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# A Higher Public Spirit and a Better Social Order: The Civic Club of Allegheny County, 1895-1930

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A HIGHER PUBLIC SPIRIT AND A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER  
THE CIVIC CLUB OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1895-1930

A Dissertation

Submitted to the McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Masters of Arts

By

Aaron M. Gallogly

May 2010

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Aaron M. Gallogly

2010

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THE CIVIC CLUB OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1895-1930

By

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Approved April 6, 2010

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## ABSTRACT

### A HIGHER PUBLIC SPIRIT AND A BETTER SOCIAL ORDER THE CIVIC CLUB OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY, 1895-1930

By

Aaron M. Gallogly

May 2010

Dissertation supervised by Elaine F. Parsons, Ph.D

The Civic Club of Allegheny County was an organization created in the Progressive era that confronted urban issues that plagued early twentieth century Pittsburgh. Although the club's origins were part of a long tradition of women's reform groups, this organization was a mixed-gender organization, different than most cities in the United States. The membership and leadership of the organization shifted from the active, club female to the professional male. Professionalism appealed to the members of the Civic Club because it limited decision-making to those who possessed certain qualifications. This belief helped facilitate the shift, as professionals became important to both men and women in the Civic Club. A shift in reforms resulted in this change, from reforms that centered on children and environment to those that dealt with the infrastructure and the structure of government in the city.

## DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents, James and Lorna, for allowing me to choose my academic path and whose patience and support have made this thesis possible.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge my committee chair, Elaine Frantz Parsons, Ph. D., who has guided me throughout this process and has been extremely helpful and friendly in allowing me to explore this project. I would also like to acknowledge Holly Mayer, Ph. D., Chair of the History Department at Duquesne University who gave me initial guidance on this topic when this was a seminar paper. I would thank Perry Blatz, Ph. D., who has graciously decided to read my thesis on short notice. I would also like to thank the staff at the Archives of Industrial Society at the University of Pittsburgh who were helpful when I gathered my primary material.

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## Introduction

To commemorate its thirtieth anniversary, the Civic Club of Allegheny County organized and produced a “Dramatic Masque,” which honored the various accomplishments of the club. In this performance, a figure titled the “Spirit of the City,” is in the guise of a blacksmith asleep, bounded by chains of gold. Below him are his evil councilors, “Worldly Power,” “Greed,” “Pride” and “Complacency.” On the periphery of the stage, shrouded in darkness are groups of people representing city residents who have been hurt by these evil councilors; it is for them that the Civic Club has worked tirelessly. As the performance begins, a woman as the figure of “Civic Spirit” appears.

The evil councilors send out Worldly Power to argue for them. While they talk amongst themselves, Civic Spirit “goes among the groups below and touches one after another, the sufferings of ‘Joyless Childhood,’ of the ‘Unclean,’ the ‘Plague Stricken,’ ‘Youth in Idleness,’ the ‘Disinherited,’ and all those who can not [sic] prosper.” Worldly Power rebukes Civic Spirit, so she attempts to awaken the Spirit of the City, but to no avail. Civic Spirit brings out others, helpers aiding her “ministry”: Government, Social Science, Education, and Art, the four branches of the Civic Club. Onward these five go among the dismal poor, showing the work that the Civic Club has fostered throughout its thirty years. The Unclean group receives pure water and public baths, while the Joyless Childhood contingent receives playgrounds, juvenile courts, open air schools, a child labor law, and “various other elements of progress.” Other groups receive a recreation program, night school, a campaign against tuberculosis, a Municipal Hospital, other health legislation, tenement laws, and sanitary codes. A Legal Aid society, the Associated Charities, and City planning are presented, and Citizenship and

Americanization programs are initiated. As the performers reveal these changes, the chains that encumber the Spirit of the City slowly fall away while simultaneously he is roused from his sleep. The next scene is of a festival, a joyous celebration commemorating the anniversary of the Civic Spirit's programs. All who have participated with the Civic Spirit improving the city are invited to join. During the festival, the long-silent blacksmith representing the Spirit of the City speaks. He praises those who have participated and lauds their efforts, but reminds them to be ever vigilant because they must continue to struggle to create "the City of the future that must be."<sup>1</sup>

Masques such as this were common during in the early part of the twentieth century as devices to promote various visions of moral order. The idea of using a masque to promote civic ideals originated by poet Percy MacKaye, who wrote two books on the subject during the early part of the century. A son of a dramatist, MacKaye believed that drama was the ideal way of espousing order and civic pride and to instill it into the adult population. In 1914 the St. Louis Public Recreation Commission and the St. Louis Civic League conducted a dramatic masque and pageant to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of St. Louis. The St. Louis masque shared many attributes with the masque in Pittsburgh: the personification of the city, the perception of the city as noble, the presentation of the problems of the city, showing that through action the city's problems disappear, and the joyous aftermath of the city free from its problems.<sup>2</sup> For Pittsburghers, the masque presented by the Civic Club gave a triumphant vision of the work of the Civic Club in Pittsburgh, vanquishing the villains who controlled the city

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<sup>1</sup>Dramatic Masque, *Annals of the Civic Club of Allegheny County Vol. 3, 1923-33*, Box 28, Archives of Industrial Society, University of Pittsburgh.

<sup>2</sup>Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 257-259.

thirty years ago, replacing them with programs of improvement to help the ignorant or those who cannot help themselves. This event, honoring the thirtieth anniversary of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, illuminates the specific areas the Civic Club believed needed their reform. The masque primarily centered on the issues of child welfare, health, and sanitation in addition to Americanization efforts, citizenship, and city planning, albeit to a lesser extent. These programs aimed at immigrants and the poor, especially children. By advocating these reforms, they stopped men whose focus was personal gain and who kept the Spirit of the City chained, unaware of the evil intentions of his counselors. In this masque the chains simply fall away, with no clear explanation as to their disappearance, but implicit was the understanding that it was the actions of the Civic Club that unencumbered the Spirit of the City. The Spirit of the City praises these people for their reform and for opening his eyes, but warns them not to lose sight of what they have accomplished and what they still needed to achieve.

By the time the masque was presented, the Civic Club of Allegheny County (CCAC) had evolved to include other reforms not considered by the early CCAC. If thirty years ago that achievement consisted of improving playgrounds, and providing clean water for city residents, and combining various city charities into a connected, federated organization, by the time of the Dramatic Masque, it was oriented toward traffic improvements, zoning regulations, and municipal consolidation. Given the disparity between social and health reform to transportation, land use and advocating the change in the city's political structure, it is worth considering what prompted these changes in the goals of the civic improvers. To what extent did this rise of new issues

signal a transformation in the thoughts and beliefs of the CCAC and to what extent were they extensions of the same thoughts and beliefs which the CCAC held at its inception?

The Civic Club of Allegheny County originated from the upper class of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City (annexed to Pittsburgh in 1907), whose members were some of the most elite men and women in Pittsburgh society. The CCAC was part of a national trend of municipal clubs and leagues. These clubs gave individuals different ways to become caretakers of their city and to impart reforms to create the city desired by individual members. For the many women who became active members, the CCAC was a way to become active and establish a positive influence in Pittsburgh in ways consistent to social norms of the era. The CCAC had originated from two women's organizations: the Women's Health Protective Association (created in 1890) and the recently established Twentieth Century Club, an elite social club for women. Yet, the membership of the CCAC was unlike these previous organizations. From its inception the CCAC allowed, and encouraged, men in their membership ranks, creating an opportunity for men and women to cooperate in achieving municipal reform. Unlike the single-gendered civic improvement clubs, the CCAC maintained a fairly even ratio between male and female members making the CCAC unique among other civic organizations in Pittsburgh and in the United States.

Just as the CCAC was part of a national trend to create municipal and civic organizations, it was also part of another national trend, characteristic of the Progressive era, the rise of the professional and expert. The professional's education and expertise would, it was believed, solve social problems in a quick, efficient manner. This dynamic became the most crucial in the evolution of the CCAC from 1895-1930. Except in the

fields of education and social welfare, men had more access to professional education. Women were not excluded from committees or from the decision-making ranks of the CCAC, but the growing dependence on the professional as the person who could best remedy civic problems became the dominant force in their concepts of improvement, and therefore became an agent of change.

The CCAC's embrace of the "expert" would impact not only gender but also its class dynamics. The controlled membership during the early years of the organization kept the membership among like-minded individuals of Pittsburgh's upper class. The professional's education and status as a knowledgeable official, on the other hand, afforded him access to high administrative levels within the organization. Yet, because of the amount of education needed to attain professional status, the professional was typically at least of middle-class origin. These professionals not only wanted to know the problem, they also wanted to participate in the implementation of their solution:

"Professionals were not content merely to learn more; they wished to use their knowledge to change society...they became fused with a missionary spirit to reduce disease, to lengthen human life, to enhance the quantity and quality of education, and to redesign the physical city." They did so through observations and through improved, "scientific" management techniques which were popular among civic reform organizations like the CCAC across the country.<sup>3</sup> Supposedly above the din of party and machine politics, professionals would make the best decision for the city with the best data available and not the best decision for a political boss. As the CCAC progressed in the twentieth

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<sup>3</sup> Samuel P. Hays, "The Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America" in *American Urban History: An Interpretive Reader with Commentaries*, ed. Alexander B. Callow, Jr., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 249; Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1975) 60-61.

century, more middle-class professionals joined the organization. These individuals may not have been at the same social standing as early club members, but they shared similar sentiments to the club. They also could uphold the motto of the Civic Club: “to promote by education and organized effort, a higher public spirit and a better social order.”<sup>4</sup>

The CCAC’s goals would evolve along with its gender and class composition. At the beginning, the CCAC attempted to attack the problems of the city by directing its attention to children, the problems of housing and sanitation, and the poor physical appearance of the city. The CCAC 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 the ability to live a middle-class life, provided they lived by established middle-class standards. Starting around 1910 and progressing through the 1920s, the CCAC began to look at more political and structural reforms: city infrastructure, zoning, taxation, annexation and consolidation. This thesis looks at what reforms the CCAC attempted from its inception in 1895 to 1930, a span of thirty-five years. More importantly, it looks at the reasons why the CCAC chose those specific reforms. It also looks at how gender played in the decision-making process within the CCAC, the consequences of the rise of professionalism and the commitment within the organization, and the impact of professionalism on gender.

The uniqueness of the CCAC makes it an intriguing organization to research. From its beginning it was open to both men and women. Unlike other reform organizations that were either split by gender or were men’s organization with a women’s auxiliary, the CCAC was created with the explicit intent of being a mixed-gendered organization. Both men and women were encouraged to join to help improve the city if

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<sup>4</sup> Article II, By-Laws of the Civic Club of Allegheny County 1896, Box 28, AIS.

their motives were to create a “higher public spirit, and a better social order.” While the ratio of men and women members of the CCAC differed slightly from over the thirty-five year span, the ratio of men and women in leadership positions of the organization did not follow that ratio. In the first years of the club, the vast majority of the leadership positions went to women. Thirty-five years later, most of those in club leadership positions were men. The change was so drastic, so complete, that in a 1946 newspaper article long-time club secretary, H. Marie Dermitt, a person who spanned both eras of the CCAC, lamented that women were not in the same, active roles in promoting civic interest and reform in the community, and, in an ironic twist, the centralizing efforts supported by the CCAC had, in fact, cut most women off from the ability to participate in the civic process in the way they were able to at the turn of the century. Other organizations in Pittsburgh during the same time also had this shift of female to male in leadership positions. The settlement homes such as the Kingsley House and the Irene Kaufmann Settlement had across -the-board replacement of women by men in leadership positions. Professional experience was quickly becoming the necessary tool to maintain leadership positions and that was proving more difficult for women.

This thesis does not look at gender in a vacuum. The people of the CCAC were heavily influenced by the ideas prominent in the Progressive Era, efficiency, scientific management, centralization, and professionalization. It was the CCAC that suggested that a sociological survey be taken in Pittsburgh and surrounding communities, leading to one of the great sociological works of the early twentieth century: the Pittsburgh *Survey*. It is the CCAC that created the Charity Organization Society to make charity more efficient among the poor of Pittsburgh, and applauded annexation efforts in the early

years of its existence and attempted to consolidate the entire county with the city later. They adhered to the centralizing efforts in government, schools, and charity that were common among progressive reformers. They also set their sights on city beautification, improving environmental factors in the city such as smoke and sewer sanitation as well as improving the effectiveness of parks with rest stations.

Professionals did become an integral part of the CCAC. The lists of memberships by occupation from 1926 shows how important the many men (and some women) in professional occupations were to the club. From these facts, a narrative could be constructed where professional men, bringing in their educational expertise and “scientific” knowledge, would gain the upper hand in club politics and effectively remove active women who may not have possessed the education to become an “expert” but certainly could have done the work through investigation. While this narrative may be accurate for other organizations, it is not an accurate portrayal of the CCAC. The active women enthusiastically brought men into the club to help them reform areas that traditionally women were excluded from reforming: government. They possessed the experience in government and in political matters that most nineteenth-century women, including those of the city elite, did not have. Including men in the CCAC made the organization stronger and only aided in their vision of city reform.

This thesis brings together Progressive Era reform, urban reform, a legacy of women’s reform groups and organizations from the nineteenth century, the rise of the professional, and the local history of Pittsburgh. Each of these themes requires its own level of understanding. Progressive Era reform and urban reform coincide throughout the majority of this paper. The CCAC originated from two women’s organizations and was

derived from a legacy dating back to reform movements of the antebellum era. Professionalism revolutionizes the business, political, and educational landscape in late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century by requiring levels of education, knowledge and certification which limited access to certain fields. The history of Pittsburgh also provides an extra dimension to this study. Pittsburgh's prosperity was contingent on the success of its heavy industry, an industry that polluted the environment and brought numerous immigrants from Eastern Europe, whose languages and customs were different from the established, Scots-Irish gentry, and produced stresses in housing and city infrastructure. Pittsburgh historians have provided ample secondary research for this thesis, especially concerning its industrial rise, the problems associated with its massive growth, and the attempted solutions by Pittsburghers. The work of Samuel P. Hays is particularly germane to this paper because Hays attempted to answer many questions of urban history and the Progressive Era while using Pittsburgh in many of his examples of the urban center.<sup>5</sup>

The CCAC left a wealth of information about their programs throughout its existence (1895-1974) most of which could be found at the Archives of Industrial Society at the University of Pittsburgh. The majority of this information consisted of minutes of various meetings, internal memos and messages, newspaper articles about the CCAC and their various projects, official letters, official CCAC publications, other publications from similar groups, and other correspondence. The Pennsylvania Room at the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh also possessed some of the CCAC's publications as well as other Pittsburgh history publications and access to historical Pittsburgh newspapers on

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<sup>5</sup> Hays, "The Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America" *American Urban History*, 248-252.

microfilm. The large archive of the CCAC has made it a popular topic among Pittsburgh historians, allowing them to explain local reaction to the massive industrialization of the Pittsburgh region at the turn of the twentieth century. Social, religious, and city planning historians of Pittsburgh all have approached the CCAC from their different viewpoints creating a wide array of opinions about the CCAC in the historical literature.

The CCAC was one way citizens of the Pittsburgh responded to changes in their city. Massive industrialization and rapid population increases in Pittsburgh (and in other major American cities) put numerous strains on city infrastructure. The CCAC attempted to combat these strains by various means. The most popular reform initiated by the CCAC in its beginning were children's playgrounds and playground monitors, who were implemented to give children a safe place for play as well as instruct them in proper ways of conduct. By 1929, the most popular reform was city-county consolidation, sought to bring the various boroughs of Allegheny County into a singular entity: the City of Pittsburgh, as well as increase civic boosterism and pride in Pittsburgh nationally by increasing the city's population. The first reform was local in implementation and sought to help children. The latter reform was county-wide in implementation, and sought to simplify government and boost local pride. Within the thirty-five year span of the group dynamics within the CCAC evolved; the active club women were replaced by professional men, without reducing the membership of women in the club. This thesis documents the changing group dynamics of the CCAC and the effect of those changing group dynamics on the CCAC's decision to implement specific reforms.

## **Chapter 1:** Early Years: Early Women's Clubs and the Beginning of the Civic Club of Allegheny County

To understand the creation of The Civic Club of Allegheny County (CCAC) it is necessary to understand that the CCAC is part of a long-standing tradition of reform as well as part of a new movement known to historians as Progressivism. The CCAC was, from its inception, a mixed-gendered association, organized to reform the urban centers of Allegheny County (primarily Pittsburgh and, until 1907, Allegheny City). Although it combined both men and women within its organization, the CCAC arose from the legacy of female reform movements, combining it with the fervor of urban improvement which occurred after the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. The CCAC, then, was the offspring of the marriage of two traditions. Women's groups, the first of these, had a history dating back to the revolution. Their place in America was secure, giving women a chance to associate with one another, to exert influence on their environment, and to play a role in the politics of the time when they had no direct franchise. The second movement had developed more recently: civic improvement. Many of the components of civic improvement were antecedent to this era of reform. Societies had been organized to address certain urban problems such as the need for orphanages or to counter prostitution and drunkenness. However, the civic improvement groups employed a new rhetoric, taking the city itself as the reform object. Religion was largely removed from this new reform rhetoric. Rather than personal salvation, they worried about civic salvation. Yet, though they embraced a fundamentally new approach, the reforms they enacted often overlapped substantially with the activities and interests that had been central to women's

groups in earlier years. Thus, even after the club transitioned to an organization where men made up about half of the club's membership, it was considered by many to be a women's club and it was considered as such for the first decade of its existence.

Because the CCAC largely grew out of the tradition women-led reform movements, it makes sense to begin with a review its origin. It is crucial, for instance, to appreciate the weight of religious thought to these early associations. One of the primary impulses for group formation was millennialism and post-millennialism. Post-millennialism was a belief in American Protestantism, popular in the early nineteenth century, that the second coming of Jesus would occur *after* the thousand years of peace. Those who subscribed to post-millennialism therefore believed in the perfectibility of man in order to achieve the goal of creating the thousand years of peace which precipitated the second coming. Reform groups, benevolent and voluntary associations, therefore, were all part of the attempt to make the second coming possible. The legacy of post-millennialism was that it gave people a belief that individuals were all capable for moral and social improvement and it was important for society as well as the individual to redeem itself.<sup>6</sup> The voluntary association became critical to the moral regeneration of society.

Female reform movements and benevolent societies had their start back in the Early National Period. American benevolent societies were created in an atmosphere of democracy and evangelism that allowed and encouraged participation. Individually, women were unable to participate in the liberalizing effect of the newer, more open democratic process. However, they were able to effect change through collective action

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<sup>6</sup> Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago & London, University of Chicago Press, 1979) 152-154.

such as benevolent and charitable organizations. Women were able to create groups that allowed them to participate in their society in ways they could not have done as individuals.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, as the political structure of the United States grew more open, the organizations and associations did as well.

The early women's groups of the nineteenth century centered on the belief that women were a morally superior agent and therefore were better suited to enact moral changes on society. Women's groups were varied, but revolved around abolition and anti-slavery, temperance, homes for the poor and orphaned, and asylums. Historian Anne Boylan has studied the early women's groups that arose in the aftermath of the Revolution, establishing rules and creating effective organizations that benefited women throughout the years. These early organizations were the forerunners of the groups that would later constitute the CCAC, where the founders of the CCAC possessed years of club organization and participation. In Boylan's research, religion, a characteristic of many 19<sup>th</sup> century women's organizations, was not as dominant in these initial groups as it would be in female reform organizations later in the century. Although religious motivations did characterize some of these early women's groups, religion did not have a commanding role in women's groups until the 1820s and the 1830s.<sup>8</sup> It was in the 1830s that religious organizations did play an important part in the female reform. Religious fervor and ferment grew rapidly away from organized churches and parishes, with strict adherence to doctrine such as the Congregational Church in the North and the Anglican/Episcopal church in the South, to now include religious denominations that

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<sup>7</sup> Anne. M. Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797-1840* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 135.

<sup>8</sup> Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism*, 15-52.

were more open for women to become active members. New denominations spread throughout the United States: Methodists, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, and Unitarians among others. These new denominations opened ideas for improvement to both men and women allowing them to participate in certain religious events such as preaching and camp meetings.<sup>9</sup> Their evangelical impulses along with a growing democratic fervor made groups and associations more accessible. It was the acceptance of female reform organization with a church or within a religious context that allowed it to diffuse throughout the country.

Antebellum evangelical religious thought, which placed a special value on benevolent action, encouraged women to join and create voluntary associations. There were several other reasons why women would be seen as particularly effective in reform and benevolent societies. One was the persistent belief that women were morally superior to men. Women routinely made up a majority of churchgoers in many churches and the opening of them to women reinforced this idea. Historians in the 1960s created the idea of “separate spheres” to explain the separation of the genders in the nineteenth century. Many see in Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* a contemporary account to support the separate sphere argument: “Thus in the United States the inexorable opinion of the public carefully circumscribes woman within the narrow circle of domestic interests and duties, and forbids her to step beyond it.”<sup>10</sup> This concept was influentially developed by Barbara Welter in her article concerning the “Cult of True Womanhood.” The cult consisted of four virtues: piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. For Welter, antebellum society adhered to these restrictive structures

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<sup>9</sup> Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1989) 9-11, 78-80.

<sup>10</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, (1835), reprint, (New York: Bantam, 2000): 736.

because, “The nineteenth-century American woman had – to uphold the pillars of the temple with her frail white hand.”<sup>11</sup> This concept of separate spheres is problematic, however, reducing the complexity of the role of gender by focusing on the dualisms of male/female, public/private. It is, however, the way that historians of women have conventionally framed their histories, and this thesis will not debate this concept.<sup>12</sup>

Members of female voluntary associations believed that women, with their moral fortitude, had the ability to change society. This is exemplified in many associations’ attempts to combat vices such as alcohol as well as providing support for orphans and the insane. Women also could participate politically in the anti-slavery societies. These women were actively promoting a political view based on a moral argument and could do so properly only in association with other women.

Women’s groups started to experience an operational and philosophical shift in the mid-nineteenth century. In exploring these groups, Lori Ginzberg explains that women’s groups began this philosophical shift in the 1850s, which was further compounded by the Civil War and the subsequent war effort. A new generation of women in benevolent societies offered new methods which benevolent societies would operate: an emphasis on effecting change through political means rather than earlier tactics of moral suasion. It now became clear to the new generation that change would come through active political participation. Historian Julie Roy Jeffrey also identified this trend, stating that some women in the anti-slavery and abolition movements participated, as much as they could, in the political aspect of anti-slavery and abolition

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<sup>11</sup> Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood,” *American Quarterly* 18, No. 2 (1966): 152; Linda K. Kerber, “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History,” *The Journal of American History* 75, No 1 (1988), 10-12.

<sup>12</sup> Kerber, “Separate Spheres” 37-39.

through the dissemination of political propaganda and influencing voters through personal discussion.<sup>13</sup> The old way of moral suasion was fading while a more, politically active woman strongly agitated for political approach.

The Civil War led to other changes in the organization of women's groups. Because of the urgency of the war effort, women's groups began to emphasize the importance of efficiency. Efficiency originated in the business world and emphasized the importance of creating a higher output for the minimum amount of labor.<sup>14</sup> Originating from a world that was, for the most part, foreign to most women, efficiency was a new and novel concept. This approach also spoke to a new, closer cooperation between men and women. Men found themselves on boards with women in these groups in an effort to conduct effective aid during the war itself. Ginzberg sees this as women's groups undergoing "masculinization" by placing more emphasis on order and efficiency and less on the aspect of piety and emotion. They started to grow closer to the idea of a business model, necessitated by the war effort. Women and men grew closer together by working together to initiate reform. By 1895, mixed-gendered groups were not uncommon.

By the turn of the twentieth century, female organizations existed outside of the realm of church or religious groups. Whether they were auxiliary organizations, "women's clubs," or single issue organizations (like CCAC forerunner, the Women's Health Protective Organization), these clubs were organized with women who were well versed in club organizations. Maureen Flanagan notes that women's groups often arrived at different solutions for reform than male organizations that possessed similar

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<sup>13</sup>Julie Roy Jeffrey, *The Great Silent Army of Abolitionism: Ordinary Women in the Antislavery Movement* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, University of North Carolina Press, 1998) 232.

<sup>14</sup>Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States*, (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1990)

aspirations. For her, these differences reflected the individual gender commitments of the groups' members. Women developed solutions to problems based on community, while men developed their solutions based on business models. Keith Zahniser similarly looked at the CCAC and the all-male Voters' League. Like Flanagan, he makes the comparison between what he considers to be the female organization (CCAC) and the male organization (Voters' League). Zahniser however, does not see these organizations in competition with one another. Both organizations were working in tandem as they shared similar goals and reforms for Pittsburgh. While Zahniser incorrectly lists the CCAC as an explicitly women's organization, he brings up different club dynamics contrasting with Flanagan's view of the Chicago's male and female organizations: both organizations were working *with* one another and not *against* each other by developing contrasting measures to the same problems. Allied by class, religion, and an urge to reform, these organizations sought a similar goal and worked on two fronts to achieve that goal.<sup>15</sup>

Reform organizations and benevolent groups, as they grew into the organizations of the Progressive era, began adapting to new systems whose growth and popularity were characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Efficiency was one new system, emerging for women's organizations during the Civil War, significantly affecting newer groups as some were founded strictly on this principle. One major example is the Charity Organization Society movement (COS). This movement originated from the growing conviction that business management styles and the *efficient*

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<sup>15</sup> Maureen Flanagan, "Gender and Urban Political Reform: The City Club and the Woman's City Club of Chicago in the Progressive Era" *The American Historical Review* 95, No. 4 (Oct., 1990), in *Who Were the Progressives*, ed. Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2002) 209.; Keith Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel: Protestant Laity and Reform in Progressive-Era Pittsburgh* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 85-109.

distribution of aid to the poor was the ideal method to administer aid to those whom the individual COS believed truly needed charity while rejecting aid to those who would have improperly abused it: drunkards, the lazy or idle, or paupers who “fed off” the various charities. The COS was the first attempt to create a unifying system of welfare, doing so in a private setting. This proposal required the assent and support of many different charities in a given city to have its desired effect on the poor of that city. This idea was supported by both men and women and was a key reform for the early CCAC and was undertaken from the beginning until it was finally established in Pittsburgh in 1908.<sup>16</sup>

The COS movement originated in 1877 in Buffalo, New York spreading throughout the country; by 1904, close to 150 such societies existed, (although still not in Pittsburgh). It developed new techniques to make effective use of donated money: “The charity organization society movement was in the forefront of the professionalization of social work, replacing all-volunteer charitable organizations with agencies that included trained, paid workers.”<sup>17</sup> The COS organizations were not new charities themselves; they would constantly remind the public that they never specifically gave aid to the poor. Instead, they coordinated relief efforts in the cities, giving listings for charities, constantly referring to themselves as a “clearinghouse” of information. The COS therefore, desired to be the private bureaucracy of charity, wanting not simply to fundraise for charity, but to be the decision-maker for those charities under their umbrella. The motives underpinning the COS were masked in elite and middle-class

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<sup>16</sup> “Civic Club of Allegheny County, *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, (Pittsburgh, Civic Club of Allegheny County) 1910, 7

<sup>17</sup> Joan E. Marshall, “The Changing Allegiances of Women Volunteers in the Progressive Era, Lafayette, Indiana, 1905-1920,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 96, No. 3 (1998) 256.

thought, as Raymond Mohl suggests: “COS leaders contended that poverty and dependency resulted from individual moral and character defects. They also believed that indiscriminate charity merely strengthened pauperism by discouraging the poor from making an effort on their own behalf.”<sup>18</sup> The COS identified and created specific methods for their operation. First, the poor had to apply for aid, normally done by neighbors or people other than the poor family. A trained “visitor,” who would work as a social worker, would meet with the family and discuss their situation. The “visitor” would go back and discuss the situation with other COS workers. After discussion, the proper aid would be determined and distributed. In the case of Pittsburgh, a card was made listing the family and tracking the aid it received over time, keeping that information on file. Ideally, the COS would systematically, and with as little monetary and physical effort as possible, move those receiving aid from the ranks of the dependent poor to becoming independent workers, able to live without the need of charity.

The COS was an early application of professionalization and business rhetoric in a medium considered neither professional nor businesslike: charity. Charity was outside the pale of business in the nineteenth century, run by people who had the time and resources to participate in such affairs, primarily, though not exclusively, middle- and upper-class women. Their benevolent and charitable societies of the nineteenth century were crucial in the formation and construction of institutions for the poor and for children. But the idea that charity could be managed in a business fashion speaks to the changing concept of charity and of the increasing stratification of reform. Businesses relied on the financial bottom line and expected results from their efforts. As some

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<sup>18</sup> Raymond A Mohl, *The New City: Urban American in the Industrial Age, 1820-1920*, (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson Inc, 1985), 157.

business enterprises grew larger, they needed a growing bureaucracy of educated managers and administrators in order effectively to manage their massive organizations. The Associated Charities mirrored this, training workers to act in the same role as managers in businesses. It was also seen by some as elitist in approach. It allowed few individuals to determine who would receive charity from all the charitable organizations that would make up the COS, narrowing the opportunity for those who needed aid to seek it.

It was during the late nineteenth century that women's organizations began to possess a class dynamic not typical of the earlier women's organizations. As Ginzberg discusses in her book, reform groups of the late nineteenth century began to align themselves less by gender and more by class. Issues of class become greatly apparent in the United States in the late nineteenth century with the rise of cities and the growing population of immigrants and non-immigrants alike to work in cities. Pittsburgh was no exception, experiencing two violent strikes in 1877 and 1892. However, problems exist when discussing the class composition of voluntary groups and reform associations: defining the socioeconomic status of members. Historians have gone to great effort to understand the creation of the reform-minded people of the Progressive era. Different historians, however, have taken different stances on the middle class. Some, such as Richard Hofstadter, have portrayed the middle class as reactionaries, concerned with the drastic changes occurring in America society, the increasing growth of the cities resulting from immigration. For Hofstadter, the older, more established middle class saw itself attacked from both economic sides: by the decadence of the elite and by the poor immigrants who possessed different religions and cultures. Through their work in

organizations and clubs, the established middle class would reassert themselves as the integral part of the American society:

The old family, college – educated class that had deep ancestral roots in local communities and often owned family businesses, that had traditions of political leadership. Belonged to the patriotic societies and the best clubs, staffed the governing boards, of philanthropic and cultural institutions, and led movements for civic betterment, were being overshadowed and edged aside in the making of basic political and economic decisions.<sup>19</sup>

These men (for Hofstadter, they were men) were shocked by the accumulation and the displays of wealth by upper classes but also with immigrants who increased city size but also gave city bosses, wholly considered a key obstacle in obtaining proper government, their power base: “The Mugwump type...had always been troubled about the long-range consequences of unrestricted immigration and had begun to question universal suffrage out of a fear that tradition democracy might be imperiled by the decline of ethnic homogeneity.”<sup>20</sup> These immigrants were ignorant of American democracy, arriving with their different languages, cultures, and religions that seemed incompatible with proper concepts of American democracy and therefore programs and institutions were created to mold the immigrant into the likeness of their notions of an American.

However, the belief that Progressive reformers are simply those considered Mugwumps (a term which originally referred to Republicans who voted for Grover Cleveland in 1884, but later grew to encompass reform-minded progressives) ignores a specific change in American society that would take control of the economy and social organizations and reform movements: the rise of the professional. Another historian, Robert Wiebe, believes that the middle class was too broad a concept which should be

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<sup>19</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR*. (New York, Knopf) 1955, 137.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 177.

broken down further: one group of professionals and one group of specialists (who could be considered entrepreneurs and skilled workers).<sup>21</sup> Professionals were highly sought because they had acquired skills or expertise that would label them as “experts.” To legitimize their efforts, professionals used the language of science as a way of giving their methods authority. Frederick W. Taylor’s *The Principles of Scientific Management*, is the most prominent example of this application of “science.” In business, Taylor broke down the actions of workers to maximize efficiency and profit. Mirroring the advances in business, the rise of the social sciences such as sociology attempted to use scientific principles to examine and shape the changing society: “The professional social scientist was to take up the banner of reform, removing it from the hands of the people themselves and rationalizing it through scientific study of social, economic, and political conditions.”<sup>22</sup> The professional, more importantly to reformers, defined himself or herself as the solver of problems. The CCAC would bring in professionals to give advice on certain issues or problems. However, by the 1920s the membership of the CCAC would grow to include numerous professionals, incorporating them into the structure of the Civic Club, placing them on committees, using their expertise and bringing a different set of solutions to the problems facing the city.

Many studies of nineteenth-century benevolent groups seem haphazardly to apply the tag “middle class” to just about every group of the nineteenth century. As Roy Lubove points out, while those who attempted social reform in the city claimed to be acting in the interests of the *people*: “It is often best understood as the creation of an elite:

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<sup>21</sup> Robert Wiebe, *The Search of Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 112.

<sup>22</sup> Lenore T. Ealy and Steven D. Ealy, “Progressivism and Philanthropy,” *The Good Society* 15, No. 1 (2006) 36.

professional, bureaucratic, upper-class, or political.”<sup>23</sup> There are two major ways that historians have tried to specify inclusion in the “middle class.” One is the economic standing of the individuals involved; the second is the acceptance by other “elites.” Economically, it is easier to identify those in the era of the CCAC than for earlier groups which existed earlier in the nineteenth century because economic separation between the classes was much more apparent at the turn of the twentieth century than earlier in the nineteenth century. However, the club delineated itself on social grounds, with membership consisting of the social elite of Pittsburgh. The identification is made easy by the publication of social registers: a “who’s who” of Pittsburgh society. Statistical work by John F. Bauman and Margaret Spratt provides evidence:

Sixty percent of the names listed in the club’s 1910 directory appeared in the social register. In 1911 males accounted for 53 percent of the CCAC’s total 686 members. Of the men, 87 could be identified by occupation: 46 percent were professionals, of whom 29 percent practiced law or medicine. Over one-fourth, including men with names such as Heinz, Boggs, Buhl, Miller, Painter, Lockhart, Scaife, and Rowe, headed Pittsburgh area businesses and industries. Almost as many managed or supervised the millionaire families’ banking, food processing, steelmaking, glass, and hardware empires.<sup>24</sup>

The people who were involved in the formation and the direction of the club were, by any measure, local elites and not middle class. Its initial membership was elite: society women (and in many instances their husbands), the reform-minded political elite of Pittsburgh and Allegheny City. Not only were the elites the primary members of the original CCAC, the CCAC placed restrictions on new members by requiring ratification

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<sup>23</sup> Roy Lubove, “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): 305.

<sup>24</sup> CCAC Papers AIS; John F. Bauman and Margaret Spratt, “Civic Leaders and Environmental Reform: The Pittsburgh Survey and Urban Planning,” *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century*, ed. Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996): 155.

of new club members by those already in the club, limiting membership. The CCAC was, at its outset, an elite club of people whose personal contacts and influence could accomplish the club's goals.<sup>25</sup>

However, persons in the middle class and middle-class ideals were still close by the CCAC. Starting in the 1920s, with membership changes in its bylaws, the middle-class professionals began to join the CCAC, increasing the middle-class demographic in the club. Also, the ideas and reforms that the club attempted to implement were based on middle class ideals and desires. The various reforms were all predicated on a theme that was common among women-led urban reform groups: bringing the home to the city.<sup>26</sup> Doing this would inherently place middle-class family norms on those who were perceived as deficient, such as the poor, both immigrant and non-immigrant alike, whether it was an attempt to suppress vice such as prostitution or the consumption of alcohol or to enact a positive change through changing the environment around city residents.

“Bringing home to the city” would be much easier said than done, and Pittsburgh posed substantial challenges to these would-be reformers. Organizations like the CCAC were quite conscious of the alterations to their city landscape due to the Industrial Revolution and the seeming lack of institutions to deal with this rapid change, and Pittsburgh emphasized this change as much as any city in the United States. Like other cities in America, Pittsburgh experienced massive industrialization and large-scale immigration. “Hell with the lid off” was a description of Pittsburgh in 1866 and that

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<sup>25</sup> “Annual Special Meeting,” Box 15 Folder 47 AIS.

<sup>26</sup> Maureen Flanagan, *Seeing with their Hearts: Chicago Women and the vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (Princeton, New Jersey and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002) 85-120.

description grew even more resonant in the ensuing years<sup>27</sup>. The steel mills on the Monongahela such the Jones & Laughlin Steel Works, the numerous Carnegie (later US Steel) works, and the various coke ovens pumped out soot from steel production making smoke a permanent fixture to the city skyline even resulting in moments of darkness during the day. The effects of smoke can still be seen on some buildings in metropolitan Pittsburgh whose exterior walls are blackened from soot. Railroads carried both passengers and freight into and out of the city, adding to its dirty atmosphere. One railroad even ran at street level on Liberty Ave., one of the main thoroughfares in downtown Pittsburgh, up until 1905.<sup>28</sup>

At the same time, poor drinking water and the lack of a proper sanitation system allowed for diseases such as tuberculosis and typhoid to run rampant which was compounded by the continued use of the privy vaults. In 1910, Pittsburgh still had about 18,000 privy vaults in use.<sup>29</sup> The smell: a mix of mud, decaying matter, and human and animal feces, must have made the city less inviting and a site in which few would take pride. Even a connection to the sewer did not give Pittsburgh residents immunity from other diseases. Pittsburgh drew water from the rivers, but it also put untreated water back into those same rivers. Other cities upstream on the Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers did the same. This resulted in Pittsburgh far outpacing other cities in the rates of death due to typhoid fever. The city averaged over 100 deaths a year per 100,000

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<sup>27</sup> Joel A. Tarr, "Introduction: Some Thoughts about the Pittsburgh Environment" in *Devastation and Renewal: an Environmental History of Pittsburgh and its Region*. ed. Joel A. Tarr (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003) 3.

<sup>28</sup> Edward K. Muller and Joel A. Tarr, "The Interaction of Natural and Built Environments in the Pittsburgh Landscape" *Devastation and Renewal*, 18-19.

<sup>29</sup> Joel A. Tarr and Terry F. Yosie, "Critical Decisions in Pittsburgh Water and Wastewater Treatment," *Devastation and Renewal*, 89-93.

residents in the span of 1873 through 1907, much more than the average for other cities, which were 35 deaths per 1000,000 residents.<sup>30</sup>

Housing was another problem for Pittsburgh. Many working-class individuals crammed into housing near mills and other industries. Some statistics show that the average density of Pittsburgh's working class was 1.25 people per room at a time when the accepted definition of a slum was 1.01 people per room. Infant mortality hovered around twenty percent from the 1870s through the 1900s. The majority of children ages 10-14 who became part of the labor force were children of parents who were unskilled laborers. By the 1890s, the City of Pittsburgh suffered from high disease, child labor, and an environment of unclean street and sooty skies. Hardly an appealing site for visitors from across the nation, Pittsburgh had become a Birmingham, a Manchester, a city where all the horrors of urban life existed.<sup>31</sup>

These same horrors were present in other cities as well, though some were particularly pronounced in Pittsburgh. People from New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, and other industrializing cities, primarily in the North and the Midwest, faced similar problems. When formulating their solutions to Pittsburgh's urban problems, reformers were participating in a national conversation and a national movement. One event, however, captured the minds of urban reformers and provided new concepts about how cities could look. The World Columbian Exposition of 1893 was a national event that captured the minds of those who witnessed it, setting in motion the possibility of a clean, beautiful city. Taking place in Chicago, it gave people from

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 70.

<sup>31</sup> Coincidentally enough, there were boroughs adjacent to Pittsburgh named Birmingham and Manchester after their English counterparts. Both would be annexed by Pittsburgh and Allegheny City respectively; S. J. Kleinberg, *Shadow of the Mills: Working Class Families in Pittsburgh, 1870-1907* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989). 72; 102; 179-181.

across the country a tangible example of a gleaming city; the antithesis of cities of the day: it was clean; it was white; it was planned. The Court of Honor, the lagoons, the Administration Building, and the Midway Plaisance were all popular images of the Exposition. What makes the Exposition and Chicago a great study was the awe described by those who witnessed the model city. Its popularity even found its way into children's literature. In her children's book, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress or the City Beautiful*, Frances Hodgson Burnett illustrates the reaction people had when first walking into the Exposition through the eyes of two children: "They were breathless and uplifted by an ecstasy, but they had never been so fully *alive* before. It seemed as if they were in the centre of the world." One man remarked, "Within the White City every person was sovereign. Therein all could experience the rights and privileges which belonged to citizens but which they were denied by the facts of urban life."<sup>32</sup> The national scope of the Exposition allowed it to diffuse the image of the clean, ideal city in a nationwide event. Naturally, real cities could not look like the idealized Exposition; most of the Exposition buildings themselves were made of simple plaster and were not designed to last more than the length of the event. Yet the Exposition presented the image of the ideal city. Instead of cities filled with dirt, soot, and waste matter and not planned as a whole, this city was thoroughly planned. It was a space filled with wide avenues, clean water, and beautiful buildings painted white to show off their cleanliness.<sup>33</sup> It may not be reality, but it might be possible to make something close to it.

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<sup>32</sup> Frances Hodgson Burnett, "Two Little Pilgrims' Progress or the City Beautiful, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, reprint, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966) 108; William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) 59.

<sup>33</sup> Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* 5.

Pittsburghers had an opportunity to imagine a Pittsburgh closer, in some respects, to an ideal city. For a brief time, from 1884 to 1892, some Pittsburgh steel mills experimented with using natural gas, which was present in the area. The use of natural gas had a practical motive because it produced better steel; it also had a pleasant side-effect: it burned much cleaner than coal. For this brief period Pittsburghers experienced industry with less air pollution. Once the local natural gas was exhausted, coal returned as the primary form of power, returning the city to its moniker as “The Smokey City.” Many of the reformers that would make up the CCAC participated in smoke abatement in Pittsburgh and the return of the dirty coal smoke would bring the return of the need of civic and environmental reforms.<sup>34</sup>

To the extent that the White City (or a Pittsburgh free from smoke) was seen as a practical goal rather than simply another utopian dream, it relied on a large body of theories about the feasibility of city planning. The city itself, according to these early civic planners, was an organism whose health and welfare depended on the actions of those who could provide for it. This movement grew in popularity with individuals at or near the top of the social structure: educated men and women and those from elite families. Individuals subscribing to these beliefs alleged that parks and playgrounds, civic buildings artistically rendered on a grand scale, and overall city cleanliness could in fact improve a number of social ills that plagued the city and make the city more rational, and healthy. Proponents, therefore, attempted to remake the city through the beautification of the city environment. In order to accomplish this goal, they attached themselves to new theories concerning the role of the environment and the city, believing

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<sup>34</sup>Angela Gugliotta, “Class, Gender, and Coal Smoke: Gender Ideology and Environmental Injustice in Pittsburgh, 1868-1914” *Environmental History* 5, No 2 (April 2000) 165-193.

that a proper environment was crucial to a well-functioning and pleasant city. They acknowledged and embraced the new theories, developing alternatives to combat the dirty and unpleasant structure of the physical city in an attempt to better the social situation in the cities.<sup>35</sup>

It was in this atmosphere of urban reform, and out of the traditions of nineteenth-century reform, that the Civic Club of Allegheny County originated. The CCAC, started in 1895 and chartered in 1896, arose from the ideas of women members of the elite social club, the forward-named Twentieth Century Club, itself only founded a year earlier, and from the more reform-minded Women's Health Protective Association (whose primary focus was issues of smoke abatement). When those women had created the Twentieth Century Club, they had hoped to create a club as "an organized center for women's work, thought and action, advancing her interests, promoting science, literature, and art and providing a quiet place of meeting for its members."<sup>36</sup> Only a year later, some of these women decided to form another club, this time in the likeness of a civic organization, similar to ones emerging in other cities across the nation, the CCAC. After its formation, CCAC members subsequently addressed a pamphlet to the Twentieth Century Club. It addressed questions potentially raised by Twentieth Century Club members such as whether it was a necessity in Pittsburgh, whether it was an effective format for women's work and their chances for success, whether this work had been done in other cities, and how had they accomplished their goals. The pamphlet answered these questions by showing that their work helped to aid society's lower classes: "All large cities need the thoughtful attention of its best citizens...the predominance and ignorance of the working

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<sup>35</sup> Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order*, 220-224, 232-260.

<sup>36</sup> *The Twentieth Century Club of Allegheny County, 1896-1904* (Pittsburgh, 1904).

classes, the hard kinds of labor, the absence of good houses at low rents, the need of Public Baths, the unhealthy condition of the streets the impurities of the water – all these and other subjects need investigation and improvement.” Could women do this work? Yes, the pamphlet answered. Thoughtful and intelligent women could help foster change, as women were doing in Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, New York, Albany and Washington, DC. The pamphlet also stated that the best way to enact change was not to “antagonize those in authority,” but to attempt investigations themselves. Only through the active process of observation could they even advocate change, and only then should they have a specific remedy in mind. This mindset could have come from previous associations with government: “Women who had gained political and administrative experience in benevolent organizations...accepted their expanding relationships with governments as a matter of course.” The CCAC was not intended as a muckraking or a combative organization but rather as a civic improvement organization advocating change for what club members thought was the benefit of their city.<sup>37</sup>

While the CCAC was, from its outset, an organization for both men and women, it was considered by those outside the club as a women’s organization. Women played crucial roles in the CCAC not only in its activities but also in its organization. Three women – Kate Cassatt McKnight, Elizabeth Thaw, and Lucy Dorsey Iams –embodied the important role of women in the CCAC. Each of these women served on the board of directors: Ms. McKnight as President, Mrs. Thaw as its long-time treasurer, and Mrs. Iams as its First Vice-President. These women were able to be active club members not only because of class but because of home life of these women did not restrict them from

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<sup>37</sup> Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 182; ‘Pamphlet to the Twentieth Century Club,’ Box 28, AIS.

club service and, in some instances, encouraged it. Ms. McKnight never married, Mrs. Thaw was widowed early in her marriage, and Mrs. Iams was married to a lawyer who was very politically active and she assisted as his secretary. They were connected, either by blood or through marriage, to politically and socially powerful men in the Pittsburgh area. Ms. McKnight's father, Robert, was once elected to the US House of Representatives and was a member of the common council in Pittsburgh. Elizabeth Thaw was married to William Thaw Jr. who was a chairman of a coal company and was on the board of banks and insurance firms. He died when Elizabeth was only thirty-one, leaving her with a long time of activism as a widow. Mrs. Iams' husband was a politically active lawyer and it was by working for him that she was able to read law. Their desire not to antagonize many of the political and economic elite could come from their close association with these men, some of whom included family members. These women were given the opportunity to create and participate in the club through their position either through birth or through marriage.<sup>38</sup>

Yet, it was not just their positions that made these women powerful in the CCAC. Another characteristic of these women was that they immersed themselves not only in the CCAC but in other, similar clubs in Pittsburgh, a legacy of club women for numerous years. They were all active in many aspects of the CCAC and other clubs as well. In the span of three years, Kate C. McKnight was a member of the Associated Charities committee, the Young Men's Civic Club of Allegheny committee, the Juvenile Court committee, and the Permanent Civic committee in the CCAC. In 1902, just before she became president of the CCAC, Ms. McKnight was elected School Director of the Fifth Ward in Allegheny City through efforts of the local school children. They did this

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<sup>38</sup>Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism*, 95-96.

because “She had entertained them for years each summer, and the Young Men’s Civic Club [started by the CCAC], which had in years past been befriended by her, took up the fight.” The article also stated that she was the “Vice President of the State Federation of Women’s Clubs and a leading society woman.”<sup>39</sup> She remained with the CCAC until her death, and was remembered long afterwards by the club through many publications.

Elizabeth Thaw was a member of the People’s Baths committee (which she helped to fund from her own pocket), the art exhibits in public schools committee, the Arbor Day committee, and the Young Men’s Civic Club of Lawrenceville committee. Mrs. Iams was also on many such boards such as the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women, the Consumers’ League of Western Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania and Allegheny County Child Labor Associations; and the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh. These women were not representative of all women within the club. Some may have participated in one or two committees or maybe not at all. However, clubs like the CCAC gave women with the drive to be active in their community and society an outlet, something that could not be attained through party politics. It made the ideas of the active, elite woman, relevant to the city and community.<sup>40</sup>

The early meetings of the CCAC were concerned with determining the reforms the CCAC would create or support. In their first meetings the members attempted to identify different problems in the city and how to properly enact changes. As a result, the early meetings of the Civic Club discussed a wide array of reforms. The first five meetings of the Civic Club show the depth and scope of the new club and the ambitions the members; at the same time, these meetings show this new organization was

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<sup>39</sup> “School Children Electioneer,” *The New York Times*, 20 February, 1902.

<sup>40</sup> Lubove, “Pittsburgh and Social Welfare History”: (305); Report about Committees and Committee Listings”, Box 31, AIS; Bauman and Spratt, “Civic Leaders and Environmental Reform”: 154-155.

attempting to find its niche. After the founding of the club but before its official incorporation, the first five meetings demonstrate the range of causes presented to the CCAC. The first official meeting sent a letter to the National Municipal League, a national association organizing municipal clubs across the nation, asking them about joining the NML. The next meeting was not as fruitful, discussing pure water efforts in the city. On February 4th, discussions about bringing public sentiment to promote “productive legislation” were conducted as well as discussions about the relationship between dirty water and tuberculosis and that electric streetcars were cheaper than horse-drawn cars and could be operated at 1/6<sup>th</sup> the cost, allowing the poor to use that mode of mass transit. The second meeting, February 25, was a specially organized meeting in which the CCAC listened to a speaker from the Philadelphia Civic Club who spoke on the need to appoint women to local school boards. In the last of the five meetings the members received an answer from the NML and voted to officially join the organization, linking it with other civic organization across the country. It also received two school grants to help in the establishment of playgrounds.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to bureaucratic issues, these meetings discussed four different areas: sanitation, transportation, education, and government. They chose to focus on playground development as their first project. The index to the minute book from 1895-1899 mentions playgrounds twenty-one times; the People’s Bath on Penn Ave. (eighteen) and anti-expectorating (eleven) were the only other reforms mentioned above ten times in the minute book. Reformers believed that playgrounds provided a dual benefit: they allowed children to play in an open, free area which aided children’s health and where children would be properly socialized by removing them from the streets and organizing

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<sup>41</sup> Civic Club Minute Book, October 8, 1895-1899, Box 29, AIS.

children's play: "These playground leaders were pursuing the same objective that their forerunners in urban moral reform had been seeking for a century: to shape a cohesive moral order."<sup>42</sup> Contemporaries promoted the dual effect, playing up the fact that the playground could aid in health and morality, two reforms desired by turn-of-the-century reformers: "While the playground has been found to be the greatest antidote to such human frailties as a result from cramped quarters, deoxygenized air and social isolation, it has also been observed that the same social problems, as well as the same social opportunities, exist there as are to be found in any other center where human beings rally." But children could not be expected to learn the social order on their own; therefore, a social worker or leader, an expert, should be present at the playground. Employed throughout the year, this person would "have the opportunity to see and know not only child and nature, but human nature at its very fountain, and to direct this nature up into the forms most acceptable to society as a whole."<sup>43</sup> The Civic Club was more than proud of its accomplishments with playgrounds stating that playgrounds were, "The first step in what to-day is the largest and most far-reaching social influence in Greater Pittsburgh."<sup>44</sup>

Today the playground is seen as a place of recreation, where children can enjoy themselves under the watchful eye of the parents or guardians. However, Progressives believed that playgrounds had quite important social implications and thus believed the playgrounds would pay dividends because they could influence the child and mold the morals of the youth of the nation. Playgrounds also took part of child development out of

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<sup>42</sup> Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order* 243.

<sup>43</sup> Amalie Hofer Jerome, "The Playground as a Social Center" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 35, No. 2 (Mar., 1910), 130-131.

<sup>44</sup> Civic Club of Allegheny County, *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, 16.

the hands of parents, typically the poor and the immigrant, and instead into the hands of those who could infuse proper values into children: “The playground movement sheds light on this dualism, as well as the degree to which progressive reform centered on child welfare. Not least important, 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>45</sup> As was shown in the Dramatic Masque, the child was a major object of reform for CCAC members and child improvement appears in the CCAC’s various plans and programs such as establishing a juvenile court system in Allegheny County. CCAC members believed that the child could be shaped and molded into a upright moral citizen of the city and therefore reforms must include their living, health, and education: “The child was the carrier of tomorrow’s hope whose innocence and freedom made him singularly receptive to education in rational, humane behavior. Protect him, nurture him, and in his manhood he would create that bright new world of the progressives’ vision.”<sup>46</sup> George W. Guthrie, a Pittsburgh attorney and mayor from 1906-1909, reinforced this belief in a speech given to the CCAC in 1896, stating that women have significant role in raising children to be proper citizens.<sup>47</sup> The reform of the child was a central tenet of the early CCAC and their early reforms reinforced this belief.

The connection between programs that benefit children and women’s involvement in urban reform has been noted by others. The Women’s City Club in Chicago, for instance, was also involved with children and educational reform. Maureen Flanagan states that the members of the Women’s City Club “were concerned...with the fate of the

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<sup>45</sup> Lubove, “Pittsburgh and Social Welfare History,” 305.

<sup>46</sup> Wiebe, *The Search of Order*, 169.

<sup>47</sup> Civic Club Minute Book, June 1st, 1896, Box 29, AIS.

individual child within the school and industrial work system.”<sup>48</sup> Women, whose traditional role included raising and educating children, were *thought* to be better at education reform. This sentiment brings a new understanding as to why the CCAC would listen to a speaker from the Philadelphia Civic Club about putting women on the public school boards. Women should be school directors and be on school boards because they were better at fostering “proper” children. If children were taken out of the homes and were not having the same contact with their mother (who, if an immigrant, might not be teaching their children how to be a proper American), it would be best to put them into the hands of women who could raise their children because they were better suited to do so. It was a concept that certain people were better equipped to enact change than others in certain fields and by acknowledging the positive attributes of each person and by placing each person in a role ideally suitable to their attributes, the organization would be much more successful. Herbert Croly touched on this concept in his famous book, *The Promise of American Life*: “While all men are imperfect, they are not all imperfect to the same extent. Some have more courage, more ability, more insight, and more training than others, and an efficient organization can accomplish more than can a mere collection of individuals precisely because it may represent a standard of performance far above that of the average individual.”<sup>49</sup>

For the CCAC, gender was one difference. When the Club was forming, men and women were assigned to different committees because of the belief that men would be better suited for issues concerning politics and law (in the Legal Aid committee formed in 1899, all nine members were men), while women took on issues concerning children,

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<sup>48</sup> Flanagan, “Gender and Urban Political Reform,” 203.

<sup>49</sup> Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965, Reprint, New York: Macmillan, 1912), 408.

education, and health. From 1895-1907, the CCAC presented several social and civic reforms, thirty-one in all. The vast majority of these reforms concerned women, children, and the environment. As with the playground example earlier, the Progressive women believed that they could control the new generation of children, foster proper development of those children, and have a new generation of healthy men and women with ideal morals and principles. From one standpoint, this seems like an act of social control. Cities filled with immigrants and in Pittsburgh, which created a large influx to work at the various steel mills and other industries. Pittsburgh received a large percentage of immigrants from Eastern Europe. These individuals were not inculcated with proper American values; whether Catholic, Orthodox, or Jewish, their religion was not standard for an American (it must be noted that the CCAC was a secular organization and that there were prominent Jewish women in the club and, eventually, a Catholic priest). Through programs such as playgrounds, they could infuse a morality into children educate them properly.

At the same time, these women were seriously concerned for the welfare of women and children and wanted to use either private groups or the arm of the state to help improve the situation of the impoverished. Before the CCAC, there was no juvenile court process in Allegheny County. The CCAC established bath houses in the immigrant-heavy areas of the Strip District and Soho, places that did not have running water. These bath houses were not just to improve hygiene, but also had laundry facilities and nurseries, needed by working-class women whose role in the household had changed in an industrial city from home worker to wage earner and, in some cases, the

primary wage earner.<sup>50</sup> This presents a complexity in the motivation of the women, who wanted both to impose a standard on, but also to come to the aid of, the poor immigrant.

By 1907, the CCAC had created a playground organization that was taken over by the City. They had created two bath houses, finally established the Associated Charities, created a Legal Aid society and juvenile courts, helped fund the settlement houses such as the Kingsley House and the Irene Kaufmann Settlement and funded an open air school for children with tuberculosis. Their focus during the early years of the CCAC was improvement of the lives of women and children. While men and women were a part of the CCAC, their initial reforms were in the tradition of female reform movements and voluntary associations from the early nineteenth century. Yet as the new century progressed, and the Progressive Era continued, the CCAC started to change. It would start to venture into new areas. It became more overtly political and more concerned with the infrastructure of the city. It slowly became not just a women's club in the eyes of the city.

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<sup>50</sup> Kleinberg, *The Shadow of the Mills*, 141-143.

## Chapter 2: Maturation: The CCAC from the Pittsburgh *Survey* to 1920

In a ten-year span the CCAC had matured from its beginnings to a viable organization capable of implementing various programs including playgrounds, a juvenile court system in the county, aided in the creation of a hospital and helped to open a school for children with tuberculosis, and agitated for limiting billboards. Yet through its maturation process the CCAC became part of the process of professionalism sweeping the country. Instead of the active woman who would inquire about problems and come up with solutions, the CCAC now sought persons with proper knowledge and training to conduct specific reforms. The professional also did not need to be a member of the social elite, and as the founding generation began to leave the group (either or by death), the CCAC became less of a mixed gender club with active, elite women and more of a club of professional men. It was a slow process, but a process which originated in the 1900s and 1910s.

One of the greatest accomplishments of the CCAC occurred at this time, as the CCAC helped to initiate the Pittsburgh *Survey*. The *Survey* and later reforms began to change the CCAC. It would never cease doing its own work with its members, but the *Survey* helped to contract professionals to do sociological investigative work and bring in large-scale professionalism to the CCAC. Professionalism had a gendered component, as nationally women had a limited path in which to be considered professional. Yet the dynamic of the CCAC as an elite, mixed gendered association, made the use of the professional less contentious. At the same time, there was a rise of popularity of the Social Gospel in Pittsburgh, in part thanks to the groundwork laid by a charismatic clergyman a decade earlier which strengthened a unity of thought among men and

women, drawing men into supporting the settlement houses in Pittsburgh. The members of the CCAC participated in other clubs and civic organizations, many of them segregated by gender. However, the CCAC was an organization intentionally mixed. The members believed in this unity and they maintained their view after 1908, keeping the same spirit they had at the CCAC's inception.

The greatest accomplishment of the CCAC during this maturation period was the funding and support of one of the greatest urban studies ever conducted, the Pittsburgh *Survey*. Still an outstanding sociological and historical resource for city life during the turn of the twentieth century, the Pittsburgh *Survey* is a collection of systematic observations of Pittsburgh and surrounding industrial areas. The survey looked at the workers of the major industries that made Pittsburgh an industrial power. The CCAC displayed enthusiasm for the project and became instrumental in its creation. It enlisted the proficiency of certain experts, whose conclusions were based on their specific research. The findings would be presented at a combined convention of the American Civic Association and the National Municipal League at the Carnegie Music Hall in 1908. Among its findings, the *Survey* made numerous references to the environmental problems of the city, which appealed to the environmental sentiment of the CCAC. The *Survey* angered some Pittsburghers by showing the economic discrepancy of millworkers and the lower, working-class segment of Pittsburgh; it established a relationship between the CCAC and people who were respected in the fields of the social sciences. It gave an authoritative basis for the CCAC's environmental programs and opened those in Pittsburgh, especially the CCAC, to the ideas of city planning. While the labor issues were ignored by the CCAC, the Pittsburgh *Survey* latched on to the ideas of social

science and shifted the CCAC's orientation from what was successful early in the CCAC to a civic reform based on science, planning, and the professional.

The women in the CCAC did not resist the shift to professionalism; in fact, women played a crucial role in this shift to social science. Kate Cassatt McKnight, the club's president, supported the *Survey*. Her work was crucial in establishing the organizational structure of the project within the framework of the CCAC, and initially attempted to financially back the project as well. However, Paul U. Kellogg, who would later head the survey team, deemed the amount inadequate. Kellogg, who was a member of the New York Charity Organization Society and who edited a publication named *Charities and Commons*, developed the idea for the survey after receiving a letter from the chief probation officer of the Allegheny Juvenile Court, Alice B. Montgomery, which detailed the social situation in Pittsburgh. The original plan would have the results of the survey published in *Charities and Commons* as a series. The CCAC, determined to see the survey succeed, organized a committee for the project and two CCAC women, Edna Meeker and Louisa W. Knox, volunteered their time for the project, as well as a club donation of fifty dollars for expenses. The scope of the project, however, was growing larger than the CCAC anticipated, and the fifty dollars were nowhere near the necessary funding. The project remained dormant until the Russell Sage Foundation underwrote the Survey with a grant of \$27,000. With funding secured, the Survey was initiated.<sup>51</sup>

A variety of people participated in the survey. Both men and women served as primary researchers. Their numbers included such notables in the emerging field of

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<sup>51</sup> Civic Club of Allegheny County, *Fifteen Years of Civic History* 74; Martin Bulmer, "The Social Survey Movement and Early Twentieth-Century Sociological Methodology," *Pittsburgh Surveyed: Social Science and Social Reform in the Early Twentieth Century* ed. Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996) 17.

sociology as Florence Kelley (who had worked previously at Hull House in Chicago), Crystal Eastman, Margaret Byington, and Elizabeth Beardsley Butler as well as several men including political economist John R. Commons and Paul Kellogg himself. To supplement these individuals, others volunteered to help with the statistical data. In all, six volumes encompassed the finished product which included tracts on working women, workplace injuries, the workers in the borough of Homestead, the steel workers of Pittsburgh, more observations of working-class Pittsburghers in general, and a report directed at the city itself focusing on civic issues such as sanitation, housing and transportation.<sup>52</sup> Their entire effort culminated in six volumes: four monographs and two larger works titled *The Civic District Frontage* and *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh*.

Although the official reports was published in 1914, well after the survey was actually conducted, the findings of these reports would be presented at a joint gathering of the American Civic Association and the National Municipal League, which convened in Pittsburgh in mid-November 1908. The presentation of the results of the *Survey* occurred on the first night of the conference. Much of the presentation dealt with the physical and environmental problems of Pittsburgh as well as the problems with health and child welfare. Those in the CCAC who struggled to reform these problems were very enthusiastic that they were brought to the attention of much of the Pittsburgh citizenry. Printed in the newspapers, this exposé on the conditions of Pittsburgh might foster an awareness of the physical situation of the city that the CCAC sought to fix. Therefore, the policies of the CCAC would have a new audience and more of Pittsburgh's citizens would have a "proper" civic spirit. The *Survey* made positive

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<sup>52</sup> Maurine W. Greenwald and Margo Anderson, "The Pittsburgh Survey in Historical Perspective," *Pittsburgh Surveyed*, 1-2.

mention of the CCAC, stating that “its main service consists not in work of administration but rather in initiating enterprises to meet new problems as they arise, and then setting them loose to develop permanent organizations on their own account,” and that, “the record of the Civic Club gives it a pivotal position in the systematic development of the social resources of the city. It will stand, indeed, as one of the original examples of a type of movement in the name of the community as a whole upon the whole community’s human problems.” It gave high praise to the CCAC for its actions, confident that it was an organization that would help to continue to improve Pittsburgh society.<sup>53</sup>

Had the *Survey* been limited to only these results, the CCAC would have considered it a great success. However, the *Survey* also dealt with major issues concerning workers. The presentation focused on the problems of the workers and their treatment:

Specialization, elimination of skill, payment by the piece or premium, speeding up,-these are the inherently the aims of Pittsburgh business men, and the methods that turn out tons of shapes for the skillful workers of other cities to put into finished products. Without its marvelous framework of organization, eliminating dependence on personality in the masses and thereby rendering personality more indispensable in the captains, it would be impossible for Pittsburgh to convert its stream of labor into the most productive labor power known in modern industry...These are the principles which Pittsburgh applies to the distribution of the wealth in the production of which she holds supremacy.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Robert A. Woods, “Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of its Growth,” *The Pittsburgh District Civic Frontage*. (New York: Survey Associates, 1914) 33-35; Bauman and Spratt, “The Pittsburgh Survey and Urban Planning”, *Pittsburgh Surveyed*, 162.

<sup>54</sup> John R. Commons and William R. Lieserson, “Wage Earners in Pittsburgh,” *Wage-earning Pittsburgh*, (New York : Survey Associates, 1914), 117.

This did not sit well with many in Pittsburgh, especially those individuals involved in business: “As fervently as Pittsburgh’s reform-minded elite hailed the vision, contained in the Survey, of a safe, sanitary, and efficient city, they just as vehemently spurned its disturbing findings about social injustice.”<sup>55</sup> Some newspapers questioned the presentation, depicting the survey workers as outsiders, intent on portraying Pittsburgh in a negative light to further their own agenda. The Pittsburgh elite were attempting to create a new Pittsburgh of high culture, shedding its reputation as a dirty, dark city created purely for the heavy industries of iron and steel. The development of the Oakland area of Pittsburgh, an open space in between the elite neighborhood of Shadyside and downtown, into a clean, cultural center of Western Pennsylvania, was done in order to “balance pastoral vision and social ambition.” Schenley Park, the Carnegie Institute (which included the Carnegie Library, Music Hall, Lecture Hall, and Museum), the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie Mellon University), the Pittsburgh Athletic Club, the luxurious Hotel Schenley, the Soldiers’ Memorial, and the relocation of the Western University of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pittsburgh) to Oakland combined to make the Oakland the cultural heart of Pittsburgh. It was part of what Francis Courvares has called the evolving “cosmopolitanism” of the Pittsburgh elite; a growing appreciation of high culture among the social and economic elite.<sup>56</sup>

The presentation of the *Survey* reminded the CCAC and all Pittsburghers, in front of all the reform-minded elite of the United States, of their city’s social problems and damaged their pride in Pittsburgh. Immediately after the presentation, the Pittsburgh *Gazette-Times* printed an editorial symbolic of the anxiety many felt after the

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<sup>55</sup> Bauman and Spratt, “The Pittsburgh Survey and Urban Planning”, *Pittsburgh Surveyed* 159.

<sup>56</sup> Francis Courvares, *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877-1919*, (Albany, New York: The State University of New York Press, 1984) 98-101, 107-109.

presentation of the *Survey*, overly conscious of the portrayal of Pittsburgh to a national audience:

The danger is, however, that the end sought by our distinguished visitors will be lost sight of in the humiliation put upon Pittsburgh by the manner in which conditions have been portrayed. By singling out this city the impression will be conveyed to the world that we are worse than other towns, and that, despite the wealth for which Pittsburgh is famed to the far corner of the earth, our people are peculiarly regardless of all the finer conceptions of life and public duty.<sup>57</sup>

The rival Pittsburgh *Press* stated in an editorial these criticisms of the city could be tolerated only if change would actually occur while, at the same time, their editorial took shots of other cities, commenting on the condition of the slums of New York City (which could “never” happen in Pittsburgh) and those of Great Britain and that the conditions of Pittsburgh were nothing out of the ordinary for a city of its size: “It is to be hoped the wounds inflicted upon us by our friends of the two conventions will work for good ends ... But while we are frankly confessing how much is yet to do, there is no harm in suggesting that in some respects Pittsburg, instead of being an awful example, is one which some of its sister cities might profitably imitate.”<sup>58</sup> The CCAC, like other civic organizations, welcomed the critiques of the poor environment of their city since many in the CCAC had fought for environmental change either as CCAC members or, for some, before the establishment of the CCAC itself. However, it would not attempt to advocate for workers and their low wages. It was a civic organization, not an organization for radical social change.

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<sup>57</sup> “Pittsburgh’s Shortcomings,” *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times*, 18 November, 1908.

<sup>58</sup> “Pittsburg’s Promise to its Visiting Critics,” *Pittsburg Press*, 18 November, 1908.

There is an inconsistency during this time as to the spelling of Pittsburgh due to a national policy of place-name normalization. The Pittsburgh *Gazette-Times* kept the original spelling while the Pittsburgh *Press* changed to the new, shortened spelling. I will maintain the original authors’ spelling of Pittsburgh(h) where appropriate.

The Pittsburgh *Survey* coincided with the evolution of the club as it became associated less with “female” reform and more with “progressive” reform. Progressive reform did not exclude the actions of females and some of the most popular reforms that could be considered female such as bath houses with nurseries and settlement homes would be continued and well supported by the CCAC. Yet, by the time of the Pittsburgh *Survey*, the CCAC started to expand outward from charity, child development, and environmental improvement. In general, they moved to less personal reforms: in the five years after the *Survey*, the CCAC looked at bridges, flood control, tunnels, comfort stations in parks, and city tax reform. The CCAC, then, was not only a part of female reform at the turn of the Twentieth Century. It grew to encompass other aspects of progressive reform, influenced more through the emerging professional movement whose views on civic reform differed in method and application.

While historians differ over the meaning of, and the reasons for, turn-of-the-century progressivism, the historian who created the paradigm most appropriate for the analysis of the CCAC was Samuel P. Hays. Hays analyzed progressive reform by looking at the various attempts to change the structure of city government as historians began to deeply look at the urban history in the 1950s and 1960s. He rebutted the claims of Richard Hofstadter and George Mowry that much of the progressive movement came from the middle class fighting in tension against the increasing wealth of the upper classes and the growing numbers of working-class individuals. Instead Hays saw the progressive impulse as emerging from those on the higher echelon of society. He claimed that other historians took the self-description of the reformers as middle class at face value: “The great majority of Americans look upon themselves as “middle class”

and subscribe to a middle-ground ideology even though in practice they belong to a great variety of distinct social classes.”<sup>59</sup> In fact, these were men (and in the case of the CCAC, women) from the elite of the business world and of the professional classes. Similar to the findings of Robert Wiebe, these elites were newly wealthy, and their reforms were an effort to centralize power away from the masses by reforming government into less democratic forms which included city government and school boards, as well as the Associated Charities which the CCAC struggled to start for ten years. They were not remnants of an old elite reacting to a changing environment; they were the vanguard of the new elite, eager to use their new ideas on the city around them: “they were in the vanguard of professional life, actively seeking to apply expertise more widely to public affairs.”<sup>60</sup> These individuals were a part of the influx of professionals into society. They were educated in universities that applied the German model of study and influenced by the establishment of social science departments. In Hays’ paradigm, those who were part of progressive era reform were part of a new phenomenon of people who subscribed to a professional ethos whose reforms were influenced by new ideas from the professional and the academic world.<sup>61</sup>

The CCAC’s robust interest in public health exemplifies Hays’ theory. Prior to the *Survey*, the CCAC had begun to move into the realm of public health. Public health was a logical extension for the CCAC, for it combined previous reform efforts under one single heading. Public health improvements would improve the health of all city residents, including those in the lower classes. Many of their publications were couched

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<sup>59</sup> Samuel P. Hays, “The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 55, No. 4 (1964): 158.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 160.

<sup>61</sup> Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order*, 225-232

in the language of public health. In one example, the early CCAC agitated for anti-expectorating laws in Pittsburgh and the surrounding area, believing that the saliva, once spat onto the ground, was still a carrier of respiratory illnesses, especially tuberculosis, with an ordinance passing in 1906.<sup>62</sup> The early CCAC also helped established a municipal hospital and an open-air school for children at the Irene Kaufmann Settlement House in the Hill District neighborhood of Pittsburgh. The theory behind the open-air school was that children with tuberculosis or other respiratory ailments would benefit from the fresh air of the outdoors (an interesting theory given the reputation of air pollution in Pittsburgh at that time). Both efforts succeeded, and the municipal hospital and the open-air schools were both created.

The early reforms by the CCAC did not question the separation of the private home from the public eye. However, future endeavors such as the establishment of the Charity Organization Society (COS), the settlement homes, the model tenement, and the Soho Day Nursery, started to change the perception of the private nature of the home. Traditionally, the home was distinctly private, primarily the domain of the woman, where child rearing and their formation was a part of their lives. When women had started reform groups in the early nineteenth century, many of their reforms had concerned the home, evidenced by the creation of orphanages. Also, the home was used by temperance advocates to illustrate the problems of alcohol by showing how alcohol abuse hurt the women and children of the household. And so long before the CCAC, reformers, especially women, had concerns about the households of others and strove to improve them.

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<sup>62</sup> "Expectoration, 1896," *Fifteen Years of Civic History*, 16.

However, attempts to centralize aid through organizations such as the COS made the home life less private and opened it to a bureaucracy where others would examine the home life of poor families and determine the amount of aid to give to a deserving family. The “friendly observer” of the COS notated the failings of the home; an outside entity was not only appearing in the homes of the poor, but making positive and negative judgments on the household. The decision-makers would only know about the family through the information given to them by the “friendly observer.” In its desire to be efficient, the COS was impersonal, and soon, would move welfare charity from private bureaucracy to a public one. Schools developed, with associations with local societies, to supply a need for trained social workers. Some of these women went to work nationally for the Children’s Bureau, created under the Department of Labor, which worked to pass laws to aid children and working mothers in a government-funded welfare system. They helped to pass the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act of 1921, which provided matching funds to states who instituted certain welfare laws, allowing the Children’s Bureau a supervisory role in state welfare systems. New Deal legislation such as the Social Security Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act also included aspects of child welfare included on the national level.<sup>63</sup>

Yet another program also blurred the line between both private and public. Created to place children of working women in a home-like environment, the Day Nursery supplanted the role of the home and the mother, especially for working women. Conditions in industrial Pittsburgh forced many working-class women to leave the home for work to support their families. The steel mills were quite dangerous places to work; it

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<sup>63</sup> Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 66-71, 106-107, 152-157.

was not uncommon for the male heads of households to suffer some injury that prevented them from working or, in some cases, to be killed in a workplace accident. This was on top of other, more “morally deficient” reasons such as drunkenness and family desertion. For many, especially immigrants, this caused severe alterations of their customary familial order, for in the industrial society, the family relied upon the “breadwinner” for its existence. If that was disrupted (through death or abandonment), both the women and children of the family suffered.<sup>64</sup>

The CCAC created the Day Nursery in 1914 at one of their bathhouses, the Soho Baths. It was only one of several day nurseries across the city, but this was the only one over which they had control. They decided to create one, “in order to provide care for the children of the women who came to use the laundry and baths.” It provided a place for working-class women to place their children while they either used the Baths for cleaning or laundering purposes; it was also open for women who worked or who were too ill to attend their children. It attempted to expose children to a proper home environment. That was an explicit goal of the Soho Day Nursery: “The health and morals of the children are given careful attention, and an attempt is made to create, in so far as is possible, a real home atmosphere, which is sadly lacking in the lives of these unfortunate youngsters.”<sup>65</sup>

The impersonal intrusion into the homes of poor and working-class Pittsburghers was one method of reform used by the CCAC. Yet another avenue to reform the home open to the CCAC was to create the ideal home from scratch. In an era in which the moral health of citizens was firmly believed to have an environmental influence,

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<sup>64</sup> Kleinberg, *The Shadow of the Mills*, 240-241.

<sup>65</sup> Mrs. George S. Jenks, “The Soho Day Nursery,” *The Civic Club Voice*, January 1923, 6.

constructing clean and healthy tenements (whose residents possessed the discipline to maintain a clean living space) could be directly related to the moral foundation of working-class society. This was an era that relied on what historian Paul Boyer called “positive environmentalism,” a growing belief that the environment shaped the actions of people and one could shape the behavior of a social group through an improvement of its environment.<sup>66</sup> Improving environment appealed to elite circles. This approach did not critique the current social order; in fact, it reaffirmed the social hierarchy. The social unrest that gripped workers could be muted if their living conditions improved (as well as worker’s lifestyles, but that would change with the improved environment). Pittsburgh had its share of violent labor struggles from the Railroad Strike in 1877 to the Homestead Strike in 1892 and those events were still fresh in the mind of Pittsburgh elite. Positive environmentalism also reinforced American, middle-class values on those in the working class, whether they are native born or immigrant. A proper environment not only benefited the tenement resident, but also those in business by providing an answer to worker strife without resorting to collectivization and unions.

A pioneer in city planning, Charles Mulford Robinson, a professor at the University of Illinois, fully supported the idea of improved housing environment and was one of its most well-known supporters. Robinson was most closely linked with the City Beautiful movement, a movement whose goal was to beautify the city through planning and art emphasizing the city itself. Robinson combined city beautification with theories of environment into a popular book, *Modern Civic Art*. *Modern Civic Art* dealt with numerous issues of city beautification such as parks, streets, and city architecture. It also included a chapter on tenement improvement. Robinson believed strongly in the effects

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<sup>66</sup> Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order*, 220-232.

of environment on society, giving the tenement the power not only to improve its residents, but also making it appear as a “cure-all” to most of society’s ills and reduce worker unrest due to industrialization:

Social problems are to a large degree problems of environment. This with increasing positiveness is the conclusion of modern scientific study into the depths of sociology. Give to the boy and girl a chance; make it possible for them to work off sheer animal energy in harmless amusements; render homes pleasant, and satisfy the craving of men for brightness, entertainment, and fellowship without throwing them into temptation; let an abundance of fresh air and sunshine into living and sleeping rooms, and the slum will be ancient history and many of sociology’s hardest problems will be solved...there would be more of manliness; there would be purer souls, for there would be less temptation; there would be saner minds because of stronger bodies. And out of depressing social conditions grow political evils. In the city slum smoulders [sic] the fire which breaks forth in revolution; in the conditions of the slum are bred those iniquities of politics – or the circumstances which make them possible – that may render revolution justifiable.<sup>67</sup>

Ending juvenile crime and averting revolutionary tendencies among those in the tenements were lofty goals for improved tenements, yet Robinson explains these goals as a principle of democracy. Good, civic-minded people cannot choose to ignore a part of the city, especially the slums. Residents of these poorer areas can, in fact, become active citizens of a city and should benefit from civic consciousness. They should not be exempt from being “uplifted” to a moral and civic conscious people.<sup>68</sup> Robinson provided no empirical data to prove these assertions, yet it was very tempting to accept them: that environmental improvement could, and would, have a drastic effect on American urban society. Not all believed in the theories of “positive environmentalism,” but those in the CCAC (and other Pittsburgh groups) supported these environmental reforms. Tenement reform was led in the CCAC by Lucy Dorsey Iams. She was quite

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<sup>67</sup> Charles Mulford Robinson, *Modern Art or The City Made Beautiful*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1918: reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1970) 245-246.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 267-268.

familiar with the “ins and outs” of local and state politics. It was no surprise that she worked for the passage of a Tenement Reform act in 1903.

As the CCAC sought to reform many aspects of Pittsburgh, it did so as a club whose membership was both male and female, whose history was influenced both by nineteenth-century female reform and newly emerging political reform that historians would deem “Progressive.” Therefore other reasons, besides reform, would have to be present to expand membership to the elite men of Pittsburgh. Both practical and personal reasons were influential in garnering support for reform. Civic boosterism was an important part of the reform impetus of the Chamber of Commerce as well as the CCAC. A poor city image would negatively affect national perception of the city and thereby affect business interests. Poor housing also affected the problems of the city by focusing on productivity which, “Physicians, sanitarians, and social workers agreed that the influence of the worker’s home environment extended to the factory, reducing the efficiency of the labor force.”<sup>69</sup> Improving the living and moral conditions of workers would eliminate the demands of workers for unions. There were other men who joined the CCAC and agitated for a change in city government such as business and municipal reform leader Oliver McClintock. Yet for still others, reports that put Pittsburgh in a negative light hurt their own personal pride as well.

Both the male and female members of the CCAC participated in other clubs besides the CCAC. Many of these clubs had similar goals and one can see the irony that those who professed efficiency, especially in business and charity, did not practice this in their club life. Clubs bound the city’s elites together in overlapping networks, gathering

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<sup>69</sup> Roy Lubove, *Twentieth Century Pittsburgh: Government, Business and Environmental Change*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc, 1969) 31.

the like-minded in the same class in similar pursuits. Pittsburgh businessmen had their social clubs such as the Pittsburgh Club and the Duquesne Club, as well as Country Clubs in Sewickley and in Oakmont.<sup>70</sup> Even the CCAC's beginnings came from a social club (The Twentieth Century) and a reform club (Women's Health Protective Association). Because the CCAC had similar associations with the business and civic-oriented organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce and Civic Commission, they supported each other to accomplish similar goals.

A question remains about the relationship between the CCAC and other organizations, especially the Chamber of Commerce, an organization influenced by business interests. In her research about women's reform movements in Chicago, Maureen Flanagan detects a sizable difference in beliefs between women's and men's activism in Progressive-Era Chicago. To do so, she examined many different women's organizations from as far back as 1871 and explored their contentious relationship with men's groups. The interactions between the Women's City Club and the City Club of Chicago are probably the most germane to the CCAC, yet they are not entirely parallel, since each of these clubs were segregated by gender and the CCAC had been integrated by gender since its inception. Comparing these groups, however, provides an excellent example of the similarities and differences between these clubs in practice.

Chicago's Women's City Club was founded in 1910 and would have a much larger membership than the CCAC (not surprising, given the population disparity between Pittsburgh and Chicago). The WCC investigated problems much like the "friendly visitor" of the COS. The women themselves were the investigators, actively

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<sup>70</sup> John N. Ingham, *The Iron Barons: A Social Analysis of an American Urban Elite, 1874-1965* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978) 117-127

observing the problems of the city from poor housing and sanitation, as well as compiling statistics about Chicago children. Flanagan attributed that to a different view of the city, one of municipal housekeeping, “imagining the city as a shared home [which] gave women a metaphor through which to articulate and establish a different and rather more comprehensive set of priorities for city government than the men of the time were prepared to imagine.”<sup>71</sup> The city became the collective home of women and their actions as women were to improve the collective home for all inside it, therefore all residents.

The men, however, saw things differently. For Flanagan, business interests drove the men’s City Club of Chicago. They hired professionals to investigate the problems and then decide based on their findings. The reforms they enacted did not consider the welfare of the city and all its residents, but rather the welfare of business.<sup>72</sup> In terms of housing reform, women were stymied because they could not compel men to enact tougher housing laws because doing so would infringe on business. The women would try to promote substantial welfare improvements by presenting their findings, but to no avail. For Flanagan, garbage collection, smoke abatement, and other reforms follow the same pattern where women’s ideas for reform were not the same as men’s ideas because women worked for a common welfare, whereas men worked for their business interests.<sup>73</sup>

The CCAC, the Women’s City Club, and the City Club of Chicago were part of a movement of clubs, a national movement where members gathered to improve the lot of their city, from children and sanitation issues to more basic issues such as problems of government. The mission statements of each of the clubs promoted. The CCAC had a very simple statement: “a higher public spirit and a better social order.” The Women’s

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<sup>71</sup> Flanagan, *Seeing with their Hearts*, 86

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, 85-89.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, 91-96; 199.

City Club wanted to improve the city and create a social awareness to make the city the home for all. The City Club distinctly promoted independent and non-partisan solutions to the city's problems. They all believed that they were aware of the problems of the city and were acting in the broad public interest. The City Club of Chicago was, like the CCAC, a member of the National Municipal League, and was the host of the annual convention when it was held in Pittsburgh in 1904.<sup>74</sup> These clubs were linked by the national movement and they interacted with each other, sharing ideas.

The mixed-gender CCAC, however, was much different from the all-male City Club of Chicago and the all-female Women's City Club of Chicago. With little interaction between the two Chicago clubs it would be easy to see that different organizations came to different conclusions, and Flanagan's hypothesis of a gender-based reason for such a difference is plausible. Yet the situation with the CCAC was far different. Prior to the creation of the CCAC, the Women's Health Protective Association (also known as the Health Protective Association of Allegheny County) had one man, William Kennedy, on its membership lists since its inception in 1890. By 1895, the Association had many men helping that organization including the first CCAC president, John Brashear.<sup>75</sup> Since the Health Protective Association merged into the CCAC, the men and women of these organizations were well aware and used to interaction between men and women before the CCAC ever existed, making the CCAC a continuation of cooperation between these club men and women.

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<sup>74</sup> "Program for the Fourteenth Meeting of the National Municipal Club and the Sixteenth National Conference for Good City Government & the Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Civic Association Pittsburgh: Pennsylvania November 16, 17, 18, and 19, 1908," Box 31, AIS.

<sup>75</sup> "Health Protective Assoc. of Allegheny County" Organization of Civic Club and List of Founding Members, 1895, Box #28, Folder #2. This is a list typed after the Health Protective Association was merged in the CCAC. I have not been able to give further substantiation that William Kennedy was a member of the Health Protective Association as newspapers and other publications merely call the Health Protective Association as simply "Women's"

Inviting men to join the CCAC was also a pragmatic endeavor, as a mixed-gender organization would help quicken their reforms, doubling their efforts. Founder and one-time club president Kate C. McKnight saw the practical application in allowing men into the club: “Men are necessary if we are to influence government. The men will provide the experience for the new club and women the enthusiasm.”<sup>76</sup> McKnight’s reasoning was simple: women typically had the desire to seek civic reform and men possessed the political and logistical knowledge to accomplish it. Women could not vote and, according to the pamphlet given to the Twentieth Century Club, women should not antagonize government. It was the everyday experiences of men in business and government which would allow the CCAC to use the political system to the organization’s advantage. In fact one member, William Kennedy, was in city government as the reformist mayor of Allegheny before joining the CCAC. There was no fear of men treading onto their ground; rather men would help in their overall goal of civic improvement. Many of these men and women also participated in clubs that were separated by gender: men in the CCAC would also belong to the Chamber of Commerce and the Civic Commission and women would look to women’s organization and clubs. Kate Cassatt McKnight was, typically, the most notable of the women in different clubs. She created a Civic Commission of the Western District of the State Federation of Women’s Clubs while she was President of the CCAC.<sup>77</sup>

On the men’s side, Oliver McClintock was also on a long list of other clubs: he was a member of the Chamber of Commerce and was on its board of directors from 1890-1914 and joined the Chamber of Commerce’s Committee on Municipal Affairs

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<sup>76</sup> Draft of speech given by Imogen Brashear Oakley on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Civic Club, Box 28, AIS.

<sup>77</sup> Unknown Newspaper, Box 28, Folder 7, AIS.

in 1892, becoming its chairman from 1907-1908 on top of his involvement from the Civic Club, which he was president from 1911-1915. He was a member of the American Civic Association and the National Municipal League. McClintock was a member of numerous organizations like Kate Cassatt McKnight. He was a virulent opponent of the Magee-Flinn political machine in Pittsburgh, organizing a reform organization in 1895 to elect reform candidates to city offices (the attempt failed). His biography noted that McClintock found partisan politics distasteful and that his strong, but failed, attempt to elect reform candidates was successful in, “awakening and educating public sentiment to a realization that city government should be conducted on business principles only, divorced from the ruinous partisanship of national politics.” His reform pursuits were concomitant to those of the women in the CCAC. If reformers controlled the city government, it would make the reforms suggested by the CCAC easier to implement. It was a unity of purpose for both men and women to join the CCAC, a place where they could share reform ideas and gain mutual support for their action. The Women’s City Club and the City Club of Chicago, by contrast, were separate from one another, competing with one another for the reform agenda where, in Pittsburgh, the CCAC was a place to promote a similar agenda. However, the question remained, who would be in control of that agenda?<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> John W. Jordan, *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania: Biography*, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company) 311-314. A graduate of Yale, Oliver McClintock owned a successful carpet and interior design business in Pittsburgh, a one-time president of the Pittsburgh YMCA, elder of the Second Presbyterian Church, trustee of the Western Theological Seminary, co-founder of Shady Side Academy, the director of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, and was a member of the infamous South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club, as well as being a member of the CCAC. Jordan stated that. “Oliver McClintock belongs to that class of men who wield a power which is all the more potent from the fact that it is moral rather than political and is exercised for the public weal rather than for personal or partisan reason.”; Jordan, *Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania* 312.

The multiple reform agendas of the CCAC meant that the CCAC would also look at reforming city government. The desire to reform civic government was one of the hallmarks of the Progressive Era. City government at the turn of the century was highly local, relying on local politicians controlling individual wards. Schools were also controlled on the ward level. This system made politicians focus on the lowest level and therefore politics could be easily controlled by an organized group, called a political “machine.” Political machines controlled the city by controlling local votes and appointed men loyal to machine leaders in key appointments to perpetuate the machine. The machine would “pander” to the lower classes to secure votes at the ward and the mayoral level. In return for votes, the local ward politician would be able to provide for the ward by granting favors. The power of the political machine was not only in its control of votes in wards but in the power to disburse city funds to machine-friendly businessmen and supporters. Machine politicians would award machine-backed business with city contracts and not to the lowest bidder. Businesses backed by the machine were not always moral entities, as saloons and brothels were open and could operate without much fear of the police. In essence, city government was the key issue for Progressive reformers, men and women alike. A government without corruption could work for tenement reform, a citywide water system, smoke abatement, create playgrounds and unify the school system, establish child labor laws, create hospitals, and create efficient government, free from corruption.<sup>79</sup>

During the early years of the Civic Club, the Republican Magee-Flinn machine dominated Pittsburgh politics. Muckraker Lincoln Steffens wrote much on Pittsburgh

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<sup>79</sup> Hays, “The Changing Political Structure of the City” 245-246; Robert K. Merton, “Latent Function of the Machine,” in *American Urban History: An Interpretive Reader with Commentaries*, ed. Alexander B. Callow, Jr., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 181-189.

during the early part of the twentieth century. As a typical muckraker, he wrote scathing tracts on Pittsburgh's municipal government. Steffens was not an objective observer, nor did he believe he was one; his agenda was to travel across the country exposing corruption in the governments of the country's major cities. By 1903 he reported on the Pittsburgh and the Magee-Flinn machine, detailing the problems of the city in a sensationalist manner, showing that the city had serious problems with a functional strong machine where Magee would control the political aspect of the machine by getting politicians loyal to him elected at the ward level while Flinn would control the business aspects of the machine. They would collect money from graft. It was a powerful force of the 1880s and the 1890s. Steffens was amazed at how organized and how powerful the machine was in Pittsburgh: "I know of nothing like it in any other city. Tammany in comparison is a plaything..."<sup>80</sup>

The CCAC detested the machine. Politically, CCAC members Oliver McClintock and George Guthrie (who ran for Mayor in 1896, was later elected Mayor in 1907, and was critical annexing Allegheny City to Pittsburgh), were shown as the sympathetic martyrs by Steffens, waging an almost impossible battle against the machine. Steffens wrote of McClintock: "This single citizen's long, brave fight is one of the finest stories in the history of municipal government. The frowns and warnings of cowardly fellow-citizens did not move him, nor the boycott of other business men, the threats of the ring, and the ridicule of ring organs." Those advocating for governmental reform always stated that they were doing it for the citizens. They employed the language of selflessness, claiming to be acting for the pure benefit of the city while the machine politicians were motivated by their own greed as were many businessmen who, "cares no

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<sup>80</sup> Lincoln Steffens, "Pittsburgh: A City Ashamed," *McClure's Magazine* (May, 1903), 32.

more for his city's interest than the politician does." The hope of many in the CCAC was that city residents simply needed awareness of the problems of city government. If only they were made aware, then they would join the reform cause: "Because the goals of reform were good, its causes were obvious; rather than being the product of particular people and particular ideas in particular situations, they were deeply imbedded in the universal impulses and truths of 'progress.'"<sup>81</sup> It was a belief that would continue through the 1920s.

In a historical sense, the language of the muckrakers muddled the reality of machine politics. The debates over the effectiveness of machine politicians and their opponents have been an issue for historians for many years. Early historians of the era, the Progressive historians, focused on the corruption of the machine and believed that the reformers successfully fought political machines in the cities.<sup>82</sup> By the 1960s, the historical view of the political machine government began to change. Certainly there were problems of corruption and graft, but for the machine to remain in power, they needed votes at the local level, which meant that often the machine would offer favors to those in the working class in exchange for their votes. Those in the upper classes, as they moved away from the city center, felt a need to reform the interior of the city, an impulse Samuel Hays termed as "centralizing." Changing government, limiting the number of people on the city council, making elections citywide in scope instead of at the local ward level, provided the upper classes with the ability to control the city government and to eliminate the power of political machines. What the CCAC, along with other civic

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<sup>81</sup> Hays, "The Politics of Reform," 157.

<sup>82</sup> Alexander B. Callow, Jr, "The City in Politics," in *American Urban History: An Interpretive Reader with Commentaries*, ed. Alexander B. Callow, Jr., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 173-180.

reform clubs of Pittsburgh, would propose would alter city and school government, creating a more centralized government and a more centralized school system.<sup>83</sup>

The reforms of the CCAC, such as housing and environmental reform, have been discussed in terms of gender and intellectual differences. The role of religious beliefs and the influence of ministers on civic-minded individuals and the CCAC was another crucial factor. Religious support for the reforms advocated by the CCAC carried even more weight, but also it shows that many CCAC members and similar-minded individuals believed fully in their actions that it permeated through their social lives and that their reforms were also influenced by their religious convictions.

The Pittsburgh area was always known as a Scots-Irish Presbyterian area. Particularly, Presbyterianism was thought to reign among the Pittsburgh elite. Yet, beginning in the 1880s and 1890s, the Episcopal Church grew in popularity among the elite, particularly the Calvary Episcopal Church in the upscale Shadyside neighborhood. The reform impulse that prevailed in the minds parish members was fostered by the Reverend George Hodges, who served the parish as Assistant Minister from 1881-1889 and was rector from 1889-1894. Hodges had a hold on the laity of the church, a church that was growing increasingly powerful as elites of the city moved further towards Episcopalianism away from the dominant, Scots-Irish Presbyterianism. For the families that were present at the founding of Pittsburgh, there was an increase in the number of converts to Episcopalianism. Twenty-seven percent of those were listed as Episcopal; an increase from fourteen percent in 1820, only for years after the incorporation of Pittsburgh. For instance, one CCAC member, H. D. W. English, son of a Baptist

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<sup>83</sup> Hays, "The Politics of Reform," 162-165; John N. Ingham, *Making Iron and Steel: Independent Mills in Pittsburgh, 1820-1920*, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1989) 176.

minister, became a member of Calvary Episcopal Church. Yet, one did not need to be a member of Calvary to know the sermons of Hodges. His sermons would be printed in the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* and also gathered into volumes. They would be disseminated throughout the city. In Pittsburgh, Hodges was able to link Christian theology with civic reform emerging in the Pittsburgh elite.<sup>84</sup>

As rector, Hodges grew more enamored with Social Gospel writings of Charles Kingsley and Frederick Dennison Maurice. His sermons not only addressed the purely spiritual needs of his congregation but also began to criticize the problems of the city, especially problems in city government. In one sermon, Hodges used a passage from 2 Samuel 23: 11-12 to allude to civic betterment stating: “What is the purpose of a city? It is to provide opportunity and protection and the accompaniments of decent living for its citizens...The only rightful occupation for the administrator of a city is to further in all kinds of ways the well-being of the people.” The sermon’s political undertones were so widespread that a person listening to him said that he expected to hear a Christian sermon, not a political message.<sup>85</sup> However, many took his message to heart. George Guthrie, elected mayor in 1907, was a member of the church and was supported by those in the CCAC and other civic reformers as the “reform mayor” of Pittsburgh. The people of the church agitated city politicians so much to the point that they were known by some politicians as “The damned Calvary crowd.”<sup>86</sup>

Hodges did not limit himself to preaching; in fact, the lasting legacy of George Hodges was his establishment of the first settlement house in Pittsburgh, the Charles

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<sup>84</sup> Joseph Rishel, *Founding Families of Pittsburgh: The Evolution of a Regional Elite, 1760-1910*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), 167-170; Ingham, *Making Iron and Steel*. 173.

<sup>85</sup> Julia Shelly Hodges, *George Hodges: A Biography*, (New York: The Century Co. 1926), 96-98.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 99.

Kingsley House. After studying and witnessing the work of settlement homes in the United Kingdom and in the United States, he called together clergy from other denominations as well as laity from his church and began to organize a settlement house. He recruited a student of Jane Addams, Kate C. Everest, as the head of the house. According to Hodges, the settlement house had two purposes, “for study and for work.” They were to move into the neighborhood, inquire to each individual family’s situation to study the neighborhood surrounding them. On top of that, they were to make the settlement house a social center with clubs, a library, recreational opportunities and playgrounds.<sup>87</sup> Hodges would not reside in Pittsburgh long enough to see his Kingsley House succeed. In 1894, Hodges left Calvary to become the head of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Yet his influence was felt on the men and women who were listened to the message Hodges preached and fostered a religious component to reform in Pittsburgh.

The CCAC was a secular organization. There is little to no mention of religion in any of the CCAC’s publications and in their reforms; their publications and propaganda centered on the idea of the city and public welfare. Religion did, however help to play a part of civic reform, especially when motivated clergy were involved. The Social Gospel theological basis was supported in the writings of Walter Rauschenbusch, yet its application occurred in the cities though settlement houses largely run by women, the most famous being Hull House in Chicago. In Pittsburgh, through the dissemination of Rev. Hodges, Social Gospel became important to the men as well as women, not only in thought, but in action. It was through the actions of Hodges and through prominent men of Calvary Episcopal Church such as George Guthrie and CCAC member H. D. W.

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid. 108.

English, who took particular interest in the Kingsley Settlement House. These were elite men who were interested in progressive reform and they were involved in reforms, either through the settlement house, the CCAC, or both. The preaching of Rev. Hodges bordered on the political and these men saw that their religious leader gave them religious backing with their political beliefs. Many members of the CCAC, both men and women had similar beliefs in the Social Gospel. Religion was but another way that civic reformers, such as those in the CCAC, supported their effort, giving them not only political and intellectual support, but also a spiritual one as well.

The lasting legacy of the COS, day nurseries, and social surveys such as the *Pittsburgh Survey* was that from investigations they opened the homes of the poor and working class to the public. The “friendly visitor” was, in normal circumstances, observant to situations around her, and noted the problems of the individual household. Day nurseries intended to give a “boost” to children of households whose mothers needed time for them (mostly to work to provide for her household). Through these institutions, the home was now under the surveillance of a public organization, an impersonal place put under the scrutiny of a knowledgeable bureaucracy. The problem now became how to determine who was knowledgeable and able, especially if problems of the home now became important to the public. Robyn Muncy, in her study of the rise of women professionals in welfare, shows a gradual shift from a group of women investigating local communities from settlement houses to a growing world of female professionals. She states that professionalism affected women’s reform movements and inevitably created a conflict between the older works of the voluntary associations with the newer professionals who believed that the knowledge of the professional was superior.

Yet as Pittsburgh historian Maurine Weiner Greenwald points out, women were quickly replaced by men in leadership positions in the settlement homes. According to her research, forty-one percent of leadership positions were held by women in 1897. Thirty years later, the percentage of women in leadership positions dwindled to only four percent.. The Irene Kaufmann Settlement, established by the Council of Jewish Women, had about three-fourths of the leadership positions run by women, the first year where leadership positions were elected. By 1918, twenty-two percent of women remained in leadership positions. As Greenwald points out, it appears that these settlement homes were not providing other women with the professional experience that has been given at Hull House in Chicago. For women to retain leadership positions they would need to have professional experience<sup>88</sup>

The women of the CCAC relied upon, professionals and what they could accomplish. As was stated before, Kate McKnight was supportive of the Pittsburgh *Survey* and was its primary backer in the CCAC. The CCAC were also supporters of the Associated Charities, Pittsburgh's COS. They created a day nursery and staffed it with professionals. They were not worried about professionals or the rise in professionalism because they had always believed that certain people were better able to enact reforms than others. That belief in the professional was why playgrounds were staffed, why women should be on school boards, why the "friendly visitor" of the Associated Charities: because they were better suited for the tasks they undertook. It was a sentiment continued throughout the 1920s. Those who were best suited for the tasks performed them.

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<sup>88</sup> Maureen Weiner Greenwald, "Women and Class," *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989) 56-58.

Beginning with the Pittsburgh *Survey* the CCAC began to rely on the idea that professionals were best able to conduct many of the investigations and that their findings and opinions should be consulted. In doing so, they became a part of the growing trend in civic reform. It appears from the record that women, as well as men, welcomed the new influence of these individuals who were both men and women. By 1920, the reform impulse in America was waning with the end of World War I and the election of Warren G. Harding to the Presidency. The CCAC continued on its track of civic reform, yet what was considered civic reform shifted. Plus, a new generation of reformers entered the Club, with different experiences. This shift cannot be seen as immediate and clean, but it demonstrated the growing role of professionals in the CCAC, and the 1920s would see this trend continue.

### Chapter 3: New Ideas: The CCAC in the 1920s.

The CCAC, in its early existence, had previously been considered by those on the outside as a women's organization, even though the membership ratio between men and women were fairly even. By the 1920s, that was no longer the case. The CCAC became a club whose membership was primarily professional men. The men who were prominent in the CCAC in 1895 were reform-minded in the same sense that the women were; by the 1920s, the goals of the organization itself had shifted to those which concerned the professional man focusing on the workings of the municipal city, employing primarily male experts. Yet, while the group's membership and goals had clearly evolved over time, it is important not to overstate the transformation: even when the CCAC had a more feminine leadership, they employed male experts for studies such as the Pittsburgh *Survey*, and their approach to the city could be quite technical. During the 1920s the CCAC changed the emphasis of the club without making a radical breach with its past. It did not abruptly end the reforms and committees that were dominated by women, such as the Open Air School, the Public Baths, and the Day Nursery. It did, however, open the CCAC to new initiatives, initiatives which needed professional support not only in research but in implementation, fitting the demographic of the new and growing membership.

The CCAC published a list of the occupations of current members in a 1926 publication. Membership in 1926 totaled 1,078 members. The profession most highly represented was attorneys; 112 attorneys in the group comprised more than ten percent of the membership. Those whose occupations were listed as iron and steel numbered 80. 53 CCAC members were in manufacturing, 48 were retired, 47 were in insurance, 47

worked in banks, 43 were in real estate, 40 were physicians, 38 were engineers, 31 were in bonds, 30 were in higher education, and 28 were in elementary and secondary education. Physicians, attorneys, engineers, and educators, through their occupations, were a part of the professionalization of the club. In addition, secretaries and social workers were also listed under one combined heading, and their occupations needed some sort of education (more so social workers than secretaries).<sup>89</sup> These numbers were larger than in the past as the CCAC radically changed its membership procedures, allowing full access to the club to anybody, provided they paid their dues. It was in stark contrast to the previous method of the group inviting new members. Many of these new individuals worked in occupations which required professional training or which professed the business ethos of economy and efficiency. No longer was it the club of active society women, who used their associations with men to advance their programs. It had become a club of professionals and educated businessmen. The change was not a complete overhaul of club membership, but it dictated the future projects of the club.

Although the CCAC would see changes in future projects, the CCAC still valued its role in education reform and this remained a priority for the club. Historically the CCAC accomplished education reform through its agitation for improved playgrounds, promoting women school directors, and starting an Open Air School for children with lung ailments such as tuberculosis. Beginning in the 1920s, the CCAC began to shift the educational focus of the club. One new education reform sweeping across the nation was the endorsement of citizenship education in the school, now under a unified school board. The teaching of citizenship underwent a dramatic change since the late nineteenth century. The concept of citizenship now was presented to younger children, so as to be

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<sup>89</sup>*Annals of the Civic Club of Allegheny County Vol. 3, 1923-33, Box 28, AIS. .*

available even to those who would not graduate high school. By presenting citizenship earlier, it could apply to more people and have a greater effect on society. To make the shift possible, however, citizenship needed to be framed in such a way as to make it apply to children incapable of voting. According to Julie A. Reuben, the idea of citizenship in America originally was restricted to those who qualified for elective franchise. However, by the twentieth century the concept of a “citizen” opened, including everybody who resided in a particular area, not only those who could vote by lessening the importance of being a citizen: “Citizenship no longer required independence, but it also no longer entailed political rights. All could be citizens; only some would fulfill their citizenship responsibilities in the public sphere.”<sup>90</sup> Therefore, the citizenry could include African Americans who were effectively disfranchised through voting restrictions, women, and children. Because citizenship moved away from being an exclusively political definition, it became a vehicle to impose a broader morality onto those who were now citizens. A proper citizen was a moral citizen, aware of the community “welfare,” leading this form of citizenship to be called “community citizenship.”<sup>91</sup>

This new definition of citizenship appealed to the CCAC. It educated youth and made them aware of their civic responsibilities. A common complaint by the CCAC about the residents of Pittsburgh was that they did not exhibit a proper public spirit. The CCAC geared citizenship education at high school level, instead of at the elementary school level, because the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania had mandated this form of education in the elementary schools statewide, emphasizing that proper actions were the

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<sup>90</sup> Julie A. Reuben, “Beyond Politics: Community Civics and the Redefinition of Citizenship in the Progressive Era,” *History of Education Quarterly* 37 No. 4 (1997) 410.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* 399-420.

backbone of good citizenship, not politics.<sup>92</sup> The CCAC's goal was to give children, as they grew older, a place to apply their citizenship that would benefit their schools and surrounding community. These efforts coalesced into the Junior Civic Club. Started in 1921, the Junior Civic Clubs were organized in Pittsburgh high schools. In the first five years of the CCAC, the Club attempted to organize civic clubs for young adults with the Young Men's Civic Club of Allegheny (City) and the Young Men's Civic Club of Lawrenceville. Both of these clubs were popular at first, but the club in Lawrenceville quickly declined.<sup>93</sup> The difference between those clubs and the Junior Civic Clubs was their administration. The Allegheny City and Lawrenceville clubs were run under the direct control of the CCAC. With the Junior Civic Club, however, the CCAC would help to start it but would not dictate the actions of the individual clubs. In fact, as the high school administration began to appoint extra-curricular directors, the CCAC withdrew any support from the Junior Civic Clubs by 1927. Whatever the clubs wanted to accomplish would be between them and their club administrator, a teacher at the high school.<sup>94</sup>

The changing idea of citizenship does not, in itself, show any difference in how the CCAC approached women. However, this program shifted the activity of the CCAC from an active to a passive role in youth development. Previously, with the Open Air School, the playground, and the Day Nursery, the CCAC had been focused on actively engaging young children and in their development. By shifting to high school students

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid. 41-45.

<sup>93</sup> The CCAC's own historical account, "Fifty Years of Civic History: 1895-1945" stated that the Young Men's Civic Club of Allegheny was still in existence in 1945. No information about that organization, except for the first years of its existence are available in the CCAC's archives, making it impossible to know how this organization evolved during the time the parent organization evolved.

<sup>94</sup> The Civic Club of Allegheny County, "Fifty Years of Civic History: 1895-1945", 39.

and using a “hands off” approach, the CCAC believed that they gave guidance to those children, but did not actively develop children themselves, leaving that to the educators. Since women were often considered the educators of the youth, primarily young children, the Junior Civic Club shows a change of emphasis. Not only were Junior Civic Clubs part of the schools, the high school teacher would be one who organized the Junior Civic Club, thereby the CCAC itself would, by design, have little to do with the operations of individual Junior Civic Clubs. In the previous youth-centered projects, the women of the CCAC would organize, supervise, and generally take active roles in their projects. Now the CCAC was distant from the youth, generally supportive, but removed from active participation.

What the Junior Civic Club illustrated was one of the many shifts during the 1920s that moved the CCAC away from a club of active, wealthy women and men to a club that relied on the advice of professionals. The CCAC’s 1927 list of its key projects clearly illustrates its professional shift. In the June, 1927 pamphlet distributed to club members, the CCAC published a list of twelve projects that the club wished to achieve in descending order: major thoroughfares, districting and zoning, recreation, legislature, scholarships, library appointment, Open Air Schools, the Junior Civic Club, Soho Baths, smoke abatement, public comfort stations, and additional activities. Health and sanitation projects appeared lower on the project lists. The focus on children moved to adolescents and future college students; Junior Civic Clubs were organized on the high school level and scholarships were organized through the Exceptionally Able Youth Program. On the top of the list were major thoroughfares and districting, projects which required the expertise of city planners and civil engineers to investigate traffic flows and to make

recommendations for locating residences, commercial buildings, and industry. Thus these future projects required professionals to advise and enact changes, where previously CCAC members organized projects and carried them out personally. By the mid-1920s, the CCAC now initiated projects that not only infused professionals in their implementation, but that were impossible without them.

Since reliance on professionals required the use of educated individuals, and most educational opportunities were open primarily to men, men became more prominent in the CCAC. By the mid-1920s, they would also hold the majority of committee positions in the club. The club had 16 committees organized for 1925-1926, totaling 176 persons. Out of the 176 committee members, 102 of the were men and 74 women; creating a ratio slightly less than 3:2. However, when broken down to each individual committee, it shows that women still had a strong presence in nine of the sixteen committees and were in complete control of three committees, had a majority in two, and were a substantial minority in four committees. The committees concerning state and national affairs, smoke, public libraries, municipal music, municipal affairs, the Exceptionally Able Youth Program, and budget and finance were controlled primarily or exclusively by men. The committees that were controlled by women were the two bath house committees, day care, the Open Air School, and a committee titled, "Special Service."<sup>95</sup> This could be interpreted as an indication that women were marginalized in the organization. Even though women were still active in projects centered on children and health, their projects and committees were not as important to the majority of the CCAC and those which

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid; The Exceptionally Able Youth Program was initiated by the CCAC to have graduating high school seniors, in Pittsburgh, selected by achievement, to take an exam. The CCAC would then actively seek scholarships for the highest-scoring test takers. Records indicate that 1,736 awards were made between 1929 and 1945 out of 8,808 participants CCAC "Fifty Years of Civic History," 35-36.

promoted projects that required professional men. However, women were not excluded from the professional ranks. The Associated Charities, the Pittsburgh version of the COS, required training for the women who were “friendly visitors” as well as the organization of the day nursery which also required women of a “professional nature”.<sup>96</sup> If these professional men indeed felt that women should defer to their expertise, then why did they not see public baths and the Open Air School as needing their expertise? If these professionals were imposing themselves on the club, they would not allow a fairly large portion of that club to act in such a way that hindered the club’s efficiency. The answer is that the CCAC still held to the idea that men and women were better in different areas. That same belief permeated to professionals who were perceived better equipped to devise and carry out certain projects because of their education. Professionals were not imposing themselves on the club; they were a part of the club. They helped to influence future projects, but did not expect deference from club members in all areas. Men became more prominent because of professionalization, and controlled more committees, but their expertise was not all-encompassing, and therefore did not challenge women and their role in the CCAC.

One woman who was still very active from the beginnings of the club into the 1920s was Lucy Dorsey Iams. Iams was originally from Greene County, Pennsylvania. She was involved with her husband’s legal practice, becoming his personal secretary and becoming a court stenographer. As he participated in Democratic Party politics, so too was she exposed to politics, not passively, but as an active member. She became involved with several clubs: over fifteen were listed in a memorial, published for her memorial service. She was a definition of an energetic, active woman who joined many

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<sup>96</sup> Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion*, 66-69.

clubs and organizations to shape her community before she could legally do so at the ballot box.<sup>97</sup>

In 1911, Iams was involved in a controversy about the role of women on the new Pittsburgh School Board. By act of the State Legislature, the ward schools of Pittsburgh were merged from their individual wards into a single board. In the act, the board was not elected popularly, but was appointed by judges of the Court of Common Pleas. The CCAC had initially made the election of women to the old ward school board system one of its reform goals. One of the club members, Kate Cassatt McKnight, was elected to the school board at her ward in Allegheny City. Now, in 1911, reformers petitioned the judges for an appointment of at least six women to the thirteen-member school board. Their argument was based not on the idea that it was unjust to exclude women from the school board, but that women had special knowledge in child rearing and education; they were experts in child education and therefore needed representation on the school board.

Their petition stated:

Many of the weaknesses and evils of the old school system, from the absence of competent and public-spirited women on the board, and as the intelligent and progressive public sentiment of this city calls for a substantial representation of efficient and devoted women on the appointive board, in order that their influence and aid may be taken advantage of.

The CCAC consented and approved of the petition, continuing their position from their earlier efforts placing women on school boards. Along with the CCAC, other organizations supported this petition such as the Allegheny County Bar Association and the Pittsburgh Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Oliver McClintock also supported the petition. Lucy Iams was considered one of the prime candidates to fill

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<sup>97</sup> Lubove, "Pittsburgh Social and Welfare History," 304.

one of these spots with her massive amount of experience being on various club boards and having first-hand knowledge of working and debating in a setting similar to that of a city-wide school board.<sup>98</sup>

Iams' reaction, however, was different from what one would expect. She was not enthralled with this idea on two levels. First, she saw a problem on a political level, believing that the school board needed to be an elected school board, not an appointed one. Second, she believed that it would not be possible to find many women with the experience to successfully run a school board. She explained her objections in an interview with the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*,

'I believe,' says Mrs. Iams, 'that this is too many to ask for, and that we might get three or four.' Mrs. Iams declared that she had not heard herself mentioned as an applicant and added: 'To tell the truth I believe that it would be very hard to find six women in Pittsburg who would be capable of filling such a position. The board will handle hundreds of thousands of dollars, will employ teachers, select text books, let contracts for building and many other things which require thorough business knowledge for which few women comparatively are fitted by training or occupation. Besides, the position has no salary attached and will take a great amount of time.'<sup>99</sup>

For Iams, women may have had great experience in rearing and formulating children. Yet school board members need to know more than just child rearing. They will be called upon to handle finances, organization, and the hiring and firing of personnel. Few women, in her opinion, actually had the amount of knowledge and experience of the "business" side of running schools. She therefore is also making an argument about experts, specifically, that many women did not possess the business knowledge required of a school board member.

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<sup>98</sup> "Want Six Women Placed on City School Board" *Pittsburg Press*, 10 October, 1911.

<sup>99</sup> "Few Women are Fitted For School Board Positions," *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, 9 October, 1911.

Since, as the previous chapters explored, there were women, in fact, whose work in women's clubs did provide them substantial experience in these fields, Iams' claim may not have been accurate. Yet there might be a more political reason for Iams' statement. Actively working in and among those in the Democratic Party, she would have been exposed to the ideas of the party. Her second comment was directly from the ideas of the Democratic Party. Though the club prided itself on being non-partisan, one of its key members was making a partisan statement, against the stated position of the CCAC (not only did the CCAC advocate for women school directors, they also advocated for an appointed board). Lucy Dorsey Iams gave her opinion, even if it did not fit into modern conceptions of what a woman in her position would want for her fellow women. Expertise in a specific field was the key component in selecting a person for a position. While others in her club wanted six to seven on the school board, she believed that there were only three to four who were even qualified for the position.<sup>100</sup>

Iams' strong political background gave her an advantage over other women. In 1921, just after women nationally received the right to vote, Lucy Dorsey Iams was a candidate for one of the nine positions on the Pittsburgh City Council. The campaign material spoke of her competency to hold elective office, speaking of her experience in accomplishing goals as well as her "brains." Her election committee consisted of fellow members of the CCAC, who could speak to her competency; she was elected as a vice-president of the CCAC multiple times and had served as its interim president following the death of Oliver McClintock in 1914 (Kate Cassatt McKnight was the only other woman to hold that position). Being a female candidate was a departure in Pittsburgh

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<sup>100</sup> Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, 9 October, 1911; CCAC "Fifty Years of Civic History" 32.

politics, yet both the men and women of the CCAC believed that she had the experience to be a City Council member, and supported her by being on her election committee.<sup>101</sup>

Unfortunately for Iams, Pittsburgh was a strongly Republican town. Her nomination as a Democratic candidate almost assured her defeat. When the election results came in, the Republicans had won a resounding majority. Initial returns had all Republicans over 20,000 votes each. The Democratic tally was far lower with the highest polling Democrat, Francis S. Guthrie (Civic Club member and nephew of former mayor George Guthrie) polling 5,000 votes. However, Iams was the second highest, polling over 3,600 votes.<sup>102</sup> Her attempt for a City Council seat ended in failure, but given the politics of the time and place, it is not hard to understand why she did not win. Locally, except for a couple years, the Republican Party dominated Pittsburgh politics. The Magee-Flinn machine was a strong Republican political machine prior to the council's reorganization and still was a powerful force in the city. It would have taken a large, popular uprising to unseat the Republicans as George Guthrie had done when he ran for mayor in 1907. That did not occur. The post-war sentiment for reform was on the wane. The people of Pittsburgh remained content with the Republican-dominated city council.<sup>103</sup>

Lucy Iams' political skill is best exemplified by her effort, together with other members of the CCAC, to debate Pittsburgh's Civil Service Commission about a proposed amendment to the Civil Service that would allow for more control of placement

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<sup>101</sup> "Lucy Dorsey Iams" Election Pamphlet, Box 15 AIS.

<sup>102</sup> The newspaper totals were, however, conflicted. Some stated that Lucy Iams had a total of 12,500 votes, however, the proportion between her and the Republican winners remained constant. "GOP Sweeps Field in City and County; Light Vote is Polled," *Pittsburgh Gazette-Times*, 9 November, 1921; "Republican Make Sweep Here; Bond Issue is Swamped," *Pittsburgh Press*, 9 November, 1921.

<sup>103</sup> Zahniser, *Steel City Gospel*, 100-101.

of employees in the civil service by the mayor. This horrified CCAC members because it looked like the city would regress to the Magee-Flinn years and reestablish machine politics. Lucy Iams, while debating the ideas of the proposed amendments, argued thoroughly her position against the Civil Service Committee Chairman. Her ability to debate in a hotly political setting showed that she was a person who could hold her own against anybody in the political realm. Lucy Iams was also CCAC's link with the State Legislature in Harrisburg, giving a detailed report to the *Civic Club Voice* in March, 1923. She detailed bills in the legislature and advocated to those to take control of the legislature through their actions: "How do we get Bills through the Legislature... We get them by telling them often, telling them early, telling them late. Not only our Legislators at home, but our Legislators elsewhere. And you may rest assured that that is the only way that such bills... will get through the legislature."<sup>104</sup>

The women of the club seemed to generally support the new shift of the CCAC. The story of Lucy Dorsey Iams is quite an example of a powerful and driven woman of the club as the club moved from a female to a male-oriented club. She was a powerful, tough woman who could actively hold her own among politicians and businessmen. Her association and work with her husband, who was an active participant in the Democratic Party, gave her political insight unlike any other woman in the club. With her death in 1924, many of those in Pittsburgh clubs and in government honored her with a memorial service in the city council chambers. Her life serves as a reminder that historians cannot treat all women the same when discussing Progressive Era reform because often they create their own opinions, sometimes outside of what we, as historians, believe that they

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<sup>104</sup>Mrs. Franklin P. (Lucy) Iams, "The State Legislative Situation on March 5<sup>th</sup>" *The Civic Club Voice*, March, 1923, 9-13.

would form. Iams, like in her own time, does not fit the mold. While she is not representative of women in the club, she was a club leader almost from the outset of the club's existence. Her opinion was important for all members of the club and was a link to the past. She may have been closer to the original purpose of the club than members who joined recently and provided an outlook of a woman who bridged the different eras of the CCAC from the 1890s to the 1920s.

The thoughts of other women in the club are much harder to find. The archives of the CCAC do not possess enough correspondence between members to gather their reaction to this shift. However, in 1946, the Pittsburgh *Press* wrote an article on the history of the CCAC. For the article the paper interviewed H. Marie Dermitt, the long-time secretary of the club. Her answers demonstrate not only the shift within the club, but the awareness of the change. Her insight possessed the depth and knowledge of a person who participated in the club from its early days through the change to a professional-dominated organization. She saw the movement towards professionals and that the club moved from the civically active person, especially women, to professional men. The article stated, "The Civic Club, which developed out of a group of women organized in 1895 to further health interest, now is composed of a membership two-thirds of which are men trained in professions. Problems of improvement that require technical training for their solution attract these men." This idea was apparent to Dermitt: "The advancement of the machine age and the present system of city government which make civic city problems so technical, partly accounts for the decrease of women membership in the Civic Club of Allegheny County." The writer commented, "Out of the conversation and the reading of the secrets of the archives it had been decided that

today's problems must be solved by specialists and unless women take to professions, as some of them have to politics, city reforms will be out of their hands.”<sup>105</sup>

These statements suggest that members were well aware of the change in the club, as well as the reasons why they existed. The focus of the CCAC shifted from the health reform of the Women's Health Protective Association to other reforms, focusing on the political and municipal affairs of the city. The shift had grown so much that the primary focus of women by 1930 were the Open Air Schools, Soho Day Nursery, the “Special Services” committee and the annual Flower Market; women also served in the Exceptionally Able Youth committee and the Stephen Foster Memorial committee. Dermitt lamented the loss of women, worrying that it showed a lack of civic interest on the part of women as a whole. Dermitt also made a keen observation about the changing structure of Pittsburgh city government. By the time of this article, 1946, Pittsburgh possessed a massive bureaucracy that was extremely difficult for the average person to navigate. Agitating for good government had, in essence, created the mechanism that hindered participation from the average woman. The professional had become the prime exponent for civic reform, especially for the CCAC. Professionals now engaged in reforms, in fields such as transportation and government that required specific knowledge which many women did not possess. Yet many professions were often closed to women, except for those in the social services and education, making it no coincidence that women remained prominent in those fields. Rather, women moved more into supporting roles, maintaining some key functions within the CCAC, but not as they had in previous years.

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<sup>105</sup> “Civic Club Projects Aid Community Life” *Pittsburgh Press*, 19 June, 1946

In the 1920s, the reform impulses that had characterized the Progressive Era waned. Emerging from war mobilization, the United States shifted away from internal reforms and grew to accept business as the new path of the nation. Business-minded Republican presidents held office starting in 1921 and only relinquishing it in 1933. Moods had shifted in the country. Prohibition and the crime surrounding illegal alcohol production forced the nation's cities not to look at reform but rather crime reduction. Women now could vote in national and state elections through a constitutional amendment. They were now part of political scene, yet, seemingly their role in reform, especially in the city, decreased. The ideas that had helped establish many civic reform groups in the United States changed. They either were forced to change along with them, or stop existing as agents of reform.

The CCAC also underwent change. The men and women who were a part of the CCAC from the outset were giving way to a new generation of members, who had different experiences. Many of the initial members, such as Kate Cassatt McKnight, Oliver McClintock, and William Kennedy had died before the 1920s. Only Mary (William) Thaw (Jr.), would live throughout the 1920s, still fulfilling her role as the club treasurer and H. Marie Dermitt, whose service as club secretary lasted well into the 1940s. The death of Lucy Dorsey Iams in 1924 was a large blow for the men and women of the CCAC. With more than twenty years on the Board of Directors, she was the most experienced person in the organization. At her death she was the chairperson of the CCAC's Housing Committee. Following her death, the committee failed to meet and was never reorganized until 1927. No reason was ever given to explain why it took so long to reorganize the Housing Committee; perhaps it had become a low priority to the

CCAC as its activities and membership shifted. Housing reform had traditionally been performed by women through the concept of “municipal housekeeping.” Yet housing became a lower priority of the CCAC. By 1928, the CCAC had finished with housing; it was never a prominent topic again.<sup>106</sup> The club, under the leadership of a new generation (such as Francis Guthrie, nephew of George Guthrie and president of Dollar Bank) moved the club into away from reforming individuals and to streamlining functions of the city and beautification, symbolized by CCAC’s failed attempt to consolidate all boroughs, townships, and municipalities of Allegheny County into Pittsburgh.

One of the problems facing the CCAC was that the death or the retirement of older members revealed a dearth of adequate training and experience in the next generation of women members. The women of the older generation not only were members of upper Pittsburgh society but also were active in organizing and participating in other clubs. They possessed experience of club life and organization, so much so, that many reform-minded men allowed them to conduct club business (the Women’s Health Protective Association is an example of this). The new generation however, did not seem to possess the same qualities of the older group. The classic example given by the historians is that settlement houses such as Hull House gave women the ability to participate and to gain knowledge of reform, especially in the cities.<sup>107</sup> However, in Pittsburgh, neither the Kingsley House nor the Irene Kaufmann Settlement House were centers of training for future reform leaders that Hull House became in Chicago. At the Kingsley House, 15 of the 36 officers that ran the organization were women in 1897. In 1926, that had fallen to 2 women officers out of 52 total elected positions. When the

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<sup>106</sup> *Fifty Years of Civic Club History: 1895-1945.*

<sup>107</sup> Kathryn Kish Sklar, “Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers,” *Signs*, 10 No. 4 (1985), 658-660.

Kingsley House was started, Rev. Hodges hired a woman to lead the house. Women would run the Kingsley House until 1902, when men were chosen to run the organization. The Kaufmann Settlement was similar. In 1906, 28 of the 38 administrative positions were held by women. By 1918, only 4 of the 18 remaining administrative positions were held by women.<sup>108</sup> As men assumed the administrative positions that deprived the next generation of women necessary learning and experience, the next generation of women in the CCAC found themselves unprepared to take over the administration of the CCAC. Women still remained the leaders and dominated the committees of the Soho Baths, the Soho Day Nursery, and the Open Air Schools throughout the 1920s.<sup>109</sup> Men never intruded in these committees, and through the 1920s women remained the leaders and the organizers of these committees.

This shift of professional men on committees, while apparent in 1918, is not as drastic as those that appear in the 1920s. It shows that in the span of only seven years there had been a change in the number of men and women working as committee members. There were a larger number of committees in 1918, 26 in total, compared with 16 in 1925. If the committees were broken down to a ratio, it seems that more women participated in 1925, with 4.9 women per committee to 4.5 women per committee. However, a few considerations must be made. While the number of committees shrank from 26 to 16, the committees with a large number of women such as the Soho Baths and the People's Bath remained intact, and the Soho Day Nursery was created in that time, providing more committee options to women within the Soho Baths. The Education Department, which was present in 1918, was eliminated, along with the roles of the 21

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<sup>108</sup> Greenwald, "Women and Class in Pittsburgh" *City at the Point*, 57-58.

<sup>109</sup> List of Committees: 1929, Box 12, AIS

women committee members. The committees that involved government and municipal organization, while primarily the domain of men, had two women as members of the General Legislative committee and of the Municipal Affairs committee. In 1925, the State and National Affairs committee (which was akin to the General Affairs committee) and the Municipal Affairs committee only had one woman member between the two of them. While the role of women in the Municipal committees was quite small in 1918, by 1925, it was non-existent.<sup>110</sup>

The CCAC was not the same club in 1925 as it had been thirty years earlier. The reforms changed over time, and the CCAC adjusted, not only to the increasing professionalization of the club, but also to different reforms. In *Steel City Gospel*, Keith Zahniser claims that the CCAC was one of two organizations (the men's Voters' League was the other) whose ultimate goal was the defeat of the Magee-Flinn political machine. Even though these organizations approached reform differently (women through environmental and welfare reforms, men with explicitly political reforms) their main goal was the elimination of the Magee-Flinn machine. The CCAC, however, was not explicitly a woman's organization. The women of the Women's Health Protective Association and the Twentieth Century Club knew that they would only go so far in accomplishing their reforms if they did not enlist men to join, which is why Kate Cassatt McKnight saw the practical application to allowing men into the club: "Men are necessary if we are to influence government. The men will provide the experience for the new club and women the enthusiasm."<sup>111</sup> By the 1920s, the drive to end machine politics

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<sup>110</sup> "Committee Records" CCAC Circular, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh; "Board of Directors and Committees Box 12, AIS.

<sup>111</sup> Draft of speech given by Imogen Brashear Oakley on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Civic Club, Box 28, AIS.

was fading and the agitation against the corrupt machine government that had infused many elite Pittsburgh reformers in the 1890s and 1900s had died out. The new city council, although dominated by Republicans, was an at-large council of nine, less able to be perverted through machine political action. The School Board of Pittsburgh was an appointed board by the local judges and out of the hands of politicians that could use the board for political purposes. William Magee, the Republican mayor of Pittsburgh and the nephew of Christopher Magee, the prime target of the CCAC and other elite reform groups of Pittsburgh, had even joined the CCAC.<sup>112</sup>

The women of the CCAC were pleased with the new attack on machine government because it aided them in their pursuit of providing a better environment to the residents of Pittsburgh. Proper government would not have allowed these problems to exist and they not only investigated problems, they lobbied local and state governments for laws. When the Pennsylvanian Legislature passed new laws, the CCAC slowly looked for other problems in the city. What many of the men believed was that Pittsburgh needed better city planning. City planning became more popular in the 1910s and the 1920s because the professional planners would create specific plans for each city that they studied. Civic plans had been popular in the aftermath of the World Columbian Exposition.<sup>113</sup> City planning was seen as logical extension of civic reform. Just as the governmental control of social services, proper planning would provide a more efficient city where traffic congestion was at a minimum, where parks would break up the dirt and grime of the city, and where any expansion was controlled by those knowledgeable in the

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<sup>112</sup> CCAC Circular; John F. Baumann and Edward K. Muller, *Before Renaissance: Planning in Pittsburgh, 1889-1943* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006) 69-86. William Magee was not part of the political machine created by his uncle, Christopher Magee. He was a firm believer in city planning and would be on committees of the CCAC to accomplish city planning goals.

<sup>113</sup> Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 60-61.

area. City Planning was officially a part of Pittsburgh when a planning commission was created by the state legislature in 1911. At the same time, Frederick Law Olmstead Jr. conducted an investigation with the goal of developing a comprehensive plan for the downtown area of the city. In its creation, he developed a plan not just for downtown but for the entirety of the city, focusing on transportation arteries, water, and flood control. Enthusiasm about city planning was at a high during this time, and businessmen and professionals saw a link between civic reform and city planning for, with a city plan, many of the reforms initiated would not be needed.<sup>114</sup>

Probably the most symbolic of the new reforms of the CCAC that brought together professionals in an effort to centralize the city of Pittsburgh was the Metropolitan Plan. The Metropolitan Plan brought together aspects of city planning not only to the city but to the other municipalities of Allegheny. It was an attempt to create efficient city services throughout Allegheny County. It also attempted to bring in many of the suburbs and the industrial cities along the Monongahela under the umbrella of the City of Pittsburgh, instead of just Allegheny County. Businessmen loved the idea of annexation because annexation would give Pittsburgh a higher population and depict Pittsburgh throughout the country as a vibrant, growing metropolis. It would instantly increase the population of Pittsburgh by over 150 percent and give it a higher standing throughout the nation. It was also the ultimate in governmental centralization, for now the governments of the smaller suburban boroughs and municipalities would be encompassed in one overarching, county-wide government.

The CCAC had long been a supporter of annexing neighboring communities into Pittsburgh. In 1907, they supported the annexation of Allegheny City where many

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<sup>114</sup> Bauman and Muller, *Before Renaissance*, 86-87.

CCAC members resided. Annexation mirrors the business world because it is a takeover by a powerful entity over a smaller entity to create an even larger entity that would benefit the larger entity, what is known in the business world as “horizontal integration,” something that Pittsburgh saw with the creation of US Steel.<sup>115</sup> The surrounding areas of Pittsburgh had seen massive industrial growth. For example, Andrew Carnegie had built the Edgar Thomson Works and the Homestead Works, outside of the city. The communities of Braddock and Homestead had grown up around them with many immigrants moving near those plants for work. They fell outside the borders of Pittsburgh, yet these areas were well known not only to the people of Pittsburgh, but to the national audience that attended the presentation of the Pittsburgh Survey. It was the concept called *Greater Pittsburgh*: that all the communities in Allegheny County shared a common identification with Pittsburgh and therefore it was in the best interest of these smaller communities to align them with Pittsburgh politically. This concept would remain popular throughout the 1920s.<sup>116</sup>

The women of the club, at the same time, were going through their own consolidation efforts creating the Associated Charities, centralizing all efforts of charity in Pittsburgh. This connection, however, cannot be emphasized enough because consolidation efforts were important to all members of the CCAC. The members of the club believed that annexation was vital to strengthening the city and surrounding areas, making government more efficient, more workable, and to the benefit of all the surrounding areas. Centralization and consolidation was a crucial policy to both men and women of the CCAC. Supporting efficiency, whether in charity or in government, was a

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<sup>115</sup> Glenn Porter, *The Rise of Big Business, 1860-1920*, (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 2006) 85-93.

<sup>116</sup> Baumann and Muller, *Before Renaissance* 11.

trait of those associated with the elite clubs of Pittsburgh. It linked both men and women together, supporting each other through association, linking each to these principles, either tacitly or actively. Also, the annexation of Allegheny City with Pittsburgh was not without its problems. State laws had stated that only a majority vote of the *combined* total of votes of the two municipalities was needed for a successful annexation. Although the CCAC wanted annexation, many residents and officials of Allegheny rejected this idea, deeming the law unconstitutional, and taking their case all the way to the United States Supreme Court, where the annexation was upheld.<sup>117</sup>

For the CCAC, their idea for *Greater Pittsburgh* had emerged in 1920 with the creation of the Metropolitan Plan committee. Traditionally, annexing land gave cities a larger tax base and access to money as well as increasing its population. A healthy and successful city was determined by its population. Backers of the *Greater Pittsburgh* plan also believed in this, but also they wanted a unified water plan throughout the county as well as a unified transportation plan, effectively applying city services of one city throughout the county, not through the individual municipalities in Allegheny County. To initiate the plan, the committee began by sending letters and attempting to gauge the interest in the idea for consolidation. The idea was presented to leaders of the neighboring boroughs as well as to the residents of the boroughs through the use of comment cards. From the boroughs, it was believed that they would consent to the annexation plan because it would be give them a better government to meet their needs, as stated in this letter to the head of the Metropolitan Plan Committee: “It was thought, however, that most of the Boroughs would take advantage of the ‘Metropolitan Idea’ in order that they may have a definite local representation to better and more promptly look

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<sup>117</sup> Hunter v. City of Pittsburgh 207 US 161 (1907).

after their local needs from time to time.”<sup>118</sup> Not only would becoming a part of *Greater Pittsburgh* help provide the boroughs and towns better service, it would be a better system in general from the one that they currently possess. This view was part of the tradition of many of the CCAC’s attempted reforms: not only were they suggesting a better way, they believed that their way was so obviously *the* way for the city to operate that the other boroughs in Allegheny County would accept their proposal.

It would take the CCAC, along with other groups and committees outside the CCAC, nine years to get this on the ballot. In the interim many discussions and debates took place about the proposed *Greater Pittsburgh*. Most of the discussion came over the details of the plan, what it should entail, what services should be included, and how would the other cities, boroughs, and townships would be incorporated into Pittsburgh. Membership of this committee included William Magee, a proponent of city planning, and other men who possessed similar interests. H. Marie Dermitt, the secretary of the CCAC, was the primary woman who spoke about the proposed plan in committee meetings. She had apprehensions about the plan, stating that she believed that without knowing what the government of the plan would look like, it could be taken over by elements of the political machine. If it could not be guaranteed that the political machine could not take over municipal government in the new city, then she could not support it because it would have wasted the thirty years the CCAC had spent fixing the problems of the city.

Dermitt’s misgivings about the Metropolitan Plan could be taken in different ways. In one way Dermitt was defending ideas that had long been important to the women of the organization. The CCAC was an established voice for civic reform in

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<sup>118</sup> Letter from Alex Dunbar to Morris Knowles, Oct. 14<sup>th</sup> 1920, AIS.

Pittsburgh and Dermitt, one of the last remaining women with a link to the beginning days, became worried that this plan could reverse the progress of the CCAC. The machine government, at its height, was restricted to the city limits, but through an act of state legislature and the creation of the new city council and through the actions of the CCAC and other similar organization, the machine government was tempered. The new Metropolitan Idea could disrupt that change, allowing for the unsavory elements of civic government to reemerge. However, Dermitt did not choose to frame her argument in that way. Rather, she quoted the professional employed to research and study the consolidation, Dr. Thomas H. Reed of the University of Michigan, to make her arguments for her. She wanted to ensure that what had been accomplished for the city would remain. If that could be ensured, she would support the measure. At the time of the debate, she did not see it and could not support the plan proposed by Dr.Reed.

The original plan of the CCAC's Metropolitan Idea had been to consolidate services and make government efficient. The resulting discussions amended the proposal by keeping the autonomy of the various boroughs and cities in Allegheny County. In making concessions to the local boroughs, it attempted to placate those who believed the annexation was a complete takeover by a city whose concerns were not in line with theirs. Eventually the Metropolitan Idea allowed for local councils, making the new consolidation federated, limiting the power of the City of Pittsburgh in the boroughs. Even combining the police and fire forces concerned the other municipalities, although it still remained as part of the plan. What the Metropolitan Idea became was not the same idea initially promoted by the CCAC, however, many remained satisfied that services

were streamlined, and that the population for the city would increase by about a million people, therefore giving it greater standing in the country.<sup>119</sup>

The Metropolitan Plan was the triumph of the professional and business-minded individual. It was new in that it brought in a leading official on municipal government using current ideas and concepts on civic government. It had a legacy dating from 1911 when ward politics in the city council was replaced by a nine-member council elected at large. Yet then it took an act of the state legislature to do so in 1911; in 1929 it would take a popular election where two-thirds of people from both inside the city and around the outer areas of Pittsburgh were needed for it to pass. It seemed to the members of the CCAC that it would pass, when a constitutional amendment was passed by the voters of Allegheny County in 1928, yet in the general election, the motion failed to reach the margin needed. Not even the professionals could make it come to fruition. The Metropolitan Idea would not die for the CCAC, as attempts to replicate this through committees would continue through the 1950s, yet the closest it came to reality was in 1920s.

The CCAC's reforms of the 1920s combined the centralization that had been a part of the club since its inception with the idea of city planning that had started in Pittsburgh in 1911 and continued throughout the 1920s. It was all part of the transition of the club from active elite members (primarily women) to professionals who relied on fellow professionals' advice (primarily men). Yet it would be too easy to just attribute the rise of professional to the men in the club. Professional men and women had spoken to the club and had given advice since its existence and more explicitly with the Pittsburgh Survey. Women still remained a key part of the CCAC. The Soho Baths and

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<sup>119</sup> Circular to Borough Leaders, Box 15, AIS.

the Day Nursery were still some of the most successful of the CCAC's projects, but by the 1920s the club wanted professionals to lead their cause. Men and women needed specific knowledge to remain viable leaders in the expert-dominated reform world. Women remained with the children, while men went into civic reform through civic planning.

## **Conclusion**

The motto of the CCAC declared that the mission of the organization was “a higher public spirit, and a better social order.” This motto was never altered from 1895 through 1930 and for CCAC members, their reforms adhered to the motto in 1930 as they had in 1895. However, the membership and leadership of the CCAC changed in levels of experience and education, whether it was derived from formal education or from experience. It evolved from an organization of women, experienced in the culture of reform clubs and organization, to professionals with outside and advanced education, most of whom were men. At the outset, the CCAC directed its attention to many reforms they sought in Pittsburgh; the creation and staffing of local playgrounds became their first tangible, successful reform, where the CCAC desired to direct and instruct children better social values. From the playgrounds, it stretched to public baths, schools for children with tuberculosis, and helping to establishing the Juvenile Court system in Allegheny County. Yet by the 1920s, the same club was actively promoting the consolidation of Pittsburgh. Instead of actively working with youth, the CCAC passively worked in high schools creating individual clubs. The reforms of both eras had a purpose: to promote the city and to infuse city residents with a proper public spirit. Yet, the methods of each reform were so radically different it would be hard to see the similarities in their actions or the similarities in the people who would organize reform. The CCAC of the 1920s appeared to have stopped instituting the social reform impulses that guided it during its early years: health, child welfare, education, housing, and pollution reform. Instead, they were interested in completely changing the entirety of local government. The motto had

not changed but it appeared that the CCAC had changed its method to fulfill the motto's pledge.

The change in membership and leadership of the CCAC did appear to affect what reforms the CCAC initiated. Its creation from the Twentieth Century Club and the Women's Health Protective Association ensured that this club was an organization similar to other, female-directed reform organizations that stretched back in America to the early nineteenth century. However, the CCAC was mixed-gendered, welcoming men into its organization as full members, insuring that it was something different from other, women-led reform organizations across the country. The creation of the CCAC came at a moment in the nation's history where citizens in many of the large, urban centers of America created civic organizations, responding to the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the late nineteenth century. Most of these organizations were created after the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, though not in its immediate aftermath. The images of a clean, beautiful, white city contrasted with the dirty, crowded urban centers. Yet the actual city was not like its artificial counterpart in Chicago. The large urban areas of the United States, Pittsburgh among them, could never be like the White City itself. There were differences: the large amounts of industry which was the economic backbone of many US cities, the haphazard planning of residential, commercial, and industrial units, and the influx of immigrant groups which strained existing infrastructure. Yet with all those realities apparent to CCAC members, the CCAC sought the image of what the city could become: embracing the physical environment, possessing an eye for beauty in parks and buildings, a rationally governed city not corrupted by the political machines, but by trained, and nonpartisan, experts.

Pittsburgh was a city nationally known for its political machine. It became imperative for those individuals, who loved their city so much, to come together in this organization known as the CCAC. These men and women who initially came together were connected by their class. Many of the early members were among the elite in Pittsburgh, appearing in the social registers. Religious impulses played an implicit role in reform for members of the CCAC, infusing many CCAC members with a reform spirit. Rev. George Hodges, the one-time pastor of one of the most fashionable churches in Pittsburgh, Calvary Episcopal Church, promoted many of the reforms which were also supported by the CCAC such as the settlement houses, which were popular in other cities in the US and were supported by Social Gospel theology. While the CCAC was a civic endeavor and did not use religion in any of its writings and publications, this intersection of religion and social reform gave many in the CCAC spiritual support for their reform efforts. The CCAC was fully a part of the Progressive era, where it was created from the same impulses that helped to create the Progressive era throughout the United States.

The club women who organized the CCAC possessed experience in club organization and administration, so much so, that newspapers considered the CCAC as a women's organization in its early years, although men made up a little less than half of club membership and held administrative positions within the club. By the 1920s, professional men became the most important membership block in the CCAC. In the span from 1895 to 1930, the club relaxed the requirements on membership, only requiring a fee for membership. The original requirement kept the club's admissions self-selecting; only allowing new members in the club if they were suggested by a current member. This opened the club to many of those in the middle and professional classes

who saw the CCAC in the same light as other organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce. In the late 1920s to the 1930s, the CCAC leadership became primarily men, with only a few women left in leadership roles. It was only in the 1940s, when long-time club secretary H. Marie Dermitt, with the help of hindsight, stated that the club moved to a professional-dominated organization and that opportunities for advancement of professionals in the country were limited mostly to men. Dermitt's comments on the evolution of the CCAC during her period as secretary showed that the club's more important reforms were being headed by professionals, and they were now by and large men.

However, to assume this as a takeover of a primarily women's organization by men therefore making the CCAC a men's organization ignores the importance of the professional to Progressive-era reformers and the belief that certain people were more qualified in certain positions than others based on experience and education, a belief which permeated the CCAC since its existence. From school boards, to city government, to charity, and to some of the actions of the club itself, people with specific knowledge or skills should perform the work over others who lacked that knowledge or skill. The reason why the CCAC began as a mixed-gendered organization was because of this belief, where men would aid the CCAC's in the dominion of politics while women would work for reform as women's organizations had for years. The CCAC never deviated from this belief, even if the new generation of women became less and less experienced than the previous generation. The CCAC's advancement of women on local, ward-based school boards echoed their beliefs. Kate Cassatt McKnight, the strongest leader of the CCAC in its early years, man or woman, thoroughly believed in the use of professionals

when she advocated to the CCAC to fund the sociological studies of Pittsburgh and its surrounding areas which later became the Pittsburgh *Survey*, a study conducted by individuals who were some of the preeminent minds in the new and growing field of sociology.

The CCAC continued supporting placing women on school boards by advocating the appointment of women on the newly created citywide school board, whose appointments were made by judges and not by the city residents. This event shows just how committed those in the CCAC were to the belief that the proper, more experienced person should be appointed to important positions. By advocating for more women on the appointed school board, the CCAC was acting in the same capacity as it had earlier in its existence when it advocated for women on school boards at the ward level. One influential member, Lucy Dorsey Iams believed otherwise. She too believed that the more experienced individuals should be granted the appointments, but that most women did not possess enough business experience to understand running a school board. Their differences were still based on the idea that the best qualified candidate should serve, but both the CCAC and Iams saw this situation from different angles, while still believing they were advocating for the best possible solution.

The Dramatic Masque presented by the CCAC for their anniversary provided a clear indication that the CCAC was satisfied of their accomplishments in its early years. By the time of the performance, the CCAC was evolving, shifting to new reforms. The first generation of reformers was gone; the next generation, a generation of professionals, had taken their place. The CCAC was part of a movement sweeping the country when it was founded in 1895. By the 1920s the CCAC's changing idea of civic improvement

moved the CCAC into different, less direct forms of reform. The CCAC was a window into the Progressive era. It showed the promise of reform which grew strong in the late part of the nineteenth century and into the first few decades of the twentieth century. It also showed how an organization so tied to the reform aspects of the Progressive era would develop and change when the reform impulses of that era waned and the relative complacency of the 1920s began. However, it would most clearly show how a belief in a specific ideal could irrevocably change key characteristics of an organization over thirty-five years.

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