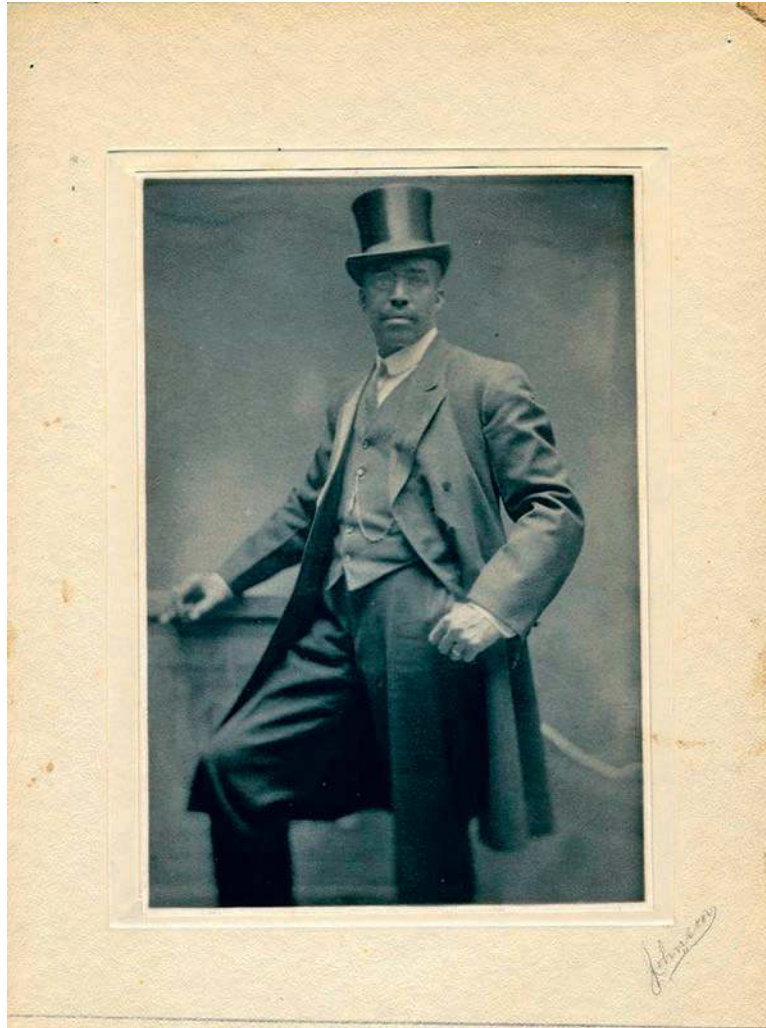


Medicine's uncompromising champion of racial justice



Nathan F. Mossell, MD (1856–1946), 1882 photo. University of Pennsylvania: University Archives Image Collection



Vidya Viswanathan

Ms. Viswanathan is a fourth-year medical student at Raymond and Ruth Perelman School of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, PA. Her essay received first place in the Alpha Omega Alpha Honor Medical Society 2018 Helen H. Glaser Student Essay Award.

When Nathan Francis Mossell died October 27, 1946, at the age of 90, he left behind a long list of accomplishments. He was the oldest practicing African-American physician at the time; in fact, he had just seen a patient eight hours before his death.^{1,2}

Mossell was the first African-American student to graduate from the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, awarded a doctor of medicine (MD) degree in

1882, and was subsequently the first African-American physician to be elected to the Philadelphia County Medical Society in 1888. Mossell, who trained as a specialist in genitourinary treatment and general surgery, founded the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School in 1895 in Philadelphia, and served there for 38 years as its superintendent and medical director. He trained 400 nurses and 150 physicians during his tenure there.³ Mossell co-founded many organizations for the advancement of equality for African-Americans, including the National Medical Association (NMA), and the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). But Mossell, who penned an autobiography in his 90th year of life, did not see himself simply in terms of his own ladders climbed, positions attained, and achievements won; he saw himself as a vehicle to break down the barriers he had overcome, so that others could do what he did. More than simply a pioneer, he was a trailblazer—and stayed with the path of activism even when others stood in his way.

Demanding a first-class medical education

Born July 27, 1856 in Hamilton, Canada, Mossell learned from his parents, Aaron and Eliza, the value of opportunity in education and work. Freedom for African-Americans was not guaranteed in the United States, so his parents chose Canada as respite from the possibility of enslavement that might haunt their children in America.

After the Civil War, the Mossells moved back to America, settling in Lockport, New York. Lockport was segregated, but Aaron, who manufactured bricks for a living, fought hard against separated schooling for his children. He presented his case to the Board of Education and won—a very early successful case for school integration in the country.⁴ Nathan grew up helping his father's business, studying when he could.

According to pioneering African-American physician-anthropologist William Montague Cobb, who profiled Mossell for an article in the NMA journal in 1954, "Mossell was a large man of impressive mien and dignity. In his prime he stood 6 feet 1 inch and weighed about 200 pounds."² Mossell attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania—the country's first degree-granting historically Black university—working part-time to pay his tuition. He graduated in 1879 at the top of his class, receiving both his Bachelor of Arts and the Bradley Medal for excellence in the physical sciences.

He considered pursuing engineering in New York, but worried about the expense.⁵ According to Cobb, "Mossell was not certain as just to what factors influenced him to choose medicine for a career, but he had earlier made up his mind to get further training and to attend only a first class institution no matter which field he chose."²

When he was offered financial aid by the American Colonization Society to go to medical school in Liberia, he wrote them an angry letter, accusing them of wanting to deport Black people to Liberia, to die from tropical diseases. This would be the first of many times Mossell would fight the idea that he had to settle for less opportunity because of the color of his skin—and it was an early instance of his desire to not only reject these propositions, but also explain why they offended his race.

When Mossell turned down the offer for medical education in Liberia, he had his sights set on something much closer, the University of Pennsylvania. Mossell writes in his autobiography:

It is just barely possible that this selection was partially influenced by the fact that during my junior and senior year at Lincoln, I met a young lady who resided in Philadelphia" [his future wife Gertrude] "in whom I became interested and planned finally to marry."⁵



James Tyson, MD.

Dr. James Tyson (ΑΩΑ, Raymond and Ruth Perelman School of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, 1903, Honorary), dean of the medical school, stared at the dark-skinned young man in his office with a stellar transcript, and told him that the department had never admitted a student of color. Mossell convinced the dean to submit his application to the faculty for approval. The dean seemed to lean in favor of Mossell's application, reasoning aloud, "We have a greater medical school

than Harvard or Yale, and they have admitted Negroes, [so] we will."²

After the faculty finally voted to admit Mossell, Pennsylvania historian Daniel Walden wrote, "they explained to Mossell that he would be considered an experiment, and the university could not assume responsibility

if anything happened to him.”⁴ The board of trustees was concerned and posed the question, “Would the Negro mind be able to comprehend higher education?”⁴

On Mossell’s first day of medical school in October 1879, he was told to sit behind a screen. He refused, and sat on a bench. At first no one would sit near him, and some students began to yell, “put the nigger out.”² But there were some who positioned themselves as his allies. One Caucasian student sat with Mossell on that first day, as classmates yelled slurs, then stood on the table and yelled at the lecture hall, “Go to hell!”⁵ Mossell wrote, “Following the lecture, two young men who were in attendance, overtook me in the street and expressed their regret over what had occurred. They said that they hoped I had not been frightened away and that I would return.”⁵ Mossell was not frightened away, and felt that his strong academic record in medical school eventually ingratiated him with his classmates, even if there were times when students tried to push him into the Schuylkill River.^{2,4}

Mossell graduated on the honor roll in 1882, and “the provost had to ask the students to stop applauding when Dr. Mossell received his diploma.”² After graduating, Mossell opened private practice at 924 Lombard Street, and was soon selected by University of Pennsylvania surgeon D. Haynes Agnew to be one of his outpatient surgical clinic assistants.

In the course of his career, Mossell also studied abroad in England, completing post-graduate training at Queens College and St. Thomas Hospital in London. He gained membership in the Philadelphia Medical Society in 1888 with sponsorship from Dr. J. Britton, Agnew, and Tyson. When the selecting board questioned whether a “Negro” would have the ability to belong to a medical society, Tyson assured them that “Dr. Mossell graduated with an average higher than three-fourths of his class.”²

In under a decade, Mossell had managed to convince the most esteemed physicians in Philadelphia that he could be considered their peer.

A new hospital to protest racial segregation

Mossell saw vast inequities in the way Black patients in Philadelphia received care, and he sought to close this gap. In the late 19th century, Black patients in Philadelphia lacked hospital space and nurses to treat them. The city’s hospitals were staffed mostly with Caucasian physicians and nurses—who could refuse treatment, beds, or rooms to patients of color. They also often refused to give jobs to the few Black physicians and nurses for training, often claiming that it would reduce Caucasian patients’ desire

to go to that hospital. “Caste prejudice in the hearts of the dominant race, in charge of the numerous hospitals and training schools in our city made it impossible for the capable and ambitious colored nurses and physicians to secure hospital experience,” wrote Mossell.⁶

In 1895, he decided that the city needed a hospital that could care for the underserved, which he felt would assert the values of Frederick Douglass in turning away no patient. It would be the first interracial hospital and training school in Pennsylvania.

The first hospital in the nation led by an African-American had been established by surgeon Daniel Hale Williams in Chicago in 1891 after a young Black woman was refused acceptance to Chicago’s nurse training schools on the basis of race.⁷ Mossell’s hospital would be the second in the nation. “That it was my brain child, and that I fought and suffered for it is of little moment, since for long years I have lived by the simple creed, ‘Men do less than they ought, unless they do all that they can,’” wrote Mossell.⁶

The Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School, initially stood on 1512 Lombard Street. It was a three-story building with a basement, 15 beds, and a small second-floor operating room. The first bed—and the majority of the hospital—was financed by African-American donors. The hospital was incorporated in 1896 under charter by the state of Pennsylvania, with Mossell as its chief of staff. Mossell’s first head nurse was Minnie Clemens, who was the first Black graduate of Penn’s nursing school.⁴ Douglass Hospital was especially appreciated by the Black community in Philadelphia during the 1918 influenza epidemic, when it took care of more than 100 Black patients in its main building and an emergency annex, without pay, or any financial support from the city’s board of health.⁷

Though Mossell was regarded by many as a visionary, he faced criticism and complaints from some hospital staff who said he was too controlling. For example, of the 31 operations performed in the first year of the hospital’s existence, Mossell did 21 of them.⁴ Mossell, however, felt that his involvement in the hospital was generous, claiming that most hospitals would pay \$4,000-\$5,000 annually to a chief of staff, but that his own annual income was just \$2,000.⁶ Many physicians on his staff petitioned unsuccessfully to remove him from his position as director. These physicians, who called themselves “The Progressive Fifteen,” would quit their positions at Douglass Hospital in 1907, and, move four blocks away to form the new Mercy Hospital. They decided that this new hospital would provide more training opportunities for Black physicians.⁴



Left: Nurses care for sick children at the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School, Philadelphia, PA, 1917. Right: Operating room with the latest equipment at the Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School, in 1917.
 © New York City Library

Despite its internal strife, Douglass Hospital grew, and in 1909 moved to a new site at 1532 Lombard Street, which was five stories high and had 50 beds.⁸ Alfred Gordon, a staff physician at Douglass Hospital and member of the Philadelphia County Medical Society, described the hospital in an article:

No one is ever turned away from its doors because of creed or color, or because they are too poor to pay. Of the 4,531 bed patients cared for during the past five years, thirty percent (30 percent) were unable to pay for either services or treatment.⁶

Mossell was invited to give a talk in 1908 to the National Medical Association entitled “The Modern Hospital: Its Construction, Organization, and Management.” He articulated the history of hospitals and their improvements, recommended guiding principles in starting a new hospital, and commented on details from management to plumbing. Mossell envisioned that he could spread his model hospital concept so that others would do the same.

Mossell’s commitment to Douglass Hospital’s success and mission would be tested in the face of his commitment to true desegregation. After admitting Mossell as a medical student in 1879, and watching his success, the University of Pennsylvania had begun to admit an average of six Black medical students per medical school class.

Each year, these students struggled to gain internships after they graduated, just as Black nurses faced difficulties obtaining jobs and training due to racial discrimination. With new state legislature requirements passed in 1915, these physician internships, which were optional when Mossell graduated, were now mandatory for practicing physicians (as they remain today). In 1916, the dean of the school of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. William Pepper (AΩA, Raymond and Ruth Perelman School of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, 1916, Honorary), approached Mossell and asked him to give their graduating Black medical students internships in his hospital. Mossell, perhaps to the dean’s surprise, refused, as this request was made solely on the basis of race. Mossell wrote:

[The university] was thoroughly equipped to take care of all its medical students for their practical work in obstetrics and bedside practice, regardless of race. Therefore, under the above mentioned circumstances, I saw no reason why I should be asked to permit their colored students from a school such as this to do their practical work in the Douglass Hospital which in no way had any connection whatsoever with the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine. I took the dean all through the institution so that he might see that Douglass operated in a genuinely democratic way...the hospital was organized

to protest against racial segregation, not to encourage it. The dean told me frankly that he did not blame me; that he thought I was right but he stated that he has been sent by the management of the university.⁶

Despite the dean's professed sympathy, Mossell was called into a hearing before the appropriations committee of the state legislature and charged with failure to cooperate with the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine. "Clarence Wolf, a member of the Board of Managers of the University of Pennsylvania and of the Chamber of Commerce, also a business man with offices on Market Street, told me one day that he would make me the biggest Negro in Philadelphia if I would forget all about the principles of Fred Douglass," wrote Mossell.⁶

Mossell did not recant his decision; he further criticized the university for its "Jim Crow" practice of barring Black patients from its private wards, and for pressuring his hospital to admit Black pediatric patients for convalescence, when White children would typically be sent to a convalescent home set up for White children only.⁶ The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce withdrew its financial endorsement from the hospital. As the hospital started to struggle with funds, the 1919 state legislature offered hospital appropriation (worth \$22,000) with the stipulation that Mossell be removed as hospital superintendent.⁴ Amos Scott, president of the board of directors of Douglass Hospital, refused the request and money, stating, "Our principles are not for sale at any price."⁴

Even though Mossell won his right to disregard race in the hiring process for Douglass Hospital, an unfortunate and unexpected effect of this victory was that, without guaranteed training spots for Black medical graduates, the University of Pennsylvania started to decrease its enrollment of Black medical students. According to Mossell, "the university instituted the quota system. When Douglass Hospital organized in 1895, there were six colored youths studying medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. Compare that number with the number of colored students admitted into the institution now and the years when there are no colored students admitted."⁶

Not all Black physicians agreed with Mossell's unyielding position on segregated education. Some thought that establishing Douglass Hospital as a training hospital for Black medical graduates who desperately sought an official position was a necessary step forward toward equality. As Cobb said in a 1956 address at the Banquet for Integration in Medicine in Chicago, "The separate facilities concept, born thus of desperation, found unopposed avenues for

growth and eventually came to be tacitly and sometimes vocally accepted by the Negro medical profession as the way out," even if it was not the way out that Mossell demanded.⁹

When Mossell retired from leadership of Douglass Hospital in 1933, the hospital's succeeding board of managers discontinued Mossell's policy against segregated hiring. They agreed to unilaterally accept the qualified Black physicians and convalescent patients that other hospitals would not.¹⁰ In his later years, Mossell expressed regret for creating Douglass Hospital, feeling that it furthered segregation.

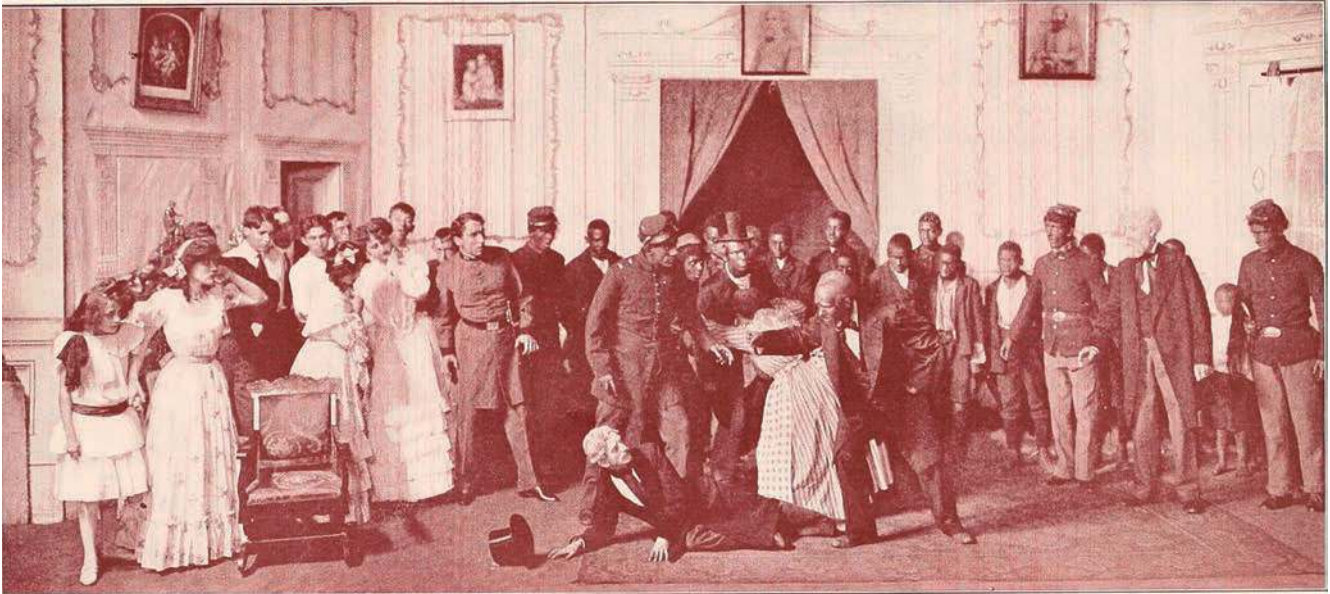
Nationally, until the civil rights era, physician professional associations were separated by race. The American Medical Association (AMA) was for White physicians, and the National Medical Association (NMA) for Black physicians. Abraham Flexner's 1910 report in medical education, though an important advocate of quality in medical training, "reinforced segregated and unequal medical education for African-Americans."¹¹ Flexner encouraged the closure of all but two African-American medical colleges (despite a population of roughly 9.8 million African-Americans in the United States in 1910), and recommended that Black physicians be trained to serve only people of their own ethnicity, as "sanitarians."¹¹

A 2008 article in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* reporting on the history and legacy of the AMA and racial integration stated, "African-Americans in 2006 represented 12.3 percent of the U.S. population, but just 2.2 percent of physicians and medical students. This is less than the proportion in 1910 (2.5 percent) when the Flexner Report was released."¹¹

Refusal to tolerate racism

Mossell spent a significant amount of time protesting the depiction of African-Americans in media and entertainment. His most profound victory, which he writes about in his autobiography, may have been persuading the Philadelphia mayor to ban the 1906 white supremacist play "The Clansman" from performing at the Walnut Street Theater. "Everywhere 'The Clansman' played, race riots followed which indicate the drama's powerful grip upon people's emotional and moral faculties,"¹² wrote Mossell.

Initially, when Black citizens of Philadelphia asked the mayor to ban the play, he did not see a reason to, citing the right to freedom of speech, despite the play's positive depiction of the lynching of Blacks in the South. When this group of citizens convened again, Mossell left work to attend their meeting, and proposed a loophole they could



Depiction of a scene from *The Clansman*, 1905. Publisher: New York : American News Co. Contributing Library: University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Digitizing Sponsor: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

try. “There is a city ordinance which says that if a play incites riot, it is the mayor’s duty to suppress the play.”¹² Mossell was appointed the chairman of this committee of citizens, and they held regular meetings to organize a non-violent riot. “Our committee had less than three weeks to rally the colored population....The radio was nonexistent then...(there were) no colored dailies. All the colored people (were) not churchgoers even though the ministers rallied their congregations into wholehearted support,” recalled Mossell. “We decided to issue circulars throughout the colored neighborhoods.”¹²

They distributed more than 1,000 pamphlets by hand on Monday evening, October 22. The pamphlets, signed by Mossell and other committee members, including church leaders, was entitled “A call to action,” and encouraged citizens to “appear at the doors of the theater on Monday night to make an effectual protest.”¹² Before the protest, they again appealed to the mayor to shut down the play, and he once again refused. One member of the press warned the mayor, “I don’t know the others very well, but that fellow, Mossell, will go through hell.”⁴

Mossell and his colleagues carried out the protest as planned, with the participation of 10,000 Black citizens who appeared in response to the circular. Actors in the play were greeted with rotten eggs thrown by Black citizens who gathered on the balcony. While the leaders of the rallying citizens emphasized non-violence, four Philadelphia policemen

battered a Black man with their clubs.¹²

After that opening night with thousands of protestors, the mayor banned the play, conceding that it was causing unrest, but, he added, “If there had been one drop of blood shed last night as a result of this gathering, every man whose name is signed to the Call to Action would have been arrested and held accountable.”¹² The management team of the theater issued an injunction against the mayor’s decision in the common pleas court that same afternoon. They claimed, falsely, that The Clansmen had played in other large cities without inciting unrest. Thomas Dixon, the playwright, protested that his play was based on historical facts, including “the assumption that the Negro has an unbridled lust for women and if permitted to meet white women as equals, he would force them to compromise their womanhood.” Mossell countered, “Perhaps the author drew this assumption from the historical fact that hundreds of thousands of mulattoes, during and since slavery, were the offspring of defenseless colored women who were forced to accept white men socially in the slave and ghetto quarters.”¹²

At the trial that afternoon, Dixon declared proudly that his father was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Mossell wrote, “I had a hard time holding back a colored woman at the trial. She had hidden a raw hide under her coat and wanted to beat Thomas Dixon over the head with it.”¹² On October 23, the judge of the common pleas court upheld

the decision to ban the play because, he said, driving the Negro out of the country “was undoubtedly one of the ulterior motives of the play.”¹²

Dixon refused to accept the judgment, and went to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The Supreme Court passed down a decision that banned The Clansmen from the state of Theodore Pennsylvania forever. Thomas Dixon told the press that he and the actors had been denied their right to free speech, and said, “If a Negro mob can suppress freedom of speech in the city which claims the proud honor of being the birthplace of American liberty, our boasted civilization is a farce....The emblem of the old city of the Liberty Bell should be changed to the picture of a howling, shouting, triumphant Negro mob.”¹²

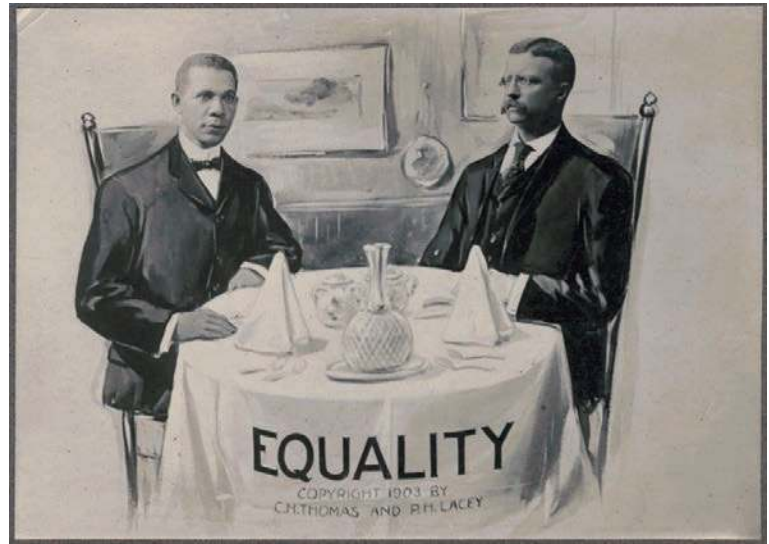
Mossell later wrote, “If free speech is to be preserved, it must at all times aim to safeguard and broaden the scope of men’s welfare. Any speech which is aimed at thwarting men’s liberties because of their color or caste, is not free speech. The purpose of free speech is not to enslave; but guide men toward better lives than they now have.”¹²

A man of letters

In addition to leading committees to enact change, Mossell often spent his evenings writing letters to press and political figures, suggesting changes in the way they portrayed African-American citizens. In a 1903 letter to the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* regarding its coverage of Black crime, Mossell wrote, “When similar crimes are committed by white men, as was illustrated by an occurrence in our own city during the past week, they are seldom published under such glaring headlines and are placed in obscure portions of the paper, thus making it appear that the Black men are much more frequently addicted to this form of fiendish crime.”¹³ And, in a 1903 letter to the editor of the *Chicago Tribune* he wrote, “Black men are eight times less likely to commit this crime [of rape] than the white man of Chicago, at least.”¹³

In 1938, Mossell sent a letter to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, asking him to condemn the fact that the reactionary South was opposing an anti-lynching bill. He wrote that it was “a disgrace to the country and a serious reflection on your administration.”¹⁴

Mossell also corresponded frankly with famous orator and presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan in



Booker T. Washington dines with President Theodore Roosevelt, October 17, 1901. Photo by Library of Congress/Corbis/VCG via Getty Images

1901, “on political views which I presented to him with the hope that they would influence his campaign platform for Presidency.”¹⁵ At the time, the nation was abuzz with the news that President Theodore Roosevelt had invited notable African-American scholar Booker T. Washington to the White House as its first African-American social guest. Mossell wrote, “the South was so incensed by the incident that Mr. Washington had to postpone his return home until the sentiments against him subsided.”¹⁵ Bryan criticized President Roosevelt in his column in *The Commoner* for entertaining a Black man at the White House. When Mossell wrote Bryan to criticize his column, Bryan replied:

I am always glad to know the views of readers and therefore I appreciate your frankness, but my observation is that those who dissent from the theory set forth in the editorial referred do not dissent from it in practice. I have never known a white man to entertain a mixed party of ladies and gentlemen, some white and some Black....I believe that the white man and the Negro can work out their problems better separately than together.¹⁶

In reply, Mossell wrote:

The fact that you have “never known a white man to entertain a party of ladies and gentlemen, some white and some Black” is rather surprising, for such incidents frequently occur in most of the large Northern cities. This statement can be easily verified if you care to take the trouble....It

is impossible to see upon what basis you rest your belief, that the white man and the Negro can work out their problems better separately than together. Is it possible that all history is to reverse itself? Two races have never lived together through centuries without co-mingling. But, Mr. Bryan, aside from these incontrovertible facts, it is much to be regretted that one who has long been supposed to represent the broadest principles of Democracy should so signally fail at this crucial test.¹⁶

A man of principles

For Mossell, it was important to maintain good relations with institutions, but without renegeing on his principles. He would write positive letters when deserved. In 1939, he wrote to the editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* thanking him for coverage of the contributions made by Black people in Philadelphia in one of its daily columns. “In these days of financial distress and disparagement, especially for our Negro citizens, your article carried much to inspire and encourage,” he wrote.¹⁶

Mossell distanced himself from his alma mater, Lincoln University, for decades, until it finally added Black professors to its faculty. It was only then that Mossell resumed his relationship with the university, which granted him an honorary doctorate of science in 1940.² And, despite their mutually bittersweet relationship, the University of Pennsylvania, when it celebrated its 200th anniversary, had Mossell carrying the colors of his class as the only survivor of the class of 1882.

Preaching activist principles until his passing, Mossell wrote to his granddaughter Gertrude Williams, “If you have never been called a radical, a Tory, Red, Communist, Bolshevik, depending on the era in which you live—you should begin to examine your conscience. It means that you have never done anything for anyone but yourself.”²

As a physician and as a citizen, Mossell truly was—as one award committee put it—an “uncompromising champion of racial justice.”³

References

1. Obituary: Dr. Nathan F. Mossell Oldest Active Negro Physician, Uncle of Paul Robeson. *New York Times*, October 28, 1946, box 1, ff 9, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.
2. Cobb WM. Nathan Francis Mossell, M.D., 1856–1946. *Nat Med Assoc.* 1954; 46.2: 118–30.
3. Pyramid Club Award, Awards/Testimonials, box 1, ff 1,

Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

4. Walden D, Treadwell T. The Birth of the Negro Medical Profession in Philadelphia, 1968, box 1, ff 2, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

5. Mossell NF. Nathan Francis Mossell Autobiography, Alumni Records, University Archives, University of Pennsylvania. http://www.archives.upenn.edu/primdocs/upf/upf1_9ar/mossell_nf/mossell_nf_autobio.pdf.

6. Mossell NF. Autobiographical Writings: Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital and Training School, box 1, ff 18, ff 32, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

7. Gamble VN. There Wasn't a Lot of Comforts in Those Days: African-Americans, Public Health, and the 1918 Influenza Epidemic. *Public Health Reports.* 2010; 125.Suppl 3: 114–22.

8. Mossell NF. The Modern Hospital: Its Construction, Organization and Management, 1908, box 1, ff 29, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

9. Cobb WM. Integration in Medicine: A National Need. *Nat Med Assoc.* 1957; 49.1: 1–7.

10. Douglass Hospital Pamphlets, Event Brochures, box 1, ff 33, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

11. Baker RB, Washington HA, Olakanmi O, et al. African-American Physicians and Organized Medicine, 1846–1968. *JAMA.* 2008; 300(3): 306–313.

12. Mossell NF. Autobiographical Writings, The Clansmen, 1906, box 1, ff 15, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

13. Mossell NF. Letters, Newspaper Editorials and Radio Speech, 1907–1943, box 1, ff 19, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

14. Mossell NF. Era of the New Deal, 1938, box 1, ff 17, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

15. Mossell NF. Social Equality and Prejudice, box 1, ff 25, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

16. Mossell NF. Letters, 1901–1937, box 1, 21, Nathan Francis Mossell Papers, UPT50 M913, University Archives and Records Center, University of Pennsylvania.

The author's e-mail address is vidyavis@gmail.com.