *L'Amitié Américaine*[778], in which Berr indicated that it had been three months since American Ambulance started receiving patients. As Berr stated, four hundred English and French soldiers had been treated in this ambulance, which had been functioning with the donations of Americans. And, according to Berr, these donations would increase in the future to expand the service of the ambulance.

Berr emphasized that American Ambulance in Neuilly was not the only representative of American humanitarian act in France. A committee gathered in New York, recently, to form American Girls' Aid[779] or American Girls' Relief Committee, with the aim of collecting clothing for the victims of the war, mostly French and Belgian refugees. American Girls' Aid was actually "one of the first organizations to take up war relief work for France."[780] Besides clothing, American Girls' Aid sent hospital supplies too. As Berr stated, American Chamber of Commerce in Paris was promoting this relief society, and one of the former administrators of the Chamber, William P. Hollingsworth, who was at the moment Vice President of the American War Relief Clearing House for France and Her

[778] *"Elle se manifestait, il y a trois mois, de la plus émouvante façon par la création de cette splendide Ambulance Section, installée dans une aile du lycée Pasteur, a Neuilly, et ou plus de quatre cents blesses anglais et français trouvaient bientôt asile. Une souscription importante avait permis de fonder cet hôpital auxiliaire de nouveaux dons considérables – déjà faits ou annonces – permettront d'en assurer le fonctionnement, et peut-être de l'étendre encore. Mais ce n'est pas tout. Et nos amis des Etats-Unis nous apportent un nouveau témoignage très touchant de leur amitié."* Emile Berr, "L'Amitié Américaine," *Le Figaro*, November 6, 1914, p.2.

[779] *"Sous le titre d'American Girls of Paris aid Committee (comite d'assistance des jeunes filles américaines de Paris) un groupement vient de se constituer a New York, qui s'est donne pour tache de rassembler des vêtements chauds et de les envoyer en France, afin qu'ils soient distribues aux pauvres et aux refugies français et belges."* Emile Berr, "L'Amitié Américaine," *Le Figaro*, November 6, 1914, p.2.

[780] Ida Clyde Clarke, *American Women and the World War* (New York, 1918), p.474.

Allies[781], was the leading character behind this society. Indeed, Hollingsworth's daughter Gladys Hollingsworth was the chairman of American Girls' Aid Executive Committee.[782]

Relief societies, formed by Americans for the relief of French and Belgian victims of the war, worked in cooperation. The distribution of the supplies sent by American Girls' Aid, for instance, was coordinated by the War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies[783], which was "organized by a group of prominent financial and industrial leaders in New York, at Myron T. Herrick's suggestion," and "received contributions from over six thousand American organizations in addition to the three hundred chapters of the Red Cross."[784] It acted as a "complementary association"[785] of American Relief Clearing House, which was founded in November 1914 in Paris. At the beginning of the war, as American aid packages started arriving at American Chamber of Commerce and at American Embassy of Paris, Herrick proposed to found a clearinghouse "to handle American contributions efficiently."[786] While War Relief Clearing House for France and Her Allies in New York was "mobilizing and raising relief," American Relief Clearing House in Paris was "receiving and distributing it."[787]

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[781] "Tuberculosis Rages In The French Army; 116,000 Soldiers Were Discharged On April 1, Wm. P. Hollingsworth Says. More Hospitals Needed War Relief Clearing House Official Tells Of American Aid And Appeals For More," *New York Times*, July 25, 1916.

[782] Clarke, American Women and the World War, p.475.

[783] Ibid., p.474.

[784] Curti, Ameircan Philanthropy Abroad, p.230.

[785] Clarke, American Women and the World War, p.456.

[786] Curti, American Philanthropy Abroad, p.229.

[787] Mott, Myron T. Herrick, p.237.

In order to relax and be away from the appalling cases for one day, Ethel accompanied Mrs. Bliss, another nurse at the Ambulance, on November 7, to travel to Bombon, a village seventy kilometers from Paris. Besides, Dick was on duty in one of the ambulance automobiles, going to Abbeville, a town on the Somme River, and Ethel did not want to be alone in the hospital. Mrs. Bliss was going to Bombon to visit Chateau Bombon, where she hosted the "convalescent nurses – at least over tired, recuperating nurses."[788] After a few hospital visits in the neighboring town Mormant, which Ethel found primitive but sufficient, they left Chateau Bombon the next day. On the way back to Paris, Ethel witnessed French soldiers digging trenches and working on the fortifications, which according to Ethel were "pitifully inadequate." She pictured this scene she "was much interested in" on her journal as this: "At the various gates they had dug pitfalls & filled trees & made barricades of pine. Even they have soldiers working on the old walls of the city. It seems ridiculous. Painfully trivial…"[789]

On November 8, Ethel wrote her mother that for two days more and more refugees were arriving at Paris. Paris streets were swarming with Belgians shouting "Apres la guerre, il nous faut la Rei Albert."[790] They were talking about restoring the monarchy with King Albert I as king after the war. This sudden flow of war victims to the Gares of Paris was somehow surprising for Ethel. She claimed that the news the hospital was receiving did not reflect the reality. So far, they had not heard of any retreat around the Swiss line. However, later as she learned from an English officer, who had recently been to the northern front, British army was having trouble

[788] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 10, 1914.

[789] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 10, 1914.

[790] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, November 8, 1914.

in holding the German forces. New deserters were being recruited to the German Army, which also adopted new tactics, such as incorporating the centerlines into the fighting in case they lost the first line. Ethel kept repeating to her mother that everyone in the hospital are assured that there would be victory for the Allies in the end, which, however, seemed far for now. On November 10, she wrote down the news she received from the regular visitors of the hospital:

> Our news is not so very good. Germans are making a last desperate attempt for Calais. In the end we all feel that the Allies will win. But before they do there may be terrible defeats. I sometimes hate to look at the paper in the mornings for fear of some disaster to the British fleet. No one knows what the Germans are doing with their ships and zeppelins. Myself, I am convinced this will be a long long war. Until Germany is crushed…[791]

On November 12 in the afternoon, Dick, who had been on duty in one of the ambulance automobiles, returned from Abbeville, and the not so auspicious news Ethel had been receiving was somehow affirmed by his return. At Abbeville, where the war zone was very close, and the English lines began, Dick and the American Ambulance personnel were held for 36 hours for the passport control. As they had learned, the hospital's ambulances, "Ford cars with American drivers,"[792] were in St. Omer, and in Merville, so they moved to these towns to check if they needed any help. About "80 of the motor ambulances were out on the firing line,"[793] and from time to time concentrated care and diligence required of the American Ambulance staff. On their way they stayed in hotels, and as Dick told Ethel, they "were kept

[791] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 10, 1914.

[792] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 12, 1914.

[793] K.K. and M.E.H., "Experiences in the American Ambulance Hospital, Neuilly, France," *The American Journal of Nursing* Vol. 15, No. 7: 549-554, p.553.

awake by the boom of the shells, which look like summer lightening."[794] According to Dick, the situation was very serious. And, he claimed that "you got an entirely different impression after being there – an impression that the English were being steadily pushed back inch by inch, and so slowly that with the help of the French reinforcements they would hold the Germans before Calais."[795] Hearing all these from Dick, and witnessing the distressing conditions of the refugees in Paris, Ethel asked her mother to get people to send over clothing, "warm clothing especially, old or new, even chemises are needed terribly."[796] After her shift at the hospital, she told, she shopped in Paris, and distributed all the goods to the needy refugees and to the orphans who the American Holy Trinity Church in Paris was taking care of.

On November 15, after a nice dinner at the American Embassy, Ethel and Dick went to the Gare de Nord to "see the modern English hospital train, which was to arrive at 10:30 with many wounded soldiers and some German wounded ones."[797] Hospital trains had been in use much earlier than the Great War, however, there were not much medical facilities on them. The wounded soldiers had been transported from the warzone to these trains, and army nurses or sisters had accompanied them to the base hospitals. Relying on these precedents, in August 1914, Royal Army Medical Corps converted trains into ambulances, with wards, dressing rooms and dispensaries, which were lacking in the earlier examples. It was in November 1914 when RAMC developed the medically most equipped hospital train, and sent it to the Western Front. "We were all much excited, for the rumor hath it that these trains are

[794] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 12, 1914.

[795] TRC - ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, November 16, 1914

[796] Ibid.

[797] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 15, 1914.

most wonderful, well arranged, clean, with even a little operating room"[798] wrote Ethel on her war journal. American Ambulance with its doctors, nurses, and with 8 of its "little Ford cars" was all set at the Gare de Nord. As the train approached, Ethel and Dick with the other doctors "piled out with the hitting wind and tramped through the mud puddles,"[799] which made Ethel think about the dreadful living conditions in the trenches.

Ethel's war journal on November 21 started with the news regarding Myron T. Herrick's sailing back to the United States, and leaving the ambassadorial mission to William Graves Sharp. In a week, Ethel recorded, Herrick and his wife were supposed to return. Ethel greeted the decision with resentment. She wrote,

> It seems too incredibly stupid on the part of our government. W. J. Bryan and Mr. W. are really responsible. Though it is supposed to have been a senate debate. Even if there was a more or less incompetent man I doubt if he should be changed. With Mr. Herrick, who the French will give anything. He has been such a master spirit. I feel just disgusted.[800]

In actuality, Myron T. Herrick's return was not new information for Ethel or for the American colony of Paris. Republican Herrick "resigned as soon as Mr. Wilson was inaugurated – indeed some ten days before."[801] Herrick did not receive any response to his resignation from Washington until June 1, 1914, when Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan wrote "I am directed by the President to accept your resignation… William Graves Sharp, of Elyria, Ohio, will be your successor."[802]

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[798] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 15, 1914.

[799] Ibid.

[800] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 21, 1914.

[801] Mott, Myron T. Herrick, p.210.

[802] Ibid., p.211.

However, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria on June 28 made Bryan ask Herrick to remain in office until Sharp arrived. Then, Washington constantly postponed the date of Herrick's leaving his ambassadorial duty. In August 26, on La France, with former U.S. Ambassador to France Robert Bacon on board, Sharp sailed for Europe.[803] On September 3, Sharp arrived at Paris, and was ready to take over the Embassy; however, the cables coming from Washington insisted on keeping Herrick on duty. The result, as Herrick put it in words, was that

> We had two ambassadors in France during all of September, October, and November 1914. The one, by the very force of things, was irritated and unhappy; the other trammeled in his decisions, uncomfortable about his colleague, not knowing from day to day how long he was to remain.[804]

On November 5, Herrick received a telegram from the State Department, informing him that on December 1 Sharp would assume the duties of ambassador. With this official telegram Herrick, who "had almost forgotten how to rest during the past five months," and to whom "the thought of being on a ship, far from troubles and complications seemed like heaven"[805] immediately arranged his return. He and his wife, after a thanksgiving dinner with "the members of the staff, the rector of Holy Trinity, Dr. S. N. Watson, and a few other friends"[806] at the embassy, sailed for the United States on November 28; as Ethel put it in words: "it was impossible for them to stay on here one minute more."[807]

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[803] James Brown Scott, *Robert Bacon: Life and Letters*, New York: Doubleday (Page & Company, 1923), p.203.

[804] Mott, Myron T. Herrick, p.218.

[805] Ibid., p.220.

[806] Ibid.

[807] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 27, 1914.

On November 22, during lunch at the embassy, almost one-month-old news upset Ethel, who wrote every single detail of the news on her war journal. On October 27, *Audacious*, which was "a new English super-dreadnought with the latest thing in armament"[808] "was sunk by a mine off the Irish coast."[809] As Ethel recorded in detail, *Audacious* did not sink instantaneously; two destroyers HMS *Liverpool* and HMS *Fury*, with the passenger ship RMS *Olympic*, which had left New York on October 21, and was heading to Glasgow, tried to take *Audacious* in tow. After three unsuccessful attempts, RMS *Olympic* took all the crew of *Audacious* on board, and left the "super-dreadnought" to be sunk after three big explosions. The Admiralty decided to conceal the sinking, so all the passengers of *Olympic*, who were mostly Americans, "were held tight days off the coast of Ireland," and were told "anyone who happen to divulge important facts, which might aid the enemy, would be subject to death or imprisonment."[810] Until the early days of November, the passengers of Olympic were held on board, and they were obliged to give testimonies to British jurisdiction. Notwithstanding all these precautions, as Ethel claimed, the sinking of *Audacious* could not be kept in secret, it leaked out little by little. According to Ethel, Admiralty's decision of concealing it was totally wrong; she added, "the effect would be so much more dreadful now and I should think it might have waken up England."[811]

Ethel's November 27 entry on her war journal was thoroughly valuable in content. She started with the internal explosion, which destroyed HMS *Bulwark*, a channel

[808] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 22, 1914.

[809] Peter Hart, *The Great War 1914-1918* (London, 2014), p.107.

[810] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 22, 1914.

[811] Ibid.

ship landed at Sheerness to protect England against a possible German attack, and caused the loss of nearly 800 men. HMS *Bulwark* was in use as a transport, which carried ammunition. The results of the naval court asserted that the shells loaded on Bulwark were placed too close to each other, which could cause heating of the shells and an inevitable explosion. Ethel commented on this as, "I hardly believe it."[812] According to her, it looked like treachery on board.

News regarding the recruitment of nurses to British Red Cross arose again in November, Ethel claimed. Since from the beginning of the war, German forces had not respected the neutrality of Red Cross personnel, and they had even targeted them purposefully, Ethel had heard about before they arrived at Paris in September. In November, as she learned from a British Red Cross nurse, BRC was asking for volunteers, who could go to the frontlines. The idea excited Ethel very much, and she even told Dick she was "dying to go for really one could help."[813] However Dick was not willing to send Ethel to the heart of the battle, so he did not encourage her, and told her that there would definitely be numerous volunteers who would apply for the position.

Another story she noted down on November 27 was the outcome of her short conversation with Basil Miles, U.S. State Department officer, who came by the hospital few days ago. Miles had been to London and Berlin recently, and since he knew lots of people, Ethel claimed, he brought lots of interesting information. One of them was "that every tale the Allies told of German brutality the Germans duplicated

[812] TRC - ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914 – November 27, 1914.

[813] Ibid.

in regard to the English."[814] Miles told Ethel the Germans started feeling that they were "driven into a defensive war,"[815] a news which Ethel seemed to welcome. However, as Miles commented, it was not good news for the Allied powers, since defensive war triggered "the great many recruits, wild enthusiasm and a bitter black hatred of the English"[816] among the Germans. Ethel also learned "why we haven't heard of their [Germany's] Zeppelins" recently; that's because "they were over the North Sea, placing every English ship."[817] However, still, according to Ethel, "as a whole there is great confidence [in Allies], there had just been a Russian victory, which had been very cheering."[818] After Basil Miles's visit she wrote, "I am beginning to be impatient of the English. We hear that recruiting is not very enthusiastic… If only England had been able to pile in many men, it would have made such an enormous difference."[819] As both an American citizen and a war relief worker, Ethel was supposed to keep her impartiality, however she could not, and she fraternized with the Allied soldiers she had been treating at the Ambulance. Ethel's growing restlessness with the low ratio of English men's recruiting was an affirmation of her partisanship (pro-Ally status). Her partisanship had also been growing since the very first day she encountered the wounded soldiers at the hospital. As did all other relief workers at the hospital, she built tangible connections with the wounded soldiers and their families, and associated with them she was

[814] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914, November 27, 1914.

[815] Ibid.

[816] Ibid.

[817] Ibid.

[818] Ibid.

[819] Ibid.

trying to help. One of the last entries of her war journal was dated November 27, and was about a "fine fellow" and his family, whom Ethel empathized with:

> This morning such a fine fellow who came in 26 hours ago died. Yesterday his leg was amputated and though D [ick] did everything to save him, it was hopeless. His father and mother arrived to see him. [They were] quiet, white faced with agony of despair in their eyes. [They were] encouraging each other.[820]

4.7. Christmas in New York

In a book compiled of letters and journal entries written during his service at the American Ambulance between July 1915 and October 1916, Dr. James R. Judd indicated that, "from a small beginning the Ambulance grew to an organization caring for over 1500 wounded a day and maintaining more than 300 ambulances on duty in Paris and at the front. The cost of maintaining this work has been borne entirely by the American people."[821] This benevolent act of the American Ambulance in Neuilly, according to Piatt Andrew, the organizer and the head of the American Field Service, would be considered valid to "claim the signal honor of having initiated American war relief work in France"[822] when the war was over. Andrew was one of the drivers appointed to the American Ambulance, volunteering to help British and French forces transport wounded soldiers to the American Ambulance and other ambulances around Paris. Later, in April 1915, as part of his attempts to become even more actively involved in the war, Andrew organized the

[820] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914, November 27, 1914.

[821] Judd, With the American Ambulance in France, p.10.

[822] Piatt Andrew, *History of the American Field Service in France – "Friends of France" 1914–1917: Told by its Members* (Boston, 1920), p.17.

American Ambulance Field Service upon.[823] Merle Curti points out, the American Ambulance in Neuilly "fathered the American Ambulance Field Service,"[824] which became one of the most eminent representatives of American humanitarian work being done in Europe before the United States officially became one of the belligerent powers. Both Morgan-Harjes Section, founded by one of the distinguished founders of the American Hospital of Paris, H. Herman Harjes (Mrs. Herman Harjes was a member of the American Ambulance Board,) and the American Volunteer Ambulance Corps, founded by Richard Norton were the ambulance units fathered by the American Ambulance in Neuilly and its American Committee.[825]

There were two main groups of Americans who determined the characteristics of the American humanitarianism that evolved in Paris at the beginning of the war. One was the "American colony," whose members had been resident in Paris for such a considerable amount of time that they decided to be "loyal to the dictates of their moral obligation [and] resolved to stay to the last extremity and aid the city they loved."[826] The second was the "American aristocrats," upper class Americans who felt a responsibility to help the Allied victims of the war. The formation of the American Ambulance in Neuilly was one of the first and most prominent examples

[823] Stephen Galatti, *History of the American Field Service in France – "Friends of France" 1914–1917: Told by its Members* (Boston, 1920), p.61.

[824] Curti, American Philanthropy Abroad, p.229.

[825] For the story of the American ambulance drivers and the formation of the Morgan-Harjes Section, American Volunteer Motor-Ambulance Corps and the American Ambulance Field Service see: Arlen J. Hansen, *Gentlemen Volunteers: The Story of the American Ambulance Drivers in the First World War* (New York, 2001).

[826] Judd, With the American Ambulance in France, p.9.

of these two groups merging to serve both diplomatic and philanthropic agendas in Paris.

Ethel and Dick returned to the United States on December 24, 1914, with the "Christmas ship, Lusitania," which was loaded with "4300 sacks of mail."[827] The three months she had spent in the American Ambulance had exhausted her so much that she was sick when she arrived at the harbor in New York. In her father's words she was "in very bad shape."[828] After all, Theodore Roosevelt was "no friend to having women traipsing abroad to take part in what ought to be men's jobs, it is too rough on them."[829] In the last entry of her war journal, dated December 10, 1914, she summarized how deeply affected she had been by what she had experienced among the wounded French soldiers at the Ambulance:

> [I]t is appalling what this war has brought. I cannot get away from the feeling that there is enough sorrow in the world that must be met – why add this? I cannot see the exciting part, the gay side when I hear the Marseillaise it stirs much deeper thoughts than just the thrill…[830]

Ethel's experience of nursing at the American Ambulance, and her involvement in the humanitarian societies organized for the relief of French and Belgian victims of the war, which she interpreted as "a great help to realize that you are being able to do something for these poor people,"[831] served as an example to elite Americans in their efforts to establish strong and lasting relief efforts in Europe. This "elite"

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[827] "Former Ethel Roosevelt, Near Collapse From Strain of Nursing in Paris War Hospital, Returns" *The Washington Herald*, December 24, 1914, p.5.

[828] TRC - Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, December 28, 1914.

[829] TRC - Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, December 28, 1914.

[830] TRC-ERDP - Travel Diaries 1913-1914, December 10, 1914.

[831] TRC-ERDP - Letters from ERD to EKR, October 19, 1914.

humanitarianism was strengthened by these Americans' sympathy towards the Allied cause. This very sympathy and its humanitarian repercussions proved to be harbingers of the eventual American entrance into the First World War, long before Congress officially declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917.

Ethel's sailing back to the United States did not alienate her from the humanitarian commissions Americans and French were thoroughly involved in. After her return, Ethel was determined to continue raising funds for the American Ambulance and the other agencies working for the relief of Belgian mothers and children. Ethel's distant relative Edith Wharton decided to enkindle a philanthropic campaign in the United States by sending American newspapers' editors a short writing, which started with "May we have the privilege of appealing through your columns on behalf of the American Hostels for Refugees?"[832] In Wharton's words, American Hostels for Refugees was "an association organized by a small group of Americans in Paris with the object of helping the destitute who are pouring into Paris by the thousands from the invaded provinces as well as from Belgium."[833] Wharton was asking for financial donations from the American public, so that this American committee could maintain their noteworthy mission. Among the committee members was "Mrs. Richard Derby," who had announced her membership in the interview she gave after her return to the United States, on February 2, 1915.

On February 2 1915, *The Sun (New York)* published an interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby, entitled *Horrors of War Haunt Ethel Roosevelt Derby – Pictures*

[832] "American Hostels for Refugees," *New York Times*, March 1, 1915.

[833] Ibid.

Terrible Plight of Belgian Refugees in France. The article started bluntly with the main message of the interview, in Ethel's words:

> This is the first interview I have ever given… and the reason I am giving this is because we do so want money for our hostels in Paris. You see, although I have been back in this country since before Christmas, I can think of nothing else but the terrible things I saw during my three months stay in Paris last fall, and I want to do everything in my power to help.[834]

Ethel introduced the activities of the American Hostels in Paris to the American public. There were four hostels in Paris at the time, under the control of the Foyer Franco-Belge. The initial responsibility of the committee members of the hostels was fundraising, through their entourage in Europe or in the United States, or through the newspapers. Secondarily, the members visited the Gare du Nord, to where hundreds of refugees arrived from northern France and Belgium; and "took them right to the hostels – as many as we could accommodate, and found work for most of the women."[835] Ethel stated that among the refugees at the train station there were men too, and they were "put to work in the fortifications around Paris."[836] According to Ethel, the most problematic situation they encountered was arranging accommodation and job for the women belonging to high class of the society. Some of them were sent to the South parts of the country to take care of the wounded soldiers, Ethel stated, and others started working at the sewing rooms of the hostels, where French and Belgium women repaired soldiers' uniforms and clothes.

[834] "Horrors of War Haunt Ethel Roosevelt Derby – Pictures Terrible Plight of Belgian Refugees in France," *The Sun (New York)*, February 2, 1915, p. 3.

[835] Ibid.

[836] Ibid.

Concluding the interview, Ethel frankly specified that the hostels needed a fixed income of $ 3000 a month "to keep the work up until the end of the war, for that seems further and further away each day."[837] *The Sun (New York)* reporter asked Ethel where the New York headquarters of the American Hostels for Refugees was located; Ethel proudly uttered, "I am the headquarters."[838] Edith Wharton showed her appreciation of Ethel's efforts helping raise funds for the American Hostels for Refugees in a letter she wrote to Theodore Roosevelt:

> …delightful Ethel [was] holding up the N.Y. millionaires in behalf of out Refugee Hostels and sending me the booty with agreeable frequency. I was especially pleased by a touch in her last letter: 'I love the work and whatever I don't know about the refugees I make up,' that's the true spirit and I am confident of great results.[839]

Welcoming the Derbys at Sagamore Hill in the Christmas of 1914, Theodore Roosevelt was "very proud of [Ethel and Dick] and very glad that [they] have been able to go over and to do [their] part – and a portion of this nation's part – in helping those who suffer in this terrible cataclysm," and "utterly sick of the spiritless mentality of the Administration."[840] Both the Roosevelt boys and Dick were ready and determined to receive military training in order to be able to fight for the Allied cause in the French army. Christmas 1914 at the Roosevelts' Oyster Bay mansion Sagamore Hill was spent discussing these issues and the information that Ethel and Dick had brought from the front, an ocean away. While the U.S. government debated

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[837] Ibid.

[838] Ibid.

[839] Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress, Letter from Edith Wharton to Theodore Roosevelt, March 15, 1915.

[840] TRC-ERDP - Letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt Derby, November 4, 1914.

over whether keeping neutrality or getting involved in the war, by Christmas 1914, the Roosevelts had already made up their minds.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S LEGACY AT ETHEL ROOSEVELT'S HANDS

5.1. Introduction

Chapter 5 analyzes how Ethel, in time, became the "1977 winner of the Theodore Roosevelt medal for distinguished public service by a private citizen."[841] As P. James Roosevelt announced this award at the 58th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, he praised Ethel for her "vitality on behalf of church, charity, community, and country," which "add up to a truly prodigious record."[842] According to Roosevelt, Ethel's modest life full with public service was actually a very appropriate example to a "strenuous life," as her father Theodore Roosevelt would also call it. In this context, this chapter examines how Ethel preserved Theodore Roosevelt's legacy. The main topics include her support of Theodore Roosevelt Association, her interest in conservation and ultimately her service at the Board of the American Museum of Natural History, her efforts in preserving Sagamore Hill

[841] P. James Roosevelt, *Ethel Roosevelt Derby, 58th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association*, The Text for the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal Ceremony, October 28, 1977, p.1.

[842] Ibid., p.2.

and converting it into a national historic site, and her service in various civic and non-governmental organizations in Oyster Bay, New York. This chapter constitutes the conclusion of this dissertation. Ethel, "the great and good lady, wise in counsel, generous of her time and energy, noble in spirit"[843] died on December 10, 1977. This concluding chapter discusses the characteristics Ethel inherited from her father Theodore Roosevelt.

5.2. The War and the Armistice Years: The Rough Times of Both the Roosevelts and the Derbys

Ethel's first separation from Dick happened in 1915, when Dick decided to join a military camp of some volunteers at Plattsburg, New York. Ethel stayed with Edith and TR at Sagamore Hill, where the idea of involving in the fighting was discussed over and over while Dick, by joining at this volunteer military camp, was also supporting the entrance of U.S. to this war.

In April 1917, with the disclosure of the Zimmerman Telegram to the public, United States was officially and with the full support of the nation involved in the Great War. Dick immediately went to Tennessee, this time to an official military training camp and Ethel stayed at Sagamore Hill involuntarily but she had to since she was seven months pregnant.

On June 17, 1917 Ethel gave birth to a baby girl, who was named after Ethel's mother Edith. Soon after she left baby Edith and Richard Jr. to her parents and left for the military training camp Dick joined. This way she could become involved in this honorable fight and in the meantime she could be with her husband.

[843] John A. Gable, *Theodore Roosevelt Association Executive Committee Meeting Resolution* December 17, 1977.

She stayed at the camp for about two months. She mostly did domestic chores at the camp and taught soldiers how to milk a cow; a skill which nobody would expect a daughter of an ex-President would have, but she was a Roosevelt and it was not odd for her to know all about animals and plants. At the end of October 1917 Dick received an order to go to Hoboken, New Jersey and then to France as Medical Corps Major Richard Derby. This time the government did not allow the wives to join their soldier husbands, so Ethel stayed at Sagamore Hill, the place of the hot discussions of the war, and Dick left for the actual war in November 1917.

All Roosevelt men, Theodore Jr., Kermit, Archie and Quentin, were also involved in the fighting. This way all the brothers of Ethel and her husband were in France fighting for the country. Bad news from the battlefront started coming in 1918; in March Archie was seriously wounded, then on July 17 Quentin was "reported as missing in action." Ted, Kermit, Archie and Dick gathered at Ted's wife Eleanor's apartment at Paris and waited for more specific news about the condition of Quentin. It was there at that apartment when they got the bad news of Quentin's death on July 20, 1918. Dick told about it to Ethel immediately with a letter; however Ethel repeated to Dick that she would not believe in this news until she saw the actual dead body of Quentin.

On November 11, 1918 an armistice, which ended all the fighting of four years was signed. In the meantime the health of Theodore Roosevelt was fading and he was even hospitalized. On January 6, 1919 TR died. It was only six months passed after Quentin's death and Roosevelt Family was going through one of the most painful periods in time.

When Dick returned from Europe, the Derbys settled in the house they bought just before Dick left for France; Old Adams House in Oyster Bay. This way they were

nearer to Ethel's mother Edith and Ethel could take her children to Sagamore Hill more recently. Dick started working at Glen Cove Hospital and Derby family was once again starting to have happy days together. Their happiness even tripled with the birth of a third child; Sarah Alden was born in December 1920 and now Ethel at the age of twenty-nine was a mother to three kids, was living very close to her mother in Oyster Bay, was very happy with her husband and was not having any financial problems. This peaceful life was ruined in October 1922 with the death of Richard Derby Jr. Eight year old Richard Jr. died of septicemia and his death changed the life of Derby Family totally.

The death of young Richard affected both parents; however Dick was the one who needed extra care and later on some medical treatment. His headaches became worsen and prevented him from working properly. He lost his appetite and started losing lots of weight and energy in conclusion. In a sense he was blaming himself for the loss of his child because he was "involved in the medical treatment" of Richard Jr. In Dick's case it was apparent that losing a son to a disease was harsher for the father who was also the doctor. He went into a depression, which actually lasted through the rest of his life. His condition affected Ethel and Derby family at every different phase of their life and Ethel built their life solely according to Dick's mental condition after 1922. Christmas 1923 brought some hope to Derby Family with the birth of a third daughter. She was named Judith Quentin.

In September 1925 Dick took a break from work and traveled to West and to Alaska for three months. This western trip was intended to cure Dick and Ethel tried to help him by writing constantly some encouraging letters to him. At real, being away from the house Richard Jr. died and experiencing the wild nature in the West cured Dick for a while. In November 1925 when he returned both Ethel and his psychiatrist

agreed on Dick's improvement since his son's death. However Ethel knew that change of seasons and most probably the coming of winter would trigger Dick's depression and so it happened in the following two Christmas seasons. This period of Ethel's life focused dominantly on the health conditions of her husband. She arranged her family's summer and winter holiday plans according to Dick and she decided on the holiday spots she thought beneficent for the recovery of Dick's depression.

5.3. The Derbys' Transatlantic Travels

Listening to the advice of the doctors Ethel took Dick to Florida, to a warmer setting after the Christmas of 1926. After spending the cold winter months in Florida, Ethel still wanted to keep Dick away from their family house at Oyster Bay, so took her family this time to a rural setting in Cornish, New Hampshire to spend the summer of 1927. Rural life and wild nature supposed to recover Dick's depression and afflictions, however this time it did not work at all, not even for a short period of time as it did during his 1925 West trip.

Ethel took this negative outcome as an opportunity and used it to travel to Europe and live at this old continent for a while. Derby Family would have three major travels to Europe after the summer of 1927.

The first European experience of the Derbys occurred in November 1927; Ethel, Dick and their three daughters sailed to Lausanne, Switzerland. In a few months, Dick's depression reached at such a serious level that he had to enter a Swiss clinic in January 1928. The first few months in Lausanne were terrible for Ethel, who was constantly concerned about her husband's both physical and mental health. Swiss Clinic was a helpful break for both Ethel and Dick. As indicated frankly in her letters

to the family members these were the toughest times in Ethel's life. After a few months later, having witnessed no change in her husband's on-going depression and its side-effects Ethel arrived at such an impatient and depressed position that she left her beloved husband at Switzerland alone and returned to the United States with her daughters.

Dick joined his family at the U.S. in the fall of 1928. He returned to his job at Glen Cove Hospital and with the relief of seeing her husband much better and back to working again Ethel dedicated herself more to the local Red Cross at Oyster Bay.

In 1931 the second "big travel to Europe" occurred. Ethel took Derby Family members first to Switzerland then to Italy, where she thought life was more affordable and easy while Great Depression was hitting many families at the other side of the Atlantic. Until mid 1932 Derbys stayed in Italy.

Their third voyage to Europe was in the fall of 1934. However this time Dick stayed in the Unite States and continued working at Glen Cove Hospital. Ethel, who felt that it was time for her to travel to somewhere in Europe, chose Italy one more time. She and the daughters settled in Venice and the girls were enrolled in school there. At Christmas time Dick also joined them in Italy. They had a nice and long Christmas vacation at Italy together and Dick was in a much better condition.

5.4. The Derby Daughters

Edith Derby Williams was the eldest daughter. She married Andrew Murray "Mike" Williams Jr., who was a lawyer, in June 1941. They had three children, and after WW II was over they moved to Seattle. Sarah Alden Derby Gannett was the middle daughter. Like Edith Derby Williams, she did not choose to go to college. She

started working as a secretary for New York City councilman Joseph Clark Baldwin. She moved to Washington D.C. when he became Congressman in 1941. She, then got engaged to Robert (Bob) Gannett, who was a lawyer, and they immediately married before Bob left for World War II. Gannett family settled in Brattleboro,Vermont, so Sarah Alden was always living close to her mother Ethel. The third and the youngest daughter was Judith Quentin. She was always a sick child, had gone through different health problems during her childhood. Because of this, Ethel was very sensitive about any troubling issue relating to Judith Quentin. All through her life, she considered Judith Quentin a sick child to be taken care of all the time. Judith Quentin married Adelbert III (Del) Ames, who was a medical doctor, on October 16, 1948. They had three children. Everything in Judith Quentin's life seemed perfect; however she was not feeling fine at all. The depression her father Richard Derby went through after he lost his son presented itself this time in Judith Quentin. Ethel talked about heavy depression, alcoholism, and smoking problems of Judith Quentin in her letters to Edith Derby Williams. As understood from the letters, Judith Quentin entered a clinic for alcoholics called Silver Hill two times in her life; stopped smoking but started again a few times; and at the end was diagnosed cancer and hospitalized at Massachusetts General Hospital in September 1970. Exactly after three years she was diagnosed cancer, on September 26, 1973 Judith Quentin Derby Ames died.

5.5. Conclusion

Ethel's lifetime community service started with her tutoring the black children at St. Mary's Chapel for Colored Children in the weekends when she was a student at National Cathedral School for Girls in Mount St. Alban, Washington, D.C. between

1901 and 1906. Then, during her adolescence, she got acquainted with a more organized and a national voluntary charity community in 1911 during her work with the New York-Manhattan Junior League.[844] In 1912, while Ethel was working for his father's Republican Party nomination campaign, and later for his Presidential campaign, she met staunch philanthropists and social reformers, such as Anne Morgan, Lucius Littauer, and Jane Addams.[845] Addams and her projects in the Hull House astonished Ethel so much that she even asked for her parents' permission to work in Hull House. TR thought his daughter was still too young to move to Chicago and work in Hull House, so he did not allow her.

Embracing such a strong determination to work for Frances Kellor's Progressive Social Service or for Jane Addams's Hull House, Ethel, whom historian Kathleen Dalton describes as "ardently progressive,"[846] kept refusing Dr. Richard Derby's marriage proposal between 1911 and 1913. She had witnessed her father's understanding of the improvement and the reform in the social system through the works of charity since her very early childhood. And, now, after being physically and mentally involved in the progressive cause of TR's presidential campaign, Ethel wished to follow the Rooseveltian way of a lifestyle by postponing marriage a little more and flinging herself into a progressive project. However it could be stated that, this did not happen, unless her marriage to Richard Derby was considered a step forward to a lifetime community service.

[844] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.612.

[845] Ibid., p.383.

[846] Ibid., p.411.

According to TR and Edith, consecutively Groton, Harvard, and Columbia graduate physician Dr. Richard Derby was a proper husband for Ethel. He belonged to a "fine old Manhattan family."[847] More significant than that, Dick was among the group of young auspicious reformists, whom TR invited to Sagamore Hill "to launch into public service careers"[848] during his vice-Presidency. Eventually, considering Dick the bright future of a progressive United States, TR had approved Dick's intention to propose to Ethel long before Dick's actual proposal. Years later, as Ethel mentioned during an interview, TR was "so happy when I married because he loved Dr. Derby."[849] And, Ethel and young surgeon Dick, who, according to historian Dalton, was an "ardent Progressive"[850] like Ethel, married on April 4, 1913. As Dalton points out, this Progressive couple was very much influenced by TR's ideas regarding the prison reform that they even planned of hiring "only ex-prisoners as servants"[851] when they got married.

Kathleen Dalton claims that seeing her daughter getting married before she got involved in a social project TR's entourage was leading, satisfied the more behind-the-times Edith, who thought that Ethel "would follow her example and become an old-fashioned wife who would not be too independent."[852] However, Ethel had not abandoned her struggle yet. Three-month-old European honeymoon was long enough for Ethel to evaluate what she wanted to do about her intentions in doing

[847] Morris, Edith Kermit Roosevelt, p.394.

[848] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.411.

[849] TRC-ERDP - Subject Files - Shapiro - Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

[850] Dalton, Theodore Roosevelt, p.422.

[851] Ibid.

[852] Ibid., p.423.

some social work when she would be back to the United States. Her letters to her mother from Europe visualized her determination; however when the honeymoon was over, she found out that she was pregnant. Her pregnancy kept her detached from any kind of a social work during late 1913 and early 1914. Subsequently, even before she could consider participating at a social project because her baby was still too young for that, the Great War erupted in Europe, and Dick was offered a voluntary wartime job in France, which put Ethel in a humanitarian project she could not even consider being involved in.

For a young surgeon like Dick, working at both St. Luke's Hospital, and at Ruptured and Crippled Hospital in New York, the voluntary job at American Ambulance in Neuilly-sur-Seine, Paris was an opportunity not to be missed. So, the Derby couple did not contemplate their immediate decision of leaving for Paris much. They left their six-month-old baby, Richard Jr. to TR and Edith, and left for the warzone in September 1914. They stayed in Paris for three months, during which Ethel worked as a nurse at this benevolent hospital, founded and directed by the American expatriate community in Paris, and she participated at charity groups gathered and worked for the relief of Belgian refugees, who were mostly women and children. Her nursing job introduced Ethel to the world of nursing. Upon arrival at the United State she became a volunteer worker at a local American Red Cross, and maintained this volunteering job for the next sixty years of her life. In 1976, during an interview with Harriet Shapiro, Ethel recalled how an inexperienced nurse she was when she witnessed the battle wounds of the soldiers in the American Ambulance. She said:

> And I remember, I wasn't very old then and I was in the surgical dressing room – there was a wonderful Mrs. Monroe and I can remember now I can see these

> awful wounds and Mrs. Monroe would look at me and say, run child, run I'd nip across the way and get my head out a window.[853]

During the war years, in the United States Ethel continued working on what she had started in Paris in terms of social works. Witnessing the miserable conditions of refugees crowding the train stations of Paris, Ethel decided to raise public awareness, and ultimately financial support from the moneyed Americans. So, for a while after she arrived from Paris she worked for what her mother's cousin Edith Wharton instituted, the American Hostels for Refugees. During the years 1915 and 1916, Ethel was in constant contact with her superior in the American Ambulance Hospital, an American philanthropist, Mrs. Anne Harriman Vanderbilt, second wife of William Kissam Vanderbilt, who was among the founders of this clearinghouse for the refugees, and a staunch supporter of the American Field Service in Paris. Simultaneously, Ethel affiliated first with the Red Cross, then with the Nassau County Red Cross Nursing Service, and started attending the committee meetings of the social work services at St. Luke's Hospital. So, the Great War years are very crucial in the development of this dissertation. Furthermore, Ethel's wartime service at the American Ambulance in Neuilly and her philanthropic support of the Belgian war victims is considered climacteric in the dissertation.

The period after her son Richard Jr.'s sudden death in 1922 was a chapter of remoteness from the charity work Ethel was doing. Between 1927 and 1935, Ethel with her husband, who was at the edge of the depression, and with their three daughters -the last one was born after Richard Jr.'s death- traveled around Europe. Channelizing all her interest and energy to her sick and depressed husband, Ethel

[853] TRC-ERDP - Subject Files - Shapiro - Interview with Ethel Roosevelt Derby.

fulfilled her ambition to cure social ills, and eventually to help the unfortunate in the margins of her most intimate circle. Very typical of the Roosevelts, she did try to find the cure to her own grief and to her husband's depression far from home. During this period, they traveled to Switzerland, France, and Italy.

After an approximately ten-year break of depressions and European travels, Ethel Roosevelt Derby's community service continued with no interruption. At the Red Cross, she had started being the Vice Chairman of the Oyster Bay Home Service, and in time became the Honorary Chapter Chairman of the Nassau County Chapter after fifty-seven years of service. While she maintained her voluntary service at the Red Cross and at St. Luke's Hospital, she channeled some of her energy to various civic organizations spreading in Oyster Bay – ex: she helped establish Oyster Bay Community Foundation in 1965, she promoted the construction of low-income housing in Oyster Bay. Leonard W. Hall, who was the chairman of the Republican Party under President Dwight D. Eisenhower and knew Ethel personally well, put her efforts into words as this: "if there was any local activity of any kind, she either started it or was in it."[854] That's why she was named the First Lady of Oyster Bay. Besides these voluntary organizations, preserving her father's legacy, and -while achieving this- presenting a valuable archives of the beloved ex-President Theodore Roosevelt to the American public gained significance for Ethel after her mother Edith's death in 1948. She and her brother Archie were the only survivors of Theodore Roosevelt's family at the time; and the latest was not actually interested in conserving family history, and enriching the consciousness of the American public of the importance of Theodore Roosevelt. When Sagamore Hill was opened to public in 1953 as a historic site, Ethel was proud of the effort she put on this project.

[854] "Ethel Roosevelt Derby," *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal*, Vol. IV, no.1, 1978.

During this preservation process, besides preparing the house with all the belongings of the Roosevelt family, she went through all the papers and letters of her father, and donated them to Harvard College for the use of the public. Referring to her interest in the preservation of her childhood home, Leonard W. Hall, claimed that Ethel "was T.R.-but completely feminine,"[855] and "she was truly her father's daughter."[856]

She served as a trustee to the American Museum of Natural History, which her grandfather, father, and her two brothers Ted and Kermit also served. "This was a natural outgrowth of their interest in conservation,"[857] commented her cousin P. James Roosevelt. She proved that she shared this interest, since long before she became a trustee she was already personally involved in the museum. In 1933, Governor Herbert Lehman appointed her the "member of the New York State committee responsible for building the famous Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Hall at the American Museum of Natural History."[858] For forty years she was a member of the Advisory Committee of the museum. She was also "instrumental in founding the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Fund to provide research grants in conservation, ecology, and natural history studies."[859] In 1975 she was actively involved in transforming a 12-acre woodland on Cove Road in Oyster Bay into "a center for

[855] George Dugan, "Ethel Roosevelt Derby, a Daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt, *New York Times*, December 12, 1977.

[856] "Ethel Roosevelt Derby Dies at Home Hundreds Attend Memorial Service," *Oyster Bay Guardian*, December 16, 1977.

[857] P. James Roosevelt, *Ethel Roosevelt Derby, 58th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association*, The Text for the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal Ceremony, October 28, 1977, 4.

[858] "Ethel Roosevelt Derby," *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal*, Vol. IV, no.1, 1978.

[859] "Ethel Roosevelt Derby," *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal*, Vol. IV, no.1, 1978.

teaching Long Island children the wonders of nature,"[860] which later became Theodore Roosevelt Sanctuary. She asserted "I know that my father would be very happy indeed to know that those woods will be used in this wonderful way."[861]

In 1977, at the 58th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, Ethel's cousin P. James Roosevelt made a speech in the honor of Ethel, and he referred some of the projects, designed in the aim of commemorating Theodore Roosevelt and his understanding of the community service, she participated at as this:

> Without Mrs. Derby there would quite literally be no Theodore Roosevelt Association. There would be no Theodore Roosevelt Park in Oyster Bay. There would be no Theodore Roosevelt Scholarship Grants at the Museum of Natural History… no Presidential Library at Harvard University; no fitting T.R. memorial on the Potomac; no Community Foundation of Oyster Bay; no Theodore Roosevelt Medal given by Long Island's hospitals… And in all that I have so far mentioned I have omitted her arch supreme achievement: that of single-handedly saving Sagamore Hill…[862]

58th Annual Meeting was the last meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association Ethel participated. She died on December 10, 1977, at the age of eighty-six, in her house in Oyster Bay, N.Y.

On December 17, 1977 the Executive Committee of Theodore Roosevelt Association authorized a resolution after the death of Ethel Roosevelt Derby, and sent it to the members of the Association. The letter says:

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[860] George Dugan, "Ethel Roosevelt Derby, a Daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt, *New York Times*, December 12 1977.

[861] George Dugan, "Ethel Roosevelt Derby, a Daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt, *New York Times*, December 12 1977.

[862] P. James Roosevelt, *Ethel Roosevelt Derby, 58th Annual Meeting of the Theodore Roosevelt Association*, The Text for the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal Ceremony, October 28, 1977, 4.

> "We are saddened by the passing from our midst of this great and good lady, wise in counsel, generous of her time and energy, noble in spirit. At the same time, we also feel a profound sense of gratitude for her many notable works and accomplishments, such as the restoration of Sagamore Hill, and also for the happy and inspiring memories of a life lived in the service of others and of high causes and worthy ideals. Without Mrs. Derby there would be no Sagamore Hill today for the American people, and there would be no Theodore Roosevelt Association. Her many services on behalf of historic preservation, conservation, charity, and this Association and our nation deserve to be remembered for all time by every American."[863]

According to Betty Boyd Caroli, author of *The Roosevelt Women,*

> "Of all the Roosevelt women considered here, none is more difficult to pin down than Ethel Roosevelt Derby. Of the four female cousins, Ethel remained the most private, her life defined by her husband, children, and the community in which she lived. In hundreds of letters she showed no sign that she would have wanted it any other way."[864]

Caroli was right; Ethel did not want her life any other way.

[863] Letter by Theodore Roosevelt Association, signed by Executive Director John A. Gable, sent to a member of the Association.

[864] Caroli, Roosevelt Women, p.14.

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- Ethel Roosevelt Derby Letters to Edith Derby Williams
- Ethel Roosevelt Derby Diaries and Compositions
- Ethel Roosevelt Derby Letters
- Edith Kermit Carow Roosevelt Diaries
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APPENDIX A

THE PHOTOGRAPS OF ETHEL ROOSEVELT 1891-1913

STUDIO PORTRAIT OF ETHEL ROOSEVELT, 1894



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND ETHEL ROOSEVELT AT SAGAMORE HILL, 1895

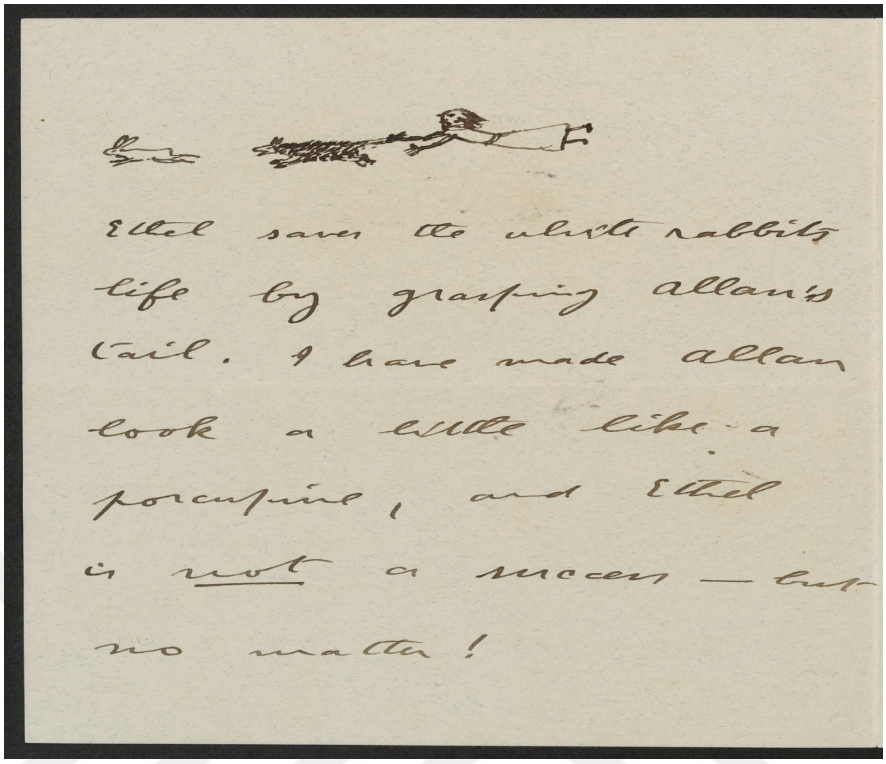


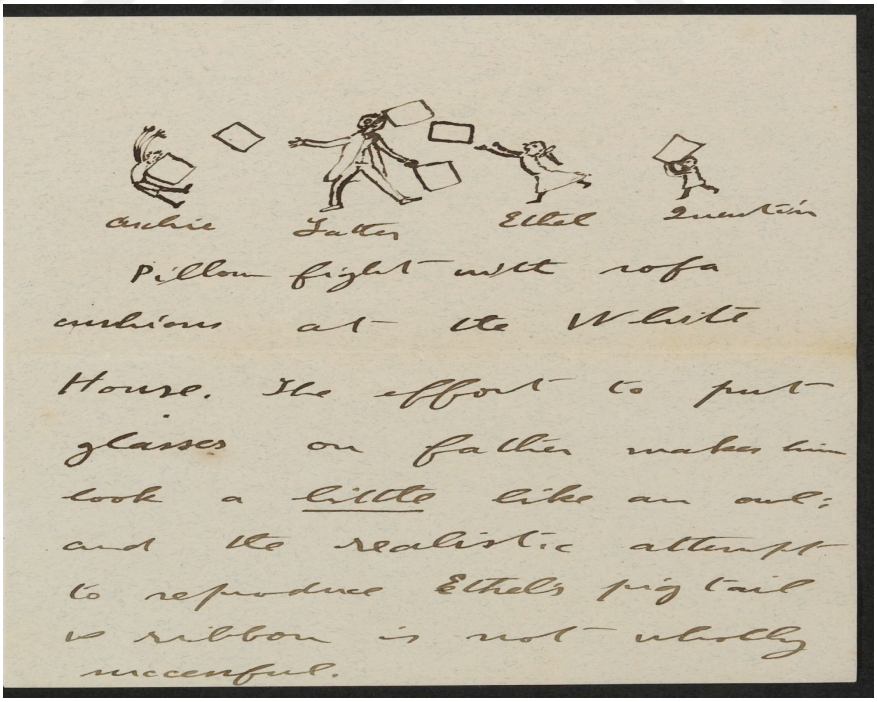
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

EDITH KERMIT CAROW ROOSEVELT AND ETHEL ROOSEVELT, 1900

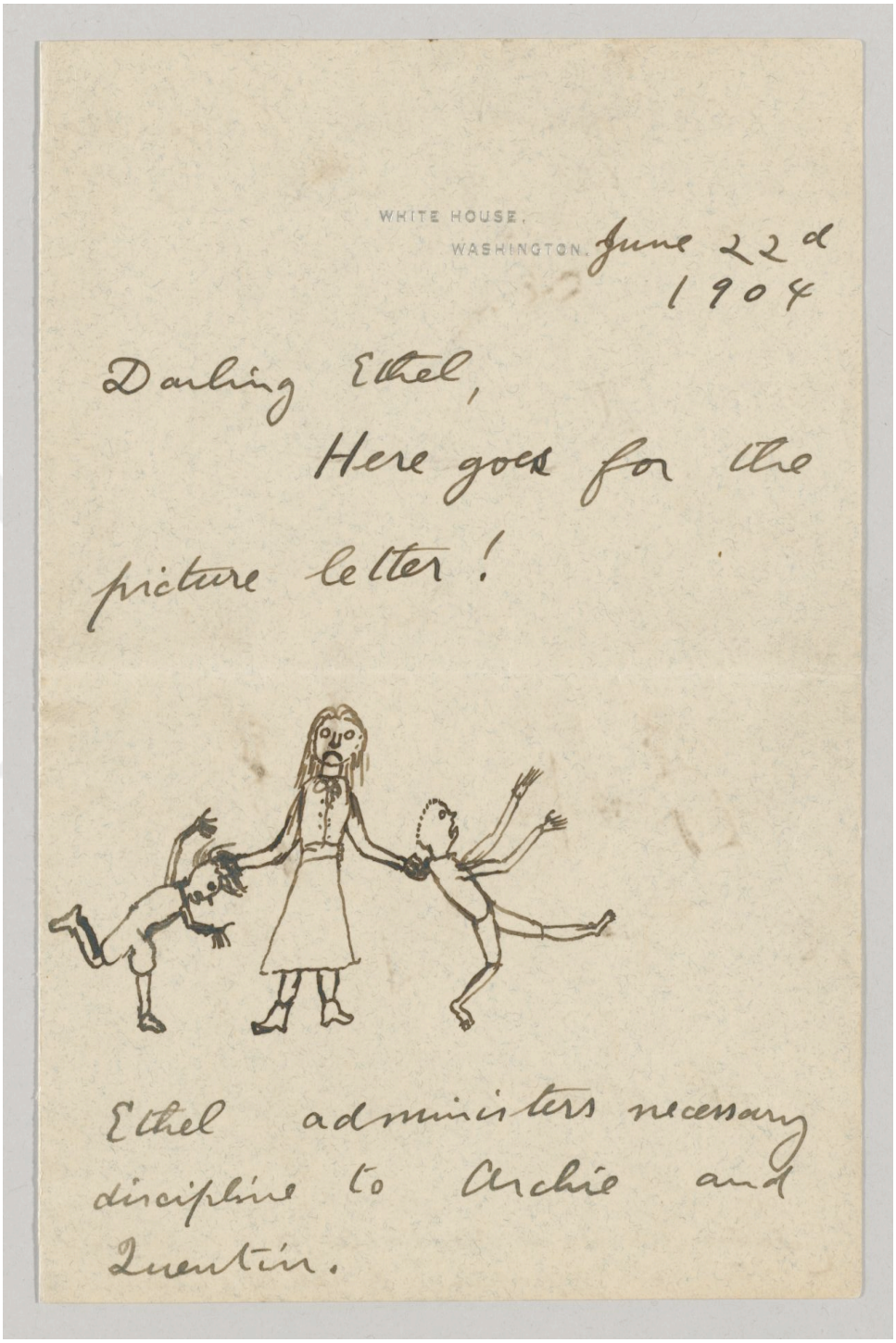


Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division





Source: Theodore Roosevelt to Kermit Roosevelt, October 29, 1903


WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON. June 22d
1904

Darling Ethel,

Here goes for the picture letter!

Ethel administers necessary discipline to Archie and Quentin.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt to Ethel Roosevelt, June 22, 1904.

EDITH KERMIT CAROW ROOSEVELT AND ETHEL ROOSEVELT AT SAGAMORE HILL, 1907



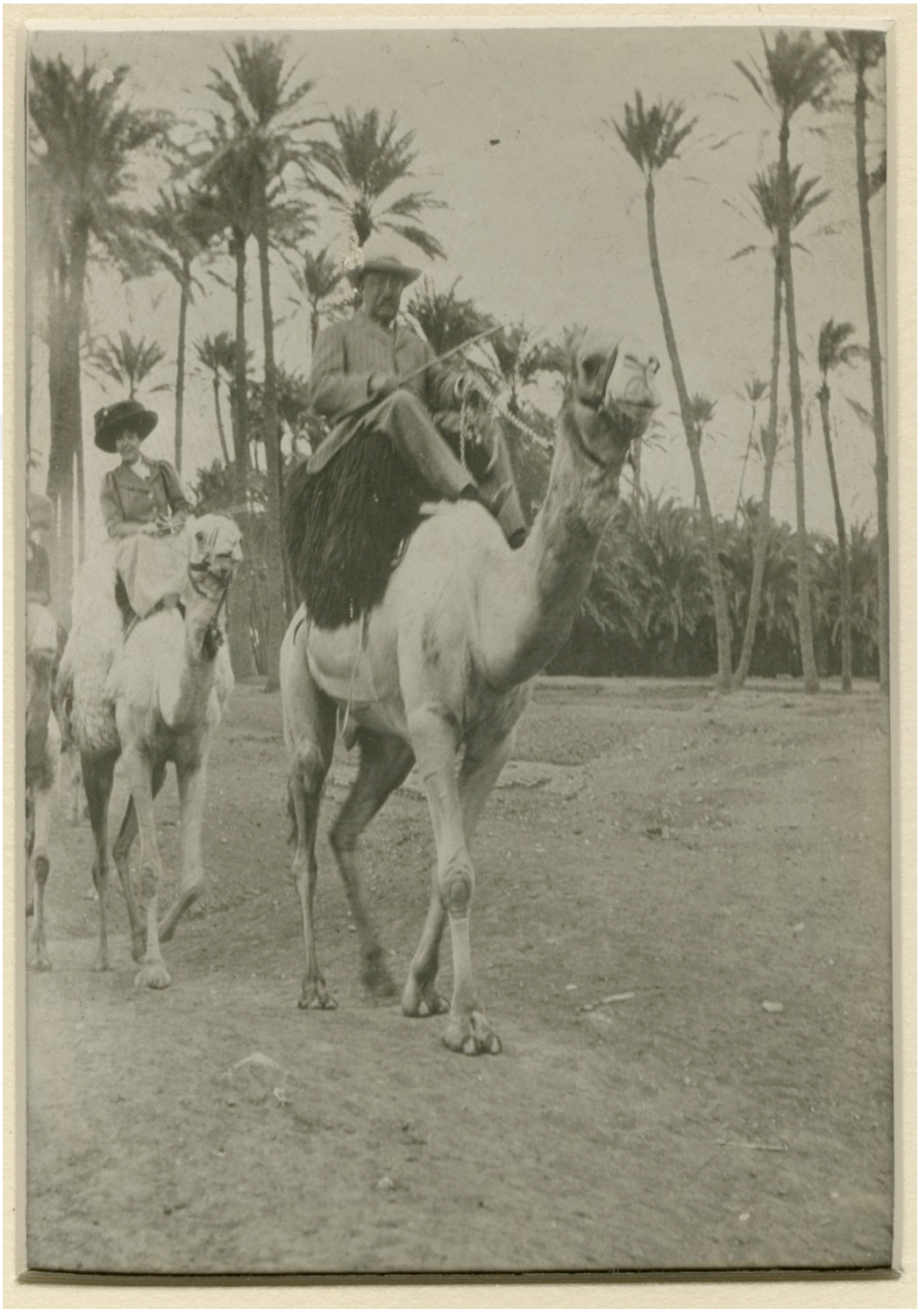
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT, EDITH KERMIT CAROW ROOSEVELT AND KERMIT ROOSEVELT IN LONDON DURING THE GRAND TOUR OF EUROPE, 1910



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT IN EGYPT, 1910



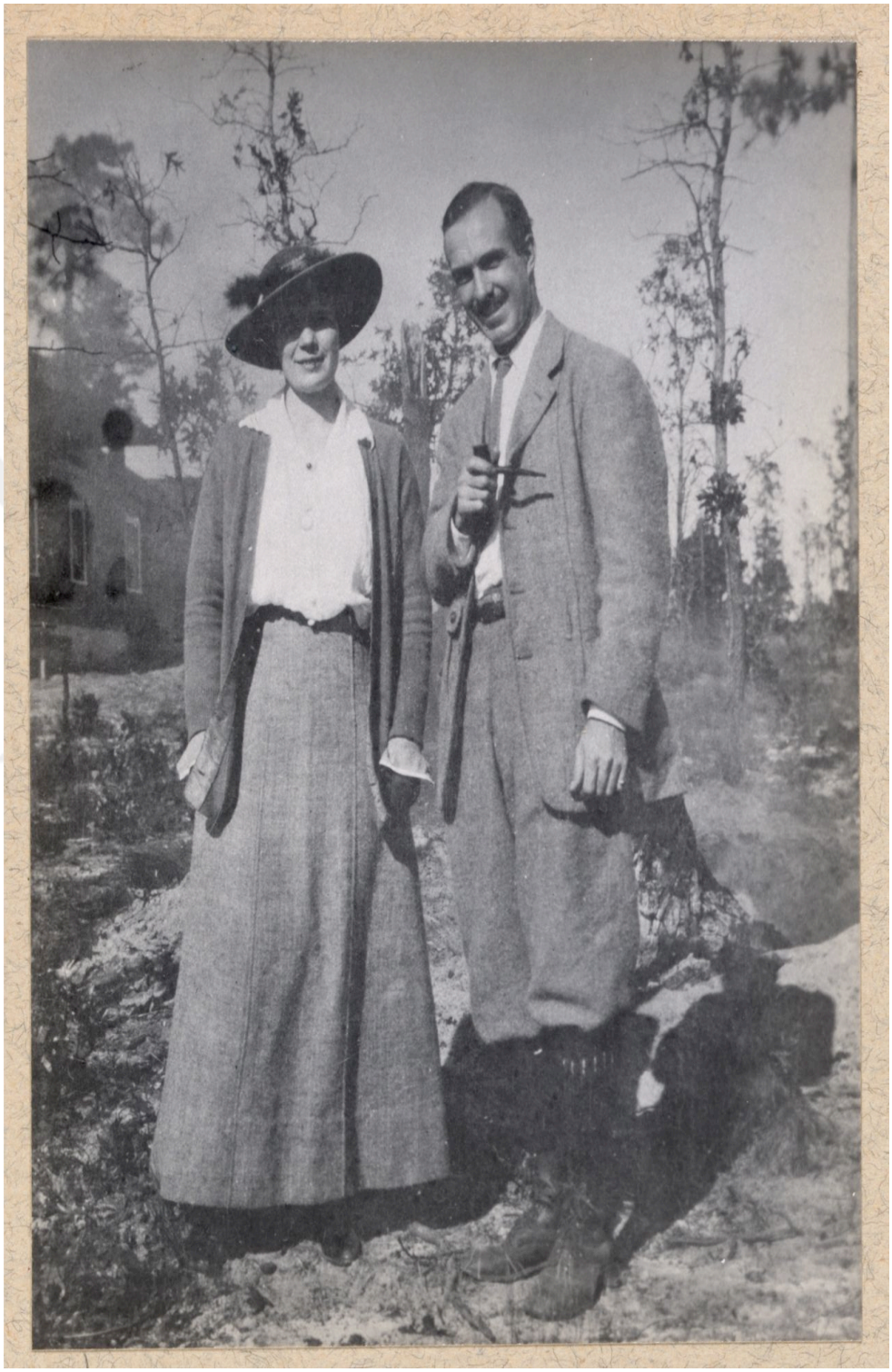
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace National Historic Site.

ETHEL ROOSEVELT, 1912



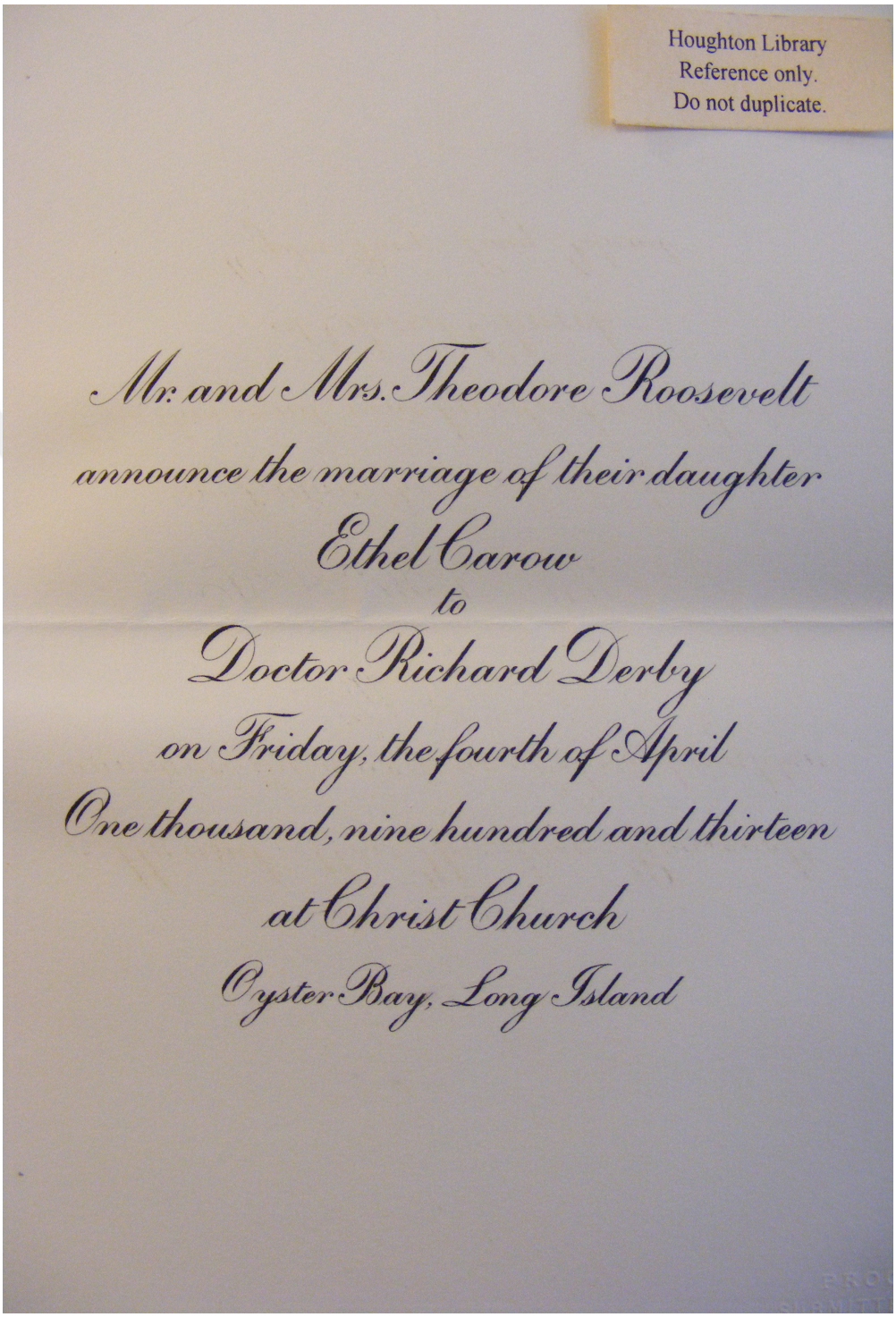
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT AND RICHARD DERBY, ENGAGED, 1913



Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

ETHEL ROOSEVELT AND RICHARD DERBY'S WEDDING INVITATION
APRIL 4, 1913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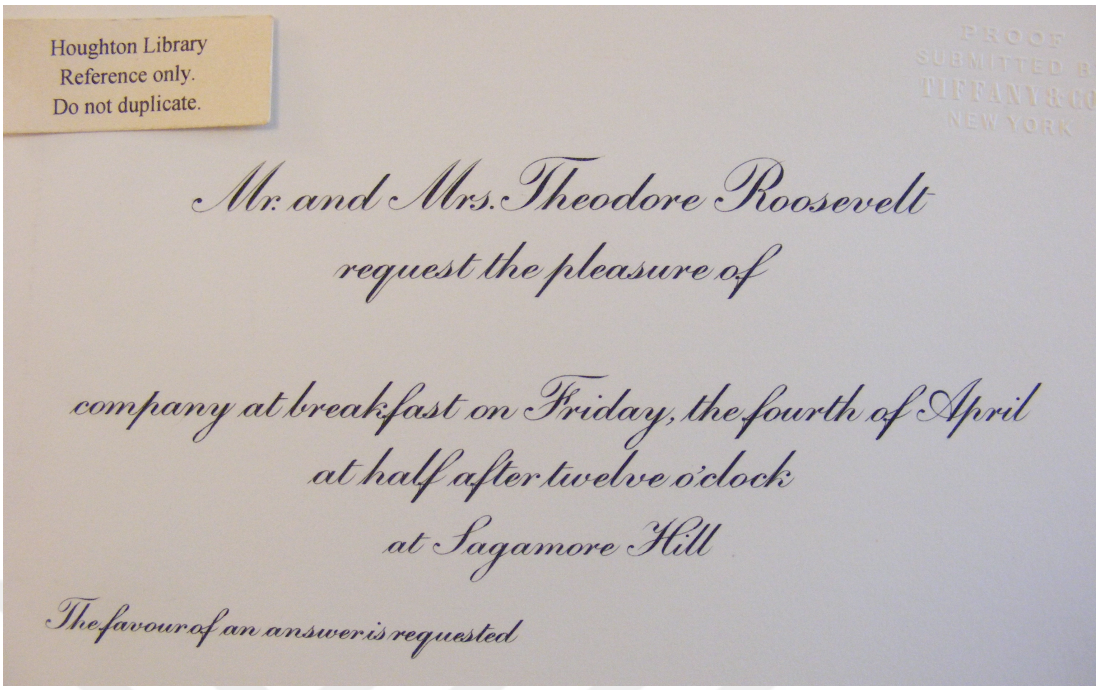
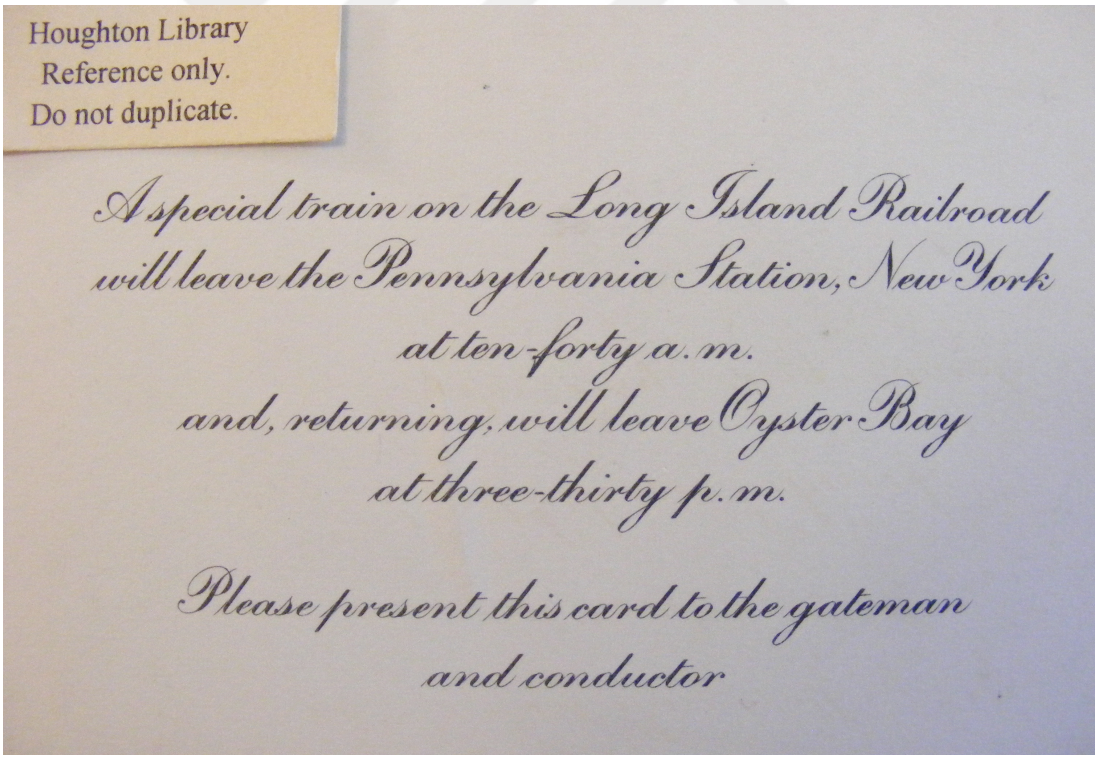
Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt
announce the marriage of their daughter
Ethel Carow
to
Doctor Richard Derby
on Friday, the fourth of April
One thousand, nine hundred and thirteen
at Christ Church
Oyster Bay, Long Island





Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT AT ETHEL'S WEDDING, 1913



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT AND RICHARD DERBY AT THE WEDDING, 1913



ROOSEVELT-DERBY WEDDING SCENE.

FORMER PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER LEAVING CHURCH AT OYSTER BAY, A BRIDE.

In the presence of more than 300 relatives, political associates of her father, and other friends, and as many of the residents of Oyster Bay as could force themselves into the church, Miss Ethel Roosevelt, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, was married on Friday in Christ Church to Dr. Richard Derby, of New York. So great was the crush of neighbors that the bride was separated from her parents when she stepped from their automobile to enter the church, and such was the pressure of the throng about her that her veil was torn loose from one side of her head.

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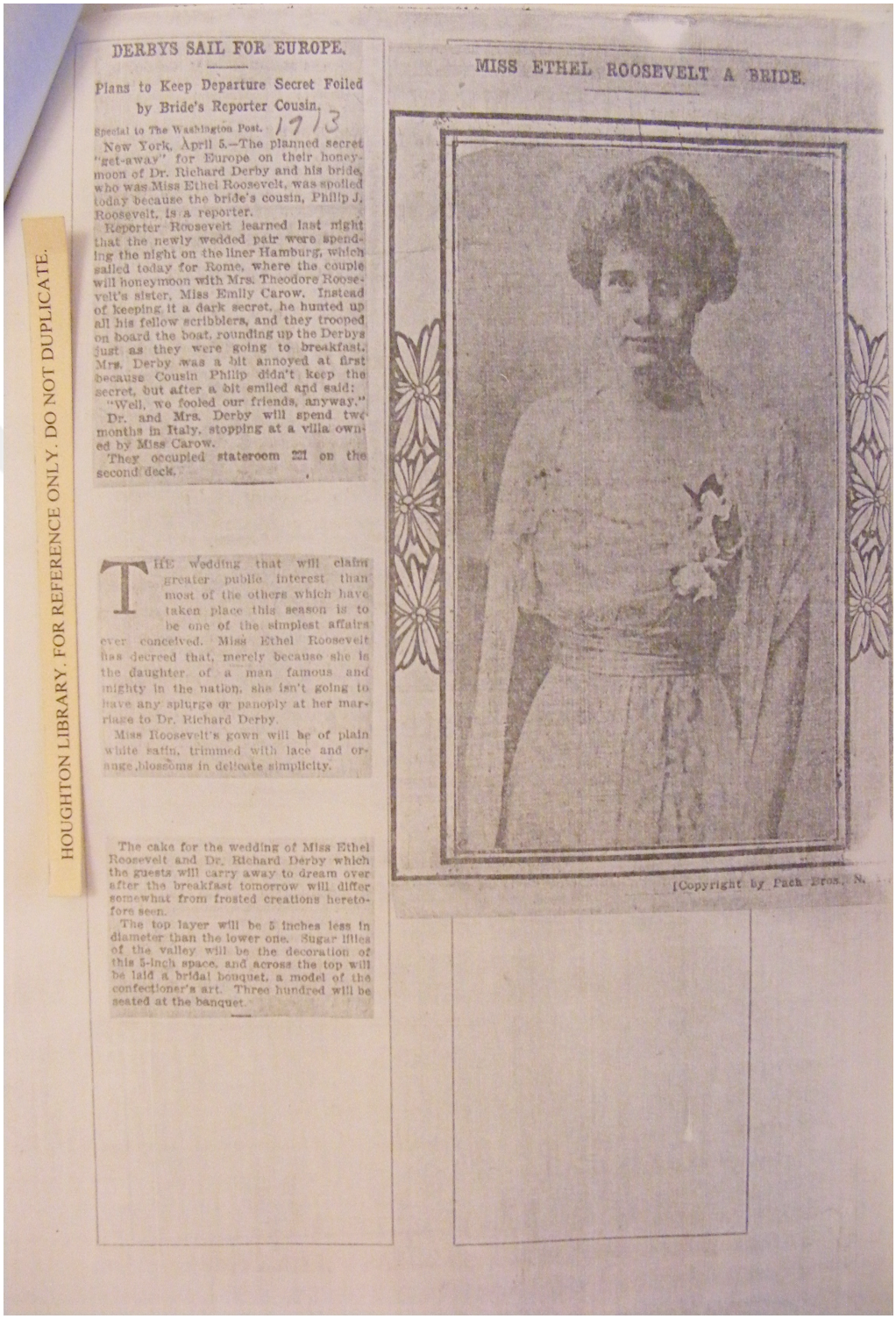
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

THE DERBYS SAIL FOR EUROPE, 1913



DERBYS SAIL FOR EUROPE.

Plans to Keep Departure Secret Foiled by Bride's Reporter Cousin.

Special to The Washington Post. 1913

New York, April 5.—The planned secret "get-away" for Europe on their honeymoon of Dr. Richard Derby and his bride, who was Miss Ethel Roosevelt, was spoiled today because the bride's cousin, Philip J. Roosevelt, is a reporter.

Reporter Roosevelt learned last night that the newly wedded pair were spending the night on the liner Hamburg, which sailed today for Rome, where the couple will honeymoon with Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt's sister, Miss Emily Carow. Instead of keeping it a dark secret, he hunted up all his fellow scribblers, and they trooped on board the boat, rounding up the Derbys just as they were going to breakfast. Mrs. Derby was a bit annoyed at first because Cousin Philip didn't keep the secret, but after a bit smiled and said:

"Well, we fooled our friends, anyway."

Dr. and Mrs. Derby will spend two months in Italy, stopping at a villa owned by Miss Carow.

They occupied stateroom 221 on the second deck.

THE wedding that will claim greater public interest than most of the others which have taken place this season is to be one of the simplest affairs ever conceived. Miss Ethel Roosevelt has decreed that, merely because she is the daughter of a man famous and mighty in the nation, she isn't going to have any splurge or panoply at her marriage to Dr. Richard Derby.

Miss Roosevelt's gown will be of plain white satin, trimmed with lace and orange blossoms in delicate simplicity.

The cake for the wedding of Miss Ethel Roosevelt and Dr. Richard Derby which the guests will carry away to dream over after the breakfast tomorrow will differ somewhat from frosted creations heretofore seen.

The top layer will be 5 inches less in diameter than the lower one. Sugar lilies of the valley will be the decoration of this 5-inch space, and across the top will be laid a bridal bouquet, a model of the confectioner's art. Three hundred will be seated at the banquet.

MISS ETHEL ROOSEVELT A BRIDE.

[Copyright by Pach Bros., N.

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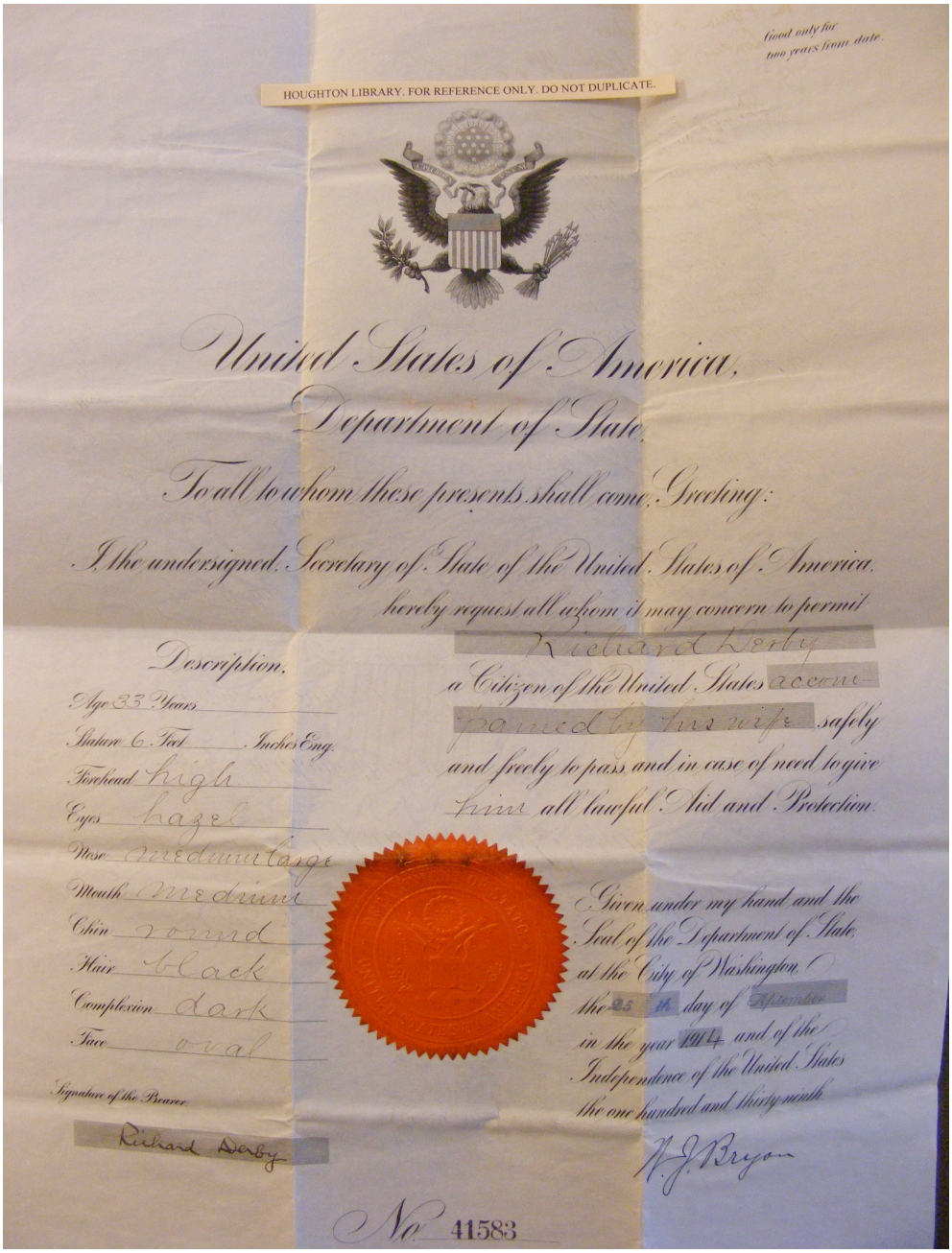
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

APPENDIX B

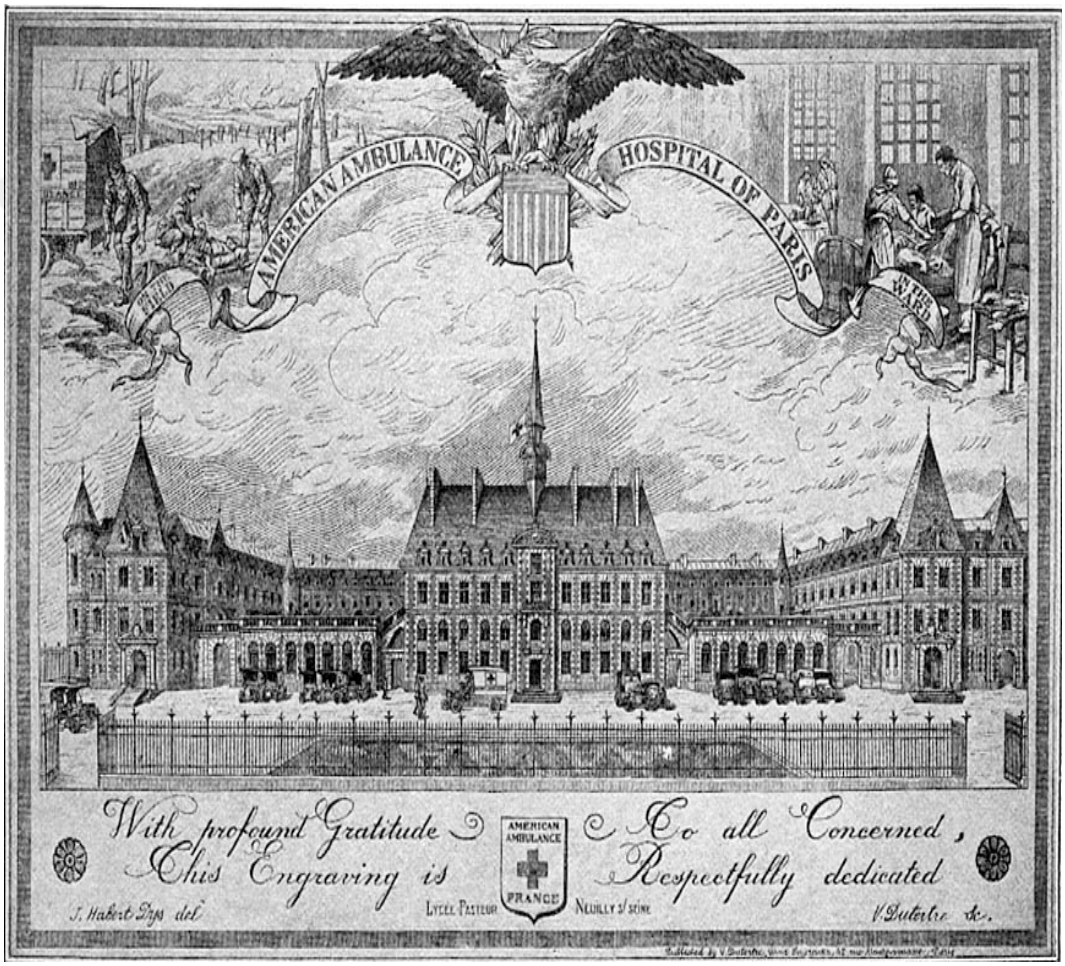
THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY 1914-1977

THE OFFICIAL TRAVEL LICENSE OF RICHARD DERBY AND ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY, SEPTEMBER 1914



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University(TRC)

THE AMERICAN AMBULANCE HOSPITAL OF PARIS AT THE LYCEE PASTEUR



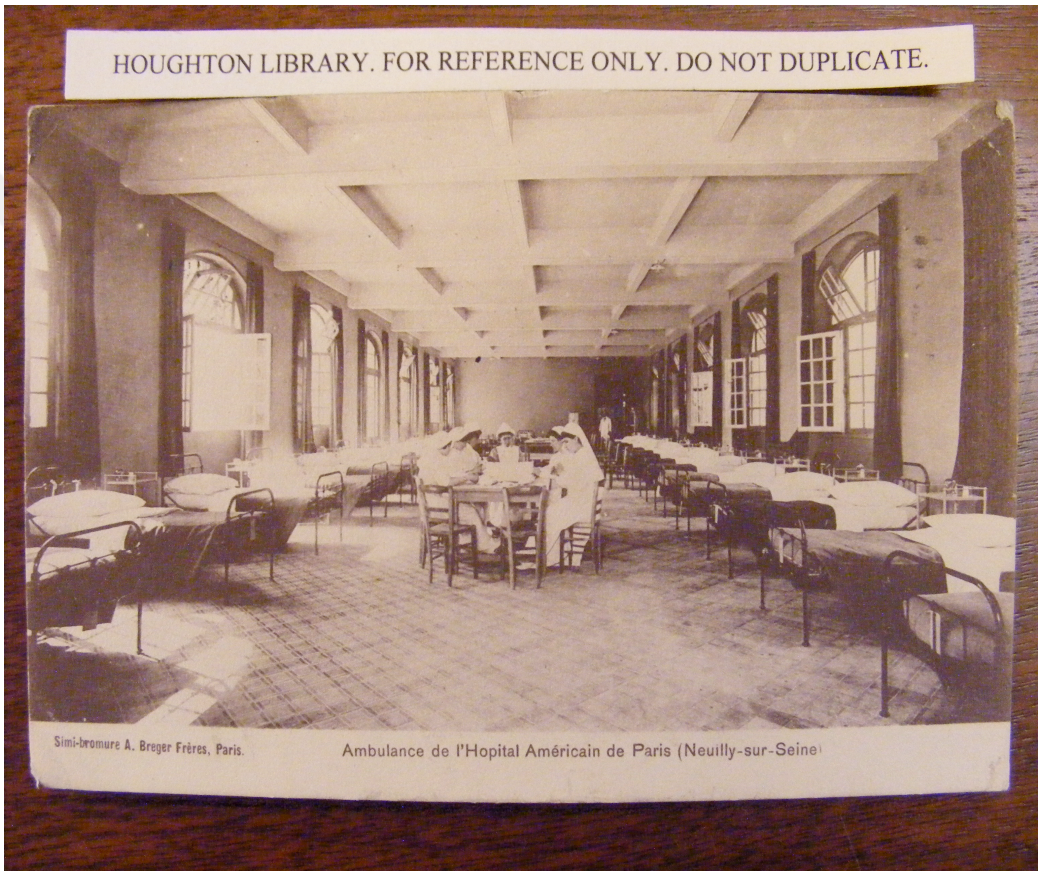
Source: AFS in World War I – Organization: The American Ambulance of Paris 1914-1918 http://www.ourstory.info/2/a/AA2b.html

AMBULANCE OF THE AMERICAN HOSPITAL- LYCÉE PASTEUR- NEUILLY- PARIS (POSTCARD)



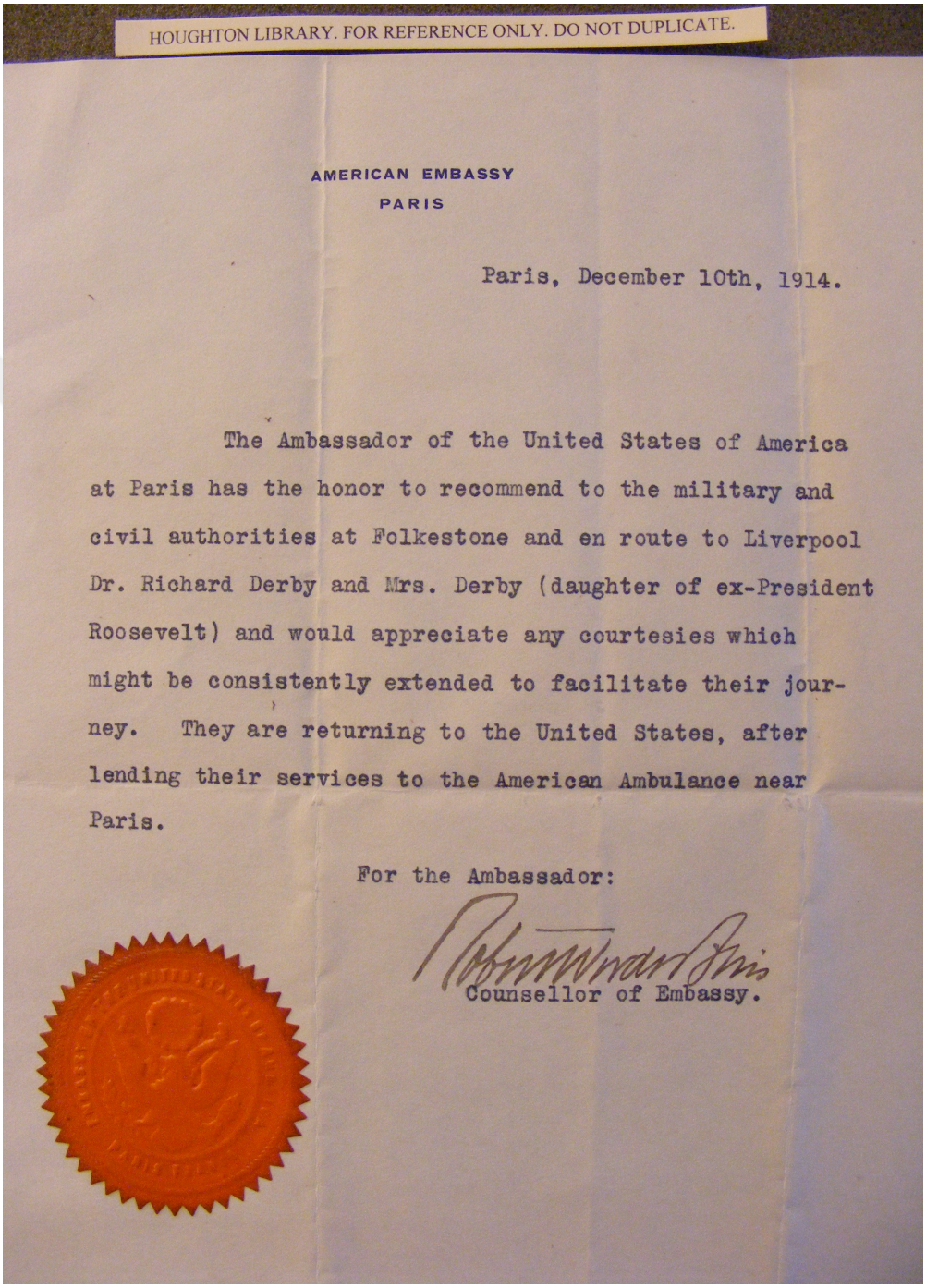
Source: American Field Service World War I Photographic Collection, 1910-1987 Series 1: Photographs and Negatives, 1910-1987 (bulk 1915-1917) Subseries 1D: American Hospital, ca. 1914-1915 Box 2 Folder 15: American Ambulance Hospital, circa 1914-1916.

A WARD WITH THE NURSES AT AMBULANCE DE L'HOPITAL AMERICAIN DE PARIS, NEUILLY-SUR-SEINE (POSTCARD)



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC) Ethel Roosevelt Derby Papers 1871-1977

THE OFFICIAL TRAVEL DOCUMENT - THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN PARIS



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AMERICAN EMBASSY
PARIS

Paris, December 10th, 1914.

The Ambassador of the United States of America at Paris has the honor to recommend to the military and civil authorities at Folkestone and en route to Liverpool Dr. Richard Derby and Mrs. Derby (daughter of ex-President Roosevelt) and would appreciate any courtesies which might be consistently extended to facilitate their journey. They are returning to the United States, after lending their services to the American Ambulance near Paris.

For the Ambassador:

Counsellor of Embassy.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

RICHARD DERBY AND RICHARD DERBY JR., 1915



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY AT SAGAMORE HILL, 1916



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY AND RICHARD DERBY, 1917



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

EDITH DERBY AND RICHARD DERBY JR., 1918



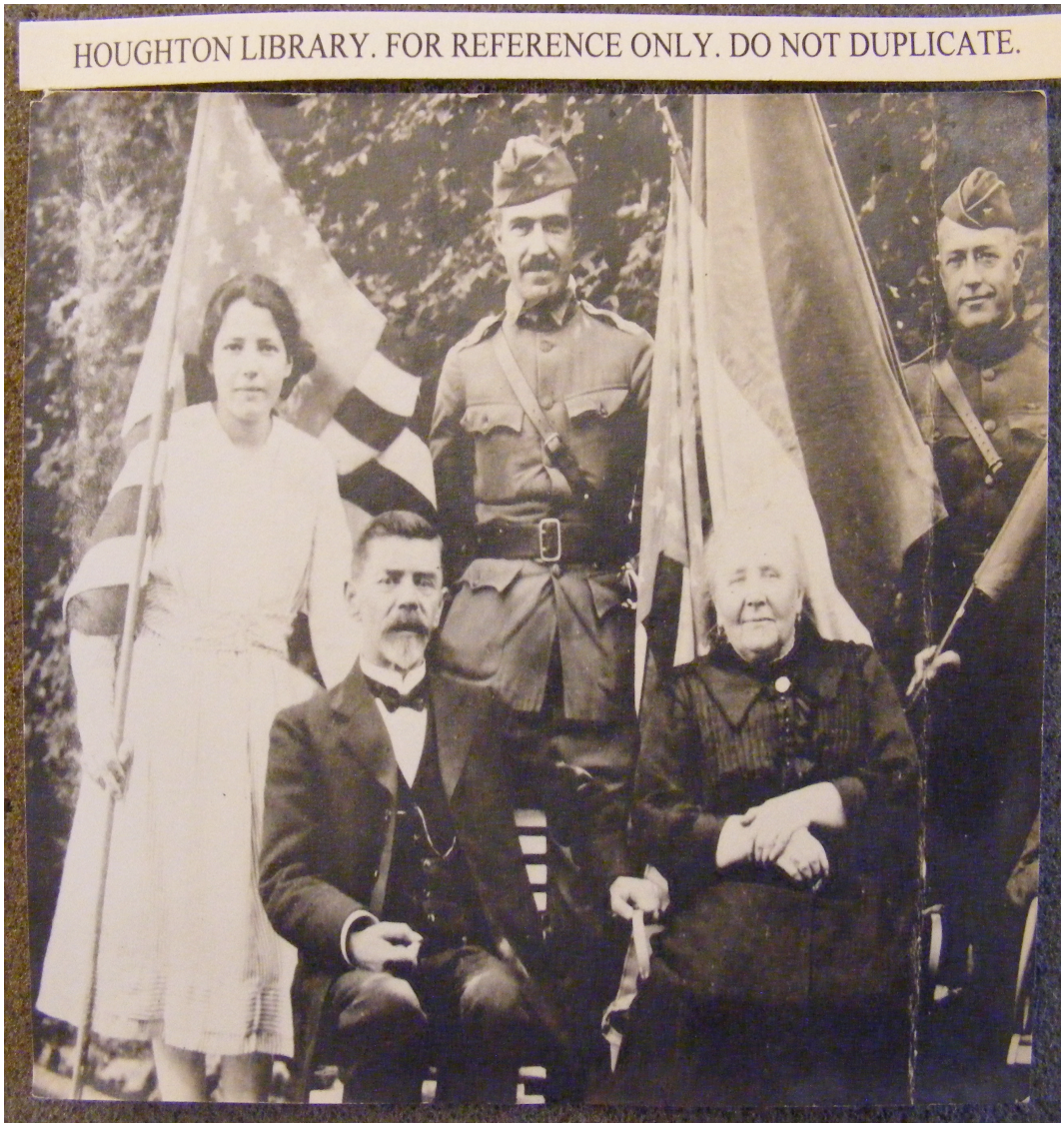
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

THE ROOSEVELTS AT SAGAMORE HILL DURING FIRST WORLD WAR, 1918



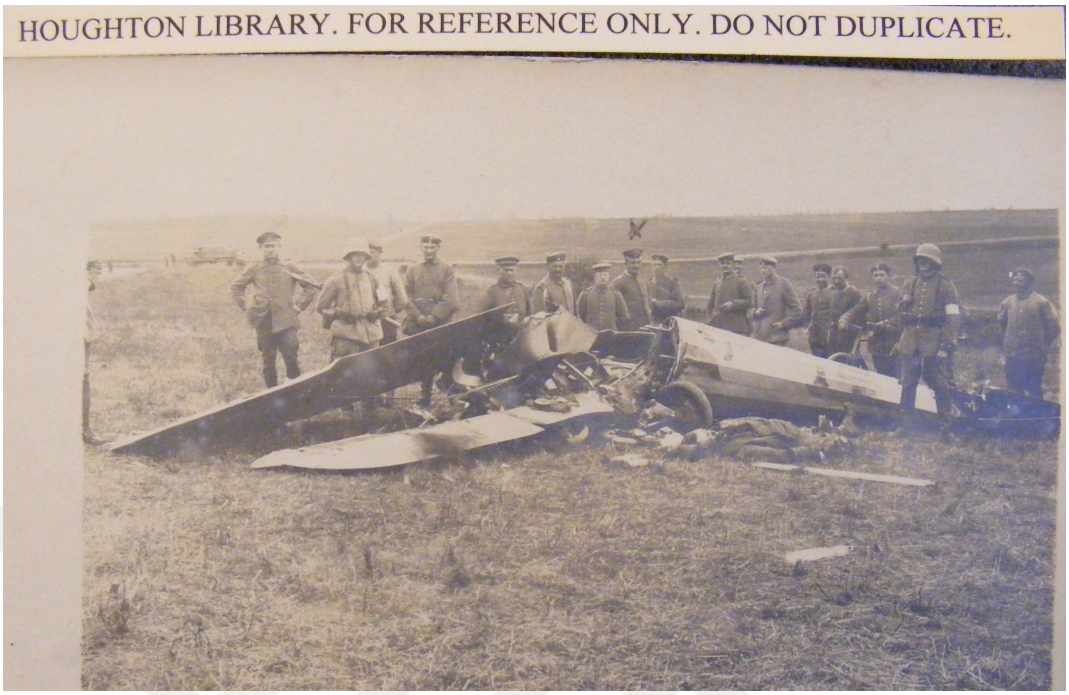
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

RICHARD DERBY AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT JR. IN EUROPE DURING FIRST WORLD WAR, 1918



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

QUENTIN ROOSEVELT AND GERMAN SOLDIERS, 1918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AS THE GERMANS LEFT THE GRAVE.

When the tide of war fell back from the Marne, these tributes to a fallen adversary were left. Some of the remnants of the machine in which Quentin Roosevelt met his death were strewn on the grave.

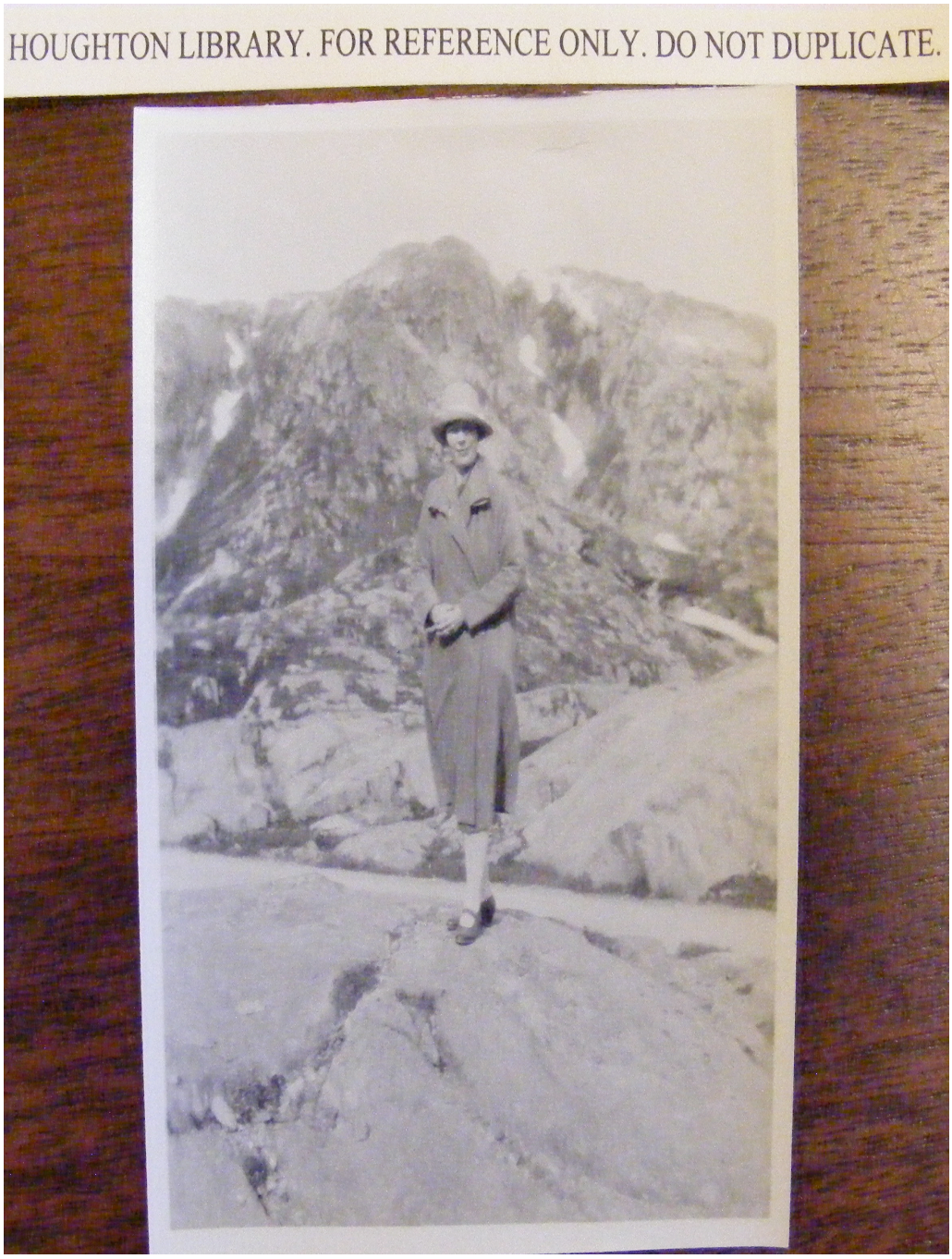
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY AND RICHARD DERBY JR., 1920



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY IN SWITZERLAND, 1928



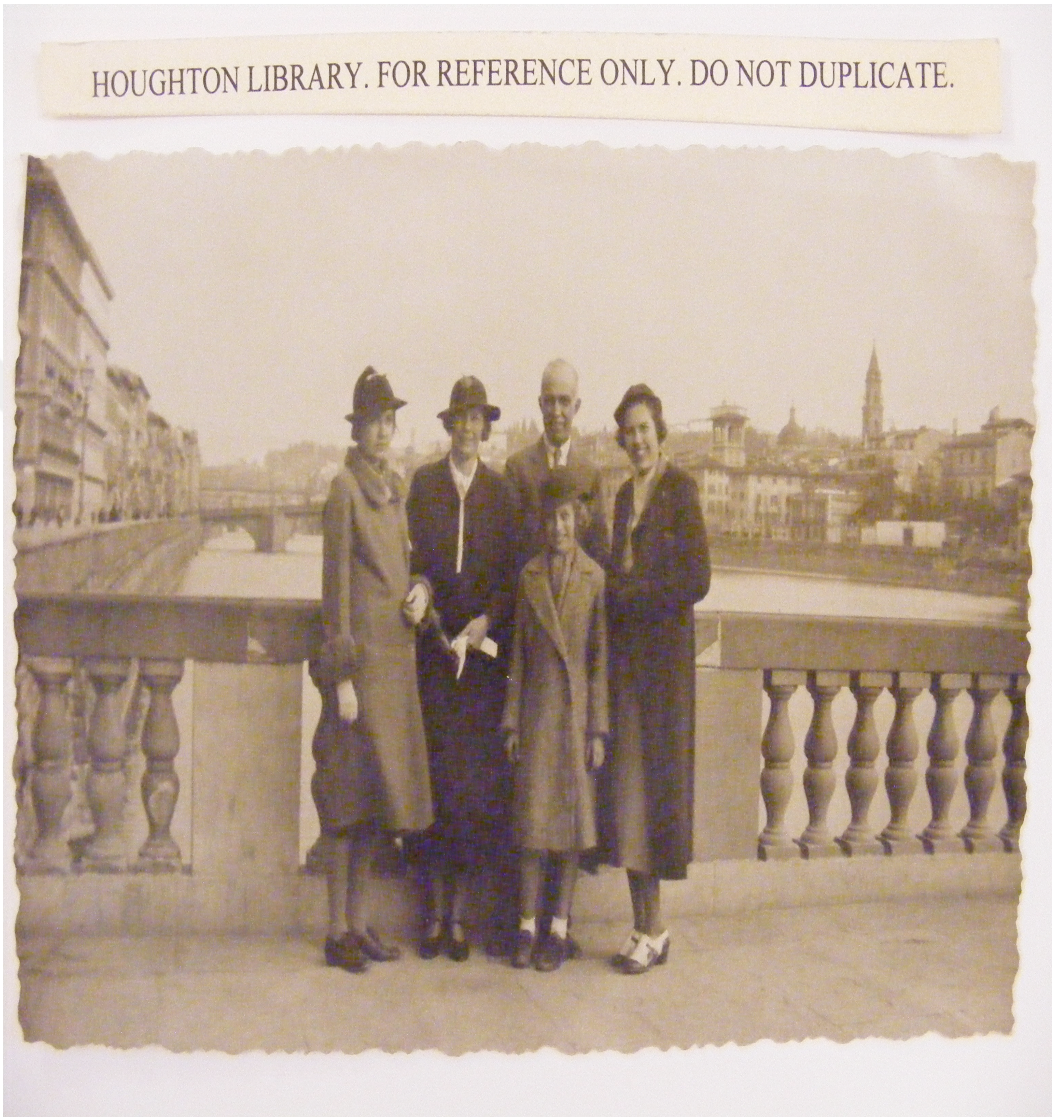
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

RICHARD DERBY IN SWITZERLAND, 1928



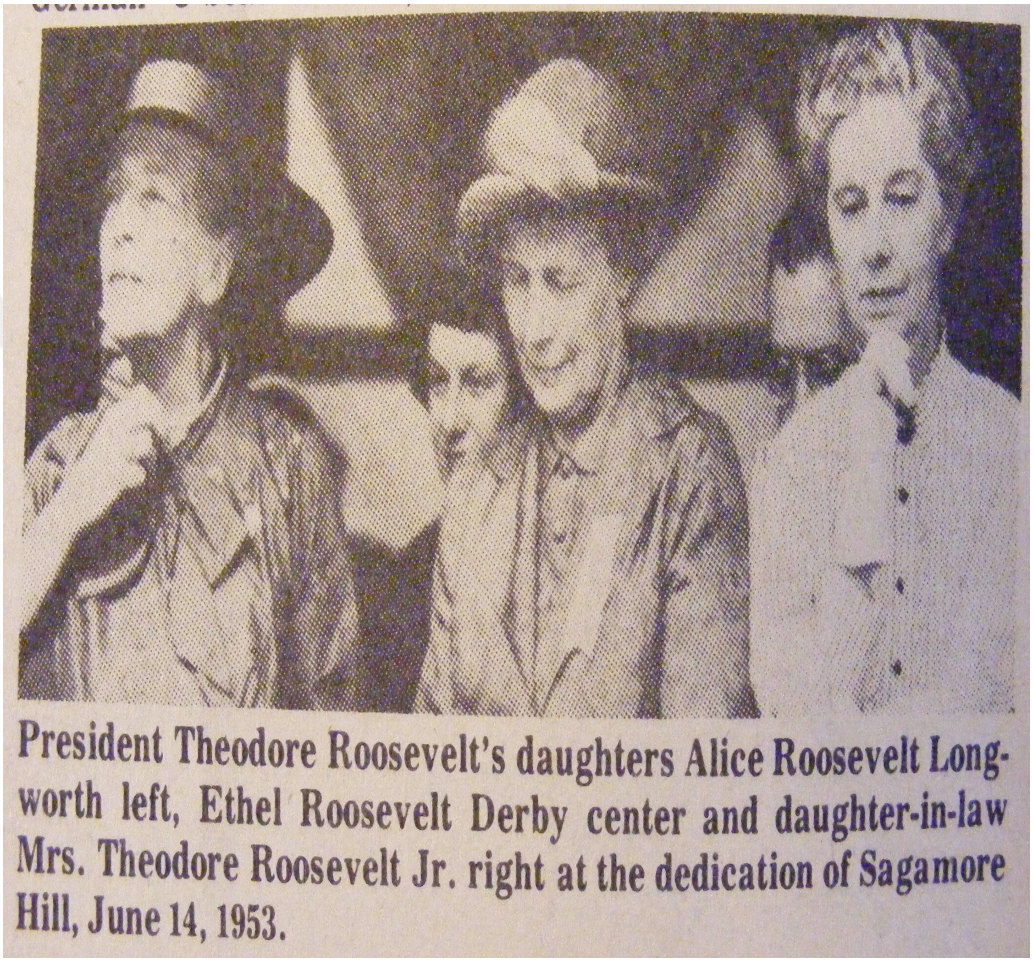
Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

THE DERBYS IN ITALY, 1935



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

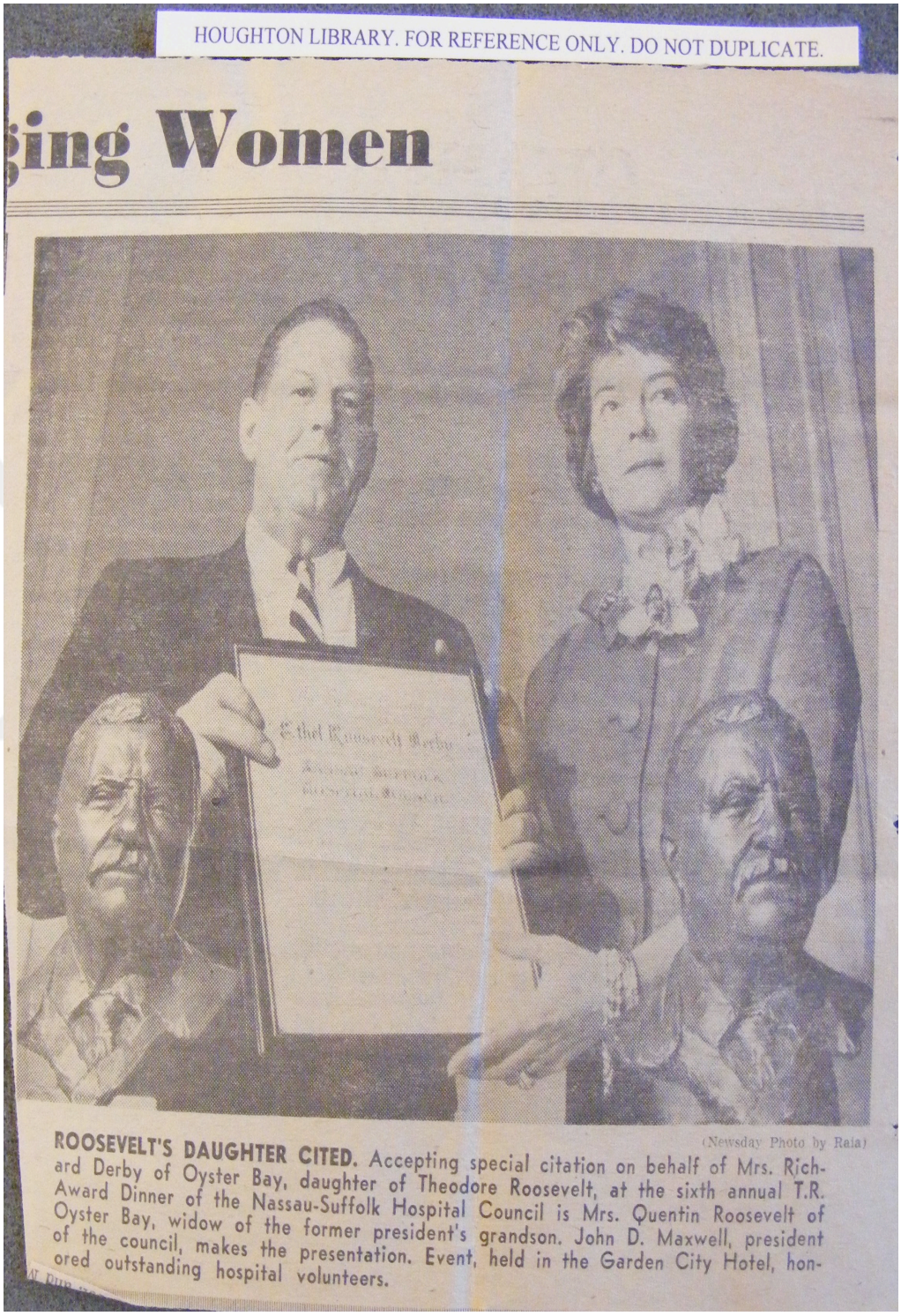
ALICE ROOSEVELT LONGWORTH, ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY AND ELEANOR BUTLER ALEXANDER ROOSEVELT, 1953



President Theodore Roosevelt's daughters Alice Roosevelt Longworth left, Ethel Roosevelt Derby center and daughter-in-law Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt Jr. right at the dedication of Sagamore Hill, June 14, 1953.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

SIXTH ANNUAL TR AWARD DINNER OF THE NASSAU-SUFFOLK HOSPITAL COUNCIL, 1963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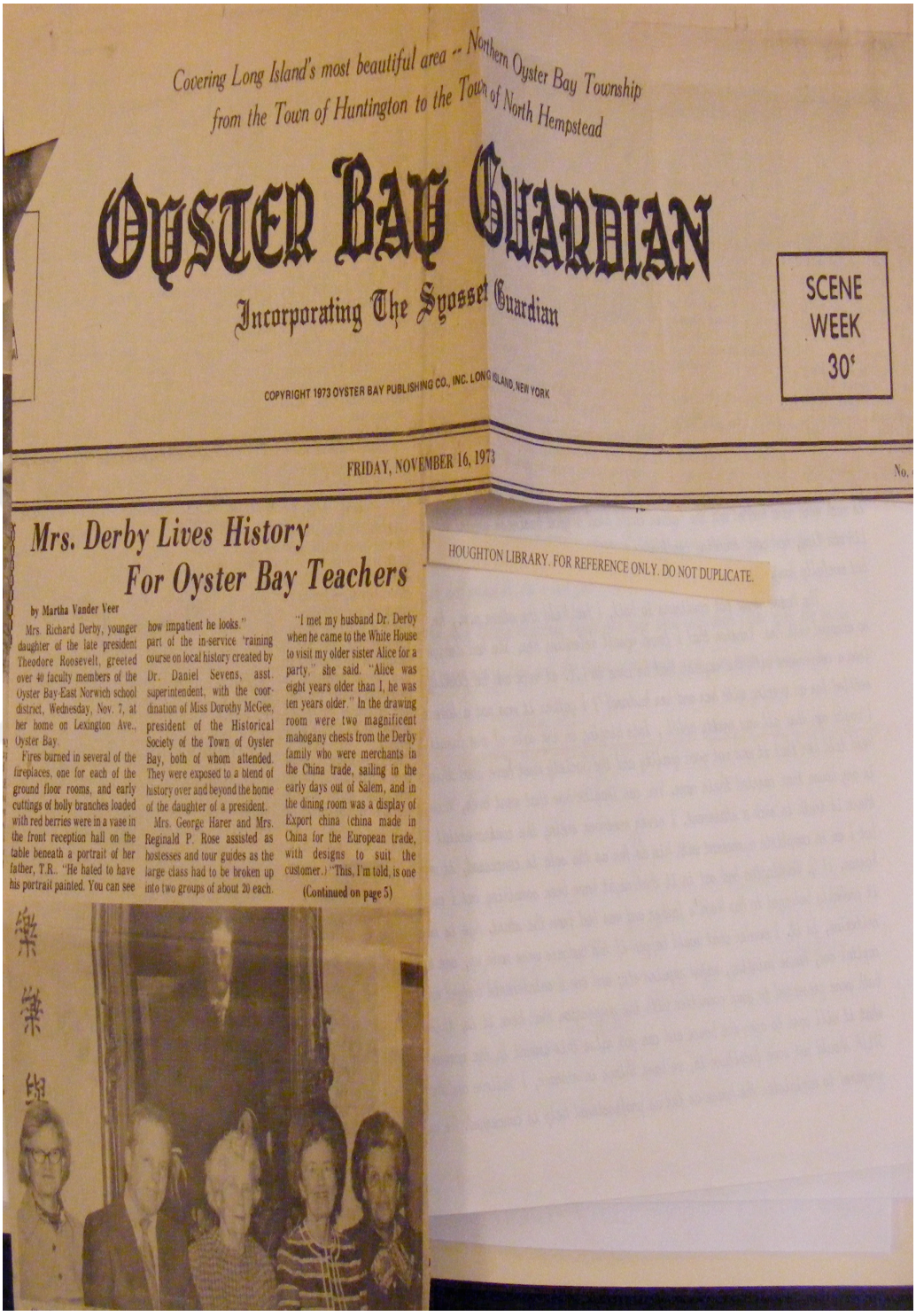
ging Women

(Newsday Photo by Rala)

ROOSEVELT'S DAUGHTER CITED. Accepting special citation on behalf of Mrs. Richard Derby of Oyster Bay, daughter of Theodore Roosevelt, at the sixth annual T.R. Award Dinner of the Nassau-Suffolk Hospital Council is Mrs. Quentin Roosevelt of Oyster Bay, widow of the former president's grandson. John D. Maxwell, president of the council, makes the presentation. Event, held in the Garden City Hotel, honored outstanding hospital volunteers.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY, 1973



Covering Long Island's most beautiful area -- Northern Oyster Bay Township from the Town of Huntington to the Town of North Hempstead

OYSTER BAY GUARDIAN

Incorporating The Syosset Guardian

SCENE WEEK 30¢

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1973

Mrs. Derby Lives History For Oyster Bay Teachers

by Martha Vander Veer

Mrs. Richard Derby, younger daughter of the late president Theodore Roosevelt, greeted over 40 faculty members of the Oyster Bay-East Norwich school district, Wednesday, Nov. 7, at her home on Lexington Ave., Oyster Bay.

Fires burned in several of the fireplaces, one for each of the ground floor rooms, and early cuttings of holly branches loaded with red berries were in a vase in the front reception hall on the table beneath a portrait of her father, T.R.. "He hated to have his portrait painted. You can see how impatient he looks."

part of the in-service "raining course on local history created by Dr. Daniel Sevens, asst. superintendent, with the coordination of Miss Dorothy McGee, president of the Historical Society of the Town of Oyster Bay, both of whom attended. They were exposed to a blend of history over and beyond the home of the daughter of a president.

Mrs. George Harer and Mrs. Reginald P. Rose assisted as hostesses and tour guides as the large class had to be broken up into two groups of about 20 each.

"I met my husband Dr. Derby when he came to the White House to visit my older sister Alice for a party," she said. "Alice was eight years older than I, he was ten years older." In the drawing room were two magnificent mahogany chests from the Derby family who were merchants in the China trade, sailing in the early days out of Salem, and in the dining room was a display of Export china (china made in China for the European trade, with designs to suit the customer.) "This, I'm told, is one

(Continued on page 5)

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Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY, NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 1974



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N.Y. Times - April 6, 1974

T.R.'s Daughter, 82, Leads a Bully Tour of His Home

By GEORGE VECSEY
Special to The New York Times

COVE NECK, L. I., April 4—Mrs. Ethel Roosevelt Derby does not care for the limelight. The 82-year-old daughter of Theodore Roosevelt is "as reticent about publicity as my sister is comfortable with it"—a reference to her half-sister, Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, the irrepressible grand dame of Washington, who recently celebrated her 90th birthday with rollicking interviews with the press.

"I have an instinct for privacy," says Mrs. Derby, a widow who lives quietly in nearby Oyster Bay and who is fond of traveling around the country.

But when she is at home, Mrs. Derby will visit her childhood home of Sagamore Hill here—once a salon for statesmen, historians and artists and now a national historical site. And sometimes she conducts a special tour there herself.

If President Theodore Roosevelt is only a myth to the 125,000 visitors that Sagamore Hill receives each year, he becomes personified when his daughter conducts the tour with graciousness, military command and intellectual pride.

'Do Ask Questions'

"Do ask questions," she instructed, staring directly at two college students who had joined her tour party the other day. "I love to answer questions from young people. It is the only way you will learn anything."

The learning began with a guide book. Theodore Roosevelt contracted to build Sagamore Hill for $17,000 in 1884, the year his first wife died after giving birth to Alice. In 1886 he married Edith Kermit Carow, who became the mother of four sons and Mrs. Derby.

Ridgement rapidly became New York City's police commissioner, governor of the state, Vice President and [illegible]

1901. But every chance he got, President Roosevelt left Washington for his 23-room mansion overlooking Long Island Sound, where his huge family romped and read and shot and wore out their clothes and their vigor entertains today.

Mrs. Derby's tour began in the library, which houses thousands of [illegible]

was raggedly Victorian.

"My mother was an essentially feminine person and I think you will see that in this room," she said. "She liked to read about the 18th and 19th centuries."

People remember Edith Carow as the ideal companion for Theodore Roosevelt: informed, discreet, unawed. Once when he suffered a minor but bloody scalp wound on one of his romps, she urged him, please, not to bleed all over the house.

Mrs. Derby moved into the high-ceilinged living room, that also contained thousands of more books. She opened a volume of "Die Niebelunge," inscribed by William, Emperor of Germany.

"I can see my father now," said Mrs. Derby, "sitting in this chair reading a book. We would be perched over there [on a bench in front of the fireplace]. My mother would be sitting there in between. He could read a book a day. He had enormous concentration."

Mrs. Derby passed by a large statue of a rhinoceros with a dozen birds perched on its back.

"My mother took a very dim view of this statue," she recalled. "She would stick telephone messages on the birds and she would place a hat on the horns—anything to hide this hideous rhino."

Finally she stopped by the dining room, recalling how the family dressed for dinner "in those days." But she also remembered the informal gatherings—the children sitting among diplomats and family friends, the talk shifting from politics to legends of the old West.

"He did not confide everything in us," she said of her father. "But he usually told us what he was doing."

Cartoons from "those days" show swarms of Secret Service agents trying to follow the President and his clan through the woods and coves of Sagamore Hill while reporters crouched behind bushes to report that T.R. Jr. had skinned his knee or that Alice had a brand new gown. Life was not isolated for Presidents even then.

"The Secret Servicemen were our friends," Mrs. Derby said. "They were very nice. But we were aware of them."

"We were trained never to let any stranger come up to my father, particularly with his hands in his pockets," she continued. "We always kept a watch. We took it as part of life. We lived with danger and accepted it."

In 1912, the year of his "Bull Moose" third-party candidacy, Mr. Roosevelt was shot in the chest by a lone gunman in Milwaukee. The bullet was slowed by his eyeglass case and his folded manuscript and did not penetrate his lungs. So he got up and delivered a one-and-a-half-hour speech before going to the hospital. But that was physical courage. Mrs. Derby prefers to recall other aspects of her father—his energy, his patriotism, his social concerns.

"They tell the story about a Negro man getting off the train at Grand Central Station," she said. "He had two heavy suitcases. A white man said, 'Here, let me carry one.' That Negro man was Booker T. Washington. That white man was my father.

"Of course, you know what happened when he invited Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House, don't you? And appointed a Negro postmaster in Missis-

Culver Service

Theodore Roosevelt, his children and second wife in 1903. Daughters are Ethel, left, and Alice. Sons, from left: Theodore Jr., Archibald, Kermit and Quentin.

sippi? Everybody said it was a scandal, the South would never get over it. But they got over it. They didn't bother him."

Mrs. Derby herself served with the Red Cross during World War I. When the war ended she and her late husband, Dr. Richard Derby, a physician, were among the first volunteers to treat the wounded in France. She raised four children, two of them still living: Mrs. Andrew Williams of Vashon, Wash., and Mrs. Robert Gannett of West Brattleboro, Vt., wife of a state senator.

In her quiet way, Mrs. Derby does not dwell on her varied activities. But her long-time friend, Mrs. Harold Craft, says Mrs. Derby has been a member of the local Republican club, active in the Red Cross and many civic organizations, and served on the board of the Museum of Natural History.

Mrs. Derby lives with a housekeeper in Oyster Bay, spends summers in Vermont and recently drove by herself to inspect the site of a Roosevelt library at Harvard University.

An associate suggests that she is not political" these days and that, while she may [illegible] the Watergate scandal, she feels that President Nixon has been kind to her and to her sister.

Mrs. Derby extended her hand for a last vigorous handshake. And soon she was driving down the Sagamore Hill road, driving her own car with speed and control.

The New York Times/Jerry Dantzic

Mrs. Ethel Roosevelt Derby in the library of her childhood home, now a national shrine

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)



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Vol.-29 No.-20 December 19, 1974

A visit with TR's daughter

Students at the Theodore Roosevelt elementary school in Oyster Bay have an understandably intense interest in the 25th President for whom their school was named. They have been steeped in his history, lore and a great deal about Roosevelt's personal life in the village he called home - where he lived and died. Much of this has been told and retold by his youngest daughter, Mrs. Richard (Ethel) Derby who lives in Oyster Bay and takes great joy in giving first-hand stories about her father to the children of the T.R. school.

After visiting Roosevelt's home at Sagamore Hill, his grave site at Oyster Bay Cove and traveling to New York City to tour the home of his birth, the 4th and 5th grade classes of Mary Rohan and Jane Coschignano were overjoyed when they learned that Mrs. Derby had accepted an invitation to talk about her illustrious father. But this time, instead of giving a talk, Mrs. Derby encouraged the youngsters to ask questions, the answers to which might not be found in books.

Of course, with Christmas on their minds, the children wanted to know what it was like at Sagamore Hill at this time of the year. The 81 year young Mrs. Derby immediately recalled how she and her brothers would hang stockings at the fireplace and like all other children found it difficult to wait until dawn when they could be opened. "But the presents were not to be opened until 7 o'clock and each year we thought that hour would never come." she reminisced. "Oh, yes," she added, "we always used a lovely cedar for our Christmas tree."

When asked about her father's poor health as a youth, she told how he had suffered with asthma but set out to make himself physically fit. "You must struggle to grow up - to be strong of body', his father had told him. And he did," Mrs. Derby said. "When we were young he took us on long 'point to point' walks in Oyster Bay - through cow barns, over hay lofts and through the thick brush. My father strongly believed that going

Mary Rohan, Joan Candelaria and Jane Coschignano look on as Mrs. Derby autographs a book about her father.

through life 'point to point' and not circumventing problems, was the wisest way."

Asked about the President's love of nature, she said her father was a "great conservationist and an ecologist before I ever knew what the word meant". She said he took her brothers hunting only because there were so very many animals in those days. "In Africa", she mentioned, "he went only to shoot specimens for the Museum of Natural History of which he was a trustee."

One child asked where the big buffalo head hanging at Sagamore Hill came from. Mrs. Derby said when her father was a young man he went out west to ranch in the Bad Lands of North Dakota and in no time was made sheriff. "The first complaint was from an Indian who told him that his pony was stolen. My father got it back and the Indian thanked him and then returned with that wonderful buffalo head."

Mrs. Derby said her father was very loving and very kind "but there were certain orders we had to obey". However, she never remembers being spanked by him. "We were all very proud of him as a man and as a human being," she told the children. "As for his entering politics, he believed it was his way of helping his country."

A young boy asked about his death and Mrs. Derby thoughtfully recalled that he died peacefully in his sleep in his bedroom at Sagamore Hill. "He was just 60 years old, very young, but the strenuous years had sapped his strength. He loved Sagamore Hill," she said, "and chose to be buried at Young's Memorial Cemetery instead of Arlington."

Although Mrs. Derby left Sagamore Hill after her marriage to Dr. Richard Derby, she still considers it her home and visits it several times a week.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DEBY, HARRIET SHAPIRO'S INTERVIEW, 1976



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY – THEODORE ROOSEVELT SANCTUARY OF OYSTER BAY, 1977



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Roosevelt Sanctuary Receives $3,000

Standing before a portrait of her father, Mrs. Richard Derby is pictured with Richard A. Houghton Jr., president of the Board of the Theodore Roosevelt Sanctuary and Alan Ruppert, its director, on her left. - Ed Hanaski photo.

Mrs. Richard Derby, Honorary Chairman of the Theodore Roosevelt Sanctuary of Oyster Bay and daughter of the late President for whom the sanctuary is named, was on hand to accept a check for over $3000 raised for the organization by three Audubon society chapters at a special ceremony held at her home on Lexington Ave., Oyster Bay, Wednesday evening, Jan. 12.

The contribution represents the proceeds from the "Bird Seed Savings Day" sale held Nov. 6 by the Huntington, Lyman Langdon and South Shore Audubon chapters to help fund the unique and innovative nature education programs offered by the sanctuary which is under the direction of naturalist Alan Ruppert who lives at the nature preserve site.

Richard A. Houghton, Jr., President of the Board of the Theodore Roosevelt Sanctuary, was also present at the ceremony which took place during the meeting of the Huntington Audubon Society at Mrs. Derby's home.

A second "Bird Seed Savings Day" sale will be held Jan. 22 at Huntington High School, the Twin Rinks ice skating center, Port Washington, and the Tackapausha Museum and Preserve in Seaford.

Friday, January 14, 1977

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT – SHERWOOD AWARD, 1977



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TRA 7-78

NEWSLETTER

society for the preservation of Long Island antiquities

SUMMER, 1977

Mrs. Reginald P. Rose, Mrs. Ethel Roosevelt Derby and President Huyler C. Held.

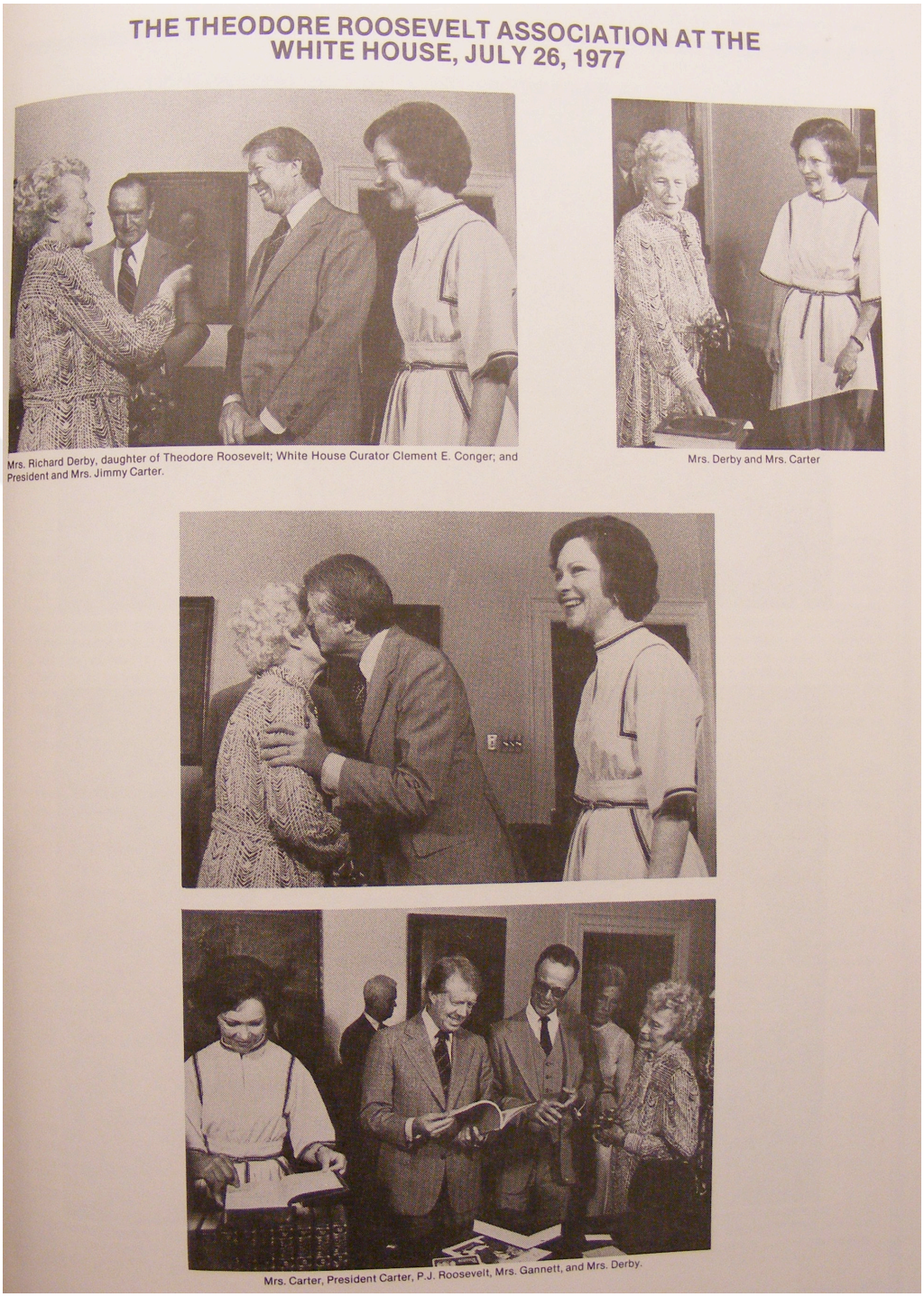
ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY RECEIVES SHERWOOD AWARD

Mrs. Richard (Ethel Roosevelt) Derby of Oyster Bay is the 1977 recipient of the Howard C. Sherwood Award for superior achievement in historic preservation on Long Island. Mrs. Derby led the effort to conserve Sagamore Hill as a national historic site. During the key period between the death of her mother, Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, in 1948 and the opening of the house as a museum in 1953, Mrs. Derby was the guiding light and inspiration of the Theodore Roosevelt Association's preservation effort. When her endeavors ran into difficulty, Mrs. Derby could not be dissuaded from her purpose, never losing sight of the goal.

Gary Roth, Curator of the Sagamore Hill National Historic Site and historian of the site's early history, states with certainty that there would not have been a Sagamore Hill for the public without Mrs. Derby. Her efforts have given the nation one of its finest Presidential house museums, one of the few in which a visitor really can sense the life and times of the great man who once resided there.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY AND THE CARTERS AT THE WHITE HOUSE, 1977



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY-THEODORE ROOSEVELT DISTINGUISHED SERVICE MEDAL, OCTOBER 1977


May 20, 2005
Kathleen Dalton
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The presentation of the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal on October 28, 1977: Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, III; Mrs. Richard Derby; and Mr. P. James Roosevelt.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY – COMMUNITY FOUNDATION, 1977



Mrs. Richard Derby and Community Foundation President George O'Neill discuss 1977 fund drive plans.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY DIED IN DECEMBER 10, 1977



OYSTER BAY GUARDIAN December 16, 1977

Ethel Roosevelt Derby Dies at Home Hundreds Attend Memorial Service

Ethel Roosevelt Derby - Ed Hanaski photo

A thousand words have been written, and will over the next decade, continue to be written, about Oyster Bay's First Lady, Ethel Roosevelt Derby, daughter of President Theodore Roosevelt of Sagamore Hill. Recently due to failing health she was confined to her Oyster Bay home and last week during a visit there with an old time friend Mrs. Derby said: I'm very tired. Now I am ready to fly away."

And fly away she did. Ethel Derby, whose warm heart and gentle ways complemented the great vigor, determination and enthusiasm of the Oyster Bay Roosevelt family tradition, died at her Lexington Ave. home, 8 PM, Saturday, Dec. 10, 1977, at the age of 86.

Born at Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, Aug. 13, 1891, her father who was to become the 26th President of the United States called her his dear "Ethely-bye", and at the age of fourteen months wrote that "she is thoroughly able to hold her own in the world." This she proved.

Mrs. Derby made her debut at the White House Dec. 28, 1908; and at Christ Church Oyster Bay, April 4, 1913, became the bride of a distinguished

when they were in Paris it was uncertain whether or not the Germans would take the city at any time.

The United States did not enter the war until 1917, but one of Mrs. Derby's brothers, Kermit, enlisted in the British army before the United States Declaraton of War. By the time the armistice was signed, Ethel's husband and all four of her brothers were to serve in that war. Her brother Quentin gave his life, and all had distinguished records. But Oyster Bay's First Lady was the first of the Roosevelt family of Sagamore Hill to serve in the war zone.

Upon her return from France Mrs. Derby continued to do her part on behalf of humanity by working in Nassau County for the American Red Cross. Her love of people and their needs continued all her life, and through the years she served in many varied positions with that organization. She received the Red Cross Fifty Year service award in 1969; in 1974 became a charter member of the Clara Barton Society and at the time of her death was Honorary Chapter Chairman of the Nassau County American Red Cross.

Derby Jr. who died at the age of eight and a daughter Mrs. Adelbert (Judith) Ames of Massachusetts. Her father Theodore Roosevelt had a special saying he loved: "Do what you can with what you have - where you are" and she lived her entire life by that simple but inspiring motto and accomplished many things.

Mrs. Derby devoted much work and time through the years to the causes of conservation and the study of natural history which her father did so much to advance. However, the greatest achievement was her gallant effort for the restoration and preservation of her family home, Sagamore Hill, which became a National Historic Site in 1963. She was the inspiration and the guiding light of the Theodore Roosevelt Association's preservation effort, and even when her endeavors ran into difficulty Mrs. Derby could not be dissuaded from her purpose that Sagamore Hill become one of the finest Presidential house museums in the nation.

On July 26 of this year President and Mrs. Jimmy Carter received Mrs. Derby and a delegation from the Theodore Roosevelt Association in the Roosevelt Room of the White House. The reason for the visit was the presentation by that association of Set Number One of the Memorial Edition of the Works of T.R. for the Roosevelt Room in the White House executive office wing. President Carter beamed with delight when Mrs. Derby recalled that her father's mother, Martha Bulloch Roosevelt, was a native of Georgia. The Carters were also charmed with her account of life at the White House with the 26th President of the United States.

Three months later, on Oct. 28, the Theodore Roosevelt Association bestowed upon Mrs. Derby its highest award, the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal for her "outstanding public service by a private citizen"

Christ Episcopal Church, Oyster Bay, the same church her father and mother attended, and from where Mrs. Derby was married, was the scene Tuesday afternoon, Dec. 13, of a Memorial Service. The church was crowded to capacity with people from all walks of life,

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Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY IN HER RED CROSS UNIFORM



Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)

ETHEL ROOSEVELT DERBY'S DAUGHTERS SARAH ALDEN DERBY GANNETT AND EDITH DERBY WILLIAMS, 1981



Oyster Bay Guardian

Robert T. Gannett, Sarah Alden Derby Gannett, her sister, Edith Derby Williams, and Edith's husband, Mike Williams, at the Annual Dinner of the TRA, October 24, 1981. Behind the ladies is a portrait of their mother, Ethel Roosevelt Derby. Mrs. Gannett is holding a copy of **Mornings on Horseback** *by David McCullough, who was the speaker that night at the Old Orchard Museum of Sagamore Hill.*

Source: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Houghton Library-Harvard University (TRC)