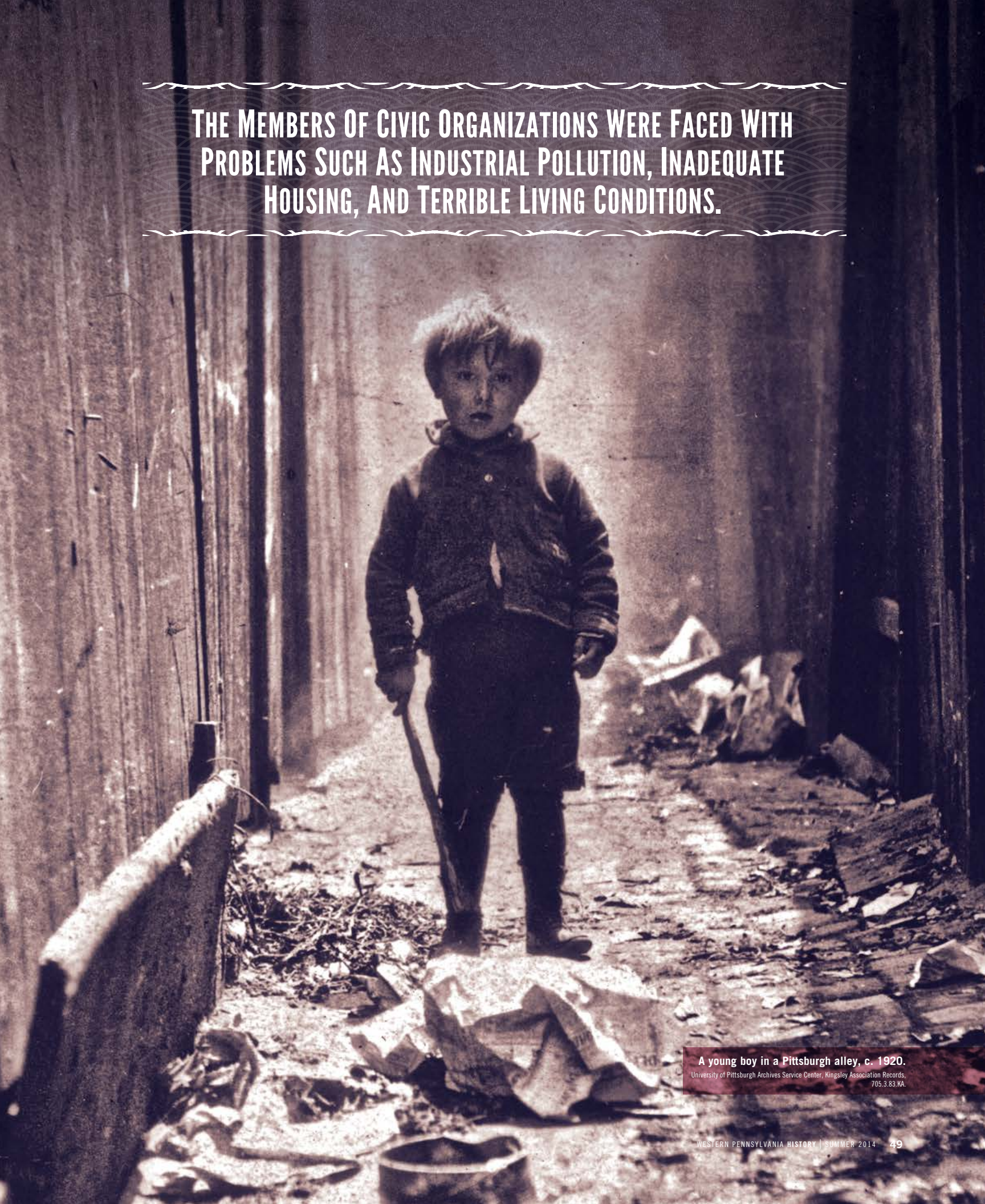


# *Women* **& THE CIVIC CLUB** **OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY**

*By*  
LAUREN M. CHURILLA



THE MEMBERS OF CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS WERE FACED WITH PROBLEMS SUCH AS INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION, INADEQUATE HOUSING, AND TERRIBLE LIVING CONDITIONS.



A young boy in a Pittsburgh alley, c. 1920.

University of Pittsburgh Archives Service Center, Kingsley Association Records,  
705.3.83.KA



**T**hroughout the Progressive Era, women challenged the boundaries of domestic ideals through participation in benevolent and civic organizations. Such associations allowed women to work for reform issues ignored by most politicians, and gave women initial experience in the field of political and social influence. In addition to coordinating legislative campaigns and publicizing their clubs, women dominated the organizations' hierarchy and determined their reform agenda, while male members took a supporting role. For many women, suffrage was not the only way to achieve political power. Civic organizations gave them the opportunity to participate in legislative activities and have an active political voice without enfranchisement. Pittsburgh's Civic Club of Allegheny County became one of the most successful mixed gender reform groups in the city's history.

Pittsburgh's elite and middle class citizens were the driving force behind an organization that had overwhelming feminine political and legislative influence during the Progressive Era. Women played critical roles in the Civic Club of Allegheny County, and, with their influence and assistance, the organization effectively supported the social transformation of an entire city.

Organized in 1895, the Civic Club of Allegheny County in many ways resembled the profile of all-women's organizations in the Progressive Era. These reform organizations "constructed their ... activities in the city along the lines of 'municipal housekeeping,' relying either on the historical conception of women as inherently more moral or on their socially valued experience as mothers to legitimate their noticeably different reform perspectives."<sup>1</sup> Women were widely seen as the agents of morality in society, and their influence in the domestic arts gave them a

critical role to play in benevolent organizations. While a woman's designated social assignment was managing the home, women reformers justified their roles by claiming that the "home [was] not contained within the four walls of an individual house. Home [was] the community. The city full of people is the family. The public school is the real nursery."<sup>2</sup> Familial action outside the home was not the primary motivation for many women to become involved in politics, but it became an accepted reason for feminine public action. Prior to enfranchisement, women's "moral nature gave them reason for public action, and since they did not have the vote, such action was considered 'above' politics."<sup>3</sup>

Mixed gender reform organizations, such as the Civic Club, were particularly effective because they combined tactics from both men and women's groups, able to exert the political influence of the male gender, while utilizing the moral motivations of women. Men, such

**WOMEN PLAYED CRITICAL ROLES IN THE CIVIC CLUB OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, AND, WITH THEIR INFLUENCE AND ASSISTANCE, THE ORGANIZATION EFFECTIVELY SUPPORTED THE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION OF AN ENTIRE CITY.**

*Iron Works, Pittsburgh*, by Hew Charles Torrance  
(American, 1859–1931), gelatin silver print,  
11 3/16 in. x 9 in., 1918.

Carnegie Museum of Art (Pittsburgh), gift of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, 83.21.5.





This poignant image, taken by Lewis Hine in Pittsburgh, was originally captioned, "Going to their work at 5 P.M. 'Sheeny Joe's' Glass House, January, 1913. Boy to left is 15 years old, can't speak English." The Civic Club fought for fair child labor laws to combat sights like this.

Library of Congress, Lewis Wickes Hine collection, LC-DIG-nclc-01303.

as prominent member Henry Clay Frick, brought the experience of business, law, and "their notions of a model city government," while women dominated the leadership and agenda, running the organization in a way similar to distinctly feminine associations.<sup>4</sup> For example, at the 1903 annual meeting, the Civic Club decided that *women alone* would be responsible for the upcoming year's agenda. This indicates a substantial willingness of men in the organization to take a background role.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County organized "to promote higher and better social order" and to improve "the social condition of the community, especially the establishment

of institutions for the relief and comfort of the destitute, needy and dependent."<sup>5</sup> At the time of the club's founding, Pittsburgh was plagued with "polluted water, inadequate sewerage, unpaved streets, and unsanitary housing."<sup>6</sup> The Civic Club vowed to remedy the situation by promoting "education and organized effort, a higher public spirit, and a better social order."<sup>7</sup> The members of civic organizations were faced with problems such as industrial pollution, inadequate housing, and terrible living conditions. During the Progressive Era, the Civic Club sought to improve living conditions in the industrial city of Pittsburgh. Through members' efforts, "they demonstrated the

importance of citizen participation in civic affairs ... and awakened the general public" to the ways and issues in city management.<sup>8</sup> Elite men and women in the Civic Club worked to improve their city and enhance the lives of the middle and working classes of Pittsburgh. Some historians theorize that civic involvement was motivated by the upper classes' desire to retain their property value by increasing worth of the surrounding community rather than a yearning to enrich the lives of others. Indeed, Pittsburgh's reforming women were well aware of the connection between social reform and property value. In a book that told of the social accomplishments of Pittsburgh's elite, *The Social Mirror*, the author reminisces that, "in the early days Water Street, which is now given up to manufacturing establishments and ugly dens, was the section where all the most wealthy and cultivated people lived."<sup>9</sup>

Social motivation has been one of the most hotly debated issues among historians of Progressive civic reform. The Civic Club was, in the first decades of existence, an elite club that "wanted the city to appear cleaner and more beautiful, city government to function efficiently, residents of the city to live healthier, and they wanted the poor and immigrants [to have] the ability to live a middle class life, provided they lived by established middle-class standards."<sup>10</sup> Some historians have seen this as a way for the upper class to reaffirm its own standing, as



this approach was by no means a radical attack on class hierarchy; rather it supported the existing social system. For example, members of the Civic Club advocated for an adherence to middle class values in terms of the home structure, cleanliness, and nationalism. While the reforms proposed did benefit the working class and make for a more comfortable

the Civic Club members had observed severe health and environment problems in a city once described by writer James Parton as “Hell with the Lid Off.” Conditions were deplorable and there was genuine concern to make a better city, reform corrupt governments, and improve social conditions through municipal housekeeping. Just because the members

to the suffering people about them. As the job got too big for these good women to carry on their home obligations and to keep up with the needy ones about them, they organized. First little committees, later incorporated agencies and societies.... Shoes, clothing and food were received from those who had to spare and given to those who lacked those things.... It is still the women’s job and it is your job as well as mine. If you have not given and done your part it is only because you are ignorant of the need and do not come in contact with the suffering.... Women and children bear the brunt of [society’s] woes.<sup>11</sup>

Several notable women helped shape the Progressive Era Civic Club and were highly influential in both the organization and their surrounding communities.

In the Civic Club of Allegheny County, “the wives, daughters, and widows of Pittsburgh’s business

and professional elite performed most of the club’s daily reform work, advancing moral issues about the environment, as well as other reforms.”<sup>12</sup> The background and personal experiences of several of these ladies fueled their substantial involvement in the Civic Club and other reform movements in Pittsburgh.

Kate Cassatt McKnight of Western Avenue (President) and Elizabeth Dohrman Thaw of North Lincoln Avenue and Sewickley Heights (Treasurer) were instrumental in the founding of the Civic Club and remained active in the association for many years following its creation. During Elizabeth Thaw’s life, “every appointment in her engagement book had civic significance.”<sup>13</sup> When her husband died in Europe and left her widowed at 31, Thaw decided to give freely of her time and money. She dedicated her life to civic reform. She was

## WOMEN HELD POSITIONS OF POWER AND ATTAINED SUBSTANTIAL POLITICAL PULL AND INFLUENCE IN THE CIVIC CLUB, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THEY WERE UNABLE TO VOTE.



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For more information about Lucy Dorsey Iams.

**Carte-de-visite photograph of Lucy Virginia (Dorsey) Iams, from Rogers Brothers, Opposite Public Square, Waynesburg, Pa. Iams was the first vice-president of the Civic Club, and chaired its social science department.**

Greene County Historical Society archival collection, Album 12, Series Greene County Historical Society Collection, GCHS-AN013-0016, www.GreeneConnections.com.



environment, they acted as peacekeeping devices rather than avenues of radical change. They advocated for change in ways that would upgrade the social system as a whole through legislation and benevolent philanthropy but maintained the middle-elite stronghold on government. Samuel Hays suggests that the business professionals of the Civic Club held a deep disdain for the ward system, which placed a great deal of political influence in the hands of the working class who could be manipulated and controlled by ward bosses of the political machine. He infers that civic reform was a way for educated members of the elite to regain political power.

What these arguments fail to acknowledge is that it cannot be assumed that all elites shared the same political agenda. Many of

were elite does not mean they lacked a sense of moral concern.

However, not all citizens of social status adhered to the philosophy of civic involvement for political and social gain. In a radio speech, Mrs. Mary Flinn Lawrence, daughter of one of Pittsburgh’s political machine bosses, William Flinn, addressed the importance of participation in civic and welfare associations:

The whole field of Welfare, the care of orphans, neglected children, sick and suffering parents, the destitute, has been women’s sphere from the beginning, indeed modern social work is largely woman’s contribution to modern civilization.

While women were civilizing their husbands and training their children they found time to be good neighbors





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PROTECTIVE OF THE FUTURE OF PITTSBURGH'S CHILDREN.

Children on Jancey Street in Pittsburgh's Morningside  
neighborhood, July 1908.

University of Pittsburgh Archives Service Center, Pittsburgh City Photographer Collection,  
715.08879 CP.



Alice Montgomery.  
Kathy Leahy Collection.



**JUST BECAUSE THE MEMBERS WERE ELITE DOES NOT MEAN THEY LACKED A SENSE OF MORAL CONCERN. HOWEVER, NOT ALL CITIZENS OF SOCIAL STATUS ADHERED TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF CIVIC INVOLVEMENT FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL GAIN.**

active in almost every aspect of the Civic Club and her reform interests stretched from school reform and public health to the development of a juvenile court system.

Lucy Dorsey Iams became the Civic Club's first vice-president and chairperson of its Social Science Department, developed in 1902, a position she held for the duration of her life. She was also placed in charge of the club's Legislative Committee until the 1920s. Iams held a bachelor's degree from Waynesburg College. As the wife of a lawyer, she became "proficient in legal matters herself; she served as his secretary, read extensively in the law, and launched a successful career as a court stenographer, one that she continued during her active years in social reform."<sup>14</sup> Iams' legal expertise made her an invaluable addition to the Civic Club and a vital resource for the execution of legislative reform. Women such as Iams "circulated between them [public and private spheres], or promoted legislation which expanded the responsibilities of the

public sector."<sup>15</sup>

At its heart, the Civic Club sought to improve the lives of its city's youth. Society accepted motherhood as a natural role for women, which in turn led women to be protective of the future of Pittsburgh's children. A major playground operation was put into motion in 1886, fronted by Beulah Kennard and Mrs. David Kirk. After observing young citizens "dodging wagons and automobiles; throwing stones, tossing balls, fighting and shooting craps; stealing apples ... getting arrested and being dragged through the fare of a trial at law for the crime of playing," Kennard commented that "children have got to have a decent place to play this summer."<sup>16</sup> The Civic Club, considering Kennard's proposition, allotted funding for schoolyards and playgrounds. By 1899, there were nine public playgrounds in Pittsburgh; all were attributed to the women in the Civic Club. They were located at O'Hara, Ralston, Grant, Lincoln, Central High School, Birmingham,

Monongahela, Morse, and Humboldt, with one vacation school in the Franklin building, and three schoolyard playgrounds in Allegheny — the 3d, 5th, and 9th Wards.

In the association's *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, Kennard is described as a woman whose "keen sympathy for the social needs of the city, personal service and untiring efforts, contributed most generously to the wonderful success of the playground movement in Pittsburgh."<sup>17</sup> The playground movement "contributes to an understanding of the transference effect of social reform—the tendency to shift functions from family to state and professional caretakers."<sup>18</sup>

Education reform was also important to the Civic Club's agenda. The Education Department focused much of its energy on teaching good citizenship to schoolchildren. In 1897, the female-directed team introduced the "salute to the flag," or "pledge of allegiance" into many public schools through a cooperative program with the Daughters of the American



Revolution. Citizenship education was deemed necessary for all children, as the future of the nation would be in the hands of both native-born citizens and immigrants. Immigrant and working class children would be taught what nationalism and Americanism meant, as it was assumed that they were not learning such concepts in their own homes.

Under the direction of Elizabeth Thaw, the Education Department also “amply justified its existence by its well-considered endeavors to introduce into the public schools the means of awakening the children to a sense of the beautiful in nature and art.”<sup>19</sup> After an art collection was donated to the Civic Club, Thaw had the pieces divided up into exhibitions of 12 pictures and five plaster casts that were sent on loan to local school districts. After a period of five years, the traveling exhibits were broken up and redistributed so all the schools would be able to keep and display art permanently. In 1927, the press commented on the lasting impact of Thaw’s dedication to art in educational facilities by noting that, “within the schools of Pittsburgh today, the well selected pictures and casts that adorn the corridors recall to mind the traveling exhibit which the Art Department of the Civic Club ... maintained for five years.”<sup>20</sup> While art in schools may not be considered essential to welfare, it does show the consideration of the women in the Civic Club to advance the lives of students through social culture. If children were surrounded by culture, they would become proper citizens and be influenced by their environment to look for meaningful experiences in their personal and professional lives.

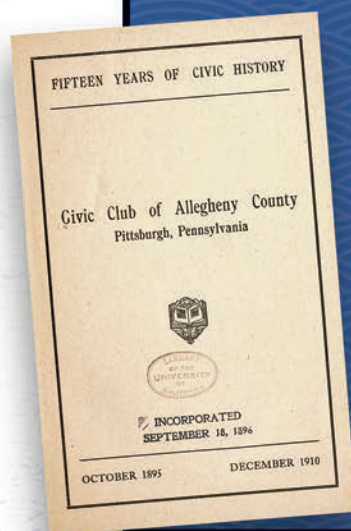
Many of the attempts at children’s reforms challenged Pittsburgh’s young citizens to see their potential and become a productive and respected future society. Several years prior to McKnight’s death, a committee headed by Mrs. Kleber and her assistant Beulah

Kennard established the Young Men’s Civic Club of Lawrenceville. Donations for the building of a civic center for the young men were gifted by several prominent members of the club, including Henry Clay Frick, Eleanor Gillespie Magee, and Elizabeth Thaw. Smaller donations for individual rooms were given primarily by women as well. A branch of the Carnegie Library was also installed and run by Louise Taylor. In many ways, the young men’s “clubhouse” seemed to be an imitation of a home atmosphere, complete with maternal influences. The club remained a success until its leader, Mrs. Kleber, left due to emotional and physical strain. The loss of their matriarchal leader and confidante “seemed to undermine the organization, and gradually the membership of the Club diminished and the organization declined.”<sup>21</sup>

While the Lawrenceville club was thriving, the Civic Club formed another branch organization for young men in Allegheny. An advisory board of women was established to oversee the new young men’s club. The participants of this board were all women, including the prominent Kate C. McKnight. Like its Lawrenceville counterpart, the club started to lose popularity after the death of its maternal leader. In the case of the Allegheny

club, however, a business-savvy Emily McCreery played a huge role in revitalizing the club’s membership and replenishing its treasury. Her involvement saved the Allegheny club from demise and brought it back to its former influence. Although both clubs reached out to young men, they were, for the most part, created and managed by women.

In addition to promoting the welfare of children and encouraging good citizenship, the Civic Club tried to clean up the city of Pittsburgh from the side effects of industrialization. While government officials generally ignored the health issues generated by industrialization, the Civic Club focused on the improvement of hazardous conditions. Women were responsible for the health and well being of their home and family. By spearheading municipal reform, these women extended the reach of their perceived domestic role and strove to care for the “family” of society and the “home” of the city. In 1895, during the first year of Civic Club activity, “in fact the first meeting of the Civic Club ... the necessity of a pure water supply for Pittsburgh” was presented to the public.<sup>22</sup> After an outbreak of contaminated water supplies in Butler, the club began to petition the mayor. It also began to appeal to the medical community



## WOMEN WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HEALTH AND WELL BEING OF THEIR HOME AND FAMILY. BY SPEARHEADING MUNICIPAL REFORM, THESE WOMEN EXTENDED THE REACH OF THEIR PERCEIVED DOMESTIC ROLE AND STROVE TO CARE FOR THE “FAMILY” OF SOCIETY AND THE “HOME” OF THE CITY.

The Civic Club’s beginnings are recounted in *Fifteen Years of Civic History*.

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to post signs that recommended people boil their water before use to kill bacteria. The club fronted a garbage disposal campaign in its first year of existence. The first act of the committee responsible for this drive was to purchase public waste baskets “so the public and the school children could assist in keeping the streets clean.” The next step was the successful passage of ordinances that granted waste removal contracts to private sanitation companies.<sup>23</sup>

The next major undertaking of the Civic Club was the establishment of public bath houses. Many of Pittsburgh’s industrial facilities were not equipped with adequate bathing facilities. Paul Underwood Kellogg stated in 1914, that “for over fifty years, the proprietors of these mills had seldom made the slightest effort to furnish men who wanted to wash any facility for doing so and by their neglect were actually educating them to go dirty.”<sup>24</sup> Workers were left no other choice than to use their own drinking water and bring towels and soap from their homes. In addition, insufficient housing facilities did not offer adequate bathing amenities. Proprietors, by refusing to facilitate bathing, were recklessly contributing the spread of disease, “and caused preventable suffering.”<sup>25</sup>

The Civic Club felt strongly that a public bath was needed and attempted to fund the project, although it was well beyond the limits of its treasury. Elizabeth Thaw, seeing the need for financial support, made a generous offer “to erect and equip a People’s Bath as a memorial to her husband.... Early in June 1897 the work started and the following Thanksgiving Day the first public bath in Pittsburgh was presented to the Civic Club for operation.”<sup>26</sup> The building itself was located on the corner of Sixteenth and Penn Avenue. It housed 32 showers and two tubs. For five cents, bathers would be supplied with a towel and a bar

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ACTING ALONE.**



**Elizabeth Dohrman Thaw.**  
*Bulletin Index, HHO Detre L&A.*

of soap. The club later decided that even if a client was unable to afford the five cent fee, it would not turn that person away. From 1897 to 1910, the Civic Club supplied 61,267 free baths to those who otherwise could not have afforded one. A new bathhouse was constructed in 1907. The contemporary building was larger than its original, as there was “a separate floor ... devoted to women and children, making a total provision for forty-three showers and four tubs.”<sup>27</sup> The People’s Bath was the first of its kind in Pittsburgh and allowed people the decency of a clean hot shower. In addition, the Civic Club completed work on its second bathing facility, the Soho Bath, in 1909. The bathhouse projects were a prime example of the Civic Club’s dedication to sanitation and social justice.

While the Civic Club was excelling in its efforts towards social improvement, it believed that an organized system of charities would be able to do more for the city than single organizations acting alone. Initial opposition was shown to the project and the first attempts ultimately were failures. In 1905, Kate McKnight, Mrs. C.D. Clancey, and Edna Meeker began a fresh campaign to reintroduce the idea and overcome opposition to the project. The alliance of aid organizations that the Civic Club wished to create would serve not as a charitable trust, but rather as a social work agency. The middle man organization would create an efficient system “by giving prompt attention to all cases of need referred by them to this central bureau or clearing house and placing each family or individual under the care of the organization already established to assist them.”<sup>28</sup> Churches and schools, if noticing a family in need, would report the case to the organization, which would then advise the persons in need. At the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce on June 20, 1907, approximately 100 charities and churches joined together and the resolution to create an associated charity alliance was adopted. The Civic Club was



**RIGHT:** The People's Bath was funded by Elizabeth Thaw as a memorial to her husband in 1897.

Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.



**BOTTOM:** From 1897 to 1910, approximately 61,267 free baths were given to those who could not afford to pay.

Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.






in the middle of planning the execution of the soon to be organization when President Kate McKnight's untimely death temporarily halted preparations.

Finally, in February 1908, the work of the Civic Association was supplemented by the foundation of a new affiliated program, the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh school bulletin explained that the association's purpose "is what is known as 'Family Case Work.' This means a study of each individual family through a sympathetic, painstaking, intelligent inquiry into the causes of its distress and a careful evaluation of its background." The technique of

domestic social work allowed the associates of the charity to denote an "effective plan of treatment which involves helping the family work out its own problems."<sup>29</sup> The Associated Charities maintained a daily record of referrals and records that helped to diagnose an appropriate recommendation of help. The organization also employed men and women "to work as friends each with one or two families who need encouragement, counsel, and good influences which cannot otherwise be obtained."<sup>30</sup> In many cases, they assisted their clients in finding employment, recruiting professional services, helped families locate material relief, and established personal relations with the

people they were helping in order to provide sound advice.<sup>31</sup>

After the turn of the century, the Civic Club saw a desperate need for a juvenile court and began agitating for such a system in 1901. A committee was organized "to formulate plans for the organization of a Juvenile Court in Allegheny County." The following year, this committee began to interview judges and district attorneys to raise money and awareness for the cause. The legislation for juvenile arraignment passed in March 1903. After the act was approved, the Civic Club formed the "Juvenile Court Committee," presided over by four women. Their first order of business was to recruit capable probation officers for the court. Alice Montgomery of Philadelphia was the first officer sworn into the court with a salary paid for by the Civic Club.<sup>32</sup>



**A MAJOR PLAYGROUND OPERATION WAS PUT INTO MOTION IN 1886, FRONTED BY BEULAH KENNARD AND MRS. DAVID KIRK. AFTER OBSERVING YOUNG CITIZENS "DODGING WAGONS AND AUTOMOBILES; THROWING STONES, TOSSING BALLS, FIGHTING AND SHOOTING CRAPS; STEALING APPLES ... GETTING ARRESTED AND BEING DRAGGED THROUGH THE FARE OF A TRIAL AT LAW FOR THE CRIME OF PLAYING," KENNARD COMMENTED THAT "CHILDREN HAVE GOT TO HAVE A DECENT PLACE TO PLAY THIS SUMMER."**



After the act was put into effect, the Civic Club members strove to raise awareness for the new organization. Alice Montgomery traveled around Western Pennsylvania giving speeches on the juvenile system and its laws. Club members simultaneously distributed pamphlets explaining much of the same information to over 1,000 households. The Civic Club Juvenile Court Committee requested to be recognized as an independent organization in 1905 and was granted severance. However, Kate McKnight retained the chairperson position of the newly autonomous association despite her position of president in the Civic Club.<sup>33</sup>

In 1909, the courts took over payments of juvenile probation officers, relieving private charities of their financial obligations. Although the Civic Club did not control the hiring of probation officers, the courts themselves employed many women in the position. In 1912, eight out of eleven officers were female, once again re-emphasizing the maternal role that women in the public had to play. The Civic Club and the court officers insisted on domesticating the politics of court by instating a system that focused on reform, not punishment. The women in charge


became surrogate mothers to these wayward children, making such public positions socially acceptable for other women.

In addition to the rehabilitation of wayward youth, the Civic Club took an active stance against child labor. By 1900, it was commonplace to find young children laboring in mills, factories, coal mines, etc. Although some regulations were already in place, not every company that employed children complied with these regulations. Committees from the Allegheny Civic Club and the Philadelphia Civic Club were resolute in their decision to amend the state laws in order to protect Pennsylvania's children. Lucy Dorsey Iams directed the Legislative Committee and carried out the main legal work for the campaign. In addition she hosted many politicians, factory inspectors, and representatives from numerous other organizations to lobby for a change in children's regulations.<sup>34</sup>

Although the bill passed in 1905, sections of the proposal were declared unconstitutional. The legislation was successful at raising the minimum age for labor from 12 to 14. The law was amended to require employers receive an affidavit of a child's age before hiring him

or her, but despite this new regulation, "there were no fewer than 9,000 and up to 12,800 boys under age 14 illegally in the mines and breakers of the region."<sup>35</sup>

In 1907, the Civic Club decided that the serious issue of child labor regulations required a permanent association, and assembled the Allegheny County Child Labor Association. The result of continuous lobbying by the association, in addition to many cooperative efforts, led to the passage of a more substantial law. "Pennsylvania became one of the few pioneering states to address the issue by restricting children to ten hours of work per day and sixty per week."<sup>36</sup> In addition, no boy under 16 or girl under the age of 18 was permitted to work before six in the morning and past nine in the evening in most industries. Although the movement was fronted by both men and women, like many of the tasks taken up by the Civic Club, the child legislation association reflected a projection of the domestic family into the public world.

Through these very public acts of social reform that were not "fully part of either male electoral politics and formal government institutions or the female world of home and family," women in the Civic Club advocated improved conditions in Pittsburgh.<sup>37</sup> Women held positions of power and attained substantial political pull and influence in the Civic Club, despite the fact that they were unable to vote. The Progressive Era Civic Club of Allegheny County proved successful in its fusion of male persuasion and female agendas, furthering the causes of education, sanitation, charities, and child labor reform. 

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**Pittsburgh's Soho Playground, July 1920.**  
University of Pittsburgh Archives Service Center, Pittsburgh City Photographer  
Collection: Z15.208934.GP



**THE CIVIC CLUB AND THE COURT OFFICERS INSISTED ON DOMESTICATING THE POLITICS OF COURT BY INSTATING A SYSTEM THAT FOCUSED ON REFORM, NOT PUNISHMENT. THE WOMEN IN CHARGE BECAME SURROGATE MOTHERS TO THESE WAYWARD CHILDREN, MAKING SUCH PUBLIC POSITIONS SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE FOR OTHER WOMEN.**

- <sup>1</sup> Keith A. Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel: Protestant Laity and Reform in Progressive Era Pittsburgh* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 89-90.
- <sup>2</sup> Rheta Childe Dorr, *What Eighty Million Women Want* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1910), 327.
- <sup>3</sup> Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* (1984): 631.
- <sup>4</sup> Zahniser, 90-91.
- <sup>5</sup> *Manual of the civic and charitable organizations of greater Pittsburgh: and of the higher educational institutions, with a brief review of Mayor Guthrie's administration* (Pittsburgh: A.W. McCloy, 1908), 42.
- <sup>6</sup> Joel A. Tarr, "Infrastructure and City-Building," in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 239.
- <sup>7</sup> Article II, Constitution of The Civic Club of Allegheny County, Civic Club of Allegheny County, *Fifteen Years of Civic History* (Pittsburgh: Nicholson Printing Co., 1910), 107.
- <sup>8</sup> Suellen M. Hoy, "Municipal Housekeeping: The Role of Women in Improving Urban Sanitation Practices," in Martin V. Melosi, ed., *Pollution and Reform in American Cities 1870-1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 194.
- <sup>9</sup> Adelaide Mellier Nevin, *The Social Mirror: A Character Sketch of the Women of Pittsburgh and Vicinity* (Pittsburgh: T.W. Nevin, 1888), 121.
- <sup>10</sup> Aaron M. Gallogly, "A Higher Public Spirit and a Better Social Order: the Civic Club of Allegheny County, 1895-1930," Masters Thesis, Duquesne University, 2010.
- <sup>11</sup> Mary Flinn Lawrence, "On the eve of Thanksgiving," Radio Speech, N.D., Archives, Hartwood Acres Mansion, Glenshaw, Pa.
- <sup>12</sup> John F. Bauman and Margaret Spratt, "Civic Leaders and Environmental Reform: The Pittsburgh Survey and Urban Planning," in *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century*, eds. Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 155.
- <sup>13</sup> "Remembrance of Things Past," December 18, 1948, *Pittsburgh Biography: Elizabeth Dohrman Thaw*, in Pennsylvania Room, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Roy Lubrove, "Pittsburgh and Social Welfare History," in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, ed. Samuel P. Hays (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 304.
- <sup>16</sup> Dorr, 28-29.
- <sup>17</sup> *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, 16.
- <sup>18</sup> Lubrove, 305.
- <sup>19</sup> *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, 26-27.
- <sup>20</sup> Unknown newspaper clipping, June 29, 1927, *Pittsburgh Biography: Elizabeth Dohrman Thaw*, in Pennsylvania Room, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- <sup>21</sup> *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, 31.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid., 12.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid., 14.
- <sup>24</sup> Paul Underwood Kellogg, *Wage Earning Pittsburgh: The Pittsburgh Survey, Findings in Six Volumes* (New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1914), 233.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., 234.
- <sup>26</sup> Unknown newspaper clipping, June 29, 1927, *Pittsburgh Biography: Elizabeth Dohrman Thaw*, in Pennsylvania Room, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- <sup>27</sup> *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, 20.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., 25.
- <sup>29</sup> Eleanor Hanson, "The Associated Charities of Pittsburgh," *Pittsburgh School Bulletin*, May 1926, 35.
- <sup>30</sup> *Manual of the civic and charitable organizations of greater Pittsburgh*, 68.
- <sup>31</sup> Kingsley House Association, *Directory of Philanthropic, Charitable, and Civic Agencies of the City of Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: Kingsley House Association, 1913), 14.
- <sup>32</sup> *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, 39.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., 39-42.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>35</sup> Hugh D. Hindman, *Child Labor: An American History* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002), 93.
- <sup>36</sup> Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, "Child Labor in Pennsylvania," [http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/things/4280/child\\_labor/478193](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/things/4280/child_labor/478193) (accessed March 4, 2009).
- <sup>37</sup> Baker, 625.

**Children playing in Washington.**

HHC Detre L&A, MSP 455.

