

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: MARYLAND WOMEN AND THE TRANSFORMATION
OF POLITICS, 1890s-1930

Diane E. Weaver, Doctor of Philosophy, 1992

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This is a study of the involvement of Maryland women in politics from the 1890s to 1930. It builds on previous studies to support an expanded conceptualization of politics.

Elite white activists in the late nineteenth century, building on their concern for the home, extended their interests as wives and mothers to their interests as citizens, and both reflected and shaped the rising Progressive movement in Maryland. They formed local and then statewide organizations, and they worked to replace traditional politics with activist, efficient, and expanded government. As they brought their concerns to the public agenda, they created an increased public role for themselves, choosing at the same time to work cooperatively with male leaders. Black women activists were reformers in their communities as well, and while for the most part segregated from white women's organizations, created and participated in cooperative ventures with white women.

The suffrage movement in Maryland grew out of this activism and also extended it. White suffragists differed over strategy and tactics, but they maintained unity in an agenda that combined social goals with the advancement of women. World War I offered white women activists, already part of a statewide network, the opportunity to assume a greatly expanded role in the burgeoning wartime government. During the war, black women activists expanded their influence as well, but they also expanded and their independence from white women's organizations.

After the adoption of women's suffrage in 1920, white women activists continued to pursue an agenda that combined social reform and women's advancement. Black women remained apart as they formed the base for the civil rights movement of a later day. White activists, meanwhile, continuing their practice of cooperation, established a conscious partnership with political parties and local and state governments, and tailored their agenda to conform to their perception of political reality. While their continuing cooperation resulted in losses as well as gains, this study supports others that have concluded that the activism of white women resulted in a new politics of interdependence, with an expanded citizenry and an expanded social consciousness.

MARYLAND WOMEN AND THE
TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICS, 1890s-1930

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAUW	American Association of University Women
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
CCHS	Carroll County Historical Society
CU	Congressional Union
JGL	Just Government League
MCD	Maryland Council of Defense
MCHS	Montgomery County Historical Society
MHR	Maryland Hall of Records
MHS	Maryland Historical Society
MLWV	Maryland League of Women Voters
<u>MSN</u>	<u>Maryland Suffrage News</u>
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NACW	National Association of Colored Women
NAWSA	National American Woman Suffrage Association
NWP	National Woman's Party
WTUL	Women's Trade Union League
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER ONE
"PRACTICAL WORK FOR DEFINITE RESULTS":
WOMEN'S ACTIVISM AND REFORM, 1890s-1910

In recent years, historians have begun to challenge the traditional view of politics as merely party organizations and the outcome of elections. As historian Paula Baker has formulated it, politics and political behavior include "any action, formal or informal, taken to affect the course or behavior of government or the community." This definition assumes a broader, more inclusive definition of politics, one more in line with, for example, the changing political behavior of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The definition also enables historians to examine ways in which individuals and groups influenced political life outside electoral politics. Increasing numbers of historians are using an expanded conception of politics to explore women's political culture, to measure the political contribution of women, and to integrate women's leadership into the transformation to modern liberalism and its accompanying changes in political behavior. Women's efforts both led and supported a government of increased social responsibility, managed through efficient bureaucratic structures. Viewed from this perspective, women and their organizations became agents for political change, expanding their own role as citizens and also expanding the role of government.¹

This fresh approach to the past has yielded valuable interpretations, both of the creation of the modern, activist state, and of women's role in that creation. From the perspective of an expanded conception of politics, women activists were political actors, politicians. This study accepts that definition and characterization of women's behavior, and proceeds from that premise in an examination of civic and suffrage activism. At the same time, however, it is important to recognize that most women reform activists of the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries did not envision that their work would alter or expand the parameters of politics. Indeed, they and their male allies fervently hoped and believed that their efforts would help destroy the politics of graft, corruption, and the backroom, and replace them with efficient, objective, knowledgeable, and, especially, clean government.

What women reform activists felt and did, as opposed to the results of their work, contributed to a paradox that has followed women activists to the present. Women's political actions helped to change the public agenda, but those actions also changed their relationship to the new system they helped to create. Historian Sarah Deutsch has noted that women activists did not operate in a vacuum, that their interaction with the existing system shaped both the new system and their organizations. Deutsch further argued that successful women's organizations "negotiated a middle ground between destruction of women's separate vision through co-optation and the triumph of that vision. The compromise represented the interaction of their ideas with political and social realities."²

In responding to political reality, as well as in creating a new political reality, women changed politics and themselves. This study explores those dual changes as they affected women activists and the political life of Maryland, set against the backdrop of the reform-era decades of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

While the concept and reality of political, economic, and social reform are in fact continuing phenomena, as opposed to distinct, timebound events, most historians recognize the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a major reform era. The reality of an ever-larger and more complex society, with the associated problems of growth, challenged citizens to develop solutions. Various attempts to respond to this need involved many and diverse individuals and groups of male and female reformers, who called themselves and their ideas progressive.³

At its heart, progressivism represented a desire on the part of reformers to persuade government to intervene in and alter the functions of economic, social, and political institutions. Interventionists, argued historian R. Jeffrey Lustig, "challenged the nineteenth century belief in an autonomous and apolitical market system" and "the idea that the economy and society benefited when each individual was free to follow his own goals and self interest with the minimum of government interference." New conditions called for fresh responses, and the response of progressives was to encourage a larger role for government and for themselves in setting a reform agenda. Additionally, political independence and the growth of pressure politics were replacing absolute loyalty to political parties and thus

contributing to the influence of those people and issues formerly excluded from the existing political arena.⁴

Reflecting and contributing to the national phenomenon, citizens in Baltimore and then in communities across Maryland began in the late nineteenth century to adapt their social, economic, and political institutions to new circumstances and environments. The ranks of reformers increasingly included women who extended their existing reform efforts first to local clubs and then to statewide networks. Together, women and men made their concerns part of the public agenda, and they urged government to expand its role in the lives of citizens. Government receptivity to greater responsibility coupled with growing public access for women activists resulted in an expansion of the existing parameters of the public agenda. Reformers' efforts led to both an expanded role for government as well as an expanded public role for women.

From 1870, the population of Baltimore, Maryland's largest urban area, driven by industrial expansion in, for example, textiles, canneries, and foundries, grew from 250,000 to over 500,000 in 1910. Forty-three percent of the state's population lived in Baltimore. Growth stretched and strained the city's ability to cope with the problems generated by expansion, problems of poverty, factory conditions, disease control, and housing. Complicating the will and capacity to deal with modern issues of growth was a political environment that to reformers resembled more a sports or boys' club atmosphere than it did an effective approach to city government. Every

ward had its political club, with leaders and gangs, and Democratic city bosses controlled the lot with patronage and punishment.⁵

As it did in other cities, the perception that "boss rule" caused and resulted in corruption, poor or nonexistent public services, and inefficiency, contributed to a growing unease, dissatisfaction, and purposeful response among Baltimore's most prominent citizens, its professionals, and its business managers. Learning of the "good government" movement from activists elsewhere, would-be reformers in the Baltimore of the late nineteenth century proposed to substitute organization and efficiency for waste and mismanagement.⁶

In terms of its development of a reform agenda, Baltimore's progressive movement was neither in the forefront nor was it a bypassed backwater, and it combined elements of both northern and southern progressivism. Without the early and more pressing problems of such larger cities as New York and Chicago, Baltimore reformers learned from the strategies attempted in those and other urban areas.

By the late 1880s, Baltimore had developed several crucial ingredients for an indigenous reform movement. The presence of The Johns Hopkins University and its progressive president, Daniel Coit Gilman, contributed to concern for and attention to issues of public health and coordination of charity. Moreover, a growing number of lawyers, many of them graduates of the revived Maryland School of Law, invested their efforts in the fledgling Maryland Civil Service Reform Association and Baltimore Reform League. With the transfer of ownership of Baltimore's Evening News to experienced reformer Charles

Grasty in 1891, and with good government clubs forming throughout the city during the 1890s, Baltimore was a typical example of northern progressive-era cities.⁷

Beginning in the mid 1890s, reformers began to make an impact, when Republicans and independents wrested from Democratic leaders brief control of the city and state. Their efforts, though modestly successful, began to lead city government away from exclusive political control of city services toward a more independent management of government. A new city charter in 1898 created a school board, and boards of estimates and awards. By 1900, Baltimore reformers had limited the power of the Democratic machine and gained mayoral commitments to efficient and economical government. While fairly successful in achieving structural reforms, reformers were not as immediately successful in convincing city government to assume greater responsibility for the health and welfare concerns of citizens. In 1900, for example, Baltimore was the largest U.S. city without a sewage system. The city's real commitment to provide a full range of public services would not develop until after a fire destroyed Baltimore's central core in 1904. In the ensuing seven years, groups of reformers, increasingly including activist women, joined together to urge and support bond issues for a sewage system, schools, streets, and a safe water supply.⁸

In the state as a whole, Democrats usually controlled the governorship and both legislative houses. Republicans, however, usually with the support of black voters and several of Maryland's twenty-three counties, formed a large minority party, and Democrats

could not assume that every election victory would be theirs. While Republicans and independents initially sponsored reform measures, Democrats, united only when facing Republicans and sensitive to the direction of political winds, followed reluctantly and cautiously. The 1902 legislative session resulted in the first substantial reform legislation, including compulsory education, juvenile courts, child labor laws, factory inspection, and a law permitting women lawyers to practice in the state. Between 1899 and 1907, state expenditures for public health increased by 20 percent, for state mental facilities by 140 percent and for state highways from almost nothing to \$65,000. Progressive reform in the state was given a boost by the governorship of Austin L. Crothers, elected in 1907. His leadership helped assure passage of a corrupt practices act, the creation of a Public Utilities Commission, a direct primary law, appropriations for the treatment of the insane, and a compromise, voluntary workman's compensation law for miners.⁹ Reform action at the state level did not necessarily, however, affect or reflect governmental action in Maryland's small cities and towns, most of which more closely resembled the rural south (southern and eastern shore) or piedmont or Appalachia (central and western), than they did an industrial urban area.

At the same time that late nineteenth century urban and industrial growth contributed to growing concern for intervention and reform, large numbers of women were drawn to reform issues. Like their male counterparts, white women reform activists were largely drawn from society's privileged ranks--a group most historians have stretched and blended into the "middle class." Historian Ellen Carol DuBois has

suggested the term "elite" to characterize unmarried women suffrage activists who were not obliged to work for their livings, even though many did in fact hold jobs. This characterization can be applied with equal effectiveness to most white activist women, married or single, who involved themselves in reform causes.¹⁰

From the early nineteenth century, elite, mostly white women had used their private roles as wives and mothers to support and leverage their increasing efforts in the public world of their communities.¹¹ Many of their activities were concentrated in small, local church-related efforts. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, women began to form clubs modeled on groups like Sorosis and New England's Association for the Advancement of Women, founded in the late 1860s to discuss, among other topics, literary, historical, and current affairs. Historian Karen J. Blair has provided a profile of these women that fits Baltimore clubwomen as well. The occupations of members' husbands, or their economic status, determined a club's composition. Generally, club members were mature women with grown or mostly grown children. While a variety of clubs proliferated, within reach club members shared common backgrounds--of school, religion, and social class. Within the clubs, Karen J. Blair found that a "strong sense of sisterhood" grew among clubwomen, along with increasing confidence and skills in researching, writing, and public speaking. Those skills encouraged some clubwomen to engage in more public activity beyond the comfortable confines of the club.¹²

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, an increasingly complex society reflected and contributed to the formation of a vast

array of fraternal, professional, and reform organizations. These organizations in turn began to federate with like groups to form large, even national associations. In 1890, Jane Cunningham Croly, founder of Sorosis, began the formation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, to bring women's literary clubs together in a national organization. As Karen J. Blair has noted, Croly's plan was to bring to bear, in a systematic, concentrated way, women's views and perspective on the problems of society. The General Federation "became the vehicle through which clubs were led to consider ways in which "women's special sensitivity could be applied to community problems." The General Federation developed goals that involved identification of problems as civic issues, investigation, and corrective action, and intended to operate in a coordinated, efficient manner from a centralized national organization. Founded in 1892 with 495 affiliates and 100,000 members, by 1912 the federation's membership exceeded one million women.¹³

Women of Baltimore and then of other parts of Maryland whose activities form the basis of this study resembled women activists of other cities and states. James B. Crooks, in his study of Baltimore progressivism, identified several white women activists. Most were wives of lawyers, doctors, and businessmen, and most were Protestant, usually Episcopalian, although several were Catholic or Jewish. Many were college-educated. Baltimore's Goucher College, for example, opened in 1888 and by 1910 had 630 alumnae. The college consciously worked to "train young women so that they may have a clear and comprehensive knowledge of things, persons and events...in full view of

current life." As a result, between 1892 and 1910, 72 percent of its graduates worked for at least some time in their postgraduate lives, 510 in teaching and 120 in social work. Crooks found many activists to be counted on the rolls of Baltimore's Social Register, and virtually all were native born.¹⁴ Jewish women activists, also largely elite and native-born, formed clubs and associations, and federated with the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs. Black women activists, unwelcome in white organizations, created separate organizations.

As in other parts of the country, several precursor organizations provided the opportunity for Baltimore women to develop organizational skills and to consolidate a base for involvement in reform activities. Participation in these organizations also enabled women to observe community needs for which public officials assumed no responsibility. One of those organizations, founded in 1869, was the Young Women's Christian Association of Baltimore (YWCA). Lacking funds for many years, by the 1880s the YWCA maintained a lunchroom for working women and an employment bureau. By 1888, it owned a house that provided lodging for twenty young women, maintained a fresh air fund to send poor women to the country for a week, and offered classes in typewriting and dressmaking. In 1893, the YWCA obtained the home of William Ellicott, future husband of activist Elizabeth King. In response to the national YWCA policy of segregation as well as local conditions, Baltimore's black community founded its own, separate branch of the organization in early 1896.¹⁵

Organized in 1890, the Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore attracted women who "banded themselves together" to read about and

discuss literature and the arts, as well as social and political questions of the day. Women of the Literary Club did not intend to involve themselves in "tangible" activities, but its very existence proved to be a base from which other organizations would develop. The atmosphere of mutual study and discussion would stimulate future efforts. "Many were the heart-to-heart talks, the plans laid, views exchanged, and best of all friendships formed."¹⁶

In relation to the development of women's clubs and associations in other cities, elite Baltimore women began club formation several years later. One possible reason for the late growth of women's clubs could be that Baltimore itself did not begin large scale industrial and urban development until the 1870s. Moreover, the city's interest in reform, although initiated in the 1880s, did not coalesce until the 1890s. Indeed, the concurrent development of enthusiasm for reform and women's club activity reinforces the probability that each trend influenced the growth of the other.

By the mid 1890s, many elite white women in Baltimore, who had begun through their association with groups like the Woman's Literary Club to interest themselves in reform issues of the day, looked for a vehicle through which they could collectively participate in reform movements. One of their number, Elizabeth King, had been born in 1858 into a prominent Baltimore family. Having as a child lost her mother, King grew up with her cousin and future founder of Bryn Mawr, M. Carey Thomas. Together she and Thomas attended the Quaker Howland Institute in New York. By her mid thirties, Elizabeth King was among the founders of the companion Bryn Mawr School for Girls in Baltimore and

had been instrumental in opening the medical school of The Johns Hopkins University to women students. Always simultaneously active in several causes, King was plagued by frequent bouts of poor health. In the mid 1890s, she served as a catalyst for a small faction of the Woman's Literary Club that argued for expansion of the club's scope beyond discussion of literary topics. After losing in the attempt to amend the club's constitution, King and her splinter group organized the Arundell Club in 1894.¹⁷

When King and her associates founded the Arundell Club, "the idea that women could have any direct interest in government, municipal, state or national, found scant consideration in Baltimore." The "question of their political disabilities was a topic not to be touched upon in polite society," wrote Dr. Lillian Welsh, an early reform activist and Arundell Club member. Welsh described Baltimore's political environment as "boss ridden." City and state politics were "a nasty business from which right-thinking men would protect their women folk."¹⁸

With her "dominating personality and capacity for leadership," Elizabeth King was elected Arundell Club president. At the age of forty-two, King married architect William Ellicott in 1900. Marriage to Ellicott, heir to a flour milling fortune, came at a time when she was increasing her already strong commitment to women's participation in reform efforts. Her vision and optimism influenced the activities of the Arundell Club, and later the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs and the Maryland women's suffrage movement.¹⁹

Elizabeth King Ellicott believed, as did the founders of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, that municipal government could be viewed as household management on a larger scale. This perspective enabled women to apply what they knew well to the broader context of municipal housekeeping. One purpose of the Arundell Club, in Ellicott's view, should be to promote the economical and efficient management of government. Ellicott affiliated the Arundell Club with the General Federation of Women's Clubs and by 1896 the club had three hundred members. Soon after the Arundell Club was organized, Ellicott and her associates, with their "keen interest" in civic problems, considered developing a separate section of the club, solely devoted to activities to promote "good government." Ellicott, beginning a practice that would characterize the efforts of women activists, "sought advice from intelligent and public spirited men," and launched the enterprise in 1896. The Arundell Good Government Club became the first women's organization in Baltimore to discuss and act on civic problems.²⁰

The Good Government Club attempted to "bring together persons interested in the good government of Baltimore City, and by their cooperation to promote the honest, efficient and economical administration . . . the choice of fit persons for public office, to protect the public health and morals and secure capable and faithful subordinates in public employ," and to protect employees "from removal or other prejudice for partisan or personal reasons." Its scope of interest encompassed, as Ellicott put it, whatever "may broadly be termed municipal housekeeping." Sensitive to potential charges of

"radicalism," Ellicott, demonstrating political expertise, made the president of the parent club an ex officio member of the Good Government Club board, and stipulated that the Good Government Club would take no public action without the approval of the Arundell Club board, in Lillian Welsh's words, "a conservative" body. Since Elizabeth Ellicott was president of the Arundell Club board, there was no chance of a veto of any proposed public action of the Good Government Club. This arrangement existed until 1905, when, feeling constrained by the tie to the parent club, the Good Government Club disbanded, to be reorganized as the Civic Committee of the Arundell Club in 1907. As the chairman of the committee, Ellicott outlined its agenda, stating that it would be "for practical work for definite results."²¹ The balance of her career would demonstrate her success in achieving that goal.

While it operated, the Good Government Club divided into committees--municipal hygiene, medical inspection of schools, juvenile offenders, and public schools, an agenda that reflected the priorities of activists in other cities as well as those of the General Federation. One effort, the attempt to enact compulsory school attendance, served as a model for future women's cooperative activities. Mary Richmond, a member of the College Club, an organization of university-educated women, then associated with the Baltimore Charity Organization Society, spearheaded the organization of a committee in 1899 to study the school situation in Baltimore. Adapting and combining the social science process of investigation and the progressive strategy of publicizing the results, Richmond's

committee, with private donations, hired an investigator. The resulting report was then "submitted to a group of public-spirited men for their consideration and advice." The Good Government Club supervised the development of a bill for compulsory school attendance and submitted it to the 1902 General Assembly. The women of the Good Government Club, with the cooperation of the state school superintendent and the Baltimore legislative delegation, worked to shepherd the bill through the legislature and selected prominent Democrat William Cabell Bruce as their spokesman. The bill met with opposition, especially from business and farm interests. As women continued to justify their involvement in public life by pointing to their positions as wives and mothers, they lay themselves open to attack. Many women activists, like Dr. Lillian Welsh, were unmarried, and their single state could be pointed to as a reason not to enact the reforms they advocated. One county leader claimed the bill was "sponsored by seven old maids who couldn't possibly know anything about the needs of children." The bill passed, however, making government responsible for children's school attendance. In the same session, Good Government Club women worked successfully to pass juvenile court and child labor legislation.²²

These legislative successes illustrate what would develop into several recurring themes. White activist women incorporated into their approach to reform the progressive values of efficiency and interventionism. They subscribed to and gained experience in the social science methods of investigation by experts, dissemination of results, building public support, appropriate action, and establishment

of permanent agencies to administer the result. They developed an awareness of the connection between a social concern and the political process, and used their roles as mothers and wives as a base for their public activities. As activists in the public arena, they used the methods and skills of politicians--the ability to achieve objectives through compromise, negotiation, and policy formation.

Other activities illustrate women's increasing political awareness and expertise. Members of the Arundell Club's Civics Committee regularly visited the Baltimore City Council, and began during the first decade of the twentieth century to speak before that body, and to urge the mayor to make political appointments they favored. The committee also began to encourage officials to appoint women to the school board. Members of the Civics Committee became increasingly discriminating concerning issues they would and would not consider. When the United Social Settlement Association asked the Arundell Club Civics Committee to cooperate in efforts to "reform certain evils," the committee instructed Elizabeth Ellicott to reply that "while we are interested in their work, it would hardly be in harmony" with the club constitution to send a representative to meetings.²³

Co-existing with Baltimore's new spirit of civic improvement, and proclaimed as "promoting the general welfare of the city," was the attempt through the West Ordinance legally to confine Baltimore's black residents to certain neighborhoods. Later declared unconstitutional by the Maryland Court of Appeals and the United States Supreme Court, the ordinance recalled Baltimore's roots as a former slaveholding city.

The treatment of its black citizens also illustrated the various meanings of the term "progressive." Progressive reform could mean civic improvement, and an opening up of the political process, and it could mean undemocratic treatment of minority groups.²⁴

As in the city of Baltimore, the state's treatment of its black citizens clouded its reform record. Various attempts to disfranchise black voters failed, but the state made no attempt to deal with lynching, and established Jim Crow segregation laws for railroads and steamship lines. White Republicans, dependent on black voters for their party's viability, helped to defeat disfranchisement, but typically reacted with ambivalence to other issues of importance to their black constituents.²⁵

Black women of Baltimore, many of whom, like white women activists the elite of their race, following the advice of clubwoman, author, and reformer Fannie Barrier Williams to "pursue a kind of club work that will be original, peculiarly suitable to our peculiar needs and that will distinguish our work . . . from that of white women's clubs," organized to fulfill the motto of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), "Lifting As We Climb." Black women activists pursued the twin goals of improvement of life in the black community and the advancement of the race, and their organizations played an important role in creating and sustaining their community. Their efforts were especially crucial to the development of the black community since black women were not welcome in the organizations of white women. As Paula Giddings has noted, black women activists were predominately "middle-class educated women . . . steeped in the

Protestant ethic." Most were married, many with no children. Most activists were workers, many of them teachers. It is difficult to know how many were either recent or longtime residents of Baltimore. A study of NACW members, however, revealed that most first-generation black clubwomen were born in the South and moved north. As early as 1880, Mary Herbert founded an asylum in Baltimore for infant black children. After the 1904 Baltimore fire, black women organized the Colored Empty Stocking and Fresh Air Circle to provide coal and clothing. From this beginning, the organization, led by Ida R. Cummings, expanded to city wide campaigns to collect children's clothing, headquartered at the YWCA. In 1905, the Empty Stocking Club purchased a 10-1/2 acre farm to serve as a place where city children could experience fresh country air.²⁶ Through its fundraising activities, the organization paid off the farm's mortgage in 1912. Black women also organized the Day Nursery Organization to care for children of working mothers, were active in the NACW, and participated in protests of disfranchisement efforts, the West Segregation Ordinance, and attempts to locate saloons in their neighborhoods.²⁷

Activists like Elizabeth Ellicott realized that while white local women's clubs, working with male reformers, could achieve some reform goals, larger organizations with greater numbers were needed to achieve significant "practical results." The Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, organized in 1899, was established under the auspices of the Arundell Club. The federation's first president, Elizabeth King Ellicott, took her vision of good government into this new organization, and led the effort to broaden the potential impact of

women's efforts beyond Baltimore to the entire state. At the federation's first annual meeting, with the organization consisting of nineteen clubs and 2,100 women, Ellicott began to instruct and guide the members in her vision of a wider role for women's clubs:

Men's clubs are formed upon that of congenial tastes, common interests, and concerted action. Women are beginning to realize this fact and are instinctively turning to their club associations, not on a plane of social equality but of community interest.

Ellicott urged members to be adaptable and astute, not like the "reformer obstinately insisting upon her reforms with no regard to existing local conditions." Concerned that women should begin to view their activities from a broadened, statewide perspective, she warned against looking after individual club interests to the detriment of federation concerns. Ellicott's vision of coalition-building, goal-oriented action, adaptability, and a statewide focus, would increasingly infuse the work of activists across the state.²⁸

An early outgrowth and example of women's club and federation activities, the Consumers' League of Baltimore was organized by a committee of the Women's Club of Roland Park, a relatively new middle class Baltimore suburb. The National Consumers' League, organized in 1899 in New York, aimed to use the power of educated and aware consumers to counter the exploitation of workers by their employers. In a visit by Jane Addams to the Arundell Club, the pioneer social activist showed her audience how they as consumers were responsible for the condition of workers who produced the products they purchased. Addams' address motivated members of the Woman's Club of Roland Park to visit local stores and obtain merchants' cooperation in displaying the

label of the Consumers' League. The movement expanded to the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs in 1902, and a committee from that organization created a state Consumers' League.²⁹

By the close of the first decade of the twentieth century, Baltimore's and to a lesser extent, Maryland's reform movement, had achieved a measure of success. Paralleling and contributing to the growth of reform enthusiasm was the increasing involvement of largely white, elite women of Baltimore, who brought their concerns for civic improvement to the public agenda. These were not women interested in issues of economic or racial justice; nor were they seekers after another, more egalitarian form of government. They sought "practical work" that would lead to "definite results," and their search kept them in the mainstream of progressive reform. The conscious striving for "definite results" led these civic activists to make decisions that combined maternalist goals with their perception of political reality. That perception encouraged them from the beginning to seek the help of likeminded men, and to seek accommodation with initially less supportive male public officials.³⁰

This decision to seek the support and cooperation of men was not a choice unique to Baltimore women. Sarah Deutsch, based on her research in Boston, has argued that Progressive Era women's organizations could choose positions along a continuum, from oppositional to integrationist politics. Yet while there was a continuum, it was in reality a short track within a larger political structure over which women activists had little control. Thus, while women made a choice in favor of collaboration, in a way the most

important decision was already made for them. As Deutsch has pointed out, "When they chose integration, the choice changed them." Their choice of collaboration produced a dual and contradictory result. It helped women respond to new opportunities and gained for them access to power, but in so doing they gave up their ability to evoke the moral superiority of the political outsider.³¹

By 1910, activists were firmly established in a multitude of their own organizations in Baltimore. They had succeeded in bringing their traditional concerns as mothers to the public agenda. They had formed collaborative relationships with other women and men, and had achieved some of the "definite results" they sought. In Sarah Deutsch's characterization, they had combined "civic maternalism and realpolitik."³² The next decade would launch civic reform and women's activism, in tandem, across Maryland.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Generally, historians until recently have not considered as political activity women's activism in social and other reform movements outside the electoral system and have confined their examinations to the suffrage movement and its aftermath, or other attempts to overcome legal and social barriers to full participation in society. William O'Neill, Editor, The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969), 70; also see works on progressivism and liberalism cited in notes below; Elaine Tyler May, "Expanding the Past: Recent Scholarship on Women in Politics and Work," Reviews in American History 10 (December 1982): 222. Standard accounts of the suffrage movement do not attempt to link women's activism and the desire for suffrage, except for descriptions of suffrage rhetoric. Actions women actually took in their communities are not necessarily connected to suffrage. See, for example; Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975 Reprint); Aileen Kraditor, Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965). For examples of the more recent trend to examine women's activism in broader terms, see: Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," American Historical Review 89 (1984): 620-47. Also see Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), especially 179; Nancy Schrom Dye, "Reform at the Grassroots: Women, Family, and Community in the Progressive Era," paper presented at the Conference of Women in the Progressive Era, Washington, D.C., March 1988; Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics, and Change (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1990); Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

2. Sarah Deutsch, "Learning to Talk More Like a Man: Boston Women's Class-Bridging Organizations, 1870-1940," American Historical Review 97 (April 1992): 379-81.

3. R. Jeffrey Lustig, Corporate Liberalism: The Origins of Modern American Political Theory, 1890-1920 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 3. Historians have explored the phenomenon of progressivism and the Progressive Era and have come to varying conclusions. Among the most useful contributors to my understanding and those which inform this study are: Samuel P. Hays, The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), and Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1870-1920 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard

University Press, 1959); Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920. These authors viewed progressivism as a middle class effort toward efficiency and planning, and an increased role for experts, which translated into support for municipal reform activities of various kinds. Another view came from: J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 44 (September 1962): 231-41; John D. Buenker, Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform (New York: Scribner, 1973); David P. Thelen, "Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," Journal of American History 56 (September 1969): 323-41. These works challenged the middle class monopoly on progressivism by demonstrating that machine politicians and recent immigrants participated in progressive causes, and that opponents of progressivism were frequently middle class as well. Sheldon Hackney, Populism to Progressivism in Alabama (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), exposed the belief among progressives that government should promote economic growth; Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," Reviews in American History 10 (1982): 113-32, presented a synthesis of writings concerning progressivism. Rodgers concluded that the central focus of progressivism was not reform, but the creation of special interest groups that filled a gap created by a loss of power of traditional political parties. This synthesis was in part the product of such studies as: Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1970); Richard L. McCormick, From Realignment to Reform: Political Change in New York State, 1893-1910 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981); and Richard L. McCormick, The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). In this work, McCormick analyzed the ambivalent attitudes of progressives, including anger at and acceptance of industrialism, an optimism toward improvement, and a commitment to interventionism. Progressives assumed the positive utility of social science and believed that government could be trusted to carry out social reforms. Also important are studies that seek to explain the seeming decline of progressivism after World War I. Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, Progressivism (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1983), argued that progressive reform continued, especially in states and cities during the interwar period, and that governments continued to expand their activities and their expenditures. An important contribution to the debate over whether the period should be called progressive at all is Peter G. Filene, "An Obituary for 'the Progressive Movement,'" American Quarterly (1970): 20-34.

4. R. Jeffrey Lustig, Corporate Liberalism, 4-7; John Whiteclay Chambers, The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1900-1917 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 107-13, especially for the clarification of interventionism. On the transition to the new liberalism, see, in addition to Chambers, William E. Nelson, The Roots of American Bureaucracy, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), 133, 158-60. Nelson placed the origin of new institutional structures in the aftermath of the Civil War and

Reconstruction. Since those events had upset the previous system of compromise government, reformers believed that bureaucratic government would be independent of the political process. Reformers of the system, maintained Nelson, were "not seeking to grant access to political power" to those who did not already possess it. "They wanted to reshape American government to protect themselves from others' demands." Stephen Skowronek, Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 4-17, supported the belief that the expansion of government was a response to industrialism, and observed that government's expanded administrative capacities developed into a new framework that changed the structure of governmental power. Charles Forcey, The Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann, and the Progressive Era (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), viewed the Progressive Era as a transition point between the liberalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the belief became prevalent that only the conscious, cooperative use of government could bring reform. James T. Kloppenberg, Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 298-385, points out that intellectuals and reformers "tried to channel the spirit of organized capitalism into a new politics of social responsibility, but succeeded only in justifying the expansion of the state." Theodore J. Lowi, The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Second Edition, 1979), 42, on the assumption on the part of new liberalism's advocates that government itself would induce social change. Ellis Hawley, The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 2-6, 10, saw the 1920s as a time of developing managerial institutions and values. Hawley characterized the new liberalism as "active and continuous government intervention." Michael E. McGerr, The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North, 1865-1928 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 58-62, 67; also see Richard L. McCormick, the Party Period and Public Policy.

5. James B. Crooks, Politics and Progress: The Rise of Urban Progressivism in Baltimore, 1895 to 1911 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 155-56; Thirteenth Census (1910) of the United States, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, 1913); William Lloyd Fox, "Social-Cultural Developments From the Civil War to 1920," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., Maryland: A History (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1983), 503; Robert Brugger, Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 1634-1980 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 386-87.

6. Robert Brugger, Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 385-401.

7. Ibid.

8. James B. Crooks, Politics and Progress, Chapter 7; James B. Crooks, "Politics and Progress: The Dimensions of Baltimore

Progressivism," Maryland Historical Magazine 71 (1976): 424; Robert Brugger, Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 417-18.

9. Raymond Stanley Sweeney, "Progressivism in Maryland, 1900-1917" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1972), 10, 73-76; James B. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," 645; Frank Richardson Kent, The Story of Maryland Politics (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Tradition Press, 1968 Reprint of 1911 Edition), 379; Robert Brugger, Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 424-26. Margaret Law Callcott, The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969). The Maryland legislature, the General Assembly, convened in even-numbered years until the late 1920s; gubernatorial and legislative elections were held in all odd-numbered years.

10. Ellen Carol DuBois, "Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1909," Journal of American History 74 (June 1987): 35-6. According to DuBois, "The very term 'middle class' is contradictory, alternatively characterized as people who are not poor, and people who work for a living."

11. Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics," especially 625-35; Barbara Leslie Epstein, The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1981); Barbara Berg, The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism, The Woman and the City, 1800-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Glenna Matthews, "Just a Housewife": The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), observed that when women began to organize to influence society in the mid nineteenth century, private and public worlds began to merge. This merger would approach completeness in the beginning of the twentieth century. Kathryn Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), maintained that Beecher applied domestic values to social issues and concerns.

12. Karen J. Blair, The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined 1868-1914 (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980), 58-64.

13. Sheila Rothman, Introduction, and Mary I. Wood, History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs (New York, 1912, Reprint Farmingdale, New York: Dabor Social Science Publications, 1978), 26, 34; Karen J. Blair, The Club Woman as Feminist, 93, 105. Blair argued that the work of clubwomen "became a permanent part of what Americans expected from their governments," and speculated that "women's determination to make a mark on their world was surely a source of Progressive activity." On the relationship of the home to women's activism, see especially Nancy Schrom Dye, "Reform at the Grassroots: Women, Family, and Community in the Progressive Era," Paper presented

at the Conference of Women in the Progressive Era, March 1988, Washington, D.C.

14. Anna Heubeck Knipp and Thaddeus P. Thomas, The History of Goucher College (Baltimore: Goucher College, 1938), 83, 135; Cynthia Horsburgh Requardt, "Alternative Professions for Goucher College Graduates, 1892-1910," Maryland Historical Magazine 74 (1979): 275; James B. Crooks, Politics and Progress, 234-35.

15. Patricia Anne McDonald, "Baltimore Women, 1870-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1976), 135-38; Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America: A Documentary History (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 477-78; "The 50th Anniversary of the YWCA of Baltimore City," typescript.

16. Minutes, Twenty-fifth Anniversary, Woman's Literary Club, MHS; Annals of the Arundell Club, 1894-1925 (Baltimore: The Norman Remington Company, 1926), 3.

17. Patricia Anne McDonald, "Baltimore Women, 1870-1900," 133-34; Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 80-81; Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences of Thirty Years in Baltimore (Baltimore: The Norman Remington Company, 1925), 63. Mal Hee Son Wallace in Winifred G. Helmes, ed., Notable Maryland Women (Cambridge, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 1977), 116-17.

18. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 66.

19. Ibid., 63-66; Patricia Anne McDonald, "Baltimore Women, 1870-1900," 151-52; Mal Hee Son Wallace in Winifred G. Helmes, ed., Notable Maryland Women, 116-17.

20. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 63-66; Jane Cunningham Croly, The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America (New York: Henry G. Allen and Company, 1898), 583; Sheila Rothman, Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 130; Margaret C. Wilson, The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870-1920 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), 102, quotes Harper's Bazaar in 1909 as referring to "city's housekeepers" and Rheta Childe Dorr as writing "Home is the Community" and "The City full of People is the Family." Jane Addams is credited with originating the concept and the term "municipal housekeeping." Jane Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1907). Baltimore women were not alone in their decision to work with male reformers. See Sarah Deutsch, "Learning to Talk More Like a Man," and Seth Koren and Sonya Michel, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920," American Historical Review 95 (October 1990): 1080.

21. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 67-68; Minutes, Civics Committee, November 22, 1907, Box 1, Arundell Club, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; Jane Cunningham Croly, History of the Woman's Club Movement, 584. Throughout this study, the use of the words "chairman" and "chairmen" will be used, as they were during the period, to describe women leaders.

22. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 68-70; Robert Brugger, Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 411; Nancy Schrom Dye, "Reform at the Grassroots: Women, Family, and Community in the Progressive Era." Dye described the process by which some women became active in politics. Beginning with observation or personal experience of an unmet community need, women found public officials unresponsive and developed their own approach to the problems they had identified. Dye's framework has been helpful in the development of this study.

23. Minutes, Civic Committee, November 22, 1907, Box 1, Arundell Club, MHS.

24. James B. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, Maryland: A History, 641. Also see C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951) and Dewey W. Grantham, "The Contours of Southern Progressivism," American Historical Review 86 (1981): 135-59. Woodward observed that progressivism in the South was for whites only, and Grantham described progressivism in the South as rooted in business development. Maryland's situation as a border state makes its approach to progressive reform similar to that of both North and South. In Baltimore, many middle class blacks supported progressive reforms, for example election law revision and prohibition, and fought Jim Crow laws, for instance from a class rather than a racial perspective. Their attempt to separate the "intelligent" and "self-respecting class" from the "objectionable classes" was an effort to help whites see the difference as well. Afro-American, February 22, 1902.

25. Margaret Law Callcott, The Negro in Maryland Politics, 1870-1912 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969).

26. Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter (New York: Morrow, 1985), 95-108; Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past, 80; Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations," Journal of Southern History (February 1990): 3; Patricia Anne McDonald, "Baltimore Women, 1870-1900," 140-41; Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, "Self-Help Programs as Educative Activities of Black Women in the South, 1895-1925: Focus on Four Key Areas," Journal of Negro Education 51 (1982): 219-20; Afro-American, Baltimore, Maryland, March 265, 1910. The similarities and differences between black and white women's activism will be explored in Chapter Two. Throughout this study the examination of black women's activism, in contrast to that of white women, will be largely limited to Baltimore. The principal reason for this is that material is unavailable, whether because of lack of activity in more rural areas, or because records

were not kept. Additionally, while black women of Maryland joined in networks, a central repository for their efforts appears to be non-existent.

27. Afro-American, January 30, 1904; August 27, 1910; July 23, 1910; October 22, 1910; February 5, 1910.

28. Mrs. Harry Harcum, et al., History of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, 1899-1941 (Federalburg, Maryland: J.W. Stowell Printing Company, 1941), 45-47.

29. "History of the Consumers' League of Maryland, 1900-1917," 1920, 8; Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 33, pointed out that Addams and Hull House got widespread publicity and helped generate a national network.

30. Sarah Deutsch, in "Learning to Talk More Like a Man," has argued that the "domestication" of politics revealed by Paula Baker was not the result or the cause of a totally alternative women's political culture. Deutsch has argued that the interaction between female and male reformers resulted in a type of hybrid politics.

31. Sarah Deutsch, "Learning to Talk More Like a Man," 396, 403.

32. *Ibid.*, 404.

CHAPTER TWO

"WE PARTICIPATE IN EVERY PROGRESSIVE CAUSE":

CIVIC ACTIVISM, 1910-1917

Reform movements and women's community activism grew simultaneously in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Women's clubs and later federated organizations had prepared their members for more sustained, purposeful activism. Around 1910 and 1911, circumstances and events united to produce more intense and widespread activity. In the period between 1911-1917, white women activists pressed their agenda throughout Maryland, engaging in a process that began with an awareness of community needs and progressed to systematic, collective attempts to meet those needs, principally through advocacy of an expanded role for government. Activists built political leadership through agenda-setting, coalition-building, negotiation, and the strategic use of influence. Radiating from Baltimore, they developed a statewide network and put structures in place to use the network most effectively. Almost exclusively of the elite, white women activists also sought opportunities for intellectual development, government service, and professional advancement. They attempted to reach out to lower class women and black women, with mixed results. Black women engaged in community activism as well, although their motivation and strategies varied from those of their white counterparts. While activists continued to experience success in

working with male political officials, both their successes and their setbacks led many women to demand more recognition from the political system.

1910 and 1911: Systematic Activism

The years since the organization of the Arundell Club, wrote physician and activist Lillian Welsh, "had wrought a great change in the attitude of Baltimore women, and the formation of a league of women determined to actively interest themselves in . . . questions of municipal housekeeping seemed quite natural to them and very properly not only the business of women but their duty."¹ By 1910, white women activists in Baltimore had created a role for themselves in the civic life of their community. Indeed, women's organizations had helped create an awareness of civic problems, even as they themselves became more knowledgeable and active.

Women activists began to expand the scope of their efforts. In 1911, Council of Jewish Women president Hortense Moses encouraged the organization to broaden its field of activity to encompass education and civic issues, especially in view of both increasing demands for their services, and the assumption by Federated Jewish Charities, which women had helped to form, of many of the council's former philanthropic activities. Hortense Moses reminded her members that no civic effort could be successful without the support of the council, and because of that, "We participate in every progressive cause."² The Arundell Club had provided women a base for activity through its Good Government Club, and the Good Government Club in turn launched its own successor, the Women's Civic League of Baltimore. By the mid teens, this

organization systematized and extended the work of the Good Government Club into all areas of the state, providing a means by which more women could gain leadership experience and political skill. During World War I, civic leagues across the state would form the nucleus from which all women's war-related activities were coordinated.

The Women's Civic League grew out of a meeting of six people in January 1911. Seeing no organization except the Equal Suffrage League doing the kind of work it envisioned, the group decided to form a civic organization of women, with an advisory group of men. The formation of the Civic League represented not merely the desire of elite women to more systematically influence the course of city government. The organization of the League was also a culmination of the type of influence women activists had pioneered since at least the 1890s. With dues set at fifty dollars per year, the organizers hoped to attract to its activities white elite, potentially able if inexperienced women. The group decided, in order to attract more women to its ranks, that it would remain neutral on the question of women's suffrage.³

The Civic League was, in Lillian Welsh's judgment, "a success from the beginning." The Baltimore Sun praised the league even before its first public meeting in April 1911, at which former Governor Edwin Warfield presided, continuing the practice women activists had developed to gather community support by involving men. The newspaper commended the league for working "in a practical way to make this a cleaner and better city," through its support of clean and safe paved streets and smoke abatement. The Sun appeared to grant women activists political influence and at the same time discourage any thoughts

activists might have about extending their activism to a campaign for the right to vote. Noting that while it would probably be a "long time" before women would be "given" the right to vote, the newspaper insisted that women did have the opportunity "to exercise a potent influence in many other ways that will count for more in practical results than the mere acquisition of the ballot." The Sun predicted the "hearty support" of men in pursuit of "practical improvements."⁴

After a devastating fire in 1904 destroyed most of Baltimore's center city area, the Municipal Art Society, led by such upper class reformers as Charles J. Bonaparte, proposed a plan to rebuild the city. The plan, finished in 1910, led to the creation of a city-wide congress, or conference, convened in 1911. The congress would attempt to coordinate all physical and social planning for Baltimore.⁵ The congress, organized by a committee of eight men representing the Merchants' and Manufacturing Association, the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty, as well as business and neighborhood improvement organizations, met for three days in March 1911. Its stated goal was to develop the city "along the most enlightened lines with the view of formulating a program of civic improvement and effecting a general organization of all commercial, business and improvement associations to carry out such a program by 1920."⁶

More than six hundred delegates and visitors attended a variety of sessions and formulated goals which they framed into resolutions. One session featured Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, called by the Baltimore Sun "the Carrie Nation of Town Cleaning," who, beginning with her own city of Kalamazoo, Michigan, had worked with women's groups to

clean up their cities, and had now come to Baltimore to deliver her message to the City-Wide Congress.⁷

Even as the Women's Civic League was being organized, the City-Wide Congress was preparing to address issues that had increasingly concerned women since the 1890s. Caroline Bartlett Crane's speech on municipal housekeeping must have given further support and impetus to women's civic activities. Crane spoke directly and knowledgeably about city services, water treatment, waste cans, flies, rats, conservation, milk purification, and the public school as a social center. Crane gave Baltimore women a systematic agenda for action which they would develop first in Baltimore and then throughout the state. The agenda assumed that city and state governments should bear responsibility for community services, since private efforts were no longer adequate or practical. At the heart of the agenda was the home, and its guiding principle was that since poor public conditions affected the quality of home life, guardians of the home must take action.⁸

Between 1911 and 1917, while women activists developed their agenda, they intensified their efforts for government responsibility for and efficient administration of community services. Activists also began to reach out to lower class working women, mothers, and immigrants, and continued to work with men, with varying results. Activists also formed a statewide network, and used the network and their experience to further stretch the boundaries of accepted public behavior for women.⁹

The Foundation of the Agenda:
"The State Must Send for the Doctor and Pay His Bill"

White women activists simultaneously developed and refined their agenda, built coalitions, became more politically aware and educated, and engaged in community action. They continued and expanded their collaboration with male allies, and developed working relationships with male politicians. Women activists continued to develop the connection between community issues and political action, in the process identifying problems they observed as community problems necessitating a community response. Members of the Woman's Club of Govans in Baltimore County, for example, concerned that firefighters frequently slept through fire alarms, complained to the county commissioners. The commissioners, initially unresponsive, offended club members by asking for a witness to come before them. The club responded that "in this and any other cases it had need to make complaint, its purpose was to call attention to neglect or deficiencies in order that the proper authorities might investigate and be responsible for legitimate services of any individual or department on which the community was dependent." The club was willing to assist, however, for after a serious fire when it successfully appealed for more firefighters, members contributed money for the additional personnel.¹⁰ Activists viewed themselves as advocates for increased government responsibility, and were also willing to collaborate with public officials. Their contributions of money also meant that

activists would occupy a position of influence in matters of civic priorities and expenses.

Stressing a connection between births of stillborn babies and long working hours for women, the bureau charged with enforcing Maryland's Ten Hour Law for women urged Civic League members to view the law's enforcement as a community problem. Viewing it as a community problem enabled individual women to assist the bureau by becoming familiar with the legislation, reporting suspected violations, and by managing their shopping to decrease the frequency of overtime work for women. Women could also assist in the effort to institute a 6:00 p.m. shop closing time on weekdays and a half day workday on Saturdays.¹¹ The action of the government's enforcement bureau in appealing to women activists demonstrated the growing realization that women could be partners with state government. That realization and the cooperation it engendered would continue and grow as other state agencies came into being.

Aid to widowed mothers, known as the widows' pension, provided an opportunity to make the state government responsible for the welfare of children. A committee of one hundred individuals, representing nearly every social welfare and fraternal organization in the state, formed a coalition to conduct a statewide campaign in support of widows' pension legislation. A bill had passed the House of Delegates, the lower house of the General Assembly in 1914, but had been "smothered" in a senate committee. The campaign committee intended to bring the issue once again to the 1916 legislative session. Writing for the committee, Maryland child welfare advocate Edna Annette Beveridge drew a

connection between children's development and the state's responsibility:

Is it preposterous that the mother should seek aid and protection from her State to preserve [her] home? The State is interested in the welfare and education of the child as tending to the improvement and perfecting of the future citizen . . . it is society's duty to do reinforce and reconstruct itself in every possible way.¹²

A concern for the future of girls and young women housed in Maryland's four privately-owned and operated, state assisted reformatories led the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs to advocate state assumption of the care and training of delinquent girls. Speaking at the federation's April 1913 annual meeting, Helen Skipwirth Wilmer Athey, a member of the board of directors of the Maryland Industrial School for Girls, built a case for increased state responsibility and women's role in assuring that the state would act. Maryland could not afford to be without a modern training school for girls, she argued. "For Maryland will find it cheaper to train these girls now than later on to support them in almshouses, jails or the penitentiary and to provide for their unfortunate children." The state must "send for the doctor and pay his bill." Finally, Athey reminded her audience, "it is for the women of Maryland to see that the state does not forget." Members of the federation supported this effort and cooperated with the board of the Industrial School to continue to urge total state assumption of responsibility for the school.¹³

Paralleling activist women's ability to influence connections between community problems and political action was the increased specialization of their organizations, systematic political action, and a growing perception of their power. In 1913, the Baltimore

Association of Jewish Women, finding that "calls upon us by outside organizations are constantly growing in number and variety," adopted a policy of "concentrating its energy and the means at its disposal upon matters concerning women and children only." Its work in male correctional institutions accordingly passed to another organization.¹⁴

The Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs likewise channeled its former "sporadic" interest in legislation into an effort to "concentrate on a few interests." Increasingly systematic in its efforts, the federation, once again led in 1914 by Elizabeth King Ellicott, also prepared "in advance to cooperate with other workers." A "getting-together feeling was apparent," and Ellicott led the federation into cooperation with other organizations to sponsor a limited number of measures. For the first time, the federation sent a legislative "budget," or bulletin, to all member clubs. Proclaiming that "our effort has been to promote and protect the interests of women in Maryland," the bulletin urged the "support of legislation both radical and conservative." Believing that the state had both a responsibility and an opportunity to expand its scope, the federation endorsed strengthened compulsory education laws, the state assumption of the Maryland Industrial School for Girls, tree planting and conservation, reorganization of the Board of State Aid and Charities, a measure to open the Maryland Agricultural College to women on an equal basis with men, and a minimum wage for women. The federation hosted informal meetings of other supporters, male and female, to discuss their legislative program and strategy.¹⁵

The coalition-building and systematic approach to a legislative program thus begun persisted throughout legislative campaigns, and women activists developed a growing sense of their potential power. The Women's Civic League of Baltimore was concerned in 1914 that legislation proposed for the State Department of Health did not provide for inspection of dairy conditions and for the housing of canners and pickers. It reminded the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs that the federation had voted in 1913 to make a special study of these two issues. A letter from Consumers' League board member Anne Carey to all federation member clubs urged women to promote community interest in issues as they "primarily affect women and children," and to "strengthen the hands of the State Department of Health" by signing and sending an enclosed postal card. Carey sent along extra cards for women to distribute, and promised to let club members know when to communicate with their legislative representatives. Commenting on the power of the federation, Carey wrote that "The women of Maryland put the Ten Hour Law through the Legislature . . . and I know how much influence the Clubs have and the local interest they arouse with the Legislators."¹⁶

Given the primary concern on the part of women's organizations for issues touching the lives of women and children, a question arises as to whether elite women activists advanced opportunities for themselves in public life at the expense of working class and poor women. It is true that women activists, as did other progressive reformers, reached into the lives of other women, often patronizing them, presuming to attempt to transfer their own values. It is also

true that by organizing around issues affecting women and children, activists enhanced their own and other's perception of their ability to influence political action. Yet middle class women's attitudes toward other women were not universally contemptuous and not always predictable.

Certainly there were many examples of intrusive and patronizing behavior, and occasions when elite women assumed a connection between private cleanliness and civic improvement. The Baltimore Women's Civic League publication The Town advised Friendly Visitors, women who volunteered to visit and determine the needs of poor neighborhoods, to "be always on the lookout for some mental defect" to be "brought to the attention of the authorities." Elizabeth Jencks, president of the Civic League, addressing her members, asked, "Do you not consider it a hopeful sign when one Clean City Club child says to her teacher that she has become convinced of the necessity of a daily bath?" Jencks further developed her theme by introducing the possibility that the child might then produce a play called "Cleaning," in which a plant was brought "into the home of a poor and untidy family." The family recognizes the connection between the plant's need for light and air and the needs of their sick child, and the child benefits from their insight.¹⁷

Even attempts to include lower class women often demonstrated arrogance. A request to Elizabeth Ellicott to allow a mothers club in a poor southwest Baltimore neighborhood to affiliate with the Maryland Federation came from Ida Stevens of the Methodist Episcopal Church's Board of City Missions. Justifying the entry of these non elite

mothers into the federation, Stevens wrote that the mothers were "very substantial and intelligent" and interested in the same things other mothers were. Affiliation with the federation would "uplift their lives." Of course, Stevens was careful to add, lectures would have to be "simplified" for them.¹⁸

Efforts especially by the Baltimore Association of Jewish Women and the Daughters in Israel to house, educate and find employment for immigrant girls and young women, coupled with attempts at "making a real American of the immigrant mother," were intrusive and perhaps unwelcome. Yet many if not most of the women involved in direct services to immigrants, with their own family's arrival perhaps not too distant, believed that their efforts helped ease the transition to a new country for the 13.5 percent of Baltimore's population that was foreign born.¹⁹

Many women believed the problems associated with working women, including better wages, shorter hours, and improved working conditions, could be addressed through trade union membership. When the Baltimore branch of the Women's Trade Union League was organized around 1911, less than 2,000 women out of a workforce of approximately 70,000 were union members. The organizers of the league believed that the combination of public opinion and an informed workforce acting collectively would enable women to become self sufficient. The league's executive secretary, Katharine Lindsay, expressed the sentiment of those activists working with and on behalf of women workers. Men, Lindsay wrote, "are doing what they can and they have made strides with in the past two years, but they have their own

problems, and this is a woman's job." Clearly, most men would not concern themselves with the problems of working women. It was up to women to take on those problems themselves.²⁰ While women activists did advance their own position as a result of efforts that involved invasion into others' lives, many women believed their activities would improve women's opportunities.

Individual Advancement of Women

As particularly white women began to experience success in their community efforts, the way seemed open for the development of further opportunities. Their organizational base intact, women could simultaneously concentrate on community activism, individual development, advocacy of government appointments, and professional opportunities. Active membership in organizations served to promote the development of leadership skills, offered intellectual challenges, and reward for accomplishment. "Whatever else the League may have done, it has surely been an education and an inspiration to all those who have worked in it, presidents included," reported Elizabeth Jencks to the members of the Women's Civic League of Baltimore. Aware when they organized their league in 1911 that onlookers asked, "whether a League composed exclusively of women could hope to influence public opinion and the conduct of the affairs of the city," members combined action with intensive, "intelligent" study of issues. As a result, by 1916, Anna Lloyd Corkran could report to the advisory board of men that "each [committee] chairman has made herself an expert in her line of work." Elizabeth Jencks agreed, and demonstrating her own leadership

skills, recognized the members' contribution to work that "has permanently affect[ed] the conditions of living in this community."²¹

Some organizations served similar purposes for black women. The DuBois Circle, begun in 1906, chose as its goal the "mental improvement of its members by the pursuit of literary studies." While white women gained professional skill from activism, however, many black women, since they were employed, brought professional skills into their organizational work. Ida Cummings, a chiropodist, organized and served as president of the Empty Stocking and Fresh Air Circle. Lavinia Henry, bookkeeper at the Afro-American, used her skills in church and fraternal organizations. Emma E. Bright combined her professional role of teacher with that of YWCA worker.²²

While community work gave women rewards of recognition and feelings of accomplishment, it contributed to other feelings as well. Increasingly, white women activists believed they had proved themselves capable of greater responsibility. Further, they believed their service in more official roles would enhance their ability to influence community decisions. Women could neither vote, nor serve as elected officials. Very few women served as state or county appointed officials, the exceptions including the state librarian, factory inspectors, and a growing number of notaries public.²³ Several organizations regularly coupled their support of a measure with their request that women be appointed to whatever board would result. The Women's Civic League of Baltimore, along with its study of the implementation of the Smith-Lever Act and the state agricultural

college request for one million dollars, considered it "highly advisable" that a woman be named to the board of trustees.²⁴

Activists' desire to serve in official positions was yet another result of their decision to work within the existing political structure.

The work women activists performed on behalf of public schools led them to request a bill before the General Assembly in 1914 that would permit the governor to appoint women to serve as county school commissioners. During that legislative session with the bill pending, women began to wonder why Governor Phillips Lee Goldsborough continued to appoint exclusively male school commissioners. Taking refuge in the letter of the law, Goldsborough responded to letters from the state office and county branches of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs that the law required him to send his appointments to the Senate within fifty days after convening the General Assembly. The General Assembly session began on January 7, and since the fifty-day limit expired before the bill was acted upon, he had no choice but to send the nominations forward. Attempting to appear the victim of the law, the governor remarked that "two years ago I seriously considered appointing a woman . . . but subsequently had to abandon it." Maryland's attorney general had informed the governor that women "were not eligible for appointment as School Commissioners in Maryland."²⁵ Women would not serve as members of local school boards until after they gained the right to vote.

Women's desire and capacity to serve in decision making roles merged with the movement by moral reformers to censor motion pictures. As moving pictures proliferated, several women's organizations were

concerned that moving pictures were potentially harmful to the moral values of the community. Their influence, as well as that of men's organizations, led to a move to create a censorship board to review and pass judgment on potentially offensive and damaging behavior on film. A bill was passed in 1916, and groups urged the appointment of women to the board.²⁶

Fitting in some respects the characteristics of progressive legislation, the censorship movement was associated with the social control wing of the progressive continuum. The effort to censor motion pictures was "progressive" in that it represented an attempt on the part of reformers to intervene and make government responsible to remedy a perceived community problem. Although some women's organizations, notably the Woman's Civic League of Westminster, came into being to protest threats to community morality, women's civic organizations did not routinely put forth a great deal of effort to place issues of personal morality on their public agenda. There are several possible reasons for this reluctance to deal with moral issues. Perhaps women wanted to maintain unity within their organizations. In the case of prohibition, for example, many women supported a complete ban, but others, including those with Democratic Party connections, favored local option. It is also possible that they consciously developed what they believed were more important, achievable community goals. Most were no doubt active churchwomen as well as clubwomen, and perhaps they believed that religious organizations were better suited to wage moral battle. At any rate, minutes of several organizations indicate a prevailing focus on such

community issues as town cleanliness, adequate schools and roads, and pure milk. They were, however, anxious to have women appointed to boards such as the one which would censor motion pictures, perhaps because of women's role as moral guardian, but also because it represented both a recognition of women's ability and an opening wedge for future opportunities.

In addition to the fostering of individual development through participation in organizations and interest in appointments, women worked to create more professional opportunities for themselves.²⁷ As soon as they were able, organizations like the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs employed a staff member, in this case sharing space and personnel with another organization. The Women's Civic League of Baltimore advocated for the appointment to home economics extension work only women who received professional home economics training.²⁸ Black women also continued to develop professional opportunities. Esther and Ruth Fowler, two daughters of Dr. and Mrs. Charles H. Fowler, graduated from Howard University's pharmacy school. Some black women became ministers and formed their own ministerial union. The most common professional opportunity for most ambitious black women, however, remained teaching in a segregated school system. In the view of one black woman, her sisters wanted to become teachers because "they couldn't become lawyers . . . nothing. Doctors, nothing. So it was teaching or else back to the farm."²⁹ If women teachers, black or white, married, the common requirement was for them to leave their jobs.

If advocacy of the individual advancement of women existed in tandem with women's increasing community activism, both contributed to a growing interest in political equality. The bill enabling women to serve as school commissioners did not pass. Women, though successful in influencing decisions, did not themselves make most of the decisions that affected community life.

Black Women Activists' Agenda:
"It is Up to You Mothers to Get the Ball a Rolling"

Between 1910 and 1917, black women continued to develop an activist agenda, maintaining differences from white women in motivation and results. They engaged in work on behalf of the race, and in independent efforts and cooperative ventures with white women. Like white women activists, black women based their activism on their role as wives and mothers, but their experience led them initially to expect less of government. Black women's activism led them to begin to separate their political voice from that of white women, and they taught as well as learned from white women.

Baltimore's black community had a long history of activism. From a foundation of a large pre-Civil War free black population, Baltimore's black community had established thriving businesses, churches, and an increasingly nationally-read newspaper, the Afro-American. Baltimore's black residents were concentrated within a few of the city's wards, notably the fourteenth and seventeenth, a concentration that bred both a sense of community and frustration.

The activism of black women had several commonalities with that of white women. Like white women, black women generally accepted the

roles of mother and wife that society prescribed for them, and used those roles as a base for action. Viewing their roles as mothers as the justification for their public work, black women made women and children their primary concern. As did white women, black women attempted to systematize their efforts by employing professionals whenever they could, and to build coalitions through simultaneous membership in several organizations. Joining women's organizations symbolized a certain social standing in the community, and middle class black women frequently displayed the same kind of patronizing and prejudiced class behavior as did white women.³⁰

While the basis for activism and their agendas focusing on women and children were similar, black women's activism exhibited important differences from that of white women. Far more than white women, black women's public activities grew from their work in churches. Moreover, unlike their white counterparts, many black women activists were employed, several as business owners. One example of this was Martha Thompson, employed as a hair culturist and active in several organizations, including the YWCA and the Empty Stocking Club.³¹

Concern for the uplift of less fortunate members of the community was similar to that of white women, but for different reasons. Unlike most white women activists, black women, according to historian Eileen Boris, "shared a common heritage" with the people on whose behalf they worked. Bound together by the racism of white society, black women activists recognized that the entire race would be judged by the conduct of the community's most unfortunate members. Consequently,

they channeled many of their efforts into activities that would benefit both individuals and the race as a whole.³²

While they eagerly cooperated with white women's organizations, black women developed a different perception concerning the assumption by government of community services. Accustomed to working independently, without regular assistance from the white community, black women did not at first expect much from government. State government efforts to disfranchise black voters did not contribute to black women's trust in government. Consequently, black women attempted to organize and operate community services using private funds for as long as possible.

One other important difference between the approach of black and white women involved the extent to which women were able publicly to express and act on their views. Within the black community, many women who had developed leadership roles frequently spoke at public meetings. They did not as readily, however, venture to speak at citywide meetings, and certainly did not have the advantage, as many white women did, of knowing white public officials socially. Their route to white officialdom lay through black male leaders and white women.

Black women were frequently the recipients of helpful advice concerning their community roles. Reverend Doctor L.Z. Johnson, in the course of a sermon to the local Heroines of Jericho at the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, advised his audience not to worry about the right to vote when there was much work to do to bring about better home life and morals. Reverend Johnson, giving as one example the protests

against the encroachment of saloons in the seventeenth ward, encouraged women to become active in that fight.³³ While complimenting the "hard working bunch" of Baltimore women, an Afro-American columnist, "Booster Knocks," called attention to in his view the neglected area of "supervision of the pleasures of our young boys and girls." Supervising dancing classes would be "a chance for some of our women who are not engaged in any social uplift work to put their hearts, heads and hands to a work that will surely mean something for their race."³⁴

Increased numbers of black railroad workers brought in from the South, housed in makeshift camps on the outskirts of Baltimore and tempted by saloons and other vices, led Margaret Black to make an appeal to activist women to "rescue" the workers from potential ruin. Women should "show what they can do in rescue work among our own people." "Are you sitting calmly back in your comfortable home, patting yourself on the back and thinking your social position is such that you will be contaminated . . . if you put yourself out of the way a little?"³⁵

Margaret Black, in her Afro-American column, set out what she believed the agenda of black women ought to be, what women "should be fighting for," and she made it clear that the position of women as mothers entitled and required them to act.

It is up to you mothers to start the ball a rolling. See that the men wake up and with your undivided help, get for us better schools, a better hospital, a new YWCA and YMCA and better attendance and less debt on our churches.³⁶

Black women's work on behalf the race encompassed Margaret Black's agenda and went beyond, from schools, to prohibition, segregation, civic improvement, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In Maryland's segregated school system, women worked to improve conditions in "colored" schools. Laura Wheatley was an early advocate for more and better neighborhood schools, and she urged black leaders to present a united front in dealing with the mayor and council, in order to assure that neighborhoods obtained new schools. Complicating women's work for better schools was the attitude of male leaders such as Dr. Newton E. Campbell. Commenting on the large number of women (fifty-five) graduating from high school in 1912 as compared with twenty-four men, Dr. Campbell warned against promoting the education of women at the expense of young men. The race depended on men to take jobs in government and churches, and since they were paid more than women, more money should be spent on their education.³⁷ This view might have confused black women. Were they to work for better schools, while perhaps not helping young women to benefit from their labors?

Residential segregation and racism led the black community to persist in its attempts to counteract racism and its effects. Black women expressed themselves through their organizations and as individuals. The Maryland Federation of Christian Women went on record as being opposed to segregation, "whenever it has a tendency to humiliate, demoralize, restrict or congest our people," and "several expressed themselves in terms that were unmistakable." Individual victims of racism responded in their own way. When the daughter of a

prominent white financier told her mother that there was "a colored lady downstairs who wishes to see you," her mother replied, "You must say colored 'woman' for there are no ladies among them." The remark was overheard by their laundress, who responded, "You say there are no colored ladies? The wife of Bishop Handy is every inch a lady. Mrs. Hurst is also, and I know that my pastor's wife is a cultured and refined lady." For her temerity, the laundress was "discharged for defending her race."³⁸

Alcohol abuse also concerned the black community and demonstrated the role played by class and the desire to gain acceptance by whites. Editorialized the Afro-American, "The sooner we have prohibition in Maryland the better it will be for us as a people." Some blacks saw alcohol as a "racial poison," and supported prohibition "because it affords . . . a golden opportunity to show the best white element of our community that the Colored Voter will do the right thing." Black women activists supported the restriction of alcohol, attending and speaking at meetings to protest the continued neighborhood proliferation of mostly white-owned saloons. To help the fight for prohibition, black women organized active WCTU chapters in Baltimore and elsewhere.³⁹

Civic improvement, as it did in the white community, captured the attention of many activists. As opposed to efforts to combat segregation and racism, activists could have a real impact in this area. Local civic leagues worked to improve sanitary conditions in the community. Prominent in the rhetoric of activists was the necessity for blacks in each neighborhood to unite and "patroniz[e] every racial

endeavor." Women were well aware of the need to support local black businesses. As activist Jennie Ross noted at a meeting convened by the Northwestern Improvement Association, "We should do everything in our power to advance the interest of the colored businessman for as he succeeds, he is . . . more able to give employment to our . . . boys and girls."⁴⁰

One final example of women's work on behalf of the race as a whole was their support for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In its early days the organization showed only men as officers, but by 1914, women served as secretary and corresponding secretary. In the first several years of its existence, the organization, under the leadership of the aristocratic Dr. F.N. Cardoza, did not gain the support of the entire community. In 1916, the "Boosts and Knocks" column contended that the organization "seems to be all in," and blamed its apparent demise on the "pink tea" ideas of its leaders. "Of course this attitude don't go with the rank and file of Baltimore's citizens, most of whom are plain, honest, and hard-working people, so they dropped Mr. NAACP like a 'hot brick.'⁴¹

A frequent question concerning separate organizations formed by black women is whether black women began their own organizations because white women discriminated against them or because of race consciousness. That both were true seems the best answer.⁴² Certainly the racism, and assumption of leadership by white women militated against truly united organizations, although cooperative efforts did exist. It is evident that black women were conscious of

the special situation and needs of their race, and they responded by establishing organizations to meet those needs. Their work in creating and developing organizations offered them opportunities to learn and use leadership and community-building skills.

By 1912, the Day Nursery had opened in a building that its board had purchased with money from fund raising activities. It hired Sarah Collins Fernandis, an experienced social worker, to direct the nursery's operations. Fernandis increased the scope of the nursery's work and organized clubs and classes in cooking and sewing. Fernandis would also use her experience to establish and direct the Women's Cooperative Civic League.⁴³

The Day Nursery kept and fed up to twenty children a day, at a daily cost to mothers of ten cents per child. With expenses of heat, taxes, ground rent, and salaries, it was not easy to keep the nursery open, and the participation of volunteers, with so many women working, was difficult to obtain. Jennie Ross, president of the nursery's board in 1913, reflected on the needs of the organization:

We haven't even the money to pay our matron her wages next week, but we are going to get it. There are a dozen or so women who are wrapped up soul and body in this work and it is to them that credit is due. . . . We need money badly . . . but equally as bad do we need the cooperation of our young women who are at present engaged in no social service . . . the hardest job is to get them interested.⁴⁴

The Epworth League, affiliated with the Mercy and Help Department of the Sharp Street Memorial M.E. Church, cared for sick and disabled people in their neighborhoods. Members educated themselves through Visiting Nurses Association lectures that taught them how to set up model sick rooms and administer first aid. Women of the Eva Jenifer

Neighborhood Club maintained a settlement house where they served three-cent lunches "for the benefit of the factory girls, school children, and others in the neighborhood." The Empty Stocking and Fresh Air Circle, continually raising funds to keep it in operation, was managed by Ida Cummings, also active in several other community organizations, including the National Association of Colored Women.⁴⁵

Given the nature of the relationship between black and white societies, it was to be expected that any cooperation between white and black women activists would be, in the words of historian Gerda Lerner, "ambivalent and problematical." White women were largely unaware of what black women were doing, and most judged black women on the basis of their stereotyped view of the race. Effective cooperative efforts, found only in a few cases, were based on "healthy self interest, not altruistic motives and paternalism."⁴⁶ Two cooperative ventures of Baltimore's black and white women's organizations illustrate groping steps toward an effective relationship, one of which had more "healthy self interest" characteristics than the other.

The Women's Civic League of Baltimore, in the course of assisting the Day Nursery, became more aware of conditions in the black community. Concerned that lack of access to city officials was hampering community improvement, and perhaps recalling their own former voicelessness, Civic League members joined with black women to form the Women's Cooperative Civic League in 1913, and arranged for "regular contact and close cooperation." The new league organized itself using the Women's Civic League as its model. It too operated by ward and developed the same plan of work. Its efforts resulted in black women

educating themselves in issues surrounding community improvement, gaining experience in the political process, and developing greater expectations of government. They also began to educate their white counterparts in the consequences of racism.⁴⁷

The Cooperative Civic League, soon with over two hundred members, frequently invited members of the Civic League and other organizations to address the group. Anna Lloyd Corkran, past president of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, and an early advocate for the improvement of race relations, spoke to the organization on municipal housekeeping in Germany, presumably stressing the connection between home, political action, and public responsibility. Harlean James, representing the Civic League's milk committee, provided information about pure milk. Elizabeth Shoemaker, chairman of the refuse disposal committee, discussed the importance to the community of properly-managed garbage disposal.⁴⁸

Cooperative Civic League members, like their white counterparts representatives of the middle class, adopted the same plan of work. They organized committees on home gardens, smoke abatement, pure milk, refuse disposal, and education. By 1916, Sarah Fernandis could report progress in refuse and garbage disposal, better street lighting, prosecution of dealers selling impure food, numerous home gardens, and an annual flower mart. By 1916 as well, black women were beginning to demand more support from city government. Sarah Fernandis declared that there should be "cooperation between the householder and authorities, better city planning for the housing of the poor and the improvement of neglected neighborhoods; better plans for developing

children along moral, economic, and physical lines; provision for the care and maintenance of the feebleminded and a hospital for colored consumptives." The education committee submitted petitions to the School Board for provision of a parental school, "with no encouraging results thus far."⁴⁹

By its 1917 annual meeting held in conjunction with its first community conference, the Women's Cooperative Civic League, though grateful for white support, and happy to welcome "a number of well known white people" to its meeting, felt strong enough to mix issues of race with the usual discussion of civic improvement. They discussed "the evils of the segregation law" and the need for more and better housing, which, Reverend George A. Griffiths reminded them, was a community, not a racial problem. The group passed a series of resolutions, pledging loyalty to the nation but seeking "to discern a new spiritual attitude of justice and righteousness for all American citizens."

The Women's Civic League published the resolutions in The Town, an act which expressed at least tacit support and reflected several years' experience in working together. Demonstrating their well developed political sense, the group thanked the Mayor and the Board of School Commissioners "for the splendid modern school building provided for the colored children of East Baltimore." They expressed their appreciation to the Board of Park Commissioners for the use of public squares for their flower mart. They thanked the Women's Civic League "for the impetus their activity has given our civic and social well-being, and all existing social agencies for their earnest efforts

to relieve conditions among the colored people." The resolutions represented an indictment of racism and segregation, and as a measure of how far black women activists had travelled in the development of political awareness, and how far white women had come as well. The resolutions scored segregation as "an iron ring, inexorably restricting one-sixth of the city's population from natural expansion," and the resultant high-priced, overcrowded housing. The group called attention to deficiencies in the care of tubercular patients, delinquent children, and the feebleminded. Finally, the resolutions protested "the closed industrial avenues barring economic progress."⁵⁰ By 1917, black women activists, as had white women, expanded their public role as they developed solutions to community problems, and with the help of white women, were preparing to speak with an independent political voice.

The other important cooperative venture was the Colored YWCA (CYWCA). While this cooperative effort had its positive aspects, it did not approach the level of mutual understanding achieved by the Civic League partnership. The first segregated YWCA was chartered in Dayton, Ohio in 1893. The Baltimore organization followed in 1897 as an independent unit, unaffiliated with the white YWCA. The subject of affiliation arose in 1912, and the Executive Committee of the white YWCA asked Mrs. William Cabell Bruce to chair a joint committee to explore the issue. The committee developed a plan, agreed to by both organizations. A joint committee of five members from each organization would manage the CYWCA, with the chairman of the joint committee always in reality a white, serving as a member of the board

of directors. The CYWCA agreed to abide by existing membership rules and to "allow the YWCA in cooperation with themselves, to decide as to the workers employed in the CYWCA." The YWCA, for its part, agreed to assist the CYWCA to raise funds for a trained worker for the CYWCA, "as long as work justifies it," but it would not be responsible for any other expense. The joint committee could determine how best to raise funds for the salary, but could solicit funds "only from such white contributors as are approved by the Finance Committee of the YWCA." Presumably the white YWCA wanted to be certain that it maintained control of the important function of fundraising, but the agreement demonstrated a distrustful and condescending attitude that would permeate and hamper the relationship. The directors of the CYWCA, led by their long time president and founder, Martha E. Murphy, had sought affiliation because they believed it would be a means to expand the work of the organization. Perhaps viewing the agreement as the best they could hope for, "after careful consideration, it was deemed wisest to decide in favor of affiliation for the present." Not until almost a year later was enough money raised to guarantee eight months' salary for a trained worker, and even then the joint committee could not locate one.⁵¹

Money and the lack of it appeared to retard the growth of cooperative spirit. Both YWCAs seemed to be in a constant state of fundraising. In early 1914, the white YWCA launched its campaign to raise \$400,000 for a new building, and the CYWCA pledged to raise \$10,000, believing that "the white YWCA will augment this . . . by a generous amount." The Afro-American remarked that it was "somewhat

unfortunate" that the campaign was beginning as the black YMCA was "struggling so hard to complete the collections for its new building." The writer acknowledged, however, that "now it has begun there is nothing else to do but to give it the heartiest support." When the campaign ended, the white YWCA had met its goal, though its board had to pledge \$10,000 itself to avoid losing conditional pledges. The CYWCA raised \$7,136, and in the divisions among the YWCA's branches, received \$2,000, less than any branch.⁵² Other disappointing results of affiliation occurred. The financial condition of the CYWCA, Mrs. Bruce reported to the board in November 1914, was "excellent," and "greater interest [was] being manifested in the work than ever before." Yet while white branches reported that they were growing, purchasing buildings, and training young women to assume leadership positions, by 1916 CYWCA leaders reported "many discouragements." Lack of equipment, space, and the inability of their employment bureau to help most of its applicants, hampered their progress. The white YWCA paid comparatively little attention to perhaps its neediest affiliate. It did not always include reports of the CYWCA with its branch reports, and its activities were not among the special demonstrations at the 1915 annual meeting.

Not all the problems of the CYWCA were due to white neglect. Martha Murphy's death in February 1915 set off or perhaps revealed deep divisions within the association. Religious denominations vied for control of the paid worker, who was supposed to answer only to the joint committee. A new president, board and staff resulted within a few months "in wonderful strides." Difficulties continued, however,

partially due to the differing perceptions of community needs. The white YWCA concentrated on providing housing and other services to young Christian women, and the board expected the CYWCA to follow its lead. While the CYWCA maintained an employment bureau, its services could not meet the demand. More overtly devoted to promoting Christianity than the white YWCA, the CYWCA also became a headquarters for many community organizations, perhaps distracting it from the mission as determined by the white YWCA. Frequent staff turnover confounded attempts at continuity and expansion, and by the early 1920s the white YWCA, frustrated with continuing difficulties at the CYWCA, began to call for its reorganization.⁵³

In developing and working to implement their agenda, black women activists had continued to work on behalf of the race, and they had gained experience operating their own organizations. With the help of white women, they built a strong civic improvement effort and began to challenge government to provide better services as well as equal opportunity. Perhaps most significantly, black women began to develop an independent political voice.

Establishing a Statewide Network

Realizing that selecting their agenda collectively and speaking with a united voice brought results, white women's organizations continued their drive for strong, effective statewide networks. Their efforts had resulted, in the words of historians Seth Koren and Sonya Michel, in a "new relationship" with the state which in turn "sharpened political awareness."⁵⁴ It was important to women that local and

state officials regard their networks as speaking for great numbers of women, and that public officials would use the networks as the conduits through which they could reach the women of Maryland. In keeping with and in creating the spirit of the progressive times, women worked to make their networks into centrally-managed, efficiently-operating entities that could strengthen individual organizations which in turn would strengthen the networks. Their efforts took reform issues throughout Maryland, thus multiplying both local interest and the involvement of women.

When the various organizations working within Baltimore's Jewish community formed the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations in 1916, Hortense Moses, the first president, expressed the rationale for federation:

For the most part, up to this time we have not known enough of what each is doing; we have worked independently of each other, thereby failing to utilize that most important factor in communal work---profound interest in a common cause. This Federation of ours---furnishes a medium through which we and our work may become known to one another, a central bureau to which we may turn for sympathetic cooperation; a medium through which our problems may be discussed and . . . more readily solved.

In what she termed "the first step in our progressive march," Hortense Moses echoed the reasons other organizations found for federation.⁵⁵

Two years later, looking back on the federation's early days, Hortense Moses recalled that it was a surprise "to learn the number and variety of women's organizations existing in the city." Thirty organizations "fairly oblivious of each other's existence, were welded together in a loose, yet firm union . . . a piece of machinery which,

when set in motion might within an incredibly short time, reach three thousand Jewish Women, carrying to them any message or communal interest, and insuring a ready response." The responses generated demonstrated that "the community has come to recognize that the Federation is the proper channel through which matters pertaining to all Jewish women should be handled." It was important to emphasize, Moses continued, that while the federation did not interfere in the internal affairs of constituent organizations, individual clubs had used their affiliation as "a stimulus to improved methods of organization within the individual group."⁵⁶ The federation itself in turn affiliated with the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs.

Throughout her long career as a progressive reformer and women's rights advocate, Elizabeth King Ellicott worked to build, through the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, an effective statewide network. Following the 1914 legislative session, during which the federation had for the first time worked systematically to influence the General Assembly, Ellicott became ill and could not attend the federation's annual meeting in April. She sent a message to the gathering, however, expressing her belief in the power of federation. "I am . . . convinced of the vitality and far reaching influence of the federation and its usefulness in supplying to the lives of women and the communities in which they dwell, a power for good and for progress." Clearly, Ellicott viewed the federation as a vehicle through which women could gain and use both individual and collective power. Working together, continued Ellicott, demonstrated to women "that it is

possible to work, and even to differ, amicably and to discuss without excitement the necessary phases of kindred interests."

Calling the previous year one of "expansion and consolidation," Ellicott detailed the year's progress. The federation had established a headquarters (that it shared with the Equal Suffrage League, another of Ellicott's organizations) with a professional staff member. In what Ellicott described as "one of the most wholesome developments of the training of club work," the federation had developed its "political interests" at the legislative session. Noting the failure of most of the federation-sponsored legislative agenda, Ellicott begged members not to be discouraged. "We have gained insight and experience and at the next legislature we will be better equipped for pushing the interest of women." Ellicott called attention to the cooperation with other organizations initiated by the federation, adding that this cooperation "will result in added power at the next legislature."

Next on Ellicott's agenda was "peaceful expansion." She expected to soon get a field secretary to visit member clubs and assist in organizing "in the five counties not yet represented in the Federation." Members of the federation must be careful in the future not to allow "a mass of outside interests, however admirable [to] divert the strength of the Federation." In closing her message, Ellicott expressed her belief that the next year would be one of "happy progress" for the federation.⁵⁷ Shortly after writing her message, Elizabeth King Ellicott died at the age of 56. Her vision and commitment would fuel the future expansion of women's political influence in Maryland.

To continue the expansion of the Maryland Federation between 1910 and 1917, the state organization actively recruited new members. It sent frequent letters of invitation to nonmember clubs, along with requirements for affiliation. A prospective member club was to send an application letter, along with a copy of its constitution, the names of its officers, and the number of club members.⁵⁸ State federation officers made frequent visits to local clubs to encourage their work, and local clubs visited and hosted visits from other organizations. The state federation also convened annual conferences and more frequent executive committee meetings in Baltimore. The meetings served both to impart information and provide opportunities for network-building. Anna Lloyd Corkran, a federation president, became a prime mover in developing the network through her support of local women's civic leagues.⁵⁹

Organized on the model of the Women's Civic League of Baltimore and affiliated with the Maryland Federation at the local and state levels, civic leagues and their frequent parent women's clubs, became a vital part of the federation's network. Letters and copies of bills sent from the state federation with requests for action resulted in prompt responses. State officers recognized and encouraged the work of their club members by inviting them to Annapolis for bill signings and opportunities to meet the Governor.⁶⁰ While local civic leagues had been organizing for several years, the greatest increase of new clubs came in between 1912 and 1916, spurred on by the success of the Baltimore league. In 1915, for example, eight new women's civic leagues joined the federation, with a combined membership of almost

five hundred members, bringing the total number to seventy-one leagues.⁶¹

If collective organization from a state perspective was important, it was also growing in importance at the county level. Allegany County, in Western Maryland, was a rural Appalachian area, and its principal city, Cumberland, with a population of 21,839, was an industrial and rail center. The experience of the Allegany County Federation of Women's Clubs provides an example of how women established local networks and the relationship of those networks to the central organization.

A civic club organized in Cumberland as early as 1909. Concerned about the prevalence of typhoid fever, women met to try to move city government to secure a pure water supply. Members met with the mayor, who appointed several men to work with the club. Eventually the question of a safe water supply was put to the voters, and the city became responsible for water treatment. From this beginning, the club branched out into garbage disposal, playgrounds, pure milk, and tuberculosis.⁶²

In addition to their work in Cumberland, members of the civic club in turn helped other clubs with similar concerns to organize. In 1911, Mrs. Max Kamen, president of the Cumberland Civic Club, assisted women in nearby Frostburg to organize a club. Mrs. Kamen and the parent club also assisted in the organization of the Westernport and Luke Civic Clubs in 1913, and the Barton Civic Club in 1914.⁶³ Organizations learned from each other and shared strategies and discussed problems.

In recognition that a central organization could better help them to define and achieve their goals, Allegany County women formed the county Federation of Women's Clubs in 1913. Its program of work in 1915, illustrating the range of interests of its constituent clubs, also reflected statewide issues. The federation agenda included prevention of tuberculosis, civic cleanliness, good roads, better schools and equipment, world peace, and women's suffrage. Their work gave them a growing sense of the role politics played in their lives, and the role they might play in political life as well. Their 1916 program of work featured training for citizenship and study of the city manager form of government. At their November 1916 annual meeting, Cumberland Mayor Thomas W. Koon, acknowledging the connecting between community improvement and the political process, spoke on "the relation of the city government to the Civic Club."⁶⁴

More than 150 miles from Baltimore and often isolated in winter, women of the Allegany County Federation kept in touch with the activities of the state and national organizations, at the same time educating themselves on current issues. When Dr. Lillian Welsh addressed the group on public health in 1915, over three hundred women attended. Representatives of the federation participated in national biennial as well as state conventions. Upon returning from the 1916 national federation convention, Anne Sloan reported to the county federation that the national organization had adopted resolutions stressing the need for national preparedness and pledges of assistance to the Red Cross. Later, members attributed their successful work during World War I "to the fact that in the County Federation they had

a coherent organization and they had been trained to work together."⁶⁵

While the establishment of a network of federation women proceeded generally smoothly, issues of control versus individual freedom occasionally surfaced. Relations between local and county, and county and state federations could be somewhat rocky at times. Clubs frequently criticized their county organizations and offered suggestions for improvement, a development to be expected as women expanded their public voice. The plan of the state federation to create additional levels of organization in the form of a district division drew fire from clubs. The district system, which would divide clubs into districts that could cut across county lines, angered some clubs that wished to keep the county structure intact.⁶⁶ Others wanted help from the state federation in understanding why particular legislation was important and why they should support it. Mary D. Thompson of Laurel in Prince George's County, who was "doing all I can to get our members into closer touch with the Federation," praised the state federation as "inspiration and an educator of the County Clubs." Her club had responded to several requests in 1914 to promote passage of legislation. Thompson asked, however, that "one of the live workers of the Federation come" and discuss legislation "and get our ladies to ask questions." This she believed would result in "a new era in our usefulness."⁶⁷ As women gained political experience, they became less willing to be rubber stamps, even for the state federation. Generally, however, local clubs supported the state federation as it continued to build the network. Katherine Walton, president of the

Woman's Civic League of Annapolis, concluded her 1916 report to the state federation with an expression of gratitude "for the privilege it is to attend the meetings of the State Federation. . . . One feels the inspiration of these gatherings and return[s] to our home club with new vibrations, seething with new ideas for the betterment of our common welfare."⁶⁸

While the efforts of the state federation and the experience of the Baltimore Women's Civic League helped women of the counties to form their organizations, establish their agendas, and share their results, action at the local level still involved a learning process for women. If Baltimore women had grown to arrive at a belief in government's responsibility for community services, county women had to repeat the process as they defined and acted on their agenda. Through their activities, they would begin to define themselves as citizens as well as wives and mothers. In so doing, they would progress from a questioning of what civic work was, to concern about nonexistent services and a belief that public officials had a responsibility to the community. Women at the local level would develop a commitment to act, learn to work within the political system, and work out strategies to deal with setbacks.⁶⁹

As women activists defined their agendas, they began increasingly to view themselves as citizens. Their roles as mothers and wives may have served as the original rationale for their activities, but they came to see their accomplishments as beneficial to the community as a whole. The Woman's Club of Cambridge, a small community on the Eastern Shore (that part of Maryland east of the Chesapeake Bay) in Dorchester

County, with sixty active members, had sent thirty letters to the legislature in 1916 in support of a local school loan. Their club had determined that every clubwoman's civic responsibility was "for the betterment of her own town's conditions." Some clubwomen expressed this responsibility using different language. Nellie B. Wright, Chairman of the refuse disposal committee of the Woman's Club of Forest Park, reported that "We try to keep watch over this suburb, and report any complaints." Another reported that "The Newcomb Club [is] wide awake to the needs of the community." The Annapolis Woman's Civic League attempted to "educate every women as to the real value to the community of a civic power."⁷⁰

The experience of the Hagerstown Civic League illustrates the process through which women developed community responsibility at the local level. Frequently, women's groups plunged into various kinds of activities because they saw unmet community needs. Only later did they begin to see their action in terms of its potential to create and manipulate public opinion. When they did make the connection, they used their organizational strength to capitalize on it.

Located in Washington County, largely agricultural and seventy miles west of Baltimore, Hagerstown with 16,507 people in 1910 was a growing rail and industrial city.⁷¹ Anna Findlay, president of the civic league, took the organization into the state federation in 1915 and struggled with defining the club's agenda. Asked to send her first year's report to the federation, Findlay replied, "I do not know just what I should tell you, or that comes under the head of civic work." In her report, however, Findley detailed an agenda that meshed almost

exactly with the work of other clubs. Like other clubs, the Hagerstown organization had appeared before the town council "urging a better collection of garbage and enforcement of an anti-spitting ordinance." At the request of the milk committee of Baltimore's Women's Civic League and with its assistance, the Hagerstown club conducted a "very successful" milk survey to determine the purity of the local milk supply. Members worked on a school survey, a clean up week, and a Christmas seal sale. Findlay modestly maintained that their accomplishments were "not very many, nor very important, but . . . the most important work we had accomplished, and which could not be measured was this--we had created 'public opinion' in Hagerstown." By the next year, Findlay could report that the organization had raised \$1,260 to help support a public health nurse, since public funds were not available. Citing the club's ties with the federation, Findley noted that "during the session of the Legislature, we exerted our influence to support the various bills which the Federation endorsed."⁷²

Women's activities increasingly brought them into contact with the political leaders of their communities, and choosing to work with them continued the practice developed by other women activists. One of the most frequent occasions for contact involved appearances before town councils, school boards, and boards of county commissioners. Not every visit was welcome or productive, nor did every gain represent the solution to a critical community problem. The Annapolis Woman's Civic League appeared before the city council "using our influence to obtain better laws . . . through our influence the city council passed an

ordinance compelling the placarding of homes which hold contagious diseases."⁷³ Appearances such as these contributed to women's growing political awareness, as well as to their ease and skill in dealing with public officials. When the board of school commissioners thwarted progress toward the creation of a playground, women of the Woman's Civic League of Westminster in Carroll County negotiated with the board to achieve their objective.⁷⁴

Women activists also used the technique of asking public officials to work with them. The members of the Woman's Civic League of Westminster in Carroll County assured the mayor and council in 1913 that they "wanted to work with them and not against." Their assurances must have calmed a nervous group of officials, since sixty women had invaded their council meeting, armed with a petition requesting that the police chief not be fired, and further asked that the council improve town drainage and alleys. The chairman of the forestry committee of the same organization asked men to serve on the committee "because of the assistance we feel sure they can give." Such a move made male support more likely, as well as helping women learn more about and potentially develop credibility in new fields. The chairman of the sanitary committee of the same woman's civic league "had the City Fathers as her guests. They were apprehensive that something was wanted." The sanitary committee did want something. The committee asked the mayor to request a sanitary survey of the town from the State Board of Health to determine the town's sanitation needs. The mayor complied, and Dr. J.S. Fulton of the state board replied that the state would complete the survey as soon as possible. "It is surprising,"

noted the league's secretary, "how many men call on the Sanitary Committee to remedy local conditions."⁷⁵ Perhaps it was not so surprising, given the committee's skill in influencing the actions of public officials.

Women activists also realized that the money their organizations raised to meet some of their communities' needs gave them potentially greater influence. While attempting to influence local governments to assume financial responsibility for community services, women probably realized that the money they raised would heighten awareness of the need for more reliable funds, and would show to public officials their good intentions. The Woman's Civic League of Westminster, reporting that "the City Council refused to buy any trash cans, but will empty all that are placed in the town," realized they had obtained some level of commitment to community sanitation and supplied the cans. The Oakland Civic Club, in far western Maryland in Garrett County, was located in a town with less than 2,500 people and scarce resources. The civic club supervised the cleaning of the town and paid half the cost, the town council assuming the balance. The club also contributed fifty dollars for the "maintenance of the Public School." Sometimes political officials were reluctant to accept a donation, fearing it would commit them to future expenses, as in the case of the twenty-five dollar Baoptican machine the Woman's Club of Forest Park gave to the school. In this case, the women agreed to pay all associated expenses.⁷⁶

Women's work in their communities brought them acceptance, recognition, and a sense of accomplishment. The civic committee of the

Woman's Club of Kensington announced that the mayor had asked them to arrange for a clean-up week "gaining for us public recognition, and pointing to a gradual change in public opinion." In 1916, with its five year history of community activism, the Women's Civic League of Baltimore could point to many such indications of recognition and accomplishment. "Undoubtedly, the appropriation of \$10,000 for a City Smoke Department is the direct outgrowth of the League's work." Concerning the group's efforts to inspect public schools, "It is interesting to note that the larger appropriation made this year to remedy many reported defects, is said by a member of the School Board" to be due to the league's work. The league's organization by wards "has been recognized by the City Hall Officials as a real power for reform."⁷⁷

Women's groups did encounter problems in working with male political officials. The Women's Civic League of Baltimore found that although the Street Cleaning Department "has been converted to the needs for covered garbage cans," the ordinance that would require covering the cans was held up in City Council. The Woman's Club of Forest Park met resistance from officials to its plan to raise the lower end of the school ground by applying several hundred loads of soil and crushed stone. The education committee "made a call upon the city to complete this work, but were absolutely refused, saying they needed all available money for more essential things in other districts."⁷⁸

Club members developed a variety of ways to deal with reluctant public officials. Some methods already described included negotiation

and financial contributions. Additionally, women used roadblocks to help them learn more about how government worked. After receiving "no encouraging" replies to its letters to the town council concerning disposal of tin cans, the Inquiry Club of Rockville in Montgomery County asked the mayor, whose wife was a club member, to discuss with them the operations of the town council, town finances, and street improvements. Some organizations could find no other effective means than to accept men as members. After allowing men to join the Salisbury Civic League in Wicomico County on the Eastern Shore, the town council became more cooperative and agreed to support a clean up week.⁷⁹

The activities of the Federated Club of Chestertown in Kent County on the Eastern Shore in 1915 and 1916 serve as a composite example of white women activists defining an agenda, advocating increased government responsibility, learning and using the political system, and dealing with setbacks. The club, located in an agricultural and seafood area, maintained a rest room for farmers' wives. Members became concerned about the purity of milk delivered to Chestertown and as a result of their requests, the State Board of Health made three visits to the town and ordered changes in sanitation. Throughout the experience, club members got an education in the intricacies of a growing state bureaucracy. "We found the greatest difficulty in the divided authority between the State Board of Health and the Live Stock Sanitary Board which kept us going back and forth from one to the other with dozens and dozens of letters and personal interviews." The club handled the difficulty by reporting it

to their local representative to the Goodnow Commission on Efficiency and Economy in State Government, who informed them that the two boards would merge. This response must have validated their experience and encouraged them to pursue other issues.

Perhaps emboldened by their experience, the club sponsored two lectures on the importance of paved streets and sanitation, "the object being to aid the Town Commissioners to secure a bond issue for paving the streets and to secure a new sewerage system." The club was reluctant to take credit for the resultant success of the effort, believing it to be "immaterial," so long as the objective was achieved. Perhaps learning from this experience that it was important to be perceived as effective, the club firmly believed that its efforts were instrumental in the construction of a state road between Chestertown and the Chesapeake Bay. Club members had conducted a "strenuous campaign," with a "running fire of correspondence and interviews. . . . We now have three miles of stone road . . . which Mr. Miller of the State Road Commission stated . . . was due to the initiative [and] work done by the Federated Club." Credit was snatched away, however, as "some gentlemen in truly manly fashion came out in print and claimed the road for their political factions."

Undaunted and by now well seasoned political activists, the club took on its most ambitious project, the attempt to influence the plans for the new high school building. Their efforts provide an example of the differing visions of male and female community activists concerning the kinds of services that were important to a community. A bond issue had recently passed, and a building committee composed only of men was

appointed. Club members envisioned a school that would serve several community purposes, including a high school, a social center, and a library, possibly in a separate wing, for the use of the entire community. Women's civic leagues had studied and advocated this approach. "We could thus secure a saving to the tax payers of the town and county by making the same heating, lighting, librarian and janitor services serve the purposes of all."

Club members got to work. They wrote for information concerning social centers to the University of Wisconsin, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Russell Sage Foundation, all of whom responded and approved of the plan as being "most efficient and economical." An architect in Chicago presented plans for the building. While they were waiting to learn more about the plans for the library, "the building committee purchased a lot on the outskirts of town, where they could have a larger Base Ball field, the distance precluding the possibility of ever using the building" as a social center or library.⁸⁰ Absent from the decision making process, and perhaps naively expecting their ideas to gain acceptance, club members received another lesson in the existing political process applied to community services.

Setbacks, Successes, and Outcomes

Women activists faced a variety of discouraging setbacks, some of which were caused by the kind of obstruction experienced by the Chestertown club. Others were rooted in apathy, overload, or illness. Apologizing for the lack of civic activity, Edith Pelling of the

Irvington Woman's Club reported in frustration that women did not seem to have time for civic work, "and those who do have the time are either incapable or unwilling to work for the League." Conceding that "not much" had been done by the civic section, Mary Thompson of the Woman's Club of Laurel detailed several illnesses of club members and their husbands that made a meeting quorum possible "only two or three times this winter."⁸¹ Anne Carey, for many years an activist with the Consumers' League, confessed in 1915 that she was "more tired than I ever was in my life, and I will be really ill unless I narrow my work down."⁸² As much work as activists did, most women remained bystanders, as did most men. Activists moved, died, and became exhausted. The number of activists, however, as measured by the increase of civic clubs, continued to expand.

Dealing with setbacks and disappointments was an ongoing problem, and many women began to look in new directions for alternatives. Some women intensified their efforts to help women gain appointments to local school boards through state legislation.⁸³ More frequently, women activists came to view equal suffrage as the route to assured equal access to community power. The Civic Study Club of Garrett Park in Montgomery County worked to understand "the laws under which we live," with the hope that the study "would be beneficial to the non-suffragists as well as to the suffragists." The Woman's Club of Chevy Chase reported that it had studied the legal status of women in Maryland and had a guest speaker on women's suffrage. The question of suffrage would soon become a major concern of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, but the federation, responding in October 1914 to a

national survey which asked Maryland women's position on suffrage, replied that, "the question has never arisen in Maryland as to the stand taken by the Federation. As individuals, a large number are suffragists, but we do not know whether we have a majority for suffrage."⁸⁴

By 1917, women could point to the positive results of their activism. Beginning in 1910, state government assumed more and more responsibility for social concerns, and throughout the 1910s state legislators were more reform-minded. It was a "virtual certainty," contended historian Raymond Sweeney, that the state's political leaders "believed they were dealing with an aware and reform-minded public."⁸⁵ Certainly women could take credit for much of that awareness. Evidence of increased state concern for the types of issues women advocated can be found in state-conducted investigations of prostitution, industrial conditions, and traffic in babies, and the Commission on Efficiency and Economy in state government.⁸⁶ The legislatures of 1912, 1914, and 1916 passed several bills on which women activists had worked, including the assumption by the state of financial support for the Maryland Industrial School for Girls in 1914, expanded child labor laws, and new and expanded state responsibility for education.⁸⁷

Further evidence of increasing state responsibility was reflected in the Maryland Manual, a yearly description of all state boards and commissions, as well as a listing of state and local elected and appointed officials. In 1912 and 1913 the manual showed that the state created eight new commissions and a state industrial bureau. In

1913-1914, state government expanded the industrial bureau, created three new commissions, and began a house of refuge. In 1914-1915, new responsibilities led the state to create eleven new commissions. No substantial changes occurred in 1916-1917, but in 1917-1918, state government created five new commissions. While women received few appointments to the total of twenty-seven new commissions between 1912 and 1918, the state had responded to their influence and had begun to further expand government involvement and to make state government more efficient and responsible.⁸⁸

The extension of family-related concerns to the community's agenda also transformed the role of women, especially that of the white elite. Viewing themselves increasingly as citizens of their state and communities, women activists had successfully advocated increased government responsibility for community services, and had thus entered into a new relationship with the state. Women activists adopted the progressive values of organization and efficiency, and practiced them as they developed powerful statewide networks. They continued to seek the help and support of both likeminded as well as initially antagonistic men. Their successes brought them recognition, but their public activities also exposed them to disappointment and defeat. Successes as well as setbacks stimulated interest in further gains, and as many continued their civic activism, some women began to look to the suffrage movement to achieve their goals.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 72-73. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Florence Kelley and the Decline in Power of Women's Political Culture," Paper presented at the convention of the Organization of American Historians, April 1989, St. Louis, 3. Sklar, discussing the "heyday" of women's reform activities around 1910, pointed to women's exercise of power through the consolidation of their talents, creation of support networks, and effective use of male allies. Sklar argued, and this study supports the contention, that the opportunity for women's activism arose because social needs were not being met through the political process.

2. Yearbooks, 1911-1912, Baltimore Section, Council of Jewish Women, Jewish Historical Society.

3. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 72-73; History of the Women's Civic League of Baltimore (Baltimore: Lord Baltimore Press, 1937).

4. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 72-73; Baltimore Sun, April 4, 1911, in Box 17, Edwin Warfield Papers and Scrapbooks, MHS. This seemingly late date for founding a civic league is in fact in line with Chicago, where the Chicago Woman's City Club was founded in 1910. Maureen A. Flanagan, "Gender and Urban Political Reform: The City Club and the Woman's City Club of Chicago in the Progressive Era:" American Historical Review 95 (October 1990): 1034.

5. James B. Crooks, Politics and Progress, Chapter 7; James B. Crooks, "Politics and Progress: The Dimensions of Baltimore Progressivism," Maryland Historical Magazine 71 (1976): 424.

6. James B. Crooks, Politics and Progress, 213-17.

7. Baltimore Sun, March 5, 1911, in Ibid., 218-19; Addresses Delivered at the First City-Wide Congress of Baltimore, Maryland (Baltimore: Press of King Brothers, 1911).

8. Addresses Delivered at the First City-Wide Congress.

9. Historians have scrutinized and frequently criticized the effectiveness and results of women's activism. William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 84-90, argued that clubwomen were generally ineffective and interested only in "womanly" concerns. Allen Davis, "Women and Municipal Reform," Paper presented at the Conference of Women in the Progressive Era, March 1988, Washington, D.C., maintained that women reformers wanted social justice, while men were more

concerned with efficiency and order. Those lines blur in this study. Nancy Hewitt, "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood: American Women's History in the 1980s," Social History 10 (October 1985), 315, pointed out that while women influenced and advocated change, they did so within the context of their particular social and material circumstances. Mary Ritter Beard, Women's Work in Municipalities (New York: Arno Press, 1972 Reprint of 1915 Edition), 272, concluded that all social problems must be reduced to political action, a view that many women activists of this study came to share.

10. Frances Sidwell Benson, "History of the Woman's Club of Govans, 1900-1945."

11. The Town, November 27, 1915, 5.

12. Maryland Suffrage News, Baltimore, Maryland, October 9, 1915.

13. Helen Skipwirth Wilmer Athey, "A State Training School for Girls," Paper read at the annual meeting of the Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs and Elizabeth King Ellicott to A.H. Brundigee, October 13, 1913, Box 19, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.

14. Yearbook, 1912-1913, Baltimore Association of Jewish Women, Jewish Historical Society.

15. Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs document, February 6, 1914 and "Legislative Budget of the Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs for 1914," Box 18, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.

16. Anne G. Carey to Elizabeth King Ellicott, February 25, 1914, Box 18, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.

17. Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xv, explored the issue the ability of women professionals in reform-created agencies to gain respect and meet progressive demands only at the expense of other women. Also see: Linda Gordon, Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880-1960 (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1988); Linda Gordon, ed., Women, the State, and Welfare (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990). Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past, 84-85, contended that reaction to middle class attitudes toward lower class women should not overshadow the socially useful work women activists accomplished. The Town, February 9, 1916, 5; March 25, 1916, 5.

18. Ida M. Stevens to Elizabeth King Ellicott, October 31, 1913, Box 19, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS. A search for the outcome of this request has been unsuccessful.

19. Yearbook, 1912-1913, Baltimore Association of Jewish Women, Jewish Historical Society; Fifth Joint Report, 1912, the Daughters in Israel, Jewish Historical Society; The Town, October 28, 1916, 2; November 20, 1915, 5; Thirteenth Census of the United States.
20. The Town, October 28, 1916, 2; William Lloyd Fox, "Social Cultural Developments From the Civil War to 1920," 502.
21. The Town, March 25, 1916, 4.
22. Afro-American, June 3, 1916; July 8, 1916.
23. Maryland Manual, 1900-1917.
24. The Town, February 19, 1916, 6.
25. Phillips Lee Goldsborough to Elizabeth King Ellicott, March 3, 1914; Goldsborough to Mrs. H.C. Armstrong, March 2, 1914, Box 18, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.
26. For example, Minutes, YWCA, April, 17, 1916.
27. Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform. Muncy fully developed the aspects of women's professionalism.
28. The Town, February 19, 1916, 6.
29. Afro-American, August 26, 1916; April 20, 1912; Interview with Mattie Spencer, April 10, 1978, Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project, Special Collections, University of Baltimore, Baltimore, Maryland.
30. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "The Problem of Race in Women's History," in Elizabeth Weed, ed., Coming to Terms: Feminism, Theory, Practice (New York: Routledge, 1989), 130; Elizabeth Anne Payne, Reform, Labor, and Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and the Women's Trade Union League (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 131-32; Eileen Boris, "The Power of Motherhood: Black and White Activist Women Redefine the 'Political'," Yale Journal of Law and Feminism 2 (Fall 1989): 25-26, 46; Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past, 84-85.
31. Afro-American, May 13, 1916; Jacqueline Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 113, estimates that up to seventy percent of black women were wage earners and that five times the number of black women were employed when compared with white women.
32. Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All," 20; Eileen Boris, "The Power of Motherhood," 35; Willard B. Gatewood, Jr. "Aristocrats of Color, South and North: The Black Elite, 1880-1920," Journal of Southern History 54 (February 1988): 3-20.

33. Afro-American, March 22, 1913.
34. Ibid., October 4, 1913.
35. Ibid., October 7, 1916.
36. Ibid., January 13, 1917.
37. Ibid., November 29, 1913; June 29, 1912.
38. Ibid., March 17, 1917; February 13, 1915.
38. Ibid., April 17, 1915; October 14, 1916; March 8, 1913; March 1, 1913; March 16, 1912.
40. Ibid., October 4, 1914; November 29, 1913.
41. Ibid., March 23, 1912; January 14, 1914; December 2, 1916.
42. The conclusion that black women began their own organizations because of discrimination and because of their communities' special needs is addressed in Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women in the Woman's Movement, 1830-1920," in Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images (Port Washington: Kennikutt Press, 1978).
43. Afro-American, October 19, 1912; Phyllis Hathaway in Notable Maryland Women, 127-28.
44. Afro-American, November 22, 1913.
45. Ibid., January 24, 1914; December 13, 1913; August 3, 1912.
46. Gerda Lerner, The Majority Finds Its Past, 111; Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All," 19.
47. History of the Women's Civic League of Baltimore, 69. It is not clear whether the Visiting Nurses Association was white or black.
48. Afro-American, February 7, 1914; March 7, 1914; The Town, December 16, 1916, 2.
49. Afro-American, February 13, 1915; March 4, 1916; October 28, 1916; March 4, 1916; The Town, May 20, 1916, 2; April 8, 1916, 6.
50. Afro-American, February 24, 1917; The Town, March 10, 1917, 4.
51. Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter, 155-56; Minutes, YWCA, February 19, 1912; April 15, 1912; April 13, 1912; January 13, 1913; February 10, 1913.

52. Afro-American, January 31, 1914; February 14, 1914; Minutes, YWCA, March 16, 1914.
53. Minutes, YWCA, November 16, 1914; April 19, 1915; Annual Reports, 1916, 1917; Afro-American, February 20, 1915; February 27, 1915.
54. Seth Koren and Sonya Michel, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Policies and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880-1920," American Historical Review 95 (October 1990): 1078-79.
55. Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations document, Box 82, Unprocessed Collection, Jewish Historical Society.
56. "Report of the President," Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations, April 23, 1918, Box 82, Unprocessed Collection, Jewish Historical Society.
57. Elizabeth King Ellicott, Message to Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs Annual Meeting, 1914, Box 19, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.
58. State Federation of Women's Clubs, December 23, 1914, Box 18, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.
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CHAPTER THREE
"LET US GET POWER FIRST":
THE SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN, 1910-1918

Women's civic activism, building on women's traditional concerns, was the first step to greater individual and collective influence. The drive for women's suffrage was a conscious and purposeful attempt to gain for women official standing in the world of electoral and partisan politics. Although suffragists fought for inclusion in a system from which many civic activists sought to remain aloof, the suffrage movement in Maryland reinforced the efforts of civic activists, and connected them to the campaign for the right to vote.

As it was for other women's activities, the takeoff point for a revived suffrage movement took place around 1910, when particularly white women began a more systematic and longterm activism. The suffrage campaign gave women activists an opportunity to build on and expand the knowledge and experience they gained in community efforts. White suffragists linked the cause of suffrage with the ability to achieve their goals for community improvement, and both their achievements and their failures encouraged a more critical view of the results of male dominance. Building on the experience that many white women had gained in federation, suffragists worked to build and maintain unity. White suffrage leaders developed tactics that further demonstrated women's ability to influence male politicians, and built

on and extended the statewide network, bringing additional women into public activity. Attempting to build a broad base of suffrage support, white suffragists made connections with women wage earners, and continued the practice of strategic collaboration with male allies. Their efforts to balance their democratic ideals with their opponents' use of race led them to compromise principle for political advantage. The most challenging test of their political acumen involved their dealings with antisuffragists. By 1916, white suffragists had won a crucial legislative victory and were looking forward to the 1918 session of the General Assembly, when World War I intervened.

The Suffrage Movement to 1910

Only sporadic interest in women's suffrage developed in Maryland before 1900, and that mostly centered in Baltimore. The Equal Rights Society, founded by black and white women in 1867, was shortlived. White women in Montgomery County founded a suffrage club in 1889, and at the beginning of the twentieth century an agreement between the Montgomery County Woman's Suffrage Association and the Baltimore City Suffrage Club created a state association which affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Until 1905, those two clubs constituted the whole of the "state" association, with Baltimore's 160 members and Montgomery County's 32. In that year, Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), visited Maryland. Her speeches resulted in the organization of several new suffrage clubs, and statewide membership rose to 423.¹

As more women became involved in community work and attempted to increase their individual and collective influence, the issue of women's suffrage grew in importance. State and city suffrage associations increased their level of activity in the years immediately preceding 1910. Suffrage activists had hosted NAWSA's national convention in 1906. In the same year, suffrage petitions submitted to the Maryland General Assembly were received with jokes and laughter. Debates, articles, and speeches increased, and the level of public awareness of the issue grew. By 1909, suffrage activism had resulted in the endorsement by the Maryland Grange and the state Federation of Labor, and both state and Baltimore suffrage organizations prepared to present bills to the 1910 legislative session. Two other events occurred prior to 1910 that set the stage for future developments in Maryland's suffrage campaign. In 1906, Elizabeth King Ellicott became president of one of Baltimore's suffrage clubs, the Equal Suffrage League, an office she would retain until her death in 1914. In 1909, Edith Houghton Hooker organized the Just Government League (JGL).

Edith Houghton Hooker, born in New York in 1879, graduated from Bryn Mawr College and studies at The Johns Hopkins University Medical School and later in Berlin. Her professional activities as a social worker led her and her husband, Dr. Donald Hooker, to found the Guild of St. George, a home for single mothers and their infants. Her interest in social hygiene issues resulted in several published writings, and her concern for women's legal disabilities led her into the suffrage movement, initially as a colleague of Elizabeth King Elliott in the Equal Suffrage League. Choosing to affiliate her new

organization directly with NAWSA rather than through the state association, Hooker expressed a lack of faith in the ability of the state association to form a statewide network, a move she believed necessary, and she prepared to create an effective network through her JGL.²

As women's community activism reached a takeoff stage in 1910, the suffrage campaign entered a new phase as well. At the national level, the state of Washington broke a fourteen-year drought with a prosuffrage vote in 1910. California followed in 1911, three more states in 1912, and Illinois in 1913. The 1910 Maryland General Assembly considered statewide and municipal suffrage bills for the first time, and wasted no time in defeating them. In the House of Delegates, sixty-one members opposed women's suffrage, and just eighteen favored the measures. Democrats, especially from Baltimore City, were most solidly opposed, while Republicans, with thirteen members opposed and eleven in favor, were more evenly divided. The regional breakdown revealed almost total opposition on the largely Democratic Eastern Shore, Baltimore City, and central Maryland. Western Maryland and the southern part of the state were more closely divided on the question. The Senate took no action on either bill.³

It was clear to organizers like Elizabeth King Ellicott and Edith Houghton Hooker that if reluctant members of the legislature were to be persuaded to change their votes, suffragists would have to extend their influence and their arguments across the state. By 1910, both Ellicott and Hooker were prepared to extend suffrage activism throughout Maryland. At the same time they were building their respective

suffrage organizations and state networks, they developed and refined suffrage arguments. While women community activists like Ellicott were becoming increasingly influential, both Hooker and Ellicott would help to lead them to make a connection between community activism and the right to vote. That connection made a broadbased suffrage movement possible.

Connecting Suffrage and Community Activism

Throughout the long national campaign for the right of women to vote, suffrage advocates had become accustomed to having to defend their position against their opponents. Beginning with a call for suffrage as a natural right, suffragists increasingly moved toward the "expediency" argument, the assertion that women's vote would be used for the benefit of society. Arguments by national organizations, never a cohesive body of thought, were crafted largely in response to the charges of antisuffragists. Suffrage arguments, however, were also developed, at least at the state level, as a proactive attempt to recruit a broad range of support.⁴ White Maryland suffragists especially, like their counterparts across the country, developed and collected a toolbox of suffrage arguments and at the same time connected those arguments to their activism and the reality of the times. Building on the experience of women's community activism, the suffrage movement developed a critique of male dominance that infused their rhetoric with an implication that women would behave differently and better than men had.

As crucial to the development of the suffrage movement in Maryland as it was to the civic improvement movement, activism involved

making and capitalizing on connections between the home and homemaker and social issues. The Maryland Suffrage News played an important role in forging the connection and publicizing it throughout the state. The Maryland Suffrage News, begun in 1912 by Edith Houghton Hooker, became the weekly voice, not just for the JGL, but for the suffrage movement in Maryland, since general circulation newspapers paid scant attention to suffrage. Filling the paper with news of activities around the state and other states, legislative information, and organizing and debating tips, Hooker and her associates used the Suffrage News to build a common suffrage language and consciousness across the state. Together, Hooker and her husband financed much of the cost of operating the Suffrage News.

Like civic activists, most white suffragists, many of whom were civic activist veterans, accepted and promoted women's contribution to public life. Suffragists, however, insisted that women would not be able to exert maximum influence outside electoral politics. Suffrage leaders like Edith Houghton Hooker, as well as women civic activists, did not regard women's current civic activism as political activism. While believing that civic activism based on women's traditional concerns was a step forward, suffragists believed that activism must be linked to the civil right of suffrage. Suffragists concentrated a great deal of effort on helping potential converts to understand that connection. In so doing, suffragists undoubtedly reinforced and enhanced the work of civic activists.

"The government has turned 'housekeeper'." A variation on the theme of community activists that municipal housekeeping was just

housekeeping on a broader scale and should use the talents of women, this view maintained that since government already involved itself in the homes and lives of citizens, women's voice should be heard. Building their case, Suffrage News editors early on developed a "Speakers Class," and devoted columns to train suffrage advocates to speak on the connection between home, activism, and suffrage. Potential speakers learned that women did not want "to leave their natural sphere," but now government and business had taken over those areas for which homemakers were traditionally responsible, for example, pure milk and water, clothing, and food. Women were not leaving their sphere; they were merely making "a legitimate attempt to follow their work." Following their work meant that women must supervise those things formerly done in the home, and in order to supervise the work, women must have the ballot.⁵

Arguing for women's suffrage on the basis of women's work as distinct from a natural right presupposed that men were failing to discharge their public duties effectively and properly. White women's initiation into civic and suffrage activism frequently resulted in a more critical view of male leadership. Suffrage advocates developed this critique and connected it to women's right to vote. Women were tired, editorialized the Suffrage News, of taking the brunt of the high price of meat and being asked to "find substitutes," when the fault for high prices lay elsewhere. Having called for many years for the removal through the straightening of streets of "moral festers," women observed that "It is a curious state of affairs that the wiping out of moral festers must wait until business interests call for straight streets."

Agonizing over the problem of infant mortality, the Suffrage News asserted that mothers "realize the value of each baby's life." Implying that male politicians did not place the same value on children's lives, the writer denied that men were brutal, but that "Nature never intended men to take care of the babies." Women, if they could vote, would "pry open the public treasury" to save the lives of babies and children.⁶ While women eagerly pursued the vote on the basis of their roles as mothers, they appeared to want to reserve a part of their traditional role while at the same time broadening the scope of their public activities.

Women were also critical of national military expenditures, contending that if money had been spent for constructive purposes, "the demand for women's suffrage would probably not be as insistent as it is." Finally, suffrage advocates struck at the argument antisuffragist men and women had always used to counter the demand for the vote--that men protected women, through marriage. "The 'protection' of women with respect to marriage has truly been a delusion and a snare. A man protects, at best, one woman and forgets or offers for sacrifice all the rest." Women, with the vote, would correct abuses of women by men.⁷

The case built for the relationship among social issues, the place of the home, and a critique of men, led to the reasons why women should work for suffrage. Presumably, a suffrage leader like Edith Houghton Hooker believed her rhetoric that women with the vote would stamp out all social evils. It is difficult to square that apparent naive belief with the sophisticated suffrage campaign she helped to

direct. It is more likely that Hooker and her associates purposely overstated the case in order to attract the broadest possible support.

At the base of the suffrage argument was the usefulness of women's votes. Writing a few years after the suffrage movement, Dr. Lillian Welsh remarked:

My teaching of hygiene as a community problem led straight to the ballot. . . . I saw the necessity of the ballot for women in obtaining the social legislation for which they were working. . . . A request to legislators would have much greater force when we could say 'Thousands of voters stand behind this,' instead of 'thousands of women desire such legislation.'⁸

Edith Houghton Hooker had a clear idea of the connection between women's ballots and their community work, and she insisted that suffrage be the primary goal. "Much civic work is now being done by ballotless women. Every inch of ground they gain by years of toil is at the mercy of political forces they can only reach at arm's length." Making the connection between suffragists and community activists, she continued,

Nearly every suffragist is also active in some form of social work; not a few have come to their desire for the ballot through their civic duties. . . . They are tired of working with no tools or blunt tools. Therefore, as a matter of efficiency, not only for themselves, but for all civic workers handicapped by lack of political representation; suffragists are saying: 'Let us get power first.'

Hooker maintained this was not a new or radical idea. Just as men viewed the vote as "a means to an end," women wanted the ballot for the same reason.⁹ Lest the general public, or suffragists themselves, think that the goal of suffrage was merely to vote, the Suffrage News made its position clear:

What we are really after is the power which accrues to the most insignificant male at the age of twenty-one. . . . Their opinions count just because they can vote. . . . We do not want merely to cast ballots. We want to cast our influence.¹⁰

The Struggle for Unity

For the national as well as the state suffrage movement, 1910 inaugurated a more intense level of activity and commitment. The Congressional Union, behind Alice Paul's leadership, organized to concentrate on a federal suffrage amendment. At first a part of NAWSA, it broke from that organization in 1913, when its strategy of punishing the party in power and its "flamboyant" tactics alienated supporters of NAWSA's traditional educational approach. In 1916, the Congressional Union became the Woman's Party, and in the following year changed its name once again, to the National Woman's Party. The Woman's Party, with its generally younger, less traditional activists, sought to broaden both the scope and the support of suffrage.¹¹

The divisions in the national suffrage movement transferred themselves to state campaigns. Leaders of the Maryland suffrage movement positioned themselves and their various organizations according to their national, state, or local organization of choice, as well as their position on municipal versus statewide suffrage, and early disagreements and divisions resulted. After initial divisiveness, however, Maryland suffrage leaders attempted to develop and sustain a unified movement, even as disagreements lay sometimes barely submerged. It was important to them that Maryland legislators and other public officials perceive the suffrage movement as a

monolith. With relatively few active suffragists scattered outside Baltimore, unity was an absolute necessity, as was the ability through unity to share information. To build and reflect unity, leaders developed a sort of hybrid movement that combined NAWSA's traditional focus on education with the Congressional Union's more aggressive tactics. National and even local suffrage organizations, with ties to differing national groups, did not always make building unity an easy task. With the growing network and experience of women activists, however, many of whom also worked for suffrage, there was a tolerance for disagreement and a clear preference for unity.

At the beginning of the suffrage campaign's new phase, the issue of municipal versus statewide suffrage threatened immediately to divide suffrage forces. In 1909, some Baltimore suffragists considered asking the General Assembly to pass a municipal suffrage bill that would grant taxpaying women in Baltimore the right to vote. The Baltimore Woman's Suffrage Club, spurred on by Edith Houghton Hooker, one of its members, asked NAWSA for its opinion of this step, and Anna H. Shaw sent back her dim view of the measure. "We may not as a National Body advocate or assist in the advocacy of any form of class legislation."¹²

At the 1910 legislative session, however, two suffrage bills appeared, one for statewide and the other for municipal suffrage. Elizabeth King Ellicott's suffrage organization, the Equal Suffrage League of Baltimore, had taken up the cause of the municipal bill. They received the endorsements of the newly formed Just Government League and the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, as well as their financial support. None of these organizations supported the statewide

suffrage bill, believing, as Edith Houghton Hooker expressed it, that it was more "politic a method" to ask "merely" for municipal suffrage. While Hooker was careful to point out that the Equal Suffrage League supported and worked toward full suffrage, the organizations "do not think the time is ripe" for a statewide suffrage bill. With a divided effort confronting an already reluctant legislature, the General Assembly made short work of both bills, postponing municipal suffrage indefinitely and defeating the statewide bill.¹³

Following the 1910 legislative session, the Maryland Woman Suffrage Association, a NAWSA state affiliate, angered by Ellicott's Equal Suffrage League's support of municipal suffrage and even more rankled by the league's move to bypass the association and organize county suffrage organizations directly, moved to expel the rebellious Equal Suffrage League. Ellicott, who had perhaps intended to introduce new, more direct tactics and a plan for a true statewide organization, asked that in the interests of harmony the Equal Suffrage League be allowed to remain in the state association, but the 1910 state convention passed a resolution of expulsion. Elizabeth King Ellicott and her one thousand members formed a new organization, the State Franchise League. The original state association never recovered its influence as the sole state spokesman for suffrage, and organizing the state fell, as perhaps they had intended, to Hooker and Ellicott.¹⁴

With her experience in federation-building and political activism, Ellicott was fully aware that she had helped create a situation potentially fatal to any real suffrage unity. Whatever fences she had broken she wanted to mend quickly, and she worked to

curb any tendency toward further diffusion of suffrage strength. Based on her experience, she had some advice for NAWSA, which had encouraged multiple state organizations, thus creating a problem for many states and one which Ellicott, now that she had formed her own state organization, did not wish to confront:

Having been, so to speak, the storm center in Maryland where this problem is being fought out . . . while I entirely agree with you . . . in regard to the necessity at times of the formulation of various independent bodies, it cannot fail to be a misfortune to the cause. . . . I speak from the fullness of experience in saying that the excessive individualism [that] has prompted the present confusion in Maryland, does not need encouragement and that if women were more used to organization there would be less useless self-assertion.

Ellicott's primary concern was unity, and in her letter to NAWSA she indicated the process she would use to develop a solid front. "I think that we who have the responsibility of organizing, should point out the danger of unconcerted action and should always urge union and federation when possible." While unity could survive a certain amount of independent action, leaders must maintain ultimate control. Ellicott advised NAWSA not to go too far in welcoming independence. "Some of our young and inexperienced enthusiasts are quoting headquarters as an encouragement for being freelances. . . . With our scattered forces I consistently preach in union there is strength, and that friction can be avoided by cooperation."¹⁵ Having expressed her concern that NAWSA should, in effect, stay out of Maryland's way and not further encourage her "freelances," Ellicott prepared to create a strong union, incorporating the attributes she would concurrently develop in the Maryland State Federation of Women's Clubs.

The continuing need for unity expressed itself in a confused and potentially damaging episode in 1912 that illustrates the practical difficulties inherent in forming a concerted, cohesive movement. The three major suffrage organizations had developed different approaches to suffrage work. The Woman Suffrage Association was the most traditional, probably even more conservative than its national link, NAWSA. Edith Houghton Hooker's Just Government League paralleled the Congressional Union in its flashy tactics and frequent suffrage parades. Elizabeth King Ellicott's State Franchise League occupied the middle position. Ellicott believed in trying new approaches, but also maintained that strong organization was the key, and that flamboyant tactics should not take over the suffrage agenda. In March 1912, Mary Ware Dennett of NAWSA asked each of the three organizations to appoint a member to serve on a committee that would arrange for a hearing on suffrage before the Democratic National Convention to be held in Baltimore in June of that year. Ellicott and Hooker responded that their organizations would participate, but by May nothing had been done, collectively, and Emma Funck, president of the Woman Suffrage Association, complained that it was too late to begin work on the hearing. Hooker concurred with this assessment, reporting to Dennett that no preparations had been made because the committee of three state leagues hadn't appointed a chairman. She herself, she added, was not a member of the committee and "I did not feel as though I ought to go into the matter." Hooker's representatives to the committee had floated the idea of a suffrage parade during the convention, but not much progress had been made in that direction either.

Edith Hooker and Elizabeth Ellicott determined to attempt some action at the convention, and each pursued independent efforts to introduce a prosuffrage resolution to the body. Hooker wrote to Dennett, "I am not sure that the attempt to cooperate with Mrs. Funck and Mrs. Ellicott will do anything but delay matters." Elizabeth Ellicott, reporting her progress to Dennett, wrote that she had "immediately appointed an efficient committee which has drawn up resolutions and a petition to be presented." Ellicott was also developing a letter she would present to Woodrow Wilson, "a personal friend of mine." Her committee would do everything it could "to cooperate with the other leagues. All this should have been prepared weeks ago, but I would get no attention from the committee except on the subject of a parade, which entirely engrossed their attention, and I therefore withdrew from what seemed to me unproductive activity."¹⁶

When the dust settled, the principal antagonists in the episode must have recognized that continued divisive behavior would divert attention from the suffrage campaign and be "unproductive." By late 1912, the three suffrage leaders and O. Edward Janney of the Men's League formed a joint committee to develop a cooperative effort. Three representatives from each organization would serve as an advisory body. While the committee did not for the time being drop support of municipal suffrage, it did agree to support a state constitutional amendment granting equal suffrage to all Maryland women on the same basis as men. Additionally, and significantly, the committee lent its weight to the broader goals of women activists--appointment of women to boards and commissions, and regulation of women's work hours and child

labor. Unity would continue to be tested, but the conditions for its maintenance had been established, and suffrage leaders had demonstrated the political skills of negotiation and compromise.¹⁷

Edith Hooker did what she could to foster unity. Although she founded the Maryland Suffrage News as a vehicle primarily for the Just Government League and its more direct methods of building support for suffrage, she used the paper as a unifying medium. As other women's organizations had found, disagreements would develop and should be tolerated and even encouraged. When local newspapers reported on disagreements among women's organizations on the issue of suffrage, Hooker's Suffrage News pointed out that they "show no mercy and do their best to picture discord irreconcilable." The Suffrage News reminded women that "when disagreements arise in organizations of men it is a sign of healthy life and vigor." Hooker's Suffrage News practiced what it preached, frequently publishing letters critical of the News' positions. Hooker's JGL lieutenants, Ellen N. LaMotte and M.B. Dixon, admitted their error in working for a limited suffrage, making a "confession" and saying "I have learned my lesson." The Suffrage News routinely published news concerning other suffrage organizations, thus helping to increase its own readership at the time it enabled all suffrage activists to share information relating to their individual groups and to the collective movement.¹⁸

Developments in the national suffrage campaign once again posed a potential threat to unity in Maryland. Many Maryland suffragists, after having suffered continued defeats in 1912 and 1914 in the General Assembly, began to urge women to become involved in the effort to pass

a federal constitutional amendment. As the Congressional Union became further estranged from NAWSA, CU organizers began to work in Maryland, finding a sympathetic hearing in the JGL. In an increasingly volatile situation, Hooker founded the Woman's Suffrage Party of Maryland, an organization she hoped would serve as an umbrella body for all Maryland suffragists. At the same time, Hooker, through the Suffrage News, continued to counsel unity and attempted to rid suffrage activities of the taint of national divisiveness. "National policies will not be discussed at meetings." The national organizations would have "to push their own propaganda." The most important thing, Hooker urged, was that "A united front must be presented at Annapolis." Both state and federal work were worthy goals and could be "mutually beneficial."¹⁹

The policy of the National Woman's Party to work against the Democratic Party contributed to further divisiveness in Maryland, where many suffrage advocates came from Democratic backgrounds. By early 1917, notwithstanding Hooker's attempts to keep national organization problems out of the state, parts of Maryland became a battleground between NAWSA and the Congressional Union, now the National Woman's Party. Several local leagues withdrew from the JGL, citing its support of the Congressional Union, and formed yet another state association. While Margaret L. Sewall, representing the breakaway league in Forest Glen, believed that different working methods could not be compromised, she maintained:

It is not impossible to hold each other in mutual respect and esteem. . . . We can refrain from all petty criticism and interference, even with those whose methods seem to be wrong. . . . We can be friends though we differ.

It was the ability to survive disagreements and differences over methods, and interference from national organizations, that Lillian Welsh recalled several years later:

However much they [Ellicott, Hooker, and Funck] may have differed in their opinions as to the methods to be used . . . they were honestly and loyally devoted to it and were always able to present a united front to the State Legislature and other occasions when unity as essential.²⁰

Early experiences with the results of discord and disunity encouraged leaders to develop a unified approach, or at least to maintain the perception of unity. This need led suffragists in Maryland to develop strategies and tactics that combined new direct action techniques with the experience of women activists. The resulting combination helped white suffrage advocates achieve more widespread and stronger support.

Strategy and Tactics

The suffrage movement, as did the efforts in which community activists engaged, provided opportunities for suffragists to demonstrate their ability to influence policy makers. Suffragists, especially those who were also community activists, practiced organizational skills and direct action techniques. They demonstrated their ability to develop broad strategic goals and focused tactics, to motivate, negotiate, and use networks to communicate information. The tactics they developed as a part of the suffrage movement influenced their activities at the local level and carried over after the passage of suffrage.²¹

As early as 1910, Elizabeth King Ellicott and Edith Houghton Hooker had agreed to adopt direct political action tactics to influence public opinion. Suffrage organizations held outdoor meetings, parades, and other events, but their efforts were hampered by the lack of an effective statewide approach. After defeats of statewide suffrage in the 1910 and 1912 legislative sessions, the last even more decisive than the first, suffragists determined that they should put all their efforts into three simultaneous campaigns. One effort would focus on convincing 77 out of 128 delegates and senators to vote in favor of submitting a women's suffrage referendum to the voters. Another campaign would work to persuade a majority of Maryland voters to vote in favor of the referendum for a state constitutional amendment. The third goal was to obtain a suffrage plank in at least one party platform. Taking the lead in developing tactics to match this strategy were Edith Houghton Hooker, county affiliates of the Just Government League, and the Maryland Suffrage News, along with the advisory board of state suffrage organizations.

The immediate target was the 1914 legislative session. More fully conceptualizing its campaign strategy, the JGL developed tactics for each of its major goals. Workers should get voters to sign cards pledging their support for a constitutional amendment. To get the support of politicians, workers should provide them with literature, interview them, and invite them to dinner. To influence party platforms, suffragists should maintain contacts with party officials and support those who endorsed suffrage.²²

At the same time, the JGL worked to educate the women in its eleven county organizations as well as other suffragists in political realities so that they could carry out the ambitious campaign. Women had been excluded from politics and were "in almost aboriginal ignorance of things political." The Suffrage News conducted an unrelenting effort to make sure suffragists understood the nuances of political organizations, ward organization, how county delegations were chosen, and how the General Assembly worked. The Suffrage News also kept up a steady barrage of information on parliamentary procedure, as well as step-by-step instructions on how to organize and conduct a petition drive. Organization and willingness to work were crucial to success, and the JGL continually urged suffragists to write letters and to speak with politicians, to impress on them "the efficiency of the suffrage organization." Political education went beyond generally accepted suffrage activism. The Suffrage News introduced its readers to a new concept, "Feminism," in 1914. Explained as a "movement for release . . . from the strained, traditional 'masculine' and 'feminine' attitudes," feminism's advance, the Suffrage News implied, depended on the success of the suffrage movement. Of all the political lessons,

the most important thing of all . . . for most of us to know is who our friends are and who our enemies are. Only the other day in Carroll County one Suffragist was unable to say offhand which of the Carroll County men had voted for the suffrage bill at the last session. This is base ingratitude, and . . . is damaging to the work.²³

The Maryland Suffrage News encouraged suffragists to engage in a wide variety of activities. There was work for everyone, from the most timid and inexperienced, to the most assertive and skilled. The work

ranged from the simple to the elaborate, and the key to its success was organizational efficiency. The tactics represented both traditional attempts to educate as well as the newer, more direct and visible activities, frequently in combination. "Speakers Classes," a regular feature of the Suffrage News, provided topics and texts for aspiring public speakers. The "Correspondence School" conducted "compulsory education in suffrage" through matching by mail suffrage veterans and novices. Literature was inexpensive and always available in large quantities. Suffragists could purchase "Objections to Suffrage Answered," and "Why Equal Suffrage Has Been a Success," as well as suffrage postcards, rubber stamps, and a host of accessories. The Suffrage News advised suffragists to hold traditional parlor meetings, since more converts were made with that method than in public meetings. The JGL of Prince George's County provided a person to care for children while mothers attended meetings. County fairs and Grange picnics offered excellent opportunities to talk with rural women and politicians.²⁴

The Suffrage News maintained an "Inquiry Column" in which it answered questions like that of "Timid," who asked, "Do you think suffrage makes women mannish?" If some of the questions appeared to be planted, the answers represented what suffrage leaders wanted to convey. Suffragists should attend political meetings so that "the men become accustomed to have women participate." Women should go even to those meetings called by political parties with whom they were not in sympathy. Working at the polls would enable a suffragist to see all the voters in a precinct.²⁵

There were many "little suffrage duties" women could carry out, from sending out suffrage literature with every piece of personal mail stamped with "Votes for Women" on it, to getting more subscribers for the Suffrage News. Women who felt unable to speak about suffrage could use the "silent speech cards" which contained a series of suffrage messages that could be handed or mailed to likely prospects.²⁶ Every suffragist could feel a part of the movement, no matter what or how little she actually did.

So that suffrage workers would remain enthusiastic throughout a difficult campaign, the JGL through the Suffrage News developed methods to recognize and motivate suffrage activists. Frequent reports from headquarters reported how successful the organization was in reaching people with its message. In August 1912, JGL headquarters in Baltimore received 273 visitors and 271 phone calls. Workers sent out literature to 20 people in the counties, and 15,000 flyers to various meetings. In January 1913, the paper noted that Dr. J. McPherson, president of the Hagerstown Fair Association, who had opposed and blocked a suffrage booth at the Hagerstown Fair, had been defeated for re-election.²⁷

An important motivating tool was to make sure women were informed about the success of legislation in states where suffrage already existed. Women's suffrage was credited for achieving many social gains in Oregon, Washington, and other suffrage states. The "Speakers Class" provided a list of accomplishments women could use when they spoke to groups. At the same time, women were kept up to date on progress elsewhere, leaders made sure suffragists realized how important they were to the Maryland movement. "Do you realize the suffrage movement

depends upon you? If you do your share the bill will pass next time. If you do not, it will fail."²⁸

Motivating suffrage workers was a continuing problem. "Suffrage inertia" resulted in a "pitifully small" Suffrage News circulation. College women were "inactive believers" who did not fulfill the duty their advantages and opportunities demanded. Fear of public and personal disapproval prevented many women from playing an active role. "Yes, I am a Suffragist," wrote a woman from Boyds, in Montgomery County, adding that she wanted to "work and help the cause . . . but I am timid, you see." She went on to reveal that she knew Delegates Waters and Cummings, two suffrage opponents. "My husband is devoted to them, so you can see I will meet with obstacles."²⁹ Allegany County reported difficulty in arousing interest in suffrage work, attributing the reluctance to love of frivolous pursuits. Bringing in rousing speakers from active suffrage organizations sometimes proved more discouraging than motivational. Potential recruits "say 'oh yes we approve,' but there it ends, so many women prefer to play bridge than to play for the country's welfare." It was "very discouraging" for the "few faithful earnest ones" who did the work for the many "slackers."³⁰

By 1914, the JGL had expanded into fourteen counties, with a total membership of "about 7,000," 2,000 of whom lived outside Baltimore. In order to maintain its members' level of enthusiasm and to continue to grow, the league frequently reported on its successes. As a result of suffragists' work, the Republican, Progressive, Prohibition, and Socialist parties included suffrage planks in their

platform, and "even the Democratic party gave the women a respectful hearing." Women's presence at polling places had resulted in the distribution of 80,000 pieces of literature. During 1913, the league had sponsored 241 indoor and 86 open-air meetings in Baltimore. These messages of encouragement were important, especially since they were making no progress with the General Assembly. After a long fight against Delegate "Cy" Cummings of Montgomery County, he agreed to vote in favor of the suffrage bill. "'I've come around that far,' he said beamingly . . . 'but I may vote against the bill when it gets before the people.'" At the 1914 legislative session, the bill emerged with an unfavorable committee report. While most members of the House of Delegates continued to oppose women's suffrage, there was a noticeable and dramatic increase in the level of suffrage support. Between 1910 and 1914, the prosuffrage vote in the House practically doubled, from eighteen to thirty-four. The Eastern Shore increased its favorable vote from three to thirteen, and central Maryland went from one favorable vote to eight. Southern Maryland experienced a small increase, and Western Maryland and Baltimore City remained stable.³¹ The increase in the number of favorable votes can be attributed to the increased activity of suffrage activists, especially with the systematic and combined legislative campaign in 1914.

By 1916, the movement could point to a tangible success. The women's suffrage bill passed in the State Senate by a vote of 17-7, with three senators absent. The Senate had never before taken action on a statewide suffrage bill, and its vote in favor of the measure in 1916 cannot be compared with previous years. Ten of eleven Republicans

voted in favor of the bill, and Democrats almost evenly divided, seven in favor and nine opposed. Baltimore City continued to lead the antisuffrage vote, with Dorchester, Harford, Queen Anne's, and St. Mary's Counties also casting negative votes. With a smaller Democratic to Republican ratio in the Senate than in the House of Delegates, it was perhaps easier to gain sufficient additional Democratic support for the measure. In the House of Delegates, suffrage continued to pick up support but still lost, 54-36. The JGL reported "ten counties where suffrage is beginning to take hold."³²

Continuing opposition to women's suffrage in the Maryland legislature can be attributed to at least three factors. Democratic legislators feared that the increased numbers of black voters would benefit the Republican Party. Suffrage leaders suspected that the "liquor interests" of Baltimore City, one of the last "wet" holdouts, had influenced the negative votes of delegates and senators. In this instance, suffrage activists had perhaps made their case too well. Certainly many suffragists favored local option or outright prohibition, and their rhetoric concerning what they would do with their votes convinced and alarmed liquor manufacturers and salesmen. Finally, as women's suffrage activism merged with their community efforts, the General Assembly may have feared the consequences of granting women the right to vote. Perhaps members of the legislature viewed themselves as the last bastion of male-only political power, and used that power to obstruct further advances by women.³³

That the strategy and tactics were beginning to pay dividends owed a great deal to the fervor and systematic organization the

suffrage movement was able to generate among women. Suffrage leaders, like civic activists, also recognized the important role male supporters could play. Early in 1910, several men, encouraged by women suffrage activists, formed the Men's League for Women Suffrage. By late 1910, the membership stood at about one hundred, most of them "Johns Hopkins University men" who were prominent lawyers. In answer to a NAWSA query concerning the group, Elizabeth G. Taylor reported that the organization made speeches and helped with legislation.

Just how much active work they do for us outside of this, I am not able to say. Still we are glad to have them, and consider them at least a moral support; probably in line with the old traditional idea of 'looking up to men.'³⁴

Suffragists, having a realistic view of the actual usefulness of male supporters, were careful to make strategic use of their contributions. The Suffrage News regularly published the prosuffrage views of prominent Maryland men, all of whom advocated suffrage because women wanted it and would use it to good effect. Many men supported women's suffrage because they believed women were "quick to see the moral side of a question," and would bring "softness and purity" into political life. Others believed that as workers women should have an equal voice in the conditions of their employment. Sympathetic delegates and senators made suffrage speeches in the General Assembly, and political leaders helped suffragists gain access to party meetings. As activists at the community level had discovered, successfully developing male allies was a necessary and useful tactic.³⁵

From the beginning of the revived suffrage movement, suffragists understood the value of a network of suffragists throughout the state. As early as 1909, the state suffrage association president visited Princess Anne and Crisfield, two small communities in Somerset County on the Eastern Shore, and "held two very successful meetings."³⁶ The JGL believed its chief purpose as a state organization was "to further and assist the development" of local leagues, since their strength would determine the success of the whole organization. It was the counties, after all, that controlled the greatest representation in the legislature. Although the population of Maryland divided fairly evenly between Baltimore City and the counties, the counties provided twenty-three senators and seventy-seven delegates to the General Assembly, while the city sent four senators and twenty-four delegates. This made organization in the counties crucial to the success of the state suffrage campaign.³⁷ Moreover, if unity at the state level was important, it was even more necessary at the local level, where small towns and rural areas could support only one strong suffrage organization.

The Just Government League was the most aggressive in outreach to counties and sent out organizers to help suffragists form their own leagues. Lola C. [L.C.] Trax, a JGL activist assigned to organize Washington County, spent two weeks in 1913 interviewing suffragists and judging the feasibility of establishing a local league in Hagerstown. Trax conducted two parlor meetings and spoke at city hall. She was able to recruit twelve new members, and four suffragists volunteered to circulate petitions. While Hagerstown did not immediately form a local

league as a result, the outlook was "hopeful."³⁸ Significantly, the JGL handed Southern Maryland, consisting of the three counties of Charles, Calvert, and St. Mary's, to Washington, D.C.'s Congressional Union. Distance from Baltimore may have been a factor in the decision, but the area was rural and conservative and did not have a history of women's activism. The Congressional Union was successful, however, in establishing chapters of the JGL in each of the three counties. In October 1912, Harford County reported fifty new members in one day. Baltimore County reported in December 1912 that it had held eleven meetings in two weeks, with an average attendance of fifty to seventy-five people. The meetings resulted in eighty-nine new members and sixty petition signers. Bertha Trail reported from rural Frederick County that two of the delegates "from this conservative old county" voted for the suffrage bill in 1912, and suffragists' petition bore the names of 150 of Frederick County's "best" men and women. "This may not seem a matter for congratulation to our city sisters, who deal in large numbers and are in the front ranks of the procession, but the town and country people will know that it is."³⁹

As the suffrage movement matured, it used its network, as did other activists, to rally support. Women throughout the state, in addition to working for a state constitutional amendment, gathered petitions for a federal amendment. Writing in 1917 to suffrage activist Irma Graham in Salisbury in Wicomico County, Madeleine Ellicott, a relative by marriage to the late Elizabeth King Ellicott and now vice president of the State Franchise League, referred to an

"urgent" letter from Carrie Chapman Catt of NAWSA requesting information on Maryland's petition drive:

It will be mortifying if Maryland fails to do her duty towards this final drive. . . . It is of course extremely difficult here in Maryland to get signatures to a Federal Amendment, but we should try and do our best.

Ellicott included a list of local politicians in Wicomico County and asked Graham to talk with them about suffrage. "You have such a fine set of women down there in Salisbury, and I know you can get a little army to help you in this work."⁴⁰

The suffrage network expanded its influence through affiliation with other organizations as well as through cross memberships. As early as 1908, the Social Service Club of Maryland, whose members included Edith Houghton Hooker and Emma Funck, hosted a discussion of women's suffrage. In the counties, where the pool of activist women was smaller, members of women's civic leagues were frequently supporters of suffrage. Groups also shared resources. The Suffrage News shared its Multigraph machine with several organizations and the office of the JGL was open to meetings of the Women's Trade Union League.⁴¹

Organized, activist white suffragists maintained a relationship with their civic activist counterparts on several levels. While many civic activists became interested in suffrage as a result of their community work, much of their support was tacit, and they remained officially neutral. This was the case in Baltimore, where the largest women's civic league wished to attract both suffragists and nonsuffragists. And although many civic activists supported suffrage,

their primary commitments lay elsewhere. There was another point of contact, however. Suffrage clubs sprang up first in those areas, for example Montgomery and Allegany Counties, where women's activism had or was simultaneously developing. This observation leads to the possibility that interest in suffrage developed from women's civic activism and that women activists in those areas fostered its growth. Perhaps more significantly, the suffrage movement extended the reach of the statewide network. Later suffrage clubs organized in areas where women's civic activism was not yet well developed, as in Charles and Frederick Counties, and the movement attracted women who had not been active in other causes. It would appear that the growth of civic and suffrage activism occurred simultaneously and nourished each other's development.⁴²

Suffragists gave special attention to the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, since suffragists recognized its importance and many participated in its network. Even though many of the federation's activists were also suffragists, and the national organization, the General Federation, had endorsed suffrage in 1914, the State Federation had not expressed its official support. The Suffrage News attempted to demonstrate the affinity of the federation for suffrage:

A large proportion of the members . . . are active suffragists, and it is but natural that they should be so, for their legislative work continually gives proof of the need of direct political power in the hands of women. . . . The State Federation affords an invaluable training-ground for suffragists.⁴³

Recognizing the value of the statewide network to suffrage and civic activists, the Suffrage News called attention to the common origins and goals of both overlapping groups. The strategies and

tactics of the Maryland suffrage movement, designed to maximize unity and networking, blended new style techniques with traditional styles. The resultant hybrid proved successful in one house of the General Assembly and demonstrated the sophistication of Maryland suffragists.

Reaching Out to Women Wage Earners

In reaching out to enlist the support of white working women, suffragists of the Just Government League attempted to move beyond what women civic activists had attempted to do, efforts that had been largely devoted to achieving gains for, rather than with, women wage earners. The JGL in Baltimore, with many women workers, albeit middle class professionals, as members, used this base to reach into factories and unions to recruit supporters. Suffragists in the JGL worked to get the support of male union allies, combining forces for maximum effect. Their tactics included providing organizational support to the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), making connections between suffrage and labor justice, forming alliances with trades unions, and attempting to educate mainstream suffragists on the problems of women workers.

The JGL, with its nucleus of middle class women wage earners, gave support to the Baltimore branch of the WTUL from its beginning. The WTUL, organized first in New York and designed to bring together middle class and working class women, began in Baltimore around 1911, at about the same time, and with the help of the JGL. L.C. Trax, one of the WTUL organizers in Baltimore, also served as field secretary for the JGL. The local branch of the WTUL included officers representing the Bookbinders, Paper Bag, Button-hole, and Vestmaker unions. In

1913, when the national WTUL instructed its branches to develop a women's suffrage committee, the Baltimore branch responded and the connections between the two organizations grew firmer.⁴⁴

The roots of the JGL lay in the importance of suffrage to wage earners, and the league recruited women workers throughout the state. The organization was especially interested in the passage of the Ten Hour Law in 1914. Leonore O'Reilly, labor activist and organizer of the Wage Earners Suffrage League, visited Maryland and spoke in Aberdeen, Chestertown, Elkton, Hagerstown, Cumberland, and Baltimore. In Havre de Grace in Cecil County, an area with many cannery workers, O'Reilly and L.C. Trax explained the need for collective bargaining and for suffrage to six hundred people gathered around a soap box. "Will the 98,000 working women of Maryland soon realize that they must have the vote to obtain adequate labor legislation to make it impossible for legislators in their wisdom to exempt the canning industries when a ten hour law for women is presented before the General Assembly?"⁴⁵

The connection between suffrage, trade unionism, and "labor justice" was a frequent theme. Noting that most suffrage organizations worked for rather than with women workers, a "trade unionist" maintained that most trade union women were suffragists who believed "in equal political rights as intensely as we do in equal economic opportunities." The unionist argued that working women in Baltimore, most of whom were unorganized, were "untrained and a millstone around the neck of the working class movement and the suffrage movement, until they are organized into trades-unions." L.C. Trax made a "stirring suffrage appeal" to seven hundred striking cloakmakers, men and women,

in Baltimore. Women were learning, she said, that group action could result in democratic control of the factory, and they would then learn that democratic control of political life should follow. Appealing for male support, Trax continued, "I have sometimes heard working men say that we do not need to vote. And I tell you this, that if we work, strike and starve with you, we will vote with you."⁴⁶

Appeals to men and their responses got frequent mention in the Suffrage News. The "brave longshoremen of Locust Point" and the Brotherhood of Carpenters were converts to suffrage. At the meeting of the Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor in Hagerstown in August 1912, L.C. Trax, a delegate to the convention, read a paper on industrial conditions and women, marking the first time in that body's history that the group discussed women in industry. The federation appointed a committee to develop plans for the "trade and political organization of women." The following year, the federation voted unanimously to work to pass a suffrage bill.⁴⁷

Much of the antisuffrage appeal was to class prejudice that envisioned votes by illiterate workers. Assuming, probably correctly, that most of its readership knew little about the working conditions and lives of wage earners, the Suffrage News regularly published articles aimed at informing and motivating its audience. "Do you know that 98,983 women are employed at an average wage of \$4.34 per week, while the living wage is \$6.60?" Or, to make sure middle class working women were aware of their own status, "Do you know that salaried workers are in the class of wage-earners too?" The "Correspondence School" suggested that its teachers stress the connection between low

wages and tuberculosis hospitals, orphanages, and "homes for fallen women." Articles designed to foster guilt and action included, for example, "Medallions on 'Lady's' \$65 Dress Made By Woman Worker for 4 Cents a Piece." Cartoons featured working girls in despair, with a living expenses deficit of \$11.84 per week. These appeals aimed to generate a "mix" of worker and suffrage goals.⁴⁸

The rhetoric of the Suffrage News showed a certain inconsistency in its attitude toward wage earning women. While extolling the virtues of labor, the News evidently believed only some women, preferably unmarried, should enter the workforce. Citing the victory of women's votes in Colorado that enacted a widows' pension law, the Suffrage News gave as the "moral" that women should fight for suffrage so that widows with children "may find a way to stay in their proper sphere-the home."⁴⁹ Just how successful the JGL was in helping middle class women to understand the situation and needs of working women is difficult to determine, especially since JGL members themselves did not hold consistent views. It is unlikely that much outreach took place in the counties, and few attempts to actually bring together workers and other women seem to have occurred. The JGL's influence with workers did generate support for suffrage, but the character of the movement did not change, if indeed the JGL intended it to.⁵⁰

Suffrage and Black Women

The presence of black women and their potential as voters became for white suffragists in Maryland a tightrope on which they had to use all their political skills to walk without falling. The dilemma for

suffragists was a painful one. If they supported the right of all women, including black women to vote, they risked alienating the support of men and women, especially of the Democratic Party, who did not want black women to vote, whether because of racism, or because the votes of black women would go to the Republican Party. If white suffragists argued against suffrage for black women, they might be accused of undemocratic and inconsistent behavior. Because the issue was frequently joined by the antisuffragists, white suffragists believed they could not ignore it. Their response was to walk a tightrope, with a confusing and variable strategy that wobbled from side to side but never completely lost its place. Leaving an impression of a movement trying a bit of everything in hopes of dodging at least one of its critics at any given time, or at least not alienating everyone at the same time, white suffragists tried many tactics. They compared numbers of voters, claimed white women were subordinate to black males, tried to separate black women from black men in the minds of voters, and appealed to democratic principles. If suffragists faced a political dilemma, black women, however, found in the suffrage issue a means by which they could begin to expand their own activities by developing a suffrage movement of their own.⁵¹

In cities like New York and Chicago, white suffrage leaders invited black women to join with them, saying, "We have been too narrow . . . we realize now that we must broaden out for our mutual good."⁵² Overtures such as those did not occur in Maryland. A state that had recently attempted to disfranchise black male voters was not a fertile field for suffrage cooperation between black and white women.

White suffragists were willing to compromise their principles in favor of increased support for their own position. How they rationalized that uncomfortable compromise explains their erratic strategy.⁵³

One of the most frequently occurring responses to those who raised the spectre of suffrage for black women was one which was used in other states as well. Since native white women outnumbered black men and women combined, the question of black women's votes making a real difference was moot. This argument had the attraction not only of refuting the opposition, but of showing reluctant white males the positive aspect of women's suffrage. White Maryland suffragists took this argument even further. They accused those who forecast "black supremacy" of using the issue as a smokescreen to hide their antisuffrage views. Attempting to take people's minds off the issue of black voters, white suffragists hit the ball back into elected politicians' court. Were politicians afraid that women would vote for "efficiency" rather than party?⁵⁴

Replying to a letter from "Southern Maryland," where blacks comprised 25 percent of the population (blacks constituted 21 percent of the state's population), the Suffrage News "Inquiry Column" again raised the numbers argument, and took it one step further. "Southern Maryland" believed in equal suffrage "theoretically," but doubted its expediency when it came to black women voting. The Suffrage News challenged the writer. "Shall white women . . . be compelled to continue their political subordination to colored men rather than the ballot given to colored women?" Reminding "Southern Maryland" that she was currently the "political equal" of black women, the Suffrage News

was attempting to show white women that they were politically subordinate to black as well as white men.⁵⁵

Bringing out the weapon they tried to use most judiciously, white suffragists turned to the Men's League for Women Suffrage for assistance in dealing with the issue. Their spokesman decided a different tactic might prove helpful. If people believed that black males did not deserve to vote, then the strategy should be to distinguish between black men and black women. "The average colored woman is everything the colored man is NOT." The writer catalogued a series of offenses, from laziness to criminal tendencies, of which all black men were uniformly found guilty. Black women, on the other hand, needed the vote to protect themselves from black men. Suffrage News articles drew readers' attention to black women's comparative affinity for whites. Black women were "in the homes of white people and understand their point of view." One white woman in whose home a black woman worked commented on how surprised she was by the "intelligent remarks she has made on the events of the day." It had not occurred to the employer to give her employee the Suffrage News, "because I thought it beyond her comprehension. After this, I shall see that she has an opportunity to read it each week." In contrast, black men were accused of aiding antisuffragists, a circumstance that suffragists found "incongruous when one reflects upon the part the suffragists played in the abolition of slavery." Perhaps white suffragists should have expected this behavior, given their attempts to gain support for women's suffrage at the expense of black men.⁵⁶

Other suffragists, notably Marguerite Brown, in 1913 the president of the State Equal Franchise League, recognized in the race issue an attempt to stall and divert the movement. Brown appealed to white women's democratic principles and advised them to "stop playing with the politicians [or] allow them to play with us." However much white suffragists tried to maneuver for political advantage, Brown reminded them that the suffrage demand was "one of simple justice." They should not allow the "bugaboo" of the black woman's vote to lead them to behave undemocratically. It was their "duty" to ask any white voter "if he is willing to give up his right to vote because the colored man votes in Maryland."⁵⁷ An argument based on "democratic principles" reminded white suffragists of what they had compromised.

Members of the black community had few if any illusions about the attitude of white suffragists. While white suffragists wanted "the moral support" of black women in their fight for the ballot, "they have not the backbone to come out and make a firm and uncompromising fight for votes for all women." White suffragists "play to the galleries seeking to catch the favor of a few Negro haters in the legislature."⁵⁸

As in the white community, black citizens held different views concerning women's suffrage. At a meeting of African Methodist Episcopal ministers in 1913, Bishop Levi J. Coppin "declared that he was of the opinion that women were entitled to all the privileges men enjoy." Reverend C.E. Herbert responded by arguing that "The old cry of 'taxation without representation' . . . does not hold . . . in this case." Women were "not taxed as women or because they are women."

Many church leaders, as well as the influential Kelly Miller of Howard University, were opposed to women's suffrage.⁵⁹

What of black women? The national leader, Margaret Murray (Mrs. Booker T.) Washington, had acknowledged that suffrage was important but "Personally it has never kept me awake at night." Women were motivated, Washington continued, by "a desire to be counted as a citizen." Lucy D. Slowe, Howard University Dean of Women, speaking in Baltimore in 1915, asserted, as had white suffragists, that women needed the right to vote because they were taxpayers, homemakers, and "deeply interested in all movements for civic betterment."⁶⁰

Lucy Slowe's words probably reflected the motivation for the black women's suffrage organization formed in October 1915. Apparently the first permanent organization formed to work for women's suffrage in the black community, the group included women who, like Mrs. John Hurst, had become active in the Cooperative Civic League. It is possible that as black women activists came to expect more of government through their efforts in the Cooperative Civic League, they also began to see a possible link between civic action and their civil rights. By the end of October, the Afro-American reported that "the movement for female suffrage is growing among the colored women of this city." The recently organized Woman's Suffrage Club planned a rally with speakers at the YWCA.⁶¹

Important endorsement for the movement came from the Maryland Federation of Christian Women, affiliated with the National Association of Colored Women, when they met in Baltimore in November 1915. With many members of the federation also among the organizers of the

suffrage club, the group discussed the suffrage question. Mrs. Howard E. Young "made a vigorous appeal for interest in the fight for votes for women." The Federation enthusiastically endorsed the effort.⁶²

The Afro-American consistently supported suffrage in its editorials, if not in its columns. The editor speculated on what women's vote could mean for prohibition, an important issue for black civic activists. If women could vote:

Baltimore would go dry by the biggest vote ever cast at an election. It is a pity that these sufferers of 'personal liberty' cannot have a word to say in driving this demon of drink from their midst.⁶³

Other members of the community saw in women's ability to vote a threat to male independence. "Booster Knocks" maintained that women's suffrage was assured, "now the colored women are aroused." Voters would then have to take wives or sweethearts with them to vote. "After a while there will be no place on earth where mere man can say he is his own boss." Women voters would enact a law giving them "the privilege to enter the polling booth and supervise the marking of their husband's ballot. Poor man!"⁶⁴

Black women suffragists continued to meet to discuss the issue into 1917. It is difficult to know how effective their organization was in arousing interest within the black community. Certainly most white suffragists did not reach out to cooperate with their effort. Even had they wanted to assist black women suffragists, their ongoing balancing act had compromised them and they viewed their exchanges with white antisuffragists as more crucial to suffrage victory.⁶⁵

The Opposition to Suffrage

A major obstacle to white suffragists' success was the presence of a large and vocal opposition, and white suffragists crafted a variety of tactics to deal with antisuffragists, the "antis." Suffragists used their unity and their ability to share information across the network to hold the ranks against the antis. Suffragists did not, however, conduct a wholly defensive campaign; they forced the antis to respond to accusations concerning their ties to liquor interests and their lack of concern for the interests of the community. White suffragists even turned arguments of the antis around, claiming that the antis, not the suffragists, were militant.⁶⁶

The arguments against women's suffrage centered on God-ordained separation of the sexes and the resultant link of women to their homes. From these premises flowed a litany of supporting reasons why suffrage should be for men only. Women were too delicate to participate in politics, and their emotionalism further rendered them useless. A woman with voting rights would neglect her husband, whose position as head of house and link to the outside world would be compromised and suffer. White middle class women did not want the vote, and if they were given suffrage, it would have to be given to all women, even the "unfit."⁶⁷

Maryland's organized antisuffrage effort began around 1911, in response to the newly energized suffrage movement. Mrs. Robert Garrett, wife of a Baltimore banker, headed the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, a loosely organized but influential group of

women and men. Their opposition to women's suffrage flowed, as it did elsewhere, from the contention that women's home responsibilities defined the parameters of their activities. Public and private roles were incompatible.⁶⁸

White antisuffragists, like most active white suffragists, came largely from the elite. One of the most prominent was Annie Leakin Sioussat, the venerable leader of such organizations as the Colonial Dames, the Episcopal Auxiliary, and the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, and who had worked in civil service reform for many years. Sioussat eagerly lent her name and efforts to the antisuffrage cause in Maryland. Suffrage activism split some women who had been associates in civic work, but their differences over suffrage did not obliterate their regard for each other. When Elizabeth King Ellicott died in 1914, the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage sent a resolution, with an accompanying note from Annie Leakin Sioussat, praising Ellicott for her leadership.⁶⁹

Men joined the effort as well. The "proposed innovation" was a "revolution," William Hand Browne wrote to his acquaintance Annie Sioussat, that would "transform all political relations, all social relations, and all domestic relations." Some positive outcomes may result from women's suffrage, Browne allowed, "but is it necessary to turn the world upside down to get them?"⁷⁰

William Hand Browne gave advice to antisuffragists concerning the conduct of their campaign. Browne was concerned that most people were not taking the issue seriously and consequently were "like children playing with fire." The antisuffragists must "brush away the rhetoric,

sentiment and idle verbiage . . . and insist on a definite answer to the question, 'What particular reforms do you propose to undertake?'" Browne coached Sioussat and her colleagues on how to answer the "cuckoo cry" of taxation without representation, suggesting the same argument of virtual representation the British had given to American colonists. "Do they suppose that a member of the Legislature or of Congress represents only the persons who voted for him?"⁷¹

Although such prominent prosuffrage Democrats as Francis King Carey, husband of activist Anne Carey, was convinced that "women are already involved in 'politics' in the broadest sense, 'up to their necks,'" many more Democrats preferred to see women's activism stopped short of suffrage. They opposed a state constitutional amendment for all the usual antisuffrage reasons, with the additional impetus of the black women's vote. The prospect of a national constitutional amendment raised the additional flag of states' rights and federal interference. The Eleventh Ward Democratic Club of Baltimore, proud that it attracted as members many of the city and state's most powerful politicians, involved itself in the suffrage question. Four of its members debated the issue in November 1911. The meeting was held "under nervous tension for fear that the debate would be interrupted by militant suffragists." The three debate judges surprisingly concluded that the prosuffrage team had won the debate. Their decision was tainted, however, since the three were bachelors "past the age of probable prospectives."⁷² The club's serious handling of the issue is questionable, since a few weeks later they held a debate on whether single or married life was better, a debate that ended in a draw.⁷³

As the suffrage issue became more visible and controversial, the club began to consider it a bit more seriously. In 1913, club members invited women activists on both sides to address the question at separate meetings, and as a result some Democrats began to lament that suffragists were not men. After a "3 minute ovation" followed Eva Wilson's prosuffrage speech, club president Eugene Beer told her, "Mrs. Wilson, I wish you were a man. You would make as fine a Democrat as you are a suffragist." Their enthusiasm did not lead them to support the expansion of suffrage to women, but to the wish that suffragists were men.⁷⁴

White suffragists developed several tactics to counter antisuffrage arguments. One response, described earlier, focused directly on the issue of women and the home. Suffragists and their allies argued that women were already active beyond the walls of their homes. Indeed, women were merely responding to circumstances that had transferred their former activities to business or government. On some aspects of the home-related issue, however, suffragists were willing to compromise, at least for the time being. Deflecting accusations that women would run for office once they could vote, the Suffrage News observed, "Chances are that women who have home duties will occupy themselves chiefly with them and . . . will not make any attempt to be elected to office."⁷⁵

White suffragists moved beyond giving direct answers. Suffragist activists also worked to develop and maintain unity, and to use the network to share information and to educate suffrage supporters on how to deal with antis. Concerned that some members of the Woman's

Christian Temperance Union belonged to the antisuffrage organization, suffragists counseled unity. "It is a pitiful thing to see friends at war." Each WCTU member should "realize that she is a member of an organization that has endorsed Votes for Women." Suffragists tried to keep their network informed of opposition moves. The Suffrage News warned suffragists in Talbot County that the antis planned weekly meetings to instruct women "as to the ways and means of 'defending the home.'" The first two meetings were held at the homes of Eastern Shore Democratic leaders.⁷⁶ In an effort to educate its readers, the Suffrage News provided them with "ammunition" for suffrage discussions. Antisuffragists and suffragists differed "fundamentally," the antis being basically undemocratic and suffragists believing "in a true democracy." County leagues, like that in Allegany County, shared their responses to antisuffrage arguments.⁷⁷

White suffrage activists were not content, however, merely to respond to each antisuffrage argument as it occurred, or even to share information across its network. Through the Suffrage News, suffragists went on the attack, forcing antisuffragists into a defensive position, one with which the antis were unfamiliar and uncomfortable. Suffragists, in a reversal of the usual rhetoric, accused the antisuffragists of militance.

In contrast to the quiet dignified parade of the suffragists . . . was the attempt of Mrs. Alexander Preston, a well known anti-suffragist, to throw lemons and eggs at the procession as it passed. Have Maryland suffragists ever adopted such measures?

Other suffrage meetings were interrupted by such "militant anti-suffrage tactics" as an "apparently intoxicated" former legislator and firecrackers set off under the speaker's automobile.⁷⁸

Suffragists also accused antisuffragists of a lack of concern for the community. Citing current politics as "a synonym for graft and corruption," the Suffrage News editorialized that the need for reform coincided with women's ability and interest to undertake that reform. Women's interest in public affairs was "evidenced by the formation of civic leagues to deal with social questions." Given the interest in and need for women's contribution, "we nevertheless have a band of women begging to be excused from direct participation" in matters of community interest.⁷⁹

Perhaps the issue that most touched an antisuffrage nerve was the question of alcohol. In response to evangelist Billy Sunday's contention that opposition to suffrage came from "liquor interests," Mrs. Garrett of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, defended her antisuffrage forces. Garrett denied the accusation, maintaining that "opposition comes, and comes only, from those who are endeavoring to preserve to the nation and society the highest interests of all." Madeleine Ellicott of the Equal Suffrage League responded with evidence to show that wherever suffrage was an issue, "liquor men were . . . the most formidable foes." Ellicott turned Garrett's argument around to contend that suffrage's main opposition "is coming from the organized forces most destructive to nation and society."⁸⁰ Dealing with antisuffrage charges and activism sharpened suffragists' arguments, as suffrage activists aggressively countered their opponents' attacks.

As 1916 closed, Maryland suffragists could point to a successful outcome of their efforts, and they looked forward to the 1918 legislative session. World War I intervened in 1917, and with it a special session of the Maryland General Assembly in June 1917, called by Governor Emerson C. Harrington to pass war-related measures. Edith Houghton Hooker led an effort to pass an interim bill that would permit women to vote in presidential elections. With President Wilson's expressed support, Hooker and her JGL allies were confident of passage, and they used the strategies and tactics they had worked to perfect since 1910. Supporters invited the nation's first female member of Congress, Jeannette Rankin of Montana, to Baltimore to generate enthusiasm, and activists held a garden party for Maryland senators and delegates. Mixing in the more crowd-attracting methods of the NWP, advocates arranged for a reenactment of Paul Revere's ride. Dorothy Ford rode into Annapolis on the first day of the special session bearing a message to legislators to "Keep not liberty from your own household."⁸¹

Delegates and senators were anxious to get the business of the session conducted quickly and move on to activities related to the war effort. Both houses acted as they had in 1916: the Senate passed the limited suffrage bill, and the House defeated it, although the House added five prosuffrage votes. From eighteen supporters in 1910, the House had increased to forty-one.⁸²

In the midst of the war, the Maryland legislature met for its regular session in January 1918. Activists for the last time attempted to persuade the legislature to pass a Maryland suffrage measure, once

again a bill to allow women to vote for president. With most women activists engaged in war work and preferring to let their behavior speak for their competence, in both 1917 and 1918 little interest and systematic effort were generated during the legislative sessions. The shocking spectacle of women of the NWP, many of them from Maryland, picketing the White House and burning the president in effigy, undoubtedly affected the receptivity of the legislators. The Senate, retreating from its previous stance, took no action on the bill, and the House defeated it, but by its closest margin ever, 53-42.⁸³

Seven years of concentrated suffrage activism had not resulted in a favorable legislative outcome. White suffragists had made gains, however. They had further developed the relationship between civic activism and suffrage, fashioned and maintained unity, developed an effective blend of traditional and new tactics, and built on and extended a statewide network. They had continued the practice of civic activists of involving male supporters in their efforts. White suffragists had forged some connections with women wage earners and the labor movement. They had emerged, from the point of view of most whites, relatively unscathed concerning their treatment of black women. Black women, on the other hand, had begun to form their own suffrage goals. Against the antisuffragists, suffragists had held their own.

World War I would provide civic and suffragist activists with new opportunities to influence government and male leaders. Suffrage activists, however, would have to depend on the United States Congress, and voters in other states, to enact women's suffrage.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Patricia Anne McDonald, "Baltimore Women, 1870-1900," 150; Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland From 1870 to 1920" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1962), 10, 12, 17-18, 22-23. This study has greatly benefited from the work represented by this Masters thesis.
2. Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland," 33-35, 38-40; Mal Hee Son Wallace in Winifred G. Helmes, Editor, Notable Maryland Women; Karen J. Blair, The Clubwoman as Feminist, xiv-xv, noted that the surge of support for suffrage around 1910 involved the participation of clubwomen's daughters.
3. Journal of Proceedings, House of Delegates, 1910; Maryland Manual, 1909-1910; William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 166.
4. Aileen S. Kraditor, Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement, x, 74. Kraditor argued that while the success of suffrage would not have been possible without the movement, the movement itself would not have been possible without "the social transformation that permitted women to participate in activities that led them to politics." On the question of the defensive nature of suffrage arguments, this study will contend that Maryland suffragists also constructed arguments of their own, forcing anti-suffragists to respond.
5. Maryland Suffrage News (MSN), August 29, 1914; April 20, 1912.
6. Ibid., May 11, 1912; July 27, 1912; June 14, 1913.
7. Ibid., May 10, 1913; August 17, 1912.
8. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 100-01.
9. MSN, March 18, 1916. Since this was an editorial, the assumption is that it was written by Edith Houghton Hooker.
10. Ibid., December 14, 1912.
11. Nancy F. Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party," Journal of American History 71 (June 1984): 44; Aileen S. Kraditor, Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement, 227-45; Christine Lunardini, From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the

National Woman's Party, 1913-1928 (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 1-31.

12. Minutes, February 23, 1909, Baltimore Woman's Suffrage Club, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

13. Edith Houghton Hooker to Elizabeth J. Hauser, January 21, 1910, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, Maryland League of Women Voters, (MLWV) Special Collections, University of Maryland College Park Libraries; Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland," 40-44.

14. Resolution, June 18, 1910, Woman Suffrage Association of Maryland, in Minutes, Baltimore Woman's Suffrage Club, Enoch Pratt Free Library; Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland," 44-45.

15. Elizabeth King Ellicott to Mary Dennett, May 8, 1911, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.

16. Mary Dennett to Elizabeth King Ellicott, March 28, 1912; Ellicott to Dennett, April 1, 1912; Dennett to Edith Houghton Hooker, May 24, 1912; Hooker to Dennett, May 25, 1912; Dennett to Hooker, May 28, 1912; Hooker to Dennett, June 13, 1912; Ellicott to Dennett, June 15, 1912, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.

17. MSN, November 9, 1912; Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland," 56-57.

18. MSN, October 26, 1912; February 8, 1913; March 15, 1913; March 29, 1913; April 26, 1913; May 17, 1913.

19. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1915; September 4, 1915; October 23, 1915.

20. Lillian Welsh, Reminiscences, 107-08.

21. Michael E. McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power, 1830-1930," Journal of American History 77 (December 1990), maintained that women's organizations, after successfully developing direct action tactics in the suffrage campaign, reverted to their former voluntarist, educational style after 1920. This study argues that in Maryland, suffragists, partly to maintain unity, developed a strategy that held to the middle. The outcome of this strategy will be further developed later in this study.

22. Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland," 53-55; MSN, November 11, 1913; May 18, 1912.

23. MSN, July 20, 1912; July 27, 1912; May 3, 1913; June 28, 1913; September 5, 1914. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, placed the early 1910s as the period when the term "feminism" gained currency.

24. MSN, May 11, 1912; April 27, 1912; April 3, 1912; November 25, 1916; July 20, 1912.
25. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1912; September 21, 1912; August 24, 1912.
26. *Ibid.*, November 1, 1912; September 20, 1913.
27. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1912; January 11, 1913.
28. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1912; July 5, 1913; May 25, 1912.
29. *Ibid.*, November 30, 1912; December 7, 1912; August 17, 1912.
30. Ellen Harris to Mrs. Charles E. [Madeleine] Ellicott, July 25, 1917, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
31. MSN, April 18, 1914; September 20, 1913. Journal of Proceedings, House of Delegates, 1910; MSN, March 25, 1916, tabulated and compared the 1914 and 1916 votes.
32. MSN, February 22, 1916; March 18, 1916; March 25, 1916.
33. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1913.
34. Elizabeth G. Taylor to Miss Reilly, May 19, 1911, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
35. MSN, August 31, 1912; July 13, 1912; April 13, 1912; May 4, 1912; January 18, 1913; February 29, 1912.
36. Minutes, October [u.d.], 1909, Baltimore Woman's Suffrage Club, Enoch Pratt Free Library.
37. MSN, June 15, 1912; April 18, 1914.
38. *Ibid.*, February 15, 1913; June 14, 1913.
39. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1912; December 21, 1912.
40. Mrs. C.E. [Madeleine] Ellicott to Irma Graham, September 29, 1917, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
41. Minutes, October 13, 1908, Social Service Club of Maryland, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.
42. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1916.
43. MSN, October 23, 1915.
44. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1913; Ellen Carol DuBois, "Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the

New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1909," Journal of American History 74 (June 1987); Nancy Schrom Dye, As Equals and Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1980); Elizabeth Anne Payne, Reform, Labor, and Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and the Women's Trade Union League (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

45. MSN, May 4, 1912; May 25, 1912.
46. Ibid., October 19, 1912; August 2, 1913.
47. Ibid., June 8, 1912; August 31, 1912; August 30, 1913.
48. Ibid., April 26, 1913; June 22, 1912; May 2, 1914; October 3, 1914; July 11, 1914.
49. Ibid., November 23, 1912.
50. Meredith Tax, The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), concluded that the Wage Earners Suffrage League was not strong enough to change the middle class character of the suffrage movement.
51. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women in the Woman's Movement, 1830-1920," 25-26, observed that white suffragists dealt with black women ambiguously, sometimes offering support, then withdrawing it. Gerda Lerner, "Black and White Women in Interaction and Confrontation," in The Majority Finds Its Past, 104, argued that constant compromise by suffrage leaders with the southern viewpoint led to discriminatory treatment.
52. Afro-American, February 19, 1910; January 11, 1913.
53. Aileen S. Krادitor, Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement, 44.
54. Ibid., 168. Krادitor maintained this argument was the single most important suffrage argument in the South. MSN, August 21, 1915; October 4, 1913.
55. MSN, April 5, 1913; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1910.
56. Ibid., March 22, 1913; October 4, 1913; March 15, 1913; February 13, 1915; April 5, 1913.
57. Ibid., October 25, 1913.
58. Afro-American, October 25, 1913; January 20, 1912.

59. Ibid., March 1, 1913; Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, "The Black Woman's Struggle for Equality in the South, 1895-1925," in Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, eds., The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images, 53.

60. Mrs. Booker T. Washington, "Club Movement Among Negro Women," in J.L. Nichols, et al., eds., Progress of a Race (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969, Reprint of 1902 Edition), 195; Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter, 121-23, argued that black women suffragists were motivated by their wish for the race to progress, to protect their "virtue," and because they had to work; Afro-American, October 23, 1915.

61. Afro-American, October 2, 1915.

62. Ibid., November 6, 1915.

63. Ibid., October 21, 1916.

64. Ibid., October 30, 1915.

65. Ibid., January 20, 1917; February 17, 1917. Sources have not been located that would reveal details of black women's suffrage campaign in Maryland.

66. Aileen S. Kraditor, Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement, viii, 14-40, contended that the ideology of anti-suffragism was the significant feature of an otherwise diffused activity. Antisuffragists defined the context within which suffragists developed their responses.

67. Ibid.

68. Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland," 48-49.

69. Draft Resolution, u.d., Box 10, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.

70. William Hand Browne to Annie L. Sioussat, November 11, 1911, Box 10, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.

71. William Hand Browne to Annie L. Sioussat, November 20, 1911, Box 10, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.

72. MSN, June 8, 1912; Minutes, November 21, 1911, Box 1, Eleventh Ward Democratic Club, MHS, Baltimore.

73. Minutes, December 13, 1911; January 3, 1912; November 22, 1911; Baltimore Sun article, November 30, 1911, in minutes, Eleventh Ward Democratic Club, MHS.

74. Baltimore Sun articles, April 10, 1913; April 19, 1913, in minutes, Eleventh Ward Democratic Club, MHS.

75. MSN, June 8, 1912.
76. Ibid., August 3, 1912; March 1, 1913.
77. Ibid., July 12, 1913; July 15, 1913; March 8, 1913.
78. Ibid., June 21, 1913.
79. Ibid., April 27, 1912.
80. Ibid., April 1, 1916. The Equal Franchise League had become the Equal Suffrage League. Still later, it would become the Women's Suffrage League of Maryland.
81. Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland," 83-85.
82. Ibid., 86.
83. Ibid., 86-87.

CHAPTER FOUR

"THE WOMAN POWER OF THE STATE IS MOBILIZED AND ORGANIZED":

WORLD WAR I, 1917-1918

By 1917, in communities across the state, Maryland women activists had led their local, county, and state governments toward greater responsibility for meeting community needs. The advent of United States participation in World War I presented a number of new opportunities for women. Women's organizations "mobilized and organized" women who had not been previously active. Individual women created new roles for themselves, and employment opportunities expanded. War also provided white women the opportunity to further develop and demonstrate the efficiency of their organizations and to refine and create new centrally-controlled units. Black women found additional opportunities as well and capitalized on the chance to develop a separate as well as a cooperative war effort. While some suffrage activists opposed involvement in war, other suffragists saw a political advantage for those who supported and worked for the war effort. The existing state network of white women's organizations served as a base onto which women grafted the organization of the Women's Section of the State Council of Defense, as well as the beginning of a national network.¹

World War I, through its expansion and systemization of national and state government responsibility, offered particularly white women

activists an even greater opportunity. Women and their organizational network operated as a channel through which government communicated its war-related needs. Operating within a larger, male-controlled organization allowed women to consider the wisdom of organizational integration as opposed to the maintenance of separate women's structures. War served as a culminating opportunity for government, male leaders, and women to solidify their collaboration and merge their agendas. Women had helped to make their family and community concerns the province of government. The conduct of the war, with its accompanying national and state governmental intervention and management, hastened even greater involvement in citizens' lives. By the close of the war, government expansion was a familiar if not universally accepted phenomenon. Women activists, in expanding their own range, assisted in the merger of their concerns with those of government.

Opportunities for New Activists, Individual Development,
and Organizational Challenges

As the United States and Maryland geared up for war, new organizations appeared--thrift, loan, and savings committees, medical and social assistance groups, and mobilization teams for farms and factories--all seeking volunteer workers. Far more than civic and suffrage activism, the new wartime activities expanded both the opportunities in public life for women and the numbers of women who responded. College women found outlets for their idealism, women developed individual roles, and others found employers eager for their skills or prepared to overlook their temporary lack of skill. Women

who had never before been active in public affairs were eager to help any way they could, many searching for an organizational base. Organizations were ready to absorb these new potential activists. New opportunities created challenges for existing organizations, and their leaders used the disruption of war to further develop efficient organizations, increase membership, and extend their network.

If the suffrage movement and civic activism had not made much headway among college students in Maryland, the advent of the American entry into World War I drew a different response. The "Goucher College Plan," written in the form of a pledge, was signed "by a large majority of the students" at Goucher College in Baltimore. The pledge included promises to "prepare myself . . . specifically for usefulness." Physical and mental "efficiency" would lead to effective war service. Goucher students organized "definite plans" that involved Liberty Loan committees, contributions to send Goucher alumnae abroad to do relief work, and knitting and surgical dressing preparation. A College War Council helped to coordinate activities and integrate new students into the college's war effort. Craving adventure, many students wanted to leave college, and had to be restrained with advice that "the world has need of university trained women." Even so, 462 students, out of a total enrollment of 700, engaged in summer war work, 106 for the Red Cross, 101 on farms where they "felt so patriotic and so satisfied with what we were accomplishing." Their work on farms--thinning corn, planting, hoeing, and harvesting--"proved us and showed just how capable we could be." It also showed them differences between men's and women's work, as they sang: "We work through rain, and we work

through heat, while the men drive the horses from a comfortable seat."²

White women especially discovered opportunities for individual development during World War I. Encouraged by men to perform essential tasks, some women found that while collective parameters may have expanded, individual women still faced limits on their activities. Opportunities for entry-level war work led some women to parlay the experience they gained to expand the range and scope of responsibility. Agnes Boone Klots, beginning with work for wounded French soldiers from her summer home in France, returned to the United States in 1915 and began as a "War Relief Worker" in Baltimore, encouraged by war work organizer John Bland. Klots progressed to raising funds for the American Fund for French Wounded at allied bazaars, and made decisions concerning the fund's distribution. Klots expanded her activities to include protection of French war orphans, work that involved raising funds, collecting, organizing, and sending materials, and placing orphans with adoptive families. Having developed management experience and skill, Klots, at the request of the Diocesan War Council, assumed responsibility for the organization of all Catholic women's war work for the diocese.³

At least one woman engaged in a similar process of individual development, with somewhat different results. Baltimore socialite, suffragist, and Goucher graduate, Eva Wilson, whose eloquence had moved Eugene Beer of the Eleventh Ward Democratic Club to wish she were a man, found her opportunity in England in August 1917. Wilson wrote articles for the Baltimore News concerning the war work of English

women. The newspaper's publisher, Arthur G. Turner, giving her the formula for a "good mixture," advised Wilson to devote "about sixty percent" to what "the women of Europe are doing to help win the war; thirty percent on gossip about Baltimoreans you meet or hear about, and ten percent on what the women of The United States (Baltimore) must do." As long as Wilson adhered to her charge, the News was happy to print her stories. When Wilson moved to France to cover the Versailles Conference, however, the newspaper pulled in the reins. While the paper was glad to get human interest stories about the conference, for example, "what some of the men look like . . . clothes that were worn," its publisher cautioned Eva Wilson, "Anything of a serious nature from you on the subject of the Peace Conference, however, I think we will have to pass up." Citing a lack of space and too many cables from other sources, Turner made it clear that while women might engage in a number of new ventures, their range would still be restricted.⁴

With increasing numbers of men leaving their regular jobs for the armed services, employment opportunities developed that were not normally available to women. New jobs opening up for women encompassed more places in the traditional occupations of nursing and the rapidly growing clerical field, as well as such previously closed trades as plumbing, mechanic, and mechanical drafting, as well as new jobs in munitions. Women's organizations, especially the Women's Section of the Maryland Council of Defense, assisted in matching jobs to prospective employees, as well as holding classes to instruct trainees. This government-sponsored activity led many women to see in even temporarily expanded job opportunities the prospect of more

permanent changes in the workforce. They based their belief that women could perform tasks in a new job on their ability to learn other skills. Anna Turnbull, chairman of a committee assigned to recruit women and arrange job training, marveled at the possibilities:

If women can learn to take an automobile to pieces and put it together, as a number of Baltimore women have done, they will be able to learn the plumbing trade. . . . As plumbing does not include the lifting of heavy weights, or any high climbing, it is thought that it will be eventually acknowledged as a very practical trade for women.⁵

The most numerous and varied opportunities developed for and were capitalized on by organizational women. New openings, however, also posed challenges for existing organizations. The circumstance of war, for most women a new experience, demanded their full attention. War work disrupted the usual activities of women's organizations, and many struggled to develop an effective response. As a result of the "great opportunity presented to us . . . for service," the YWCA of Baltimore determined to "intensify" its program of work, to include an employment bureau for federal job openings. "Dr. Birckhead" visited a special meeting of the board and warned the directors that since war would disturb "habitual life," and "morality depends on habit," it was the responsibility of the YWCA to counter the resulting "moral stress." The group adopted his idea that the YWCA should form a League of Honor, with badges symbolizing purity for its members to wear. The YWCA became active in volunteer work in army bases, opening a Hostess House at Camp Meade in Anne Arundel County. The YWCA increasingly neglected its original charge of providing assistance to young working women, leading one board member to speak of "an unsettled situation" in

industry. "Miss Simms" suggested that the YWCA develop a plan to serve young women factory workers, asking, "What do we owe them? What can we do for them?" Over the duration of the war, the YWCA never satisfactorily answered those questions.⁶

Many organizations faced and dealt with disruptions of their regular activities, disruptions that could have a dampening effect on civic activism and network-building. The Woman's Civic League of Westminster dispensed with its fall meetings in 1917 "on account of the great amount of Red Cross and other war work taking up so much of our time and thought just now." In February 1918, their president, Nan Mather, attempted to resign because of her war-related commitments. The league, perhaps because every potential officer had the same difficulty, rejected the resignation and re-elected all of its officers.⁷ The Woman's Literary Club, because of the "war and conditions in general," cut its weekly meetings to monthly events.⁸

Members of the College Club, a Baltimore organization for women university graduates, made "no further plans for next year . . . as the uncertainty of war condition makes it impossible to look far ahead." Club members struggled to find appropriate war work. By October 1917, long after most organizations had settled on their particular contributions, "Miss Eager reported that . . . [her] committee is still formulating plans for some definite way for the club to 'do its bit.'" In April 1918, the club was still searching for its special niche, and appointed another committee "to devise ways and means by which College women could offer efficient service to their country." At the club's annual meeting the following month, the committee reported success.

"The Chairman of the War Committee reported that a card index of over 700 college women in the state had been made and was open to all organizations."⁹ The experience of the College Club illustrates women's belief that their organizations must show their patriotism and willingness to contribute to the war effort. Probably many of the same women donated time and effort to other groups, for example, the Red Cross. Yet it was important that the members of the College Club make a collective contribution as university-educated women.

While some women's organizations stumbled at first and others floundered for the duration of the war, many women who had gained experience as civic activists saw an opportunity to use and extend the effectiveness they and their organizations had developed. They mobilized other, less-experienced women into efficient, centrally-controlled units. The key to the success of the operation would be to incorporate new work into the existing operating systems of their organizations, and to emerge with stronger, more entrenched and politically connected organizations. "General" Elizabeth T. Shoemaker's message to Maryland's "Food Conservation Army" spelled out her vision of women's work. "You are not a drafted or conscripted, you are a 'chosen army'-chosen to go forth and fight the fight for the conservation of food in this great war for democracy." Continuing the military analogy, Shoemaker told her troops that "all thinking people" conceded that the war would be won "by the second line of defense behind the trenches-you form that line." In preparing them for battle, Shoemaker assured them that they already had several of the requirements needed by an army--"good health, good discipline, and

enthusiasm." In addition, her army would need "patience, consummate tact and cheerfulness." Giving them their orders, Shoemaker explained that it was their "duty to present to the 250,000 householders of Maryland the imperative need "for food substitutes" and "to conserve the War foods" of wheat, meat, and sugar.¹⁰ In making this analogy, Shoemaker, with her years of activism in the Women's Civic League of Baltimore, was prepared to lead women, not just in the government-sponsored campaign for food conservation, but in a continued campaign for a broader public role.

The experience of the Women's Civic League of Baltimore demonstrates that women's community organizations, while converting their activities to war-related work, were able to increase their membership, bringing new women into public activities, as well as to use their experience to create efficient, centrally-organized extensions of their community activism. Willingly converting to "primarily patriotic work," the Women's Civic League organized classes throughout Baltimore to teach modern methods of cooking and canning. The league, through its ward chairmen, "splendid officers in the great army of women," distributed and supervised the signing of Pledge Cards for food conservation. This activity led directly to the establishment by the league of the War Food Bureau, located in the Baltimore Gas and Electric Building. The task of the league-directed bureau was to provide information and demonstrations on the preparation of "War Food." The canning classes and the War Food Bureau, along with the other work of the league, were responsible for a "substantial" increase in membership.¹¹

As a part of the drive for central organization and efficiency, the statewide network gained in importance. Elizabeth Shoemaker, with experience in sharing with other clubs her expertise in refuse disposal, broadened the scope of her concern, but did not change her methods. To increase the network's effectiveness, Shoemaker joined the YWCA's board of directors in January 1918. In her capacity as chairman of the Women's Section of the Maryland Council of Defense, she traveled extensively across the state speaking on "What the Women of Maryland are Doing to Help Win the War."¹² The incorporation of women not previously active in a civic league augmented the network. Frederick County reported that the State Women's Section of the Council of Defense, in cooperation with county women, had "thoroughly organized the women in all parts of the county."¹³

The diversion of war work did have a potential to threaten networks as well as to strengthen them, and organizations worked quickly to shore up and even extend their networks. Constituent organizations of federations did not always believe their work received the attention and recognition it merited. Jennie F. Height, president of the Council of Jewish Women, affiliated with the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations, reported the many war related achievements of her club, and added a thinly-disguised but mild critique of the federation. "The women of the Council came out in glowing colors, and while it was not always known as Council activities, being submerged in the larger organization of the Federation, nevertheless our women did their work willingly and well and, after all, we belong to one family." When leaders of the

Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations learned in November 1917 that three member clubs were "contemplating withdrawal from the Federation," the federation appointed a committee to visit the clubs "for the purpose of re-establishing a firmer co-operation." Not satisfied that its Extension Committee was effectively operating to keep in touch with county Jewish women's organizations, the federation appointed a committee "for the purpose of getting into communication with outlying districts."¹⁴

Suffrage and World War I

While the intensity of the suffrage campaign moderated during World War I, many white suffrage activists used their war activities to political advantage. Attitudes concerning the war threatened to disrupt the fragile unity maintained for several years among suffrage organizations, but antisuffragists and suffragists found that the war offered them at least temporary common ground. Most white Maryland suffragists attempted to simultaneously demonstrate their patriotism, keep their network intact, and integrate war and suffrage work.

The Maryland Suffrage News had consistently criticized preparedness and war, and when Edith Houghton Hooker federated her Just Government League with the National Woman's Party, she spoke out more forcefully against war. Hooker invited her National Woman's Party colleague, Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer, to speak to one hundred supporters at her home and urge them to boycott fundraising for the Liberty Loan. Hooker praised this attitude as one of "the highest patriotism."

Hooker's stance horrified the suffragists of the Women's Suffrage League of Maryland (formerly the Equal Suffrage League and affiliated with NAWSA). Suffrage League women like Madeleine Ellicott and Elizabeth Shoemaker believed that women, by demonstrating their patriotism, would advance their position. If women who were not yet converted to suffrage, not to mention the elected politicians on whose votes suffrage had to depend, thought that suffragists did not support the war, it might take years to undo the damage. These suffragists probably saw themselves as political realists and Hooker as the radical idealist, and they tried to distance themselves from the NWP by claiming that "the women who act in such a manner are really not good suffragists." These suffragists, according to newspaper articles, were "sternly disapproving of the unpatriotic attitude" of Hooker and her supporters, and, moreover, saw an opportunity to integrate the suffrage movement with war work. Madeleine Ellicott drew a distinction between those suffragists who were "pestering the government" and other, more cooperative suffragists. She advised a Washington County suffrage worker that it was "well for us to keep this contrast, and I hope you will continue to feel the least bit sympathetic or co-operative in any branch of the war work which comes to you."¹⁵

White suffragists of other state and local suffrage organizations, many of whom were also members of civic leagues and other groups, also worked to integrate war and suffrage work. Using the Baltimore headquarters of the Equal Suffrage League, suffragists "mobiliz[ed] for nonpartisan war emergency work, open to all women whether they are suffragists [or not]," and they divided the work into

committees that paralleled the Women's Section of the Council of Defense: Americanization, Agriculture, Red Cross, and Thrift.¹⁶ Work on the committees united suffragists with their suffrage opponents, the antis. Perhaps suffragists believed that their coalition-building skills would help to develop greater understanding between the two groups.

Responding to a NAWSA initiative to "Americanize" foreign born residents, Baltimore's Equal Suffrage League sent its Americanization committee to Locust Point to "instruct foreigners in citizenship." The committee enlisted the aid of suffrage opponent Annie L. Sioussat, who gave an illustrated lecture on "The Journey From the Old World to the New." The Red Cross committee organized by the Equal Suffrage League also combined the efforts of suffrage opponents as well as suffrage activists. Newspapers reported that "Women opposed to suffrage as well as those in favor of it, have rallied to membership and every Tuesday . . . have assembled at suffrage headquarters." The Red Cross committee also helped in the effort to enlist women to work as "radio electricians" and in the "motor emergency service." Perhaps believing they had been unwittingly integrated into suffrage work by a more highly organized force, the members of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage organized their own effort, a "war relief auxiliary, which is to be known as a Red Cross sewing circle."¹⁷

Suffrage activism, although diminished, did not completely lose its momentum in the counties, and the Women's Suffrage League and the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs worked to keep the network intact. The Maryland Federation sent out prosuffrage resolutions to

its member clubs in May 1918, asking them to "give the cause of Political equality of men and women our moral support, by recording our earnest belief in the principles of political equality, regardless of sex." It was not always successful in getting the "moral support" of at least some of its clubs, including the Inquiry Club of Rockville in Montgomery County. Suffragists frequently combined war and suffrage work and used their network to facilitate their efforts. Matilda B. Maloy of the Women's Suffrage League used her connections with the women of Carroll County's Women's Section of the Council of Defense to "search for suffragists in Westminster." Madeleine Ellicott, under the auspices of Baltimore's Equal Suffrage League, sent Council of Defense enrollment and membership cards out to members of the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations.¹⁸

As suffrage leaders attempted to combine war and suffrage objectives, they had to simultaneously manage their network, mediate between their organizations and NAWSA, and explain the connection between patriotism and suffrage. When Lilla Crawford of Hagerstown refused to accept the chairmanship of the Americanization committee because she, unlike male foreign born citizens, was denied the vote, Madeleine Ellicott, state chairman of the State Council of Defense Americanization Committee, attempted to defend NAWSA's decision to cooperate with the government initiative. "I am sorry you have taken this stand. I know it is exasperating . . . but I think there are good reasons for falling in willingly." NAWSA was certainly not "blind" to women's inability to vote, but the Maryland leadership had "concluded to do anything we could to assist the Government in this time. Back of

this decision, was not only the feeling of patriotism, but the realization that it was a good policy for suffrage." To illustrate that this was the case, Ellicott explained that she had advised each Council of Defense chairman "to put the Americanization work in the hands of a Suffragist where she could." Ellicott understood Crawford's "feeling of resentment in this matter of the aliens," but expressed her belief that suffragists should "keep this feeling in abeyance when we can. I believe it will work better for suffrage in the end."¹⁹ Protests of principle, in Ellicott's view, might offer short-term satisfaction, but would in the long-term be harmful to the overall goal. Leaders like Ellicott had learned that compromises were a necessary, even desirable aspect of civic and suffrage activism. Ellicott no doubt hoped that male politicians could not help but see the injustice of nonvoting women selflessly contributing their assistance on behalf of their government to foreign born residents. If those in power had difficulty making the connection, Ellicott and other suffrage leaders would be prepared to offer their assistance.

The Women's Section of the Maryland Council of Defense

Declaration of war in April 1917 prompted Governor Emerson C. Harrington to call a special session of the General Assembly. Members of the legislature created the Maryland Council of Defense, affiliating it with the Council of National Defense at the federal level. The Maryland Council was established to coordinate all civilian war efforts, and with the governor as a member, included prominent men from throughout the state.²⁰

Even before the state Council of Defense was approved, the governor had appointed in April 1917 a Women's Preparedness and Survey Commission, to "consider all problems relating to women and their work, which may arise during the war," and "to coordinate the work and develop the resources of the women of Maryland so that the highest efficiency may be secured for war emergency work." Along with the state commission with its twenty-four members, the governor appointed county commissions, each with five members.

The state commission included women "who are heads of large organizations and who have experience in public work." The list of members, many of whom combined civic and suffrage activism, included civic and suffrage leaders Madeleine Ellicott, Elizabeth Shoemaker, and Matilda Maloy; and federation leaders Hortense Moses, Mrs. Francis Sanderson, Anna Corkran, and Elizabeth Jencks. The wife of the governor was a member, as was at least one prominent antisuffragist, Mrs. Oscar Leser. The commissioners, most of whom had worked together before, were experienced organizers and leaders, and they viewed the commission as a "Clearing House for all organizations and for the work of all individuals throughout the State." The group expected "all existing organizations" to "embrace the opportunity which is now presented to them to expand and develop their work," and "requested" the organizations to affiliate with the commission. Elizabeth Shoemaker, chairman of the commission, saw the potential the commission represented. "It is earnestly hoped and confidently believed that the foundations are being laid for a lasting work which will be of value to the State, not only during, but after the War."²¹ The commission, by

August 1917 renamed the Women's Section of the Council of Defense, and designed to serve as an auxiliary to that body, became the central organization through which all women's war work flowed. Becoming more than its creators had intended, the Women's Section provided the means by which women could build on the skills they had used as civic and suffrage activists. It also provided the channel through which an expanded government met the demands that war placed on it.

Most of the women appointed to the county commissions had been previously active in some form of public work, and the vast majority were eager to accept this unusual opportunity for an appointment to government service. Several nominees demonstrated their awareness of the task at hand, and drew connections to their ongoing work. M. Jeanie Bryan, a school officer in Dorchester County, acknowledged the importance of war conditions, but would not "let up" on school attendance laws. She would, however, urge students to "use their holidays for intensive farming and food production."²² Characterizing herself as having been "a rabid advocate of Preparedness for several years," Mary Carroll accepted appointment, remarking that "there is much work for women in these times."²³ Several nominees reflected the goals of the state commission. Sue Davis Handy of Crisfield wrote that she hoped women's efforts would be "effective," and Edith R. Hanley hoped that she would "be able to do my share of the work efficiently."²⁴

Some county nominees took advantage of the opportunity to draw the governor's attention to the parallels between war service and suffrage. Mary Bartlett Dixon, a suffragist from Talbot County,

responded that she would accept the appointment, but "I am not only working for the war but am continuing my work for those at home who must submit to authority but who have no voice in this government."²⁵ Dixon's JGL colleague in Talbot County, Mary Jenkins, while assuring the governor that she would cooperate "with your splendid efforts to prepare Maryland for her war task . . . we can only hope that you will soon be 'converted' to suffrage."²⁶

At least one nominee saw in the county organization an opportunity to get the necessary tools for efficient operation, as well as a potential point of conflict with the men's branch of the Council of Defense. Mary Johnson, president of the Annapolis Woman's Civic League and appointed to chair the Anne Arundel County women's section of the Council of Defense, was apparently concerned that the parallel county men's organization was not willing to cooperate with the women's group. Johnson asked the governor to "call a joint meeting" so that "I and the members of my Commission may work in harmony and unison" with the men's group. Johnson, deferring to the men's organization, expressed her desire "that our work may not in any way overlap theirs and may also meet with their approval." After what she apparently believed was a proper display of deference, Mary Johnson took the opportunity to ask for the governor's support for a headquarters with a telephone to "further our work and make it efficient."²⁷

Not all the nominees were experienced in public life. After Governor Harrington had nominated Mrs. H.H. Pearson chairman of the Talbot County commission, Mrs. Pearson responded, asking what it was she was expected to do. "I am a very busy woman. . . . I am not a

clubwoman-know nothing of Parliamentary Law-but of course will do all I can." Within two months, Pearson resigned, citing her farm and Red Cross work as being "all that I can carry." Perhaps her contact with Talbot County suffragists Mary Bartlett Dixon and Mary Jenkins accelerated her decision to resign.²⁸

A few women refused appointment to county commissions, some pleading the pressure of "home duties." Charles County women, with little experience in civic activism, were difficult to organize for war work. Asked to recommend a new chairman after she had resigned the position, Mary C. MacPherson confessed to the governor that she was "at sea" to know who to suggest. "The ladies of this County have done very little civic or organization work of any kind and would hesitate to assume this . . . work." However interested individual women might be in war work, an organizational base and network like that developed in most areas of the state, was essential to mobilizing women.²⁹

By August 1917, the organizational structure of the Women's Section of the Council of Defense was in place, and Elizabeth Shoemaker sent the section's first report to the governor, bypassing the still-forming Council of Defense. The existing women's network was a key factor in the ability of the Women's Section to organize so quickly and systematically. Shoemaker had appointed an executive committee which approved an organizational plan. The work would be centrally managed, with a hierarchical structure, and was divided into sections, for example, thrift, education, and employment. Each section had a state chairman, who appointed a statewide committee "to promote, develop and direct" the work of the section. In the counties, county

chairmen appointed leaders for each section, who then named a committee to carry out the work of the section. Supervising county work would be district leaders in each electoral district. County and state chairmen would meet regularly.³⁰

County organization reflected the state's structure. The county Women's Sections became the "nucleus" for all county war work, and whatever the drive or project, the "machinery" of the central organization would click into gear. An example of the system was the organization of the Maryland Motor Messenger Service. Designed to provide drivers for the county Women's Section, Red Cross, and others with official war work to carry out, a county-level executive council managed the service. The council set up operating policies and procedures that were implemented through a chain-of-command process, beginning with captains and ending with privates. Each person along the chain had strictly defined duties and reporting relationships. The military nature of the organization may have been borrowed from the armed forces, but the ability to operate the service depended on an experienced network.³¹

The Women's Section regarded the existing state network as sufficiently organized to carry out the mission of the Council of Defense. "We have endeavored, and in great measure succeeded in cooperating with all the women's organizations in the state, believing that new organizations should not be formed unless no association can be found to carry on the work." Shoemaker, reporting the success of the organizational and network efforts, maintained that "more Red Cross work has been performed by the Women's Section during the last three

months than by the American Red Cross." The Women in Industry section had employed an investigator to survey industries to determine their needs for workers. Other sections were at work to encourage backyard gardens and home canning. All of these efforts were government priorities and were funded by the government. The Women's Section was the conduit through which the priorities were communicated to the public and community response generated. This arrangement, brought about by the circumstance of war, enabled women activists to participate in what they had long advocated: the assumption by government of responsibility for community services. In this case, of course, the priorities came from the government, not the community, but the combination of patriotic fervor and the years of women's civic activism prepared communities to accept government involvement in local affairs. "Above all," reported Elizabeth Shoemaker to the governor, "the woman power of the State has been mobilized and organized so that it can be called into immediate service."³² The Women's Section would further develop its connections, both at the national level, and with the State Council of Defense.

Black Women and World War I

War presented black women with a special dilemma, and a special opportunity as well. From an initial ambivalence concerning support for a war that, in their view, offered no democracy for them, black women moved to embrace war work, as had white women, as an opportunity to show their patriotism and capability. Emerging from the protective

but obstructive shadow of white women's organizations, black women found they still could not gain access to power on their own.

At the beginning of World War I in 1914, the black community squarely faced its dilemma. "The American nation, touched because of the terrible condition of 'Bleeding Belgium,' forgets the sorrows, misery, degr[a]dation, abject poverty of thousands within its own confines, and rushes to the rescue." At the same time, the Women's Cooperative Civic League made articles for "the wounded soldiers of Europe," receiving a letter of appreciation from the American Red Cross, and the black community hosted a charity ball on behalf of the Belgian Relief Committee.³³

With the United States moving toward war in March 1917, Margaret Black, in her Afro-American column, expressed her wish that black women "would cause the awakening" that would, as the Afro-American had editorialized earlier, help blacks "learn how not to be sanctified and good and puppy-like." Margaret Black urged the community not to support "Jim Crow preparedness" and the military. Women had a special responsibility, she challenged her readers: "What are the women going to do about it? Are you going to sanction your men joining the army and be segregated. . . . Wake up women and help to fight for your rights."³⁴

As white women activists hoped that patriotism and war work would help advance their position, many black women and men believed they had even more to gain. Margaret Black soon joined the vast majority of the community in a demonstration of loyalty and service. By November 1917,

Margaret Black asked her readers if they were Red Cross workers, and if they were not, why not? "It is our duty to do," she told them.³⁵

The motivation toward patriotism gained credibility in November and December 1917. The United States Supreme Court invalidated the segregation ordinance of Louisville, Kentucky, which was based on Baltimore's West Ordinance. The following month, Judge John C. Rose of the United States District Court ruled that the Supreme Court decision nullified Baltimore's segregation ordinance. Margaret Black now assured her readers, "We are fighting for democracy in every sense of the word."³⁶

Employment opportunities may have provided further impetus for the black community's support of the war effort. As it did for white women, the war expanded employment opportunities for black women, some with higher wages than black women had previously been able to earn. With the potential of up to eighteen dollars a week, black women were recruited to roll cigars in a new Baltimore branch of the P. Lorillard Company. This, extolled the Afro-American, was "one of the biggest opportunities that has ever come to the colored women of the city to work for wages approximately that earned by men." The army wanted "the highest type of girls" to work in the Camp Meade laundry and guaranteed that the young women would receive transportation and "be surrounded by every necessary protection."³⁷

Other opportunities developed. Women could sew cartridge belts at home, or skin tomatoes for six cents per bucket, "two cents per bucket more than was paid for this work two years ago." Demand forced some businesses to employ women for the first time as elevator and

switchboard operators. These breakthroughs, however, limited black women to filling positions vacated by black men, since white women took the jobs formerly held by white men.³⁸

Many black women, especially those who had been community activists, developed opportunities for themselves in war work. Beginning as a separate, then cooperative effort attached to the white women's preparedness commission, black women developed their own separate organization. In April 1917, black women, many of whom were associated with the Cooperative Civic League, formed the Woman's Patriotic League of Maryland. The league divided its work into four committees, closely paralleling that of the women's preparedness commission. When Elizabeth Shoemaker addressed the group on April 30, the members unanimously requested her to form a committee of the commission to cooperate with the league. In May 1917, the Women's Preparedness and Survey Commission appointed a committee "to organize the work of the colored women," an objective that may not have been what the league had in mind when it asked for "cooperation." With Elizabeth Gilman as chairman, the committee included several members of the Cooperative Civic League: Mrs. Mason A. Hawkins, Sarah Fernandis, and K. Bertha Hurst. The black members of the committee pledged themselves "to all possible co-operative effort and service with the Woman's Commission." Committee members believed that their work had the potential to contribute to long-term improvements. "In the propaganda for intensive food production, household thrift and the development of individual efficiency, the women . . . can visualize

permanent constructive efforts which may become the good out of ill."³⁹

Much of the effort of the two hundred members of the Cooperative Civic League was directed to the war effort, and concentrated in helping people to cultivate gardens and preserve food. Margaret Black commented in her column, "It takes our women to show the white race how to conserve food." Sarah Fernandis, "Division Captain" of the food conservation campaign, organized classes in food substitutes and preservation. Their efforts were duplicated in the counties. In Carroll County, Ada Fulton directed the food conservation effort and also conducted knitting classes. Cooperative Civic League members served as the intermediary between white women and black domestic employees. The league held demonstrations of substitute meals and circulated "Cooks' pledges," and gave certificates to those who signed. The league provided the headquarters and organizational support for the Colored Branch of the Red Cross, and Red Cross chapters also sprang up in Western Maryland and Baltimore County.⁴⁰

As they enlarged the scope of their activities, black women attempted to continue their ongoing work as well. At the annual meeting of the Maryland Federation of Christian Women in October 1917, women discussed their war work. They also, however, heard Mrs. Howard E. Young speak on women's suffrage. The Afro-American, commenting in June 1918 that "church rallies, Red Cross drive and the Liberty Loans are giving us a breathing spell," encouraged the community to "get to work" to raise fifteen hundred dollars for the Day Nursery. As "an expression of hope and courage," the Cooperative Civic League in 1917

planned a community Christmas celebration. The league's school lunch program was "greatly affected by the war conditions, but not abandoned." Realizing that the demand for its organization and services might well be increased during the immediate period following the war, the Cooperative Civic League "through all the necessary setbacks of the period . . . sought to keep its organization intact."⁴¹

The CYWCA, by 1919 with over three hundred members and an all-volunteer staff, had also contributed to the war effort. The branch served as a "community center" where organizations could meet. The branch conducted classes in knitting and food conservation. Members hosted a social on Sundays for visiting soldiers.⁴²

While Governor Harrington appointed a "Colored Division" in August 1917 to work with the State Council of Defense, and the Women's Section named a committee "to organize the work of the colored women," black women did not at first have a separate organization under their own direction. Taking advantage of their community experience and the opening the war gave them, they began to press for a state commission of their own. Writing to the governor in September 1917, Sarah Fernandis complimented the governor on his "inspiring address" concerning the role blacks could play in the war effort. Fernandis assured him that "we recognize the great constructive opportunity of the hour for those of us who are prepared to grasp it, and that we will endeavor to meet every demand upon us for the upbuilding of our people." Fernandis also took the opportunity to connect the war for democracy to democracy at home: "the general advance of the great cause

of human freedom to which every true American is ready to contribute his part." The governor replied that it gave him "great pleasure indeed to know that the colored women are rising equal to their opportunity and have shown their ability to cope with the present situation."⁴³

Pressure began to build for the governor to appoint a women's section that would affiliate with the men's division, similar to the structure that existed in the white divisions of the Council of Defense. Dr. Ernest Lyon, chairman of the men's division, submitted a list of women "representing every phase of women's work in the city and state," and asked the governor to appoint them.⁴⁴ Never before had black women received appointment to any governmental body, and the governor, no doubt politically wary, was reluctant to open the door.

White women attempted to serve in their traditional role as intermediary between black women and white men, in this instance as brokers for nominations to the proposed body. Their attempts revealed a probable reason for the desire on the part of black women to have their own organization. Charlotte McIntosh, chairman of the women's section in Baltimore County, informed the governor in December 1917 that she understood he planned to appoint a black women's division. "Mrs. John Ridgely, Jr., who is our Chairman of the work among the colored women . . . has suggested . . . the names of a number of women who have been most co-operative and efficient in carrying out the work which our Council has planned for them." McIntosh evidently expected that her chosen nominees would continue to do the work "planned for them." Harrington was not quite ready to bow to the pressure.

Replying that he had "not yet determined upon a Council for Colored Women, but I may have to appoint one," the governor asked Charlotte McIntosh to send him the names of five Baltimore County black women.⁴⁵

When the governor did decide to appoint a women's section for black women, he named as chairman Ida R. Cummings, active for many years in the Maryland Federation of Christian Women, the Empty Stocking and Fresh Air Circle, and several other community organizations. She and the other women appointed recognized the milestone they had reached. Letters to the governor uniformly pledged their total efforts. None of the women chided the governor for his lack of sympathy to suffrage, or pleaded an excess of home duties. They were determined, as Ida Cummings expressed it, "to make this Section highly efficient."⁴⁶ Jennie Mills, nominated to represent Baltimore in the Women's Section, was "proud to be honored by you in receiving this appointment. . . . I feel . . . proud that I have a chance to show with others my loyalty and patriotism to my country." Kate Gwathney, in thanking the governor for her appointment, assured him that "It shall be my purpose to prove myself worthy of your consideration."⁴⁷

Having succeeded in establishing their own section, cooperating with yet separate from the white women's section, black women found their boundaries, while expanded, still had limits. The men's division, led by Dr. Ernest Lyon, former minister to Liberia, was restricted in its scope as well. While the white members of the Council of Defense wanted assistance in generating support for the war in the black community, they were not prepared to give free rein to

either the black men's or women's section. The Council of Defense executive committee, of which Ernest Lyon was not a member, maintained control over the activities and the finances of the men's section, and expected any requests from the women's section to come through Dr. Lyon to the executive committee. When Ernest Lyon wrote to the executive committee in January 1918, asking that a special appropriation be made for the women's section, "it was decided that the letter was not sufficiently definite and that Dr. Lyon be requested to make a statement before the Committee." The executive committee held up payment of the bill Lyon had submitted on behalf of the women's section.⁴⁸

Ernest Lyon followed with a detailed request to the executive committee. Perhaps believing he had to defend the activities and organization of the women's section, Lyon observed, "It is due this colored Women's Section to say that it is thoroughly organized and is doing a much needed work." Lyon asked that the executive committee appropriate a monthly allowance of approximately fifteen dollars, with additional funds to be made available for train fare to the counties and other "minor expenses." Vouchers for all expenses would be approved by Lyon before submission to the executive committee. Concerned that the executive committee did not realize or value the efforts of black women, Lyon concluded that in making the "requests which we regard as . . . nominal, we would not have you minimize the work being done by the Women's Section." The executive committee, bending somewhat, granted a budget to the Women's Section, and it authorized the sending of a check for \$21.49. In April 1918, the

executive committee, at Lyon's request, appropriated \$250, "or so much thereof as may be necessary," to equip a rest house for black soldiers.⁴⁹

When the war was over and the Council of Defense disbanded, black men and women lost the opening to most governmental appointments. The report of the Council of Defense to the governor and legislature cited the work that black women had done in making and distributing kits to draftees, knitting garments for soldiers, and providing a rest house and club for black soldiers. The report, acknowledging state government's responsibility for a need in the black community, pointed out that the cost of these activities had been "paid by the Maryland Council of Defense." The state had gained the loyalty of its black citizens. The Council of Defense report referred to the "notable service done by the colored people." The service was not the organizing in the black community of food conservation, Liberty Loan and thrift campaigns, or of Red Cross work. The "notable service" the Council of Defense most appreciated "was the prompt denunciation of the I.W.W. [International Workers of the World] when it attempted to get a foothold in the state."⁵⁰ While the gains that black women made were short-lived, they had begun through community activism, their independent suffrage efforts, and their service in World War I, to develop a political presence of their own, and to move away from the need for white women's intercession.

The National Connection

War-related activities brought the national government closer to the lives of individuals as new agencies and mandates expanded federal involvement in the states. Women's organizations experienced a growing connection to the federal government, and women active in war work broadened their perspective beyond county and even state boundaries. With the experience of a statewide network, they were prepared to participate in a national network as well. While the network did not always operate efficiently or effectively, it did prepare women for greater involvement with the national government.

World War I and its management brought the national government into closer contact with states and individuals than ever before. From war financing to managing patriotism, the government engaged, according to historian David M. Kennedy, in a "systematizing impulse," creating such agencies as the Food Administration, Fuel Administration, Railroad Administration, and War Industries Board. Calling on business leaders to serve the nation's war management needs, the experience of wartime accelerated the move to modern national government.⁵¹

The Council of National Defense was created to oversee and coordinate the work of constituent state bodies, and through this network the federal government began to make more demands on state governments. In Maryland, for example, the Consumers' League was concerned that business interests "who wish the privilege of working their laborers overtime ad lib," would influence the General Assembly to repeal the Ten Hour Law. The league was reassured when it learned that Maryland Attorney General Albert C. Ritchie had crafted a bill

that would allow suspension of that and other laws only when requested by the Council of National Defense. In the rush and fervor of war and patriotism, this encroachment by the federal government was seen as a necessary war measure. It was, however, an indication of the expanded role national government was developing.⁵²

The influence of women's organizations had forced the federal government to create the Woman's Committee, to be associated with the Council of National Defense.⁵³ The Woman's Committee, with NAWSA's Anna Howard Shaw as chairman, attempted to create a top-down network that would have a chairman for every county in the nation. The committee, perhaps prepared for criticism that it might be duplicating the efforts of or working at cross purposes with existing organizations, maintained that it had received thousands of letters from women who were not members of organizations and did not know how to get involved in war work. The Woman's Committee's goal, therefore, would be "to find the place for the woman and the woman for the place." Sensitive to the need to work with other women's organizations, the Woman's Committee envisioned itself "as a holding and advisory committee for all the other societies that are doing war work." The committee intended to develop a "nation-wide register" to cross reference "every woman's abilities and desire" for service.⁵⁴ This "systematizing impulse" mirrored the inclination of the federal government as a whole, and while it did not create the smoothly functioning machine the Committee intended, and certainly did not control the work of the state Council of Defense, did involve Maryland women in a new, expanded network.

Maryland, as other states, had experience with national networks, especially NAWSA and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Women's Section of the Maryland Council of Defense responded positively to the Woman's Committee. Elizabeth Shoemaker sent out copies of the Woman's Committee's plan of work to all county sections, and "earnestly desired" the "active co-operation" of Maryland women's organizations.⁵⁵ With crusading journalist Ida M. Tarbell as its publicity chairman, the Woman's Committee quickly developed a newsletter to keep states informed, to share ideas for raising funds, and to encourage women to view the Woman's Committee as the central organization for women's war work. Attempting to show a true national organization where none actually existed, the Woman's Committee insisted on calling each state's organization for women's war work a "Woman's Committee," after its own name.⁵⁶

The Maryland Women's Section, notwithstanding how they might have felt about the liberties taken with their name by the Woman's Committee, incorporated the newsletter concept into their own public relations plan. Matilda Maloy, secretary of the Women's Section, urged each county chairman to appoint a publicity chairman. Activating the network, Maloy asked the county chairman to send the name of the publicity chairman and a list of local newspapers to her. She would then forward them to Washington, D.C., and the national Woman's Committee would send the newsletter directly to the counties. The publicity chairman was to report to local newspapers "all news concerning the Council's work before it is 'stale' . . . and to report to headquarters for publication in Baltimore papers, all plans or

events of special or universal interest." Recognizing the value of public relations, Maloy reminded the county chairmen, "The only way for the full value of the work of the Women's Section . . . to be recognized by the general public is through publicity." Maloy retained control of access to the national newsletter, through the device of having publicity chairmen send her the items they wished to submit.⁵⁷

In addition to disseminating information by way of a newsletter, the Woman's Committee, in cooperation with the United States Employment Service, asked for Maryland's help in recruiting five thousand stenographers and typists for work in Washington, D.C. The Woman's Committee worked to find housing and meals for prospective employees, and Maryland women were expected to locate interested women. Maryland responded by conducting registration and classes for jobseekers.⁵⁸

The vision of a national network of women managed from the federal level was difficult to implement, perhaps especially under the unusual conditions of wartime. One example of its failure to fully realize its potential was the campaign to recruit women for the Student Nurses Reserve. The operation of this campaign in Maryland illustrates that while a state might "mobilize and organize" the women within its boundaries, finding itself an intermediary between national and county women's organizations was not in the beginning an accustomed or comfortable role.

In the middle of 1918, the Woman's Committee decided to develop a United States Student Nurses Reserve to help meet the expected demand for 25,000 nurses. The committee set quotas for every state and assigned the task to the Women's Sections of the state councils of

defense. When a woman between the ages of nineteen and thirty-five enrolled, she held herself "in reserve" until April 1, 1919, to enter nurses' training. The Woman's Committee would be responsible for calling reservists to training. In Maryland, after the first state chairman resigned, Elizabeth Shoemaker enlisted Madeleine Ellicott, an experienced organizer and civic and suffrage leader, to work with the counties to reach Maryland's quota of 510 potential student nurses registered by August 11. County Women's Section chairmen were asked in turn to form a committee to accomplish this "great national task del[e]gated to the State and County Chairmen of the Women's Section."⁵⁹

On July 11, Ellicott explained the task to county chairmen. They were to enlist the help of the Red Cross and nurses' associations and provide recruiting stations, making sure that the stations were open regular hours and the "officers in charge are thoroughly drilled." County committees should also canvass the community for women "especially those with college or high school training." The clergy should be asked to announce the project from their pulpits. Ellicott promised to send the materials chairmen would need, including enrollment cards and application blanks, which should be returned to her as state chairman. Since publicity was crucial, Ellicott also promised to send leaflets that "should be distributed as widely as possible." The state chairman of publicity for the campaign, Frances Tillman, followed on July 29 with a letter to county chairmen, asking them to send daily reports, along with "interesting anecdotes" of the campaign's progress.⁶⁰

In Carroll County, the Women's Section responded to the campaign, and assigned it to Mary Gray Clemson, its publicity chairman, who carried out Ellicott's suggestions, including asking the clergy for assistance. Mary Clemson and her committee were soon frustrated by the lack of campaign materials. "We have no certificates of enrollment." Clemson and her committee, however, prepared to carry on the campaign while they waited for materials to arrive, and they informed the county's district leaders that "it won't do for us to say 'Oh, I don't know of anybody who wants to be a nurse,' and let it drop with that." Clemson reminded the district leaders how the network operated: "Somebody we talk to, or somebody they speak to, may be inspired . . . to enroll."⁶¹

By July 30, Mary Clemson had not yet received the necessary enrollment materials and wrote to Madeleine Ellicott that the effort in Carroll County was "seriously handicapped" by the lack of literature. Prospective recruits were losing interest without enrollment cards, and she asked for eighty-five sets. On August 3, when she had not received a response from Ellicott, Clemson wrote directly to Hannah J. Patterson, resident director of the Woman's Committee in Washington, D.C. The effort, although it was arousing women's interest, was "greatly handicapped" by the absence of application blanks and literature. "We cannot hold and crystallize this interest when we have no literature to hand them." Frustrated by the failure of the network to operate efficiently, Clemson complained, "There is no excuse for this delay-those in authority ought not to have started the campaign until they were ready. Battles are not started until the ammunition is

ready." In the meantime, Madeleine Ellicott, anxious to put the blame where she believed it belonged, wrote to Clemson on August 2, "I am glad to hear you are reporting progress in the Student Nurse Drive. The scarcity of literature is handicapping us all seriously. I suspect the Washington printers are to blame."⁶²

Hannah Patterson of the Woman's Committee had her own view of where responsibility lay, and she called attention to Carroll County's lack of efficiency:

The material sent you was sufficient to enroll three times the quota of student nurses asked from your county. . . . If all application blanks distributed have been filled out by eligible candidates you have already supplied more than three times the number for which you were asked.⁶³

Even the official closing of the drive caused confusion. Ordered closed on September 5, the drive re-opened in late September. The Maryland Women's Section, in its announcement of the re-opening, wanted its county chairmen to know that the state organization was not responsible for the disorder. Madeleine Ellicott explained that in both the closing and subsequent re-opening of the campaign, she had been "acting under direct instructions from Washington." Washington, on the other hand, blamed the confused situation on the states, which had reported that they had exceeded their quota, but only seven thousand women actually completed applications. The Woman's Committee then requested that states close their "intensive" campaign, but "did not mean to infer that all efforts to secure . . . recruits should cease on that date." Maryland was indeed far short of its quota, having enlisted 123 out of the necessary 510. To add to the sense of frustration state leaders must have felt, the Council of National

Defense was considering revising upward the number of nurses needed. Ever optimistic, Mary Clemson in Carroll County sent out a news release to announce the re-opening of the campaign.⁶⁴

A national network of women was more difficult to organize and manage than a state network. It created problems for state networks as well, interrupting their usual work with national priorities, insisting on immediate response, and causing local women to become frustrated with the state network's role as intermediary. A national network that had more far-reaching effects emanated from the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Headed by Julia Lathrop, the bureau established and campaigned for a child welfare reform agenda that included maternal health care, accurate birth registration, weighing and measuring of babies and children, and state and locally funded public health clinics. Capitalizing on wartime circumstances and building on the network of women's organizations, Lathrop used the network to disseminate such articles as "No Time Limit for Weighing and Measuring" to women's sections of councils of defense. Responding to a call to weigh all children under six years of age, the Afro-American urged its readers, "Your baby's Uncle Sam is interested in your baby just as all other fond uncles are and it is unpatriotic for you to refuse the information Uncle Sam wants." The child welfare network would prove crucial to the passage and implementation of federal maternal and child welfare legislation after World War I.⁶⁵ The experience that women gained as a part of a national network, however incomplete and erratic its operation might have been, helped expand the parameters of their interest beyond state concerns. Their experience

also increased their awareness of and contribution to a growing government assumption, as in the Children's Bureau, of responsibility for those areas that had formed the base for women's activism.

Working Within the Council of Defense

Although she directed the war-related activities of the "mobilized and organized" army of women throughout the state, Elizabeth Shoemaker found an equally great challenge within the Council of Defense itself. Her relations with the council's executive committee illustrate several aspects relating to women activists' collaborative arrangements with men. While the opportunity to work within a larger, male-dominated organization would enhance Shoemaker's and other women's political influence, there was a danger that women's activities could be absorbed by the larger entity. Shoemaker would demonstrate that she understood the risks of working collectively within men's groups. Confronted with the accumulated power and experience of women's organizations, men of the Council of Defense were not certain how to react, and they vacillated between praise, patronage, and neglect, as they simultaneously attempted to control the Women's Section. Shoemaker and many of the women with whom she worked had advocated that government assume greater responsibility; now their organizations became the vehicle for government's expanded role. World War I represented a culmination of women activists' long practice of cooperation with men, as well as merger of the agenda of women activists and that of men in government.

The executive committee of the Maryland Council of Defense included as members its chairman, General C.R. Gray, Judge Hammond Urner, General F.E. Waters, the Honorable S.A. Williams, as well as the Governor, State Comptroller, and State Treasurer. At one of its first meetings, in July 1917, it issued a statement of its "general policy." Its first goal was "to cooperate with and assist the Council of National Defense. . . . Our main problem is to adapt our State work to the national plan." Confirming the encroachment of the federal government, the committee complained, "Every week the National Government is fathering organizations that take in much of the work and authority that ordinarily would be exercised by the State or local government." The state council wanted to "harmonize" its work with the national organization. The members viewed Maryland as a special case, with its broad agenda and a one million dollar state appropriation to match. The committee believed that the council could contribute to winning the war through increasing production, harvesting and conserving crops, encouraging economy in homes and businesses, making the council the clearinghouse for plans and ideas, and "making every penny and effort tell."⁶⁶

While prewar state government may have been reluctant to allocate funds for many community services, when war was declared and the Council of Defense got its one million dollars, the executive committee was eager to disburse it. The committee immediately appropriated funds to clear campsites and authorized the State Board of Agriculture to enter into contracts to "cover employment of Assistant County Agents, Women Agents, clerks and equipment, [and] control of insect pests and

plant diseases." The committee also appropriated funds for the National Guard, and ten thousand dollars for its own use.⁶⁷

In May and July 1917, the Council of National Defense, State Councils Section, urged each state council to include the chairman of its women's section first as a member of the council and then as a member of the executive committee. State councils were also asked to provide the women's sections with office space and funds, with the expectation that the women's sections would then work under the authority of state councils. The national council, believing the state structure that divided responsibility by sex rather than by function was an "administrative nightmare," was anxious to designate a single authority in each state. The Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, on the other hand, fearing that women's contributions would be lost within the larger group, thus perhaps hindering their further advance after the war,⁶⁸ took a dim view of the proposed arrangement, and insisted on the independence of women's divisions.

Maryland was one of the twenty-eight states that did not invite the chairman of the women's section to serve on the executive committee. Whether they wished to maintain male solidarity, or whether the women's organization was strong enough to resist incorporation is not clear. What is clear, however, is that the executive committee did attempt to direct the work of the Women's Section by controlling access to the funds necessary to carry out their planned program. Madeleine Ellicott, writing to Annie Sioussat in late July 1917 expressed her hope that "the day is not far distant when we will know how these committees of the Council of Defense are going to be financed."

Ellicott herself was paying two workers as part of her Americanization work, and Sioussat had contributed fifty dollars to the work.⁶⁹

With these and other needs in mind, Elizabeth Shoemaker made her first appearance before the executive committee, and gave the members "a comprehensive statement of the activities of the women's organizations in Maryland." Outlining the organizational structure she and her committee had developed, she estimated that the Women's Section would need an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars. The Women's Section, she noted, had already spent \$2,500. The executive committee, not convinced, requested that Shoemaker "put in writing her plans for the state organization and the various needs." She was also asked to "consult with the Chairman," who presumably would help her develop her request.⁷⁰

Giving the bills of the Women's Section more scrutiny than it gave National Guard expenses and county requests for armories, the executive committee used its authority to pay expenses of the Women's Section as a way to control the section's activities. It frequently deferred payment to individual counties, citing the need to get a general statement from all the counties. Since there was no appropriation set aside for the Women's Section, the executive committee paid the section's bills from its own account.⁷¹ The committee did, on July 31, authorize Shoemaker to organize an office, with paid staff, at an expense not to exceed three thousand dollars per year. The executive committee further resolved, however, that Shoemaker, before beginning work of any kind, should "make her recommendations in advance so that appropriations may be made."⁷²

Relenting somewhat, the executive committee responded to Shoemaker's compromise proposal. She was willing to accept a two-month appropriation for the committees on women in industry, food production and coordination, and volunteer service. The executive committee agreed to the limited appropriations, again paying them out of its own current expense fund, but only after expenses were incurred and vouchers submitted to the executive committee. The committee cautioned Shoemaker that she was to submit "proper vouchers" in order to have the bills paid.⁷³

Elizabeth Shoemaker continued her campaign for adequate funding for the activities of the Women's Section. At the end of August 1917, the executive committee agreed to appropriate fifteen thousand dollars per year for the expenses of the county divisions of the Women's Section. The Women's Section would decide how much each county would receive. Executive committee members retained ultimate control, however, and would only release the funds after women had already expended their own money and until vouchers were "certified" by Elizabeth Shoemaker.⁷⁴ Perhaps thinking that if members of the executive committee understood more of what women were actually doing throughout the state they might be more forthcoming, Shoemaker arranged to have the chairmen of two county women's divisions speak to the committee. This move had no immediate effect on the committee, which reinforced its policy that "all accounts must be fully itemized and vouchered and paid through the Committee's office." It continued to approve every voucher for women's expenditures individually, thus

dealing with experienced community leaders the way committee members probably preferred to run their homes.⁷⁵

By October, Elizabeth Shoemaker had experienced enough difficulty in handling and passing through the executive committee every expense, however small, that she came before the committee to request a "blanket appropriation" for the Women's Section. The executive committee, probably shocked by the request, took no action.⁷⁶ A week later, the committee, perhaps deciding that the "blanket appropriation" was a good idea for some purposes, authorized a fifty thousand dollar appropriation as a military fund for the Maryland National Guard. At that same meeting they reinforced their dislike of "blanket appropriations" for other groups, in this case the Colored Division, which "was informed that no blanket appropriation could be made and that all moneys voted would have to be for definite amounts for definite purposes."⁷⁷

The executive committee repeated its policy that it should pre-approve all expenses in mid October 1917, when Elizabeth Shoemaker presented a bill for cans purchased to preserve food that was then given to soldiers. The committee, no doubt collectively gritting its teeth, paid the bill but reemphasized that all purchases had to be cleared first by Shoemaker and then by themselves. As more bills arrived, the committee became increasingly annoyed. The women's division of Anne Arundel County requested payment for wheat it had purchased. The committee paid the bill, but "ordered that no more expenses of this kind be incurred." When Howard County's women's division submitted a bill for the purchase of a typewriter, the

committee "reaffirmed its policy" that only rentals were allowed.⁷⁸

It is unlikely that Elizabeth Shoemaker, with her extensive background in civic activism with the Women's Civic League of Baltimore and her suffrage organization experience, was unaware that she was antagonizing the executive committee by constantly bringing financial matters of a petty nature to the committee. Perhaps she reasoned that if she continued to force the committee to deal with her and county requests, the members of the committee might eventually have to give her what she believed her organization needed--control of its own affairs, and adequate funding. When she did not get her "blanket appropriation," Shoemaker kept up the pressure with a request for more office space, a request which "was favorably received and the details were held over for future decision."⁷⁹

Shoemaker and the executive committee continued their struggle over expenditures. Having gotten no action on her request for more office space, Shoemaker brought an offer of a house from Henry J. Bowdoin and his sisters. The Council of Defense would be responsible for taxes, water, ground rent, and insurance, at a projected total of four hundred dollars per year. The executive committee thanked Bowdoin for his "handsome offer," but replied that the question of a headquarters for the Women's Section was "under advisement." By the end of December, Shoemaker submitted estimates for converting and maintaining the Bowdoin home. The executive committee authorized the chairman, General Gray, "to take up this matter with Mrs. Shoemaker."⁸⁰

Following a conference with Elizabeth Shoemaker, General Gray reported to the executive committee that the Bowdoin house could be used as a headquarters for the Women's Section "if the property was found in proper condition." The committee ordered an investigation of the house's condition, as well as a report on taxes and insurance costs. When the report came back in February 1918, the committee found the expense of fixing and furnishing the house would be greater than envisioned, and "decided it would be best not to accept the offer of the house." In April, the committee approved a lease of offices. Shoemaker had not gotten the house, but through persistence, negotiation, and compromise did succeed in directing the committee's attention to her request for additional office space.⁸¹

Some women in Shoemaker's network attempted to bypass her and deal with the executive committee directly. Apparently believing her county was not treated equitably in the division of funds, Mrs. E. Stanley Toadvin, chairman of the women's section in Wicomico County, asked the executive committee for a "more liberal allowance" for travel expenses to meetings in Baltimore. The committee authorized the chairman to "take up this matter with Mrs. Shoemaker." This incident may or may not have been an attempt by Mrs. Toadvin to bypass Elizabeth Shoemaker. With the organizational control she had manifested, and her sensitivity to county needs, this episode may have been part of a strategy to bring to the executive committee so many trivial matters that they might well capitulate. At any rate, the executive committee acknowledged that Elizabeth Shoemaker was the chairman of the Women's

Section, and they refused to interfere in the internal operation of the division.⁸²

While Shoemaker was fighting the battle for control, the executive committee was reporting to the governor, who seldom attended executive committee meetings, its impression of the work of the Women's Section. "Work of the Women's Section has been notably efficient." The section "is probably the most efficient body of its kind in America." This praise, echoed by the federal government, was at variance with the restrictions imposed on the Women's Section by the executive committee.⁸³

Elizabeth Shoemaker developed a plan to convince the executive committee to grant the "blanket appropriation" she wanted for the Women's Section. She brought to the February 27, 1918 executive committee meeting some of Maryland's best known and experienced community activists, among them Anna Lloyd Corkran and Hortense Moses, for "a hearing on the budget." The group presented its plan of work for women and industry, as well as for food production, both of which were priorities of the executive committee. As part of the presentation, Shoemaker submitted a letter from Hannah Patterson, resident director of the Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense. Patterson gave the work of the Maryland Women's Section "the highest approval and appreciation."

The deputation overwhelmed the executive committee with the thoroughness of its report, and told committee members what they wanted to hear. The women demonstrated, for example, that twenty-five vacant lots farmed by the food production committee produced food valued

between nine and ten thousand dollars. Twenty thousand backyard home gardens were producing vegetables valued at five hundred thousand dollars. They detailed for the committee why they wanted a stable source of funds for food production work. "The money expended is chiefly for the purpose of supervision which stimulates the individual to do this work-to accomplish the big results which the government is demanding for food production."⁸⁴

The strategy of demonstrating results worked. At the April 17 meeting of the executive committee, Elizabeth Shoemaker received the "blanket appropriation" of fifty thousand dollars she had sought for so long.⁸⁵ Men of the Maryland Council of Defense recognized and perhaps feared the organization, political skill, and accomplishments demonstrated by the Women's Section. When the Council of Defense held a general meeting in June 1918, the men present exuded a general air of satisfaction. They congratulated themselves on their accomplishments. The Women's Section, responsible for many of those accomplishments, was not present or mentioned by anyone. Women were not forgotten, however. Judge W. Laird Henry of Cambridge reported that "more land was in tillage and was being better tilled than every before. He mentioned the fact that "many women are working in the fields."⁸⁶

Soon after the armistice of November 11, 1918 ended the war, the Council of Defense prepared to gradually reduce and then close down entirely all council activities. While there was some discussion of a more permanent structure for the council, state government was anxious to bring that vehicle for government expansion to an end, and Elizabeth Shoemaker presided over the dismantling of the Women's Section. She

asked and received permission to turn over equipment from two community kitchens to the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs. The report of the women in industry committee, with its survey of Maryland businesses, "while the work was deeply appreciated," would not be printed. The executive committee no doubt believed that with the war over, there would be less demand for women in industry.⁸⁷

In its report to the governor and the General Assembly, the Maryland Council of Defense reflected on the work of the Women's Section and on its own involvement with the women of the section:

The Maryland women touched every part of war work. They did wonderful things in organizing civilian forces. . . . They stimulated food production and conservation to the value of millions of dollars. They participated in every loan and war movement. . . . Their organization in state, county and community was splendid.

Blandly, the report noted that "the experience of the Executive Committee with the Women's Section was most interesting," and observed that its relationship with the council had been gradually "worked out." Prior to May 1918 the expenses of the Women's Section were financed "by special budgets and applications passed upon by the Executive Committee," the report went on to state, but "the work grew in such volume and Mrs. Shoemaker and her associates showed such a grasp of business management that the Executive Committee adopted . . . the blanket appropriation."⁸⁸ The grasp of management that Elizabeth Shoemaker and her associates showed was based on the experience of several years of community and suffrage activism. Their grasp of political realities reflected the ability to operate within a large, male-controlled organization and at the same time maintain the separate integrity of a women's organization.

Work with the Maryland Council of Defense highlighted and elevated some women's status in their communities. Writing to Governor Harrington in December 1918, Harvey J. Speicher of Accident in Garrett County, nominated Mrs. E.Z. Tower "as chairman of the Women's Section of any committee appointed for reconstruction work." Tower, who had chaired the women's section in Garrett County, also chaired Liberty Loan and War Savings Stamp drives. She headed the Garrett County Red Cross and had "devoted her entire time and energy . . . to the people . . . of Garrett County. . . . Mrs. Tower is a woman of great executive ability and her work deserves recognition." Mrs. Tower had "done more work to help win the war than any one individual in Garrett County."⁸⁹

The short period of United States involvement in World War I had given women new opportunities for employment and activism. Undertaking their war work on the base of their civic and suffrage organizations, women became the conduits through which government channeled its war needs to its citizens. Women's traditional areas of concern on which they had based their activism became, through the exigencies of war, the concerns of government, thus bringing closer private and public roles and worlds. Women activists' efforts had helped to create an expanded public agenda, and at the same time an expanded role for themselves. In so doing, they helped to change not only government, but themselves as well. In the years following World War I, women activists would continue to define their political role, and the role of government as well.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. William J. Breen, Uncle Sam at Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984); Maurine W. Greenwald, Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980); David M. Kennedy, Over Here: The First World War and American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

2. Anna Heubeck Knipp and Thaddeus P. Thomas, The History of Goucher College, 231-42; Minutes, April 30, 1918, Box 5, Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore Records, MHS; Baltimore Sun, February 27, 1918, Lowndes Scrapbooks, MHS.

3. Report of Mrs. Alfred Partridge Klotts on Her War Work, Klotts Family Papers, MHS.

4. Arthur G. Turner to Eva Glover Wilson, July 5, 1917; February 21, 1919, Mrs. John Glover Wilson Scrapbooks, MHS.

5. Baltimore Evening Sun, January 23, 1918, Lowndes Scrapbooks, MHS.

6. Minutes, May 30, 1917; June 13, 1917; November 19, 1917, YWCA, Baltimore.

7. Minutes, October 28, 1917; February 21, 1918, Woman's Civic League of Westminster, CCHS.

8. Minutes, November 5, 1918, Box 5, Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore Records, MHS.

9. Minutes, May 14, 1917; October 15, 1917; April 4, 1918; May 10, 1918, College Club Records, MHS.

10. The Town, November 3, 1917.

11. Ibid., March 23, 1918, 1, 5.

12. Minutes, January 3, 1918, YWCA, Baltimore; Annual Meeting, Allegany County Federation of Women's Clubs, June 1, 1918, "Allegany County Federation of Women's Clubs History," Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

13. James H. Gambrill to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, May 29, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.

14. Yearbook, 1919-1920, Council of Jewish Women; Semi-annual Convention, Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations, November 27, 1917; Board Meeting, June 29, 1918, Jewish Historical Society, Baltimore.

15. Maryland Suffrage News, December 4, 1915; undated, unidentified newspaper articles, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, microfilm, MLWV, University of Maryland; Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. George D. Crawford, September 10, 1917, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland. Reverting to a limited suffrage stance, suffragists of Edith Houghton Hooker's Woman Suffrage Party lobbied at the June 1917 General Assembly special session for a bill that would grant women the right to vote in presidential and most municipal elections. Once again the Senate passed the bill, while the House of Delegates defeated it. The General Assembly, in its regularly scheduled session in 1918, yet again defeated the suffrage bill. Mal Hee Son, "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Maryland," 83-87. It is likely that divisions among suffragists over the war influenced these latest unsuccessful attempts. Hooker did not wish, however, to merge the JGL with the NWP, an indication that she maintained her view of the necessity of unity. Baltimore Sun, June 5, 1917. It was in the interest of mainstream suffragists to maintain and call attention to the differences between their behavior and that of Hooker and her organizations.

16. Undated, unidentified newspaper article, Suffrage File, Series 3, Scrapbook 1, microfilm, MLWV, University of Maryland. William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 204, 206, 216-17. Suffragists, according to O'Neill, refused to do any more for the war effort than was absolutely necessary to prove their loyalty and were "too single-minded." O'Neill contrasted those suffragists with the Federation of Women's Clubs, who put more effort into war work. This position collapsed all suffragists into one group and reinforced an artificial division of women's organizations into "hard core" and "social feminists." As this study will demonstrate, most Maryland suffragists worked willingly and actively in the war effort, and many were themselves members of federated organizations. The Maryland Federation, in addition to its war work, advocated suffrage. This artificial demarcation will break down even further later in this study. Also see Nancy F. Cott, "What's in a Name? The Limits of 'Social Feminism': or, Expanding the Vocabulary of Women's History," Journal of American History 76 (December 1989).

17. Baltimore Evening Sun, June 25, 1917; Baltimore American, December 1, 1917, Suffrage File, Microfilm, Series 3, Scrapbook 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

18. Minutes, May 13, 1918, Inquiry Club of Rockville, MCHS; Matilda B. Maloy to Mrs. Charles O. [Mary Gray] Clemson, April 24, 1919, Council of Defense, CCHS; Minutes, January 20, 1919, Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations, Jewish Historical Society.

19. Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. George D. Crawford, September 10, 1917, Suffrage File, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
20. James B. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, Maryland: A History, 655.
21. Elizabeth Shoemaker in The Town, May 19, 1917.
22. M. Jeanie Bryan to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, April 19, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
23. Mary Carroll to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, April 24, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
24. Sue Davis Handy to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, April 2, 1917; Edith R. Hanley to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, April 19, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
25. Mary Bartlett Dixon to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, November 4, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
26. Mary Jenkins to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, May 15, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
27. Mary Johnson to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, May 5, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
28. Mrs. H. Pearson, Jr. to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, April 24, 1917; June 6, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
29. Elizabeth Gale to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, April 28, 1917; Mary C. MacPherson to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, June 7, 1917; June 27, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
30. Elizabeth T. Shoemaker to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, August 6, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
31. "Resume of the Work of the Council of Defense for Carroll County, Women's Section," CCHS; "Rules of the Motor Messenger Service of Maryland," Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.
32. Elizabeth T. Shoemaker to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, August 6, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
33. Afro-American, December 5, 1914; November 28, 1914; January 9, 1915.
34. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1917.
35. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1917.

36. Ibid., November 10, 1917; December 8, 1917; July 5, 1918.
37. Ibid., September 3, 1918; August 25, 1917.
38. Ibid., August 25, 1917; September 1, 1917; July 12, 1918.
39. The Town, May 5, 1917, 2; May 19, 1917; April 28, 1917, 2.
40. The Town, November 3, 1917, 2; November 24, 1917, 2; Afro-American, June 16, 1917; August 18, 1917; October 27, 1917; July 5, 1918; "Resume of the Work of the Council of Defense," CCHS; The Town, June 12, 1917, 7; December 15, 1917, 2.
41. Afro-American, October 27, 1917; June 7, 1918; The Town, December 22, 1917, 2; March 23, 1918.
42. Annual Reports, 1918, 1919, YWCA, Baltimore.
43. Sarah C. Fernandis, et al., to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, September 25, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
44. Ernest Lyon to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, November 2, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
45. Charlotte R. McIntosh to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, December 18, 1917; Emerson C. Harrington to Charlotte R. McIntosh, December 20, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR. There appear to be conflicting dates for this and a subsequent series of letters. The McIntosh letters in December 1917 are preceded by letters from nominees that begin in November 1917, before Governor Harrington told McIntosh he had not yet decided to appoint a women's section.
46. Ida R. Cummings to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, November 14, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
47. Jennie Mills to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, November 16, 1917; Kate Gwathney to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, November 18, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
48. Minutes, Executive Committee, January 19, 1918, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
49. Ernest Lyon to Executive Committee, January 22, 1918; Minutes, Executive Committee, January 30, 1918; February 2, 1918; April 2, 1918, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
50. "1917, 1918, 1919 Report of the Maryland Council of Defense to the Governor and General Assembly of Maryland," Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.

51. David M. Kennedy, Over Here, 93-143; Ellis Hawley, The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order, v-vi, 6-10. Hawley viewed the women's movement "only as part of a larger protest against Victorian ideals and the cultural establishment that helped to sustain them."

52. Charles J. Bonaparte to Mrs. F.K. (Anne Carey), June 4, 1917, Charles J. Bonaparte Letters, MHS. An examination of the wartime legislation passed by the General Assembly failed to find exact language acceding to national authority beyond a statement that the Maryland Council of Defense would work "in harmony with" national efforts. Journal of Proceedings, Senate and House of Delegates, 1917.

53. William J. Breen, Uncle Sam at Home, 115.

54. Press Release III, u.d., Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS. William J. Breen, Uncle Sam at Home, 131, discussed the inability of the Woman's Committee to control state branches. It lacked sufficient office staff and field organizers.

55. Elizabeth Shoemaker to Advisory Board, October 15, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, Women's Section, Box 10, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.

56. News Letter 6, Woman's Committee, Council of National Defense, October 25, 1917, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.

57. Matilda Maloy to County Chairmen, u.d., and November 6, 1917; Matilda Maloy to Publicity Chairmen, August 23, 1918, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.

58. Letter to County Chairmen, u.d., Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.

59. Madeleine Ellicott to County Chairmen, July 11, 1918, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS; Document, Maryland Council of Defense, Women's Section, September 23, 1918, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.

60. Madeleine Ellicott to County Chairmen, July 11, 1918; Frances Tillman to County Chairmen, July 29, 1918, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.

61. Mrs. Charles O. Clemson to District Leaders, u.d., Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.

62. Mrs. C.O. Clemson to Mrs. Charles E. Ellicott, July 30, 1918; Mrs. C.O. Clemson to Miss Hannah J. Patterson, August 3, 1918; Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. Charles O. Clemson, August 2, 1918, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.

63. Hannah J. Patterson to Mrs. C.O. Clemson, August 8, 1918, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.
64. Document, Maryland Council of Defense, Women's Section, September 23, 1918; News release u.d. from Mrs. C.O. Clemson, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS.
65. Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 96-99; "No Time Limit for Weighing and Measuring," October 7, 1918, Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Carroll County Council of Defense, CCHS; Afro-American, June 14, 1918.
66. Minutes, July 11, 1917; July 17, 1917, Executive Committee, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR; William J. Breen, Uncle Sam at Home, 31-41, confirmed that the Council of National Defense was unwilling to give much power to state councils.
67. Minutes, July 11, 1917; July 17, 1917, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
68. William J.H. Breen, Uncle Sam at Home, 133-37.
69. Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. Albert Sioussat, July 27, 1917, Box 10, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS.
70. Minutes, July 24, 1917, Executive Committee, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.
71. Ibid., July 31, 1917.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., August 7, 1917.
74. Ibid., August 28, 1917.
75. Ibid., September 7, 1917; September 11, 1917; September 18, 1917.
76. Ibid., October 2, 1917.
77. Ibid., October 9, 1917.
78. Ibid., October 16, 1917.
79. Ibid., October 30, 1917; November 29, 1917.
80. Ibid., December 10, 1917; December 31, 1917.
81. Ibid., January 3, 1918; February 12, 1918; April 2, 1918.
82. Ibid., December 31, 1917.

83. Report to Governor Emerson C. Harrington from the Executive Committee, February 9, 1918, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR. William J. Breen, Uncle Sam at Home, 137, noted that Maryland's Women's Section was considered "first class" and "superbly organized and successful."

84. Minutes, February 27, 1918, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.

85. Ibid., April 17, 1918.

86. General Meeting, Maryland Council of Defense, June 24, 1918, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.

87. Minutes, November 20, 1918; February 12, 1919; January 15, 1919, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.

88. "1917, 1918, 1919 Report of the Maryland Council of Defense," Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.

89. Harvey J. Speicher to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, December 14, 1918, Maryland Council of Defense, MHR.

CHAPTER FIVE

"WE WANT TO BE ABLE TO COOPERATE, BUT WE CANNOT RUN
THE RISK OF AMALGAMATING": 1919-1925

Over at least a thirty-year period, activist women and their organizations had focused their time and attention on a variety of reform efforts. Their actions expressed their willingness to use government to address social problems, and their efforts helped to create changes in the way local and state governments operated, as well as changes in women's public role. Activist women in essence helped to create different expectations for government, with consequences for the political system that most activists had neither foreseen nor intended. Many historians now recognize their activist efforts and methods as something that activists themselves did not: as political behavior. Activist women accomplished this as outsiders, separate from the world of electoral and partisan politics. Their actions, however, moved them and their organizations closer to that world, and that world moved closer to them. When women's suffrage became a reality after World War I, activists confronted a potentially different political environment, and they would have to decide what kind of relationship they and their organizations would have with electoral politics, as well as with other aspects of male-female interactions. As they dealt with the question of how they would operate within their own

organizations, and how they would relate to previously male-only structures, activist women drew on their prewar and wartime experience. The majority of white and black women activists, even when they maintained and established new separate organizations, made a conscious decision to continue their practice of cooperation with men and their organizations. Activists solved the dilemma of separation versus amalgamation through a compromise. That compromise did not satisfy all activist women, but it grew out of their activist past, and it characterized their political behavior throughout the 1920s.

Women's Suffrage

With World War I over and its associated organizational apparatus rapidly dismantling or reconverting to civilian purposes, national and Maryland suffrage activists returned to the issue they had for the most part placed in abeyance. The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in June 1919 and the resulting ratification campaign created one final legislative opportunity for Maryland suffragists. By February 1920, when the Maryland General Assembly convened, only three states were needed to meet the thirty-six state ratification requirement. Even though the legislature was thus meeting at a crucial time, most white suffrage activists made only a token effort to persuade the General Assembly to ratify the amendment. Their rationale for that decision reflected their prewar experiences and set the tone for their activism in the 1920s.¹

Maryland suffragists expected the ratification effort to be extremely difficult, even with women's record of civic activism and

wartime service. Maryland's Democratic Party platform specifically opposed ratification, and the state attorney general and soon to be governor, Albert C. Ritchie, was known to be unsympathetic to women's suffrage.

At the same time white suffragist activists expected a tough and probably losing ratification battle, they developed a growing conviction of the inevitability of national ratification. This belief was especially apparent among leaders of the Maryland Women's Suffrage League, and it helped to explain the half-hearted ratification effort. Madeleine Ellicott, president of the league, rallied ratification forces on Maryland's traditionally conservative Eastern Shore by focusing their attention both on the impending reality of suffrage as well as the pressure of time created by that reality. "I fear," she wrote Roselle Handy in Worcester County, "you will all have the vote thrust upon you before long, and then it will be citizenship schools before there is time for suffrage meetings." Ellicott urged Handy to try to "show the women that it is a question of getting ready to vote now rather than being converted to suffrage."²

With all of the national activity surrounding ratification, Madeleine Ellicott remained convinced that the action state Democratic politicians had taken to oppose suffrage in their platform meant that ratification was a dead issue in Maryland. Her experience with party politicians had led her to develop a realistic, even cynical view of the partisan political process. "I think," she wrote to Lilla Crawford in Hagerstown, "we should put very little energy and money in trying to influence the legislature for ratification. They will ratify when the

bosses are scared and tell them to do so and all our work with them will have little effect." Ellicott's attitude was reflected in the apparent apathy of county affiliates of the Women's Suffrage League. Lilla Crawford reported during the ratification campaign in August 1919 that she had "lost so many good workers. . . . We get new members, but scarcely any one wants to work." Perhaps fearing that she might have communicated greater pessimism concerning ratification than she intended, Ellicott replied that she did "not mean that we should not find out how the legislators stand on ratification."³

The belief on the part of white suffrage activists that the right to vote was soon to be a reality also helped to focus leaders' attention on the future, and the knowledge that their agenda, while it would carry the weight of voters, must still confront the same legislature. As they had during the war, leaders of the Women's Suffrage League attempted to establish and show themselves as moderates, willing to compromise to achieve their goals. The aggressive ratification strategy of the Just Government League, associated now with the National Woman's Party and withdrawn from the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, and the more restrained policy of the state Women's Suffrage League, confronted each other during the campaign. Although their methods had diverged even before the war, suffrage activists still valued unity and managed to work together, but at the same time Madeleine Ellicott prepared her organization for the future. During the legislative campaign for ratification, the Women's Suffrage League and the Just Government League shared an office and expenses. Concerned, however, that the

Suffrage League might be "over-shadowed" by the flashy tactics of the JGL, Madeleine Ellicott instructed Suffrage League lobbyist Mrs. Robert Moss to try to make sure that the league had "an equal share in the arrangements" for demonstrations and legislative dinners. Ellicott was careful to add that her reason for not wanting the league to be "over-shadowed" was "because we do not want to lose what advantage we have by standing for non-militant methods. . . . We want to be able to cooperate, but we cannot run the risk of amalgamating."⁴ This view reflected the prewar and wartime experience of suffrage activists, and it also set the tone for activist women's relationships with their own and men's organizations throughout the 1920s. Even though she knew that suffrage was almost an accomplished fact, Madeleine Ellicott consciously looked to the future, when women voters would have to face the same legislators over different issues.

As Madeleine Ellicott had anticipated, ratification failed in February 1920, 64-36 in the House of Delegates and 18-9 in the Senate. A majority of Republicans but only five Democrats voted in favor of ratification. Maryland did not become one of the final three states necessary for ratification; Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state in August 1920. Maryland women would vote, but their assessment of the legislature's position was accurate and astute. The longstanding antisuffrage arguments of race and women's place, coupled with traditional Democratic opposition, defeated ratification as they had overcome prewar suffrage activism. What also defeated ratification in Maryland, however, was the success of suffrage forces in thirty-six other states. The belief in the inevitability of suffrage contributed

to a less than all-out ratification effort. At the same time, however, that belief helped focus the attention of leaders to the future. In the aftermath of the ratification campaign, some activists leveled recriminations and threats. Edith Houghton Hooker, in a paid newspaper advertisement, excoriated the politicians who had voted against the amendment. "In spite of Governor Ritchie, the suffragists will soon have an opportunity to prove themselves at the polls, and on that occasion, politics will get the thorough cleaning up that good housewives desire."⁵ This view would turn out to be a minority one; most white women activists chose cooperation with male politicians.

With the right to vote assured by the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, the issue of how women would exercise the franchise generated a great deal of national debate, and prospective women voters both received and delivered conflicting messages. Advice to work inside political parties competed with appeals to remain aloof from partisan politics. Leonard Wood, campaigning for the Republican presidential nomination in 1920, advised women to "go into one of the regular parties Under no conditions organize by yourselves. Do not split up into rainbow-chasing groups, but go into one party or the other." Other voices, closer to home, and further from political parties, counseled avoidance. Edith Houghton Hooker's Maryland Suffrage News, endorsing the establishment of a nonpartisan League of Women Voters, gave its rationale:

The difficulty with the two old parties is that they are both shot through and through with corruption If part of the women enter the Republican and part the Democratic fold, the power of the new voters will be nullified.

Aware that women, "especially organized women . . . by working together for good legislation," could influence party politics, Madeleine Ellicott cautioned Mrs. E.Z. Tower of Oakland that women should not fall "too quickly into party lines, and vot[e] for any candidates the party puts up."⁶

Historian Michael E. McGerr has argued that two routes to power, partisanship and issue-based separate action, were available to women, but that neither strategy worked because women lacked opportunities to work together. Maryland women faced the same choices. Most white activist women in Maryland resolved the dilemma by attempting to do both--to encourage partisan activity that incorporated women's interest in social reform, and to create a separate, issue-based organization that cooperated with partisan politicians and organizations.⁷

Organization of the Maryland League of Women Voters

Madeleine Ellicott, realizing that partisan politics had not been the route in Maryland to suffrage or to resolution of community problems, believed that "what will affect them [male politicians] is to organize with considerable publicity, a strong League of Women Voters." Yet as cynical as she may have been toward party politics and politicians, Ellicott recognized that women's newly enhanced status as voters also enhanced their potential value to politicians. By November 1919, Ellicott and her Women's Suffrage League colleague, Elizabeth Shoemaker, chairman of the league's committee on organizations, had drafted a letter to women's organizations throughout the state, floating the idea for a League of Women Voters. Ellicott and Shoemaker

were careful to reacquaint women with the connection between organization, the right to vote, and community activism, as well as the importance of unity among women. "There may be difference of opinion on the merits of the suffrage question but there can be no difference of opinion on the duty of exercising the ballot for the public good; and if women are to be a real factor in good government it must be through an organized body, free of party ties."⁸

Madeleine Ellicott continued to advocate throughout the statewide network an "organized body" that would be free of partisan ties. To Irma Graham in Salisbury, she wrote:

We find much interest in the League of Women Voters. The politicians, of course do not care about it. They want us to line up with their parties. . . . You see we are approaching the time when we appear of some value to the political leaders.

At its Victory Convention in February 1920, the National American Woman's Suffrage Association formally reconstituted itself as the National League of Women Voters. The league viewed its purpose as preparing women to intelligently exercise the franchise, and it aimed to fulfill this purpose through nonpartisan political education, thus maintaining the tradition of women's separate, voluntary political status. In Maryland as in the rest of the nation, the developing league found that it had to negotiate a relationship with political parties at the same time it struggled to develop its own priorities. It also discovered that launching a new organization with evolving goals, unsure leadership, and an undefined relationship with other groups, resulted in mixed success by the mid 1920s. At the state level, the league cultivated the perception of itself as an influential

organization. At the local level, however, perception and reality diverged.

Historian William H. Chafe observed that when the National League of Women Voters was organized, two groups, one arguing for women's complete integration into existing political parties and the other for the maintenance of separate, voluntarist political activity, polarized the leadership. National leaders eventually compromised, leading to the establishment of an organization that attempted to mobilize public opinion around reform issues as well as help women work within political parties. From the beginning, the league in Maryland also had to fashion its attitude toward the political parties, and toward women's participation in the parties and other male-only organizations, as well as contrive to find a place for itself in the political environment. Reflecting the debate within the national league, Maryland league members received conflicting guidance from their national organization. While Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the national league, and Minnie Fiske Cunningham, the national league's executive secretary, saw a role for the league as a separate political organization, they did not hold the same opinion concerning such organizations as the Woman's Medical Association. Cunningham explained her opposition to separatism:

Personally, I do not believe in a Woman's Medical Association any more than I believe in the Woman's Party. I think they should go straight into the American Medical Association and there put in some good 'licks' for the standing of women physicians.¹⁰

The Maryland League of Women Voters reflected the national ambivalence concerning separate organizations. Madeleine Ellicott,

believing that a move to organize a women's committee within the Maryland Democratic Party was "a great mistake," feared that unless women became "a real part of the political parties," they would continue to be "ladies aides" and "auxiliaries." The League of Women Voters, however, in Ellicott's view, should operate "hand in hand" with political parties, since "we cannot stay out of the parties and do any effective work." The league could be an "effective lever in keeping the parties up to better standards."¹¹ Women, in Ellicott's view, should both join political parties and work for their improvement from the inside and from the outside as members of the League of Women Voters.

During its early years, the national organization struggled with its identity and the meaning and implications of nonpartisanship. That struggle was reflected within fledging state and local organizations as well. In Connecticut, the league battled the Republican Party. The league in Texas instructed new voters in ticket splitting in order to defeat former suffrage opponents, and in St. Louis, league members worked against the campaigns of three judges.¹² These events demonstrated that simple declarations of nonpartisanship were in reality difficult to maintain at the same time women also worked within political parties and in political campaigns.

Maryland league organizers took a different route. As they had in the presuffrage period, activists placed a high value on moderation and compromise. Madeleine Ellicott was careful to cultivate friendly relations with women who had already established their political party identities. Writing to Mrs. S. Johnson Poe of the state Democratic

Party, Ellicott expressed her belief that "much depends upon our holding the right attitude between the party organizations of women and the League of Women Voters." Women party members and the league should work together "to make good progress toward better government, in other words toward political and social reform." The obstacle to such cooperative efforts would be a "lack of sympathy on our part for party work and a stand on the part of party women that they are for party first and good government second." Concerned that Mrs. Poe regarded her as unsympathetic to efforts to build the Democratic Party, Ellicott countered that the league encouraged party affiliation. Ellicott asked for Mrs. Poe's help in maintaining a "good understanding" between the league and the women of the Democratic Party. "It is through the independence of voting that we can wield a great power, and a certain independence inside the party will have a very wholesome effect on the party." Ellicott repeated this policy to local league branches. Writing to Mrs. A.W. Nicodemus in Buckeystown in Frederick County, Ellicott reinforced the partnership that the league and political party women should develop. "The desire of the league to have women more active in their party organizations is a real one."¹³

In addition to establishing its relationship with political parties, the league faced challenges in developing its priorities. NAWSA and Madeleine Ellicott envisioned a broad agenda that would commit members to working on many of the same issues civic activists had supported in the 1910s. Recognizing that several women's organizations existed to deal with community issues, and that members of those organizations might also join the league, leaders found it

difficult to draw definite boundaries between the league and other groups. Ellicott herself was "unshaken in my belief that there is nothing which will do more to strengthen all our efforts toward a better social condition than that our women should intelligently perform their political duties." The league had the difficult task of moving organizational women who had worked effectively outside partisan politics into contact with party politics, but not so far inside that they would compromise their beliefs. Madeleine Ellicott's vision for the league appeared to encompass the bringing together of women civic and party activists to pursue goals set by women, not for them.¹⁴

By the mid 1920s, leaders of the state league established an identity for a new women's organization, and state league members settled on their goals: to "arouse women to their civic responsibilities; to urge women to become affiliated voters; to supply unbiased information on public questions"; and to "support needed legislation." The league's agenda was structured by the work of state committees in child welfare, education, finance, government efficiency, living costs, peace, social hygiene, uniform laws, and women in industry. Additionally, state leaders had developed a mutually enhancing relationship with state government. The league's manager, Lavinia Engle, Montgomery County native, graduate of Antioch College, former NAWSA worker, and World War I volunteer in France, frequently, at Governor Albert C. Ritchie's request, sent names of women for various governmental appointments. The league began and coordinated a legislative clearinghouse, modeled on the national women's Joint Congressional Committee, organized by the national league and other

national women's organizations. The clearinghouse enabled the league to work for "needed legislation" with other women's organizations, especially the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs.¹⁵

The impressive state edifice broke down, however, at the local level, where branches struggled into existence and frequently disbanded due to organizational problems, lack of a clear agenda, strong rival organizations, apathy, and inconsistent state leadership. For example, Allegany County, which had maintained a powerful suffrage and civic activist presence initially had high hopes for its League of Women Voters. Within a few years, however, it had disbanded, and as late as 1946 had not reorganized. Its difficulties and eventual demise reflected the organizational problems of other local leagues.

The difficult process of staking out political territory and relating to political parties occurred at the local as well as the state level. In Allegany County, Mary Lammert in September 1921 brought to the attention of Lavinia Engle, manager of the state league, the appointment of Frostburg's league president to membership on the Republican state central committee. It was an unfortunate development, Lammert contended, since "the League has already been accused of partisanship." In Lammert's view, the criticism was justified. The "flavor of its meetings has been too political, and it is losing ground." While she herself was a Republican, Lammert intended to vote independently, but she noted that a member of the central committee would be expected to "follow party lines." Mary Lammert suggested that the state league "define just what political questions may be discussed and how far the League may go in endorsing or condemning candidates."

The state was presumably reluctant to take on this task, since it continued to express by implication its policy that all league activities should be nonpartisan.¹⁶ Many county women became, according to league activist Lulu Boucher, "indifferent." Even when women were interested, a business slowdown in 1921 left them without the funds to finance citizenship classes.

Indifference and financial difficulties combined with struggles over leadership, and a lack of strong state guidance contributed to the disintegration of the fragile Allegany County league. Katherine Bretz, president of the Cumberland branch in 1922, wanted to become county chairman, but her chief rival for the position, the incumbent, planned to run again. Bretz had developed the Cumberland branch to the point where it had seventy-eight members and two hundred dollars in the treasury. "And with all this, Mrs. Troxell [the county chairman] had constantly been objecting to everything we do. When the old crowd could not make it a success, they hated to see someone else able to do so." Lavinia Engle, concerned that internal differences could tear apart one of the state's best hopes for a strong local league, supported a change in the county leadership. "I feel that the entire future of the League in Alleg[a]ny County depends on the election of officers this spring who can unite the county." Not wishing to interfere in a local branch election, Engle felt she could do no more than weakly offer whatever help she could give. Engle was correct in her diagnosis but unable to craft a solution. By 1925, the league in Allegany County was defunct, and most of its members, according to Lulu Boucher, "seem to think that the very capable chairwoman of the

Legislative Department of our County Federation of Women's Clubs . . . gives us all the necessary information on political questions of the day."¹⁷

Allegany County's experience was replicated in other local leagues, although not all of them disbanded. The state league's conscious decision to compromise and cooperate with political parties and state politicians resulted in a influential state presence. Leaders' inability, however, to help local league supporters explain how their organization was indeed different from other groups, directly resulted from a desire to cooperate with all groups. By 1924, less than a half dozen of the original fifteen local leagues remained in existence. As a result of the inability of counties to meet state dues quotas, the state league treasury had a balance of \$95.14 and had to borrow money to meet expenses.¹⁸

Working Within Political Parties

Madeleine Ellicott of the Maryland League of Women Voters had hoped that as women went into political parties they would bring their presuffrage independence with them. Indeed, many of those who became party activists arrived with suffrage and civic activist credentials, and early organizers of the women's divisions of Maryland's political parties developed their own political agenda, an agenda that both separated them from the men of their parties and blurred the lines between partisan and issue-based activity. When women's political independence led to divisions that threatened party unity, however, both male and female party activists worked to restore party harmony,

thus effectively hampering women's attempts to combine their agenda with that of their parties.¹⁹

When women's suffrage was imminent in early 1919, the Women's Bureau of the Democratic National Committee persuaded the committee to increase its membership to provide for a national committeewoman from each state, to be appointed by each state's committeeman. Both the Democratic and Republican National Committees adopted this procedure. The Democrats in 1920 and the Republicans in 1924 altered the procedure to direct that committeewomen, as well as committeemen, would be elected.²⁰

Women party activists occupied a curious position in relationship to their political parties. While they were members of their respective parties, they also, by choice as well as men's preference, maintained a separate existence within their own organizations. Party membership, especially in Baltimore's many ward clubs, brought women into public affairs who had been neither civic nor suffrage activists before the war. Their participation in political life was new and for the most part totally dedicated to winning elections for the party. Others, however, as veterans of civic and suffrage activism, were not content simply to mobilize votes for the party and learn and recite party rhetoric. Officers of women's party organizations were often, according to their newsletters, "well known not only as political leaders but also public spirited women who uphold all movements looking toward civic betterment." These activists continued their interest in issues beyond accepted party concerns.²¹ The Democratic Woman's Club of Baltimore, for example, apparently felt comfortable in developing

goals separate from those of men's Democratic organizations. Members worked for the establishment of a domestic relations court, and while they were unsuccessful, they believed that "the seed is s[ow]n and great effort will be put forth at all times to force its establishment." Mrs. S. Johnson Poe, Maryland's National Committeewoman, helped audiences to see the connection between voting and becoming "factors in civic affairs."²²

The Maryland Democrat, begun in 1925 by the United Democratic Women's Clubs of Maryland, certainly presented the accepted Democratic perspective on most issues. The publication also, however, featured articles on prominent women. "Who is it Pay and Pays," revealed that one out of every seven income tax payers was a woman, to "furnish our women readers some figures . . . in case anybody starts an argument." The Maryland Democrat also published a list of women appointed by New York governor Al Smith in 1925, thus connecting women's interests to party issues.²³

Party membership involved the test of party loyalty, a demand that challenged women's attempts at independence within the parties. As the foremost Democratic leader in a Democratically-controlled state, Governor Albert C. Ritchie's views on the role of political parties offer an insight into this new environment. The Democratic Party, in Ritchie's view, stood for "all that is best in Maryland life." In order to achieve their goals, political parties must offer "constructive" programs. This could be accomplished only through the "machinery of party organization. . . . It is organization that wins." Party organization should be "an active, living, virile thing." Party

also meant dependence on one's friends. "No one knows better than I," Ritchie assured his fellow Democrats, "how little we can accomplish alone, and how much we have our friends to thank for all that we may do or become." Party loyalty meant rising above small differences to meet the enemy united, "all Democrats." Loyalty should be rewarded:

I want . . . you to feel that the door of the Executive Mansion will always be open, and that you, and every other Democrat will always be welcome there. I want you to feel that the fact that you are a Democrat will mean that I am your friend, and that will mean that my home is yours.²⁴

Clearly, Albert Ritchie and other Maryland Democrats expected the new voters to integrate themselves into the "active, living, virile," and traditionally male, party machinery. Developing party organizations of women, however, involved starting whole new networks. In the past, women's civic and suffrage activism had cut across party lines. Women's organizations had carefully avoided partisanship, both because of the necessity to maintain unity, as well as the need to work outside the party system. Now the landscape of women's organizations would be rearranged to accommodate party organizations and partisan issues.

One of the first groups of white party women to organize was the Baltimore Democratic Woman's Club, and by 1922 the group had over two hundred "progressive women" as members, and began to reach out to invite women of the counties to cooperate with them. The club, assuming the responsibility of "self-government," developed its agenda as a result of individual and group suggestions. The members were careful to cast themselves in favor of "organized cooperation" as opposed to "radicalism," which pleased their "male constituents."²⁵

Fighting an uphill battle as a minority in a Democratic state, white Republican women initially organized somewhat differently from Democratic women, preferring to try to federate the state rather than beginning just in Baltimore. A few Republican women in 1920, led by former suffrage leader Emma Funck, determined to develop a statewide organization. The activists asked Republican leaders for names of county Republican women, and even though some men responded eagerly, most did not expect women to do more than vote. As a result of their canvass, Funck and her associates organized the Maryland Federation of Republican Women's Clubs in June 1921. It was, however, not the first Republican women's club to be formed. In September 1920, Frederick County organized and elected Bertha Trail, former suffragist, as its first president.²⁶

In developing their relationships with the men of their party, Democratic women realized that they must show party loyalty, as well as the strength and unity of their organizations. With the prospect of the governor's visit to a luncheon sponsored by the United Democratic Women's Clubs of Maryland, the secretary, Ruth Shoemaker, noted that his presence would "draw a crowd and it makes it necessary for us to have a crowd if we are to show our strength to him." On occasion, women party activists questioned men's commitment to unity among women Democrats, especially that which threatened party solidarity. Mollie Nicholson, chairman of the United Democratic Women's Clubs of Maryland, accused male Democrats of deliberately fostering disunity:

Why do Democratic women have to work under such difficulties when the Republican men are sticking by the women like leeches? Why don't they keep their hands off. We must have a successful [Democratic women's] Convention, and one without fights. There is

nothing that the men will quite revel in as a fight . . . and we must see that it does not take place.²⁷

The Democratic women's perception of the relationship between Republican women and men was not entirely accurate. Republican men may have been "sticking like leeches" to Republican women, but the women of the party were not necessarily pleased with the results. Women of the party also demonstrated that they knew the difference between the illusion and the reality of power. While not in power at the state level, Republicans were the recipients of federal patronage and so were in a position to reward party workers. In response to a speech in October 1925 to 150 Republican women by Galen L. Tait, Collector of Internal Revenue and Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee on "Why Should Women Join the Republican Party of Maryland?" the audience gave Mr. Tait their answer. Mrs. Arthur B. Bibbins, a Republican leader from Baltimore, asked Tait what men would do for women in exchange for their efforts and "how much the women are to count in those spheres of internal party organization which truly matter?" Certain "inducements" were necessary for women, just as they were for men. Tait responded that the intentions of the central committee were "most honorable," the committee having passed a resolution making women eligible for every position in the party's organization. That was not enough for a delegate from Montgomery County, who demanded "50-50 patronage with men . . . in return for our political drudgery." Members from Harford County joined in, asking "why men with large incomes are appointed judges of elections at a salary of \$12 daily while women seldom, if ever, can obtain an

appointment?"²⁸ The question was probably a rhetorical one; Republican women undoubtedly realized that the men of their party would continue to seek the loyalty of prominent men rather than the less influential new voters.

As women's organizations solidified, differences developed between individuals and geographic areas, resulting in separate statewide organizations of Democratic women. In the context of this dispute, some women considered issues not in harmony with party positions, and politicians, women and men, rallied to bring the dissidents into line. Mrs. S. Johnson Poe, president of the Democratic Woman's Club of Baltimore and National Committeewoman, fulfilling in 1925 "a dream she has cherished ever since women received the ballot," helped to organize "what promises to be a truly Democratic State-wide association of Democratic women." The organization of individual members was a response and provided competition to another state organization founded a year earlier, the United Democratic Woman's Clubs, with Mollie Nicholson, woman member from Maryland on the National Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, as president. The root of the difficulty lay in a city versus county split. When Nicholson, based in Montgomery County, won the day with an organization of federated clubs, Poe and her associates from Baltimore felt their interests, numerically superior, would not be adequately represented. Governor Ritchie, with his Baltimore connections, supported the Poe organization.²⁹ Also at stake was party unity. Baltimore City's legislative delegation was in a continuous struggle to increase the city's representation at the expense of the twenty-three counties. A

similar split among the women of the party could threaten the entire structure.

Probably because of Ritchie's support for the Baltimore group, Mollie Nicholson took her organization beyond Democratic Party limits, and in so doing tested the lengths to which women could go in developing a separate agenda to go with their separate existence within the party. Nicholson had been angered by what she regarded as humiliating treatment on the part of Maryland male Democrats at the 1924 national convention, when Mrs. Poe and not she was elected committeewoman. Following the convention, she threatened that "the time has come when women are not going to vote as a lot of sheep . . . and they propose to use the ballot as they deem best." Nicholson, at a statewide meeting of her organization, called for "the enforcement of all laws," a resolution aimed directly at Ritchie's and the Democratic Party position of nonsupport for state enforcement of prohibition:

We who believe in obeying our laws should either work for the repeal of the law or work for its enforcement. The women of Maryland are looking for definite results from this organization and we must not fail them.

Nicholson's organization passed the resolution, igniting a firestorm both within and from outside the organization.³⁰

Mrs. Mortimer West, legislative chairman in Nicholson's organization and president of a Baltimore women's Democratic club, claimed the resolution was "railroaded" and fumed, "This organization takes too much authority upon itself, in taking the position. . . . The men in the party are neither going to back such action nor stand for it." It was "embarrassing to Governor Ritchie, and at variance with

the will of the whole Free State of Maryland." Ritchie had been present at the meeting, along with Representatives Charles Linthicum and Millard E. Tydings. Ritchie made no public comment, but Linthicum and Tydings "appealed for greater harmony among Democratic women in the state." Linthicum suggested the formation of an organization to work for unity composed of members of both groups.³¹

Mollie Nicholson went further in her opposition to Baltimore's and Ritchie's influence. Nicholson's organization planned to introduce their own candidate for governor, Mrs. Wilbur W. Hubbard of Chestertown, to run against Ritchie in 1926. Mrs. Hubbard's plan to announce her candidacy "collapsed overnight" when Mrs. Mortimer West paid a visit to the Eastern Shore and persuaded Mrs. Hubbard that "there was no need for a woman candidate."³² While women party activists in their separate organizations might sponsor issues, such as a domestic relations court, that were not matters of official party policy, when women challenged longstanding positions or the party leader, the full weight of the party was brought to bear. Party women like Mollie Nicholson learned that cooperation, in the case of the women's division of the Maryland Democratic Party, did in fact mean amalgamation of women's interests and efforts within the party.

Independence or Amalgamation? Women's Voluntary Organizations

In the immediate postsuffrage period, the question of women's relationship to men in the public world played out in a number of ways. Both the League of Women Voters and the women's divisions of political parties struggled with the extent to which they both wanted

and could maintain independent action. Both groups compromised, deciding to work with rather than completely separating themselves from the existing, male-controlled political environment. Other women's organizations faced the same questions, and they too compromised, maintaining in many cases their separate structures and agendas, but continuing their longstanding policy of cooperation.

Many organizations had for several years welcomed the membership of both women and men. Baltimore's City-Wide Congress and several charitable organizations were examples of this type. Women's suffrage seemed to confer more than the right to vote, however, and soon mixed groups with various goals came into being. The Prince George's County Community Council, formed in 1919, was designed to be a federation of "independent, non partisan, non sectarian organizations," that would hold "sessions or Conferences for the public discussions of questions of Community interest." The organization would also act cooperatively "for the development of better Economic, Social and Moral conditions through[out] the County." In effect, the council would operate like a federated women's civic league. The group had its origin in the Prince George's County Council of Defense. In January 1919, Elizabeth Patterson, chairman of the women's section, and later League of Women Voters president, and the chairman of the men's section, George H. Waters, combined their groups and established a permanent body. The council considered such issues as county home rule and developed a countywide Community Chest. Women were active on its committees, and a woman usually served as council vice chairman. The organization allowed both women's and men's influence to guide the community, and

gave women the opportunity to expand the scope of their interests. One of the disadvantages of merging organizations, however, was that ultimate leadership in the form of the chairmanship was always male.³³

Members of the Woman's Civic League of Westminster in Carroll County had in the course of their community activism, exerted acknowledged influence. As a result, citizens of Carroll County began to regard the league as a community asset. In 1919, the league decided to extend membership privileges to men, and three joined the organization in February 1919.³⁴

Other women's organizations fought mergers with men's groups, some at great cost, both financial and emotional. The Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore for almost thirty years used the facilities of and held club membership in the Maryland Academy of Sciences. In November 1920, Dr. F.C. Nicholas, curator of the Academy, invited the Woman's Literary Club to become a section of the Academy, with each individual member paying dues as opposed to the single one hundred dollars a year currently paid by the club. If club members refused the offer, they would have to vacate their meeting rooms.

Club members were shocked and dismayed, and "each member expressed her unwillingness to have the club merge its identity in any other organization." As one of Baltimore's first organizations in which women could freely express and develop their views, the Woman's Literary Club represented more than a social and intellectual outlet. The club unanimously voted to "sever its connection" with the Academy. In order to retain its identity as a separate organization, members

were forced to dispose of the club's furniture, books, and statuary, as well as find a new meeting place. The club's base moved to the Arundell Club in 1921, where it found a more congenial atmosphere.³⁵

In the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association, the question of merging the woman's auxiliary with the main body absorbed Annie L. Sioussat, president of the women's division. Sioussat was an example of a civic activist who insisted that women's natures were fundamentally different from men's. Separate organizations were for Sioussat an acknowledgment of those differences and should, like the differences, be maintained. Sioussat, a strong leader in women's organizations, may also have felt that she would have no choice but to relinquish her leadership role in a merged organization.

When advocates for merging the two divisions pointed to similar action in other state civil service reform associations, Sioussat investigated the results. She found, she said, that in New York, women's lack of interest and difficult financial circumstances had led to the amalgamation. The Massachusetts auxiliary, on the other hand, "has not and has no intention of changing its position-they would not counsel absorption."

Sioussat, acting from years of organizational experience, did not merely protest the merger, but proposed an alternative. She suggested that the divisions remain separate, but she advocated changing the name "auxiliary," "which is anathema to our more advanced sisters," to the Woman's Department. She also proposed membership of women on the board, and the establishment of joint committees. Sioussat may not have considered her actions "political," a word she associated with

men, but she used her experience and understanding to negotiate a political settlement that offered even more authority to women. The divisions remained separate, and the woman's auxiliary became the Woman's Department.³⁶

The question of women's traditional separate role had special significance at a time when government was assuming more responsibility for community services and attempting to professionalize and systematize operations for the sake of efficiency. The Emergency Hospital of Annapolis was owned in 1919 by the state but managed by women whose predecessors probably founded the hospital when community needs were not yet met by state or local governments. In April 1919, a committee of two men, under the auspices of the Board of State Aid and Charities, visited the hospital and made recommendations for changes. Philip Briscoe and John D. Worthington "did not attempt to gather any facts from the Books of Accounts as . . . there are practically none in existence." The Board was "composed entirely of ladies, twelve in number, who are practically self-perpetuating." Food and supplies were bought "without system or competition." The building was in disrepair, difficult to heat, low wages were a "serious matter," and its deficit was increasing.

If the hospital were to continue to function, the committee determined, "radical changes should be made from the foundation up." Briscoe and Worthington recommended that a board "of say a dozen men" should set the policy of the institution, with a subcommittee to manage the hospital. The current board of women would become a "lady's auxiliary committee who should exercise visitorial powers, making such

suggestions as their good judgment dictated, but having no power to vote."³⁷ Women's increasing political independence and a general drive for efficiency and professional administrative control offered an opportunity for men to take over what women had originally begun in response to the absence of government action. Moreover, although women had gained the right to vote in public elections, their inability to vote as members of an organization they founded raised the question of how much they had actually gained.

The issue that most publicly raised the question of women's relative position to men was the proposed Equal Rights Amendment. The National Woman's Party had by the early 1920s formed its entire agenda on the passage of a constitutional amendment, abolishing all remaining legal barriers to women's equality. Supporters argued from a base that women should be treated by law as the equals of men, and should be neither the victims of discrimination nor the beneficiaries of special legislation. In other words, women and men had identical qualities. Opponents, operating from the traditional rationale that encouraged women's participation in public affairs because of their differences from men, believed that women needed special protection in some areas, especially employment and in moral relationships.³⁸

Not all NWP members fully supported the limiting of its agenda to one overarching goal. Edith Houghton Hooker, now editor of Equal Rights, the NWP's national publication, believed that the limitation would not win the support of large numbers of women. She maintained that the goal should be broadly interpreted and include such issues as peace, child labor, and reform of marriage and divorce laws. Hooker, with her Maryland suffrage experience, understood the divisive nature

of the question, and the resulting importance of unity among women's organizations.³⁹

Maryland women had an opportunity to debate the issue in 1924. A proposed "blanket bill," encompassing sixteen separate bills, was in reality a state version of the Equal Rights Amendment. Women's organizations lined up virtually solidly against the bill, which they said would remove protection from women and undo years of civic activism. Groups from the League of Women Voters, Democratic women, as well as the Woman's Constitutional League, a conservative organization that opposed all women's legislation, campaigned against the bill. Hooker's NWP and labor activists supported the measure. With men's organizations also opposed, and the governor and his party definitely not in favor of the legislation, the package died. Most activist women in Maryland continued to think of themselves and their social concerns as separate from the male political world, even as they increasingly participated in that world. Their failure to support the Equal Rights Amendment allowed them to maintain their separate identity as well as the legislative protections they had worked so hard to obtain. At the same time, their refusal to support the ERA ironically brought them closer to male politicians whose support they sought for their agenda of social reforms and the political advancement of women.⁴⁰

Black Women Activists

The right to vote, to participate officially in electoral politics, appeared to convey greater meaning to black than to white women. By their own effort, without meaningful help from white women

and within a segregated society, black women registered, educated themselves in electoral issues, and voted. Black women viewed voting as more than the exercise of a new women's right; they regarded it as one more sign of racial progress. Black women's community organizations, like their white counterparts, also grappled with the issue of independence from male organizations, and in addition worked toward greater independence from white organizations, including those controlled by white women.

The Maryland League of Women Voters, with its suffrage heritage and its postsuffrage policy of compromise with male politicians, did not attempt to provide citizenship classes for black women. In fact, the president of the branch organizing in Dorchester clearly pointed out that the organization was working "for the registration of all white women."⁴¹ Black women would have to organize their own effort.

The issue of a non partisan organization was not especially important for black voters, who could usually be counted on by the Republican Party. As a result, much of the effort to register black women took place within the existing party structure of the black community. In August 1920, members of the Seventeenth Ward Republican Club appointed women precinct leaders and a ward executive, and the Fourteenth Ward club followed suit. The goal was to get as many women as possible to register on September 21, the first day of registration.⁴²

The Woman's Suffrage Club determined to reach every woman of voting age. Its president, Mrs. Howard E. Young, noted that "We women . . . are especially bitter against the type of white politicians who

said that we would not know a ballot if we saw one coming up the street." Women must register to vote, "and we must vote in order to rebuke these politicians." Mrs. Young worked to organize a suffrage club in Montgomery County, and convened the Baltimore group once a week at the YWCA, where women received registration and voting information. Leaders asked ministers to open their services to five-minute talks by "well known suffragists" who would explain the necessity of registering and voting."⁴³

By September 24, 1920, the Afro-American reported that women had sprung a "big surprise." Demonstrating the strong organization in wards fourteen and seventeen, the Afro-American reported that women's registration in those wards closely paralleled men's. A total of 6,352 black women had registered throughout the city. By mid October, the newspaper reported that two black women registered for every three black men, while white men who registered outnumbered white women two to one. Of the total black registrants, 45% were women.⁴⁴

An example of the potential power of black women's votes existed in Baltimore's fifth ward, where a white Democrat represented the mixed-race ward on the city council. As a result of black women's registration, the combination of white and black Republican votes could elect a Republican, possibly even a black candidate. The effect of black women's registration in this ward was not lost on the city council, which proposed to redistrict the fifth ward and move blacks into another councilmanic district.⁴⁵

The black community expected that with the advent of women as voters, politics would "never look the same." A "political observer"

predicted that "You can put it down that colored women are not going to vote for a candidate who is 'lily white.' The colored men might, but colored women, never."

Black women's heritage of independent organizations, their lack of ties as nonvoters to any political party, and their strongly expressed views on segregation and disfranchisement no doubt led the observer to this assessment. To train potential women voters, the Afro-American published "a primer for women voters," by Augusta F. Chissell, a member of the Colored Woman's Suffrage Club of Maryland. Mrs. Chissell did not counsel nonpartisanship. In response to a comment from "Violet" that she was thinking of supporting the Democratic ticket, Augusta Chissell offered instruction in the dilemma black voters had faced for years. "Should we cling to our first love or is it advisable . . . to forsake the party that has always done the most for us, to flee to one that offers no inducement?" Answering her own question, Chissell concluded that "of the two evils the Republican party is certainly the least."⁴⁶

To "Maud," who asked if women should register as independents, Augusta Chissell pointed out that as an independent she would not be able to vote in primary elections. "Eloise" wondered what was meant by the term "party platform," and wanted to know where she could go to learn how to vote. Chissell responded that she could go to JGL headquarters to practice in a polling booth, and that she should attend Thursday night meetings at the YWCA to learn more about political issues.⁴⁷

Women in the black community, no less than white women, faced new conflicts as they prepared to vote. Augusta Chissell took advantage of her "primer" column to encourage women to support prohibition through their votes. A questioner asked, "Would you consider it wise to vote against a good Republican candidate who is not in favor of prohibition?" Chissell advised women to "find out before election day which candidates are wet and which are dry and then vote for none but dry candidates."⁴⁸

Some women, like "Eva," wondered, "What good will it do women to vote?" Augusta Chissell answered that voting would give women the power to protect themselves, to "get done what ought to be done," and would "make all classes of women more nearly equal with men and with each other." Chissell also expressed her belief in the duty of local government to assume responsibility for community services. "Kate" confessed confusion over voting for the "loans" [bond issues to support community services], and asked for an explanation. Chissell replied that all cities had to bring sewer, water, harbor, paving, and schools "up to the requirements of a great modern city." In order to do this, cities had to borrow money, and this solution had "been adopted by practically every progressive city." Chissell advised Kate to "vote for the loans."⁴⁹

While black women's political organization continued to develop, results did not match expectations. Prior to the statewide election in November 1921, black women in Baltimore reported "great activity" in every ward. Some wards had "several organizations." The Suffrage Club continued to hold weekly meetings, "at which prominent persons have

delivered addresses on public questions." A citywide organization was "perfected" to get out the vote. All the activity had little effect on election results. Democrats swept the election, and the Afro-American reported "general apathy" among black voters.⁵⁰

As white women found when they attempted to organize the League of Women Voters, leaders had to deal with indifference to political issues. The NAACP continued to face difficulties in recruiting members. Bishop John Hurst accused the black community of being "asleep." Public places were closed to blacks, their schools did not meet minimum standards, and black men were murdered. The community, especially politicians, looked to women to combat indifference, "sure that most women control a vote and a voter." Black women, however faced apathy of their own. When city residents responded to a survey prior to the 1923 primary election for city council, Mrs. Ernest Brooks commented, "Call and see my husband, he knows politics better than I." Mrs. M. Washington had not "considered the matter." Women activists, however, continued to attempt to interest women in voting. Voter registration among black women in 1923 showed an increase over that of 1921. By 1926, however, fewer voters registered, although the percentage did not decline as much as did that of white voters.⁵¹

Black women continued to develop their organizations at the local and state levels. Baltimore's eleventh ward Republican women formed their own club in January 1922. In that same month, the state Colored Women's Republican Association planned to go before the legislature to "push any movement launched" for better salaries for black teachers, to urge the appointment of school attendance officers, and to "get behind

other measures making for general welfare." The state Republican platform in 1922 did advocate anti-lynching laws, equal teacher salaries, and a longer school term. Black women, however, discovered what male black voters had known for years. The Republican Party was in no position to enact those measures, and their support was therefore suspect.⁵²

At the beginning of the 1920s, many black women became concerned with greater independence and recognition. Additionally, many church women, probably influenced by the success of civic, suffrage, and wartime activities, sought further benefits of independence. Early in 1920, the General Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church was faced with the question of granting women equal rights, excepting the ministry, with male church members. The issue was raised because of the "clamor of women for recognition." At the same time, AME women missionary workers petitioned to create a separate women's department, as other churches had done. At the AME General Conference in May 1920, delegates adopted "equal suffrage in local churches."⁵³

Black women and their organizations were subject to sometimes conflicting community expectations. They were encouraged to be community leaders, and their paid labor was necessary to family survival, but at the same time they were expected to serve as protectors of their children, community values, and their race. Addressing the national meeting of Alpha Kappa Alpha, a women's organization of black college graduates, Lucy Slowe, Howard University's Dean of Women, expressed her belief that college women should "take the leadership in the intellectual life of the

community." Director of branches for the NAACP, Robert Bagnall, urged women to "be more active in all organizations that were for race and civic betterment."⁵⁴ At the same time, however, Lucy Slowe cautioned members of the Women's Cooperative Civic League: "Women cannot make a career and at the same time preside over a household where there are children."⁵⁵ Since most black women, including many members of the Women's Cooperative Civic League, had to work to help support families, the ideal of which Lucy Slowe spoke was a difficult one to achieve.

As black women became more independent and better organized, they succeeded in convincing public officials to assume greater responsibility for community services. With that agreement, however, came conditions black women could not support. Those conditions created a conflict for black women between their civic and race activism, and resolution of the conflict demonstrated black women's political skill, as well as their determination to seek independence from white direction. For several years, the Day Nursery had operated with few funds, privately subscribed, and depended almost totally on volunteer assistance. In 1920, the Baltimore City Health Department, under the direction of Dr. Mary Sherwood, offered to purchase the nursery, remodel the building, equip it with a playground, and staff it with a matron, two helpers, a laundress and two nurses, all paid for by city funds. Jennie Ross, long the president of the Day Nursery, refused the city's offer, because the city would not agree to hire black managers. Black citizens had supported the nursery and had bought and paid for its building and "would feel very badly if we turned it over now to City control to put in all white help." The

current managers had "demonstrated their ability to organize and carry out this work and if the City really wants to help, let it give us an appropriation large enough to operate in the proper way." Moreover, Jennie Ross declared, other sections of the community were without day nurseries at all. Perhaps the city should set up nurseries where they were needed, instead of duplicating services. The city did not take over the Day Nursery, whose backers held benefits to keep it in operation. The city did, however, open a new nursery in another section of the black community, with all "whites in charge."⁵⁶ Black women's commitment to achieving racial advancement and independence won out over their more recent expectation, encouraged by white women, of public support for their community enterprises. White women, however, benefitted from an increase in professional opportunities as a result of government assumption of community services, whereas black women did not. The community did benefit, however, since at least one more nursery, even if totally staffed by whites, served the area.

Cooperative initiatives with white women's organizations continued in the early 1920s and faced new challenges and pressures, in the process taking on a new character. After the Women's Civic League of Baltimore returned to its normal operations following the end of the war, it created a more formal channel of communication with the Women's Cooperative Civic League. It set up an advisory council "to meet with and advise" the Cooperative Civic League. The groups maintained an "interchange of information" through annual reports from the black women's organization given by the advisory council, and attendance at Cooperative League annual meetings by representatives of the advisory

council. The two organizations engaged in cooperative projects, including a nutritional education program with preschool children in 1923.⁵⁷

Women of the Cooperative Civic League still depended on white women's organizations to serve as a channel through which they could communicate their needs to white male authorities. In 1922, the white Woman's Civic League of Catonsville in Baltimore County declared the Catonsville school for black children to be a firetrap, overcrowded, and unsanitary. The Catonsville club appealed to the school board to fund a new building. While this arrangement appears no different from prewar conditions, by this time black women activists had developed greater independence and organizational experience. Their use of white women as conduits also exhibited a more intentional and mutual character. In 1922, attending the Cooperative Civic League's tenth annual meeting, Anna Lloyd Corkran urged black women to vote for a school loan to improve the conditions of school buildings. In turn, members asked Anna Corkran "to bring before the proper authorities the fact that the new High School . . . is planned to accommodate only 1500."⁵⁸

Major changes in the relationship between black women and the Baltimore YWCA took place in the early 1920s. When the Colored YWCA affiliated with the white organization, it did not become a branch, with control of its own funds. In 1919, as black women gained experience in wartime organization and efficiency, members of the CYWCA asked to become a branch of the central association. In February 1920,

the CYWCA dissolved and became the Druid Hill Branch, able to collect and administer its own funds.⁵⁹

Believing that it had something to contribute to the terms of the branch agreement, and perhaps recalling that affiliation terms had been dictated to them, CYWCA members submitted "suggested ideas to be involved in the legal documents for Branch Relation." CYWCA property would be leased or transferred to the YWCA board. The CYWCA would be a branch "regarded as all other branches and governed according to the National Board." Perhaps hoping to get one of its members on the board of directors, the CYWCA specified that the committee of management, previously integrated but run by white women, "shall always be composed of Colored women chosen by Colored women, and that the Committee of Management shall direct and control the affairs of the work among colored women." Seeking to account for unanticipated action by the unpredictable white board of directors, the "suggestions" specified that if the board no longer wished to work with black women and girls, the use of the former CYWCA property would be "secured for work among colored women and girls . . . for such purpose always."⁶⁰

The YWCA's counter proposal, suggested after consultation with attorney Albert C. Ritchie, and eventually agreed to, differed in essential aspects. The white YWCA did convert the CYWCA into the Druid Hill Branch, but balked at an all-black committee of management. The white YWCA decided instead to create two levels of branch management, a deviation from its relationship with other branches. Terming the first body an "affiliating committee," the YWCA offered board representation through this committee. The chairman of the affiliating committee, one

of five white members appointed by the board president, would thus always be white. With white control maintained, the board accepted a second-level group, a committee of management of all black women, "subject to the general control of the Metropolitan Board, which shall be exercised through the affiliating committee." In an apparent accommodation, the committee of management would elect a black woman to serve as assistant to the treasurer of the white YWCA. The committee would "for the present collect and administer" its own funds, unless the affiliating committee recommended otherwise. In a final dismissal of the CYWCA's suggestions, the white YWCA did not agree to its new branch's specifications concerning the contingent disposition of its property, saying only that the disposition would be made "under such direction as at that time seems best." The board unanimously approved the contract.⁶¹ Officers of the new branch, evidently believing branch status was preferable to the existing situation, accepted the plan.

In February 1920, shortly after finalizing the agreement, the YWCA adopted an amendment to its constitution, providing for a new office of assistant treasurer. Since under the terms of the agreement with the Druid Hill Branch, a black woman would serve as an "assistant to the treasurer," in the case of the treasurer's indisposition, a black woman would become a member of the board. The amendment, creating a white assistant, would prevent that eventuality.⁶² White women activists continued to increase their political skill, on this occasion at the expense of black women.

Even though the work of the Druid Hill Branch was by 1922 said to be "very encouraging," the central YWCA did not believe its branch to be "effective." The reasons for the YWCA's dissatisfaction with the branch are unclear, but appear to have centered on the white organization's view of how the organization should be run efficiently. The Druid Hill Branch, with staffing and money problems, was in continuous difficulty, a situation which its committee of affiliation blamed on the management committee. In 1923, the board closed the branch and appointed a reorganization committee. This committee recommended that "the whole Committee of Management resign." The group further suggested that Anna Corkran, YWCA president, appoint a joint committee, with an equal number of white and black women, "with the assistance of a National Colored Secretary, with a view to making the work more effective in the future." The board adopted the recommendation, and a joint committee was appointed in January 1923 to reorganize the branch. The branch remained closed throughout 1924. In 1925, the branch was still "reorganizing," but it reopened in January 1926. The black community kept up pressure to avoid having its building sold by the central YWCA, and the community was bitter, calling for the YWCA to remember that it "was for all women, not just white women."⁶³

Relations between the reorganizing Druid Hill Branch and the central YWCA improved by 1925, largely due to new policies adopted by the national association. In 1924, the association formed a national interracial committee to promote racial understanding. Several young Baltimore working women attended a national industrial conference in

1924, at which they participated in classes on race relations, and employment-related topics.⁶⁴

The national YWCA's efforts to improve race relations filtered down to the Baltimore board in mid 1925, when one of its members brought back a "most interesting report" of a conference she had attended in New York. The board member, "Mrs. Baker," reported "new developments in the organization of Colored Branches which are now becoming in many communities real inter-racial committees." In a major shift in the conduct of its relationship with the Druid Hill Branch, the board adopted a new "policy of cooperation." The YWCA's department committee secretaries would begin to meet with their counterparts of the Druid Hill Branch when members "desired."⁶⁵

Increased national efforts to encourage and support interracial cooperation met with a guarded reaction from groups like the Maryland League of Women Voters. In 1922, when the national league met in Baltimore, fewer than twelve black women attended out of a total of eight hundred delegates. One of the black delegates, Ella Rush Murray of New York, formerly a resident of Annapolis, spoke with local women and urged them to join their local branch of the league and attend state and national meetings. The national organization was increasingly involving itself in issues of importance to black women, and Murray told her listeners that they should participate in the league's discussions.⁶⁶

The Maryland League of Women Voters made little effort to reach black women voters. Its organizational problems, coupled with the vestiges of its suffrage movement racism, and its anxiety to maintain

good political relations with white public officials, combined to influence the league's avoidance of work with black women. By 1924, the national league had grown increasingly insistent that the state organization take action on a suggested program of work through a Committee on Negro Problems. Lavinia Engle attempted to fend off the request, reluctantly agreeing to some aspects of the proposed work. Engle assented to formally advise black organizations of league-sponsored citizenship training. In reply to the request that the state league education committee complete a study of black education, Engle responded that Maryland was not making such a study. To the demand that the league conduct classes to teach black women how to mark their ballots, Engle countered that the Maryland league faced special difficulties. "We hold citizenship classes for certain groups of Negro women. In some counties it is not wise for us to undertake it." While Engle agreed to cooperate with the newly-appointed interracial commission, she noted that the new national league policy of including black women on national committees only applied to those states whose black population represented at least 15% of the total population. Engle may or may not have been aware that blacks in Maryland comprised 20% of the population.⁶⁷

Lavinia Engle's dilemma reflected one that she shared with other white women activists. Having consciously developed over several decades an image of moderation and cooperation with male politicians, white women activists continued to display political acumen. While their chosen method of interaction enabled them to cooperate without amalgamating, the same attitude inhibited them from exploring closer

connections with black women. Their choice of cooperation would, however, earn them recognition of their political influence and attention to their priorities.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER FIVE

1. Louise Young, In the Public Interest: The League of Women Voters, 1920-1970 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 36.
2. Unsigned, undated, probably Madeleine Ellicott to Miss Roselle Handy, probably 1919, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
3. Madeleine Ellicott to Lilla Crawford, October 1, 1919, Series 3, Box 25; Lilla R. Crawford to Madeleine Ellicott, August 18, 1919, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
4. Unsigned, probably Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. Robert Moss, January 29, 1920; Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. E.Z. Tower, August 7, 1919, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
5. Maryland Suffrage News, February 21, 1920; Louise Young, In the Public Interest, 37; Afro-American Ledger, February 27, 1920.
6. MSN, March 27, 1920; November 20, 1920; Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. E.Z. Tower, November 26, 1919, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
7. Louise Young, In the Public Interest, 37; Michael E. McGerr, "Political Style and Women's Power, 1830-1930," Journal of American History 77 (December 1990): 883-85.
8. Madeleine Ellicott to Lilla Crawford, October 1, 1919; Elizabeth Shoemaker to Madeleine Ellicott, November ____, 1919, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
9. Madeleine Ellicott to Irma Graham, October 17, 1919, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
10. William H. Chafe, The American Woman, 34-35; Minnie Fiske Cunningham to Lavinia Engle, June 19, 1923, Series 1, Box 6, MLWV, University of Maryland.
11. Madeleine Ellicott to Irma Graham, February 28, 1921, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland.
12. Louise Young, In the Public Interest, 47-9.

13. Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. [S. Johnson] Poe, June 27, 1921, Series 1, Box 6, MLWV, University of Maryland; Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. A.W. Nicodemus, December 29, _____, Series 2, Box 4, MLWV, University of Maryland.

14. Madeleine Ellicott to Mrs. A.W. Nicodemus, December 29, _____, Series 2, Box 4, MLWV, University of Maryland.

15. Baltimore American, March 14, 1921, Governors' Papers, MHR.; Minutes, Conference of Second Regional Officers, October 7, 1926, Series 1, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland. "Legislative Session of 1922," Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland; Flyer, 1925, Series 2, Box 4, MLWV, University of Maryland; Nancy Revelle Johnson in Winifred G. Helmes, Editor, Notable Maryland Women.

16. Mary Lammert to Lavinia Engle, September 26, 1921, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland; Lulu Boucher to Lavinia Engle, April 4, 1923, Series 2, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

17. Katherine Bretz to Lavinia Engle, March 19, 1922; Lavinia Engle to Katherine Bretz, March 31, 1922, Series 2, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland; Lulu Boucher to Lavinia Engle, February 10, 1925, Series 2, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

18. Member[s] of the Board from Mrs. Charles S. Woodruff, July 10, 1924, Series 1, Box 6, MLWV, University of Maryland. Carole Nichols, "Votes and More for Women," 1-3, found that in Connecticut local league branches were more successful than the state organization.

19. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 86, pointed out that women's divisions in political parties should be seen as "successor" organizations to NAWSA as much as the league's, and women's work in the parties as valid a continuation of their political activism as league work. That concept has been helpful to the development of this study, and adds weight to the argument for a less rigid distinction among groups of activist women.

20. Emily Newell Blair, "Women in the Political Parties," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 143 (May 1929): 217-18.

21. The New Citizen, April 1925, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore. The entry of new, previously nonactivist women is described in Kristi Anderson, "Women and Citizenship in the 1920s," in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics, and Change, 195.

22. "Annual Report of Secretary of 'the Democratic Woman's Club,'" Box 18, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore; The New Citizen, April 1925, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.

23. The Maryland Democrat, September 1925, Box 19, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.

24. Speeches, Albert C. Ritchie, undated; Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, July 21, 1921, Series 2, Box 6, Papers of Albert Cabell Ritchie, Special Collections, University of Maryland at College Park Libraries.
25. "Annual Report of Secretary of 'the Democratic Woman's Club,'" Box 18, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
26. Winifred G. Helmes, "Republican Women of Maryland, 1920-1980," unpublished pamphlet, 1-3.
27. Ruth Shoemaker to Mary Risteau, October 9, 1925, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore; Mollie E. Nicholson to Mary Risteau, October 27, 1925, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
28. Baltimore Sun, October 29, 1925, Governors' Papers, MHR.
29. Unidentified article, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore; The New Citizen, April 1925, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore. Unidentified articles are probably from 1924 and 1925.
30. Unidentified article, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore; The Woman Democrat, July 1924, Box 19, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
31. Two unidentified articles, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
32. Ibid.
33. Constitution; Minutes, January 25, 1919; miscellaneous documents, Prince George's County Community Council, Special Collections, University of Maryland at College Park Libraries.
34. Minutes, February 20, 1919, Woman's Civic League of Westminster, CCHS. There was no indication in the minutes that this was a controversial decision.
35. Minutes, November 16, 1920, Woman's Literary Club, MHS.
36. Annie L. Sioussat to Charles J. Bonaparte, Undated (probably before 1923), Box 15, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS; Elizabeth Jencks to women's organizations, January 27, 1923, Box 11, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS. This letter was headed "Woman's Department of the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland."
37. William J. Ogden to Governor Emerson C. Harrington, April 9, 1919, with committee report attached, Governors' Papers, MHR.
38. Christine Lunardini, From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1913-1928 (New York: New York University Press, 1986); Elizabeth Anne Payne, Reform, Labor and

Feminism: Margaret Dreier Robins and The Women's Trade Union League; Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Nancy F. Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party," Journal of American History 71 (June 1984).

39. Christine Lunardini, From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights, 156-57.
40. Unidentified Newspaper, January 30, 1924, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS.
41. Kate Kerr to Madeleine Ellicott, September 19, 1920, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland.
42. Afro-American, August 27, 1920.
43. Ibid., September 3, 1920. Also see Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "In Politics to Stay: Black Women Leaders and Party Politics in the 1920s," in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics, and Change.
44. Afro-American, September 24, 1920; October 16, 1920; October 22, 1920.
45. Ibid., October 22, 1920; November 12, 1920.
46. Ibid., September 10, 1920.
47. Ibid., September 24, 1920.
48. Ibid., October 1, 1920.
49. Ibid., October 16, 1920.
50. Ibid., October 28, 1921; November 11, 1921.
51. Ibid., May 12, 1922; October 27, 1922; April 13, 1923; October 9, 1926.
52. Ibid., January 20, 1922; October 6, 1922.
53. Afro-American, February 6, 1920; February 27, 1920; May 14, 1920; May 21, 1920.
54. Ibid., January 4, 1924; January 10, 1925.
55. Ibid., June 30, 1922.
56. Ibid., May 28, 1920; July 20, 1920; August 27, 1920.

57. History of the Women's Civic League of Baltimore, 70-71; Anne F. Scott, The Southern Woman: From Pedestal to Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 196-99, found that white women in the South in the postsuffrage period became involved in interracial cooperation in such issues as lynching and segregation. This did not occur in Maryland. Afro-American, December 29, 1922.

58. Afro-American, November 10, 1922.

59. Minutes, December 28, 1919, YWCA, Baltimore; Document CYWCA, Undated; "Notes on the History of the YWCA in Baltimore, Maryland, 1883-1939," Typescript, 19-20, YWCA, Baltimore.

60. Document, CYWCA, YWCA, Baltimore.

61. "Notes on the History of the YWCA"; Minutes, January 19, 1920, YWCA, Baltimore.

62. This inference is derived from Minutes, February 2, 1920, YWCA, Baltimore.

63. Minutes, YWCA, November 20, 1922; September 24, 1923; October 22, 1923; January 14, 1924; January 18, 1924; Afro-American, January 25, 1924; December 11, 1924; Annual Report, 1928, Druid Hill Branch, YWCA, Baltimore.

64. Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America, 486-87; Afro-American, July 4, 1924.

65. Minutes, May 18, 1925; October 19, 1925, YWCA, Baltimore.

66. Afro-American, April 28, 1922.

67. Lavinia Engle to Minnie F. Cunningham, August 26, 1924, Series 3, Box 15, MLWV, University of Maryland. According to the Thirteenth Census, Maryland's black population in 1920 was 244,479 as compared with a white population of 1,204,737. The percentage of blacks had been 21% in the Twelfth, or 1910 Census.

CHAPTER SIX

"A FACTOR TO BE RECKONED WITH": WOMEN'S ACTIVISM,
COLLABORATION, AND EXPANDED GOVERNMENT, 1919-1925

At the same time white activist women and their organizations were determining how they would incorporate the right to vote and its suggestion of broader implications for women's public participation into their activities, they also continued to develop, refine, and act on a public agenda. The priorities they developed combined their longstanding interest in both social reform and the advancement of women. Their belief that government should expand to provide solutions for various social problems dovetailed with the aims of Maryland's new governor, Albert C. Ritchie, and women's conscious decision to continue their practice of cooperation with male politicians to achieve their goals led them into a mutually-beneficial relationship with state government.

A number of historians have maintained that activist women, in an extension of presuffrage differences, divided in the 1920s into "social feminists" who pursued social reform goals and "hardcore feminists" who worked solely for the legal recognition of female and male equality.¹ This division was less marked in Maryland, where, during the suffrage campaign and in the civic activism of the 1910s, the need to develop and maintain unity among women and the practice of cooperation with male community leaders had resulted in the creation of

a hybrid agenda. White activist women in Maryland during the 1920s continued this practice, and, coupled with their decision to work cooperatively with male politicians, achieved several of their combined goals. While most activists continued to operate through voluntary organizations, Maryland's first elected woman member of the state legislature also practiced political cooperation.

Historian Elizabeth Israels Perry has introduced a useful term to describe the actions of women politicians in the 1920s. With few role models, women adhered to the behavior of the previous generation of social reformers, a style Perry termed "feminine" rather than "feminist" politics. In this construct, women in public life conformed to the expectation of society that they would act according to the tenets of "true womanhood," in other words maintaining the appearance of a separate, morally superior presence, while at the same time pursuing their reform goals.² Perry's formulation helps to explain both Maryland activist women's decision to compromise and cooperate with male politicians and their continued reliance on a combined agenda. Activists also, however, made choices based on their perception of political reality, a view that influenced both their selection of issues and their strategy.

Developing a Public Agenda

Prior to World War I, women community activists had translated their position as wives and mothers into concern for governmental housekeeping. Women's interests, the spirit of progressivism, and the demands of war, had all combined to broaden the public concept of

governmental responsibility. The use of women's traditional role also created leverage for women's participation in public affairs. With the right of participation in electoral politics now formally established, and new organizations formed expressly for partisan and nonpartisan political activity, white activist women and their organizations reaffirmed the connections they had developed between their roles and political concerns, and they constructed an agenda to address a variety of issues within a context of their perception of political reality.

Historian William H. Chafe has contended that the General Federation of Women's Clubs "abandoned politics entirely" during the 1920s, and William L. O'Neill termed the decade one of "defeat and decay" for the federation. The Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, however, continued its involvement in public issues, and for its members the 1920s was in general a decade of growth. Members of local federated organizations did receive inspiration from their national federation. Members of the Woman's Club of Westminster, in 1922 hearing Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, president of the General Federation, noted that her speech "inspires one so, to help do the big things of our country." In turn, the Maryland Federation's president, M. Bettie Sippel, served the General Federation in the same capacity.³

Preparing herself and Queen Anne's County for suffrage, activist Mary Sheppard distilled several years' rhetoric into a principle that reflected much of women's prewar activism and set the tone for women's efforts in the 1920s: "Women do not want to redeem the world—they want to be a part of it."⁴ If new voters needed help in making connections between suffrage and women's traditional concerns,

activists like Baltimore attorney Helen Elizabeth Brown were prepared to instruct them. Brown recalled in a speech that just after suffrage was enacted she had discussed with a friend the importance of "the woman in the home taking an interest in politics." Her friend "couldn't see it and said she couldn't be bothered." Shortly after their talk, the friend, who had three small children in school, complained about a dangerous intersection her children had to cross. Brown recalled their prior discussion and reminded the woman of her remarks about politics. When her friend asked what the relationship was between the intersection and politics, Brown explained, and when her friend understood the "direct connection between politics, the crossing, her children and her home, she got busy. The grade crossing disappeared and she and her friends and neighbors have a very definite interest in politics."⁵

The continuation during the 1920s of the connection between women's concerns and a public agenda owed much of its perpetuation to the state League of Women Voters, many of whose leaders began in civic and suffrage activism in the 1910s. When Mrs. R. Leslie Davis of Kemptown in Frederick County wrote to the league asking what she should say in a speech about politics and war, the state office responded. Politics, replied Lavinia Engle, was not merely concerned "with foreign relations and big financial problems. It touches us on every hand." Engle went on to detail for Mrs. Davis the same principle that had animated women's activism for years. Schools were controlled by politics. "Sanitary problems are handled through the state or city, politics again." Food and coal prices were influenced by politics.

"In other words the home affairs that women have always controlled are today influenced by the politics of the city or state." Women, Engle wrote, have a "vital interest" in war and could play a primary role in influencing governments toward peace.⁶

In local clubs, women reinforced and communicated to new members the results possible when women extended their attention to public affairs. The Woman's Literary Club of Baltimore, one of the oldest women's organizations, discussed in 1920 the "'club woman' who has become in these days a factor to be reckoned with." Women's influence could be seen "in the amendment of many things . . . the smoke nuisance, dusty meats, flies in the milk. . . . Also the direct evidence of what [women] can do when given a free hand in the recreation centres, better housing." Lest women think their work was complete, the club speaker reminded her audience that "There are many questions yet to settle."⁷

Other local organizations regularly used the housekeeping theme to appeal for action, having previously experienced the impact of the message. Anna Corkran, sending out an appeal to presidents of women's organizations from the Civil Service Reform Association of Maryland, drew the connection between civil service in Baltimore and women's homes. "It is a question that appeals directly to the women housekeepers of the City, because we have learned long since that we cannot keep our own home as we would like, if the City does not conduct its Municipal housekeeping as it should." In Allegany County, the county federation worked "in every movement having at heart the welfare and advancement of community interests," and this and other women's

organizations continued their involvement in issues involving education, local government, public health, and social welfare.⁸

Federated organizations, capitalizing on the experience of a "mobilized and organized" wartime network, worked during the 1920s to further strengthen their organizations for even greater efficiency of action, while still maintaining democratic processes. The Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs developed a plan in 1920 and 1921 to reorganize the federation for greater efficiency, to "facilitate the work and to promote club extension." The plan called for the division of Maryland into five geographic areas, corresponding to congressional districts. Each district would have its own officers, the president becoming a vice president of the state federation. The purpose of a district was to bring the various counties into "closer cooperation with each other." With this enhanced structure, the Maryland federation increased from 79 to 120 clubs between 1922 and 1926. Baltimore's College Club became the Maryland organizer for the American Association of University Women. The club sent out letters to "prominent college women" in Annapolis, Frederick, Cumberland, and Hagerstown suggesting that they start AAUW branches. The College Club offered to dispatch representatives to help new branches organize.⁹

County federations also took action to strengthen their organizations. Executive board members of the Allegany County federation voted to require directors of the federation to "render to their respective clubs a full and comprehensive written report of the proceedings of all meetings of the Executive Board . . . thus keeping the entire membership of the clubs in close touch with this central

organization." By 1925, the Allegany County federation prided itself on "being one of the best organized counties in the State." It had "bound together the Clubs of the County and the members in strong Civic and Social ties and given them a broader horizon." The directors of the Montgomery County federation requested each member club to subscribe to the state federation newsletter, to send in full reports of club work, and to "add to their program a study of county government."¹⁰

Affiliated organizations did not always welcome directives from central authorities. While the primary thrust for federated organizations was centralization to promote unified action, local organizations were capable of refusing to support a proposed action and had the right to send proposed resolutions up through organizational channels. Moreover, the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs was not immune to city versus county political tension. In 1921, the federation, careful not to ask for endorsement, requested its member clubs to take a position on a proposed bill that would grant greater legislative representation to Baltimore City. County clubs and federations opposed this measure. As an example of grassroots initiative, the Montgomery County federation sent resolutions to the state organization in support of widows' pensions and in favor of using federal influence to "further the disuse of intoxicants of all kinds."¹¹

The overwhelmingly negative response to the Equal Rights Amendment did not mean that women's organizations opposed all efforts for the advancement of women's individual and collective position. The

National Woman's Party, chief supporter of the ERA, never gained wide support in the state; it was active mainly in Baltimore, where the local League of Women Voters confessed that the NWP "somewhat handicapped" its efforts. Edith Houghton Hooker, the NWP's foremost figure in Maryland, was also known to favor a broader agenda than the NWP's total concentration on the ERA. Consequently, no group had a monopoly on or was excluded from support of any issue. A whole range of political activity was thus available to, for example, the League of Women Voters and the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs. Support for women's governmental appointments, for instance, did not automatically label one as an ERA-supporter. This circumstance, deriving in large part from the combined agenda developed in women's presuffrage activism, meant that in Maryland no clearcut division developed between those who favored advancement for women and those who supported civic and social reforms.

The League of Women Voters' legislative program in 1922 and 1924 combined interest in issues traditionally the concern of women, especially measures related to children with support for women's advancement. The league supported establishment of the Children's Code Commission to reform laws relating to minors, age of consent legislation, and mothers' pension law amendments. They also, however, supported bills to advance the legal status of women, including equal guardianship, jury service, and amendments to existing laws on marriage and divorce. The Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs had supported the appointment of women county school commissioners in the 1910s, and

the organization continued to endorse women's advancement as well as social welfare issues.¹²

The state League of Women Voters led the way in attempting to have women appointed to state boards and commissions. Madeleine Ellicott and Lavinia Engle had developed a personal relationship with Governor Ritchie, and he frequently asked for their advice and their recommendations for appointments. While Lavinia Engle was assertive in suggesting names, she initially remained within the accepted parameters for women's concerns. She suggested names only for those boards and commissions relating primarily to women's and childrens' issues, and Ritchie did not invite her to venture further.

The governor did not always accept Engle's or Ellicott's recommendations, but on those occasions usually felt compelled to apologize or explain his actions. "I think there are all together too many times when I do not do what you suggest. . . . I honestly believe Mrs. Putts would die if she is not re-appointed, and I simply have not the heart not to do it." Engle cleverly responded, "In spite of my suggestions for appointments, I am sending you a few more." Acknowledging the governor's reasoning, Engle remarked, "I suppose we should regard your re-appointment of Mrs. Putts as an evidence of your 'Christian forbearance.'"¹³

Governor Ritchie wanted Engle and Ellicott to know how hard he worked on their behalf. Ritchie had asked Madeleine Ellicott to "check up a little" to see if members of the board of the Industrial Home for Colored Girls would welcome a woman board member. Ellicott found the president of the board opposed, and her strategy was that the governor

should appoint two women to the board. "It is very hard for one woman to be effective if she differs at all with the other members." Ritchie investigated the situation and reported to Ellicott that while he had "quite a little trouble with regard to appointing women on the Board. It is now entirely satisfactory for me to appoint one woman." Later on, Ritchie remarked, he could appoint another woman.¹⁴

At the local level, women's organizations added their recommendations to those of the state league. The College Club of Baltimore regularly recommended names of women to serve on boards and commissions relating to state education issues.¹⁵ Local groups like the Woman's Club of Westminster invited speakers to serve as role models. "Mrs. Forlines" spoke to the group on "How it feels to be the only Woman on the County School Board and What I have learned thereby."¹⁵

Albert C. Ritchie and the Expansion of State Government

Maryland state government had been expanding its role in relation to local and county governments for several years, in part due to the activism of women. Four-term governor and consistent critic of federal encroachment, Albert C. Ritchie, however, took state government to new levels of power. From roads and conservation, to education and social welfare, Ritchie built and presided over a greatly enlarged state government apparatus. His agenda and that of white women activists joined at several points, and together they developed a relationship that helped them achieve their objectives.

Governor Emerson C. Harrington passed to Albert C. Ritchie in 1920 a state government committed to the ideal of administrative efficiency, standardization, regulation, and the belief that government should intervene on behalf of its citizens. In his last message to the Maryland General Assembly, Harrington called attention to the nearly complete state uniform accounting system, as well as the new standardized tax system. He commended the Board of Parole for its efficient preparation of cases. The governor expressed his approval of expanded state government, even when it came at the expense of county governments. He proposed that motor vehicle licenses be issued by the state, not the counties, to ensure "uniformity of enforcement and . . . administration." Accepting an expanded federal role as well, especially if it benefitted the state at the same time, the governor viewed the state as the central authority for road-building. The state would serve as the conduit through which local and federal funds would be administered and disbursed. Harrington praised the work of the commissions on Public Service and Conservation as moderating influences between business interests and "undue clamor." In the areas of social welfare, Harrington also recognized a growing role for the state, and saw the results as ultimately beneficial:

The time has come when the State ought to endeavor to get at the causes of existing misfortunes and evils; and remove, if possible, the causes. . . . Only by removing these causes will these evils be finally lessened, and the cost to the State reduced.¹⁷

Maryland's new governor, who gained national notoriety and presidential prospects as a defender of states against federal government encroachment, during his four terms further expanded the

role and power of the state government. Born in 1876 into an aristocratic Maryland family, Albert C. Ritchie followed his bachelors degree from The Johns Hopkins University with a law degree from the University of Maryland. "Energetic, politically ambitious and intellectually honest," Ritchie served as Baltimore City Solicitor and then, from 1910-1912, as Assistant General Counsel to Maryland's Public Service Commission, where he became an advocate for utilities consumers. While serving as the state's attorney general, Ritchie took a leave of absence to become chief counsel to the War Industries Board, where Bernard Baruch considered Ritchie his political protegé. Ritchie's experiences with the Public Service Commission and the War Industries Board gave him a foundation in current governmental thought, and prepared him for administrative and regulatory governance. Having and wanting little time for social activities, Ritchie's life revolved around his work. He and his wife divorced in 1916, and he made his home with his mother. In a close election in 1919, Ritchie was elected governor, an office he would not relinquish until he was defeated for a fifth term in 1934.¹⁸

State government quickly became for Ritchie "the only thing that absorbs me now." The business of government was "the biggest, the most serious business in the world to-day." Government in Ritchie's view should guarantee that all citizens had equal human rights and opportunities. If those rights came into conflict with property or material rights, "then property or material rights must give way, so that the human right to equality of opportunity may march on." To facilitate government's assurance of equal rights, Ritchie accepted

that it should be responsible for roads, schools, public health, conservation, and other areas of social concern. For Ritchie, the combination of efficiency in government and an egalitarian approach to issues of public health and welfare that mixed humanity with administrative capability were goals toward which he would consistently work. His view of government's commitment to its citizens did not extend to its treatment of its black citizens, although Ritchie believed his actions would benefit them as well.¹⁹

Ritchie's aristocratic background and rectitude did not prevent him from exercising charm and political dealmaking. During his first term, the new governor worked quickly with the General Assembly to institute a merit-based system for state employees and organized the state police force. He and recently-appointed State Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Albert S. Cook, planned a major reorganization of the state's schools to reverse the Russell Sage Foundation assessment of Maryland as thirty-seventh out of fifty-two states, dependencies, and territories, in the provision of educational services. Seeking to reform the state's treatment of the mentally ill, Ritchie obtained from the General Assembly increased appropriations for mental hospitals and removed criminally insane individuals from prisons to mental hospitals. Additionally, the governor created a central purchasing bureau for the state, and at the same time reduced the tax rate by two cents.²⁰

Having scoffed at what he saw as a "Republican policy to create as many Boards and Commissions as possible," Ritchie maintained during his campaign for governor in 1919 that the governor should carry out

his duties, "without the necessity of a Commission to tell him how," and vowed that he would "not appoint any Commission to survey the State."²¹ Changing his mind once in office, or at least his rhetoric, the governor found that the growth of state authority had resulted in a need for greater coordination if the government were to be administered efficiently. In April 1921, Ritchie appointed the State Reorganization Commission, composed of 107 men and women. The governor defended himself against cries of partisanship--the board was composed entirely of Democrats--by countering that his influence extended only to his own party. Ritchie in fact viewed the Commission as a vehicle for Democratically-sponsored legislation and expected the result to be Democratic Party election victories.²²

The commission's reorganization plan, passed by the legislature in 1922, consolidated eighty-five agencies into nineteen departments, and single commissioners replaced many advisory boards and commissions. The changes saved the state an estimated \$100,000 per year. The General Assembly also passed a Fewer Elections Bill, thus eliminating odd-year elections. While some boards and commissions were replaced by commissioners responsible only to state government departments, Ritchie's drive for expanded state authority resulted in the simultaneous creation of fourteen new commissions in 1920 and 1921, from the State Aviation Commission to the State Employment Commission, to implement the new merit system for the state's three thousand classified state positions.²³

In his attitude toward women, Albert Ritchie combined views traditional for those of his time and class, with a realization that

women were interested in public affairs and their interest could be useful. Ritchie believed that the worlds of men and women were essentially separate, with the world of women more circumscribed. To young women high school graduates in 1915, he expressed his wish that they would have lives "filled with a woman's opportunities in your homes, in your communities and among your fellows." For the young men of the same graduating class, Ritchie wished a future of "the industry of a business life, or the hum of factories or the farm; or else the triumphs of the bar, or of medicine or of statesmanship; or the quieter walks of literature or science or art." In speaking to audiences of only women, however, Ritchie professed a belief that they should play active roles in their communities. To a graduating class of young women, he said that the world needed "men and women who can do more than simply recognize the problems around us today. . . . The world needs men and women who can help to solve these problems." While in his view women's talents of kindness and service were best put to use in such fields as teaching, social work, or public health, Ritchie also recognized the growing interest on the part of women in issues of government. Women were "more genuinely concerned than ever before . . . in seeing the right thing done in public work and done right."²⁴

While Ritchie knew during his campaign in 1919 that women's suffrage was inevitable, he did not believe he had anything to gain by supporting ratification during a difficult and close race. The Democratic platform, which he as party leader shaped, maintained a position opposed to federal interference in any state's election laws.

With the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, however, Ritchie, ever the political realist and opportunist, called a special session of the General Assembly to enact the mechanism for registration and provide for increased polling equipment. Maryland would abide with the amendment "willingly and cheerfully," especially since most of the new voters would probably vote in the Democratic column.²⁵

Early in his administration, Governor Ritchie showed a willingness to respond to women activists' attempts to have women appointed to state boards and commissions. Reinforcing his belief in what women's concerns should encompass, however, Ritchie appointed women only to those bodies dealing with the traditional women's interests of education, public health, children, and similar areas. Viewed from another perspective, Ritchie's appointments may be seen as a recognition that the influence of women activists might be effectively brought to bear on legislators who might otherwise oppose enhanced state responsibility in those traditional areas. Far from relegating women to a traditional backwater, the governor recognized women's experience and potential to assist him in persuading lawmakers to increase state power, often at their own local expense, both political and financial. For example, Ritchie justified to the General Assembly in 1922 his appointment of a Children's Code Commission to recommend legislation concerning children's living and working conditions, as a measure "urged by women throughout the State." This justification had the dual advantage of reminding legislators of women's influence, and at the same time deflecting attention from his own intentions.²⁶

White women's position in state and county government did advance between 1919-1925, in large measure as a result of the partnership between the governor and activist women. The State Reorganization Commission of 1922 included thirty-five women in its membership of 107. Of the seven members of the Minors' Law Commission (which replaced the Children's Code Commission), three were women. The Board of Welfare got its first woman member, Marguerite Brown, in 1923, and its second in 1925. The influence brought to bear on the governor and his acceptance of it were demonstrated in the 1924 appointments to the Commission for the Bicentennial of George Washington's Birthday. The commission was to have twelve appointees, six appointed by the governor, and three each by the senate president and speaker of the house. The three women appointed to the commission were all appointed by the governor. Two of the seven members of the Vocational Training and Rehabilitation Investigating Commission were women.²⁷

In local jurisdictions, women also made an impact. In 1920, six women held appointive office, all on local boards of education. In 1922, Governor Ritchie appointed six additional women to county boards of education. In 1923, Ritchie appointed women to the offices of justice of the peace and register of voters in Frederick County and Hagerstown. In 1924, eighteen women occupied county-level positions, including the first clerk of the circuit court, Sue M. Collins of Worcester County.²⁸ The appointments reflected not only the influence women had with the governor's office, but the receptivity cultivated in local areas by women activists.

The Sheppard-Towner Act

A demonstration of women activists' continued use of their statewide network, and their mutually-enhancing relationship with the governor, combined in the enactment by Congress and implementation by the states of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act. The first major federal welfare measure, the act provided funds to each state if states would contribute matching funds. To be administered by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, the purpose of the law was to improve maternal and child health, primarily through education and the work of public health nurses.²⁹

Before the Congress in 1920, the bill faced intense pressure from those who, while they professed concern for women and children, did not approve of federal intervention. Even if the bill passed, it would then have to be accepted by each state. Women's organizations, nationally and in Maryland, united to help pass the bill. The act represented a recognition of women's political power and a demonstration of the even greater potential of that power. Its aims, to reduce infant mortality and improve maternal health, were issues most women could freely support.

The state League of Women Voters, itself still forming, joined women's organizations across the nation in putting pressure on their congressional representatives.³⁰ Emma Weber, congressional chairman for the Maryland league, together with women from other organizations, attended a meeting with Maryland's congressional delegation. Follow-up letters went out to league members, asking them to write or visit their congressmen.³¹ Representative Sydney Mudd, who had made himself

unavailable to delegation meetings, received a letter from Madeleine Ellicott, who regretted that Mudd "found it inconvenient" to receive the women from his district. Ellicott made it clear that "we shall be much disappointed" not to get Mudd's favorable vote.³² Charles Coady of Maryland's third district, claiming to be "heartily in sympathy with the objects and purposes" of the bill, doubted the "wisdom of federal action. . . . I do not like the present day tendency towards Federalization of all Governmental agencies."³³

State efforts were matched by local women's organizations. The Woman's Club of Westminster, for example, endorsed the bill as a measure "of great importance." Likewise, the Woman's Civic League of Westminster endorsed the legislation and sent letters to Congress. The Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations called a special board meeting to express its support for the legislation and sent a telegram to its congressional representative.³⁴

Governor Albert C. Ritchie, with his by now well known position in opposition to federal intervention, might have been expected to oppose the implementation of the Sheppard-Towner Act. He did not oppose it, however, and prepared legislation for the 1922 General Assembly session that would establish a Bureau of Child Hygiene within the State Department of Health to administer the combined state and federal funds. Ritchie's stated rationale for accepting federal funds was that Maryland should not penalize itself by rejecting the money. The mutually-beneficial relationship the governor had begun with the state League of Women Voters and other women's organizations, however, may also have influenced his decision.³⁵

Not all women's organizations supported the measure to create a Bureau of Child Hygiene. Just as the League of Women Voters was a successor of NAWSA, the Woman's Constitutional League of Maryland drew from the membership of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. The Woman's Constitutional League opposed "the vicious type of federal aid whereby the federal government dictates how Maryland shall spend its own money." Women of this organizations were also opposed to "all so-called Woman's Legislation," including jury service for women.³⁶

The vast majority of women's organizations, however, supported the establishment of the Bureau of Child Hygiene in Maryland. The women's network, led by the league-originated legislative clearinghouse, wrote to every Maryland senator and delegate. The network also lobbied extensively for passage of state legislation authorizing creation of the bureau and acceptance of federal funds.³⁷

Even with the governor's backing, the measure ran into stiff opposition. After receiving a favorable report from its first House of Delegates committee, the bill was referred to the Ways and Means Committee, headed by Delegate Stephen Gambrell of Howard County, who was "opposed to anything that women want." Gambrell "railroaded" an unfavorable committee report, and the League of Women Voters requested a hearing. Lavinia Engle sent word out through the network, targeting women whose representatives were members of the Ways and Means Committee. Writing to Mrs. J.R. Cobb in Salisbury, Engle asked her to contact her delegate. Explaining specifically what she wanted Mrs. Cobb to do, Engle instructed her to "see . . . the men who are his

political backers . . . and that at least fifty of the women of Wicomico write to him before Tuesday and that ten of them wire to him Tuesday morning." Showing that she knew how to count votes, and also that she was looking for insurance, she informed Mrs. Cobb that "confidentially, we need only two more votes . . . in spite of Gambrell." Giving Cobb ammunition for her approach to local politicians, Engle noted that the state appropriation for the Bureau would be \$14,000 to match \$24,000 from the federal government. "It does seem that it is a very small matter for them to vote thousands for agriculture and roads to meet Federal appropriations and only draw the line when it comes to the children."³⁸

Throughout the legislative session, until the Bureau's approval, the network kept up the pressure. Lavinia Engle reported on March 31 that "we are getting a steady stream of letters from all parts of the state." The College Club endorsed the measure. The Allegany County Federation of Women's Clubs noted at its annual meeting that it had "followed keenly" the activities of the General Assembly.³⁹

The state League of Women Voters was interested not only in passage of the bill to create the Bureau of Child Hygiene; it wanted to be involved in its implementation. Noting that the legislative clearinghouse had helped to assure the bill's passage, Madeleine Ellicott wrote to Dr. J.H. Mason Knox, newly-appointed head of the Bureau, "We are naturally interested in the plans to be adopted." Ellicott expressed her "great satisfaction" that Knox was to head the Bureau, and she offered the assistance of the women of the state. Ellicott asked to meet with Knox to hear his plans for the agency.⁴⁰

As the Bureau organized and employed nurses in Maryland counties, the Woman's Constitutional League continued to oppose the Bureau's work as unwarranted federal supervision and control, as well as pointing to what they viewed as an inefficient and wasteful duplication of county public health agency functions. Letters their members sent throughout the state in 1924, coincidental with the meeting of the General Assembly, drew measured replies from Dr. J.H. Mason Knox. As word got around the network that there were efforts to undermine the Bureau of Child Hygiene, organizations like the Woman's Club of Westminster responded. Members requested their secretary to write to the state legislature, asking that the General Assembly "not allow any change to be made to our Sheppard Towner bill and to support all bills concerning Maternity and Child Hygiene."⁴¹

In May 1924, the Baltimore Evening Sun took up the chant against the Child Hygiene Bureau, in the process exposing women activists to criticism and characterizing them as "female busy-bodies." Its editorial claimed that the "net result of the [Sheppard-Towner] law to date has been to create a group of female busy-bodies whose work is to pry into the intimate affairs of pregnant women." The editorial drew a sharp reply from Dr. John S. Fulton, Director of the State Department of Health. Fulton blasted the newspaper, writing, "I have not seen editorial writing more false, less decent, or so laggard as to current events." Dr. Fulton, in defending "'Female Busy Bodies' I have known," characterized the Sheppard-Towner Act as "very largely a gift of the female electorate." Paying tribute to years of women's political activism, Fulton continued, "Female Busy Bodies" were "not raw

recruits, they are vet[e]rans." Acknowledging the role of the statewide network, Fulton concluded, "Every county has a complement . . . of Female Busy Bodies."⁴² The interests of women's activists and those of the state came together in the implementation of the Sheppard-Towner Act, and state officials and women activists, with the same goals, provided mutual support for each other.

"You Are A Real Politician"

Women activists' achievements with state adoption and implementation of the Sheppard-Towner Act reinforced for them the wisdom of their decision to work with state government. Through its role as coordinator of the state legislative clearinghouse, the state League of Women Voters capitalized on its developing relationship with Governor Ritchie's office, and gained for women's organizations valuable recognition. Ritchie came to depend on the league, especially Lavinia Engle, to work with him for their mutual advantage. "Please do not forget that you are going to give me your advice," regarding appointments to the Commission on Laws of Minors, Ritchie wrote to Engle in October 1922. Engle replied that she had wanted to wait "until after the election" to bring the matter to Ritchie's attention. Engle felt free to go beyond the letter of the request to imply criticism of the composition of the previous body, the Children's Code Commission. That commission was composed totally of Baltimore residents, many of them lawyers, since the work involved a review of existing legislation. For the current commission, Engle urged the governor to appoint a broader range of people, to include those

familiar with child welfare, labor, and health. Engle offered the services of the league as executive secretary to the commission, thus saving the state money, and at the same time ensuring the league a role in the work and the outcomes of the commission.⁴³

Governor Ritchie sought a larger role for Engle, giving her on behalf of the league greater potential for influence. In effect, Ritchie came to depend on the league, especially Lavinia Engle, to serve as the voice of Maryland women. In August 1923, the governor informed Engle that he was "gathering data for the preparation of the Democratic Platform." He would be "very much obliged" if Engle would send him a list of "any matters which you or your association would like to have inserted." Ritchie encouraged Engle to think beyond the immediate interests of the league. "Even if the League has nothing which ought to go in the platform, it is quite possible that you may have some ideas . . . with respect to the various matters in which women are interested."⁴⁴

While as the representative of a nonpartisan organization in a Democratically-controlled state, Engle was anxious to maintain a good relationship with the state's most powerful Democrat, the league did not neglect the Republican Party. In October 1923, Madeleine Ellicott wrote the Republican candidate for governor, Alexander Armstrong, expressing the league's disappointment that "no mention of child welfare was made in the Republican platform." The league was reluctant to approach either party with recommendations for individual reforms, Ellicott continued, since the Commission on Laws for Minors should deal with the issues. This was somewhat disingenuous on Ellicott's part,

since the commission, with league-recommended members and league-supplied staff, was well aware of the league's positions that the "alarming spread" of child labor should be checked and that each county should have a juvenile court. Moreover, the commission was appointed by Ritchie and would recommend legislation of which he would approve.⁴⁵ League assistance was therefore more available to the Democratic candidate, Albert C. Ritchie.

Governor Ritchie continued to increase his reliance on Lavinia Engle and the league for advice and support for his positions. In return, the governor offered the league his substantial influence. In November 1923, Ritchie asked Engle to let him know whether anything in the league's "program" would require a state appropriation, so that he could include it in his budget. At the same time, Ritchie perhaps sensed the extent to which he had come to value Engle's views, and by extension the views of the league and the state network of women's organizations. His response to this realization was to acknowledge Engle's acceptance into the company of politicians. Ritchie informed Engle that he would return in December from a trip with his cronies to French Lick Springs, and concluded, "Why don't you come out with us? You are a real politician, and all real politicians go there." Ritchie's labeling of Engle and by extension other women activists was significant. For many years, activist women had been political actors, drawing closer, as they helped to create the issues of the day, to traditional politics and politicians. Now, when government, responding in part to their efforts, was expanding its responsibilities, women's concerns had become public, political issues. Women had been, even if

they did not recognize or accept it, politicians for years; with suffrage and the expansion of government, they were recognized politicians, and many women activists, for example, Lavinia Engle, both realized and welcomed this recognition. The word "politician" had been traditionally applied exclusively to men, and many women, as well as men, regarded both the term and its embodiment with suspicion and distrust. To Ritchie, however, the politician was, like himself, a worthy, necessary figure who knew how to get things done. Many women might protest that their concerns were separate from politics and politicians, and most men would continue to perceive politicians solely as males; but Ritchie's symbolic acceptance of women as politicians drew them and their issues into a closer relationship with his priorities and methods.⁴⁶

Mary E.W. Risteau

The partnership between Governor Albert C. Ritchie and women's organizations helped both to achieve their political objectives. Women activists' combined agenda of social reform and women's advancement made progress during the early 1920s. Women's suffrage provided additional opportunities, among them the chance to join the exclusive club of elected political office holders. In Maryland, Democrat Mary Eliza Waters Risteau of Harford County became the first woman to serve in the General Assembly. She served for two successive terms, in 1922 and 1924, while simultaneously serving as the first woman member of the State Board of Education. Risteau's political career in the 1920s illustrates the unsettled position of early women elected officials.

Both women and men held expectations of Risteau, and her reactions to those expectations were not always predictable. Risteau, as a party member, candidate, and legislator, responded to expectations by demonstrating considerable political expertise. Her reputation as a moderate who sought to achieve her goals through cooperation and collaboration, enabled her to gain the support of prominent Democrats, and by the mid 1920s she became entrenched in the party organization.

Born in Towson in Baltimore County in 1890, Risteau taught school after graduation from high school, and worked with the Baltimore County Teachers' Association to promote the status of teachers. After the death of her father and brothers, Risteau and her mother moved to her mother's dairy farm which Risteau would manage in Harford County. Concerned about the condition of schools in Harford County, Risteau entered the race in 1921 for a seat in the House of Delegates, campaigning in favor of a bond issue for county schools. Risteau wanted to be elected to the House of Delegates, she said, "because I am interested in the problems of the farmers and the farmers' wives. . . . And particularly I want to see the rural schools in Harford brought up to the highest standard." Risteau campaigned at farmers' picnics and Grange meetings, and "a large committee of women did 'missionary work' for her." Both the bond issue, committing Harford County to assume increased financial responsibility for local schools, and Risteau's candidacy, were accepted by county voters. Across the nation, in the 1922 election, eighty-four women were elected to state legislatures, double the number elected in 1920.⁴⁷

Suffragists were delighted with the prospect of Risteau's candidacy. Elizabeth Forbes sent a subscription to the Maryland Suffrage News and expressed her enthusiasm for Risteau's potential candidacy, "since we believe that women should be included in all elective bodies, in order that our interests may be best attended to." Risteau thanked Forbes for the subscription and replied, giving the suffragist hope of her support, "I shall be very glad to have you come to see me."⁴⁸ Following her election, Risteau received advice from several sources, most of it directed at how Risteau ought to conduct herself in the legislature. Grace Greig, an old family friend, advised Risteau to "look well ahead. The real good you do the future generations will appreciate. The least good you do the present age will applaud." Greig further advised Risteau to "use the best of judgement and tact."⁴⁹

Family friend Mrs. Philip Spencer, recalling Risteau's family connection to temperance, expected that Risteau as a legislator would support state enforcement of the Volstead Act. Risteau, Spencer continued, was "in a position to do so much good. . . . We feel confident that you will measure up to your responsibility on all moral questions." Risteau replied that while she was indeed a temperance advocate, the state's Anti Saloon League's position would label her a bootlegger if she made cider for vinegar.⁵⁰

Edith Silver, a League of Women Voters district director, sent letters to all league members in her district, requesting that they write or telegraph Risteau "urging her to vote right on all the moral measures that come before that body. She represents not only Harford

County, but also all the women of the state, and we will be judged by what she does down there." In sending this letter, Edith Silver was demonstrating her independence from the state league, which had taken no position as yet on "moral measures," notably antiracetrack gambling and prohibition enforcement. Mary Green, a recipient of Silver's letter, sent it on to Risteau with the comment that she knew "'Our Mary' will meet the problems confronting her in the interest of righteousness."⁵¹

Women throughout the state did view Risteau as a role model, and she received frequent invitations to speak to women's organizations. Christine Collins of Hyattsville in Prince George's County wrote that she had enjoyed Risteau's speech at the Lanham Study Club and had "thought so much of you, your work and the splendid opportunities you have for furthering the cause of women." Olive R. Byrn, in inviting Risteau to speak, enthused, "You make such a corking good speech I am most anxious to show some of these country women what another country woman can do if she tries!" Byrn asked Risteau, however, to avoid "party matters," as her organization tried "to keep out of politics - having members of all shades of opinion."⁵²

In her dealings with groups that tried to influence her position on reform issues and with Democratic party activists, Mary Risteau displayed an adroit sense of political advantage, and she soon developed a reputation as a loyal and moderate Democratic politician. As both a newly-enfranchised woman and a Democratic legislator, Risteau had first to develop her positions concerning efforts to legislate women's political and legal parity with men as well as attempts to

further expand governmental responsibility. As she prepared for her first legislative session in January 1922, Risteau knew that the question of jury service for women was one that divided the women of the state. Seen by many former suffrage activists as one more "political disability" that should be rectified, other women regarded eligibility for jury service as an intrusive, unseemly duty for women. Since jury service was derived from voter registration, opponents of the measure argued that if women were forced to serve, they would not register and vote. Risteau, sensing that whatever position she held would alienate large groups of voters, skillfully shifted responsibility to her constituents. Calling for a conference of women, to be convened by the League of Women Voters, Risteau expressed her intention to be "guided by the desire of the majority of those whom she represents." As a result of her contacts with her constituents, Risteau had firm backing for her position in opposition to jury service, a position that corresponded to Democratic Party policy.⁵³

Risteau's positions on laws relating to women's legal status were not always strictly partisan or predictable, especially as she gained experience. In reply to a 1923 League of Women Voters questionnaire, Risteau expressed her support for a bill that would repeal as a ground for divorce "the proven unchastity of a wife before marriage." In voicing her support for the legislation, Risteau agreed with the league's assessment of existing law as "unfair discrimination against women." Risteau also took a position for expanded government involvement that many Democratic politicians did not share. With her interest in children's education and welfare, she favored "child

welfare legislation," preferring that it be recommended by the Children's Code Commission. This stance, if not a popular one in all Democratic quarters, was a position of the state party leader, governor, and Risteau's friend, Albert C. Ritchie, who had appointed the commission.⁵⁴ By taking these positions, Risteau reflected the combination of political realism, concern for at least some issues of interest to women, and advancement of women's legal equality, that typified the approach of Maryland women's organizations in the 1920s.

Mary Risteau's encounters with the sorts of reforms uniformly opposed by Democratic party politicians placed her on firmer partisan ground, but nonetheless called for skillful maneuvering among her Harford County constituents, many of whom were supporters of such reforms as prohibition and the abolition of racetrack gambling. During her first campaign for the House of Delegates in 1921, Risteau was opposed by the Anti Saloon League, the allies of which, the Maryland Anti-Race Track Gambling Association and the Lords Day Alliance, contained many of the same members. After her victory, however, Dr. W.W. Davis, secretary of the anti race track group, scrambled to separate his organization from the Anti Saloon League. Davis assured Risteau that "I never in the slightest way opposed your candidacy I wanted you to know this before you went to Annapolis."⁵⁵

Press attention focused on Mary Risteau as she entered her first legislative session in January 1922. Her views and actions were scrutinized and speculated upon to discover just how women would behave in political office. How would she vote on questions of morality, issues about which women were said to be especially concerned? Would

women, represented by Mary Risteau, "purify" the politics of the Democratic Party, as both male and female suffragists had promised?

The issue of racetrack gambling represented an early test of Risteau's political positioning. Separating her personal from her political views, Risteau professed abhorrence of gambling, but defended the state's hands-off policy. She expressed her opposition to the abolition of racetrack gambling not in moral but in economic terms, and grounded her position in political reality. Abolishing the state Racing Commission and betting would either restore older forms of betting or create "the oral form of betting." Moreover, the loss in revenue that would result would translate into an increased tax rate, which in view of a depressed agricultural economy, would be harmful to farmers, many of whom were her constituents. Leaving her options open, however, Risteau informed the Churchville Grange that she would be willing to listen to a discussion on the "Racing problem."⁵⁶

Early in the 1922 legislative session, Edith Silver of the Harford County League of Women Voters, whose husband was president of the Anti-Race Track Gambling Association, visited Risteau in Annapolis. Troubled by Risteau's "apparent attitude," Silver wrote to appeal to Risteau to support the abolition of racetrack gambling. Silver reminded Risteau that as the first woman in the legislature, she was "of course very much in the eyes of the people of [the] county and also in the state. How you stand on the moral issues will stamp not only you but will reflect on us all." Women, Silver continued, had wanted suffrage for the express purpose of reforming "sundry evils . . . now then our first woman goes there and votes against those

measures that women were supposed, especially to stand for, and where does it place us?" Believing that she knew the source of Risteau's obstinacy concerning racetrack gambling, Edith Silver informed Risteau that it was "generally believed that you were put in by the Democratic machine which rarely backs the moral or progressive measures." Silver herself did not place any credence in this and had voted and worked for Risteau, convinced that she "held a high moral standard that could be counted on to do the right thing." Having exhausted her moral arguments, Silver offered a political rationale. Legislators who had not "been true to the moral issues have mostly not been returned but have gone down to defeat. . . . If you desire to continue in politics . . . don't risk your success by going against the desires and wishes of the christian people of the state." Risteau, having probably tired of incessant pressure on the issue, had begun instructing that anti racetrack letters be answered "as usual." Evidently believing that Mrs. Silver's implied threat merited special attention, Risteau replied that she had "received your threatening note . . . which I shall always keep. I wish to state, I regret some persons have the right to vote."⁵⁷ Risteau apparently felt sure enough of her position and that of the party to allow herself the satisfaction of answering Silver in such a way.

The issue of prohibition enforcement developed into a divisive one in Maryland. Before prohibition, the state had split between "wet" and "dry" areas, with the Eastern Shore, southern and parts of western Maryland dry, while Baltimore City and a few counties were wet. With county domination of the General Assembly, the legislature ratified the

Eighteenth Amendment which imposed prohibition on the entire state. Governor Ritchie, in a defense of state sovereignty and in line with the position of the Democratic Party, opposed prohibition, and his attorney general ruled that local police did not have the authority to make arrests under the Volstead Act, the federal prohibition enforcement law. Ritchie's position was that if the federal government wanted to dictate prohibition to the state, the federal government should enforce the law. Mary Risteau, in her campaign, had been opposed by candidates who favored enactment of a law to empower local police to enforce the Volstead Act. When she won, Risteau became the target of pressure on both sides of the issue. As she did with the racetrack gambling question, Risteau expressed her personal view and contrasted her political position. She was a temperance advocate, she explained, and one who would support a "reasonable" enforcement act, but the 1922 bill proposed by the Anti Saloon League would be too "drastic" in its effects. Risteau stood firm in her political stand against pressure and threats, and received letters and telegrams of congratulation for her "courageous stand."⁵⁸

In line with most party positions, Risteau soon developed a reputation as a moderate Democrat. Mrs. Leo Fallon, of the Federation of Democratic Women of Baltimore, praised Risteau for her "sound and wholesome advice, along the lines of a golden mean." Newspaper articles described her as "a practical farmer and not a pink tea idler. She is not obsessed with her duty to regulate the morals and habits of everybody by the means of law. She has courage and common sense." Risteau brought "an analytical and critical faculty that is

surprising in Annapolis. . . . She is neither to be wheedled or browbeaten." By the mid 1920s, her moderation did not extend to paid lobbyists and delegations requesting specific legislation for women, presumably the Equal Rights Amendment. Risteau urged women to recognize that "there are no such things as women's laws and men's laws. . . . All laws affect all people."⁵⁹

Mary Risteau's reluctance to become enmeshed in moral arguments concerning racetrack gambling and prohibition enforcement reflected both Democratic Party policy and the public agenda of women's organizations like the League of Women Voters and the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs. Whatever their personal beliefs, these groups and Mary Risteau recognized and responded to political reality. Moreover, women's organizations depended on a show of unity to achieve their goals, and thus were willing to sidestep potentially destabilizing issues. Their choice was a calculated risk, and it illustrated the dilemma of many women politicians, elected or otherwise. If they pursued the expansion of government into the realm of personal behavior, they could be accused of being "female busy-bodies." If they ignored such issues as gambling and prohibition, they were abandoning issues that had traditionally separated them from, in their view, the sleazy world of male politics. For Mary Risteau, allegiance to the Democratic Party provided a convenient if not universally popular refuge.

Risteau's moderating influence extended to her attempts to mediate differences between the organizations of Mollie Nicholson and Mrs. S. Johnson Poe. Aware that press as well as politicians made much

of divisions among women, Risteau worked to unify the various factions. When the Nicholson and Poe Democratic women's factions showed signs of threatening party and women's unity, Risteau, along with Marguerite Brown, served as mediators. Approached first by Mollie Nicholson's federation to accept the chairmanship of the central Maryland region, Risteau was unsure what her response should be. While she did not want to alienate Mrs. Poe's group, she believed that she could be of some help on the inside of one of the organizations.

Risteau turned for advice to her friends within Poe's organization, most of whom urged her to accept the position. Nellie Price Blair believed that Risteau ought to "maintain a footing within their organization until we see just how much power and influence they are going to have." Nellie Anderson also advised Risteau to accept, reminding her that she could resign at any time. Mollie Nicholson was not a leader most women wanted to follow, but should not "for the present" be antagonized. Besides, Anderson continued, if Risteau refused the position, "someone worse" might take it. With Risteau on the "inside," other Democratic women would have a better idea of Nicholson's plans.⁶⁰

Making sure that she consulted the primary political figure in the Maryland Women's Democratic Association, Risteau asked for Mrs. S. Johnson Poe's opinion and advice. Mrs. Poe expressed her belief that an organization such as Nicholson's could not survive, but with Risteau's even temporary support might continue, thus exacerbating friction and disunity. Poe suggested, however, that she and Risteau discuss the matter. With the preponderance of advice leaning toward

Risteau accepting the chairmanship of central Maryland in Nicholson's federation, Mary Risteau expressed her willingness to serve in November 1924. By 1927, she and Marguerite Brown had succeeded in at least bringing the antagonists to the same luncheon table.⁶¹

Mary Risteau considered herself and was considered to be a loyal Democratic party member. While she departed from the positions of some party members on a few issues, notably issues of child welfare and selected areas of legal discrimination against women, she was a Democrat first, follower of the party platform and Albert C. Ritchie. She considered Congressman Millard E. Tydings, Harford County political leader, and former House of Delegates member, to be her political mentor. When a newspaper printed early in 1921 that Risteau might run against Tydings for Congress, Tydings was quoted as being willing to "step aside and give Miss Risteau right of way." Risteau countered that she had no "idea of running for Congress-not she!" Risteau served the Tydings election cause as a member of his campaign committee.⁶²

Risteau had evidently adjusted well to the atmosphere of the House of Delegates, and her fellow Democrats to her. House members discussed in 1922 a resolution to ask the governor to include funds in his supplemental budget to paint and hang Risteau's portrait as the first woman member of the General Assembly. Hearing of the discussion, Governor Ritchie, who enjoyed Risteau's unflinching support, asked for the money to have the portrait painted.⁶³

Further evidence of Risteau's entrenched position in the Democratic Party came from the former governor, political boss, and sometime opponent of Governor Ritchie, John Walter Smith. In March

1923, Smith asked Mary Risteau to represent Harford County to help promote a closer relationship between the National Democratic Committee and Maryland Democrats. Smith told Risteau that he knew of no one who could "reconcile the differences and factions in your county better than yourself, because you are respected and trusted by all shades of opinion your county."⁶⁴

At mid-decade, Risteau continued to enjoy the support of Congressman Millard Tydings. Tydings considered Risteau one of the Democratic "clan." He consulted her concerning Harford County appointments, and carried on a jocular correspondence with Risteau. On one occasion, Tydings joked that he trusted Risteau's "cider is holding out, as it is very dry over here in Washington."⁶⁵ Her political skills and party position unquestioned, Mary Risteau began to consider her next political move, possibly to the Maryland Senate.

While white women activists maintained their traditional concern for issues affecting women and children, and continued to work for governmental solutions to social problems through their voluntary organizations, many recognized the connection between their efforts and the processes of traditional politics. Some women, notably Lavinia Engle, were even becoming comfortable with the name "politician." Whether or not they accepted the label, women activists continued in the early 1920s their practice of political realism. They focused on, to them, realistic, achievable goals, and they continued to build collaborative relationships with men in positions of power. Women activists would close the decade still committed to this policy, one

which brought them success and influence, but one which had serious drawbacks.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER SIX

1. William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave; Stanley J. Lemons, The Woman Citizen; Felice Gordon, After Winning, 189-200, found that in New Jersey two suffrage views of women's relative sameness to or differences from men persisted into the postsuffrage era and manifested themselves as separate and distinct "moral prodders" and "equal righters." Also see Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 95-6.

2. Elizabeth Israels Perry, Belle Moskowitz: Feminine Politics and the Exercise of Power in the Age of Alfred E. Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Dorothy M. Brown, American Women in the 1920s: Setting a Course (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 29, suggested the term "practical feminists," to describe partisan women who worked for party influence and appointments to offices. While this term comes closer to capturing the activist women of Maryland, this study does not use the term "feminist." Even though some women activists may have considered themselves feminists, and while their actions might today be labeled feminist, the term itself was in the process of being defined, and was rarely used by Maryland activists.

3. William H. Chafe, The American Woman, 36; William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave, 259-62; Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 97-8, on the other hand, maintained, as does this study, that most women's organizations did enter politics; they had "pioneered in, accepted, and polished modern methods of pressure-group politics." Carole Nichols, "Votes and More for Women," 1-3, found that in Connecticut, the women's movement remained cohesive and promoted a reform agenda. Minutes, October 6, 1922, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS.

4. Letter to Centreville Record, Mary Sheppard, March 6, 1920, Reprinted in Maryland Suffrage News, March 27, 1920.

5. Speech, Undated, Helen Elizabeth Brown, MHS.

6. Unsigned (probably Lavinia Engle) to Mrs. R. Leslie Davis, January 14, 1924, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland.

7. Minutes, March 23, 1920, Woman's Literary Club, MHS.

8. Anna L. Corkran to "My dear President," January 27, 1923, Box 11, Leakin-Sioussat Papers, MHS; Annual Meeting, May 17, 1924, "History of the Allegany County Federation of Women's Clubs."

9. Minutes, January 11, 1921; October 25, 1921, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS; Mrs. Harry Harcum, et al., History of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, 84; Minutes, April 19, 1923, College Club Records, MHS.

10. Executive Board Meeting, Undated (probably 1923); Annual Meeting, May 23, 1925, "History of the Allegany County Federation of Women's Clubs"; Minutes, March 15, 1923, Inquiry Club of Rockville, MCHS.

11. Minutes, December 13, 1921, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS; Minutes, April 4, 1919, Inquiry Club of Rockville, MCHS.

12. Legislative Programs of the League of Women Voters, 1922 and 1924, Series 1, Box 13; Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland. Anne F. Scott, Making the Invisible Woman Visible (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 238, found that Southern women made a "considerable contribution" to the growth of the idea in the 1920s of a larger role for state government in public welfare; Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 159, argued that during the 1920s women continued Progressive-Era reforms "because their professional and institutional interests encouraged them."

13. Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, May 30, 1924; Lavinia Engle to Albert C. Ritchie, June 5, 1924, Series 3, Box 16, MLWV, University of Maryland.

14. Madeleine Ellicott to Albert C. Ritchie, March 4, 1925; Albert C. Ritchie to Madeleine Ellicott, March 5, 1925; Madeleine Ellicott to Albert C. Ritchie, April 14, 1925; Madeleine Ellicott to Albert C. Ritchie, April 29, 1925; Albert C. Ritchie to Madeleine Ellicott, April 30, 1925; May 24, 1925, Series 3, Box 16, MLWV, University of Maryland.

15. Minutes, March 4, 1922; May 2, 1922; May 12, 1922; May 19, 1922; October 10, 1922, College Club Records, MHS, Baltimore.

16. Minutes, January 23, 1923, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS, Westminster.

17. Message to Maryland General Assembly, Governor Emerson C. Harrington, January 1920, Journal of Proceedings of the Maryland Senate, 1920.

18. Joseph B. Chepaitis, "Albert C. Ritchie in Power: 1920-1927," Maryland Historical Magazine 68 (Winter 1973): 383-85; Anne F. Scott, The Southern Woman: From Pedestal to Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 191, found that the progressive movement came fully into being in the 1920s, especially in relation to state government.

19. Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, Jefferson Day Banquet of the National Democratic Club, April 9, 1921, Series 2, Box 6, Papers of Albert Cabell Ritchie, Special Collections, University of Maryland at College Park Libraries; Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, The Johns Hopkins University, June 15, 1920, Series 2, Box 6, Ritchie Papers, University of Maryland; Joseph B. Chepaitis, "Albert C. Ritchie in Power," 383-85; James B. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., Maryland: A History, 658.

20. Joseph B. Chepaitis, "Albert C. Ritchie in Power," 385, 396-97; Robert Brugger, Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 455; Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, The Johns Hopkins University, June 15, 1920, Series 2, Box 6, Ritchie Papers, University of Maryland.

21. Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, undated (probably 1919), Series 2, Box 6, Ritchie Papers, University of Maryland.

22. Joseph B. Chepaitis, "Albert C. Ritchie in Power," 387-89.

23. Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, State Reorganization Commission, June 23, 1921, Series 2, Box 6, Ritchie Papers, University of Maryland; Joseph B. Chepaitis, "Albert C. Ritchie in Power," 387-89. Chepaitis noted that there were 108 members of the Reorganization Commission. The Maryland Manual, 1920-1921, listed 107.

24. Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, Beall High School, Frostburg, June 17, 1915, Series 2, Box 6, Ritchie Papers, University of Maryland; Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, McDonough Institute, LaPlata, June 16, 1915, Series 2, Box 6, Ritchie Papers, University of Maryland. Elizabeth Israel's Perry, Belle Moskowitz: Feminine Politics and the Exercise of Power in the Age of Alfred E. Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 156, described the prevailing view that men were leaders, women supporters who brought their instincts and compassion to bear on social problems, the "service ideal." Joseph B. Chepaitis, "Albert C. Ritchie in Power," 386; Message to the Maryland General Assembly, Governor Albert C. Ritchie, January 4, 1922, Governors' Papers, MHR.

25. Note in Files, Unsigned (probably Madeleine Ellicott), July 25, 1919, Series 3, Box 25, MLWV, University of Maryland; Special Session, Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates, 1920; Joseph B. Chepaitis, "Albert C. Ritchie in Power," 386.

26. Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, "Platform Pledges," General Assembly, January 4, 1922, Governors' Papers, MHR.

27. Maryland Manual, 1920-1925.

28. Ibid.

29. Dorothy M. Brown, American Women in the 1920s, 54. Also see Robyn Muncy, Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform.

30. League of Women Voters to Maryland Congressional Delegation, December 2, 1920, Series 3, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.
31. Emma Weber to Mrs. Philip Lee Travers, December 15, 1920, Series 3, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.
32. Madeleine Ellicott to Sydney Mudd, undated (probably late 1920 or early 1921), Series 3, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.
33. Charles P. Coady to Mrs. William M. [Matilda] Maloy, January 7, 1921, Series 3, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.
34. Minutes, November 23, 1920, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS; Minutes, December 9, 1920, Woman's Civic League of Westminster, CCHS; Board Meeting, December 6, 1920, Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations, Jewish Historical Society.
35. Joseph B. Chepaitis, "Albert C. Ritchie in Power," 396-97; Legislative Proposals to the Maryland General Assembly, January 4, 1922, Governors' Papers, MHR.
36. Eva Holloway to Mary Risteau, December 28, 1921, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.
37. Matilda B. Maloy to Mary Risteau, February 27, 1922, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.
38. Lavinia Engle to Mrs. J.R. Cobb, March 8, 1922, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.
39. Lavinia Engle to Katherine Bretz, March 31, 1922, Series 2, Box 1, MLWV; Minutes, February 15, 1922, College Club Records, MHS; Annual Meeting, May 20, 1922, "History of the Allegany County Federation of Women's Clubs."
40. Madeleine Ellicott to Dr. J.H. Mason Knox, September 18, 1922, Series 3, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.
41. Eva Holloway to "My Dear Madam," January 9, 1924, MLWV, Series 3, Box 2; J.H. Mason Knox to Mrs. Rufus [Cornelia] Gibbs, January 19, 1924, Series 3, Box 2, MLWV, University of Maryland; Minutes, March 11, 1924, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS.
42. Dr. John S. Fulton to "Editor," Baltimore Evening Sun, May __, 1924, Copy in Series 3, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.
43. Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, October 25, 1922, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland. Lavinia Engle to Albert C. Ritchie, October 31, 1922, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland. An unidentified handwritten date on the letter indicates 1923, but it is incorrect.

44. Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, August 17, 1923, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland.
45. Madeleine Ellicott to Alexander Armstrong, October 24, 1923, Series 3, Box 2, MLWV, University of Maryland.
46. Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, November 30, 1923, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland. See Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," American Historical Review 91 (December 1986). The acceptance of the term "politician" as applying exclusively to males is an example of Scott's proposition that "gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power."
47. Muriel Walker, in Winifred G. Helmes, ed., Notable Maryland Women, 307-08; Baltimore Sun, August 10, 1921, in Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore. Louise Young, In the Public Interest, 73.
48. Elizabeth C. Forbes to Mary Risteau, March 12, _____, Box 3, and draft reply from Mary Risteau, Box 3, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
49. Grace Greig to Mary Risteau, December 19, 1921, Box 3, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
50. Mrs. Philip Spencer to Mary Risteau, February 13, 1922, and draft reply from Mary Risteau, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
51. Edith Silver to Mrs. Margaret Green, February 13, 1922, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
52. Christine Collins to Mary Risteau, May 22, 1922, Box 3, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore; Olive R. Byrn to Mary Risteau, May 6, 1924, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
53. Baltimore Sun, January 19, 1921, typescript, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore. The date on the typescript is incorrect and should read 1922.
54. League of Women Voters Questionnaire and draft reply from Mary Risteau, August 30, 1923, September 3, 1923, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
55. W.W. Davis to Mary Risteau, December 30, 1921, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
56. Mary Risteau to F.H. Ball, draft, January 18, 1922, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.
57. Edith Silver to Mary Risteau, February 2, 1922; Mary Risteau to Edith Silver, draft, February 7, 1922, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.

58. James B. Crooks, "Maryland Progressivism," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., Maryland: A History, 654; Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, eds., Maryland: A History, 679. Letters, telegrams, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.

59. Mrs. Leo H. Fallon to Mary Risteau, October 13, 1925, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore; Unidentified articles, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore; Baltimore American, March 3, 1922, obtained from Caroline H. Keith.

60. Ruth Shoemaker to Mary Risteau, October 2, 1924; Nellie Price Blair to Mary Risteau, October ____, 1924; Nellie Anderson to Mary Risteau, October ____, 1924, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.

61. Mrs. S. Johnson Poe to Mary Risteau, Undated, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore; Mary Risteau to Ruth Shoemaker, November 17, 1924, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.

62. Baltimore American, March 3, 1921; Estelle Strayhorn to Mary Risteau, October 9, 1922, Article and letter obtained from Caroline H. Keith. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 110, discussed the irony that political parties were only interested in "loyal" women, who were thus unable to develop an independent political stance.

63. Albert C. Ritchie to Mary Risteau, February 20, 1922, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.

64. John Walter Smith to Mary Risteau, March 16, 1923, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.

65. Millard E. Tydings to Mary Risteau, May 15, 1924, December 27, 1924, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS, Baltimore.

CHAPTER SEVEN

"WE HAVE A GOOD LONG TIME BEFORE US TO LIVE WITH THESE MEN":
WOMEN ACTIVISTS AND POLITICAL REALITY, 1926-1930

By the mid 1920s, women activists had developed a combined, compromise agenda and had formed a partnership with state government. In the late 1920s, integration into electoral politics combined with ongoing activism in voluntary organizations to produce a defining and overarching approach by white women activists to political activity. Women's view of political reality, informed by years of accumulated experience, conditioned their response to challenges, shaped their agenda, and dictated their strategy. Political reality to most women activists meant working cooperatively with male politicians to achieve their objectives. It also meant a willingness to allow to lapse some longheld but in their view unachievable goals in favor of united action among various women's organizations. Political reality also meant working within, and not fundamentally challenging, the existing political establishment of male dominance of governmental structures and political parties. In other words, it meant accommodation to the powerful, while striving for power of their own. Black women activists in the late 1920s, on the other hand, worked against, not with the prevailing political system. Within the black community, however, women were subject to the expectations of community members.

When elite white Maryland women banded together and formed activist organizations and networks in the 1890s and in the early years of the twentieth century, their expressed purpose was to engage in "practical work for definite results." By the late 1920s, the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs had distilled almost thirty years of activism, now combined with the right to vote, into three steps that would lead to "good citizenship." The first step involved the "awakening of a civic conscience." Once a woman became aware of and concerned about problems in her community or state, she should form an opinion on remedial measures, and finally make her "opinion felt." Women's clubs rendered an "invaluable service" in the "systematic consideration" of problems and their solutions." Lavinia Engle stated the aims of women's activists in more direct terms: "Politics puts power into the hands of those connected with it . . . and we all want power."¹

Achieving results, making one's opinion felt, gaining power, for most white activists meant working cooperatively with male political leaders. Women activists did not drift into complacent acceptance of the political status quo; nor did they cease to exert influence. Rather, they made a deliberate choice to work within rather than to challenge the existing system, a developing system of expanding government that they in fact helped to create and would continue to influence.²

White Maryland women activists chose cooperation for several reasons. First, they and their organizations had consistently favored cooperation over confrontation in order to achieve their objectives.

Their actions also reflected the moderate nature of progressivism in Baltimore and the state as a whole. Finally, activists in Maryland resembled their counterparts in other states, who chose, in the words of national League of Women Voters official, Marguerite Wells, "infiltration," to accomplish their aims. Experience gained over a number of years and in a variety of contexts had influenced women activists to develop a view of political reality that informed their agendas and their actions, as well as their relations with male public officials. Lavinia Engle probably spoke for the majority of white women activists when she responded to the national League of Women Voters' 1927 request for information concerning reforms sponsored by women. It was difficult, Engle informed the national league, to claim many measures as "distinctly feminine achievements." It was the policy of the Maryland League, Engle continued, to "enlist the support of the various men's organizations whenever possible and of influential individual men and to give them equal credit in publicity for the measures achieved." Engle expressed her belief that the policy in the long run would build "a more effective cooperative spirit than if we continually stress the feminine influence. . . . After all we have a good long time before us to live with these men and if we have to continue to do all the reforming it promises to be a frightful bore." Engle's view of political reality included a calculated appeal to perceived male vanity. "Perhaps if we lead them [men] gently to these various reforms and then shriek with joy and tell them how smart they are they may get a taste for reforming and take it on as a permanent occupation, and nothing would please us more."³

Cooperation: Advantages

Working cooperatively with male leaders within the established political system offered several advantages to white women. Male support was necessary to the enactment of legislation, and their encouragement was helpful when women broadened the scope of their interests. Moreover, with the help of men in key positions, women could gain opportunities for individual advancement. Finally, a collaborative relationship provided greater strength against attack.

While local women's organizations continued in the late 1920s to pursue their objectives with the public officials in their towns and counties, as they had for several years, the most visible and perhaps the most productive demonstration of women's view of political reality existed at the state level. The Maryland League of Women Voters and Lavinia Engle became the intermediary between state government and other members of the legislative clearinghouse, the focal point for the articulation of white women activists' views. The league's manager, Lavinia Engle, was "called upon for all kinds of help by other organizations of women." The league had learned to take "the initiative in movements which need backing," and to "coordinat[e] our work with that of other groups of women."⁴

The league continued to believe in the late 1920s that Governor Albert C. Ritchie was the best hope for the advancement of women, through his appointment power as well as his support for legislation. Appointments of women to state and local boards and commissions, as

well as to paid positions, served two objectives: the steady increase in the number of women in leadership positions, and the resultant influence those women could have on government policy. Lavinia Engle and Governor Albert C. Ritchie continued to develop a mutually beneficial relationship through the late 1920s, and the league and its legislative clearinghouse persisted in their support of Ritchie's expansion of state government. In return, Ritchie appointed increasing numbers of women, presented their issues to the General Assembly, and showed his direct support by frequently attending league conferences.

The governor needed women's support, because Ritchie's position on the expansion of state government did not please all Democrats. Walter H. Buck, former president of the Baltimore Bar Association, accused the governor of paying too much attention to "problems of State administration," and asked Ritchie to do more about "local self-government." To his fellow Democrats, Ritchie observed that "principles of sound economics, sound business, and sound political philosophy must govern rather than party ambitions or party expediency." Women activists had shown themselves to be advocates for an expanded role for state government, a view that dovetailed nicely with Ritchie's objectives. With a view that diverged somewhat from his party's position, Ritchie recognized the need to cultivate the support of women. Individual voters, the governor believed, had not lost their "native political sagacity" and could still distinguish the "real from the fictitious. He, and perhaps more particularly she, has demonstrated once more that you can't fool all the people all the

time." Ritchie's remarks at once appealed for women's support and praised their view of political reality.⁵

The support of Governor Ritchie, as chief executive and leader of the state's majority party, was crucial to the enactment of legislation. The legislative clearinghouse, for example, had been unable to convince the General Assembly in 1927 to appropriate funds for a women's dormitory at the University of Maryland, and Lavinia Engle decided in 1928 to test her influence with the governor. Engle asked Ritchie to talk with dean of women Adele Stamp when he next visited College Park to meet with the Board of Regents, "and that you will ask her to show you the old Y hut that is used for a dormitory for women. I believe when you have seen this . . . you will agree with us that the dormitory for women is a need apart from all other needs of the University."⁶ Both Ritchie and Adele Stamp were charmed by the other. Ritchie reported his "interesting talk" to Engle:

If she [Adele Stamp] is as nice when she does not want anything as she is when she does, then her average is pretty high. You may infer from this that I was impressed with the lady, and quite naturally, that impressed me with what the lady wanted.

Stamp was equally complimentary. The governor "was so cordial and charming . . . that I was more pleased than ever that I had had an opportunity to vote for him several times and had corralled many other votes, too." Engle passed along Ritchie's comments to Stamp, noting, "From this I judge that all is well with sundry plans and that we may begin to decide on the furnishings for our new dormitory. Three large cheers." The 1929 General Assembly approved, at the governor's

request, a \$125,000 appropriation for a women's dormitory at College Park.⁷

As he had since becoming governor, Albert Ritchie collaborated with the state League of Women Voters in naming appointments to state boards and commissions. These positions became routes to influence for women, as well as evidence to male leaders that women and their organizations carried political weight. As the governor and the League of Women Voters worked together, Lavinia Engle continued to confine her suggestions for appointments to those boards and commissions that touched most directly the traditional interests and experience of women. There were, however, by the late 1920s, variations on the traditional theme. Engle recommended women to serve on the commission that would revise election laws, as well as to the higher education commission, and to the University of Maryland Board of Regents. These recommendations suggest a slight but noticeable shift to more general public policy concerns, in addition to her recommendations to commissions dealing with almshouse reorganization and child welfare.

As a result of Engle and Ritchie's collaboration, on the three new commissions established in 1929--county almshouse reorganization, social welfare survey, and higher education--ten out of thirty-seven appointees were women, and Ritchie appointed Lavinia Engle to the Higher Education Commission. Between 1926 and 1930, twenty-two additional women gained appointment to state boards and commissions. The governor at times sensed that Engle would think he had not gone far enough. Concerning his appointment of only one woman to the Social Welfare Survey Commission, Ritchie explained, "I know you will think

there ought to be another woman, but after thinking it over a lot, I did not see how it could quite be worked out that way." Engle also began to venture beyond suggesting women for positions, and she recommended the names of men to serve on the same commissions, thus indicating to the governor that women's capability went beyond recommending appropriately skilled women.⁸

The acceptance by Governor Ritchie of women's influence on appointments extended to the encouragement of women's contribution to issues beyond those which conformed to the traditional parameters for their concerns. Since the nineteenth century, women had grounded their activism in their roles as wives and mothers, relating and extending domestic concerns to the political process. Pure milk, for example, began as a family issue and became a political one. As women activists combined their experience with the acknowledged right to participate in public affairs, they began to expand the political implications of their concerns even further.

Governor Ritchie continued in the late 1920s, for example, to expect Lavinia Engle's help in structuring the Democratic Party platform, and Engle frequently took the initiative in suggesting potential measures. "You wrote me some time ago that you had some good planks for the platform," Ritchie reminded her in 1930. He asked Engle to let him know what those items were, and indicated his receptivity to her contributions. "If you will tell me all of the things which you think ought to be in the platform, particularly from the point of view of women and children, maybe you will be able to get a high batting average."⁹ Ritchie appeared to concede, through the use of the word

"particularly," that Engle and her associates might have ideas concerning issues other than those that primarily affected women and children.

Action on conservation, especially the effort to limit outdoor advertising, established women's interest in an issue that represented an enlargement of the theme of homemaker as community housekeeper. The campaign against billboards illustrates both the broadening of women's interests as well as its acceptance by women's male political allies.¹⁰

Conservation of the environment and its resources had concerned women's organizations for several years. Local women's clubs had responded to conservation initiatives on the part of the General Federation of Women's Clubs by, for example, planting "town forests" or buying land to contribute to national or state parks. The legislative clearinghouse supported Governor Ritchie's attempts to legislate seafood conservation measures.¹¹

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, operating from the principle that "The landscape is no place for advertising," cooperated with the largely male National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising in developing a policy that aimed to restrict all outdoor advertising to commercial districts. By 1928, the coalition had determined to work "not merely to secure a few immediate results in the shape of a few billboards taken down here and there. We are working for permanent basic results, -to establish our principle in law." The federation established a national committee, which developed the long range goal to enact legislation in every state to "protect our

highways, not alone from billboards but also from hot dog stands and other uglifications."¹²

Activists knew they would have to arouse public opinion and create concern for an issue that did not possess the inherent glamor or pathos associated with other causes. By 1929, the federation announced success, proclaiming, "This is no longer a woman's movement." More than 250 national advertisers and agencies endorsed the federation's policy, as did state highway commissioners and federal road officials, and many states began to consider restrictive legislation. That their work was showing results was evident by "the strenuous efforts of the Billboard Industry to change our policy."

The "strenuous efforts" included attempts by the "billboard men," among them members of the Outdoor Advertising Association, to persuade the federation to change its policy of restriction of all outdoor advertising to commercial districts. With representatives of all interested parties in attendance, the federation hosted a meeting to hear the "billboard men's" proposal. Restriction advocates were convinced neither by the industry argument that conditions did not warrant a total ban, nor by its offer to allow the federation to help choose, through state surveys, "scenic spots" where no advertising would be allowed. Elizabeth Lawton, chairman of the federation's Committee on Rural and Highway Advertising, rejected the proposal. The committee recognized that state federations would not be able to afford the surveys, unless they were "willing to place themselves under heavy obligations to the billboard companies." Committee members also realized that they could not adopt the industry's plan "without

virtually giving up our principle." In its recommendation to the federation board to reject collaboration with the industry, Elizabeth Lawton reminded the board that the goals of the industry and the federation were incompatible. "Their object is to expand outdoor advertising. Our object is to restrict it. How, then, can we honestly cooperate?" The federation board, heeding the committee's recommendation, reaffirmed its policy.¹³

The action of the General Federation of Women's Clubs filtered down to its state affiliates, and the Maryland federation prepared to press for state legislation in the 1929 General Assembly session. The legislative clearinghouse chose the federation to coordinate the campaign, and the League of Women Voters, with its greater direct experience in the legislature, sent Lavinia Engle to approach selected General Assembly members. Although Engle found little enthusiasm for an antioutdoor advertising bill, the clearinghouse determined to proceed with the effort, and began to plan their strategy. Getting their network in line, they held meetings of the organizations endorsing the legislation, and then public hearings. Careful to choose the most effective woman to run the meetings, Lavinia suggested that Mrs. John Alcock, president of the Maryland federation should preside, since it was "always a good idea to bring the State Presidents before the session at some time and she presides very effectively."¹⁴

On behalf of the clearinghouse, Lavinia Engle made contacts with state officials to involve them in the process and to ask their opinion, thus helping to assure they would not oppose the bill. Sending a copy of Connecticut's 1925 billboard control law to the

Maryland Commissioner of Motor Vehicles, Engle noted that it was later overthrown "through the activities of the billboard interest." Engle asked Colonel E. Austin Baughman for his opinion concerning the law's "suitability for operation here."¹⁵

As it worked against a strong billboard industry lobby during the 1929 legislative session, the clearinghouse had to deal with a new coalition partner whose experience did not equal that of the original network. Mrs. Joseph Colt Bloodgood, chairman of the billboard committee of the Amateur Gardeners' Club and representing other Maryland garden clubs, called a meeting during the legislative session to confer with representatives of the billboard industry, inviting neither the Maryland federation nor the league to attend. At the meeting, the billboard representatives made "large promises" and later referenced Mrs. Bloodgood's cooperation at a Senate hearing. Attempting to shore up an apparent break in the ranks, Lavinia Engle informed Mrs. Bloodgood that legislators might think that the garden clubs were willing to allow billboard interests "to control the situation." Tactfully pointing out that she was sure this did not represent Bloodgood's position, Engle urged her to "very quickly" send a letter to the Senate.¹⁶

Concerned that Mrs. Bloodgood's actions might jeopardize the proposed legislation, Engle determined to keep her and the garden clubs at arm's length, but not so far removed as to be unmanageable. In response to Mrs. Bloodgood's request for advice on whether her committee should merge with the clearinghouse effort, Engle encouraged her to "continue as a separate committee and let all the other

organizations cooperate with you." Providing a tutorial on political methods, Engle further advised Bloodgood to "eliminate the representatives of the billboard companies . . . have your committee work out its own plans and then go to the billboard people and ask for cooperation on a plan already discussed and adopted." Wishing to make certain that Bloodgood and her committee did not go too far afield, Engle asked her to notify the clearinghouse of the next committee meeting, so that the network could send a representative.¹⁷

Although the outdoor advertising control bill failed in the 1929 General Assembly, the clearinghouse was able to obtain authorization to control billboards in Montgomery County, and the network planned to collect data "essential to a strong fight for the bill in [the] 1931 session." On the basis of the "experiment" in Montgomery County, Engle informed Elizabeth Lawton, "We expect to have a much more comprehensive plan . . . by 1931."¹⁸ In the 1931 session, in the midst of economic crisis, when industry representatives claimed that billboard control would "'throw thousands out of employment and add to the present depression,'" the women's network fought back for the "'beauty of the Maryland country side.'" After weeks of "vigorous lobbying," a compromise control bill passed the General Assembly, giving the state responsibility, through its State Roads Commission, for collecting a billboard tax, regulating sign type and location, and planting roadside trees and shrubbery. The network intended to monitor enforcement "and if in two years the results are not satisfactory there will be another session of the General Assembly in 1933."¹⁹ Control of billboards represented acceptance by male political leaders of women's involvement

in the entire scope of political issues. It also illustrated the growing trend toward a major political role for interest groups, a circumstance that women activists had helped to develop.

Working cooperatively with male leaders provided one final advantage to white women activists. It was perhaps to be expected that women's political participation and achievements would be challenged. In Maryland, the strong collaborative relationship among women's organizations, the governor's office, and state government officials, resulted in a reinforced and strengthened political presence for women. Perhaps the greatest challenge to the agenda and to the solidarity of women's organizations in the 1920s, at both the national and state level, came from the political right. Born of a combination of fear of the left and distrust of larger government, adherents pledged to "oppose further encroachments of the Washington Government on the reserved rights of the States." The challengers, members of various national and state organizations, from the Sentinels of the Republic and the American Legion, to the Daughters of the American Revolution, viewed women's support of enhanced government responsibility as a target for their efforts to reverse what in their view was an alarming trend toward "State Socialism." Women's groups may have seemed more vulnerable to attack since opponents could portray their recently-won equality as being parlayed into a networked and organized conspiracy. In challenging many women's positions on, for example the Sheppard-Towner Act, opponents were challenging as well women's right to the public arena, perhaps hoping that pressure would drive women out of public life.²⁰

Sensitive to attack, women's organizations, striving to show they were not "Red," reacted defensively. Mary Sherman, national president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1926, urged her members to "be ever watchful lest the insidious propaganda of communism creep into your schools, your Clubs, and your communities." Madeleine Ellicott asked Maud Wood Park, president of the national League of Women Voters, to "confer with the National President of the D.A.R. in the hope that she might . . . give a statement definitely clearing the D.A.R. from the suspicion of being the instigator of these attacks." Lavinia Engle believed that much of the impetus behind the attacks came from groups which had opposed women's suffrage. Indeed, Maryland antisuffragist Cornelia Gibbs announced herself in favor of repeal of the Nineteenth Amendment. Women, Gibbs told a newspaper, had shown they were no more moral than men, and their "ever-multiplying demand for laws and more laws is gradually centralizing powers in the hands of the government."²¹ Gibbs and her associates undoubtedly believed that if women could be removed from public life, the trend toward government "encroachment" would cease.

A small national group, the Sentinels of the Republic, took credit for the repeal of the Sheppard-Towner Act, to become effective in 1929. In Maryland, the Sentinels of the Republic, with a total of sixty-three members statewide, and an executive committee that included Cornelia Gibbs, concentrated its efforts on the abolition of the State Bureau of Child Hygiene, which had been established to implement the Sheppard-Towner Act in the state. Allies of the Sentinels included physicians opposed to government funding of public health work.

Opponents of the Bureau published literature claiming that maternity and infant death rates in the United States were low when compared with other countries, and argued that maternal and infant health had no place in public health programs.²²

As it had in the original enactment and implementation of the Sheppard-Towner Act in Maryland, the state League of Women Voters led the campaign to retain the Bureau of Child Hygiene, even without its federal appropriation that would end in 1929. Their allies, in addition to clearinghouse members, now included the state government itself, in the form of the State Department of Health, which had a direct and professional interest in saving the Bureau. Early in the campaign, even before the federal repeal of the Sheppard-Towner Act, Lavinia Engle had astutely dissected the opposition view. She wanted, she told Dr. J.H. Mason Knox, chief of the Bureau of Child Hygiene, to "pin down the opposition" as to whether objections concerned the federal appropriation itself or the actual public health work among infants and mothers. Engle believed that if the objection centered on federal aid, then its opponents "should tackle the large appropriations and not concentrate their efforts on a minor sum for the benefit of children."²³

Opponents of the Bureau of Child Hygiene took their campaign to the 1927 legislative session, where they mounted an attempt to discontinue the state appropriation for the Bureau. Members of the Eleventh Ward Democratic Club of Baltimore, who counted Governor Albert C. Ritchie among their number, passed a resolution in support of repeal. While the legislative clearinghouse and its allies in the

State Department of Health were able to retain the Bureau in 1927, opponents geared up for another attempt at the 1929 General Assembly session, no doubt believing their task would be easier once federal funds no longer supported the state's efforts.²⁴

The support of Governor Ritchie was crucial to both sides. In December 1928, Dr. Gordon Wilson of Baltimore sent to "Dear Bert"--Governor Ritchie--a New York Times article featuring an attack by the American Medical Association on the Sheppard-Towner Act. Wilson hoped that the article would give the governor some "'ammunition'" for his "'States Rights' fight." Ritchie, after reading the article replied to "Gordon," "I thoroughly agree with it, although I expect Dr. [J.H. Mason] Knox will not." Ritchie gave some hope to Wilson, and led him to think that he as a fellow male appreciated the difficulty that doctors might have with the federal Children's Bureau. "I understand," Ritchie confided, "that nearly everyone connected with the department is an old maid."²⁵ This view echoed that of male politicians of the 1910s who, in order to devalue women's emerging activism, insisted that unmarried women could not possibly understand the needs of children. The governor understood and probably endorsed this position, although his actions would demonstrate a more considered conclusion.

J.H. Mason Knox, aware too that the governor's support would be essential in the 1929 legislative session, began in 1928 to build the case for continuance of the Bureau of Child Hygiene. He reported an "appreciable diminution" in the number of maternal and infant deaths in rural Maryland. From 1656 in 1922, infant deaths had decreased to 1316 in 1927. Maternal deaths also decreased, from 110 in 1922, to 65 in

1927. Maryland could now report a rate lower than any other state. Knox also reported to the governor that "Our mutual friend, Dr. Gordon Wilson, tells me he sent you the [article]." The New York Times piece, actually written by a physician, Dr. W.C. Woodward, had specifically criticized Maryland for using Sheppard-Towner funds to survey crippled children. Knox defended the survey, saying that helping children to "secur[e] adequate orthopedic treatment was more than justified."²⁶

Governor Ritchie, who had bent his states' rights position to accommodate the Sheppard-Towner Act, and had reacted positively to the influence of women activists, made J.H. Knox aware of his position. "I am very pleased to know of the improvement of . . . conditions in this state. Your friend, Dr. Woodward, does take a few shots at the proposition." At the same time he propitiated friends like Dr. Wilson, Ritchie continued his pursuit of the expansion of state government, supported by many women activists, including no doubt a goodly number of "old maids." The campaign planned by supporters and opponents in the 1929 General Assembly session was unnecessary. The state League of Women Voters reported in 1929 that "For the first time since the Bureau of Child Hygiene was established, no bill asking for repeal was introduced."²⁷ The advantages of working within the established political system resulted in mutual dependence on the part of state government and white women activists. In exchange for their support for expanded state government, Governor Ritchie rewarded women with positions of influence and his support for at least some of their issues. Ritchie's support extended to at least a beginning acceptance of women's expanding interests.

Cooperation: Drawbacks

The conscious but unspoken bargain women activists made, however, was not without its flaws. In making a deliberate choice to work with rather than against prevailing politics and male politicians, white women activists also made decisions of omission. Always a relatively small group of white, elite, organizational women, activists during the 1920s continued to listen primarily to their own voices and to act on their own concerns. By not including other views, failing to take full advantage of a potentially larger impact, and by exacerbating internal and external divisions, activists helped to weaken their organizations, even while those same organizations were growing in size.

Concentration on integration into the existing political life of the state meant that some women and their views would be isolated and unheard. Certainly this was the case with two long-time activists, Edith Houghton Hooker and Elizabeth Coit Gilman. Mainstream women activists also missed an opportunity to combine their concerns with those of black women to bring about changes in the way young people were treated by the state.

Edith Houghton Hooker remained the leader of the small Woman's Party in Maryland, but was a force in the national organization, editing and to a large extent financing its publication, Equal Rights. Her views, even though consistently moderate, were not welcomed by the league or the federation. Elizabeth Coit Gilman, civic and suffrage activist daughter of the president of The Johns Hopkins University,

became active in Maryland's Socialist Party and in 1930 ran on its ticket as the candidate for governor. Gilman's candidacy was, declared the Socialist Maryland Leader, "warmly received" and Hopkins' students formed "Gilman for Governor" clubs, but mainstream women activists did not receive her candidacy or her emphasis on economic welfare with warmth. During the campaign, Elizabeth Gilman attacked businesses for economizing during hard times by reducing "the number of . . . poorer-paid employees but keep[ing] . . . high salaried officials." Buried at the polls, Gilman and the difficult economic situation did succeed in tripling the Socialist Party vote in Baltimore in 1930.²⁸ By excluding women like Hooker and Gilman from leadership positions and influential roles, women activists lost not only their experience, but their views as well, views that might have energized other activists and contributed to a more chaotic but potentially more powerful presence.

White women activists continued to have difficulty combining their interests with those of black women activists. The tendency of most white women, when they gave attention to black women at all, was to continue to speak for rather than with them. The Women's Cooperative Civic League in 1926, concerned about living conditions at institutions that cared for dependent children, decided to campaign for better supervision of privately owned, publicly-assisted institutions, and worked with other black women's organizations to arouse interest in the issue. In 1928, when women of the Minerva Art Club visited Melvale, the privately-owned Industrial Home for Colored Girls, they were shocked that the girls received little education and that many

suffered from "social diseases." Not until 1930, however, was the white community roused to action, when Baltimore juvenile court judge J.S. Waxter criticized the institution, which received \$4,000 a year from the state and \$14,000 from Baltimore City. Even though all the inmates were black, the board was entirely white, with only one woman, and met infrequently. Judge Waxter blasted the institution for its filth and lack of recreation and educational opportunities. Workers locked girls in their dorms, and did not allow the inmates eating utensils.²⁹

Other white community leaders joined in at last to condemn Melvale. Marie Bauernschmidt, secretary of the Public School Association, and ally of the black activists working for better school conditions, visited Melvale and expressed her agreement with Judge Waxter. Nathaniel Grasty, of the Board of City Supervisors, also agreed that the conditions at Melvale were "deplorable," but Stuart S. Janney, Chairman of the State Department of Welfare "washed his hands" and declared that the state had no control of the privately-owned institution. Janney did venture, however, that if conditions were as bad as they were pictured, he wished the state did control Melvale, for then "we would clean up the place." The Urban League determined to set as its priority for the year a consideration of welfare institutions serving blacks and how they were administered. The community called for the appointment of black women to Melvale's board, and the Afro-American suggested possible candidates, one of whom, Lillian Lottier, possessed "unquestioned efficiency."³⁰

In contrast to the official treatment of Melvale and other black welfare institutions, women's interest in the Montrose Industrial School for Girls, with an all white population, met with a different response. The Montrose school had long interested Madeleine Ellicott of the Maryland League of Women Voters, and Lavinia Engle worked to arouse interest in the institution throughout the network. Engle sent letters to organizations asking them to contribute books to the school, and persuaded some organizations to visit the institution. In the 1929 legislative session, the league succeeded in obtaining, as a part of the governor's budget and accepted by the General Assembly, a state appropriation of \$35,000 for Montrose. The following year, the league, on behalf of the legislative clearing house, did make a "statement of policy" that the two existing institutions for black children, Melvale and Cheltenham, "should be state owned and operated." Their efforts, however, lagged behind their concern for institutions housing white children.³¹

White women activists, evidently wishing to remain on good terms with state government did not actively press acceptance of the recommendations of the Interracial Commission. Although Governor Albert C. Ritchie appointed the Interracial Commission in response to appeals from the black community in 1924, by 1926 the commission had received no state appropriation for a headquarters or staff, and its membership, thirteen whites, two of whom were women, and eight blacks, including one woman, rarely had full attendance at their meetings. In 1927, however, the commission submitted a report to the governor and General Assembly that recommended a number of "Negro welfare"

measures. Bills were prepared for the 1927 General Assembly to turn Cheltenham, the male equivalent of Melvale, over to the state, to equalize salaries for black and white teachers statewide, and to repeal all Jim Crow legislation. Curiously, while the situation at Cheltenham was a priority for the committee, no mention appears to have been made concerning Melvale, perhaps demonstrating that black women's participation in developing the recommendations was minimal. In matters of state government, black women's concerns continued to be filtered through black men and white women. The commission's recommendations did not have the support of the governor, who refused to introduce the package as administration bills. When the bills were finally introduced at the 1929 legislative session, without the support of the governor, Democratic legislators, or white women activists, there was no hope of passage.³²

While white Maryland women activists expanded the range of their interests during the 1920s to encompass such issues as conservation, their firm stand on a political middle ground inhibited their ability to take full advantage of women's growing interest in other issues. In the aftermath of the World War I, many women became involved in concern for peace, and several women's organizations, including the national League of Women Voters, incorporated study and advocacy of peace into their programs. In 1925, national women's organizations with peace departments merged them into the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, which then held yearly meetings and served as a network. The National Conference, organized by Carrie Chapman Catt, expressed a middle of the road concern for peace and disassociated itself from the

openly pacifist Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Conceived as an educational rather than a political body, the umbrella organization served as a means to educate women but not to attack the government or the military. In Maryland, the state League of Women Voters became active in coordinating a state committee to arrange the conferences, and organizations established local committees and sent delegates to the annual meeting. Local committees on the Cause and Cure of War also inaugurated a series of lectures and discussions, and groups like the YWCA of Baltimore asked to be represented on the group that would arrange the meetings.³³

Throughout the network, women's organizations took stands on war and peace-related issues, as conference delegates reported back to their clubs. The YWCA urged the United States Senate to support the World Court as an "imperative part of . . . peace machinery." The Woman's Club of Westminster voted to endorse the Kellogg-Briand Pact, as did the Inquiry Club of Rockville. The Dorchester County League of Women Voters followed the foreign affairs positions of political parties, and its delegates to the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War reported to the membership.³⁴

Some Maryland women within the cooperating committee became impatient with the deliberate pace dictated by the conference's study courses, and wanted to push the conference for a "definite statement . . . on a number of important questions." Another group believed the committee should continue to study "and only pass a few resolutions on very definitely established principles . . . such as international arbitration." Believing that women should operate from a secure

knowledge base, Lavinia Engle favored continuing the study courses, and reasoned "if the average woman can be persuaded to read one-half dozen authoritative texts at least no harm will have been done and perhaps a great deal of good accomplished." Although over seven hundred women attended the conference in 1928, state organizations, reflecting the national situation, were not able to take full advantage of women's concern for world peace. Women activists, already accused by the right wing of favoring "socialistic" governmental expansion, were no doubt sensitive to accusations of unpatriotic pacifism by the same groups. Activists' decision to base their activism on cooperation dictated a middle course along a narrow road.³⁵

From the 1890s, activist women's influence on government had depended on a network of growing and essentially united organizations. In the 1920s, the decision to integrate, compromise, and work within the existing political system contributed to an organizational paradox. While statewide organizations like the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs continued to grow and their influence with state government also increased, their members' commitment to concerns that had previously motivated them diminished. To capitalize on their ability to influence government, the Maryland federation became more hierarchical and bureaucratic, thus contributing to even greater local apathy and unrest. The state League of Women Voters, increasingly the vehicle of activist women's influence at the state level, battled both local apathy and its own national organization. The league also found that while its influence with state government was real and increasing, its goal of convincing women to vote in large numbers remained

elusive. Partisan women's organizations found unity difficult to maintain, and the league and the federation experienced a strain in their relationship.

At the conclusion of her second two-year term as president of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs in 1926, Bettie Sippel reported to her clubs that she was proud to leave to her successor "a State fully organized for Club work." Sippel's leadership had resulted in an increase in the number of member clubs from 79 to 120, with a total membership of 18,000 women. District organization had added to the federation's ability to operate efficiently, and Sippel was especially pleased that the network was now functional statewide. As a collective body, the federation linked with many other organizations in a relationship of "hearty cooperation."³⁶

With the steady expansion of clubs in the state federation came an increase in the scope and number of member club interests and concerns, and this very increase contributed to the eventual weakening of the federation's influence. Traditionally, local clubs participated in the state's agenda-setting by contributing resolutions to the annual meeting. While the state federation had no wish to direct or limit the local work of its member clubs, its officers began to feel overwhelmed by the number of initiatives local clubs brought to the state federation for action. At the 1927 annual meetings, therefore, the state federation attempted to assure that resolutions coming to the state level had the support of a majority of its members, thereby hoping to limit the number and types of issues to those the state organization could efficiently handle. State leaders developed a plan

whereby no resolution would be considered at the annual meeting unless it had the prior approval of two-thirds of all clubs in the state. Since the plan shifted to the clubs the burden of contributing to the agenda through a locally-initiated process, clubs had difficulty reacting quickly enough, and for a time presented no resolutions to the state for action.³⁷ In its drive for efficiency, the state federation, with its more cumbersome process, probably stifled the creativity of some clubs and contributed to the apathy many clubs experienced.

One of the most frequently occurring internal challenges, and one of the most difficult to counter, was the problem of indifference. The Woman's Civic League of Westminster, an organization that once had one hundred active members, retained only "the faithfulness of a few workers." The College Club of Baltimore had for several years sent speakers into high schools to urge especially young women to attend college. In 1927, club members decided not to make the effort "as results did not justify the large amount of work."³⁸

Unlike the 1910s, when the needs of communities were obvious, and results could be immediately seen, communities were by the late 1920s assuming more responsibility for services, as women's groups had demanded. Remaining problems, including poverty and adequate educational opportunities, were both more intractable and not as accessible to the undependable and sporadic efforts of volunteer groups. Women's organizations had been the catalyst for change, and were still welcome as fundraisers to help supplement town and county

services, but with an increasing tendency to entrust public services to public employees, the scope of volunteer organizations narrowed.

Part of the difficulty lay in organizations that continued to tread the path of the tried and true rather than develop new initiatives, just as their state leaders accepted the role they created for themselves. When they did explore new possibilities, some clubs faced a lack of will or expertise to carry through an idea. Yet clubs, perhaps unwilling to give up the satisfaction community action brought them, did not abandon their civic agendas, although some concentrated more on purely homemaking topics. The Woman's Civic League of Westminster had achieved great success in the 1910s with its campaign to eradicate flies. By 1927, still operating the same program, the campaign was not going well, and "it was suggested that the League have some new interest." Club members thought perhaps a program to combat illiteracy would offer rewards, but the proposed campaign "sounded too formidable . . . so the matter was dropped." The league did settle on work to "help . . . care for welfare cases in Westminster," after hearing a talk by Emily Bachtell, Carroll County's public health nurse.³⁹

Bettie Sippel's pride in the Maryland federation received a shock when she became president of the national body. She was sorry to report, she told the Woman's Club of Westminster, that the Maryland federation was "not up to par in club work."⁴⁰ Sippel's new national perspective found its counterpart in the findings of state officers. State leaders frequently exhorted local groups to work harder. Using the technique of the personal visit, officials tried to help

organizations grasp a bigger picture, to view issues from a state perspective. When Mrs. A. Norman Ward, of the Maryland federation's Northern District, attended a meeting of the Woman's Civic League of Westminster in 1927, she asked each member to become more "conscientious and earnest." Unless each member, Ward continued, did her share of work, the federation could not accomplish the "whole plan."⁴¹

By 1930, the Maryland federation, with its 18,000 members the foundation of the women's statewide network, had begun to develop significant cracks. Members of the Woman's Club of Westminster expressed their displeasure with their district president, complaining that meetings were "entirely too long." Reports that "Miss Sloan," the Northern District president sent the club were "quite lengthy," and the president of the local club would not read them to the club but would make them available to "anyone interested."⁴²

Dissatisfaction with district leadership led the Westminster club to support a vice presidential candidate at the state level, their former district president, Mrs. A. Norman Ward. Club members came away from the state federation meeting "indignant" at the treatment accorded the unsuccessful Mrs. Ward, and vowed that they were "through with the State Federation under this administration."⁴³

Perhaps continuing to harbor ill feelings, the Woman's Club of Westminster expressed its independence when the 1930 proposed legislative agenda arrived for action. The club "did not endorse the measure for jury duty [for women] . . . nor the measure for permanent [voter] registration in Baltimore City, feeling that this was a local

measure." The club did, however, reinforce its commitment to the federation's combined agenda of social reform and women's advancement. Members expressed their support for a statewide system of juvenile courts, as well as changes in the divorce law "demanding the same standard for men as . . . women," and an amendment to the inheritance law, "putting women on the same basis as men."⁴⁴

From the perspective of the national League of Women Voters in 1930, the relationship among local and state branches and the parent organization was "real and interdependent." Work of the league had been distilled to a process that involved the study of an issue and the development of a plan of action, and each local and state league was expected to assume its assigned place in the program.⁴⁵ While this may have been a true picture in some parts of the country, not all state branches felt the same interdependence.

With the Maryland League's persistent and vexing financial condition a chief concern, Madeleine Ellicott asked for assistance from the national league and other states. At a regional meeting in 1926, Ellicott reported that with over half of the state league members in Baltimore, county leagues could not meet their membership quotas, and the state board had decided to discontinue assigning them. When other states in the region expressed similar difficulties, Florence Whitney, the national league's Region II director, suggested that the problem of adequate funding was "indeed not nearly so discouraging as it seems to some people. From experience we have learned that money can be raised if we have faith," and Whitney added that "organization was key." Some state league representatives, having found that faith had not helped

them organize and fund new branches, had allowed local groups to affiliate with other organizations, most typically as the civic department of a woman's club. The national league, trying to build its own identity, opposed this step, arguing that conflict could arise when the positions of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the league diverged.

At the same regional meeting, Madeleine Ellicott sought more specific guidance from the national office, and she hit on the root of the problem the league faced in Maryland counties. To help state leagues organize in the counties, she asked Florence Whitney and Katharine Ludington from the national office if they would publish a "folder . . . showing ways in which the League is distinctive." Ludington deflected the request, mentioning that several states published a "New Member's Primer."⁴⁶

In addition to issues of finance and organization, state leagues questioned the relationship of central office to branch. It was not clear to state representatives whether their organizations were free either to work in an area not specified by the national office, or to decline to support a national initiative. The national league, probably to avoid this very question, had made its position ambiguous. In the absence of a clear policy, states in Region II informed their national representatives that they would not welcome infringement of the states' "prerogatives." State branches believed that the national organization should rely on them to know conditions in their own areas, and to act accordingly, without having to confine their efforts to national dictates.⁴⁷ The Maryland League would find that it had to

negotiate a careful path between the mandates of the national office and conditions existing within the state.

In contrast to the image of strength it had cultivated within state government, the state League of Women Voters continued to face obstacles at the local level in the late 1920s. An estimated fifteen hundred members comprised the entire state organization, with one Baltimore branch accounting for between five hundred and one thousand women. Five county branches, Montgomery, Prince George's, Harford, Anne Arundel, and Dorchester, along with three college leagues, did give the state organization at least one active league in each congressional district, but there was no longer a state bulletin to keep members informed and to share successes and problems. No local branch except Baltimore had an actual headquarters, and Baltimore shared office space with the state organization. The state league, desperate for members, considered allowing women to affiliate directly with the state organization if no local branch existed in their areas.⁴⁸

The league did not forget its original purpose to prepare women to vote. Their efforts, however, met with mixed success at best. Putting the best face on its results, Maryland reported to its region in 1926 that its get out the vote activities "did not entirely fulfill the hopes of the . . . League . . . but at least they had the satisfaction of seeing an increase of fifteen per cent in the number of women registered and a comparatively large vote polled." In the many counties where no local leagues existed, the state organization depended on members of the county women's federations to help register

women. In 1926, the state league reported "marked results" in the counties, with one county precinct registering 105 women to 100 men. In 1928, the Baltimore Sun reported that election watchers confirmed that 99 percent of the city's registered women voted in the presidential election.⁴⁹

Partisan organizations were not immune from internal discord, and Democratic women found unity among their various factions difficult to maintain. By 1929, after Mollie Nicholson, president of the United Democratic Women's Club, was "read out of the Party," many "prominent" Democratic women joined both groups, and "perfect harmony" prevailed. Within the once-solid Maryland Women's Democratic Association, however, difficulty in attracting new members and disagreements over leadership threatened the existence of the association. The organization was not able to enlist the support of many new members, and Mary Risteau thought she understood the problem. Following a meeting to recruit support, a potential member told Risteau that she already belonged to the Red Cross, "and this meeting has been so very non-political."⁵⁰ Perhaps in an attempt to attract those women who preferred not to call their efforts "political," women's Democratic organizations had veered too strongly in the opposite direction.

Mary Risteau, in 1929 corresponding secretary of the Maryland Women's Democratic Association, again tried to serve as a mediator, this time in an attempt to save the association from a leadership crisis. Risteau asked Mary Baker to reconsider her resignation as a club officer, and Baker refused, saying that she could not "give my best efforts under the present leadership." If Risteau or Mrs. G.

Abram Moss were to assume the presidency, Baker would fully support their efforts. As the 1930 state elections approached, association leaders were careful to present a united front. Elizabeth Leavell, association president, aware that the future of the organization was in danger, declined to call an unscheduled combined meeting of both state Democratic women's organizations since "it will be regarded by the papers as an attempt to re-organize a rival club."⁵¹ Women involved in public life had learned that the press could be both ally and antagonist.

Most white women activists did not develop and express avowed partisanship. Women in civic organizations uniformly avoided taking openly partisan positions, and they seldom mobilized votes to elect or defeat particular candidates. There are several possible explanations for this seeming lack of political sense. The reluctance may have stemmed from the perception that organizations should maintain the unity they had worked to achieve. Moreover, even though suffrage rhetoric had promised that voting would alter politics, with the right to vote so recently won, women's organizations had not yet reordered their political style to accommodate partisan activity. Additionally, with Maryland solidly Democratic, most partisan battles took place within the party and were generally settled even before primary elections; and since party women, like the league and the federation, did not challenge the views and policies of male leaders, their potential followers had little incentive to join yet another organization. Yet another possibility was that women did not perceive political parties as the vehicle through which specific governmental

changes could be achieved. Women began voting as party loyalties were diminishing and new routes to political participation developed, routes that women activists, as political outsiders, had helped to pioneer. New, interest-group politics, coupled with expanding regulatory and administrative roles for government, contributed to less power for political parties, and less incentive for partisan competition.⁵² Whatever the reason for white Maryland women activists' reluctance to openly connect their interest to partisan success, their hesitancy was shared by other groups and did not reveal a lack of realism concerning political life.

Just as organizations experienced internal strains, relations among groups suffered as well. Significant differences arose over the division of responsibility within the network. The legislative clearinghouse served to keep women's organizations informed of proposed and pending legislation, and as a single point of contact to which women's combined influence could be channeled. Organized by the league in 1921, the clearinghouse had operated during and between the General Assembly sessions of 1922, 1924, and 1927.⁵³

As the organization most involved in legislation, the League of Women Voters, through its experienced manager, Lavinia Engle, became the stable presence on whom the rest of the network depended for information and lobbying skill. As the decade advanced, member organizations, especially the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, came to expect that Engle, as a paid worker, would shoulder most of the legislative load, and federation legislative chairmen increasingly made themselves scarce during General Assembly sessions. By 1929, Engle was

vocal in expressing her displeasure, believing that more than mere endorsement by the federation was necessary to exert sufficient pressure on members of the legislature. The federation's legislative chairmen, Engle complained, "did not come to Annapolis during the session nor did we receive any support in our legislative work except at the hearing on bill-boards." It was not a question of the federation's not supporting the legislative agenda--the members of the federation had endorsed the package--it was the perception on the part of legislators of support that was important.⁵⁴ By narrowing legislative activism to one organization, activists discouraged local activity and risked deterioration of their base of support.

At the same time activists came to depend on the state League of Women Voters to serve as its liaison with state government, the league in turn placed its faith in the support and ability to deliver of Albert C. Ritchie. As long as Lavinia Engle maintained a collaborative relationship with the governor, and as long as Ritchie remained powerful, activists' concerns received attention. Engle, however, combined her league position in 1930 with membership in the House of Delegates and Ritchie lost his fifth bid for the governorship in 1934.⁵⁵

During the suffrage campaign, differences in tactics had divided suffrage activists, but the need to demonstrate unity resulted in an approach that combined elements from both camps. When such issues as the Equal Rights Amendment arose in the first postsuffrage decade, women's organizations compromised again, rejecting the amendment but striving for women's advancement through revision of some

discriminatory laws as well as through appointment to local and state government positions. While the compromise enabled the league and the federation to present a united presence to the General Assembly, it contributed to local indifference and an inability to generate interest in expanding the agenda, as well as to a view limited to political expediency.

Black Women's Political Activism: Working Against the System

Since the early 1910s, black women community activists had expected increasingly more from their organizations, from their relationships with white women, and from their government. During the late 1920s, black women continued to build their state and community networks, and worked within their communities to improve educational and social welfare services. Activists also worked to improve race relations and continued to try to generate interest in electoral politics. Black women activists, unlike their white counterparts, worked against the existing system of segregation, unequal schools, and automatic Republican votes. Historian Nancy F. Cott has observed that "voices of black women" were not "articulated very clearly," since they were mediated through male-dominated organizations and white women's "umbrella" groups. While this is partially true for Maryland, at the same time, however, black women activists in Maryland continued to develop and speak with their own political voice. As individual activists challenged the existing system, however, they found themselves subject to community expectations and oversight.⁵⁶

By the mid 1920s, the Maryland Federation of Colored Women's Clubs was still growing and was beginning to make an impact in its various communities. In 1926, two of its constituent organizations, the Day Nursery and the Empty Stocking and Fresh Air Circle, were added to the agencies that received assistance through Baltimore's community fund. By 1928, the federation had 906 members in Maryland, and had added 133 in the preceding year. Of the \$2,000 raised during the year, the federation had spent \$1,447 on charities. In the same year, the federation, in response to the increasing tendency of Baltimore stores to refuse to serve blacks, cooperated with the Urban League to promote "race enterprise."⁵⁷

In 1926, the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP for the first time raised the full amount of the quota set for it by the national body, and women were to a large extent responsible. Several women served as officers and members of the executive committee of the chapter and the organization sent Martha E. Brown as a delegate to the national conference. The NAACP, even though it was waging a "constant fight" against segregation and pursuing other community priorities, continued to suffer from a community perception that it was a "'high brow'" organization. In 1927, one of its members refuted the criticism of the organization by challenging citizens to join the "dead chapter to show those blunderers what you can do." In the 1930s, under the leadership of Lillie May Jackson, the Baltimore chapter of the NAACP would become one of the nation's strongest.⁵⁸

The fight for better schools for Baltimore's black population served as a vehicle through which women activists could experience

political leadership and illustrates the difficulty women faced in simultaneously exercising power and meeting community expectations. With a separate school system, shorter school years, and teachers whose salaries did not approach those of white teachers, education was a primary focus for black women's activism. Women were active as members and officers of the Colored Teachers Association. A state survey of black schools had found schools to be poorly lighted firetraps, and recommended that twelve schools in Baltimore be immediately abandoned. Teachers and their community supporters called for "equal salaries for equal work without regard to color or sex." An Afro-American editorial in the early 1920s had called attention to a comparison of black and white teacher salaries (\$320 per year as opposed to \$650), and noted that General Assembly pages, doorkeepers, and charwomen were paid more for the three months of legislative session than black teachers earned for a year's work. Activists were continually disappointed in Governor Ritchie's budget requests to the General Assembly. Calling for increased state aid for the University of Maryland, The Johns Hopkins University, and other colleges, Ritchie in 1922, for example, had cut the request of black Morgan College from six thousand to three thousand dollars.⁵⁹

Laura J. Wheatley, former teacher and president of the black Federation of Parent Teacher Clubs, became a thorn in the side of white school officials and politicians, and an enigma to other members of the black community. By the mid 1920s, working with Marie Baurenschmidt of the Public School Association, Wheatley had built a reputation as a strong and vocal advocate for improved community education. In March

1925, the Afro-American had "broadcast . . . an S.O.S." to vacationing Wheatley in Cuba and a returning Baurenschmidt, imploring them to "Please Come Home! The School Board and the Superintendent of Schools find themselves unable to get going without the prod your associations furnish."⁶⁰

Within a year, however, some elements of the community were backing away from support of Laura Wheatley. Wheatley was asked to resign over a confusing incident that involved a 20 percent commission she allegedly asked from a sculptor to arrange for an exhibit. Even though the Parent Teacher Federation executive board recommended her resignation, Wheatley obtained a vote of confidence of twenty-five federation delegates, and she refused to leave the presidency. Many members of the black community, like their counterparts in the white community, expected women to maintain a traditionally separate, non-political and thus "purer" status. Referring to Lucy Slowe's contention that women entering public life ought to represent "high ideals, public service and freedom from corruption," the Afro-American editorialized that women "will turn out no different from men."⁶¹

When Wheatley was reelected federation president in May 1926, the Afro-American's city editor, William N. Jones, could not contain his disgust, and contrasted community expectations for women with Wheatley's behavior. Wheatley, Jones charged, lacked the "mother instinct of child protection." In place of the maternal instincts she did not possess, Wheatley had built an "official steam roller" and depended "on her personal pull for accomplishment." This behavior appeared to be radically different from that of women who had based

their activism on their position as wives and mothers. Wheatley's leadership "smacks too much of politics." The Afro-American continued its crusade and uncovered two federation delegates who claimed Wheatley had made promises to them in exchange for their votes.⁶² The criticism of Laura Wheatley reflected a dilemma for both black and white women activists in the 1920s. The "mother instinct" had propelled women into public life and provided leverage for their acceptance as politicians. Once their legal participation was assured, they were fair game for those who wanted a return to a one dimensional, traditional maternal role.

Laura Wheatley did not bow to community pressure. In November 1926, she attended with Marie Baurenschmidt a meeting of the City Board of Estimates to protest a cut in the funds to be used to repair school buildings. Mayor Howard Jackson maintained that he could not agree that the need for repairs was as great as Wheatley's federation claimed. Wheatley, not to be dismissed, asked the mayor if he had seen the schools in question, and she reminded him that black children were attending school in buildings erected as early as 1841, 1843, and 1858. Citing numerous examples of heating, plumbing, and structural deficiencies, Wheatley invited the mayor to visit the schools. Softening and at the same time intensifying her approach, she reminded Mayor Jackson that since blacks had no representative on the school board, he was the person to whom the community entrusted the care of their children. This argument was strikingly similar to that used by white women civic activists in the 1910s, as they campaigned to extract promises of community improvements from reluctant town and county

public officials. Community efforts to improve local schools achieved a victory for black teachers in 1926, when Baltimore City equalized salaries of black and white teachers.⁶³

Laura Wheatley did not slacken her attack, and in 1927, supported by Marie Baurenschmidt, she urged the school board to recommend that one-third of the \$10,000,000 school loan be used for new buildings in the black community, including a school for handicapped children and an administrative center. The most recent school loan had earmarked only five percent for black schools, and Marie Baurenschmidt declared that she had talked to "politicians downtown" who had "no objection to a segregated loan." Wheatley's leadership received continued acknowledgment, and she was again elected federation president in May 1927.⁶⁴

Nationally, black women had been active workers in the Republican Party throughout most of the 1920s. By 1928, black voters began to move away from their traditional loyalty to the Republican Party. Facing their usual dilemma, most black voters opposed Governor Ritchie in 1926 because of his disregard for black concerns, but they had no more attractive alternative. By 1928, Democrats were openly courting black votes. There were "rumblings of internal dissension" in the Republican camp, and an advisory committee "was appointed in a hasty manner."⁶⁵

Women found themselves caught up in the move toward the Democrats, and their response indicated a willingness to associate their votes with political parties and the positions the parties represented. The favorable discussion of Democratic presidential

candidate Al Smith, had, the Afro-American claimed, "no effect whatever on the women of Baltimore who are active in public life." Laura Wheatley expressed her support for Republican Herbert Hoover, basing her endorsement on her approval of prohibition. Mrs. Joseph Mason had listened to the party conventions on radio. She was a Republican supporter, and was "very much impressed with the way the women were working shoulder to shoulder with the men." Mrs. Mason, not entirely convinced by Republican rhetoric added, "America would be a fine place if the Republicans lived up to their speeches." While she described herself as a "staunch" Republican, Mrs. Adelaide Green was careful to add that her vote was not automatically Republican. "If I could see one measure in a platform that legislates for us as a group I would consider the Democratic ticket."⁶⁶

Despite strong support for Hoover, the black community gave increased attention to Smith's Democratic candidacy. Maud P. Bell, president of the Colored Women's Republican Club of Maryland, took a group out of the party and joined with Democrats. The Afro-American endorsed Smith, believing that it was time for blacks to cast their votes strategically. As a result, several black wards in Baltimore increased and in some cases doubled the Democratic vote. The Afro-American predicted that "a telling number of the race will cast their votes in the future on issues and men, rather than party names."⁶⁷ If that were to occur, black women activists would be in large part responsible.

Cooperation: A Synthesis of Advantages and Drawbacks

White women activists' choice of cooperation did not always or even usually sort itself out into unambiguous advantage or disadvantage. Most issues and situations with which activists became involved developed a quality of compromise that reflected women's perception of political reality. Jury service, prohibition, and child labor were issues that illustrate that perception as well as the compromises it encouraged. Maryland's first woman legislator, Mary Risteau, encountered another sort of political reality. The outcomes demonstrate both the nature of their understanding of political reality as well as the rewards and limits of their activism.

Jury service for women was an issue that divided organizations just as had the Equal Rights Amendment, but the configuration of supporters and opponents was markedly different. The positions taken on the jury question illustrate both how organizations met the continuing challenge to female unity as well as an attempt by organizations to refine their agenda to those objectives their view of political reality informed them they could achieve.

As Mary Risteau had found in her first term in the House of Delegates, jury service for women was an issue that split women's opinion and threatened to show a divided presence to the legislature. Indeed, the potential damage to the network was even greater than with the Equal Rights Amendment, since leaders of some women's organizations were inclined toward support of jury service, whereas no major women's organization outside the Woman's Party supported the ERA. In 1928, the

Baltimore chapter of the Women's International Legal Fraternity appointed Helen Elizabeth Brown, a young attorney, to chair a committee that would sponsor and work for passage of a jury service bill. Helen Elizabeth Brown asked the presidents of "progressive organizations" to serve as committee members. Members would permit their names to be used, introduce a resolution at their respective group meetings, appoint a legislative committee to monitor progress of the bill at the 1929 legislative session, and invite a woman lawyer to speak to their organizations.⁶⁸

When Madeleine Ellicott, president of the state League of Women Voters, received Brown's letter, she knew the proposed bill placed the league in a quandary. While the league supported jury service, other organizations in its legislative network, notably the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, were divided. Moreover, the state league probably did not want to risk damaging its relationship with the governor and the members of the General Assembly, who opposed the bill, or the shaky league organization in the counties. When Ellicott responded to Brown's letter, she invoked a procedural objection. The league did not "have any [jury service] bill on our legislative program this year and could not, therefore, work for any." Since there was nothing to prevent the league supporting another organization's measure, Ellicott's argument probably did not convince Helen Elizabeth Brown. Ellicott did offer her individual support and referred Brown to the Baltimore League which "might be able to cooperate."⁶⁹

The Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs was willing to float the jury service question among its member clubs. Even when clubs

opposed the measure, it was an issue that aroused new interest in legislative matters affecting women. The members of the Inquiry Club of Rockville expressed their opposition to "women serving on the jury." At the same meeting, however, the club decided it should appoint a "Chairman of legislation."⁷⁰

The Maryland league's position of noninvolvement in the jury service bill drew a reaction from the national league, and Lavinia Engle found herself having to defend Maryland's position. Engle first fell back on Madeleine Ellicott's reasoning, and noted that she had not included the bill in her formal legislative report since the Maryland league did not "formally endorse" it. Perhaps sensing that the national office might want a better or at least more logical explanation, Engle used the Woman's Party as the reason Maryland could not support the bill, no doubt feeling certain the national league could appreciate the difficulty in cooperating with that group. The group of women lawyers who sponsored the legislation included several Woman's Party members, and it thus "developed somewhat into a Woman's Party project," Engle rationalized.⁷¹

Engle's unspoken message to the national office was that any possible connection between the league and the Woman's Party would damage the credibility of both the league and its associates in the legislative clearinghouse. Moreover, the damage would be inflicted in a losing cause, for Engle knew that jury service was nowhere near the point at which women supporters' influence could be effectively brought to bear on the General Assembly. "Our problem in Maryland," Engle told the national league, "is that the majority of the women here are not in

favor of the bill and we will have to carry on more education among them before we can hope to present any effective argument at the General Assembly." Maryland women needed a "change of heart," and Engle wanted to make sure there was a network there to support that change when it came.⁷² On the negative side of the ledger was the possibility that by adhering to a noncontroversial, consensus agenda, the network was feeding the apathy that weakened its organizations.

Two issues in Maryland, prohibition and the Child Labor Amendment, further illustrate white women activists' views of political reality in the late 1920s. Prohibition was a topic most women's organizations had traditionally attempted to sidestep. Child labor, however, was a different matter. Together women's treatment of the issues provides a clear picture of how they acted on their view of political reality.

Governor Ritchie's view concerning prohibition was well known, and was bringing him national attention leading, he hoped, to the Democratic presidential nomination in 1928 or 1932. "I think it was a mistake to put it [Eighteenth Amendment] in the Constitution. . . . I think those States and communities which wish to enact prohibitory legislation are entitled to do so."⁷³

Women's views, on the other hand, like those of the general public as a whole, were divided. Religious organizations, like the Baltimore County Council of Religious Education, supported prohibition. Many secular women's organizations also continued to favor prohibition. The Inquiry Club of Rockville in 1925 called for "a day of fasting and prayer," to urge prohibition enforcement. In 1927

the Woman's Club of Westminster reaffirmed its belief in national and state prohibition and enforcement. By 1930, the Woman's Club determined to express its view to Bettie Sippel, General Federation president. In the first ever recorded division in a club vote, there was one abstention--Mary Gray Clemson, a longtime club member, World War I worker, and prominent local Democrat.⁷⁴

Women, especially Democrats, were also involved in efforts to repeal prohibition. Claiming that prohibition had in reality stimulated consumption of alcohol, as well as political corruption, Pauline Morton Sabin of New York founded the Woman's Organization for National Prohibition Reform in the late 1920s. In Maryland, Catherine Wickes of Baltimore County wanted Governor Ritchie to know his position had support, and she sent him through his mother material from the Woman's Organization for National Prohibition Reform. "I am anxious," she said, "to hear what Albert thinks of it." The Baltimore Sun headlined in December 1929, "Prominent Maryland Women Organize Dry Reform Group." Women from across the state and predominately from the Democratic Party, met at Catherine Wickes' home to form a Maryland chapter of the national woman's reform organization.⁷⁵

Sensitive to criticism of his stance on prohibition, Governor Ritchie asked his associate, Arthur Machen, to "get up some facts to show that Maryland is not a sink-pool of iniquity." The governor had made his request following a Navy-Princeton football game when he and his friends had accepted an invitation for "afternoon tea." Machen responded with a chart showing that Baltimore had a lower proportion of arrests for drunkenness to total population than had several cities of

comparable size. With a divided network and with the governor and the dominant political party growing more vocal in opposition to prohibition, both the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs and the League of Women Voters, both of which had never officially worked for either side, remained silent on the issue.⁷⁶

The Child Labor Amendment was an issue not so easy for women activists to dismiss or ignore, and its treatment in Maryland illustrates the compromises they were willing to make in order to operate successfully within the existing political environment. The Child Labor Amendment, in the words of sociologist Sophonisba Breckenridge, "this most cherished and most conspicuous of women's measures," was, in its envisioned objective, at the heart of the original housekeeping agenda. Women's concern for the fate of children in the workplace was one of the issues that had engaged women activists' attention and facilitated their entrance into and influence on public life. Now, ironically, their strategy of cooperation in Maryland demanded compromises that, as political outsiders, they would probably never have made.⁷⁷

Women activists had campaigned for several years for federal child labor legislation, and had actually won restrictive laws, both of which the U.S. Supreme Court found unconstitutional. In 1924, however, the national alliance of women's organizations succeeded in proposing and influencing Congress to enact a constitutional amendment that would declare the federal government's right to regulate child labor as well as set minimum standards. Opposition came principally from the National Association of Manufacturers and groups like the Sentinels of

the Republic, both of which raised the spectre of federal control of children and businesses to arouse public opinion against the amendment.⁷⁸

Although the national League of Women Voters strongly supported the amendment, several of its state branches, sensitive to opposition, sidestepped or even openly opposed the amendment's ratification. In 1924 alone, Georgia, Louisiana, and North Carolina defeated the amendment, and the measure met an unexpected and decisive defeat in Massachusetts and Maine. In Pennsylvania, the league refused to work for ratification, and in the state of Washington, the state league president became a leader of the anti-amendment attack. Many state leagues reported a dropoff in membership directly attributable to league support for the amendment. By March 1925, just four states had approved the amendment, and seventeen had rejected it.⁷⁹

The controversy aroused by the proposed amendment could have affected the league's position in Maryland. Initially, however, the state league prepared for an active ratification campaign. The first opportunity for Maryland's General Assembly to consider ratification of the Twentieth Amendment would come at the 1927 legislative session, and the state League of Women Voters, through the legislative clearinghouse, prepared the women's network for the ratification campaign. Madeleine Ellicott sent out letters to the network in 1925 urging a "thorough knowledge and endorsement of the Child Labor Amendment." Governor Ritchie was the object of pressure from both sides of the issue. Wiley H. Swift of the National Child Labor Committee appealed to the governor to support ratification. George

Stewart Brown called on "Bert" to "make yourself solid with the South" and "establish yourself as a real Constitutionalist," thus avoiding the result that "unfortunately prevailed on Prohibition and Suffrage."⁸⁰

To those asking for his support of ratification, Ritchie was noncommittal, pointing out that the Maryland legislature would not convene again until 1927. To the New York World, however, which had asked his opinion in 1924, the governor made his position clear. Ritchie told the newspaper that he believed Maryland's existing child labor restrictions were satisfactory and that Maryland citizens preferred to act at the state as opposed to the federal level. This assumption was confirmed by a 1925 editorial in the Easton Gazette proclaiming, "We do not want Federal interference! . . . When God created man, he put him to work."⁸¹

Governor Ritchie was anxious to make sure that his statement concerning the enforcement of existing laws was accurate. J. Knox Insley, Maryland Commissioner of Labor and Statistics, reported to the governor in 1926 that the state was successful in enforcing the child labor law. Insley made an exception, however, in the case of Maryland's important canning industry, rationalizing that there were too few inspectors to cover all the canneries within the short canning season. Ritchie felt secure enough, however, to claim, "There is no abuse of children in industry in this State."⁸²

With the governor's position established, and with the balance of the Democratic Party as well as industry opposition assured, the Maryland League of Women Voters, as the legislative spokesman for the clearinghouse, found itself in an unenviable situation. In 1927, when

the General Assembly considered the amendment, the legislative clearinghouse was at the same time sponsoring other child-related legislative measures. Proposed state laws would provide double compensation for minors injured while illegally employed, would repeal the Indenture Act, and would require the Department of State Aid and Charities to license establishments providing child care services. The legislative clearinghouse decided to place itself firmly on a political fence. Madeleine Ellicott later described the Maryland League position as one in which "though the Maryland League never actually worked for this Amendment, it was most careful to so modify its actions that it never appeared against it." The Child Labor Amendment, as expected, failed ratification in 1927, and the league did not even include the amendment on its list of legislative projects for the year. The other child-related bills passed the General Assembly and became, with the governor's signature, Maryland law.⁸³

Failure of ratification did not put an end to the question of further restriction of children's employment in Maryland, or the necessity on the part of women activists to explain their actions. Their responses to criticism serve as further evidence of their increasingly interdependent relationship with state government. Legislation introduced in the 1929 session of the General Assembly would have significantly changed Maryland's existing child labor law. The original law prohibited children under fourteen from working in any business during public school hours, unless the children had fulfilled the current year's educational requirements. The proposed law eliminated any reference to public schools and would make it illegal to

"employ for hire any child under fourteen years of age in any business at any time."⁸⁴

The Maryland League of Women Voters on behalf of its legislative clearinghouse probably believed itself fortunate that "no active opposition to the bill was necessary as it died on second reading by the acceptance of an unfavorable committee report." Their position, however, came under the scrutiny of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Gertrude McNally, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-affiliated National Federation of Federal Employees. The league, replying for the clearinghouse, demonstrated the continuing desire to defend and maintain its alliance with Governor Ritchie. In response to Green's statement to the press that the governor "failed to support adequate child labor legislation in Maryland," Lavinia Engle confessed to Gertrude McNally that she felt "a certain sense of responsibility as I stated my opposition to this bill both to the Governor and to the Speaker of the House." McNally replied that she could not support Engle's position, and took Engle to task for departing from national league policy. Engle's argument that had the bill passed children under fourteen would not be able even to run errands McNally found "far-fetched." Engle shot back an answer a state bureaucrat or Democratic politician might have fashioned. "Much of the trouble with the bills introduced by the labor group in Annapolis has come from the fact that they neither study the existing laws nor draft their bills with any attention to administration."⁸⁵

The partnership between the Maryland League of Women Voters and Governor Ritchie reached full flower in the fall of 1929, when the

National Child Labor Committee asked the governor for a statement for its twenty-fifth anniversary bulletin. Apparently representatives of the committee approached Lavinia Engle for her intercession, for she told Ritchie, "There seemed to be some feeling . . . that you might be unwilling to do what they ask." Engle continued that she had informed the committee that she was "quite sure" the governor would be glad to submit a statement. Her political instincts aroused, Engle offered her advice to the governor, saying that "It seems to me a very excellent opportunity for you to partially clear up the misunderstanding as to your position which Mr. Green is industriously spreading throughout the country." Ritchie telephoned Engle to express his willingness to comply with the request.⁸⁶

In recognition of the growing interdependence between them, the governor wrote Engle, "How about your writing the article for me? I will be glad to change a word here and there, if that does not destroy either the substance or the English." Engle sent Ritchie a draft, expressing her hope that "it represents your attitude on the question." Engle also took the opportunity to enclose a copy of a recent decision of the Industrial Accident Commission, which had continued its practice of never awarding double compensation to children injured while illegally employed, legislation advocated by the clearinghouse in 1927. "This case looks to me," Engle reported, "as if it is a clear case of carelessness on the part of the employer. We certainly do not want the Act rendered worthless by the decisions of the Commission."⁸⁷

In thanking Engle for the draft of his statement, Governor Ritchie promised to read the brief of the Industrial Accident Commission case and to talk with the Commissioner. Ritchie made few changes to Engle's draft, adding an allusion to disagreements between "reasonable people." The governor did, however, make one significant alteration. Where Engle had committed the state to responsibility of "some measure of control" of child labor, Ritchie, expressing at once his political sense and his view of an expanded state government, substituted "an adequate measure of control."⁸⁸

The compromises women political activists made have been addressed by historian Kathryn Kish Sklar, who has observed that organizations like the League of Women Voters gradually moved away from presenting issues in moral terms and toward a "valueless, bureaucratic" approach, and that during the 1920s grassroots support for social welfare programs diminished. White women may have expressed themselves in more "valueless" terms, in Maryland at least, perhaps due to the league's view of political reality, the manifestation of the phenomenon was not extreme. Historian Paula Baker has argued that the passage of women's suffrage, the merging of women's concerns with those of government, and the consequent rise in importance of bureaucracies and interest groups at the expense of political parties, combined to encourage women to move away from a separate political culture. There were, Baker has contended, no more women's issues, and therefore "women did not vote as a reform bloc." This analysis appears to give more importance to the vote than it perhaps deserves, and assumes that women no longer found common ground. In Maryland during the 1920s, however,

the situation was more complex; white women activists, working within an expanded political environment they had in part created, continued to concern themselves with issues surrounding home and family. Their actions on behalf of their concerns did, however, reflect the experience of several decades, and combined traditional ideals with a practical, if limited, political sense. Governor Ritchie's continuing support for the Bureau of Child Hygiene, for example, resulted from his cooperative relationship with women activists. The less than enthusiastic support by women of the more divisive Child Labor Amendment, predestined for failure in the state, may not have endeared Maryland women activists to their national organizations; but it did win for them tougher state restrictions against the labor of children.⁸⁹

Maryland's first woman elected to the General Assembly, Mary Risteau, faced another sort of political reality, and she too experienced the implications inherent in working within the established political system. By 1925 a veteran of two legislative sessions, and established as a loyal, influential Democratic Party worker, Risteau determined to run for the State Senate in 1926. Believing that she would have the support of her friend and mentor, Congressman Millard E. Tydings, Risteau was shocked to learn in the fall of 1925 that Abram Ensor, a Harford County farmer, would have Tydings' endorsement. Risteau demanded an explanation, noting that when Tydings had told a political associate that he supported her and subsequently denied it, she had "held my tongue and asked my friends to do the same."⁹⁰

Now, however, Risteau continued, she had it "from unquestionable authority" that Tydings would support Ensor. Risteau reminded Tydings of her unwavering support for him:

When you ran for Congress I wasn't afraid to make political enemies for you. When Crabbe attacked you [for being drunk in public, which Tydings denied] I stood by you even though those on the party had told me the whole true story.

Risteau recalled that she had patiently waited her turn to run for the Senate, and "now I am anxious to be a Senatorial candidate this time and I feel I deserve your support. . . . I'm in to stay in."⁹¹

Millard Tydings was "surprised and somewhat disappointed" by Risteau's letter. He had, the congressman assured Risteau, been willing to support her Senate candidacy in 1923, but believed that it would be "unwise" for her to run at that time. "I suppose you thought that I had some ulterior motive . . . and naturally I find you have not the belief in my sincerity and my friendship toward you that I hoped you would have." Tydings offered to meet with Risteau, and later asked her to come to Washington, D.C. to discuss their differences.⁹²

Without the support of Democratic politicians like Tydings, Risteau faced a tough primary campaign against two male opponents. Abram Ensor campaigned against the state's "extravagant expenditures" for the University of Maryland and other state institutions. Risteau, as a member of the House of Delegates, came in for her share of the blame for those alleged extravagances that had expanded the scope of state government. Governor Ritchie expressed his regret that "the Harford campaign has developed in a way that has been so unpleasant to

you." Mary Risteau finished last in the primary race, polling just 353 votes to Ensor's 2306.⁹³

Mary Risteau's bitterness concerning Millard Tydings' defection contrasted her expectation of the political process with his view of political reality. Risteau's more limited experience with party politics led her to the expectation that party loyalty resulted in reward. Tydings, on the other hand, was probably willing to sacrifice the loyalty of one relatively minor player in return for the support of more entrenched political associates. Moreover, Tydings undoubtedly reasoned that if Risteau was in fact a loyal Democrat, she would forgive and forget. Indeed, Risteau's experience in the 1926 campaign did not cause her to abandon electoral politics; rather, it became one more lesson in the reality of politics. Mary Risteau went on to serve in the House of Delegates in 1931 and 1933, and was elected to the State Senate in 1934. On her election to the Senate, Risteau remarked, "I am firmly convinced that my election to the high and exalted office of the State Senate of Maryland shows conclusively that the old prejudice against women in public office is surely overcome. It demonstrates that the Democratic Party is ready and willing to accord the same importance to women in public affairs as to men."⁹⁴ While she may not have felt that way in 1926, or indeed in 1934, Mary Risteau found that her more experienced view of political reality eventually enabled her to achieve the objective she sought.

Lavinia Engle believed and told young women voters that politics was all about power. While electoral success was the most visible route to political position, women activists also continued to pursue

government appointments. In their selection of issues to support and oppose, activists became increasingly attuned to political viability rather than the inherent or traditional worthiness of a cause. Certainly not all women developed this view of political reality, or acted upon it, but it became the favored approach of most white women activists in Maryland, and it possessed certain advantages and drawbacks. The result of women's political choices was a synthesis of those advantages and drawbacks and an interdependence between male and female politicians that enabled individual and organizations of women to achieve a measure of power and influence.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Maryland Clubwoman, April 1928, MHR. Report, Young Voters Conference, 1930, Series 1, Box 16, MLWV, University of Maryland.
2. Report, Young Voters Conference, 1930, Series 1, Box 16, MLWR, University of Maryland; Susan Ware, Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 5-6, argued that by the mid 1920s, women's political clout was on the decline; William H. Chafe, The American Woman, 37, noted that without an independent power base, "female reformers" became dependent on the favor of party officials for whatever influence they had; Elizabeth Israels Perry, Belle Moskowitz, on the other hand, observed that there were many routes to power. Women like Belle Moskowitz chose that of working behind the scenes for a male politician. Perry, xiii, argued that this resulted in women not challenging the established system and achieving the reality but not the appearance of power. Marguerite Wells [Fifth District Director of the National League of Women Voters], "Some Effects of Woman Suffrage," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science CXLIII (May 1929): 207-08, noted exceptions to the perception that male politicians had all the power, indicating that there were thousands of women office holders. Wells went on to point out that women who had advanced the farthest had accomplished it through adaptation, or what she labeled "infiltration." Also see Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Florence Kelley and the Decline in Power of Women's Political Culture," on the disappearing moral quality of women's political culture.
3. Lavinia Engle to Virginia Roderick, September 14, 1927, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland.
4. Madeleine Ellicott to John L. Alcock, November 22, 1926, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Florence Kelley and the Decline in Power of Women's Political Culture," 12, called the League of Women Voters the "best measure of women's political culture after 1920. . . ." Sklar also pointed to the League's "valueless, bureaucratic tone" that differed from Florence Kelley's persistence in a "moral articulation of social issues."
5. Baltimore Sun, October 8, 1925, in Box 2, Eleventh Ward Democratic Club, MHS; Speech, Albert C. Ritchie, November 26, 1926, Series 2, Box 6, Papers of Albert Cabell Ritchie, University of Maryland.
6. Lavinia Engle to Albert C. Ritchie, April 23, 1928, Series 1, Box 6, MLWV, University of Maryland.

7. Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, April 26, 1928, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland; Adele Stamp to Lavinia Engle, April 28, 1928, Series 2, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland; Lavinia Engle to Adele Stamp, April 27, 1928, Series 2, Box 8, MLWV; Document, Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland.

8. Lavinia Engle to Albert C. Ritchie, April 13, 1929; Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, April 16, 1929; Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, June 20, 1929; Lavinia Engle to Albert C. Ritchie, June 25, 1929; Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, June 27, 1929; Lavinia Engle to Albert C. Ritchie, July 9, 1929; Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, October 21, 1929, Commission Files, Governors' Papers, MHR; Maryland Manual, 1926-1930.

9. Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, September 1, 1930, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV.

10. Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics," 644-45, argued that without political separation to unite them, women fragmented and there were no more women's issues. Billboard control was perhaps an attempt to recognize that circumstance and to capitalize on it.

11. Maryland Clubwoman, June 1928, MHR; Undated MLWV document, Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland.

12. "Report of Committee on Rural and Highway Advertising," General Federation of Women's Clubs, January 1929, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

13. Ibid.

14. Lavinia Engle to "Miss Clara," February 12, 1929; Lavinia Engle to Mrs. Joseph Colt Bloodgood, March 11, 1929, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

15. Lavinia Engle to Colonel E. Austin Baughman, January 23, 1929, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

16. Lavinia Engle to Mrs. Joseph Colt Bloodgood, March 6, 1929, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

17. Lavinia Engle to Mrs. Joseph Colt Bloodgood, March 11, 1929, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

18. Lavinia Engle to Mrs. W.L. [Elizabeth] Lawton, June 17, 1929, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

19. "Billboard Control in Maryland," 1931, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV.

20. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 179-211; The Marylander, March 25, 1925, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.

21. Yearbook, 1926-1927, Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, University of Maryland; Madeleine Ellicott to Maud Wood Park, December 14, 1926, Series 1, Box 6; Maud Wood Park to Madeleine Ellicott, December 18, 1926, Series 1, Box 6; Lavinia Engle to Henry F. Baker, April 26, 1927, Series 1, Box 6, MLWV, University of Maryland; Unidentified Article, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Florence Kelley and the Decline in Power of Women's Political Culture," suggested that while the attacks against women's organizations came from only a few sources, women's reaction was immediate and defensive.

22. Document and Brochure, 1927, Sentinels of the Republic, MHS; Lavinia Engle to Dr. J.H. Mason Knox, August 17, 1926, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

23. Lavinia Engle to Dr. J.H. Mason Knox, August 17, 1926, Series 3, Box 1, MLWV, University of Maryland.

24. Resolution, March 17, 1927, Box 2, Eleventh Ward Democratic Club, MHS.

25. Dr. Gordon Wilson to Albert C. Ritchie, December 9, 1927; Albert C. Ritchie to Dr. Gordon Wilson, December 12, 1927, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR.

26. Dr. J.H. Mason Knox to Albert C. Ritchie, January 20, 1928 Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR.

27. Albert C. Ritchie to Dr. J.H. Mason Knox, January 21, 1928, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR; "History in the Field of Public Health," Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland.

28. Maryland Leader, September 30, 1930; October 18, 1930; October 25, 1930; November 1, 1930; November 22, 1930; Muriel Walker in Winifred G. Helmes, ed., Notable Maryland Women, 153-58.

29. Afro-American, February 20, 1926; February 4, 1928. This circumstance tends to support Madeleine Ellicott's contention that one woman on a board might not be effective. Ibid., March 1, 1930.

30. Ibid., March 15, 1930, Letter to Editor from George F. Bragg, Afro-American, March 15, 1930.

31. Minutes, October 22, 1929, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS; Minutes, February 17, 1930, YWCA, Baltimore; Document, 1929, Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland; "History in the Field of Welfare," Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland.

32. Afro-American, January 23, 1926; Report of the Interracial Commission, 1927; Afro-American, March 2, 1929; March 5, 1927; April 6, 1929.

33. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 94-95, 243-59; Minutes, May 16, 1927, YWCA, Baltimore.
34. Regional Letter Number One, August 1, 1928, Series 1, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland; Minutes, December 16, 1929, YWCA, Baltimore; Minutes, October 23, 1928, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS; Minutes, November 19, 1928, MCHS; Dorchester County Report, 1929, Series 2, Box 4, MLWV, University of Maryland.
35. Lavinia Engle to Mrs. H.J. Patterson, April 21, 1927, Series 3, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland.
36. Yearbook, 1926-27, 17-19, Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, University of Maryland.
37. Mrs. Harry Harcum, et al., History of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, 1899-1941, 91.
38. Minutes, January 20, 1927, Woman's Civic League of Westminster, CCHS; Minutes, May 24, 1927, College Club Records, MHS.
39. Minutes, July 21, 1927; August 18, 1927; September 15, 1927, Woman's Civic League of Westminster, CCHS.
40. Minutes, November 26, 1929, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS.
41. Minutes, January 20, 1927, Woman's Civic League of Westminster, CCHS.
42. Minutes, April 8, 1930; May 13, 1930, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS.
43. Minutes, May 27, 1930, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS.
44. Minutes, November 11, 1930, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS. While it is not entirely clear from the wording of the minutes that the club approved the issues noted, given its previous record of endorsements, it is likely that this was the case.
45. "Brief History of the Committee on Child Welfare, National League of Women Voters 1920-1930," Series 3, Box 3, MLWV.
46. Minutes, October 7, 1926, Conference of Second Regional Officers; Regional Letter Number Two, November 1, 1926, Series 1, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.
47. Minutes, March 25, 1927, Second Regional Meeting, Series 1, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.
48. Report to National League of Women Voters, 1928-1929; 1929-1930, Series 1, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland. The reports

indicated four local leagues, but enumerated five; "Maryland League of Women Voters, 1923-1940," Series 2, Box 8, Adele Stamp Papers, University of Maryland.

49. "Highlights in the Work of the League 1926-27," Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland. Women's votes cannot be separated from men's, although nationally women's votes as a percentage of men's rose during the 1920s. Kristi Andersen, "Women and Citizenship in the 1920s," Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics, and Change, 194; Baltimore Sun, November 7, 1928.

50. Elizabeth O. Leavell to Mary Risteau, August 7, 1930, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.

51. Mary Risteau to Mrs. T. Howard Embert, February 29, 1928; Mary W. Baker to Mary Risteau, May 19, 1929; Elizabeth O. Leavell to Mary Risteau, August 7, 1930, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.

52. Richard L. McCormick, The Party Period and Public Policy, especially 222-27. Voter turnout in Maryland in 1920 was 52.3%, down from 68.1% in 1916; in 1924, the percentage dipped further, to 41%. Robert Brugger, Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 798. See also Susan Lebsock, "Women and American Politics, 1880-1920," in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics, and Change, 58-9.

53. Legislation mandating fewer elections had resulted in a change in legislative sessions, and the Maryland General Assembly did not meet between 1924 and 1927, when it resumed its bi-yearly schedule.

54. Lavinia Engle to Mrs. Carroll Albaugh, April 4, 1929; Lavinia Engle to Mrs. John Alcock, September 20, 1929; Mrs. John Alcock to Lavinia Engle, September 25, 1929, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland.

55. A recent parallel to this situation exists. During the early 1980s, the Maryland Commission for Women (MCW) and the Women's Alliance of Maryland (WAM) developed and maintained a collaborative relationship with Governor Harry Hughes and his office. The relationship resulted in funding support for women's shelter, rape crisis, and displaced homemaker programs throughout the state. When a new governor took office in early 1987, both MCW and WAM experienced diminished support.

56. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 93.

57. Afro-American, October 16, 1926; October 13, 1928; October 27, 1928; November 3, 1928.

58. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1926; October 29, 1927.

59. *Ibid.*, December 2, 1921; February 8, 1921, January 27, 1922.

60. Ibid., March 21, 1925.
61. Ibid., March 20, 1926.
62. Ibid., May 15, 1926; May 29, 1926.
63. Ibid., November 6, 1926; Robert Brugger, Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 811.
64. Afro-American, January 5, 1927; May 14, 1927.
65. Ibid., October 16, 1926; September 1, 1928. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "In Politics to Stay: Black Women Leaders and Party Politics in the 1920s," in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics, and Change, 208-12.
66. Ibid., September 1, 1928; July 7, 1928.
67. Ibid., November 3, 1928; September 15, 1928; November 10, 1928; Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discontented Black Feminists: Prelude and Postscript to the Passage of the Nineteenth Amendment," in Lois Scharf and Joan Jensen, eds., Decades of Discontent (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983), 275-76, noted the decline in black women's participation in Republican Party politics in 1928. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "In Politics to Stay: Black Women Leaders and Party Politics in the 1920s," in Louise A. Tilly and Patricia Gurin, eds., Women, Politics, and Change.
68. Helen Elizabeth Brown to Mrs. Charles [Madeleine] Ellicott, December 31, 1928, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland.
69. Typescript notes of reply from "M.E." [Madeleine Ellicott] to Helen Elizabeth Brown, January 4, 1929, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV, University of Maryland.
70. Minutes, February 4, 1929, Inquiry Club of Rockville, MCHS.
71. Lavinia Engle to Alice W. Owens, April 17, 1929, Series 3, Box 11, MLWV.
72. Ibid., Report to National League of Women Voters, 1929-1930, Series 1, Box 4, MLWV, University of Maryland. Maryland women succeeded in passing a jury service bill in 1947.
73. "Governor Ritchie's Statement on Prohibition," Democratic National Convention, 1932, Governors' Papers, MHR.
74. Undated Document, Governors' Papers, MHR; Minutes, September 28, 1925, Inquiry Club of Rockville, MCHS; Minutes, April 19, 1927; March 11, 1930, Woman's Club of Westminster, CCHS.

75. Letter, December 15, 1926, Voluntary Committee, Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, Inc., G. Thomas Dunlop Papers, MHS; Catherine Wickes to Albert C. Ritchie, August 30, 1929, Governors' Papers, MHR; Baltimore Sun, December 17, 1929, in Governors' Papers, MHR; Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 263-64.

76. Julian S. Jones to Albert C. Ritchie, undated, Governors' Papers, MHR. Dorothy M. Brown, American Women in the 1920s, 70-73, found that Prohibition was a "galvanizing national election issue in 1928," and that women organized to elect Herbert Hoover. Marguerite Wells, "Some Effects of Woman Suffrage," 213, on the other hand, refused to draw conclusions, stating that it was not known how many women voted, or why. It was taken for granted, Wells continued, that women's vote was a prohibition vote and thus a "moral issue" vote. Wells pointed out that the argument against prohibition was also a moral one, that it fed corruption and hypocrisy. While Herbert Hoover soundly beat Al Smith in Maryland in 1928, with a 56.8 percent voter turnout, religion appeared to be the salient issue. Dorothy M. Brown, "Maryland Between the Wars," in Richard Walsh and William Lloyd Fox, Maryland: A History, 693-94; Robert Brugger, Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 798.

77. Sophonisba Breckenridge, quoted in Dorothy M. Brown, American Women in the 1920s, 58.

78. Lela B. Costin, Two Sisters for Social Justice: A Biography of Grace and Edith Abbot (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 151-55; Dorothy M. Brown, American Women in the 1920s, 57-58.

79. Felice Gordon, After Winning, 46; Louise Young, In the Public Interest, 97-98.

80. Minutes, February 9, 1925, Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations, Jewish Historical Society; Wiley H. Swift to Albert C. Ritchie, November 18, 1924, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR; George Stewart Brown to Albert C. Ritchie, August 8, 1924, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR.

81. Telegram, Albert C. Ritchie to New York World, December 15, 1924, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR; Easton Gazette, January 15, 1925, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR.

82. J. Knox Insley to Albert C. Ritchie, July 27, 1926, Legislature 1924-1927, Governors' Papers, MHR; Albert C. Ritchie to Mabel C. Foltz, December 7, 1928, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR.

83. League Program, Series 1, Box 8, MLWV, University of Maryland; Second Regional Meeting, March 25, 1927, Series 1, Box 14, MLWV, University of Maryland.

84. William Green to Madeleine Ellicott, June 17, 1929, quoting statement by Albert C. Ritchie, Series 3, Box 2, MLWV, University of Maryland.

85. Madeleine Ellicott to William Green, June 21, 1929, Series 3, Box 2, MLWV, University of Maryland; Lavinia Engle to Gertrude McNally, May 27, 1929, Series 3, Box 2, MLWV; Gertrude McNally to Lavinia Engle, June 13, 1929, Series 3, Box 2, MLWV, University of Maryland; Lavinia Engle to Gertrude McNally, June 15, 1929, Series 3, Box 2, MLWV, University of Maryland.

86. Lavinia Engle to Albert C. Ritchie, October 2, 1929; Handwritten note, Albert C. Ritchie, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR.

87. Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, October 4, 1929, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR; Lavinia Engle to Albert C. Ritchie, October 15, 1929, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR.

88. Albert C. Ritchie to Lavinia Engle, October 20, 1929. Note of changes to statement, Labor 1920-1935, Governors' Papers, MHR.

89. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Florence Kelley and the Decline in Power of Women's Political Culture," 13-14; Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics," 644-45.

90. Unidentified article, October 8, 1925, Box 11, Mary Risteau, MHS; Mary Risteau to Millard E. Tydings, Draft, January 11, 1926, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.

91. Mary Risteau to Millard E. Tydings, Draft, January 11, 1926, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.

92. Millard E. Tydings to Mary Risteau, January 13, 1926, Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.

93. Bel Air Aegis, September 10, 1926; September 14, 1926. Election results are approximate, due to blurred microfilm; Albert C. Ritchie to Mary Risteau, Undated [probably September 1926], Box 13, Mary Risteau, MHS.

94. Quoted in Muriel Walker, Winifred G. Helmes, ed., Notable Maryland Women, 310.

CHAPTER EIGHT

"HE WANTS US TO HELP HIM GET A SANITARY INSPECTOR":
MARYLAND WOMEN'S ACTIVISM AND INTERDEPENDENCE, 1890S-1930

Between the 1890s and 1930, women activists in Maryland as well as elsewhere succeeded in bringing their concerns to the attention of government, and in the process they transformed their own role as women and the role of government as well. Yet this assessment of women's impact on political life is a relatively recent one. To many observers of the day, women's involvement in public life gained its greatest acceptance and stimulus from the enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment, and those observers therefore judged women's impact on public life by examining use of the ballot. Suffrage was an event, a definite thing whose outcome could be observed and measured. Indeed, many suffragists had invited this scrutiny, at least by implication, with their claims that women would purify and revolutionize electoral politics, and thus the course of the nation.

Throughout the 1920s and well into the 1930s, commentators and researchers devoted a great deal of time and print to determining women's impact on electoral politics. Prosuffrage and antisuffrage arguments extended and were replayed for several years after passage and implementation of suffrage. Sociologists "proved" that women's use of the vote was "ineffective." Women voters were "failures," having merely doubled the "docile" electorate, voting, when they bothered at

all, with the political parties and their husbands. Women did not unite to demand remedial legislation, and they made few gains in achieving state and national office.¹

As they had done during the suffrage campaign and again when they were challenged by the political right during the 1920s, women activists responded to the bleak assessment of their political contribution. Their views represented both a direct response to the indictment of their misuse of the ballot, as well as an appeal to place suffrage within a larger perspective of expanded opportunities. If men "with all their years of political power, knowledge and experience," veteran women's rights advocate and feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman wondered, only voted at the rate of 50 percent, how could anyone expect new voters to do any better? Organized women who were working for "social progress" before suffrage, Gilman contended, now had the ballot to strengthen their efforts. Women were becoming greater factors in employment and education, and the arts. Attorney Dorothy Ashby Moncure called attention to the gradually increasing number of women who held political office and were "busily engaged in shaping the legislative destinies of the nation." Terming suffrage as merely "an episode in [an] age-old movement," Carrie Chapman Catt reviewed women's centuries-long and still ongoing campaign for equal opportunity. In Maryland, Lavinia Engle also took the long view, telling women of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs that women's political development though slow was steady. Like "all great movements," Engle remarked, its slow growth was the most obvious sign of its permanency.²

While some contemporary analysts, like Charlotte Perkins Gilman, observed that men's voting was decreasing just at the time women gained the franchise, and that women activists used the ballot to reinforce their work for "social progress," most observers of women's political progress did not connect the expansion of government and the increasing role of interest groups to women's involvement. Their view was limited by the time in which they lived and wrote. Political life and the role of government were in fact changing. Local and state governments, as well as the national government, were expanding their responsibilities. Interest groups were gaining influence, and political parties were losing ground. Women activists had been among those who advocated for and gained access through expanded government.

Until recently, studies have for the most part reinforced the contemporary view of suffrage as a great divide, using the suffrage campaign as a beginning point, and contrasting women's behavior in the 1920s. Within these time parameters, many historians have regarded only electoral activities as political behavior, thereby making suffrage a primary determiner of women's political behavior. Assigning such a central role to suffrage separates women's drive for political equality from other reform attempts, especially those that combined social reform and women's advancement, and makes it difficult to locate and analyze women's impact in their communities in any other terms. This narrow view of politics is made more complex by the introduction of the concept of feminism. Until recently, most historians judged women's activism in terms of its attempts to recognize and change the system of sex hierarchy. "Hardcore" feminists who were committed

solely to equality of opportunity, were pitted against "social feminists," whose primary goal was social reform. As historian Nancy Cott has argued, since neither of these feminisms was strictly electoral in nature, women's activism consequently has not been viewed as political behavior. Cott has also argued that it is time to find a way to describe women's political activity in terms other than feminism.³

Several historians have in fact examined women's public activism from a different perspective. Paula Baker has provided a framework on which to build a new interpretation of women's activism, one that expands the definition of politics to include and therefore recognize and analyze women's public involvement. That framework has been important in enabling historians to understand the connection between women's concerns, their political activity, and the consequent alteration of government, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴

Yet the "domestication" of politics noted by Baker, the very success of women activists, appeared to lead to their political marginality. Government absorption of many women's issues, coupled with the winning of suffrage at a time when electoral politics were losing their importance, combined to support the view that women lost rather than gained power in the 1920s. Further, women's apparent drift into accommodation with male-dominated political structures has been regarded as cooption. As such historians as Sarah Deutsch have discovered, however, women's post-suffrage political life was in fact more complex. Deutsch found in Boston that women did succeed in

"transforming not only themselves and the public roles of women but the city and its government somewhat in their own image." Through their public activism, women changed the existing system to accommodate both themselves and their views.⁵

This study, benefitting from the work of recent historians, has attempted to find answers to the question of women's impact on political life in Maryland. In Maryland, primarily elite white women, building on small, narrowly-focused groups of the mid nineteenth century, began to band together in the 1890s to create larger organizations. They developed agendas for "practical work," and subscribed to the progressive values of intervention, efficiency, and organization. They worked cooperatively with male leaders, created a statewide network, and emphasized, with other reformers, the importance of government's role in the solution of community problems. This view called for increased government assumption of responsibility for education, health, and welfare. At the same time, especially white women created access to a new public role for themselves. Black women built on a foundation of community independence and through their organizations and cooperation with white women began to demand greater attention from government.

Women activists' successes as well as their failures led many to work for the right to vote. The suffrage campaign helped expand the statewide women's network, and the importance they attached to unity resulted in a suffrage agenda that combined newstyle and traditional tactics. Black women activists, unable to rely on white support for their right to vote, developed a separate suffrage movement. While

white suffragists' efforts gained a measure of success, most state legislators remained determined to maintain what they probably saw as the final barrier to women's public participation.

World War I brought government and women's activists closer together, as women's organizations redirected their efforts to help an increasingly expanded government manage its civilian war operation. Many white women viewed the war as an opportunity to demonstrate the validity of their claim to suffrage. Black women also used their war work to show their loyalty and capability, as well as their desire for organizational self determination.

With this background of more than thirty years of public activity, women in August 1920 gained the right to vote. Suffrage was important in that it gave activists the legal basis for electoral participation, and because it reinforced for white women activists especially the acceptance of their public efforts. Throughout the 1920s, most white women activists continued to develop a view of political reality that they had begun to construct in the nineteenth century. Their perception of political reality involved compromising to gain objectives, working cooperatively with male political leaders, while continuing to pursue a combined agenda of advancement of women and the achievement of social goals. They saw themselves as realists who recognized the limits of their time, but who, through an interdependent relationship with male leaders, could achieve more than if they failed to compromise. Black women activists continued through segregation to remain largely outside the system, articulating a separate political voice.

What impact did women's political involvement have on the state of Maryland? Put another way, how was Maryland, as a result of women's activism, different in 1930 from the 1890s? In the 1890s, Maryland state and local governments, as did most governments, believed their responsibilities to be limited. State government might contribute money to private institutions, but for the most part, it did not view itself as an owner and manager on behalf of its citizens. It did not want and resisted a role in conservation, health and welfare, and education. Progressive reformers, on the other hand, emphasized government intervention and management. Beginning in the late 1890s, reformers made inroads, and women made a place for themselves through bringing social issues and family concerns into the public arena. As a result, public discourse expanded to incorporate both new issues and new people. By World War I, even federal government encroachment was increasingly accepted. The administration of Governor Albert C. Ritchie expanded the powers of state government even further, and Ritchie led state government into a mutually beneficial relationship with white activist women. Through their cooperative efforts, increased numbers of women gained influence, and women activists supported Ritchie's programs, initiatives, and views. Their actions gained for them recognition of their contributions and influence, and Ritchie, other male officials, and women activists recognized that each needed the other.

Interdependence was the evolving recognition by women activists and male politicians that their objectives could best be achieved by working together, and it grew from women's early decision to cooperate

with male leaders. Interdependence was both a component and an outcome of women's view of political reality, and it characterized the relationship between state and local government and women's organizations throughout the 1920s. When women's clubs contributed money to fund part of the salary of local nurses, or provided trash cans if towns would collect and empty them, both women and men demonstrated their understanding of interdependence. At the state level, for example, when activists supported the governor in his opposition to the Child Labor Amendment, they won tougher state child labor laws. With the help of women activists, the governor could declare by 1924 that Maryland had "caught up with other states which were ahead of her governmentally."⁶

Governor Ritchie's collaboration with women activists led his campaign organization, the all-male Ritchie Citizenship League to publish in 1932 "Ritchie and the Humanitarian Side of Government," as part of a series of campaign pamphlets designed to reach both a state and national audience. The pamphlet paid tribute to "the organized women of Maryland," who "consecrated themselves to . . . meet intelligently and fully their new responsibilities of citizenship." Some men, the writer continued, ignored women's appeals for assistance, but there were others "who had a broader vision." Governor Ritchie was "outstanding" among those with a broad vision, and "has stood ever ready to cooperate with them, to give them the benefit of his opinions based upon long experience in public life, and in every way to cooperate with them . . . and encourage them in their aspirations."⁷

Results for women activists by the close of the 1920s were not quite as sweeping as Governor Ritchie and his pamphleteers would like them to believe, although his support had been crucial to the achievement of many of their objectives. The Bureau of Child Hygiene, still in existence in 1930, child labor, several antidiscrimination statutes, commissions to study minors' laws and almshouses, and the University of Maryland women's dormitory, all depended on Ritchie's endorsement and active support for enactment. As noted throughout this study, women made steady progress in terms of official recognition of their influence between the 1890s and 1925. Between 1926 and 1930, at least twenty-two additional women were appointed to state boards and commissions. The number of women in county-level positions increased even more. In 1926, twenty-one women served in county offices, and by 1930, thirty-two women occupied county level positions. The 1931 General Assembly welcomed two new women, familiar names to the state women's network: Republican Lulu W. Boucher of Allegany County and Democrat Lavinia Engle of Montgomery County.⁸

Although most appointments of women still involved service on those bodies associated with women's traditional concerns, some women activists used their experience as a base from which to expand their interest in public affairs, just as women's activism in the 1910s had originally expanded their public role. The Baltimore League of Women Voters found in public finance a popular study topic, even in the hot summer months of 1929, and the Dorchester County league tackled the subject as well. Demonstrating both an enlarged scope of interest, as well as their practical view of politics, the members of the Inquiry

Club of Rockville listened in February 1928 to a lecture on the duties of their town's public officials. From the talk, they learned "just how much money, after the necessary expenditures have been met, the council has to spend." Club members determined to inform themselves on the details of town government, and the entire year was devoted to studying the intricacies of police, fire, and social services, with a view to being better able to suggest improvements. As evidence of women's increasing interest in such less traditional areas as public finance, as well as their gradual acceptance as authorities in those realms, by the late 1920s, women occupied the office of county treasurer in Queen Anne's and Allegany Counties. Mary Lammert became Allegany County's state and county tax collector and was "studying tax collecting 'with a vengeance'."⁹

What women gained, and what distinguished the Maryland of 1930 from the Maryland of 1890 was political interdependence. From a context that recognized only elections and only males as political entities, political life had expanded to admit especially white women and at the same time accommodate women's views of government. Black women gained an independent political voice, and prepared to both lead and support civil rights campaigns in their communities. Not only were women advocates for themselves and solutions to community problems; they continued their activity within a collaborative and interdependent relationship. Women activists achieved some of their objectives with the support of Governor Ritchie; but Ritchie also gained from the support of women activists. The collaborative relationship extended to the local level, where in Allegany County, for example, the county

health officer wanted women's help in getting approval for a sanitary inspector for milk. His request reflected both women's success in promoting government responsibility as well as their continued influence. And when Mary Lammert, in relating the episode to Lavinia Engle, worried that while "ordinarily" she would support his request, the health officer had "never impressed me," and might be "using our interest to further some of his own," she was both continuing women's long tradition of political involvement and demonstrating women's success in creating and operating in an interdependent political world.¹⁰ Certainly these activists, for the most part products of elite, white backgrounds, did not solve or in most cases even address problems of racism or economic inequities. They did not for the most part attempt to knock down the very real barriers to legal, economic, and social equality that women faced. What they did not achieve has yet to be fully accomplished. What they did achieve, however, helped to make future efforts possible.

As outsiders, women activists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had wanted to root out traditional politics in favor of an expanded government run fairly, objectively, and efficiently by experts. Their decision to cooperate with male political leaders, while gaining for them access and influence, compromised their original intention. Yet they did succeed in helping to create a more responsive government and a public role for themselves. They accommodated, but they were also accommodated. By 1930, both men and women in public life recognized their political

interdependence. Neither could ignore the presence or the potential power of the other.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER EIGHT

1. For example: Stuart A. Rice and Malcolm M. Willey, "American Women's Ineffective Use of the Vote," Current History 20 (July 1924): 641-47; Charles Edward Russell, "Is Woman-Suffrage a Failure?" Century Magazine 107 (March 1924): 725-30; "Ten Years of Woman Suffrage," The Literary Digest 105 (April 26, 1930): 11; Louis Azrael in Baltimore News Post, November 1938, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Maryland Collection Vertical File.

2. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Woman's Achievements Since the Franchise," Current History 27 (October 1927): 7-14; Dorothy Ashby Moncure, "Women in Political Life," Current History 29 (January 1929): 639-43; Carrie Chapman Catt, "Woman Suffrage Only an Episode in Age-Old Movement," Current History 27 (October 1927): 1-6; Lavinia Engle in Maryland Clubwoman, December 1928, MHR. Also see Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 143 (May 1929).

3. William L. O'Neill, Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), vii-x, led the way in documenting divisions of women after 1920 into "social" and "hard core" feminists; Stanley J. Lemons, The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), further articulated the split among women activists, but did argue that women's reform efforts formed a link between the Progressive Era and the New Deal; Estelle Freedman, "Separation as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," Feminist Studies 5 (1979): 512-29, argued that when women gave up their separate organizations after winning suffrage, feminism died; William H. Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 29-30, 35-36, 246, maintained that the thrill of politics was gone for women, and they could not organize to force politicians to enact their program; Carl Degler, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 328, found that suffrage had no observable effect; Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, 3-5; Nancy F. Cott, "What's in a Name? The Limits of 'Social Feminism'," Journal of American History 76 (December 1989): 829. Cott has defined feminism as opposition to sex hierarchy, a belief that women's condition is socially constructed, and the perception by women of themselves as a social grouping.

4. Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics."

5. Sarah Deutsch, "Learning to Talk More Like a Man," 403-4.

6. For example, in the five years between 1921 and 1925, the number of state employees increased from 2892 to 3769, with the greatest increases occurring in the University of Maryland, State Roads, and the State Normal School at Towson. At the 1927 General Assembly session, Governor Ritchie proposed an increase in the gasoline tax, seafood conservation measures, and a strengthening of the powers of the Public Service Commission. Legislature 1924-1927, Governors' Papers, MHR. Inaugural Address to General Assembly, January 9, 1924, Governors' Papers, MHR. Finally, between 1917 and 1929, public money expended rose from \$11,450,662 per year to \$36,034,382. Laws of Maryland, 1918, 1924, 1929.

7. "Ritchie and the Humanitarian Side of Government," 1932, MHS. Other pamphlets in the series of seventeen included, for example, "Ritchie and Business in Government," "Ritchie and Agriculture," and "Ritchie and State Roads."

8. Maryland Manuals, 1926-1930.

9. Board Letter, August, 7, 1929, Series 1, Box 6, MLWV, University of Maryland; County Reports, 1929, Series 2, Box 4, MLWV, University of Maryland; Minutes, February 27, 1928; April 23, 1928, Inquiry Club of Rockville, MCHS; Maryland Manuals, 1926 and 1930; Mary Lammert to Lavinia Engle, January 11, 1927, Series 3, Box 3, MLWV, University of Maryland. Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Woman: From Pedestal to Politics, 199-200, also found that women in the 1920s increasingly involved themselves in studying budgets, tax administration, and the details of government.

10. Mary Lammert to Lavinia Engle, January 11, 1927, Series 3, Box 3, MLWV, University of Maryland.

ESSAY ON PRIMARY SOURCES

In May 1929, Carrie R. Wantz, longtime member and officer of the Woman's Club of Westminster, confided to the minute book she had kept for eighteen years that never once had her minutes been read at a club meeting. Wantz took a long view, however, and expressed her hope that the minutes would "prove very interesting to future generations." Carrie Wantz probably did not envision the use to which her and others' records would be put, but it was because of their conscientious recording of the events and circumstances of their worlds that this and other studies could be undertaken. Many of the primary sources used for this study have rarely if ever been consulted, but a variety of rich source material is available, especially for white women's activities, at a number of locations.

Maryland Historical Society

The largest number of manuscript collections for historians of women during this period can be found at the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. Chief among the manuscript collections are the Leakin-Sioussat Papers and the Mary E.W. Risteau collection. The papers of Annie Leakin Sioussat include early material relating to the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, including some valuable local club reports for 1915 and 1916, antisuffrage correspondence, and papers relating to the women's auxiliaries of the Episcopal Church and the Civil Service Reform Society. The Risteau collection features

political and personal correspondence, scrapbooks, and newspaper articles. Both collections, rarely used, provide an extremely useful view of women's political activities and their perceptions of their activities.

Other collections at the Maryland Historical Society are helpful, especially minutes of the Arundell Club, the Woman's Literary Club, and the College Club. Scrapbooks of the Eleventh Ward Democratic Club and the records of the Sentinels of the Republic provide an insight into male perceptions of women's political activity.

Apart from manuscript collections, the Maryland Historical Society houses original bound copies of the Maryland Suffrage News. The News, published weekly between 1912 and 1920, is an invaluable source for suffrage-era materials, not only because it provides a record of suffrage activities, but also because it reveals a statewide perspective of the suffrage movement. The Town, the newsletter of the Woman's Civic League of Baltimore, is available for just a few years, but its content provides researchers with a window into the world of women activists during the 1910s.

Books and pamphlets in the Maryland Historical Society include: the Annals of the Arundell Club; the History of the Woman's Club of Govans; Augustus Binswanger's 1903 Married Women's Property and Contractual Rights; Edwin Higgins' 1897 Compilation of Laws of Interest to Women; and a series of 1932 pamphlets promoting the candidacy of Governor Albert C. Ritchie.

Special Collections, University of Maryland

One of the most valuable collections used for this study, and potentially useful for studies of later periods, are the archives of the Maryland League of Women Voters. The collection includes material related to state conventions, the national league, legislative records, minutes, boxes dedicated to various issues of interest to the league, financial reports, and county branch reports. In addition, one box contains files of the later years of the Maryland Women's Suffrage League, especially useful for learning more about differences in suffrage and ratification strategy. Also in the University's collection but not used for this study are the unprocessed collection of the Maryland Business and Professional Women and the papers of the Maryland American Association of University Women, both of which begin in the late 1920s. Among the manuscript collections at the University are some papers, especially speeches, of Albert C. Ritchie, and the papers of University of Maryland Dean of Women, Adele Stamp. The University of Maryland also houses other valuable sources, including yearly issues of the Maryland Manual, reports of the Interracial Commission, yearbooks of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs for the late 1920s, Lillian Welsh's Reminiscences of Thirty Years in Baltimore, and the History of Goucher College.

The Maryland Hall of Records

Located in Annapolis, the Maryland Hall of Records offers, through many state agency records, governors' papers and correspondence, and reports of special commissions, a wealth of useful

information. Additionally, records of the Maryland Council of Defense, including correspondence and minutes, are invaluable to the World War I researcher. The archives also has received some of the records of the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs, notably histories of twenty-seven local clubs and the state federation's publication, Maryland Clubwoman, available for the years 1927-1938. The Hall of Records also has material relating to the Annapolis YWCA between 1918 and 1936.

Enoch Pratt Free Library

Baltimore's Pratt Library, especially its Maryland collection, offers a number of valuable materials. Minutes of the Baltimore City Suffrage Club, while incomplete, are useful in understanding how and why suffragists differed. Also available in Pratt's Maryland collection are the History of the Allegany County Federation of Women's Clubs, the History of the Women's Civic League of Baltimore, the Maryland Leader, a Socialist Party newspaper begun in the late 1920s, and Addresses Delivered at the City-wide Congress, that 1911 catalytic event for Baltimore progressives. Pratt's vertical file offers, among other material, the "History of the Consumers' League of Maryland" and information on individual Maryland women. Weekly editions of the Afro-American Ledger are available on microfilm in Pratt's newspaper archives, and are essential for the study of black women's community activities.

Jewish Historical Society

Baltimore's Jewish Historical Society houses a few, but important, materials related to the activism of Jewish women.

Yearbooks of the Daughters in Israel document the community activities of this organization. Papers of the Council of Jewish Women and the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations offer an insight into how and why women federated their organizations, as well as documentation concerning their reform activities.

University of Baltimore

The Special Collections Department of the Langsdale Library of the University of Baltimore houses a few papers of Mary Risteau as well as many records of Baltimore's health, welfare, and civic organizations, most beginning later than the parameters of this study. The library is also the repository for the transcripts and tapes of the oral history project completed in 1979, the Baltimore Neighborhood Heritage Project. Residents of several Baltimore neighborhoods were interviewed concerning the day-to-day life of their communities. While little of the material relates to political life, it may be helpful to researchers interested in early twentieth century family and community life.

Young Women's Christian Association of Greater Baltimore

Baltimore's YWCA maintains a large amount of archival material dating from the early twentieth century, including minutes of board meetings, annual reports, and occasional executive committee meetings and department reports. Permission to make use of the material may be obtained through the YWCA's executive director.

City and County Archives

The Baltimore City Archives houses materials relating to government of Maryland's largest city. Maryland's other cities and towns also maintain minutes of governmental bodies and other documents.

County Historical Societies

Many county and local historical societies hold material of interest to historians of women's activities, notably the Carroll County Historical Society in Westminster, and the Montgomery County Historical Society in Rockville. The Carroll County Historical Society houses the minutes of both the Woman's Club of Westminster and the Woman's Civic League of Westminster. It also holds the records of the Women's Section of the Carroll County Council of Defense, invaluable to the study of local women's efforts in World War I. The Montgomery County Historical Society maintains the minutes of the Inquiry Club of Rockville and the Rockville Woman's Club, as well as the minutes of women's clubs located in smaller communities.

Materials on Black Women's Activities

When historian Anne Firor Scott termed black women and their organizations the "most invisible of all," she could have been describing Maryland's black women activists. Most of the material for this study came from the weekly editions of Baltimore's Afro-American Ledger and the records of the white YWCA. Other records of black women's activities during this time period may be in private hands, maintained by organizations, or destroyed. While a useful activity of those interested in women's history would be to make sure that the

records of white women's activism are kept and cared for, an even more valuable and crucial project would be to attempt to gather and store the records of black women's activism throughout Maryland.

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