Mary Flinn Lawrence, daughter of Pennsylvania Senator William Flinn, was unfailingly dedicated to the Republican Party long before she was allowed to vote for its candidates. She knew firsthand the power of party politics from growing up with a state senator as her dad. It was through her father, who insisted on educating his two daughters as well as his three sons, that she gained her zeal for politics as well as the proper education to pursue political endeavors. This in-depth knowledge of the workings of the partisan system, combined with the advantage of her family’s position in high society, gave her the perfect tools to become one of the most remarkable women in Pennsylvania politics.
Born Mary Stephen Flinn in 1887, the first daughter of William and Nancy Flinn, she became very active in the political sphere “as a matter of training under her father.”¹ After working with Pittsburgh’s suffragettes in her late teens, she devoted her time to the League of Women Voters and other political organizations. She remained active in benevolent organizations her entire life and advocated political and social change, becoming influential in Pennsylvania history. Her actions helped forge the new role of the politically active woman and inspired future generations to make a difference in politics and the community.

William Flinn, like many Pittsburgh political powerhouses, rose from humble beginnings to high positions in Western Pennsylvania business and government.² He worked in a brickyard as a child, and then apprenticed in the plumbing trade. In 1877 he partnered with James Booth to found Booth and Flinn, Inc., the company credited with the construction of the Mount Washington Tunnel, the Citizens’ Street Railway, the Liberty Tunnels, and the Westinghouse Bridge, which at the time “contained the largest single arch of concrete in the world.”³

Flinn worked his way up in politics, starting out in his ward as a gatherer of stray votes. He became ward boss, and in 1877 became a Pittsburgh Fire Board commissioner.⁴ In 1879 he was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature and in 1890 became a Pennsylvania state senator, a position he held until 1901. A personal friend of Theodore Roosevelt, he was a dedicated member of the Republican Party until 1912, when he joined Roosevelt in the Progressive movement. Roosevelt remained close to the Flinn family throughout his life and was even invited to Mary’s wedding. (He was unable to attend, but sent a gift and a congratulatory card.) Later, the senator forged a political relationship with Christopher Lyman Magee, forming one of the most effective political machines Pittsburgh has ever seen, despite charges of corruption. The Flinn/
Magee machine dictated political control of Pittsburgh for 20 consecutive years while maintaining a reputation for clean dealing. There is much debate about how valid this reputation actually was due to the political positions held by Magee and Flinn. There were allegations that Magee and Flinn did not venture into illegal actions because they simply changed the laws through legislative action to suit their needs. 5

Regardless of allegations of ulterior motives, Flinn was particularly interested in social legislation and protecting the welfare of Pittsburgh’s citizens. He was vice president of Elizabeth Steel Magee Hospital, a member of the advisory board of the Industrial Board for Crippled Children, director of the Pittsburgh Maternity Dispensary, and director as well as an executive committee member of the Western Pennsylvania Hospital. 6 Mary Flinn Lawrence inherited much more than a name from her father. She carried on his tradition of political work for the improvement of society, and her father’s lifelong friends became her key allies. In all of her papers, memoirs, and correspondence, she has nothing but praise for her father. She placed him on a pedestal and in many ways ignored what the public might have viewed as his faults and misgivings. His paternal influence was tremendous and his social action inspired her to become a reformer, although her involvement far surpassed his.

In a 1913 letter to her friend and former suitor Joseph Conally, Lawrence wrote, “I have been to Harrisburg a couple of times for different legislation.” 7 The Child Labor Bill, hours for women’s work, minimum wage for women and suffrage bills are the ones I am so much interested in.” 8 She affectionately stated, “My father taught me all I know about politics.” 9 Flinn stressed to his daughter that it was every citizen’s duty to take an active part in politics. At a time when women’s desire to be taken seriously in the political sphere was often denied and “traditional femininity was prized, men admired and supported her efforts,” she was one of few women “able to...
accomplish her goals without alienating her opponents." She was so effective that she had *The Atlanta Journal* asking, “Can the Flinn machine come back in petticoats?”

Lawrence’s education was also exceptional. In the elite classes, education for women became an expectation rather than a suggestion. At the end of the 19th century, elite families educated their children with the idea that knowledgeable women were the essential counterpart to a prominent husband in society. For Mary Flinn Lawrence, education widened her own influence. She was taught first at The Thurston School in Pittsburgh, which proclaims that it “earned a national reputation for establishing and advancing the highest ideals for female intellectual, personal and athletic achievement.” She graduated in 1906 from Briarcliff in New York at a time when women obtained 19 percent of all undergraduate college degrees.

In addition to acquiring a fervent interest in politics and an education, Lawrence also obtained experience in community service thanks to her father’s influence. William Flinn was especially active in the Industrial Home for Crippled Children, where Lawrence was introduced to community service. The children there touched her heart in a distinctive way and had quite an impact on her throughout her life. In another letter to Joseph Conally, Lawrence wrote, “I love them [the children] dearly and I go there very often. It’s a perfect lesson to me always to see how happy they are with so little and they all are crippled in some way.”

Lawrence acquired many fundraising skills working with the Industrial Home. She revealed to Conally that, “I can’t say I like asking for money but it is a pretty fine feeling once the job is all done.” She once explained in a *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* article how she was introduced to the home, saying, “Some of the crippled children came to our church, and one Sunday morning my father asked me why I didn’t attend to...”

Benevolent associations allowed women to work for social causes and gave them initial experience in the field of political manipulation. However, it proved difficult to achieve political change without political power. In June 1904, 17-year-old Mary Flinn organized the Allegheny County Equal Franchise Federation along with several other...
elite women to coordinate Pittsburgh suffrage supporters to lobby for the vote. She became president of the association in 1912.

Wendy Sharer, associate professor of English at East Carolina University, explains that "some of the more elite benevolent organizations had access to political influence through their husbands or other male family members." This was true in Lawrence’s case and *The Pittsburgh Press* described her as "the daughter of Bill Flinn, one of the most successful political bosses Pittsburgh ever had. He was for everything she wanted." The Flinns proved to be a valuable father-daughter team in the fight for enfranchisement. In a journal entry from October of 1912, Lawrence wrote, "we all went in to [a] mass meeting for [the] Suffrage Party. Very successful. Father spoke." She also presented at numerous meetings and events and was quite a sought-after speaker. A few months later she informed Conally, "I gave the suffrage lecture at the theatre. The whole thing was my idea. I worked quite hard… and it was a great success because it was a trifle unusual."

Earlier in the year, *The Atlanta Journal* reported her speaking "on the stage of the local vaudeville house, at the close of both the matinee and evening performances and in a voice ringing loud with earnestness told the audience why there should be votes for women." Not all women shared the Equal Franchise Federation’s sentiments about women influencing politics. In 1912, a counter organization, the Women’s Anti-Suffrage Association of Pittsburgh, was organized. Even among her own peers Lawrence was met with resistance.

Lawrence utilized her father’s political allies, in addition to relationships she forged, to advocate the vote. In 1918, she traveled to Philadelphia to meet with Senator William S. Vare. She confided to Conally that "he took a great fancy to me the last time, 4 or 5 years ago. And as he controls a large group in the Legislature, I am having tea at The Roses this afternoon.... He is quite a power ... and controls a lot of men."
powerhouse allowed him to potentially sway “35 or 38 men to vote for the Suffrage Bill to be ratified in the Pa. Legislature if Congress passes it.”

In May 1918, Lawrence met with gubernatorial candidate Senator William Cameron Sproul. She was adamant about interviewing him during his visit to Pittsburgh to “get his read on the Suffrage vote as it comes up.” Furthermore, she was a close friend to Governor Gifford Pinchot and his wife, Cornelia Bryce Pinchot, a relationship that she maintained throughout her life. Both Gifford and his wife were passionate supporters of the suffrage movement. Cornelia was an avid activist “for women’s rights, full educational opportunities for women, seeking wage and union protections for women and children, and encouraging women to participate in the political process.” Her personal views “and Progressive Era politics proved to be a great influence on her husband’s political agenda.”

Gifford also pursued a lifelong interest in forest conservation. In a letter to Conally from 1914, Mary Flinn Lawrence mentioned a dinner party hosted by the suffrage association at her home “at which Gifford Pinchot will speak…He may possibly run for senate for Pa. this spring. I hope so as to me he is an ideal American man.” One of Lawrence’s most extensive roles during the suffrage movement was lobbying to politicians for the vote. Lawrence believed that women would get the vote through a constitutional amendment rather than through the state legislature. The best way women could lobby for the vote was to form close alliances with the men in the federal congress who would advocate for their cause. It was common practice nationally: various women in each state lobbied through their state representatives to support their cause on the congressional floors.

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the Pittsburgh suffragettes, “like most suffrage associations, including NAWSA, supported the war effort. They hoped to convince the” government that their patriotic efforts warranted them the ballot. Lawrence and her suffragette colleagues formed the Suffrage Red Cross, an association that lobbied for the vote while supporting the troops through fundraising, organizing supplies, and nursing. They were so successful that the New York Times wrote in 1915 that “the woman suffrage campaign appears to thrive better here [in Pittsburgh] than anywhere else in the Keystone State. Allegheny County… is very likely to prove the battleground where a suffrage or anti-suffrage conclusion will be reached.” During the war, the Pittsburgh suffragists influenced the state legislature to vote on the bill for enfranchisement in 1915 and 1917. As archivist Jennie Benford stated in Pittsburgh Suffragists “the war had shown the women in question to be worthy and able citizens. Home-front work by suffragists
nationwide proved to be the force that removed any final barriers between American women and the vote.”32

In 1918 Lawrence wrote to Conally, saying, “I told you about the Front Line Packets the Red Cross [is] making. The doctors have them right up where the men fall. It has to be done perfectly so we must be particular.”33 She talked about spending many afternoons and long evenings at the Red Cross, supervising approximately 70 young women. For Lawrence, the SRC (Suffrage Red Cross) was a staple in her busy days, despite her involvement in a myriad of charitable and political activities. The SRC offered her a perfect fusion of goodwill, patriotism, and politics. Although she was of an elite class, she greatly respected the difficulty that many of her nurses had after they “worked all day as teachers, telephone girls, [at] stores, stenographers etc.”34 She highly admired these women for their contributions and often downplayed her own busy life. Lawrence often spent long hours at the station, despite her demanding schedule. She wrote, “I work every day but Saturday all day in different Red Cross work & do all I can. But it seems so little when so much is needed.”35

To collect finances for the war effort, the SRC used the same tactics as those applied to fundraising for enfranchisement. Lawrence never traveled overseas, but she organized a major home front campaign in Pittsburgh selling Liberty Loans and hosting

“The Red Cross Drive is over...
Pgh’s (Pittsburgh’s) quota was 4,000,000 and we raised 5,300,000! There is great enthusiasm which is right.”
other fundraising events. In 1918, she participated on a committee that planned a ball and wartime fashion show to raise money for the Women’s Hospital Unit at the Front. This fete was one of “a number being given in big cities, including New York and Philadelphia. The Women’s Hospital Unit at the Front will be supported at a total cost of $250,000 and has been adopted by the National Women’s Suffrage Association.”

The NAWSA endorsement of the war effort, along with the Suffrage Red Cross’s support, emphasized the idea that the women’s rights movement wanted the public to associate the suffrage groups “with patriotism, and hoped that after the war women’s service to the nation would be rewarded by recognition of their right to vote.”

Planning and managing campaigns consumed much of Lawrence’s time during the war years. She hosted silent parades in which women stood on the sides of the streets and handed out literature concerning the Liberty Loans. In April of 1918, newspapers reported that the Liberty Loan committee of Allegheny County had begun “the home stretch of the four weeks campaign to secure as many millions as possible over their quota of $15,000,000.” This particular drive consisted of a parade of 40,000 women and a corps of 300 women, in which Lawrence was a marshal. She and her workers labored selling the bonds to contribute to the war effort. At the end of the April 1918 drive, she wrote to Conally that, “The Red Cross Drive is over…Pgh’s (Pittsburgh’s) quota was 4,000,000 and we raised 5,300,000! There is great enthusiasm which is right.”

The wartime contributions of millions of women across the nation played a huge role in winning the vote. As it became apparent that the Nineteenth Amendment would pass through Congress, the Allegheny County Equal Franchise Federation began to prepare women for the responsibilities of voting by transforming into the Allegheny County League of Women Voters. Lawrence noted to Conally in January 1920 that the “the suffrage ass. disbanded and formed the League of Women Citizens instead. They are doing it everywhere and these leagues are to educate women for citizenship and the vote. I do hope the Federal Bill will be ratified by enough states so we can vote for president in [November].”

“The successor organization would train new women voters in electoral procedures and further the interests of women within the platforms and administrative structures of political parties.” The LWV organized courses on how to read the press “intelligently and democratically.” They circulated election and political information and published unbiased material, instructing women how to look past the bias of the press and partisan propaganda.

The League “designed and sponsored a variety of educational forums to acquaint women with the duties of their
enfranchisement.” Lawrence was a school of citizenship that hosted mock elections, senates, and judiciaries in order to fully acquaint women with the political system. Lawrence served on the LWV board of directors from November 10, 1920, until November 7, 1924.

Lawrence’s excitement grew and she wrote to Conally in March, “Just think, I’ll be able to vote for President. Just 2 more states needed and it will be ratified.” By July of 1920, Tennessee’s Henry Burn cast the last vote needed to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. After decades of struggle, women had finally procured the right to cast the presidential ballot.

Prior to ratification, Senator William E. Crow of Uniontown created the Women’s Republican Committee of Pennsylvania. Lawrence was then appointed to the state committee by the governor. The Women’s Republican Committee functioned in a very similar way to the LWB, however, the crucial difference between the two organizations was party affiliation. Lawrence said in an article in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette that, “The Republican women of the state felt the need for an organization in their own party through which they might secure information on political affairs.” Lawrence became vice president of the committee. Several years later, she was described as being “instrumental in forming the Pennsylvania State Council of Republican Women, and was elected vice chairman of the council. …with the aim of effectively organizing all Republican women in the state.”

As a member of the Pennsylvania Council of Republican Women, she stressed the adoption of election reforms drafted by Gifford Pinchot. In 1926, William S. Vare defeated Pinchot in the Pennsylvania senatorial election. It was later discovered that Vare had produced thousands of false ballots, corrupting the election results. Due to this scandal, Pinchot and Lawrence agreed upon the necessity of election reform in order to ensure a fair ballot vote. One year later, the Allegheny County Elections Association, in which Lawrence was vice president, was founded and conducted “what was commented on as one of the most effective prosecutions of election law violators in the history of the country.” Lawrence felt that election change was critical. In a newspaper interview she stated, “In my opinion, the great need for changes in the elections laws have never been as vital as at the present time. I have been interested in this subject and studied it for several years under the guidance of my father.”

Not only was she committed to voting reforms, she enthusiastically advocated the elections. She worked closely with Pinchot during his campaign for governor in 1922 when he ran against Attorney General George E. Alter of Allegheny County. The election was close, and Pinchot was considered the underdog, but a huge result from rural voters pushed him ahead and in 1923, he was instated as Pennsylvania governor. Pinchot’s wife, Cornelia, wrote to Lawrence, “I don’t know how we ever did it, do you—or at least you do, because you did it or most of it. Is your father very proud of you!” Lawrence couldn’t contain her delight in their success and wrote to Senator Edwin Vare, “I can’t resist the temptation to tell you how delighted I am over the election and also to say ‘I told you so.’ You thought I was foolish and wrong when I told you Pinchot had a good chance to win and I wanted you to be for him…. The next time you and the other leaders decide on a harmony candidate at the last minute, take my advice and consult some of the resources [sent by] the Republican women of the state, as they expect consideration.”

Mary Flinn Lawrence in her riding habit.
HHC L&A Mary Flinn Lawrence Photograph Collection, MS54 185. Gift of William F. Lawrence.
position of Secretary of the Commonwealth in his cabinet. Newspaper articles reported that “it [the position] has been offered to Mrs. Lawrence and she will accept it. Mrs. Lawrence was very active in both the primary and general election in support of Mr. Pinchot.”

She was one of the first two women to hold an office in the governor’s cabinet. In addition, Governor Sproul appointed her as the Chief State Forester to succeed Pinchot. She was the second woman to hold this commission.

Lawrence again sided with Pinchot in his 1926 senatorial campaign against William S. Vare and George Wharton Pepper. During the campaign, Mary Flinn Lawrence once again vigorously pushed for Pinchot’s election. Prior to the May election, Lawrence gave a radio speech in support of Pinchot. In it she said:

“It is obvious now that the sole question in this senatorial primary is whether the Mellons, through Senator Pepper, or Congressman Vare shall completely dominate the state, or whether the people themselves through Governor Pinchot, shall have the right of first representation in the upper branch of congress. Pepper or Vare mean machine control; Pinchot means a smash at the gangs and a renewal of the liberating movement of four years ago.”

Although the campaign for Pinchot was strong, they could not compete against Vare’s corrupt operation.

In 1927, Lawrence caused a stir by backing family friend James M. Magee for the 35th Congressional district nomination. Her brother, George H. Flinn, backed opposing candidate Harry A. Estep. Magee ultimately lost, but the campaign drew some fascinating brother-against-sister press coverage. That same year, Lawrence publicly supported the candidacy of Charles C. McGovern and George B. Shields for county commissioner. In a radio speech given October 26, 1927, Lawrence said:

“Most people admire courage and honesty above most characteristics. Even his enemies admit Controller McGovern has courage. His record proves that. I have known him for many years and know whereof I speak. He was a valued friend of my fathers, who had the highest regard for his character and ability…During these last several years when friends of clean election laws were not so numerous or active as of present, he stood ready at all times and gave of his time and effort and experience in this service.”

Lawrence went on to urge citizens to come out and vote for the Republicans in the election. Her support assisted greatly in the campaign and McGovern won.

In 1936, the Republican National Committee and State Committees of Pennsylvania prepared for the presidential campaign of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt against Republican Alf Landon. To raise funds and awareness for Landon, the committees developed the “Dollar Certificate Campaign.” Lawrence chaired the Western Pennsylvania Division, leading 20 districts consisting of thousands of women eager to lobby for Landon. Volunteers planned rallies, provided entertainment for meetings, and sought out campaign funds.

One major concern of the voters was the thought that Roosevelt and the New Deal were too radical. Ewing Rafferty, a World War I veteran and friend of Lawrence, commented in a letter that “Mrs. Roosevelt is strictly pro-red, nothing can be done.” Another writer requested that the Republican women start an anti-communism legion. The fear of radical government was so great that an emphasis on traditional politics became a key component of the Republican campaign. Lawrence stated in a newspaper interview that “the Republicans are out in the open. Within a few weeks we shall have an army of 10,000 women, maybe more, engaged in a whirlwind crusading campaign of educating voters in the follies of the New Deal.”

In addition to raising awareness about issues, the leaders of the Dollar Certificate campaign vowed to visit every Republican in Pennsylvania and solicit one dollar from each household. Each purchaser received an engraved certificate and sunflower button that said, “Landon & Knox—I Bought a Dollar Certificate.” Lawrence spoke at numerous rallies urging Republicans to volunteer for the campaign, to donate money for the cause, and to make sure their friends and neighbors knew about the Dollar Certificate drive and
were registered to vote. Despite the terrific effort put forth, Landon lost the election, carrying only two states, Vermont and Maine.

Lawrence continued to advocate for Republican politics and social welfare throughout her life, despite numerous emotional and physical roadblocks, such as a strained marriage and a horrific accident that left her paralyzed for the remainder of her days. She was actively involved in over 250 organizations ranging from temperance, birth control politics, environmentalism, women’s rights, political Republican organizations, social welfare, and more, yet felt strongly that no matter what she did it was never enough.

Still, she became an unstoppable force in advocating for change before and after enfranchisement. Her unsurpassable collection of skills led her to take charge and influence the Republican Party, and she strongly impacted the political system while still commanding the respect of the powerful men around her. Her influence as a Republican, enlightened woman broke through political and social barriers. Although she never served in public office—only a handful of women did at that time, including Utah State Senator Martha Hughes Cannon, Congresswoman Jeanette Rankin, and Wyoming Governor Nellie Taylor Ross—her radical desire to succeed and refusal to quit secures her place as one of the most influential women of her time.

Lauren M. Lamendola is the curator of the McCarl Coverlet Gallery at Saint Vincent College in Latrobe.
She became an unstoppable force in advocating for change before and after enfranchisement.
Federated Investors Foundation, Inc.
Supports the Efforts of
Senator John Heinz History Center

FederatedInvestors.com

Federated is a registered mark of Federated Investors, Inc. 2011 ©Federated Investors, Inc.