WOMEN IN VOLUNTEER SERVICE:
THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF THE
JUNIOR LEAGUE OF COLUMBUS, OHIO, 1922 - 1973

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Master of Arts

by

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1981

Approved by

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INTRODUCTION

In 1922 eleven women started the Junior League of Columbus, Ohio. They were joining a movement which had originated in 1901 when a group of debutantes in New York City founded the first Junior League. Between 1901 to 1921 the idea of the Junior League spread to approximately 30 other cities and led to the forming of a centralized body, the Association of Junior Leagues of America.

The founders of the Junior League intended that their new organization would nurture a concern among themselves towards improving their community. To accomplish this goal, the members decided to give a portion of their time, talents and money to settlement houses and charitable organizations. Realizing quickly that they were unprepared for their tasks, they sought the advice and guidance of settlement experts and social workers who only lately had come into their own as recognized professionals. By turning to these groups the Junior League recognized the validity of the new, more scientific, theories and practices of social work which emphasized that efficiency and specialized training would enable more effective work among the poor.

A few years later as Junior Leagues were organized in various cities, the members consulted with those working...
in the social services regarding their community involvements. In 1921 as the Association was beginning, the member Junior Leagues chose to direct their volunteer efforts to the "social, economic, educational and civic conditions of their communities." Thus, each of the Junior Leagues had a specific framework of competence from which to fashion their community services.

To examine how the Junior League of Columbus chose its course of community betterment, it will be helpful to ask, for purposes of this paper, to what extent this volunteer-group relied on the influence of certain professionals? Since the Junior League women in Columbus followed the example, established by members preceding them in other cities, of conferring with professionals, mainly from social work, education and medicine, it is possible to show how this affected their community activities.

Two other questions related to the influence of professionalism on volunteer work must also be considered: Did the members of the Junior League pursue their volunteer tasks in a professional manner? And, to what degree, if any, did the Junior League receive acknowledgement from professionals for its volunteer efforts?

Several reasons exist for pursuing the relationship between the Junior League of Columbus and professionals. First, by studying the Junior League at the local level, and to a lesser degree at the national level, the response
of a segment of middle to upper class American women to
20th century social problems should become evident. Second,
in exploring the part that well-trained volunteers play
in a community, the impact of professionalism will be made
more visible. Third, the Junior League illustrates a new
day in the manner and method for doing volunteer work which
was springing up in American cities. And, lastly, since
little serious scholarly work has been done previously on
this group, it is hoped that the material presented will
contribute to the field of American social history.

Up to the present time research directed toward the
Junior League at the local or national levels has not been
extensive. Magazine and newspaper articles usually report
programs of the Junior League but, mostly, these accounts
are not reflective. References to the Junior League
appearing in these sources range to the extremes of offering
unqualified praise, on the one hand, to less than serious
criticism of the Junior League on the other.

The Association of Junior Leagues published their
own magazine which presents the activities of the various
Junior Leagues and also discusses issues of current interest
to members. On the Association's 50th anniversary, it
published a special issue favorably portraying the many
developments and achievements in the Junior League's history.
It seems, however, that an attempt at objective reporting
of the Junior League has been made in various social work
journals.²
Basic to discerning the functions and disposition of a local Junior League is studying the organization's records. In the early 1970's, near to the time of its 50th anniversary, the Junior League of Columbus donated to the Ohio Historical Society materials which are the record of its years of work. The collection includes, among many items, business and study committee reports, minutes of board and membership meetings, annual reports, constitutions, correspondence, newsletters and published articles. At certain points in reviewing these sources it is difficult to understand the reasons for changes in procedures or policies because the written record is incomplete. In some cases the opinions and insights of members or persons familiar with the Junior League at a particular time provided information and filled in gaps.

The papers of the late Gladys H. Mohler, also housed at the Ohio Historical Center, furnished valuable information regarding the early years of the Junior League of Columbus. A former president of the Columbus group and a regional director for the Association, Mrs. Mohler's records illustrate one important member's participation in the Junior League and the concerns of the organization.

Various activities of the Junior League are also a part of the Community Organization File in the Columbus and Ohio Room at the main branch of the Public Library of Columbus and Franklin County. Several of these items
contribute to the articles appearing over the years in the Columbus newspapers.

What emerges from these materials is the foundation of this thesis. Chapters III, IV and V detail the organizational development of the Junior League of Columbus from 1922 to 1973 and provide an interpretive framework. The Junior League's internal structure and community programs are examined in juxtaposition with professionalism as it takes up the work of assisting individuals and groups. Chapter II provides a view of the origin of the Junior League in New York City, and its extension to different localities. Since the first Junior League looked to those engaged in social work for direction, this study begins with the emerging application of scientific methods in the field of social work.
CHAPTER I
A SURVEY OF SOCIAL WORK
IN LATE 19th CENTURY AMERICA

In the three decades preceding the establishment of the Junior League the rise of charity organization societies and settlement houses changed America's method of social work. Both of these programs were transplanted from England by Americans who believed that their programs would benefit the urban poor. To accomplish their goals each group began to realize that they had to utilize specific skills in their work. Hence, people began to perform particular duties and soon developed ways to train themselves and others for social work.

By definition social work is an individual or group action which seeks to improve the position of people who for whatever reasons have been dependent on others. Thus, social work has a long history. It includes St. Francis of Assisi, who in the 12th and 13th centuries dedicated his life to helping the deprived, and the work 400 years later of St. Vincent de Paul, who set forth a model of caring for those suffering from destitution, sickness and abandonment.¹

Prior to the 20th century, social work in America appeared in the forms of private charities, public relief programs and various reform movements. These measures,
however, proved inadequate due in part to the way many people regarded poverty.

During the early 19th century most Americans defined poverty as an inevitable state for people who lacked the physical, mental or moral abilities to become self-sufficient. Americans also believed that an abundance of work opportunities prevailed for those who desired to work. Thus, the popular attitude arose which held that people could leave poverty behind them by individual initiative.²

But exalting self-help ideals did not end poverty. The arrival of large numbers of immigrants, the inequitable employment practices of factories and the effects of economic depressions increased the number of poor people living in large cities. Private charities feared the poor, calling them a "dangerous class"; therefore, they offered ethical teachings along with relief. Public support measures included placing the poor in almshouses or providing outdoor relief, whereby the poor received assistance in their homes. Because public sentiment favored the doctrine of self-sufficiency, almshouses were oftentimes mismanaged. Consequently, almshouse populations consisted of children and adults suffering from a variety of afflictions. In some states, social reformers persuaded legislatures to establish separate institutions for the blind, deaf, insane, delinquent and orphaned.³
The Civil War stimulated many men and women to ponder the welfare of helpless individuals. By working among soldiers, more Americans realized that impoverishment was not always a result of personal weakness. The Sanitary Commission, a league of voluntary women's organizations, performed many charitable tasks for soldiers, ranging from providing food and first aid to helping them with compensation and pension requests. Under the Commission's guidance, volunteers examined camps and hospitals intending to reveal and amend any shortcomings that hindered the health of all people. Volunteers also gathered and condensed important data relating to the welfare of military people.4

The duties of the Sanitary Commission set a precedent for charity work. Its emphasis on inspection, counsel and record-keeping trained workers to formulate the new method of scientific philanthropy. By this means a decision to assist others came after the victims' needs had been systematically and rationally assessed, and not on the basis of the relief worker's sentiment.5

Beginning in the 1860's proponents of scientific philanthropy expressed concern about the detrimental aspects and imprudent management of public institutions such as hospitals, asylums, jails and almshouses. Despite the existence of specialized institutions, almshouses still kept people of all ages and misfortunes. Administration of
almshouses and outdoor relief rested with local leaders who seldom received direction or scrutiny from state officials.\textsuperscript{6}

In order to provide humane conditions for individuals in need of continual care and to survey and regulate state welfare institutions and private ones receiving public funds, legislatures established state boards of charities. Membership on the boards consisted of interested private citizens who worked without remuneration. By the late 1890's 16 states had appointed charity boards.\textsuperscript{7}

The accomplishments of state boards were mixed. A large number of boards began to execute policies for public and private welfare institutions such as prisons, mental hospitals, orphanages and treatment facilities for the elderly. Unfortunately, children continued to remain in almshouses due to a lack of legislative rule and/or compulsion.\textsuperscript{8}

However, the principles of scientific philanthropy surfaced in another form. During the depression of the 1870's the number of people needing assistance rocketed. Charity was given freely, without determining the extent or credibility of people's needs. Public and private relief agencies furnished food and coal to individuals in their private homes and offered meals and sleeping accommodations to those without a home. Wealthy and educated individuals accused private charities of being
careless in their distribution of aid, and lamented that public relief benefited deceptors and dishonest public officials. These upper class people feared that the outpourings of charity stunted the recipients' desire to work and harmed their personality.9

In 1877 The Reverend Mr. S. Humphreys Gurteen offered hope to individuals sharing those concerns when he announced his intention to build an American version of the London Charity Organization Society in Buffalo, New York. He professed that this new institution would bring order to the haphazard distribution of assistance which supposedly inspired pauperism and dependency. By the early 1890's 92 charity organization societies had developed in the growing industrial cities of the Midwestern and Eastern States.10

The New York City Charity Organization started out of a recommendation from the New York State Board of Charities. A member of the Board, Josephine Shaw Lowell, convinced the other Commissioners that charities dispensed sums of money equal to that of businesses and, thus, needed to function along business lines. Lowell, a woman of wealth and leisure, based her argument on a study she had previously conducted of 66 New York charities. The Board appointed Lowell to organize and head a committee to prepare the framework for a charity organization. She chose important people from New York City, some of whom
came from government, academia and religion, to serve as a committee. All were knowledgeable about the inept use of time, effort and funds in philanthropic work.

The upper class gave direction to charity organizations in other cities. Business and financial leaders served on the boards of charity organizations, sometimes as the chief officers. The inclusion of business people on charity organization boards reflected their desire, and that of charity leaders, to direct the course of helping the unfortunate.¹²

From its inception, the charity organization did not intend to imitate the work of charities by awarding relief. Rather, it aimed to foster accord among charities and strive for the efficient allocation of funds and methods of working with the poor. On the one level, the charity organization asked charities to provide information regarding their activities. In return, the charity organization served as a central office of administration, recording and exchanging facts in the hope of avoiding duplication of duties among participating charities. It did receive pleas for assistance; and paid personnel working at the centralized office researched the necessity and merit in each instance. When compelling conditions were found the charity organization gave relief, but it did so reluctantly.¹³

To charity workers, finding jobs for the poor seemed the best way to help them. They believed that work, regard-
less of its monotony, could cure the difficulties facing
the impoverished. In some cases the charity organization
provided opportunities to learn a skill and day nurseries
for working mothers. Charity workers stressed that all
people must be independent. The poor were encouraged
periodically to set aside money in saving accounts.\textsuperscript{14}

Direct interaction between the charity organization
and the poor resulted in large part from the efforts of
volunteers or the friendly visitors. Those who founded
the London Charity Organization believed that poverty was
caused by a personal shortcoming. They concluded that
poverty could be remedied with the help of a supervised
friendly visitor whose task it was to instruct and
persuade the individual to master his or her deficiency.

Octavia Hill, one of the founders of the London
Charity Organization, observed that the friendly visitors,
who volunteered to work among the poor, should have high
intellectual abilities and possess aesthetic sensitivity.
She speculated that the visitors could improve the poor
by taking them to art galleries, parks and acquainting
them with music and flowers. And she concluded that the
poor might become better people just by being around
the visitors.\textsuperscript{15}

American charity organization leaders accepted
Miss Hill's ideas. They preferred that the friendly
visitors be thoughtful, well-informed individuals, coming
from cultivated and respected families. During the 1890's members of the Chicago Women's Club were recruited as friendly visitors. And, in other cities, women of leisure associated themselves with helping the dispossessed.  

The visitors did not need specific educational qualifications, but rather a kind of gracious attitude towards others. Although visitors were to act as companions to the poor, the relationships were not based on the mutuality of peers. Instead, because of the visitors' advantages, they could interact with the poor as adults would to children.  

Josephine Shaw Lowell believed that the friendly visitors should offer friendship and guidance to the poor. She looked upon people as being either workers or idlers. Workers helped other people whereas idlers relied on workers for their support. Mrs. Lowell wanted all people to become workers. She presumed that the friendly visitor could train an idler to become a worker if the visitor knew the background of the person seeking help.  

Investigation played an important part in the charity organization. Initially, investigations served to assess the validity of a request for assistance. The purpose quickly changed, however, to reveal the symptoms that caused the state of poverty. Salaried workers carried out the investigative work, gave the information to the friendly visitor, and advised a method of treatment.
The specialization of tasks such as maintaining records and investigating requests for aid necessitated periods for study and evaluation. For a time staff meetings of charity workers handled this matter; but by the 1890's the conferences no longer seemed sufficient preparation for philanthropic work. The New York Charity Organization Society instituted a summer school session where authorities in the areas of social reform and charity work related their experiences and offered suggestions for training others. In a few years, the New York School of Philanthropy evolved from the summer school, which later changed to a social work school.\textsuperscript{20}

Journals emerged which, among other things, began to define the role of the social worker. It was acknowledged that the social worker needed specific knowledge and skills to investigate and treat problems, which the visitor lacked. Since the social worker instructed the friendly visitor, the worker occupied a more critical role and, for all intents and purposes, took over the work of the visitor. Friendly visitors remained in the charity organization, but were responsible to the social workers. Ideally, the paid charity organization's workers wanted the visitors to bridge the gap between the rich and poor which they feared might lead to class conflict. Many of the charity professionals, coming from the middle class in small towns preferred the values prevalent in their backgrounds which they hoped to transplant to the cities.\textsuperscript{21}
The desire to reshape urban life also concerned people active in the settlement house movement, which had emerged simultaneously to the charity organization. The settlements, likewise, shared with the charity organization society its beginning in London, England.

In the view of the group of university professors and clergymen who inspired and implemented the English settlement house movement, poverty emanated from societal problems rather than individual imperfections. During the mid to late 19th century they observed that the effects of industrialism had accentuated the distance between the social classes, and set about to aid the poor workers who barely escaped pauperism. Frederick Denison Maurice of Kings College believed that education could eliminate class differences. Hence, in 1854 he established the Working Men's College in London.22

An Oxford University professor of fine arts, John Ruskin, who assisted Maurice by teaching drawing and painting, later lectured and wrote on social problems spreading Maurice's influence among English and American college students. To Ruskin, industrialism deprived most people access to any form of "culture and beauty" in the society. The factory system with its specialization of tasks denied people enjoyment from their work. Ruskin held that industrialism wrecked the cities, thereby begtting an oppressive and intolerable environment for many individuals.
He longed for an agrarian society, and wanted to see people making items with their hands rather than tending machines.  

One of Ruskin's proposals for changing society had far-reaching consequences: he recommended that college students live among the poor. Arnold Toynbee, who had been associated with Ruskin at the Working Men's College, responded to this suggestion by living for periods of time in the slums of London's East End. The disparities which he saw among the social classes greatly affected Toynbee's thought and work. He reckoned that the advantages of education should be available to the working classes.

He also felt that the intermingling of workers and professors would improve life for all.

The ideals of Toynbee came to fruition, following his death, through the efforts of his friend, Samuel Barnett. As an Anglican minister of an East End parish, Barnett enlisted university students, who were influenced by the theories of Ruskin and Toynbee toward settlement work. In 1884 Toynbee Hall opened its doors to provide learning and enrichment opportunities for neighborhood residents.

The young male students living at this settlement intended to build a bond of friendship with their neighbors. Barnett expected that these two groups could join together for improving society. Shortly after the start of Toynbee Hall, churches and universities organized additional settlements.
The philosophy and objectives of Toynbee Hall motivated several young Americans to initiate settlements in their own nation. By the 1880's a number of American cities exhibited problems related to industrial development such as inferior housing, the overcrowding of cities, and a widening separation between the indigent and wealthy classes. Therefore, those embarking on settlement work found a society in need of betterment.

In 1886 following a residency at Toynbee Hall, Stanton Coit, a graduate of Amherst and the University of Berlin, returned to America determined to create a settlement. Coit's plans for neighborhood work called for the formation of guilds consisting of 100 families. He envisioned that these guilds would strive for civic reforms.

Coit wanted to locate in an area where he felt families needed ethical guidance which he and others like him could impart. The Lower East Side of New York City, abounding with poverty-stricken people, filled his requirement. Upon moving in, he sought the acquaintance of his new neighbors. Soon settlement clubs formed and additional people came to assist Coit. Because of his departure to England, the guild system did not materialize. Nevertheless, the settlement idea attracted other individuals.

During the early 1880's, Vida Scudder began the search for community betterment. While a student at Oxford, she attended lectures given by John Ruskin; and years later
she recalled that his examination of industrialism prompted her to see the truths of that age. Among the students, Scudder observed many participating in the settlement movement and in other reforms which demanded that they relinquish their special status and identify with the repressed peoples. These experiences left Scudder remorseful regarding her own family's privileged background and position, and also confused as to her own future course.28

Although Scudder assumed a teaching position at Wellesley following her time in England, the issue of aiding the unfortunate continued to haunt her. Finally in 1887 she committed herself to social service. At a reunion of Smith College alumnae, Scudder and the others questioned whether the English settlement movement could function in America. They answered affirmatively by expressing a wish to share their educational and social merits with the dispossessed. Immediately they began to organize a settlement wherein college women would live and work. Much to Scudder's dismay the plans toppled, and it seemed that the College Settlement would not proceed. One year later, however, the project resumed.

In one of their early solicitations, these women set forth the purpose of membership in the College Settlement Association:

*that you have a vision of brotherhood wherein no man lives unto himself; of a neighborhood where no man may fall among thieves; of a house wherein are many mansions and no dark rooms; of a freedom that is perfect service.*
Finally, in the fall of 1889 the College Settlement commenced activity on Rivington Street in New York City with Jean Fine as its unpaid headworker. In a short time other Eastern women's colleges joined the Association and helped found settlements in Philadelphia and Boston.\(^{29}\)

At this same time, and unknown to the leaders of the College Settlement, Jane Addams directed the founding of Hull House in Chicago. Like Scudder, Addams came to grips with poverty in England. Witnessing the existence of the poor in London's East End, Addams felt an urge to help but could not choose which direction to go. In 1885 she returned to America, aimlessly spending the next two years on social and family duties.

While on another European trip, Addams decided to live among the poor. After sharing her resolution with a close friend who chose to unite with her effort, and after visiting Toynbee Hall, Addams left for America to start a new life. To Addams the settlement offered young women the opportunity to learn the realities of every day life.\(^{30}\)

During the 1890's the settlement idea spread around the nation. In 1891 three settlements formed in New York City, Chicago and Boston. Succeeding the panic of 1893 the number of settlements increased to over 50. As the 20th century began, 100 settlements existed. Eleven years later the number rocketed to over 400 settlements. Settlements were initiated and supported by churches and
by various organizations not having ties to any religious denomination. In Boston, for instance, a leading clergyman enlisted the financial backing of prominent citizens to form an association which established South End House as a nonsectarian settlement. 31

The proliferation of settlements transpired during a period of considerable economic and social transformation. Industrial expansion paralleled the surge of big corporations. The shifting of people from rural to urban areas, accompanied by the multitudes of immigrants, boosted the population of the cities. Like the rural poor a large percentage of these immigrants entered American cities as destitutes from Eastern Europe. The predicament of slums burgeoned. 32

Many settlement leaders interpreted these changes as signifying a loss of social unity. They feared class conflict arising from the religious, racial, economic and national differences of city dwellers. The homogenity of America appeared threatened, and the settlement workers intended to promote harmony between all people. 33

To a large extent, the young men and women who entered settlement work came from middle to upper class families of sufficient wealth and social position. While some young male settlement workers could have entered business or professional careers, for them these prospects lacked stimulation. Settlements, also, afforded women an opportunity for work when societal restrictions and expectations barred them from professional careers. 34
The college education of those choosing settlement work was an influential factor. Various settlement leaders including Coit, Addams, and Robert Woods attended colleges emphasizing missionary work. Although Addams personally opposed entering the mission field, she adhered to the Christian belief of helping others. At women's colleges, the ideas of Ruskin and Tolstoy encouraged women to think of caring for others instead of themselves. Philosophical teachings accented the essential oneness of the universe. Every individual was important. It was stressed that the responsibility of some people was to care for and protect those who lived in an environment which was demeaning. The College Settlement Association offered women a chance to test their ideas by living and working in settlements during summers or on some other occasional basis.\(^35\)

Emerging out of their own backgrounds and the example of Toynbee Hall, Americans building settlements believed optimistically that through education social reconciliation could be attained. They wanted to bring educational opportunities to the poor and they also desired a broadening of their own knowledge.\(^36\)

Initially, settlement workers moved into a neighborhood with the intentions of becoming acquainted with their neighbors and creating a home environment conducive to learning and mutuality. Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, the headworker from Greenwich House in New York City
asserted that settlement workers should feel an affinity for the neighbors and the neighborhood. The settlement house itself, however, exhibited the taste of its residents, as seen by the presence of books, flowers and paintings. Evening meals at Hull House tended to reflect the refined customs to which Jane Addams had been accustomed.37

Specific settlement programs developed as the necessities of the neighborhood became apparent to the residents. The daily proximity of settlement workers to their neighbors allowed them a realistic view of the conditions affecting the urban poor. Their inquiries into the housing, health, employment, education and nationalities of neighborhood families supplied them with an abundance of information which could be utilized for the purposes of social service and social improvement.38

The educational thrust of the settlements took shape in various ways. Most settlements organized clubs for children wherein ideally they could assume group leadership and responsibility. A settlement worker advised the clubs which usually engaged in recreational and cultural activities.39

Settlements also offered classes for children in music, sewing, cooking, woodworking and drama. Kindergarten programs for young children operated in many settlements.
Trips for children to museums and parks acquainted them not only with works of art and natural beauty, but with an entirely different view of the city. Some settlements also established summer camps for children located in the country away from the intense heat and dirt of the cities. In part this program revealed the anti-urban attitudes of various settlement leaders. Jane Addams regarded the city as a divisive setting in contrast to rural life which was good and rational.  

Adult classes and clubs for immigrants stressed learning the English language and acquiring personal habits which would improve life in their neighborhood. Lectures and forums representing a wide variety of opinions and subjects supplied settlement neighbors with additional opportunities for learning. Dances, folk festivals and theatrical productions added a lighter side to settlement schedules.  

Some settlements emphasized one major area of work such as a visiting nurses service, a day nursery for children of working parents, a health clinic for infants, arts and crafts, or adult education. Settlement workers concluded that private and public agencies should dispense charity instead of trying to tease the poor with visions of a better life. And, during periods of extreme need, the settlements did provide food and clothing to families. In other settlements, however, philanthropic work received the main emphasis.
But doing good alone did not solve the problems in settlement house neighborhoods. Settlement workers crusaded on behalf of children in demanding playgrounds in their neighborhoods, kindergartens in the public schools, school nurses, and visiting teachers. Settlement residents believed that improved physical conditions could enhance their neighborhoods. They set about to plant vegetable and flower gardens. They asked for closed sewers and a reliable system of garbage collection. They pleaded for competent police and fire safety.43

After watching the lives of their neighbors, various settlement workers denounced industrialization. They saw countless numbers of women and children working in factories without ample reward, and suffering mental and physical anguish. Thus, they campaigned for protective legislation, for minimum wage and maximum hour laws, and for outlawing child labor. Labor leaders received encouragement from settlement workers, and union meetings occurred in some settlements.44

As the 19th century drew to a close, professionalism made inroads into settlements. The staff concentrated on directing specific activities—for example, teaching, club advising, nursing and investigating issues. Although some of the early directors, called, headworkers, had not accepted salaries, the trend moved toward hiring paid staff.45
Despite the desires and efforts of settlement workers to build a new community in city slums, the attitudes of various settlement leaders remained patronizing to their neighbors. Jane Addams favored unrestricted immigration, yet she held that the new immigrants must learn the language and customs of America, which she insisted were an improvement over their native ones. While Addams hoped that the urban poor might better their condition, she nevertheless held them partially responsible for their lot because of their personal habits and tastes. Robert Woods understood the dismal realities of the neighborhood around Boston's South End House, but he too judged the residents deficient in these things.46

Settlement workers were inclined to feel that their method of aiding the poor was superior to that of charity workers. They viewed charity work as confining, and saw their own efforts encompassing all of the needs of the poor. Addams accused charity workers of wanting nothing more for the poor than for them to work and become self-supporting. To charity workers some of the social reform issues raised by settlement leaders seemed too extreme and their efforts disorganized.47

To some degree, however, the two groups resembled each other; settlement and charity workers shared the background and values of America's middle class. Both felt that industrialized cities alienated people from
each other; and to solve this problem they wanted to establish homogeneous communities within urban areas. This forced them both to confront the problems of the new immigrant population.

Although settlement people saw themselves as having a closer relationship with immigrants, both groups treated them as inferior people. The charity workers feared that American ideals would be lost with a flood of immigrants entering the nation. They wanted the new people to accept the American values of work and frugality. Settlement people offered the immigrants learning opportunities which they hoped would make them good citizens in America.

On the eve of the 20th century the problems of poverty abounded in America. Leaders of the settlement movement worked to solve them by eliminating class differences in cities. While some of their accomplishments in terms of civic improvements and educational programs helped the poor, they did not halt the effects of industrialization which continued to cut a wedge between the rich and the poor. Charity workers sadly realized that prolonged periods of unemployment—a matter largely out of the control of the laboring class—harmèd people's chances for self-sufficiency. 49

The story of the growth and development of charity organization societies and settlements tells of the professionalization of social work. Each group began
with individuals advocating a better way to assist the
poor. At first charity organizations relied on the good
work and inspiration of the friendly visitor to aid those
in need. But the need to learn all the facts about the
people who sought their help led to the training of people
as case workers and social workers. The collection of social
data required that scientific methods be applied in order
to have a rational basis to design a specific approach for
helping the poor. Settlement workers living next to the
poor realized that poverty had numerous facets and all must
be explored if programs of help were to achieve their ends.
Hence, residents at settlements began to carry out specific
tasks related to health care, education, recreation and
civic concerns which were targeted to accomplish achievable
objectives. Specialization of work within the charity
organizations and settlements did not abolish the volunteers,
but it did mean that they needed to work under the guidance
of paid, trained professional staff.
CHAPTER II
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE JUNIOR LEAGUE,
1901 - 1922

Jane Addams described upper class women as being aware of social problems but as not having the means to do anything about them.¹ Put the women who started the Junior League in New York City did tackle them. Although they belonged to families of wealth and prominence, the women wanted to participate in the social work sector as volunteers, devoting their resources to helping people in need. They were interested in learning more about social issues, and hoped to inspire that desire in other women who joined with them.

The idea of the Junior League originated with Mary Harriman. As the oldest of six children of Edward H. Harriman and Mary Williamson Averell, she grew up in an intimate and religious family atmosphere, in spite of her father's public reputation as a railroad baron and builder of railroad systems. Her parents were interested and involved in benevolent activities. For example, Mr. Harriman endorsed the purpose and work of the Boys' Club which seeks to instill positive attitudes and behavior among socially deprived boys. And the prevailing theory of scientific philanthropy coincided with Mrs. Harriman's
assumptions: In 1921 Mrs. Harriman publicly expressed her
feelings by writing the forward to William H. Allen's
book, Modern Philanthropy, A Study of Efficient Appealing
and Giving. Mrs. Harriman wanted all people to receive
a fair chance to reach their potentials. And toward that
end she advocated working together for the good of all
people.²

In 1901, the same year she entered Barnard College,
Mary Harriman charted her own course of social action.
Believing with other settlement leaders that the advantages
of wealth entailed an obligation to persons less fortunate,
Harriman persuaded other New York City debutantes, like
herself, to become active in community service. Under her
leadership, approximately 80 young women formed the Junior
League for the Promotion of Neighborhood Work. The Junior
League's goals were:

> To foster among its members interest in
  undertakings for the betterment of the
  social, economic and educational conditions
  in New York; to help them study conditions
  and to find their own work; to raise funds
  to carry on the work.³

Initially, the Junior League presented an evening
of tableaus at a member's home which raised $1,500.00
for the College Settlement. The choice of that particular
settlement to receive a financial gift occurred because
several members were familiar with its purpose and program.⁴
Just donating money to the College Settlement was not enough of an involvement for Harriman. She convinced some of the other members that they should volunteer their time by working with the children at the Settlement.

Following an afternoon of playing games with young people, the Junior League volunteers quickly recognized how little they knew and understood the children who came to the Settlement. They also realized that good intentions did not insure success or rapport with others. Consequently, a few of the women signed up to take a class to learn children's games at the Hartley House Settlement. Later the Junior League volunteers studied other subjects which they then taught to settlement children. These classes ranged from sewing, dancing and story telling to city history and carpentry. Thus, a Junior League tradition began, which later charged to a requirement, whereby members only performed volunteer services following a period of instruction and study.5

During the early years of the New York City's Junior League, the number of members steadily increased. By 1906 the membership had grown to 230 women. In 1911, ten years after the founding, 500 women belonged to the Junior League. They all had formally entered New York City society and were beginning their charitable work.

To keep the New York City membership abreast of the Junior League programs and concerns, the officers, known
as the Board of Managers, started to publish a monthly newsletter, the *Junior League Bulletin*. The cohesiveness of the group received further reinforcement through paying dues and participating in various fund raising events. The receipts provided the means for making charitable contributions.6

Membership growth led to the specialization of volunteer assistance into five committees: Active Work, Music, Art, Flowers and Special Meetings. Volunteer work branched out from the College Settlement to include Greenwich House, Hartley House and the Nurses Settlement. Each committee had its own projects: The Music Committee members aided the Music School Settlement by arranging concerts which also raised money for the Settlement. Securing funds for the teaching of clay modelling, drawing and copper work in settlements kept the Art Committee busy. During the summer, the Flower Committee sent bouquets to settlements as gifts to the sick who lived in the neighborhood. In addition to their volunteer tasks, the Junior League women attended lectures and educational programs planned by the Special Meetings Committee. Speeches given to them by leaders from city government, philanthropic organizations and academic institutions outlined the current issues related to urban living. Judging from the questions they asked in response to these presentations it can be said that their interests were sparked.7
The combination of the scheduled learning opportunities, the continuation of settlement work, and the rise in membership enabled the Junior League to work on issues as well as their own projects. Part of the membership divided into neighborhood boards paralleling the public school boundaries for the purpose of examining the needs of the area. Within the public school system they found inadequate staffing so they assisted visiting teachers by tutoring children, supervising field trips to museums and parks and performing clerical tasks. Concerning public health they discovered that the district nurses lacked the necessary supplies for their work such as food, medicine and clothing which the Junior League then furnished. Also, finding the public nurses to be short-handed, financial support given by the Junior League paid the salaries of four district nurses and two visiting teachers.8

The theory of scientific philanthropy advocated by charity organizations kindled the interest of the Junior League. The leaders encouraged their members to combine their interests with charity workers rather than launching a new or different project which might lead to duplication of efforts. Not surprisingly, the Junior League volunteers worked within the charity organization by carrying out office duties, helping children with their school work and accompanying them to clinics for medical check-ups.9
During these early years the Junior League's aid did not remain confined to supporting children and families through various channels. For some members housing accommodations for single working women became an issue worthy of study and action. In their investigation they found that many of the homes available to employed single women were operated inefficiently by religious or charitable bodies which depended upon financial support from the sponsoring denomination or charity for continued operation. Nearly all the homes screened women on the basis of religion, age, income and working schedule.

Confronted with this situation, the Junior League women became interested in constructing and managing a home for working women. They wanted the home operated along sound business guidelines and to have it be available and affordable so that it could include the low wage-earner.10

In 1909 The City and Suburban Homes Company proposed to the Junior League that it would build a home on the condition that the Junior League purchase $250,000.00 in stocks in the company. The Junior League secured the amount and construction commenced at 78th Street and East End Avenue in Manhattan.

Members of the Junior League hoped that the building, called the Junior League House for Working Girls, would become known as an ideal home. Managed by a board of representatives from the Junior League and from the
building firm, the house offered an attractive and comfortable living environment.

In the seven floor building 80 percent of the bedrooms were designed for single occupancy. With balconies facing the East River, each of the five floors of bedrooms offered in addition quiet sitting rooms. The large roof area provided space for recreational activities. A large reception room with a stage on the main floor could meet the requirements for lectures, dances or theatrical performances. Smaller receiving rooms and a library lent a subdued atmosphere to the building. The basement had a dining room, accommodating about 266 people, with accompanying kitchen and storage rooms. Supporters of the building plan considered the abundance of baths and lavatories, the designation of rooms for sewing and the presence of public telephones as evidence of their concern for the residents' personal interests and private needs.

Prior to the opening of the home in 1911, the Junior League expected that the cost of room and board could range between $4.50 and $6.00 per week. By 1915 the home was filled with working young women involved in occupations including clerks, dressmakers, school teachers, machine operators, hairdressers, social workers and artists' models.

The thrust of the New York Junior League received attention from interested young women in other American cities.
In 1907 Boston women knowledgeable about the New York venture formed a Junior League. Three years later Junior Leagues organized in Brooklyn and Portland, Oregon. And, by 1912 women established Junior Leagues in Chicago, Baltimore and Philadelphia. The establishment of Junior Leagues in other cities speaks well of the example of the New York City Junior League. During the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century many women throughout America affiliated or created organizations for themselves. The creation of the Junior Leagues reflected the growing trend among women to join together for social, charitable, civic and literary purposes.13

In April of 1912 all of the Junior Leagues, except the Portland, Oregon group, sent representatives to New York City for the first national conference. Members of the New York City Junior League welcomed many of the women into their homes, thereby allowing additional time for the sharing of interests, activities and problems.14

During one session, a representative from each of the Junior Leagues reported on their volunteer efforts. All of the Junior Leagues carried on similar work associated with settlement houses and charity organizations. The women taught settlement classes, tutored slow learning children, and acted as friendly visitors. In Philadelphia several members branched out to volunteer in the public
schools by managing penny banks, by working in hospitals, and by associating with the Y.M.C.A. and the Consumers' League. 15

While pleased with their record of volunteer service, the women did not remain content. Two issues of concern arose during the conference. One concerned the nature of the Junior League's efforts, and the other focused on how the membership was prepared to carry out its responsibilities. Mary Harriman Rumsey, who had by then completed her undergraduate work at Barnard College in sociology and eugenics and had married sculptor Charles Rumsey, addressed the meeting on the subject of volunteering. She reminded those in attendance of the importance of studying problems before seeking solutions. She concluded that careful consideration of service projects had pointed New York City's Junior League in the proper direction.

The right place for the Junior League's assistance, according to Margaret Carey, a representative from Baltimore, was to become involved with existing organizations that needed volunteers to accomplish their goals. Carey felt that the Junior League could motivate and channel women of leisure towards community involvement. She also believed that the training of these women as volunteers also fell within the scope of the Junior League's work. To Carey, the Junior League had the ability to instruct potential volunteers by providing the necessary resources which
would enlighten them regarding the social circumstances of those whom they sought to help.\textsuperscript{16}

Methods of educating members varied somewhat among the different Junior Leagues. The Boston Sewing Circle League sponsored a lecture course which included as speakers President Eliot of Harvard, Booker T. Washington and Florence Kelley. Along a similar line, the Brooklyn Junior League invited clergymen, whom they considered knowledgeable and willing to help the socially downtrodden, to lead members in a Lenten Bible study series.\textsuperscript{17}

If speaker presentations gave the members of the Junior Leagues a broad overview of society, other in-League activities concentrated on specifics. In at least two of the Junior Leagues at that time, committee chairpeople prepared background information on volunteer opportunities. Usually, committee heads ascertained what settlements and organizations needed volunteers. Then during the course of assignment, the chairpeople and the volunteers would meet to discuss the experience. When necessary, the committee chairs offered advice to the volunteer.\textsuperscript{18}

At the conference an issue arose whether professionals from the settlements or agencies should act as advisory board members to complement the work of committee chairpeople. Discussion between the Junior League members and the professionals led to the vetoing of that arrangement. Each group felt that the Junior Leagues should
continue to assume the accountability for and direction of their volunteer actions. If the agreement between the Junior Leagues and organizations became too formal, both sides thought the volunteers' commitments might lessen.  

But the social work professionals did relate to and respect the Junior League volunteers. This became evident to the women in several ways. Prior to convening, many of the delegates heard a speech given by Mrs. Glenn from the New York City Charity Organization Society. Mrs. Glenn commended the efforts of the volunteers who gave not only assistance but encouragement to professionals.

Receiving approval from social work professionals meant a great deal to the Junior League members. Some of the women had experienced disappointments in working closely with professionals who displayed less than positive attitudes toward volunteers. Because of their strong desire to cooperate with people in existing programs, their need for recognition and support was great. Hence, the Junior League representatives at the conference welcomed the news reported by the Chicago group that one of their members received the position as head matron at a settlement, based on her volunteer record.

The convention in 1912 set a precedent for all the Junior Leagues. A national meeting would be scheduled every two years to relate the interests and activities of the Junior Leagues, to hear lectures given by leading
authorities in various fields, to study issues of national concern, and to establish the Junior League's policies. Between conferences, during the years 1912 to 1921, the Junior Leagues kept in contact with each other through the Junior League Bulletin. The Bulletin published by the New York City Junior League began to feature articles describing the workings of the Junior Leagues in several cities and charitable organizations.\textsuperscript{21}

The Bulletin also reflected the changes which were occurring in American life. A 1914 editorial reminded the Junior League members of the United States' neutrality position in the early stages of World War I and urged them to continue their work and strengthen their efforts on behalf of the poor, the sick, and the uneducated in their country. This national preoccupation, however, did not last a long time as the plight of Europeans became known.

San Francisco members responded to Herbert Hoover's plea for food by allotting money for the Belgian Relief Commission, despite a stipulation prohibiting financial gifts. Determined to provide specific assistance from the Junior League, the officers set up their own Belgian Relief Commission to secure clothing and financial contributions from members.\textsuperscript{22}

With America's declared entry into the war, volunteer involvements increased for the Junior Leagues. Members in various cities worked in relief offices and sold war bonds
while continuing their usual volunteer assignments. But for some of the women, helping the war effort at home was not sufficient.

In 1918 the Bulletin reported that 56 members of the Junior League were working as nursing assistants with the Y.M.C.A. in France. An additional 54 women had been trained to go abroad pending available openings. A letter sent to all the Junior League presidents from the Y.M.C.A. director in France praised the work of the Junior League volunteers and asked for more of them. Requirements included women not have a father or husband in the military and being in good health and over 25 years old. 23

Another national issue before the Junior League women was suffrage. In 1914, perhaps anticipating that the vote would be granted to women, the Junior League of St. Louis established a legislative committee to familiarize themselves with issues appearing on ballots. After Michigan passed its suffrage bill, the Junior League of Detroit found itself being the first Junior League eligible to vote. The Detroit Board urged its members to take account of all candidates and to exercise their newly won right wisely. The Junior League women were warned that voting without a thorough understanding of the facts was more detrimental than not voting. 24
The importance of knowing as much as possible about a given set of circumstances had early become the first step in the Junior League's process of reaching a conclusion about what activities to promote. Once an issue was studied, the Junior League would either cooperate with a group which was already working on a problem, or it carved out its own plan of action.

Prior to 1921 the Junior Leagues earned a reputation for their efforts which benefited others. The Leagues had come to be regarded as groups which accomplished their goals. The Junior League of Portland, for example, organized a garment factory to provide jobs for financially-stricken women. Securing comfortable work space and sewing machines, the Junior League hired 20 women recommended by charities. The Junior League also raised money to cover the salaries and supplies during the starting period of the venture. The factory operated for six hours per day and filled a wide variety of orders.

Concern for working women emerged also in Chicago. There the Junior League set up a Rest Room for women in the downtown area. Designed to meet the various needs of employed women, the Room provided sewing machines and showers. During a street car strike many women were allowed to stay overnight, winning for the Junior League appreciative support from employers.
The Junior League's assistance to women did not stop with the single or the employed. In Kansas City the members sponsored a prenatal clinic which gained sufficient reputation to initiate the formation of another clinic in the Florence Crittenten Home.\textsuperscript{27}

The social concern of the Junior League extended beyond these things to include personal attention to the young in a lighter vein in other cities. Disturbed by the coarse quality of popular entertainment for children, the Junior Leagues of Boston and New York began programs of children's theatre. In addition to performing before children in various locations, the women also financed and managed their productions. In New York City the members of the Junior League formed drama clubs and staged plays in settlements.\textsuperscript{28}

While some of the programs implemented by the Junior Leagues filled specific needs in their communities, similarities among the groups existed. By 1920 most of the Junior League volunteers in their respective cities could be found working in settlements, charity organizations, social service agencies, schools and hospitals.\textsuperscript{29}

In 1921 representatives from approximately 30 of the Junior Leagues from cities around the nation met to form the Association of Junior Leagues of America, Inc., a centralized organization. A president and board of directors were elected and appointed for purposes of
governing the Association. Initial tasks for the officers included writing a constitution and changing the ownership of the Bulletin from the Junior League of New York City to the Association. The editor was appointed by the Board, and the headquarters remained in New York City.

The Association brought together all the Junior Leagues for the purpose of supporting and advancing their common objectives. Its intention was not to control the activities of individual Leagues. Instead, the Association recommended ways of service and collected resources of information and ideas for the member Junior Leagues. Article 2 of the Constitution stated that the issues of the "social, economic, educational and civic conditions" were to be the focus of volunteer interest, knowledge and commitment in their local communities. Given this directive, the Junior League women had authorization to broaden their commitment to volunteer service.

The forming of the Association represented a move which many women's organizations had undertaken. At the same time that the Junior Leagues were starting, various independent women's groups were uniting to form national structures. By 1921 the leaders of the Junior League saw that their goals might best be reached if they combined their skills and knowledge to work together while seeking a closer working relationship with social work professionals.
Mary Harriman believed that the Junior League could be a way for socially advantaged young women to offer assistance to people in need. She did not confine her interests to the Junior League even though she was its founder. In later years her conviction that people must combine efforts for the good of society led her to work in the areas of rural cooperatives and consumerism.

Harriman's pursuits brought her into an involvement in politics. In 1928 she left her family's Republican Party to back Al Smith's campaign for the presidency. Harriman stayed with the Democrats, and her support of Franklin D. Roosevelt, together with her friendships with Eleanor Roosevelt and Frances Perkins, helped her gain entry into the New Deal. She received the appointment as chairperson of the Consumer's Advisory Committee. Accounts from New Deal participants vary as to the worth of the Committee, but Harriman persisted in upholding the consumers' views. Unfortunately, Mary Harriman's term in the New Deal did not last very long. In 1934 she died from pneumonia while recuperating from an accident.32

The organization which Mary Harriman started distinguished itself by applying the methods and techniques of scientific philanthropy to its commitment to help needy people through the efforts of volunteers. Sharing the viewpoint, prevalent among social workers, that effective charity work results from a systematic approach, the Junior
League volunteers applied what they had learned to their later work in other charity organizations.

Cooperating with other groups did not make up the total picture of the Junior League. If a social problem appeared unsolved at a given time, the membership would stop, take another look, and develop a method of treatment before proceeding. In this way they were able to remain flexible and responsive to such emerging needs as the mobilization required for the war effort. As more Junior Leagues developed in different cities each one studied the social conditions, and in some cases, responded by formulating new programs if no existing agency had the capacity for an appropriate response to a need. By the time the Association organized, the number of Junior Leagues had grown to about 30. The joining together of these separate Leagues indicated a desire to sustain what had been started and a determination to proceed in their work during the years ahead.
CHAPTER III
THE JUNIOR LEAGUE OF COLUMBUS, OHIO,
THE EARLY YEARS, 1922 - 1929

It was not long after the Junior League in Columbus began that it initiated its program of community service. It resembled the Junior Leagues in other cities with its members having similar social backgrounds and with its volunteer work in settlements and social agencies.

In October of 1922 eleven women organized the Junior League of Columbus, Ohio. Of the women, three had belonged to the Junior League in different communities before moving to Columbus. In keeping with the Junior League custom, the women resolved to donate two hours a week of their time to helping social and benevolent bureaus.¹

Approximately six months later more women were asked to join the Junior League. The charter members sent invitations to 100 women whom they considered their friends and/or those they viewed as part of the socially prominent in Columbus. Many of those receiving invitations agreed to affiliate, and by 1924 the membership totalled 87 women.²

The Junior League consisted of married and single women. All of the charter members were married to men whose occupations included attorneys, salesmen, engineers and managers. Likewise, the married women who joined the
Junior League during the first few years tended to have husbands working in the business and professional sector in Columbus. Among single women, some of the members were employed while others remained at home upon completing their education. The employed women held positions such as school teachers, probation officer, sales clerks and office workers. At that time, the Junior League members predominately resided in the East and North sides of Columbus, and in the suburb of Bexley.  

The Junior League entered Columbus at a relatively peaceful and prosperous time. In the years immediately following World War I the city attracted people seeking commercial endeavors. The absence of a large dominant business or industry prevented high levels of unemployment and economic dependence on any one firm.  

By 1920 the population of Columbus reached 237,031, an increase from 181,511 in 1910. The state of Ohio's population was 5,759,394, thus registering as the fourth largest state in the nation according to population. In 1920 83.3 percent of people living in Columbus were American-born citizens. The foreign-born comprised 6.8 percent of the population, with the largest number of immigrants from Germany. Between 1910 to 1920 the black population rose from 7 to 9.4 percent. During World War I blacks migrated from the South seeking jobs, which accounts for the increase.
The city's growth and development extended to the areas of social work and philanthropy. By the mid 1920's many diverse organizations engaged in social welfare. The public sphere of state, county and city governments had numerous boards and institutions providing services in such areas as the treatment of mental and physical illnesses, child care and support, assistance for the elderly, recreational opportunities and relief.

In addition, private attempts to aid people took various forms. In 1924 about 10 settlement houses operated in Columbus. Local branches of national associations like the Big Sisters, Boy Scouts, the Volunteers of America, Salvation Army and the Y.W.C.A. offered their programs to the community. The Columbus Free Cancer Clinic and the Columbus Society for the Prevention and Cure of Tuberculosis aimed to educate the public about these diseases and also gave medical attention to the victims of the diseases. Women's clubs carried out an array of projects for the benefit of individuals and institutions.6

The magnitude of benevolent work in the community reached the point where it became necessary to coordinate the many efforts. In 1921 the Council of Social Agencies was created to propose methods of cooperation between the different groups involved in social work. Two years later about 20 agencies agreed to form the Community Fund Committee for the purpose of promoting one major
fund raising campaign. Known as "One Campaign For All," the Committee hoped that a single financial drive aimed at benefiting many causes could prove advantageous for the agencies and the community.  

Hence, the Columbus Junior League found a broad social work basis in which to perform their volunteer duties. Just as the charter members began volunteering in existing agencies, so did the new members. Organizations such as the Big Sisters' Association, the Cancer Clinic, the District Nursing Association and St. Paul's Settlement received the assistance of the Junior League women.  

Preceding their volunteer activities, each new member, called a provisional member, had to complete a study course. The provisional course's purpose was to acquaint new people with the workings of the Junior League, the social issues and institutions evident in the community, and the role of the volunteer. In 1921 the Association of Junior Leagues mandated that all the Junior Leagues offer to their provisionals learning opportunities for preparation in volunteer work. Since the Junior League of Columbus united with the Association in 1923, a training course developed. 

Throughout the 1920's lectures served to convey vital information to the provisionals taking the course. The women attended lectures covering a variety of topics,
some of which included city government, local philanthropies, social service agencies, parliamentary law, the Junior League’s history and its own projects. One year the provisionals were required to write papers regarding the lecture topics. Sometimes the women went on field trips to organizations where volunteers worked. At the end of each course members took written examinations to gauge their understanding of the material presented.9

Every year women were invited to join the Junior League as provisional members. Admission guidelines for new members were based on age and familiarity with the Junior League members. Women over the age of 30 years could not be admitted. To be considered for membership, three members submitted letters recommending an individual to the Committee on Admissions. If Committee members did not know the proposed person, they requested three more letters. The names of all candidates then went to the Board of Directors for approval. In the event that a person received three or more negative votes, no invitation was issued. People accepting provisional membership were required to take the training course, attend the organization’s at-large meetings and serve on the Emergency Committee. After finishing the course and exam, provisionals moved into the active member class.10

Actives consisted of women under 40 years old. They volunteered two hours a week, served on the Junior
League committees and maintained the group's operation. In 1926 active members paid dues of $5.00 per year. In certain instances actives could be excused from their responsibilities and placed in an inactive category. Members who worked full-time were referred to as professional members and were exempted from volunteer duties. Women holding memberships as actives or provisionals in other cities could transfer into the Columbus League after presenting the appropriate credentials.

Upon reaching their 40th birthday actives could retain their membership as sustaining members. They were required to pay dues but were released from compulsory volunteer service. The Board of Directors could grant to former sustaining or active members the title of "Honorary Member," based on their Junior League achievements. This distinction could also go to people unaffiliated with the Junior League.3

In 1926 the Board of directors consisted of 21 members. Each year 7 members were elected by the membership for three year terms. The Nominating Committee selected Board members to fill the slate of offices of president, vice president, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer, assistant treasurer and city editor. All members then voted on the slate. The President chose individuals to serve as heads of committees.
Since all active members belonged to committees, the work of the Junior League flowed out of these units.\textsuperscript{12}

By 1925 eight committees fulfilling volunteer service existed. Two committees gave their time to hospitals, four assisted social and medical agencies and two others concentrated on the Junior League projects of education and occupational therapy. The members rendered a variety of community services, ranging from transporting agency clients to appointments to working closely with troubled families.\textsuperscript{13}

Starting the project of occupational therapy, which the Junior League began, required that it first consider the work of other community organizations. In order to learn what programs were operating in the community, the Junior League conducted a survey in 1925. Results from the survey showed that a void existed in the area of teaching skills to handicapped or crippled children and adults. To remedy that condition, the Junior League asked that various charities and social service groups cooperate with it in carrying out an occupational therapy program. The Junior League would supply members to work with the handicapped, and would finance the venture. In return the charities and agencies would send the names of people needing the program to the Junior League. The groups consented, and the Junior League proceeded with the project.\textsuperscript{14}
To prepare the members for working with the handicapped, the Junior League hired an occupational therapist. Helen Buckmaster, an occupational therapist of national reputation, came to Columbus after accepting the League's offer to set up a training program for the Junior League women. During a three month period, in sessions of six hours per week, about 25 volunteers learned how to teach skills and crafts to handicapped people.¹⁵

As the program unfolded the Junior League members worked with children and adults in four settings. First, the volunteers spent six hours a week at Children's Hospital teaching the children toy making, weaving and bead crafts. In some cases, the instruction became individualized at the child's bed. For children unable to work with their hands and confined to their beds, the women paid special attention by reading stories. The women also met children through their work at the Third Street School for Crippled Children. Members instructed children weekly in basket weaving, leather tooling, chair caning, rug hooking and toy making. The goods needed for the classes were provided by the Junior League.

By means of referrals, the program branched out to serve adults. Orthopedic surgeons at Grant Hospital asked the Junior League to offer bedside teaching to charity patients. In the late 1920's and early 1930's agencies such as the Shut-In Society, the Bureau of Rehabilitation
and the Division of Charities suggested names of people confined to their homes who could work at a number of tasks. The shut-ins received materials and instruction from the Junior League volunteers in rug making, in needle crafts such as crocheting and needlepoint, and in chair caning. The sale of items made by the shut-ins helped increase their own incomes.16

Near the end of the 1920's the occupational therapy program developed to the extent that an additional therapist was hired. The duties of Stella Earnest consisted of administering the classes taught at the school and hospitals. Buckmaster then supervised the work of the shut-ins. Throughout the 1920's approximately 25 to 30 members of the Junior League participated in the occupational therapy project. Of all community organizations, only the Junior League provided the services of occupational therapy. The program demonstrated the new League's most notable gift at that time to the community.

The Junior League of Columbus received recognition for the success of its occupational therapy work. At a regional conference of the Association of Junior Leagues in Dayton an exhibit of works made in the program won first prize in the occupational therapy division. Honorable mention from outside the Junior League circles was awarded to the Columbus group at a National Welfare Exhibit in New York City.17
To finance the occupational therapy project, the Junior League initiated another effort in the community. In 1926 the members presented their first children's play, "Knave of Hearts," thus joining a national movement involving many other of the Junior Leagues. Springing up to combat the negative influence of commercial theatre, the Junior League women wanted to offer what they considered as good entertainment to children. Not only did some of them want children to experience the immediate benefits of drama, they hoped that the children would acquire a better appreciation for the theatre when they reached adulthood.  

Following a children's theatre conference called by the Junior League of Chicago in 1926, and attended by delegates from eight other Junior Leagues, a clearing house of information about children's plays was created. In a short time several national theatre groups used and considered the clearing house the main authority on children's plays. In 1929 the Association of Junior League's sponsored its first Children's Theatre Conference in response to the interest of so many of the Junior Leagues.

In addition to staging and acting in the plays, Columbus members began to write their own versions of favorite, well-known stories, being very much aware of the possible psychological implications for the young listeners. Two women adapted the stories of "Cinderella"
and "Little Black Sanbo" which were accepted for production by their own League, and that of other leagues who staged these productions in their own cities.²⁰

The Junior League of Columbus presented plays in different locations around the city. Usually two to four productions were given each year. In 1928 a public performance scheduled at the East High Auditorium cost $1.00 for admission. A presentation specifically for school children charged 25 cents, and to increase the number of young viewers, a free dress rehearsal was offered to children referred by local charities. For the year 1927-28 Children's Theatre proved successful, netting $3,318.39.²¹

Since children's drama and occupational therapy involved the use of materials and equipment, the Junior League realized the need for work and storage space. In 1928 the League established its offices at 278 E. Broad. Located on the top floor of the "Little Gray House," the Club Rooms provided areas for conducting occupational therapy courses and for making and storing costumes and properties for children's plays. Besides serving this practical function, by carefully decorating their Club Rooms with items donated by the women, they created an environment conducive for teas, luncheons and planning sessions.²²
When the Junior League opened its Club Rooms, membership had grown to include 165 women. By this time the members were fulfilling their volunteer requirements by helping numerous agencies. Volunteers working at the Cancer Clinic carried out clerical tasks and wrapped surgical dressings. Others aided nurses and counseled clients. The Junior League women associated with the Big Sisters' program advised girls referred by Juvenile Court. In addition, volunteers planned recreational activities for others in this program and kept in touch with them regarding their school experiences.

Volunteer efforts were also given to assist the Community Fund with its financial campaign. Through Motor Service, the Junior League helped the Instructive District Nursing Association, St. Paul's Settlement House and the Children's Home Research Bureau. During 1927-28 members contributed 6,816 hours of volunteer services.  

The Junior League officers emphasized that members take seriously their volunteer jobs. At one point when some members failed to complete an assignment for the Cancer Clinic, they received a reprimand in the next Annual Report. Leaders in the Junior League wanted their organization to get recognition for its work and be considered worthy of future considerations by community leaders and groups.
Developing individual and group competence and creativity in any undertaking stood out as important goals for the Junior League. In 1924 the League planned its first public fund raising event to further its work in the community. The members collaborated and performed in the musical program "Flapperella." A local reviewer hailed it as a success and commended the amateurs for their talents. The following year another musical event appeared before the public, "The Junior League Review," which also received favorable response. Both productions featured attractive and elaborate programs in magazine format. Besides listing the order of events, many of the advertisements pictured some of the members of the Junior League utilizing the goods and services of the advertiser.25

During the 1920's the most financially successful venture and, perhaps the Junior League's most creative one, occurred with the publishing of a one-issue magazine of about 100 pages which earned a profit of $10,000.00. In May of 1929 the Junior League members sold Soundings for 50 cents a copy. The magazine, covering many aspects of life in Columbus, resulted from the idea of the President, Gladys Mohler, and the work of all the members. Organizations and institutions such as the University Women's Club, the Columbus Academy, the Columbus School for Girls, the Board of County Visitors, the Gladden Community House, and The Ohio State University were examined. Also mentioned
were prominent people of Columbus' past and present. Many of the articles were written by the Junior League members, and stories by James Thurber and Donald Ogden Stewart were featured. A historical sketch about the Junior League appeared along with a humorous cartoon picturing the current officers.²⁶

The writing abilities of the Junior League women also found an outlet in the monthly newsletter. In 1927 Topics went out to keep the membership informed of activities and to provide a means of expression for individual originality. Some of the women had come to view the magazine published by the Association of Junior Leagues as being aloof and out of touch with their interests. Hence, the members in Columbus were ready to initiate their own forum.²⁷

In 1929 to further the skills of members in all areas of involvement, the Junior League formed the Arts and Interests Committee. The Committee sponsored lectures on various themes, many related to the arts. It also established small groups which permitted members to pursue hobbies or develop new talents in such areas as journalism, dance, drawing and painting. A few years later, some of the members submitted their works to art shows.²⁸

The Arts and Interest Committee was one means by which members could enrich their lives. To President Gladys Mohler, whether the women worked in the areas of
social welfare or in the arts, the Junior League gave them many opportunities for personal development and growth. As a charter member, Mohler helped form the Junior League of Columbus, after moving here from the Junior League of Cleveland. Later she directed "Flapperella" and chaired the Children's Plays Committee. In 1927-28 when the president of the Junior League had to leave town for a period of time, Mohler assumed her duties. Two years later, as her own term as president was ending, Mohler received the distinction of being named the director of the Association's Region III. This position required that she act as the liaison officer between the Association's Board of Directors and the Junior Leagues in Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Delaware and Washington, D.C.²⁹

Mohler achieved this honor just as the Junior League of Columbus completed its seventh year. By then 172 women belonged to the Junior League, with 92 being active and a provisional class of 10.³⁰ Through those seven years the organization had successfully maintained its existence. The membership increased, group headquarters opened and the Junior League published its own news source.

These beginning years established the Junior League of Columbus as an organization not to be taken lightly. It took itself seriously. Its occupational therapy program, its theatre, its manner of training its members for volunteer service, its commitment to meeting real needs, and its
insistence that it work in harmony and cooperation with the community service agencies indicated its intent not to go off on its own.

The Junior League had chosen a course for its future on which it could build.
CHAPTER IV
ACTIVITIES OF THE JUNIOR LEAGUE OF COLUMBUS
DURING THE DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II

Both the Great Depression of the 1930's and World War II changed the work of the Junior League of Columbus. During the 1930's members of the Junior League worked on projects to improve conditions for those most disadvantaged by the Depression. Within a few years as America geared up to win the War the Junior League women joined the effort. This began a more activist period. During this time the Junior League strengthened its volunteer commitments and broadened their applications, learned to evaluate its work and sought the advice and support of local social workers before organizing a new community program.

Thirty-four years after the stock market crash in 1929, Gladys Mohler recalled the initial reaction of one woman attending a Junior League conference in Dayton to the news releases of the stock market's failure: "Oh, don't worry, the market won't stay in decline for long."¹

This typical optimism did not last. The Junior League of Columbus soon realized that there were problems arising out of the economic disaster. Because a number of members wanted to volunteer for work beyond the scope
of the assigned projects, the Junior League established a Volunteer Service Committee for the purpose of referring members to social agencies engaged in relief work.\textsuperscript{2}

Although many volunteer opportunities existed, the Committee felt it essential in assigning volunteers that they possess the capabilities and the commitment to match the requirements of the available position. In this instance, the Junior League of Columbus may have heeded the suggestions in the Association's 1931 Welfare Policy Statement which recommended that volunteer assignments be arranged so as to maximize the volunteer's skills and talents.\textsuperscript{3}

Before long the Junior League volunteers began to perform a variety of duties in many organizations. They worked at milk stations, at health clinics around the city and the county sponsored by the Kiwanis and the Urban League, and at hospitals where they interviewed new patients for their case histories and then referred them to correct departments. For the Red Cross, members filled clothing orders for families, provided transportation when needed and helped with clerical projects. The Children's Bureau requested that the volunteers escort children to health clinics (mental and physical), visit various homes to learn of their conditions and perform office duties.\textsuperscript{4}

Besides tending to the basic needs of food, clothing and hygiene, the Junior League also worked on the
overriding problem of unemployment which caused undue hardships for many families. In the early 1930's members serving on the Unemployment Aid Committee assisted the Ohio Department of Industrial Relations in trying to find jobs for the unemployed. The task proved difficult since few people were interested in hiring. After contacting almost 3,000 persons, only 45 job placements were made.\(^5\)

Despite the discouraging odds, the Junior League women did not give up their efforts. A year later approximately 86 members divided into teams to help the Chamber of Commerce with its "Columbus at Work Campaign," an attempt to secure work for the unemployed. One team, made up mainly of people from the Junior League, canvassed the south end of Columbus and Bexley, asking at each door if the residents would hire one or more persons to work a specific amount of time. Their pursuits resulted in pledges of 12,266 hours of labor. All totalled the campaign raised approximately 100,000 hours of promised work. Many of those hired stayed on indefinitely in their jobs. The outcome of this venture surprised the local Employment Bureau which had not anticipated such a response.\(^6\)

In addition to choosing and then working with another group on a project, the Junior League evaluated its own occupational therapy program. Part of this may have been precipitated by the resignation of Stella Earnest,
the therapist who taught classes at the hospitals. With Earnest leaving, Board members had to consider if the work in the hospitals justified the financial expenditures for staff and supplies, plus volunteer time. They decided that it did not, so the institutional effort stopped but work continued with the shut-ins. Hence, the program title, "Occupational Therapy," changed to "Work with the Handicapped."

The activities of the handicapped project were planned and implemented by a committee of Junior League members. Throughout most of the 1930's, these women worked closely with the shut-ins, taking them the necessary supplies for their work, training or assisting them in creating their goods and providing a sales outlet for them. In 1931-32 the sale of these items totalled $748.04, many of which were sold at benefit card parties, at Michigan vacation resorts, and at a local charity sale. Two years later total receipts increased to $1,610.73.

Due to the League's acquired reputation, other agencies such as the Bureau of Rehabilitation, the Shut-In Society, the Division of Charities and the Family Bureau referred new patients to it. In some cases where the shut-ins received no other financial assistance from any source or charity, the Junior League's project became their only means of support. Because real need was demonstrated
the committee members were determined to extend and continue their program to shut-ins in these circumstances.7

Through occupational therapy, the Junior League received community recognition and approval. Perhaps this accomplishment along with other volunteer efforts caused President Marion Smith Stoneman, in the early 1930's, to declare that the Junior League had achieved a stable and secure position in the city's "philanthropic" framework.8 This did not mean that the Junior League offered relief, but rather that it cooperated with social service agencies and initiated programs which helped others. In this respect, the Junior League of Columbus followed another guideline sent out by the Association.

In 1932 the Association's Emergency Welfare Policy clearly set forth directives which discouraged supporting or establishing bread lines and other ways of dispensing food or money. Instead, the Association asked that the Junior Leagues work together with existing groups which offered recreational, educational, health and welfare opportunities in the community. All Leagues were urged to confer with those working in the social services prior to embarking on their volunteer programs. The Association urged that the Junior League women not intentionally prevent a "wage-earner" from working. The members were reminded that the Depression called for an even stronger volunteer commitment.9
The statements issued by the Association reflected a change in course for itself. During the early 1930's the Association moved beyond the point of providing information and support to the member Leagues. As the Junior Leagues began to analyze their social service programs, the Association became the vehicle for critically examining specific projects carried out by the Junior Leagues. A Welfare Department was established within the Association's structure, and a social worker was employed to lead its operation. The social worker, accompanied by two elected field representatives from the Junior Leagues, called on the Leagues around the nation, reviewing welfare projects and making suggestions. By the end of the 1930's the Association organized additional departments with hired consultants to offer assistance to the Junior Leagues regarding fund raising and programming.10 Hence, the Association became another source of advice for the Junior Leagues.

Its policy of employing a professional to direct a volunteer program extended beyond the Association. During the 1930's the Junior League of Columbus hired a social worker, Kathleen Hambly, as its Volunteer Placement Secretary. Hambly's primary responsibility consisted of overseeing the volunteer assignments. After arriving in Columbus and starting her job with the Junior League in 1934, Hambly, also, became active in the community: she
agreed to serve as the chairperson for the city's Council of Social Agencies, which consisted of representatives from various social service groups, she assisted with a state government survey project, and she worked with the Aid for the Aged Division, a part of the state's Department of Welfare.

Hambly's interest in the community produced favorable results for the Junior League. In her first year the number of social service agencies accepting volunteers from the Junior League grew from 5 to 17. Out of 82 women, 41 volunteered in community organizations; 9 women assisted in health agencies such as the Cancer Clinic, University Hospital and the State Street Dispensary; 13 members gave their time to settlements, a day nursery and the Y.W.C.A.; 16 volunteers carried out assignments among welfare groups including the Red Cross, the Children's Bureau and the Franklin County Emergency Relief Office. And the Council of Social Agencies, in which Hambly played a part. received three Junior League members as volunteers.11

The remaining number of women devoted their time to programs in the arts and to projects within the Junior League. At the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, volunteers from the Junior League organized a reference library and collected background information for exhibits. Since the Children's Theatre continued to raise money for the Junior League, some members made it their volunteer placement.
Other members gave considerable time to the Junior League by serving as officers and committee chairs.\textsuperscript{12}

While members holding the League's internal placements were being judged by their peers, the women from the Junior League volunteering in community groups faced evaluations by professional staff in their particular situations. But, in spite of the variety of duties handled by the women, they seem to have performed all of them well. Comments from agency personnel emphasized that the Junior Leaguers were reliable and did their part. In the area of social work, the Junior League members expressed an attitude of real concern which, in most cases, aided their work.\textsuperscript{13}

The knowledge most of the Junior League volunteers brought to their placements came from the provisional course which all had taken during their first year with the Junior League. From 1930 to 1935 social problems and social welfare became major areas of study in the provisional course. This happened because the Depression continued with its debilitating effects. And the directive of the 1931 Welfare Policy Statement of the Association reinforced the idea that the Junior Leagues provide specific training sessions for members along with lectures surveying social work.\textsuperscript{14}

Initially the provisional course covered the workings of the Junior League at the national and local levels and also examined the commercial, political, educational and
cultural aspects of Columbus. Lectures presented by leaders from the Junior League and from the community gave the new members background information, and in some instances, possible directions for volunteer service. Provisionals usually went on field trips to various institutions in Columbus such as Battelle Memorial Institute, Children's Hospital, the State Legislature and the Jeffrey Company.15

By 1932-33 the course offered, along with community concerns, a look at industrial issues and social assistance. In addition to hearing a lecture on employed factory women, the group toured a local shoe factory. The topic of human welfare included lectures on aiding children, public health and social work methods. Members wrote two assigned book reports on The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble by Karl De Scheinitz and Lillian Wald's settlement experience, The House on Henry Street.16

The next provisional course differed from others in that, instead of its being planned solely by the Junior League, Edwin S. Burdell, director of the Ohio Relief Administration designed it. In the preceding class he had spoken on "The Social Approach to Welfare Work." Except for one presentation by a Junior League member on the city's "cultural opportunities," all the other lectures dealt with community problems and possible remedies for them. For example, R. M. Appleman, director of the Emergency
School Program spoke on "Emergency Schools in Columbus for the Unemployed"; the headworker of the Gladden Community Organization discussed "The Function of the Settlement House in Community Organization." Additional speakers touched on the topics of "Family Case Work," local, state and national relief programs, and the preventive approaches to juvenile delinquency.  

With the appointment of Kathleen Hambly as Placement Secretary the theme of social work persisted in the provisional course. Hambly secured speakers closely related to social work who shared their knowledge and expertise with the provisionals. By doing so, Hambly followed in the Junior League custom of seeking advice from those considered most knowledgeable. Hence, faculty members from the School of Social Administration and from the College of Commerce at The Ohio State University were invited to explore the factors which prevented families from achieving financial independence and how to help them in their impoverished state. Charity and settlement workers, individuals working with delinquent young people and public health nurses all presented their views and experiences so as to familiarize the provisionals with the existing social context. Furthermore, Hambly asked people who either supervised or closely observed the allocation of monies for public assistance. The Junior League received two approaches regarding this matter from women representatives of the Community Fund and the W.P.A.
For the members, who in their college years had not studied sociology or social work, the provisional course offered new and valuable information. Due to the content of the course, the members were better equipped for assuming their community responsibilities.  

To prepare the provisionals for their own service Hambly had them visit four local agencies. She also delivered a lecture in which she gave her impressions of what contributions volunteers can make in the community. And, to focus on the individual's role in society, which the Junior League always emphasized, Hambly recruited the president of the League of Women Voters to lecture on "A Citizen's Responsibility for Good Governance."  

During Hambly's second year the number of agencies receiving volunteers increased from 17 to 24. Out of approximately 90 women, 56 worked in agency positions. Rather than recording general observations about the volunteers' job performances, Hambly made available to the League the results of a rating system. Of the 56 members, 28 received good to excellent ranking, 15 rated good and 13 scored poorly on their efforts. Volunteer commitments within the League structure remained in the areas of Work with the Handicapped, Children's Theatre, the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts and the Junior League office and committee positions.
Their interest and dedication to volunteering inspired members of the Junior League to create volunteer opportunities for more people in Columbus. In 1936, just as other of the Junior Leagues were setting up centralized volunteer offices, the Placement Committee asked the Council of Social Agencies to help them establish one. The Junior League would provide the financial support, and the Council would supply volunteer openings. The Council agreed, and the Junior League placement secretary supervised the newly organized Volunteer Service Bureau.

The Bureau served as a "clearing house" for volunteers. At first a listing of available volunteer jobs from community agencies and institutions was assembled. To fill the openings, the Bureau recruited volunteers. Then the placement secretary decided where the volunteers might best work on the basis of their interests and qualifications. By the end of the first year 14 women had volunteered. This increased to 25 the following year. In 1938 a volunteer training course, closely resembling the Junior League's provisional course, was offered to interested volunteers as part of their training.22

The Bureau's work began to grow as shown by the number of volunteers and organizations served. By 1938-39 193 people registered with the Bureau, and 105 of them belonged to the Junior League. Of the 88 non-Junior League volunteers, 46 assumed ongoing placements in
approximately 17 groups, many of which also received volunteers from the Junior League. To help with temporary projects, 22 people volunteered. The time given by the volunteers totalled an estimated 10,560 hours of service. For the volunteers, a wide variety of jobs existed, ranging from reading to the blind to planning and teaching art classes at a settlement.23

In spite of the Bureau's accomplishments, the Junior League decided to evaluate its operation since League money maintained the Bureau. An Association's field representative, Helen Eastman, while visiting Columbus expressed her belief that all the Junior Leagues sponsoring Bureaus should likewise assess their impact in the community. She also praised the members for forming a Bureau.24

To start the study, the women organized a committee which contacted the Junior Leagues in seven cities who had also set up bureaus. The responses indicated that they were basically pleased with their bureaus, all of which had experienced a more rapid increase in volunteers than the one in Columbus.

Next, the committee sought the opinions of welfare agency directors from whom they learned that most of the leaders supported the Bureau's work. To the directors, the Bureau's volunteers appeared better qualified and more dependable in their jobs due to the training and
placement methods used by the Bureau. They saw the value of the volunteer training course, but recommended that it not be a requirement for all volunteers. The directors did not have the time to recruit volunteers, but hoped the Bureau would continue that role. They urged the Junior League committee to keep financing and managing the Bureau. And they suggested that the Bureau publicize its program to generate community support for and participation in the project and the agencies which benefited from its volunteers.²⁵

To find out the merits of the Bureau, the committee sent out a questionnaire to heads of all agencies accepting its volunteers. The majority of the replies expressed approval of the Bureau's work and identified a weakness of the program. Since volunteer vacancies persisted in many agencies, the Bureau needed to find more people.

After reviewing all the information collected, Laura Monsarret Evans, the chairperson of the committee, recommended that the Junior League continue to fund the Bureau. She felt that the Junior League was the most qualified organization to support the Bureau, and that it had made a positive contribution to the community. To strengthen the Bureau's work, Evans believed that publicity efforts should be boosted and that an ongoing recruitment system be set up.²⁶
The Junior League heeded the advice of the evaluation committee chair by proceeding to finance the Volunteer Service Bureau. In the late 1930's and early 1940's the Junior League sponsored several events such as a ball, a casino party and a Christmas shopping service for the public to raise funds for the Bureau.27

Even though the Bureau remained the prime recipient of the Junior League monies, it became a more independent entity. This change towards autonomy occurred during the tenure of Marie S. Baber as Placement Secretary. Hired in 1938 Baber held the position until 1942, thus completing a longer term than her two predecessors. A graduate of The Ohio State University's School of Social Administration, Baber brought to the position educational training and social work experience gathered in Columbus.

In her job, Baber assumed the task of running the daily operation of the Bureau. She coordinated volunteer placements, planned the training courses, maintained an ongoing recruitment program for volunteers and worked with the Bureau's advisory Board of Directors.28

Created in 1939 the Board consisted of nine people. These came from the Junior League, the social work sector in Columbus and women whose affiliations in community groups like the League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the B'nai Brith and the Women's Division of the Community Fund denoted their civic and social interests.
The Board established Bureau procedures, oversaw its management and guided its direction. As the Bureau's work evolved, specific goals for the Bureau were set forth, thereby fulfilling the Junior League's aim of providing volunteer experiences for more people. The Bureau's purposes encompassed securing and preparing women as volunteers, referring volunteers to agencies where they could assist paid staff, combining educational programs among the Bureau's registered groups to eliminate repetition, guiding organizations to insure efficient volunteer service and, finally, requiring that volunteers fulfill their obligations competently.29

One ever-present problem facing the Bureau and its Board was having enough volunteers to fill the various openings. Following the suggestions gathered by the Junior League's evaluation committee, the Bureau began to publicize its purpose and program with the hope of finding more people willing to volunteer. A brochure, "Will You Volunteer," published by the Bureau for public distribution, described the potential volunteer jobs and benefits derived from volunteering.

By 1939 the Bureau had established volunteer placements within settlement houses, health organizations and social work agencies. Because settlements tended to need volunteers with particular skills, the brochure suggested that people capable of teaching subjects in the areas of
music, art and drama offer their time. Prospective volunteers interested in health care and treatment could perform an assortment of tasks ranging from routine clerical duties to directly aiding patients. The Bureau listed numerous jobs in the social work field: for example, helping case workers, providing transportation and reading to persons incapable of doing so themselves on account of their ages or disabilities. Using the vocabulary of the social work profession, people were asked to serve as "friendly visitors."

Once individuals started working in any of the Bureau's 27 organizations, trained supervisory staff guided them in their duties.

What did the volunteers receive in return for their time and efforts? The Bureau held that the individuals enriched their own lives by helping others. Volunteering not only strengthened personal skills but also enlarged people's views of society. 30

Other means of publicity utilized by the Bureau included newspaper articles, radio programs, announcements in bulletins of various organizations, and window displays in downtown locations. By 1942 the Bureau gained listings in the Columbus Civic Calendar and in the Statistical Bulletin of the Council of Social Agencies. 31

These promotional tactics enabled the Bureau to secure a larger number of volunteers. In 1940 approximately 230 people completed over 12,000 hours of volunteer
service with 29 public and private agencies. Of the total volunteers, 151 of them took on regular volunteer assignments, while the remaining 79 helped when requested. The most difficult placements to fill were those in settlement houses requiring particular skills while volunteers filling other agency positions either were prepared to carry out their job duties or learned while working.32

One year later, in 1941, the Bureau grew, registering 341 volunteers aiding 31 agencies. New groups joined the Bureau which helped boost the total to include 44 college students and 107 volunteers from agencies belonging to the Council of Social Agencies. Hence, the volunteers coming into the Bureau extended beyond the Junior League membership. The training course, while still not compulsory, attracted 40 volunteers. The lectures covered topics related to mental health, social welfare and the role volunteers could play in these areas.33

The Volunteer Service Bureau probably could have kept going along the above-described lines had it not been for changing attitudes and conditions in America. Fears shared by many people regarding the nation's defense and the prospect of America's entry into World War II led the Junior League to rethink the focus of the Bureau. Throughout most of 1941, however, the Junior League of Columbus maintained that the Bureau best served the community by providing volunteers to the various social,
health and charitable organizations. Upon learning that the Association of Junior Leagues urged local Leagues to take up volunteer projects more closely related to national defense and that other Leagues were assuming civil defense programs, the League officers in Columbus began to explore the possibility of the Volunteer Service Bureau becoming the civil defense office without the Junior League's financial backing. They conferred with representatives from the Community Fund and the Council of Social Agencies about the feasibility of such a shift in volunteer activity. Mayor Green favored the idea but advised the Junior League that a Defense Council be formed to institute the office on which the Junior League would have representation. 34

By October of 1941 the Mayor officially sanctioned the conversion of the Volunteer Service Bureau to the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office of Franklin County. Marie Baber became the recording secretary of the Volunteer Office and later informed the Junior League of possible volunteer positions. During 1942-43 one member from the Junior League fulfilled her required hours of volunteer service at the Defense Office. In 1942 the Junior League extended financial support to the Civil Defense Volunteer Committee upon request. By February of 1943, however, the Civil Defense program operated independently of the Junior League. 35
To Virginia Reeves Stedem, president of the Junior League at the time, the transition of the Volunteer Service Bureau to the Civilian Defense Office marked an accomplishment for the Junior League. The Junior League had responded to a community need by instituting and successfully maintaining a new program which was then turned over to the community for rearrangement and new management.36

With the Volunteer Service Bureau no longer being a project of the Junior League, the members set about to search for new programs to initiate and sponsor. To begin, the Board appointed a nine member Project Investigating Committee representing the various levels of the Junior League membership to survey the community for service gaps. The Committee sought advice from such organizations as the Council of Social Agencies. These inquiries resulted in 1943 with the Junior League's purchase and gift to the American Red Cross of a Mobile Blood Unit costing $2,500.00.37

Once the United States entered World War II much of the Junior League's attention and efforts turned to projects supporting the national cause. The Junior League women earned community recognition and also gained the right to be a part of the downtown Columbus Victory Corner booth. In 1943 the League organized a War Emergency Committee to specifically handle war-related activities such as bond drives, victory parades, staffing the Victory
Corner and securing volunteers for a ration book program. All members were obligated to participate in War Chest Drives. 38

As the war continued the Junior League responded by giving assistance to special projects like the Russian War Relief, the Tuberculosis Christmas Seal Sale and the United Nations Clothing Drive. Through one of the children's plays presented by members, "Yankee Doodle Guests," it emphasized American loyalty and benevolence. Furthermore, since the Junior League members frequently moved as their husbands received military orders and transfers, a Hospitality Committee organized to arrange opportunities for women relocating to become acquainted with members of the Junior Leagues in other places. 39

For several women, giving volunteer help to the war cause was not enough. By 1944-45 four members of the Junior League served in the WAVES, WACS and women's Marines. Another four women worked with the Red Cross.

Changes occurred on the local scene as well. Between 1941 and 1945, the number of placements at the Red Cross office increased from one member to 13 women volunteering as nurse's aides, canteen aides, staff assistants and as members in the motor corps. 40

While all women from the Junior League labored on war-related projects, the active members also pursued their volunteer assignments. They donated their time
weekly to hospitals, settlements, the Columbus Gallery
of Fine Arts and numerous health and social agencies.
In 1942-43 20 women assisted with the Community Fund Drive.

In addition, members carried out the work of various
committees within the Junior League. The Ways and Means
Committee planned fund raising activities for the League.
Through the work of the Education Committee the members
heard lectures from people representing diverse community
groups such as the Blood Donor Center, the Columbus
Philharmonic Symphony and the Citizen's Service Corps.
The Education Committee arranged for members to attend
meetings planned by other groups such as the Home Defense
Council, the Household Training Center and the American
Association of University Women's Institute on Defense
Education.41

The war raised the commitment of the Junior League
to its program of Children's Theatre. Between 1940-45,
15-20 women fulfilled their required hours in this activity.
After the group started trouping in 1937, the number of
children viewing the plays swelled. During the early
1940's children's plays were presented at schools,
hospitals, museums and theatres. The number of schools
visited by the players ranged from 10-22, with the audience
spanning a total of 10,000 to 15,000 children. School
officials reported to the Junior League that the plays
enriched the children's experiences.42
A program of such size necessitated careful planning. Thus, in 1943 the Junior League studied the operation, with the help of a consultant on children's drama from the Association who suggested ways to enhance the program. These measures included selecting a stage director, a costume mistress and having a committee choose the play. The Junior League heeded her advice, and also decided upon a specific troup schedule and hired a professional director. 43

The Junior League found it had the ability to carry on a variety of commitments at the same time, but it needed more members to do so. In the 1930's the total membership grew from 181 in 1930 to 262 in 1939. At the same time the active members increased from 83 to 108. During World War II, despite the movement of people, the Junior League experienced growth. In 1940-41 membership stood at approximately 289, reaching 386 in 1945-46. For the 15 year period of 1930-45 the size of the Junior League grew each year. 44

To join the Junior League women still had to receive the approval of the Board after fulfilling age and residency requirements, along with three references from members of the Junior League. Women accepted in the Junior League came from middle to upper class families. Hence, some of them held educational credentials from well-known girls schools such as Wellesley and Vassar.
Within the group of married women, many of their husbands practiced law, medicine and engaged in the business professions. Thus, the Junior League precedent of enlisting women who were free to choose their volunteer responsibilities continued.

The events of the Great Depression and World War II increased the options of volunteer involvements for the Junior League members. Some of the opportunities resulted from the Junior League's initiating and carrying out projects which received endorsement and guidance from the Association of Junior Leagues, social workers and community leaders. In fulfilling the Association's view that the capabilities of volunteers in placement situations be maximized, the Junior League of Columbus employed a social worker to direct its volunteer programs. The first placement secretary expanded the number of agencies receiving Junior League volunteers and systematized the evaluations of the women by the staffs they assisted. Throughout the 1930's, the placement secretaries continued to emphasize social work theories and methods in the provisional course.

In conclusion, the period which included the Great Depression and the second World War saw the Junior League of Columbus learn how to choose a big project and make it work, evaluate it, change when new needs arose and assign its volunteers. But the most marked change was its borrowing from the professions its commitment to doing the best
work in the most responsible way. It sought to address itself to real needs and adjust to new needs. It applied a certain discipline to itself which resulted in its earning for itself a recognized place among the agencies whose work it was to help people.

Further evidence of the Junior League's emerging status and maturity as an organization was the ease by which it adopted procedures for self evaluation. This willingness to submit to the evaluation of its own work and of the work of its individual members in volunteer placement settings shows that it was secure in its role in the community.
CHAPTER V

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS OF THE
JUNIOR LEAGUE OF COLUMBUS, 1945 - 1973

Following World War II the Junior League of Columbus became more active. Partly, the Junior League did this by expanding its ability to identify community problems, by conferring more extensively with community leaders and by formulating a process and criteria for choosing the organization's projects. But more important, the community began to see that the Junior League's capacity to do projects well was a useful contribution to community life. A more active Junior League in Columbus found that insofar as it represented the collective experiences of Junior Leagues, the Association's suggestions were helpful. So the Columbus group amended its placement procedures to reflect the Junior League's new definition of itself. As the Junior League began to be taken more seriously it increased its concern about the quality of its work and, at the same time, of its members. The Junior League continued to choose its new members carefully and nurtured them more carefully for their more responsible volunteer roles.

The new activism of the Junior League is expressed in these three areas: projects, placements and membership.
I. Projects

With its participation in the war effort ended, the Junior League assumed the task of sponsoring projects which it considered beneficial for the community. In the early 1950's as the Junior League approached its 30th anniversary, it began to systematize its method for choosing projects and, once chosen, for implementing them. This, according to one member, resulted from the Junior League's decision to stop and think about what direction it wanted to go in the future. This emerging self-critical attitude can be interpreted as a sign of the group's maturity which developed from its years of experience, and as an expression of its conviction that study should precede any form of action.1

In defining and setting up project policy the Junior League adopted a simultaneously practical and rational approach. The Board established a Project Committee to examine the volunteer and financial resources of the Junior League and to gather information about community needs and problems. The Junior League also accepted the Association's criteria for and the definition of a project. It must be voted by the membership and be applied in the areas of culture, recreation, health, welfare and education.2

The Project Committee became the channel through which all prospective projects moved. It accepted project proposals made by the Junior League, based on its community
surveys and in consultation with community leaders. And it was receptive to project suggestions from individuals and groups in the community, notably the Children's Mental Health Center.²

By the 1960's, as more requests came from the community, the Committee asked the groups to complete an application form. Among the form's many questions, the Junior League asked that groups state precisely their needs in terms of financial and personal aid, that they provide background information about their organization, that they describe the goals of their proposed projects, that they explain their reasons for contacting the Junior League, and that they predict their projects' future in the community.⁴

The Committee studied the possible projects by the standard of their actual importance for the community, their chances of providing meaningful volunteer jobs, their likelihood of fitting into the Junior League's budget and, finally, whether the time was right for the Junior League and the community to launch any of the projects. The Committee envisioned an ideal project as one which:

- utilized many volunteers, met a real Columbus need, desired some financial assistance and could be absorbed by the community at the end of a few years as a smoothly running program.⁵

When the Project Committee chose a prospective project it then went before the membership for further study.
The Association's guidelines used by members to consider a project resembled those of the Project Committee. After studying the proposed project, the membership voted to determine its future participation, if any. Hence, the Junior League defined a project as:

a planned undertaking approved by the membership to serve the community in the health, welfare, recreation, education or cultural fields.  

From the late 1950's to the early 1970's the Junior League selected 36 projects in this way. Each approved project covered a definite time period. Each contained at least one of three components—financial backing, administrative participation and volunteer involvement. Receiving support from the Junior League did not guarantee ongoing assistance. In some cases the Junior League planted "seed money" for the new programs, which later became permanent without the Junior League's funds.

The projects sponsored by the Junior League represented its sense of social responsibility to society. In the area of education, the Junior League's projects benefited a variety of community programs for people of diverse social, economic and educational backgrounds. Hence, it granted assistance to museums, to a public-supported home for dependent children, to an information center and to a speech and hearing clinic.

By the late 1960's when evidence showed that the government's poverty programs did not reach all the people
who needed them, the Junior League helped a settlement house begin a pre-school. It also aided the Six Pence School, the area's only school for brain-damaged children. At the time, the Junior League's commitment to the School was exceptional, since most programs of that type around the nation faced many difficulties in securing funds. Prospective donors were hesitant to contribute due to incomplete information regarding brain-damaged children.9

Culturally, the Junior League initiated a project which encompassed the full range of arts programs. In the late 1950's the Junior League's pursuit of community issues revealed that the arts played a minor role in greater Columbus and that disparities of emphasis existed among the fields of the performing and visual arts. To correct that condition the Junior League laid the groundwork for an arts council and presented the idea of a coordinating agency to community art groups.

Because of the unwillingness of the groups to cooperate, the council failed to materialize. But, the Junior League was not about to give up its idea! To bring groups together the Junior League, along with the Downtown Area Committee, began to publish an arts calendar listing cultural programs and events. Circulation to individuals and organizations at one point reached 25,000 subscribers.10

Through the arts calendar the harmony essential for an arts council emerged among the various art groups.
In 1962 the Junior League recommended to these groups the formation of an arts council and offered to finance it for two years. The proposed goals for the council advocated providing learning experiences in numerous art forms, inviting and inspiring greater participation in the arts activities and cultivating an appreciation for the city's arts legacy. Affirmative responses to this advocacy role resulted in establishing the Columbus Council of Arts. Within a year, Jane Kerum, a member of the Junior League, assumed the presidency of the Council. As the Junior League's financial agreement drew to a close the Council developed ties with the city's Chamber of Commerce which helped provide for its existence.  

This project represents the Junior League's commitment to its goal to apply rationality to problem-solving. The arts council project demonstrated organizational sophistication and the willingness of the Junior League to follow its convictions.

The scope and success of the arts council depicted one project which won recognition for the Junior League as an important and contributing organization in the community. But, a prior project also encouraged this reputation. Late in the 1940's Dr. Earl Baxter of Children's Hospital and the Metropolitan Health Council asked the Junior League to finance and play a part in establishing a new clinic for treating children with mental disorders.
Both Baxter and the Council believed that the community lacked the necessary resources to care for the many children requiring attention. In response to these overtures the Junior League took account of the services offered to mentally-troubled children. Upon realizing that the help available to these children fell short of what was necessary, the Junior League decided to lend support. Other community groups including the Franklin County Health and Welfare Institute and the Council of Social Agencies reached the same conclusion.12

Initial investments of money from the Junior League went towards the salary of a child psychiatrist and to finance a pilot study for the proposed Children's Mental Health Center. As part of the agreement with the Metropolitan Health Council, the Junior League received four seats on the Center's Board of Trustees, joining people from the fields of education, medicine, psychology and sociology. The Junior League's representation on the Board continued, and during the late 1950's two husbands of Junior League women served respectively as Board President and legal adviser.13

As the work of the Children's Mental Health Center developed in diagnosing and treating children, the Junior League's involvement increased. Members addressed community gatherings on behalf of its efforts, and it joined in promoting educational information about mental illness.
To one president of the Junior League, these efforts resulted in the community's growing awareness of mental health. At the Center, the Junior League attended to the daily operation. Although one member felt volunteer jobs opened up slowly, women from the Junior League worked as receptionists and office helpers. In time several members carried out the tasks of research assistants for the Center's staff.¹⁴

Between 1949 to 1957 the Junior League gave $51,643.00 to the Children's Mental Health Center. This support enabled the Center to expand to include a staff of 23 persons, an outpatient clinic and a residential home. Additional funding came to the Center from the Community Chest Fund of Franklin County and the state's Division of Mental Hygiene. By the early 1960's the Center no longer required the Junior League's financial support as it had achieved status as an institution which could maintain its own operation and service to the community. To one observer the Center ranked as the Junior League's "single greatest contribution to the community."¹⁵ But its contribution to the community in this effort was not singular. It represented a complex and multifaceted orchestration of efforts and a sustained commitment.

The Junior League's involvement in the arts, health and education did not diminish its interest in social welfare. As in previous decades when the Junior League
worked with the Council of Social Agencies on projects, circumstances arose in the 1960's to bring the Junior League together with the Council's successor, the United Community Council. But one notable difference was apparent: rather than the Junior League going to the Council for guidance and support, the Council sought the Junior League's help.

The Council asked the Junior League to join with it in sponsoring two pilot projects to aid families. In both endeavors the Junior League furnished money and administrative support. Members held positions on the planning committees throughout the duration of the projects, and in the multi-problem family project, member involvement continued after the Junior League's financial agreement ended. Due to its successful record, the program was redesigned for ongoing use by Catholic Social Services and the Franklin County Children's Service. Nancy Jeffrey from the Junior League chaired the United Community Council Committee which enabled that transition.16

By the early 1960's the Junior League was being asked to attend meetings of other groups and to refer members for board positions in community organizations. At one point, 29-33 active members served on 36 community boards. Furthermore, other members held similar positions secured on their own initiatives and not through League channels. The groups benefiting from the Junior League women included the Franklin County Mental Health Board,
Planned Parenthood and the Women's Auxiliary Council of Children's Hospital.

The Junior League's desire to share in community work also led it to seek other affiliations. In response to the war on poverty, the Junior League applied for and received organizational membership in the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization.17

As the Junior League assumed a larger role in the leadership of the agencies which took on these responsibilities, it continued to train its members for this community work; and in this case it educated its members for leadership in public service. But, during the 1960's, the Junior League intended to prepare people outside its membership for carrying out community obligations. Drawing on the community board experiences of its members, the Junior League issued a booklet "So You're On A Board." The booklet described the duties of board positions, and also provided a summary of the Junior League's objectives and operating procedures.

Going a step further, the Junior League worked with community groups, including the Urban League and the League of Women Voters to design the Community Education Course. The course resembled the Junior League's provisional course in its format of lectures and discussions, but it concentrated on providing information about the city's educational, political and social facets. In 1963,
as the course gained in popularity as evidenced by its increase in registrations, the United Community Council adopted it as a program carried on under its Public Relations Committee.\textsuperscript{18}

The Junior League's seriousness about its service of volunteers won it a leadership role in the community.

II. Placements

As the Junior League refined its method of project development and expanded the number of community programs it supported, it also aimed to improve its volunteer assignment work. Throughout its history the Junior League attempted in numerous ways to place its members in positions compatible with their interests and abilities. And by the late 1950's, the Junior League decided that the placement system must be strengthened to provide effective service which equalled its project achievements.

To enhance the placement task the Junior League again chose a pragmatic approach as recommended by the Association. It was designed to help insure the wisest selection of placement opportunities for each member. Under this arrangement a committee of 12 placement advisors was established. As members of the Junior league, they were to interview annually all active members seeking volunteer positions. In implementing this departure from the previous procedure, the placement chair and her
assistant interviewed the women yearly, except members of the Board and those in the trouping theatre who were interviewed every two years.

A major part of the advisors' responsibilities included knowing the full range and requirements of volunteer jobs. Only then, they believed, could they offer pertinent information and guidelines to the active members. Additional duties for the advisors included visiting agencies where the Junior League volunteers worked and keeping abreast of developments as the placement work commenced. The actual overseeing of the volunteers remained with agency or organizational personnel, but the advisors gave direction to members when necessary.19

Late in the 1960's the placement advisors were given more responsibilities in another step towards improving the volunteer system. They began to help the active members evaluate their placement experiences in terms of personal growth. They did so because the Junior League held that the women should not merely finish their assignments, but should have acquired new knowledge along with a sense of accomplishment.20

To advance the benefits of volunteering, the Placement Committee, consisting of the advisors, judged volunteer opportunities by a standard of priorities, the usefulness of positions ranked as the primary factor for receiving the volunteer assistance of the Junior League.
Next, positions needed to appear relevant to the present time and necessary for the community. Job duties were expected to match the ability levels of the Junior League members. And, the positions should allow the volunteers room in which to exercise their originality. The Junior League did not want its members engaging in unimportant work which required minimal effort and failed to stimulate them.\(^{21}\)

In the post-World War II years placements taken up by the Junior League reflected those guidelines in varying degrees. Placements encompassed five fields: welfare, health, education, arts and League administration. The Junior League responded to fill requests for volunteers in these areas from agencies and institutions. The women performed a wide variety of responsibilities ranging from serving on boards to working directly with people of all ages and backgrounds. While some of the women helped manage programs, others taught classes at the State Psychiatric Hospital, served as case aides to overworked social workers, guided people through museums and befriended residents in a public housing unit.\(^{22}\)

Some placement positions were initiated by the Junior League. In the 1950's the Junior League's commitment to quality entertainment for children branched out to include a puppetry program. Other members decided to exercise their literary skills and began to publish a
magazine for children confined to their homes or to institutions due to ill-health. Redposts featured stories, word games and suggestions for art activities. By the late 1960's the volunteers working on Redposts agreed that it had lost its inventiveness and no longer seemed appropriate for the times. Hence, publication ceased.23

To create new placements the Junior League closely observed changing patterns in the community. Placement advisors worked to start new positions rather than assuming established ones themselves. Members pursuing exploratory placements which fit their individuals needs and interests sometimes informed the Junior League if their areas justified the help of the Junior League in terms of volunteers or money as in the Council of South Garfield Square project. In another instance, several members implemented an exploratory program whereby they instructed people outside of the Junior League to work as volunteers at the Livingston Avenue Public Library.24

Within the League's structure members participated in various placements. Study placements kept the Junior League informed on current issues. A study group examining multi-problem families provided a basis for understanding the United Community Council's project proposal. This work influenced the membership's decision to accept the Council's multi-problem family project.
Placement positions were identified to maintain the Junior League's operation. Members of the board elected as officers and serving as committee chairs directed every level of the League's work. The Junior League's major fund raising project, the Bargain Box required placement positions as it became an annual event. Billed as a community-wide rummage sale, the Bargain Box provided the financial basis for projects.

In the early 1970's the Junior League reorganized its administrative system. Believing that volunteer effort should operate efficiently, the number of Board positions were reduced.25

Women joining the Junior League understood and accepted the commitment that membership required when assuming placement responsibilities. For many of them, their tasks either in the community or inside the Junior League entailed more than the prescribed two hours per week. Many women accepted more than one placement, and others did not report all of their jobs.26 They showed enormous energy for a high quality of volunteer work and they persisted in finding ways to improve upon it.

III. Membership

To sustain and enlarge a viable program of community work, the Junior League recruited its new members selectively. The Junior League looked for women who were interested in
community issues. Then, it went on to prepare and support them for their volunteer tasks.

After World War II membership in the Junior League remained by invitation. Members nominated individuals and offered recommendations on their behalf. The Junior League asked that the members not tell the people of their nominations. All applications for membership were reviewed by the Admissions Committee.27

During the 1950's as the Junior League's community role began to accelerate, the Admissions Committee conducted a study of its membership selection procedures and thus informed the membership about them. Committee members believed that the future of the Junior League rested with the strengths and abilities of its membership. Therefore, the Committee wanted the members to make wise judgements regarding prospective members, indicative of the Junior League's definition of excellence.

To aid the members in understanding the admissions process, the Committee furnished its list of standards used in judging applications. First, the Committee said that the most important characteristic looked for in potential members was that of their being concerned about the community. Second, the Junior League wished to find dependable and scrupulous individuals. The Junior League preferred women who were agreeable to participating in training sessions, and who could afford to give the time required of volunteer service. Among the other attributes of applicants the
Committee stressed their being compatible with members in terms of their previous experiences and involvements.28

From these guidelines members were encouraged to propose women much like themselves. In the mid 1960's many of the provisional members shared the same educational and social backgrounds that had always predominated in the Junior League. Some of the women had studied at private schools such as the Columbus School for Girls, Emma Willard, Vassar and Randolph Macon. Others attended public institutions of higher learning including the University of North Carolina, the University of Michigan and The Ohio State University. Among the married provisionals, many of their husbands worked as lawyers, doctors, bankers and businessmen.29 Thus, women in the Junior League continued to come from the professional classes of American society.

By the late 1960's the membership in the Junior League remained totally white and included only one Jewish woman. One explanation for this predicament assumed the premise that the active members in charge of admissions did not wish to oppose the views of sustaining members who resisted admitting black and Jewish women into the Junior League.30

The racial and religious composition of the Junior League, however, was not unusual when compared to the other Junior Leagues. Most of the Junior Leagues consisted
of women who were white and most often Protestant. The Junior Leagues in larger cities tended to have a greater number of Jewish members than the Junior Leagues in smaller cities. Blacks may not have been prohibited from joining the Junior Leagues, but due to separate educational and social backgrounds, entry into the Junior Leagues for many of them was limited.\textsuperscript{31}

Despite the social boundaries, the Junior League of Columbus increased its membership. Between 1945-46 and 1973-74 the Junior League grew from 386 to 668 members. As the Junior League approached its 50th anniversary in 1973, 285 actives carried out their volunteer responsibilities in community service. The provisional class was comprised of 40 women preparing for future involvements. In addition to the actives and provisionals, over 300 sustaining members supported the Junior League's programs with contributions of money.\textsuperscript{32}

In the 28 years following World War II the provisional course continued to orient new members to the Junior League's work. Three basic areas of study remained in the course: the Junior League's history and structure, an overview of the city's development with emphasis on its political, educational, cultural and social aspects and alternatives in volunteer placement. As had been the case prior to these later years, through the provisional course the Junior League members continued to be trained to observe
community conditions, discern the gaps in services and offer solutions. Variations occurred in the provisional course which mirrored the Junior League's more extensive community role and the current social trends. During the early 1960's when the topic of community affairs came up in the course's schedule, the Junior League sent the provisionals to the Community Education Course which it had helped plan. A decade later, to strengthen communication and problem-solving skills, provisionals attended a group dynamics seminar. Provisionals were also given the opportunity to propose new placement positions after studying the present ones. And, as the number of working women increased who needed to take the provisional classes, evening sessions of the course were arranged.

A recurring theme in the course, which did not change as new issues arose, was the significance of volunteering. During the 1950's and 1960's husbands of active members addressed this topic at meetings to which husbands of provisionals were invited. Although humor was expressed about the large amount of time their wives gave to the Junior League, the essence of most messages conveyed approval for the work carried out by them.

At that time this attitude reflected a dominant social theme among white-collar men and their wives. Women married to business and professional men were not
expected to seek paid employment or careers. Instead, they were to structure their lives around their families and community organizations.36

These values were reinforced by the Junior League, but the provisionals also heard speakers at the League's educational meetings from a variety of community groups and institutions extolling the value of volunteering. The importance of being attuned to social issues was also stressed. Although its activism was tempered by pragmatism, the willingness to be an activist was a desired trait of a prospective member.37

Over the years programs for educational meetings examined the prevalent social problems. During the 1950's the Legislative Committee gave its assessment of critical state needs. It urged the members to study the legislation it endorsed. Some of which included increasing state expenditures for state mental institutions, setting up guidelines for licensing practical nurses and establishing a special alcoholism section within the Department of Mental Hygiene. Even though the Junior League could not lobby--the Association's policy prevented lobbying activities--the board and the total membership could agree to favor various legislative proposals, and it did so accordingly. The Legislative Committee encouraged all members to write their elected representatives regarding their positions on specific bills.38
In the early 1950's members of the Legislative Committee joined with women representing the Junior Leagues in other Ohio cities to form a State Legislative Committee. This Committee was then one of approximately 10 established around the country by various Junior Leagues. The purpose of the state committees, like that of local legislative committees was to keep members briefed on current state legislation.  

By the 1960's the Legislative Committee changed its name to Public Affairs. The Committee continued to study social issues and bring them to the attention of the Junior League. Because of its investigations, the Committee concluded that the state of Ohio fell far short in caring for the needs of its citizens. In response to the inadequacies of the state's social service programs, the Committee led the Junior League to endorse levies promoting public assistance.

Similarity in political attitudes is added to the still developing list of common interests, backgrounds and values of the members. That political action is added as a legitimate enterprise of the Junior League is a logical conclusion reached by democratic consensus. Although the political activity is confined to its traditional sphere of social concern for the welfare of people who suffer misfortune, it is, nevertheless, representative of
the Junior League's commitment to deal with social problems by applying rational methods to assist them in following its convictions toward practical solutions for social problems.
CONCLUSION

In the Junior League's determination to give expression to its commitment to serve the community and the needs of its less fortunate citizens, how it proceeded came to be as important as what it did. The Junior League has been consistent on this account.

The Junior League of Columbus applied to social problem-solving the rational methods of scientific philanthropy used by social workers. This early commitment has served it well. It focused its attention on specific populations and areas of need in the community. Using this professional model, it prepared its members for volunteer work on those things.

The decision to confine its community involvements in this way led the Junior League to target its contributions to the urban poor, to develop a program for the handicapped and to advocate for more vulnerable segments of the population, notably children. Maintaining that the appreciation of the arts improved the quality of life for the whole community, the Junior League sought the elevation of the public's aesthetic sensitivity by broadening its exposure to the arts. Being grounded in the professionalism of early social work, the Junior League persisted in concentrating on these things.
This focus, while an asset in helping the Junior League elsewhere as in Columbus, kept its commitments concrete, only lately evolved into the political arena. Its commitment to projects had a basis in awareness of the larger social problems—the effects of the rapid industrialization of the late 19th century, for example, but its perspective was that there are, and perhaps always will be, imperfections in any given social order. It decided that it needed to do something about which something could be done. It might be said that this style or approach was a sort of pragmatic liberalism.

Through the Junior League’s approach to and accomplishments in volunteer service it made a place for itself among the institutions of Columbus. During the first 50 years of its existence the Junior League evolved from offering only support to agencies and institutions to helping direct their programs. The women of the Junior League participated in shaping the climate and, in some cases, the institutions of social service—this at the same time that many of their husbands were active participants in and shapers of the business and professional spheres of the community.

Throughout the years the members of the Junior League remained committed to volunteering. Although they consulted with professionals for help in choosing their work and in setting up programs for training and
evaluating volunteer workers to insure that the best possible efforts were applied where they would make a real contribution, they did it to achieve a higher standard of volunteerism, not professional status. The recognition the Junior League received for its effective work reenforced its belief in the value of its approach and commitment.

The nature of the Junior League's work was to identify manageable problems and seek to offer solutions and help in particular areas of the community. In this regard its style was both adaptable and restrictive. It had the capacity to move with ease into a new effort and deal with new problem as it discovered needs. When it did so it responded by taking pragmatic steps towards solutions and services. In the process, however, the Junior Leagues, in general, and the Junior League of Columbus, also, seemed not to have asked the bigger question of why the problems existed. This appearance of insensitivity to the larger ethical questions only seems to have been the case with the Great Depression and World War II, for example. But, the Junior League's emerging and now overt interest in social legislation reflects an awareness of the larger social and ethical context which has always been there. It became necessary to go public in this way because of the persistence of social inequities in its traditional areas of concern. We can expect the Junior League to be less shy about this
in the future but we can also expect it, if it stays true to its tradition and conviction, to exercise the same focused constraint in this regard which has characterized its style in providing direct services.

Because of its past record of social service and the prospects of its future one, students of social history will contribute to the data base necessary for a comprehensive look at how communities work by studying organizations like the Junior Leagues. The Junior Leagues ought not be ignored. They are a case in point of the measure of the effect of scientific philanthropy and social work. It would not be correct to say that their application of the techniques of scientific philanthropy was limited to programs which did not challenge the existing social order; rather, it is an expression of the American pragmatic spirit to do what works.

To further the exploration of America's private response to social problems, it would be beneficial to study agencies and institutions with which the Junior League has worked closely. To date, the United Way's history in Columbus has yet to be written. And the history of institutions like the Children's Mental Health Center and Children's Hospital, to mention only two, needs to be studied. The preservation of the record of their activities—and that of other private and public agencies in Columbus, will broaden the interpretative base of the larger urban context.
FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION


2. In the mid 1950's Wyatt Jones authored an informative 12-part series on the Junior League for Town and Country. This work provides a general background on the Junior League and also explains various specialized programs. Various articles of the series will be cited in other chapters; Cleveland Amory has written unfavorably about the Junior League in Who Killed Society (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), pp. 219-221, and in The Saturday Evening Post, February 7, 1948, pp. 32-33 and 89. His objections are based on his negative views of the members' upper class social position; see the social work journal references footnoted in the remaining chapters under such titles as Charities and the Commons, The Unpopular Review and The Survey.

CHAPTER I


4. Bremer, American Philanthropy, pp. 80-82; and

6 Bremner, From the Depths, pp. 48-50, and American Philanthropy, p. 95.

7 Kurtz, op. cit., p. 27, and Bremner, American Philanthropy, p. 95.

8 Kurtz, Ibid., pp. 27-28, and Bremner, From the Depths, p. 50.


15 Bremner, Ibid., p. 100; and Stewart, op. cit., p. 197.


17 Lubove, Ibid., pp. 13-14.

18 Stewart, op. cit., pp. 198-205.

19 Lubove, op. cit., pp. 10-12; and Bremner, American Philanthropy, p. 102.


28. Scudder, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-84.


34. Sremmer, *From the Depths*, p. 61; and Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

36 Bremner, *From the Depths*, pp. 62 and 203.


CHAPTER II


3 James, et al., Ibid.; Campbell, Ibid., p. 22.


8 The Unpopular Review, Ibid., p. 307; and Alexander, op. cit.


10 "Commemorative Anthology Issue," Ibid., p. 5.

11 Ibid.; and Henderson, op. cit., p. 452.

12 The Unpopular Review, op. cit., p. 509; and "Commemorative Anthology Issue," Ibid.


15 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
Ibid., p. 7.
Ibid., p. 8.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid., pp. 7-8.
Ibid., p. 3; Jones, op. cit., pp. 77; and Annual Report, op. cit.

Ibid., pp. 10 and 14-17.
Ibid., p. 17.
Ibid., pp. 12-13 and 19.
Jones, op. cit., p. 77.

CHAPTER III


2Interview on July 20, 1979 with Jane Nerum, a member of the Junior League of Columbus since the late 1940's; Interview on August 12, 1979 with Sarah Soliday, a member of the Junior League of Columbus since the 1930's; and 1924-25 Yearbook of the Junior League of Columbus, Membership Roster (Mas 431 Ibid.).


4Osman Castle Hooper, History of the City of Columbus, Ohio: From the Founding of Franklinton in 1797 through the World War period to the year 1920 (Columbus-Cleveland: The Memorial Publishing Co., 1919), p. 99; and Opha Moore, History of Franklin County Ohio (Topeka-Indianapolis: Historical Publishing Co., 1930), pp. 229 and 300.


6The Columbus Chamber of Commerce, The Council of Social Agencies of Columbus and Franklin County and the Columbus Advisory Council, Handbook of Social Resources of Columbus and Franklin County (Columbus, Ohio: The F. J. Heer Printing Co., 1924).

7Ibid., p. 69; and Florence Horchow, "History of the Development of Planning and Financing in Health, Welfare, and Recreation Services in Columbus and Franklin County," 1962 (United Community Council Folder, The Community Organization File, Main Branch of the Public Library of Columbus and Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio).

8Soundings, op. cit.

9The Junior League of Columbus, Inc., Annual Report, 1927-28, p. 11 (Mas Collection 431 op. cit.).

10Constitution of the Junior League of Columbus, 1926, p. 6 (Mas 431 Ibid.).
11 Ibid., pp. 5-7.
12 Ibid., pp. 8-11.
13 The Junior League Review, (1925) (Special Collections, The Ohio State University Libraries, Columbus, Ohio).
14 Columbus Sunday Dispatch, January 15, 1928; and Soundings, op. cit.
15 Columbus Sunday Dispatch, Ibid.
20 Ibid., Soundings; and Topics (June, 1963).
22 The Columbus Citizen, October 13, 1928, p. 11; and The Junior League of Columbus, Inc., Annual Report, 1928-29, p. 29 (Mss 431 op. cit.).
24 Annual Report, 1927-28, Ibid.
28 Annual Report, 1929-30, op. cit., p. 28; and Joanna W. Montgomery, "Cultural Activities of the Columbus Junior League--Arts and Interests Groups," p. 1 (Junior League of Columbus Folder, The Community Organization File, Main Branch of the Public Library of Columbus and Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio).
29 Annual Report, 1929-30, Ibid., pp. 10-11; Annual Report, 1927-28, op. cit., pp. 4 and 9; Town Life, (June, 1924), p. 19; The Columbus Dispatch, May 9, 1930; and Interview with Sarah Soliday, op. cit.
30 Annual Report, 1929-30, Ibid., p. 16.

CHAPTER IV

1 Topics (November, 1963), p. 5.
2 The Junior League of Columbus, Inc., Annual Report, 1931-32, pp. 4 and 15.
6 Annual Report, 1931-32, op. cit., p. 27.
8 Ibid., Annual Report, 1931-32, p. 5.
9 "Commemorative Anthology Issue," op. cit., p. 44.


19. Interview with Sarah Soliday, *op. cit.*


24. Minutes of the March 9, 1939 meeting of the Junior League Board of Directors; and Minutes of the March 7, 1939 Business meeting of the Junior League of Columbus.


29. The Junior League of Columbus, Inc., Annual Report, 1940-41, p. 18; The Junior League of Columbus, Inc., Annual Report, 1941-42, p. 7; Minutes of the March 9, 1939 Board meeting, op. cit.; and The Columbus Dispatch, November 11, 1940.


31. Annual Report, 1941-42, op. cit., p. 8; Minutes of the February 6, 1940 meeting of the Junior League Board of Directors; and Minutes of the February 6, 1940 Business meeting of the Junior League of Columbus.

32. Ibid., Minutes of the meetings; and Annual Report, 1940-41, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

33. Annual Report, 1941-42, op. cit., p. 6; and The Columbus Dispatch, November 11, 1940.


35. Minutes of the April 7, 1942 and February 2, 1943 meetings of the Junior League Board of Directors; Minutes of the Business meeting of the Junior League of Columbus, January 6, 1942; The Junior League of Columbus, Inc., Annual Report, 1942-43, p. 12; and The Columbus Dispatch, October 12, 1941.


37. Ibid., p. 7; Minutes of the February 3, 1942 meeting of the Junior League Board of Directors; The Columbus Citizen, December 13, 1942; and The Junior League of Columbus, Inc., Annual Report, 1943-44, pp. 4-5.


CHAPTER V


2. Topics (May, 1953), p. 2; The Junior League of Columbus, Inc., Annual Report, 1953-54, p. 28; and Letter of June 15, 1967 from Mrs. Benjamin F. Radley, Jr., President of the Junior League of Columbus to Miss Joyce Merryman, President of the Board of Trustees, The Council of South Garfield Square, Inc., Columbus, Ohio.

3. Topics (December, 1960), p. 3; Topics (October, 1968), p. 6; and Interview with Jane Werum, op. cit.

4. Project Application Form.


11. Ibid., Annual Report, 1964-65; Ibid., Montgomery reports; and Interview with Jane Werum, *op. cit.*


27 Annual Report, 1953-54, op. cit., p. 47; and Nomination for Membership Form.

28 Letter of November 1955 from the Admissions Committee to the membership; and Admissions Aids.


30 New York Times, October 27, 1968, Society Section, p. 84; and Interview with Jane Werum, op. cit.


33 1957 Provisional Handbook; and Annual Report, 1963-64, op. cit., p. 64.


41 "Commemorative Anthology Issue," op. cit.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The Introduction and footnotes indicate the primary and secondary sources used for this study. It is my intention here to comment on the sources which proved most helpful in writing this thesis, and which might also be of interest and assistance to the reader.

The Manuscript Collection of the Junior League of Columbus (Ohio Historical Society) provides a comprehensive view of the organization. The Annual Reports from 1929 to 1974 serve to outline and describe the group's activities and maturation. In spite of the wealth of information contained in them, the whole story of the Junior League remains undiscovered. Reports prepared by individuals and committees detail specific issues, programs and developments. Project applications reveal information not only about the Junior League and other organizations seeking its help, but also about the League's perceptions of societal conditions at a specific time. Through the correspondence carried out by the leaders of the Junior League, personal observations and League policies emerge. Publications prepared and distributed by members, such as the newsletter Topics, informational pamphlets and programs from social events record the many dimensions of the Junior League. Finally, interviews with members and with people who had
worked with the Junior League furnish insight and in some instances, explanations for League activities and decisions. These also add a personal dimension to the Junior League's work.

Because an interpretative history of Columbus has not been published since the Junior League was organized, newspaper articles aid in finding clues to the Junior League's role in the community. Two histories of Columbus, Oscar Castle Hooper's *History of the City of Columbus, Ohio: From the Founding of Franklinton in 1797 through the World War period to the Year 1920* and Opha Moore's *History of Franklin County Ohio* (1930) give a general overview of the city at the time the Junior League was beginning. From the *Handbook of Social Resources of Columbus and Franklin County* (1924), prepared by three community organizations, valuable information shows the scope of the city's social services which set the stage for the Junior League's early endeavors.

In studying the formation of the first Junior League and of the Association, several sources are instructive. As previously mentioned, Wyatt Jones' articles in *Town and Country* (1956-57) span approximately the first 50 years of the Junior League's history. The Association's "Commemorative Anthology Issue" (Spring, 1971) also traces the Junior League's development and expansion. For a charter member's
account of the Junior League's purpose and initial programs; see Nathalie Henderson's "The Junior League," *Charities and the Commons* (March 17, 1906).

Although Mary Harriman, the founder of the Junior League, belonged to a famous American family and actively pursued social and civic concerns, a biography of her life has not yet been written. However, a private and public view of her and of her family is provided in Persia Campbell's *Mary Williamson Harriman* (1960), articles in the *New York Times* of September 10 and 13, 1909, and a biographical sketch in *Notable American Women*, 1607-1950, *A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. III (1971).

Autobiographies of settlement leaders and charity workers contribute to understanding the emergence of those two institutions. In Jane Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910) and Vida Scudder's *On Journey* (1937) are found accounts of their personal convictions and their methods of conducting settlement work. In both instances the writers reveal much that is of interest to the historian. Edward Devine's *When Social Work Was Young* (1939) tells of his participation in the professionalization of social work. The biography, *The Philanthropic Work of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (1911) by William Rhinelander Stewart, portrays the life and work of a leading American charity worker.

Generally speaking, these works present a favorable view
of these individuals; but more important, they round out the picture with information which institutional records ignore.

In recent years the work of several scholars has given a more objective interpretation of the meaning of the work of settlements and charities. Daniel Levine in Varieties of Reform Thought (1964) presents a precise description of Jane Addams which probes her work and her personal biases. The differences and similarities of settlement and charity workers in terms of their social backgrounds, beliefs and approaches to helping the urban poor are found in Roy Lubove's The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930 (1965) and in Paul W. McBride’s Culture Clash: Immigrants and Reformers, 1880-1920 (1975). Kenneth S. Rusmer "The Functions of Organized Charity in the Progressive Era: Chicago as a Case Study," Journal of American History LX (December, 1973) offers a perspective on upper class interests and involvements in charity work.

The work carried out by settlements and charity organizations is best described in Clark A. Chambers' Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action: 1918-1933 (1963) and Robert Bremer's American Philanthropy (1960). These two books, together with Lubove's Professional Altruist, document the rise of the social work profession. Basic to understanding the need
for social work in America is Robert Bremner's *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States* (1956). In this work Bremner discusses the reality of poverty in America, the reaction of Americans to impoverishment and the private and public efforts to deal with poverty.